

Engaging with change in a post-Bologna teaching university in the Netherlands.

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Doctor of Education (EdD)

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Foreword

My sense of the professional experience of completing a Masters and then undertaking a Doctorate with the Open University is of a parched and wilting pot plant being placed on a sunny window sill and given a good watering. I have benefited from excellent teaching and supervision during the last six years.

I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to undertake doctoral level study. My director of studies, Peter van den Eijnde, initially nominated me for a doctoral stipendium. My present director of studies, Gerard Lenssen, allowed me to continue my studies. Without the sponsorship of my employer, Fontys University of Applied Sciences, completion of a study at this demanding level would have been problematical. The input of Douwe Beijaard helped to refocus my attention at a critical stage in my research process.

My colleagues not only provided the research input, but also ensured that I benefitted from a working environment conducive to the practice of research. They regularly challenged my assumptions, and gave me beneficial insights into my research process and product.

My family has been equally supportive. Without them I would never have been able to complete this thesis. My husband Andreas Renou not only provided emotional support but also practical help, without which I would never have been able to undertake doctoral research. Thank you!

Nicole Renou

Abstract

Change is endemic in modern society, and the educational systems that operate in it. In Higher Education societal trends such as globalization and economic rationalism are impacting on teachers. Changes in the student population, new educational methods derived from shifting perspectives on the role of knowledge and re-structuring of the organizations within which teachers work have also led to transformation of the professional context. At European level policy initiatives such as the Bologna Declaration (1999) have necessitated an overhaul of educational provision. This research project attempts to focus on these wide-ranging changes through the lens of teacher autonomy in order to establish what is changing in the working lives of teachers in a Dutch university, how they are responding to these changes and how they can be helped to respond to change effectively and discriminatingly. This is an insider research project, using case study and semi-structured interviewing to yield data that is subjected to thematic linguistic analysis. It was piloted in 2006, and interviewing was resumed in February 2007. Findings indicate the contested nature of teacher autonomy, and suggest that professional autonomy can impede as well as facilitate teachers in processes of engaging with change. The team – operating as a community of practice - is identified as the location where change agency can operate most effectively. Distributed leadership – specifically perceived in the activities of team leaders and teacher change agents – is seen as crucial to processes of embedding change in educational practice.

Keywords: autonomy; distributed leadership; communities of practice; teams in H.E., professional development

Chapter 1: The research context of the study

For many centuries intelligent adults have gathered together in organizations within which they could involve themselves in processes of creating and disseminating knowledge. Modern day universities may be traced back to Plato, and guilds are almost as ancient. Whilst in the medieval universities scholars concerned themselves with the study of theology and philosophy, in the guilds master practitioners concentrated on passing on knowledge about the world of work to journeymen and apprentices. The guilds shaped labour, production and trade and controlled instructional capital. They applied principles of experiential learning in the progression from apprentice to master craftsman and developed systems to protect intellectual property and critically codify and assess professional knowledge.

The operations of the guilds have been linked to the rise of the money economy, the middle class of freemen, and mercantilist economics – precursors of modern industrialized society. However, the guilds have also been accused of hindering free trade, technology transfer and business development and maintaining rigid gradations of social rank – and whilst the universities survived, the guilds are only a vestigial presence in modern day societies. The lesson of the decline of the guilds as knowledge communities may be that respect for professional autonomy and freedom of thought, and the development of inclusive organizations that facilitate personal development are factors conducive to the adaptability imperative to the survival of knowledge communities.

Universities are inter-twined with a number of societal sub-systems (Pettigrew *et al*, 2003) - ethics, politics, culture, science, to name but a few - and this makes them complex and resistant to change, but also helps them adapt and ensures their ultimate survival. Since their origins universities have responded to changes in the societies within which they are embedded. An historical perspective underscores the adaptability of universities; they have operated under a variety of faith systems and political ideologies in conditions of prosperity and adversity. In modern universities changes in our understanding of the nature of knowledge and the demands of the world of work have a fundamental impact (Blackmore, 2001; Clark, 2004; Brennan *et al*, 2007; Lambert & Butler, 2007). The forms of learning and the understanding of what it is to be a professional espoused by the guilds are becoming part of the professional identity of many vocationally-oriented present day universities. The changing role of universities and the teachers who work in them are the objects of my enquiry into engagement with change. A complex of expectations, many inherently paradoxical, confronts universities

(henceforth defined as all Higher Education Institutions, including *Fachhochschulen* en *Grandes Ecoles*, as determined by the European Commission), as they adapt to changing needs and contexts. Universities are thinking global, hoping to attract overseas students, recruit the best teachers and researchers internationally and achieve high league table rankings (Kaiser *et al*, 2005; Lefrere, 2007). However, they also act within a local context. Their outputs contribute to creating competitive national edge, they are exhorted to embed themselves in the community around them and their student intake is increasingly regional in origin. Policy moves have increased university autonomy, but universities are encouraged to cooperate, and within Europe they are required to aim for Community integration whilst profiling themselves at national level (Lorenz, 2005; Luitjens, 2005; Witte *et al*, 2009). The output of universities - both research and teaching - is seen as crucial to economic success, yet universities complain of under-funding. They are enjoined to seek corporate funding but must be seen to maintain their independence (Maassen, 2000). Universities are subject to competing academic objectives; tasked with providing both excellent teaching and cutting edge research. Their teaching must challenge the brightest students, and reach out into communities and increase participation (van den Broek *et al*, 2006). University students should be taught a vocationally relevant curriculum that will prepare them for the workforce and generate stakeholder value, and also engage in the pure and disinterested pursuit of knowledge. Policy-makers urge universities to become large and cost-effective and to reduce bureaucracy and respond to social needs. Contradictory agendas are operating within and upon universities.

Changes in teaching and learning in Higher Education

Higher education is at the end of the educational supply chain, and therefore changes taking place in secondary schools (and society as a whole) impact on its intake. The student population is becoming more diverse, and the massification of higher education is a widely recognized phenomenon (Noble, 1998; Blackmore, 2001; Lorenz, 2005). The student has become a 'self-managing learner conceptualized as flexible, adaptable, self-motivated, independent and capable of making choices - a discriminating consumer' (Blackmore, 2001:7). A heterogeneous student population, presenting more complex needs, is entering university classrooms. The widening student intake increasingly requires remedial teaching - in numeracy, literacy and study skills - in order to meet the demands of university study. It requires a more learner-centred and inclusive educational experience, capable of being completed successfully by larger numbers of undergraduates; a Bachelor degree is increasingly demanded as a starting qualification on the labour market.

Universities are therefore increasingly tasked with the production of graduates

who can be deployed in a knowledge-driven economy. There is widespread stakeholder agreement with the expectations of the English Higher Education Funding Council;

‘Increasingly, governments view higher education as an important driver of economic growth, both through the graduates that it develops and the new knowledge created by research. With increasing competition from developed and developing nations, and given the possibility of locating business operations anywhere in the world using communications and information technology, nations will need, through investment in people, to equip themselves to compete at the leading edge of economic activity’ (HEFCE, 2006:11).

However, the commodification of higher education is perceived as an inevitable outcome of governmental pressures to tap into knowledge economy benefits (Gleeson & Shain, 2003). The introduction of output related funding and the marketisation of course provision have created tensions between the objectives of widening participation and maintaining academic standards (Gleeson & Shain, 2003; Kaiser & Vossensteyn, 2005; Moust *et al*, 2005).

Students and teaching are mutually responsive; changes in one impact on the other. Teaching the 21st century student requires an upgraded skills set (de Weert, 2001; Hargreaves, A., 2003). Therefore present-day university teachers deploy social worker sensitivities, and possess IT and inter-cultural communication skills in addition to subject knowledge and research competence. In modern universities the balance between pure and applied knowledge is subject to negotiation, with the balance tilting towards “real life” settings and vocational competence. As the Vice-Chancellor¹ of the university where I work explained; “We are moving towards evidence-based practice. We want to know why something works, why it is valid. There is no place for medicine man behaviour, as when the all-knowing one initiates novices via knowledge rituals.” Knowledge that used to be an exclusive preserve is now becoming universally accessible outside the academic context. Rather than being repositories of knowledge, universities are becoming portals to knowledge.

Workplace change

Whilst in an idealized past the working lives of university teachers ‘afforded them stable and legitimizing identities’ (Henkel, 2005:155), their present role is seen

¹ *I have used the term “Vice Chancellor” because it is customary in the British context. However, “Chairman of the Board of Directors” would be a literal translation from the Dutch (Voorzitter van de Raad van Bestuur). This quote was taken from an interview with the previous vice-chancellor in 2009 (see Appendix 6 for the questions asked).*

by some to be that of knowledge workers in a 'production process designed for the efficient creation of instructional commodities' (Noble, 1998:47). The ability of the autonomous professional to act creatively is being undermined by processes of deprofessionalisation (Ball, 1999). University teaching as a profession, whilst not yet offering equal opportunities, is opening up to women and ethnic minorities (Brennan *et al*, 2007; Clegg, 2008). It is also becoming more insecure - although Dutch university teachers enjoy civil servant status there is an increase in short term contracts and performance-related remuneration generally perceptible in the academic workplace (Brennan *et al*, 2007). The implementation of personnel policies deriving from profit-sector models is another indicator of cultural upheaval within higher education regarded with status anxiety by some commentators (Ball, 2001). Commentators also describe the academic workplace as more stressful (*ibid*) and intensive (Hargreaves A., 1993). Pressures to achieve and maintain active researcher status (Sikes, 2006), the demand for measurable educational outcomes and an increasingly managerialist approach to leadership in Higher Education have been defined as contributing to stress in university teachers (Gleeson & Shain, 2003; Marshall *et al*, 2003; West, 2006; Tight, 2007). The introduction of educational methods in which teacher and learner work together to construct knowledge has been seen by some as masking a dramatic intensification of academic labour (Clegg, 2002).

The European context

The Declaration of Bologna - a pledge signed in the hometown of Europe's most ancient university by 29 European countries in 1999 – re-focused the educational context within Europe. Its objective is to facilitate convergence within European higher education, initiating a process by means of which the signatories 'engage in coordinating their policies' (Bologna Declaration, 1999). Improved global competitiveness is the desired outcome as the signatories 'ensure that the European higher education system acquires a worldwide degree of attractiveness equal to Europe's extraordinary cultural and scientific traditions' (*ibid*). Equally, the education of graduates and postgraduates willing and able to be employed throughout the European labour market, and the removal of any impediments to this process is a Bologna objective.

The implementation of Bologna proposals created a 'European space' (*ibid*) for higher education that enhances employability and mobility on European labour markets, and increases international competitiveness. A 'common framework of readable and comparable degrees' (*ibid*) has been adopted with defined undergraduate, postgraduate and doctoral levels.

Participation in Bologna Declaration processes 'created a supra-national context

that is hard to escape' (Kaiser *et al*, 2005:51) within Dutch H.E. It committed the Dutch government to the introduction of a series of changes presented in a sequence of policy documents (*Invoering van de bachelor-master structuur in het Hoger Onderwijs*, 2002 *Degelijk Onderwijsbestuur*, *Onderwijsraad 2004*, *HOOP 2004*). These defined ambitions to increase participation, strengthen the quality profile of Dutch H.E. and increase its contribution to Dutch economic success (van den Broek *et al*, 2006). Because 'the Bologna process has been used by various actors to address existing imbalances and problems in their inherited education systems' (Witte *et al*, 2009:228), the Bologna Declaration not only initiated change, but also focused and accelerated existing processes of internationalization and massification driven by the move to a knowledge economy. It was not only in itself a driver of change, but also set in motion a series of change mechanisms only indirectly connected with the Bologna agenda. Therefore change in the Dutch H.E. workplace encompasses significantly more than the implementation of the Bologna agenda. Although the signing of the Bologna Declaration defines a convenient starting point for my research project, the change processes operating since 1999 are not solely Bologna-generated, but are more complex in origin and multi-factorial in working.

Changes in Dutch Higher Education

Structure is said to follow strategy (Chandler, 1998), and the strategic choices of the Bologna process resulted in structural changes to Dutch H.E. The Dutch university system is binary; characterized by division into research universities and teaching universities (*Hoger Beroeps Onderwijsinstellingen*, referred to as 'para-universities' by the Minister of Education from 2007- 2010, Ronald Plasterk). In 2008 5,741,000 students enrolled in Dutch H. E., 36% of them qualifying for a place in a research university and the remainder being allocated a place in a teaching university (*Ministerie Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap*, / Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, henceforth referred to as MOCW). There are 14 state funded research universities, the oldest being the University of Leiden, founded in 1575, and the most recent the Open University, founded in 1984. The first teaching university was founded in Rotterdam in 1848 to educate engineers, and established a pattern for subsequent teaching universities of regional orientation and close connections with local industry. The teaching universities were traditionally regarded as a cheaper form of higher educational provision, as staffing ratios make clear; in 2006 there were 25.8 students for every teacher in teaching universities, whilst the research universities enjoyed a ratio of 9.9 students to one teacher (*ibid*). The teaching universities offer fewer postgraduate courses, grant vocational degrees and focus on applied research in the form of consultancy activities intended to generate third-flow income, rather than pure re-

search. However, post-Bologna the binary divide is becoming less distinct, and alignment of the two systems seems likely for a number of reasons. Firstly, since 2002 both research and teaching universities have offered the same Bachelor and Masters degrees and the teaching universities have started educating Ph.D students. Both institutional types are supervised by the same ministry, are subject to the same accreditation organ and are governed by a unified higher education act ((Witte *et al*, 2009). An integrated funding system applies to both types of institution and tuition fees have been equalized (*ibid*). Secondly, an expansion of provision of higher education is necessary if Bologna-generated targets concerning graduate numbers are to be met. The processes at work are comparable with those backgrounding the acquisition of university status by British polytechnics in 1992, and are replicated in other European countries (Bleiklie, 2005; Witte *et al*, 2009). Finally, commentators indicate that the binary system is prejudicial to the chances of Dutch teaching university graduates on the international labour market, and hampers Dutch teaching universities in their attempts to attract international students (Kaiser *et al*, 2005), both of which run contrary to Bologna objectives.

Ensuring quality in Dutch Higher Education

Accreditation becomes even more significant when systems undergoing internal changes are expected to comply with demands for transparency. In the policy document 'Choosing for Quality' (*Keur van Kwaliteit*, 2000) the Minister of Education proposed the introduction of a new system of accreditation to replace the ipsative assessments of the past. In 2002 the Dutch – Flemish Accreditation Organization (*Nederlands-Vlaamse Accreditatie Organisatie* or NVAO) was set up and became responsible for accreditation and certification of degree courses on the basis of site visits and evaluation reports made by Validating and Evaluating Agencies (*Validerende en Beoordelende Instanties* or VBIs). Degree courses are evaluated on educational objectives, study programme, deployment of personnel, facilities, internal quality control procedures and results. The system meets two main Bologna objectives: accountability and quality improvement. A first accreditation round completed in 2009 inspected all degree courses separately, assessing course programmes which were the outcome of rapid processes of curriculum re-design brought about by the introduction of the Bachelor / Master system post-Bologna – and posed a 'substantial bureaucratic burden' (Kaiser *et al*, 2005:36).

Accreditation remains an area of sensitivity. A noteworthy aspect of accreditation of Dutch Higher Education is that it is not officially presented in the public domain. The ministerial report 'Top quality in Higher Education' (*Top kwaliteit in het Hoger*

Onderwijs) designates 16 teaching university courses as being of excellent quality – yet nowhere are they named. In the past the notion that all state provided Dutch H.E. was of equal high quality prevailed. Ranking systems were inimical to meritocratic Dutch ideals of educational egalitarianism. However, the expansion of Honours programmes and the activities of the Commission Make Way for Talent (*Commissie Ruim Baan voor Talent*) indicate that a cultural change is underway (van den Broek *et al*, 2006). Marketplace thinking and customer focus are influencing policy making, but reluctance to subject Dutch H.E. to potentially painful comparisons is evidence of conservative tendencies and vested interests within the system.

Organizational change in Dutch Higher Education

Dutch H.E. is characterized by a high degree of institutional autonomy. Vertical supervision at ministerial level has shifted to horizontal accountability subsequent to the introduction of a governance act based on the principles of New Educational Management (*Nieuwe Onderwijsbestuur*) in 1997 and Appropriate Governance (*Degelijk Onderwijsbestuur*) in 2004 (Huisman *et al*, 2006). Students pay tuition fees directly to the H.E. institute, which has full autonomy over the revenues (Kaiser & Vossensteyn, 2005). This freedom of operation has enabled universities to determine how to fulfil their societal responsibilities and decentralization has given a dynamic impulse to Dutch H.E. (Lambert & Butler, 2007). Responsibility for policy effectiveness (and blame for its failures) is devolved to the autonomous H.E. institutions. Governmental supervision is focused on monitoring the system's performance by means of the accreditation and accountability procedures described above. Norm-referenced and internally validated assessment systems have been replaced by a criteria-referenced and externally validated transparency agenda (Hulshof *et al*, 2004; Turnbull *et al*, 2008). Recruitment, retention and attainment have become subject to public scrutiny – which has stimulated curriculum reform in Dutch H.E., confronted by requests to demonstrate what had been done with public money (Kaiser *et al*, 2005; van den Broek *et al*, 2006). These developments facilitate the linkage of funding with output. Implementation of the European Credit Transfer Scheme as part of the Bologna process and the development of generic descriptions of learning outcomes – the Dublin descriptors – enables the definition of education in terms of quantitative output, whether it be credits acquired or dissertations written, and provides a steering mechanism in the economic re-definition of higher education.

Clearly, the macro level changes of the Bologna agenda are having a meso level impact on Dutch H.E. The changes evoked at European level triggered changes at national level that in turn impacted on teachers. My research project to inves-

tigate engagement with change is located in a teaching university in the south of the Netherlands. The research setting - Fontys University of Applied Sciences (henceforth referred to as FUAS) - is the largest state-recognized and funded higher educational institution in the Netherlands (*Informatie Beheer*, 2009) and provided 200 Bachelor and 40 Masters degree courses for 36,910 students, employed 2,428 teachers (1,838 Full Time Equivalents) and deployed a budget of € 325,925,000 in 2009 (www.fontys.nl: 2010). Ongoing processes of merger and alliance characterize Dutch H.E.: whilst in 1983 375 teaching universities operated in the Netherlands, by 2006 only 42 remained (*HBO Raad*). FUAS – a multi-site operation with 35 institutes spread over 8 locations - is the product of a series of mergers and takeovers. It has been observed that few commercial mergers are successful, and that those that do succeed are time consuming and resource intensive (Locke, 2007). Certainly, diverse loyalties, ambiguous goals, pluralistic values and distinctive cultures are clearly perceptible in this H.E. workplace. Tolerance is a feature of the Dutch cultural inheritance – coalitions are the governmental *modus vivendi*, and the Dutch are represented in Parliament by, at present, 14 elected political parties of a wide range of political and denominational persuasions, including one that claims to represent the interests of animals – and therefore acceptance of organizational diversity in the FUAS workplace is perhaps unsurprising.

In 1999, the year of the signing of the Bologna Declaration, FUAS reorganized after a series of mergers. Management systems were re-focused on outputs and outcomes rather than inputs and processes, measurement and quantification were intensified and lean and flat organizational forms implemented. A layer of middle managers was removed and newly formed institutes (numbering at least 1,000 students to ensure economic viability) re-positioned in conformity with the FUAS identity. The autonomy of operation granted to Dutch universities is mirrored in the governance of the FUAS institutes, which enjoy considerable autonomy balanced by accountability to the governing Board. The institutes are run on private sector models as business units. Activity Based Costing accountancy procedures define the institutes as cost centres, purchasing goods and services under Service Level Agreements from each other in a pseudo market in which costs are transparent. The directors of institutes report to portfolio holders at board level. However, the rigours of financial accountability should not be exaggerated; the institute in which the research was conducted has only recently (in 2009) been able to balance its books. Profit sector thinking is influencing the educational system, but is tempered by public sector processes and priorities.

‘Any narrative depends upon the perspective and location of its author’ (Hatch,

1997: vii) and therefore it is useful for the reader to know that I have worked in the research setting, Fontys Institute of Business Management & Technology (*Fontys Hogeschool Bedrijfsmanagement & Techniek*), and its predecessors – (for an historical overview see Appendix 1) full time since January 1991, primarily as a teacher although I have also acquired organizational responsibilities. My subject discipline is teaching English Communication skills on a B.Sc Engineering course. I am a woman in a workplace where men predominate and a member of an ethnic minority group. However, I would repudiate any suggestion that I lead a marginalised existence. On the contrary I am an integrated colleague and a satisfied employee. The relevances and values that structure research should be made explicit (Hammersley, 1992) and therefore it is appropriate to indicate that involvement and commitment are key drivers of my research project. I have observed and participated in a decade of change, and my research is driven by a need for sense-making and a desire to facilitate organizational learning.

Rationale

Commentators have asserted that the organizational culture of universities towards the latter half of the 20th century was outdated (Drucker, 1997). ‘Immovable cathedrals’ (Clark, 2004:1), universities were described as elitist, bureaucratic, autarkic and unresponsive (Davies *et al*, 2006). Worse still, many did not meet their educational objectives, failing to respond to the needs of students (Kaiser *et al*, 2005). Societal needs have involved H.E. systems globally in a rethink of their objectives, and how to achieve them. Universities are being redefined, and there is a need to establish what this process means to those who work in them, as the community of scholars referred to in my introduction becomes a community of professionals (Whitchurch, 2006). The professional experience of teachers in H.E. is significant for a number of reasons ranging from the elevated to the practical. University teachers play a special societal role in “speaking truth to power”, they are key players in processes of generating and disseminating knowledge, and if they do their work well, they challenge their students to achieve their utmost, benefitting both the individual and society. A fundamental objective of educational research is to determine how teaching and learning can be improved. The creation of organizational perspectives for professional well being and productivity of university teachers is the focus of my research activities. Understanding can then be used to make recommendations that may contribute to professional practice. This is a fundamental objective for my research project examining teacher engagement with change processes in a H.E. workplace – a Dutch, post-Bologna teaching university - during the period starting with the signing of the Bologna declaration (1999) and ending with the date for implementation of its objectives, 2010.

Bologna process change

The Bologna signatories, the Netherlands included, committed themselves in 1999 to a programme of changes that has far-reaching consequences for teachers working in H.E. (Lorenz, 2005; Luitjens, 2005; Keeling, 2006). There is general agreement that the European Commission has played a key role in setting the H.E. change agenda, establishing the time frame and monitoring progress. Its vision of European higher education as ‘purposeful, progressive, successful, economically beneficial, collaborative and international’ (Keeling, 2006:205) has been largely adopted by the member countries. An elaborate language for talking about higher education has been developed by the European Commission and used to promulgate a common understanding of issues and focus. The European Commission has acquired ideological hegemony in European thinking

about higher education, ensuring itself a central position and activating a concept of European H.E. institutions as 'organizations like any others, participating in and competing on an open market, and measurable in terms which transcend the education sector' (Keeling, 2006:209). Standardization is taking place unobtrusively in a process of 'Community creep' (Corbett, 2007:103). The implementation of the Bologna agenda - the introduction of the three tier Bachelor / Masters / Doctorate system, the organization of curricula into major and minor courses and the replacement of existing qualifications (such as the *Getuigschrift Hoger Beroepsonderwijs* in the Netherlands) by Bachelor or Master degrees - entailed extensive processes of curriculum re-design and accreditation (Westerheijden, 2003; Hulshof *et al*, 2004). An enormous effort was involved: 'A change of mentality and culture' (*Zelfevaluatiebericht Opleiding Bedrijfsmanagement* 2008: xi) according to the writers of the accreditation report of the degree course on which I teach. These exertions meant that the impact of the Bologna agenda change processes on those most closely involved – the teachers in H.E. – was neglected. My research project is an attempt to address this shortcoming, especially as perspectives may have been distorted by the nature of the changes taking place: the standardization of European higher education has been brought about by implementation of a system Anglo-American in origin. It has been indicated that; 'It is probably fair to say that UK higher education and academics have paid rather less attention to these processes than have their continental European counterparts' (Brennan *et al*, 2007:10). Knowledge that is restricted to one national context leads to the risk of 'tunnel vision such vision leads unknowingly to arrogant opinion' (Clark, 2004:6). My account attempts to redress the balance by describing to a wider audience the impact of change processes in the post-Bologna working lives of Dutch university teachers.

The significance of the Dutch experience

The specifically Dutch context of the research setting is sharply focused, and affords opportunities to discern what is happening. In the Netherlands specific characteristics influence social change. For example the geographical position of the Netherlands - is it the smallest of the large European nations, or the largest of the small ones? Whichever it may be, Dutch culture is internationally focused, and aware of societal developments within its larger neighbours. Historically an exporting nation, it makes sense for the Netherlands to keep in line with its most important trading partners (Maassen, 2000; van der Wende, 2001). Power distances are short in the Netherlands (Hofstede, 1991). Dutch society is characterized by traditions of tolerance, and combined with the habit of consultation between the main pillars (*zuilen*) of Dutch society this has led to the development of a "polder model" - a participative tradition that gives voices to all stakeholders

in important socioeconomic processes.

Because the Netherlands is small, internationally focused, democratic and open-minded about innovation it is possible to ascribe a laboratory function to it, and specifically to its experience of educational innovation. The Netherlands has a history of pioneering educational reform (Maassen, 2000; Storey, 2006; Witte *et al*, 2009). Because much educational research is Anglo-American in focus, a Dutch interpretation can contribute to the analyses taking place - especially as the Dutch experience of engagement with change proffers a particularly instructive variant of patterns diffusely present in other higher education systems. If the Netherlands is to take its place in a global economy built on knowledge, teachers as front line professionals are a key national resource. Understanding the working lives of university teachers is part of a wider project of highlighting linkages between education and national productivity and helping a small, clever country like the Netherlands to fulfil its potential.

The binary Dutch university system, characterized by division into research universities and teaching universities, throws into relief systemic changes taking place throughout European higher education under the influence of ranking systems and funding allocation. Like the polytechnics that acquired university status in the United Kingdom after 1992 Dutch teaching universities face the challenge of re-focusing their academic identities. My workplace – the research setting - in a teaching university is the focus of the official aspiration to make changes in higher education. It is learning how to be a university, and is therefore malleable, immature and prone to role confusion (de Weert, 2001). Lack of tradition, limited academic self-confidence and financial dependence restrict the Dutch teaching universities' ability to define their own identities (van den Broek *et al*, 2006). The prestige of the research universities overshadows them, and their lobbying activities are less effectual because primary decision makers often studied at research universities. This underdog position can also create pressures for change; in a binary system 'the "disadvantaged" institutional type has the strongest preference for reform' (Witte *et al*, 2009). The interplay between creating knowledge and transferring knowledge in the working lives of university teachers is sharply focused in the binary Dutch system, facilitating an analysis of the tensions between research and teaching. The development of H.E. workplaces whose research activities are geared to driving economic growth and the production of knowledge workers rather than the pursuit of pure knowledge remains generally unexplored. Research attention is necessary because;

'There is a need to understand how these changes influence academic value systems and work

practices and affect the nature and locus of control and power in academe. There is a need to investigate how these tensions work out in H.E. institutions of different types and in countries with different economic, political and cultural traditions and contemporary circumstances' (Brennan *et al*, 2007:9)

One of my research objectives is to investigate these changing academic value systems and work practices – an investigation into engagement with change that can yield insights applicable to other academic workplaces.

The workplace experience

Whilst the Dutch university teachers working in the research setting undoubtedly exhibit their own peculiarities and national characteristics, they are broadly representative of other H.E. professionals, sharing similar aspirations, work experiences and a common professional culture. Their experience of engagement with change is not only context-specific but has a wider relevance. There is relatively little research focusing on the mundane reality of academic working life (Tight, 2007) and therefore 'The teacher is an absent presence in the discourses of educational policy' (Ball, 1993a:108). The process by which a community of scholars becomes a community of professionals (Whitchurch, 2006) has been identified, but remains relatively unexplored. Understanding change in the academic workplace implies engagement with a variety of representations of what is going on, and analysis of the interests these representations serve. It has been observed that 'Change in today's management terminology is frequently represented as an unalloyed good' (du Gay, 2003:664). However in changing times much remains the same; 'The nature of the management role, the employment relationship and the ownership and control structures of capitalist structures remain unscathed' (Huczynski & Buchanan, 2007:60). A complicated situation subject to a variety of interpretations can best be understood by incorporating the views and truths of all those involved. My objective is to foreground a previously under-represented teacher perspective on change in the academic workplace. The process of transforming the raw material of working lives into coherent accounts accessible to others is a way of creating joint understanding and defining ways of dealing with new experience (Wenger, 1998; Mercer, 2000) especially useful during times of workplace change and re-definition of professional identity. Understanding one's workplace is part of the reflective practitioner's remit (Schön, 1991) and communicating workplace experience that of the member of a community of practice (Wenger, 1998).

Macro-level changes such as the blurring of the binary divide, implementation of the Bologna agenda and increasing massification and market-orientation of H.E. are having a micro-level impact on the workplace experience of teachers. In

a larger frame of reference their autonomy - 'the extent to which a job provides independence and discretion' (Huczynski & Buchanan, 2007:259) is subject to re-focus. Autonomy, which is at the basis of academic freedom, is a significant motivator for knowledge workers. However, in an organizational culture which has been described as placing loyalty to the organization above collegiality, competence above knowledge, compliance over judgment and outcome above process in a hierarchical and managerialist workplace, commentators fear that autonomy is constrained and teaching professionals are being de-skilled (Ball, 1998; Clegg, 2002; Hargreaves, A., 2003; Mulford 2003). Alternatively, developments may be interpreted as presenting opportunities for redefinition of academic identity in entrepreneurial and leadership contexts (Bennett *et al*, 2003; Hargreaves, D., 2003; Clark, 2004). The structural changes of centralization, mergers and re-positioning of degree courses may similarly be viewed as a threat to the autonomous teacher, or as presenting organizational opportunities (Henkel, 2005; Locke, 2007). My research objective is to determine which interpretation prevails in the working lives of my research subjects.

Changes in organizational culture are most clearly apparent at the micro-level of workplace relationships. The nature of educational leadership is being re-negotiated as the once complex and self-referential organizations exhibiting weak governance structures and ambiguous hierarchies increasingly implement strong executive leadership and private sector management techniques (Maassen, 2000; Bennett *et al*, 2003; Marshall *et al*, 2003; Davies *et al*, 2006; Whitchurch, 2006). The need to generate income and maintain educational quality is being met by strengthening organizational hierarchies and deploying educational managers skilled in strategic financial planning and the operation of quality assurance procedures (Westerhijden, 2003; Hulshof *et al*, 2006). The expectations of H.E. teachers concerning the role of management – and management's expectations of teachers – are changing under a regime of external performance indicators and market orientation. Commentators assert that the ability of the teaching professional to operate autonomously is being reduced (Henkel, 2005), the independent-minded and articulate H.E. teacher is being distanced from decision-making processes (de Weert, 2001; Mulford, 2003) and even that inauthentic consultation processes are deployed as a mechanism for persuasion in 'the management of consent' (Gleeson & Shain, 2003:235). A research objective will be to determine whether these suppositions are correct, and to outline coping strategies if professional autonomy is indeed under threat of erosion.

It has been observed that large-scale educational innovation processes lead to a limited degree of actual change in teaching practice (Elmore, 1996). Lasting

educational change involves changing identities in a process of continuing professional development - a slow, uncertain and delicate process whose operations are described during this research project. Although there is agreement that well-adjusted teachers functioning harmoniously in their educational workplaces produce better educational outcomes for their learners (Fullan, 2001a; Marshall *et al*, 2003) there is dissent about how to achieve this desired state (Geijsel *et al*, 2001). Certainly coercive imposition of educational innovation, however well intentioned, has a history of failure (Elmore, 1996; Fullan, 2001b). It has been suggested that intensification and de-skilling (Hargreaves, A., 1993) linked with performativity (Ball, 1999) are seriously impacting on teacher job satisfaction and are leading to overload and alienation. Brennan *et al*, (2007) have described H.E. teaching as becoming increasingly stratified. These are serious allegations, and deserve attention. A primary objective of my research is to explore whether teachers feel able to deal with the stress characteristics of their role and whether their ability to operate as autonomous individuals is subject to constraint. Equally significant is the objective of identifying those factors enabling successful engagement with change during processes of continuing professional development.

The teaching profession is unusual, in that entrants have an exceptionally high level of knowledge about its professional identity. For about twenty impressionable years, entrants have been on the receiving end of information about the mindset, the professional stance and discourse modes of teachers. Schoolchildren observe their teachers, and see an individual working seemingly without supervision and exerting powers of sanction and reward in command of a classroom. Students experience their lecturers as subject authorities possessing extensive gate-keeping powers. Learners, often in relationships of dependence on teachers, may perceive teaching as offering high levels of self-determination. These perceptions of high levels of professional autonomy may motivate recruits to the profession and operate positively on teacher recruitment. Although entrants may have concluded that the profession offers status, security and opportunities for personal fulfilment not available to them in other forms of employment, the trammelled reality of teachers' working lives may belie the expectation of high levels of autonomy. An appraisal of the fluctuating and contested presence of autonomy in teachers' working lives can provide insights that play a role in the recruitment, retention and professional development of teachers.

The ability to respond positively to change is the outcome of understanding its dynamics. Resistance to change is often due to an inability to understand it. Teachers who cannot keep up with their changing professional context are unlikely to be able to function to the best of their abilities. Inability to deal positively with

change can lead to estrangement from colleagues and conflicts with superiors, damage career development and even impact on teaching effectiveness. There is a need for career perspectives that will enable teachers to avoid these negative outcomes – especially when teaching is a lifetime's career choice. One of the hallmarks of autonomous professionals is that they can indicate how they wish to be managed - the sort of leadership which will enable them to perform most effectively (Marshall *et al*, 2003). One of my research objectives is to make recommendations concerning how change processes may most constructively be undergone and how engagement with change may be managed in such a way that apathy or resistance are reduced.

However, the researcher does not have the right to tell others what to do. Any attempt to force teaching professionals to accept change uncritically is inadvisable - some change initiatives are misguided and counter-productive. Teachers who unthinkingly embrace change are denying themselves the resources of tradition and established best practice, and undermining the status of the profession. A discriminating approach to workplace change will enable teaching professionals to take a proactive role. Instead of being passive objects of workplace change, those caught up in change processes should be able to evaluate them critically, use change positively and creatively and, where necessary, challenge workplace constraints.

Focus: Pettigrew's (2003) recommendations for understanding change - set the internal context in its external framework, and locate what is happening historically – demand a thorough description of the context. Therefore the changes in H.E. at European, Dutch and institutional levels have been described and analysed above. It then becomes possible to focus on the experiences and perceptions of teachers in the setting. Analysis of their feelings about the organization in which they work, the team in which they are deployed, their relationships with managers, colleagues and students and sense of personal and professional well-being provide answers to Research Question 1: **How are teachers in the setting responding to change?**

Change is multi-factorial, pervasive and unpredictable. Domino effects, unintended by-products and the unpredictable reactions of chaos theory are a feature of the experience of change. During preliminary interviewing (see Appendix 2) the experience of autonomy emerged as a complex and fluctuating presence in teachers' working lives and an indicator of the impact of change processes. My research objective is to focus on teacher engagement with change through the lens of autonomic behaviour, exploring themes of identification and internalization or com-

pliance and resistance. Teachers' self-identification with their subject disciplines, their participation in team activities and involvement in multi-disciplinary educational provision are locations where the ability of teachers to behave autonomously is changing (Henkel, 2005). Developing managerial styles - 'the complex dialectic between pressures towards managerialism co-existing in tension with collegiality' (Clegg, 2002:805) - and their impact on teacher autonomy equally deserve exploration. Research Question 2 focuses on the perception of autonomy: **To what extent do teachers feel able to operate autonomously?**

Having answered research questions 1 and 2 factors facilitating engagement with change can be established. Thick description thus forms the basis for determining the correlational relationship between those factors in the working lives of university teachers undergoing change that facilitate their motivation and engagement, or constrain and impede it. The extent to which teachers are able to exercise autonomy in their working lives and their ability to adjust positively to change is interrogated. If the presence of teacher autonomy can be seen to be synchronous with the ability to respond positively to change, a correlational relationship can be established. It will then be possible to speak of a positive relationship between the presence of teacher autonomy and the ability of teachers to adapt to workplace change. A nuanced approach is necessary here; autonomy may equally enable teachers to impede change and reject the 'progress myth' (Huczynski & Buchanan, 2007:58). Research Question 3 investigates if a correlational relationship between autonomy and response to change can be established: **Is there a link between teacher autonomy and teacher ability to respond positively, or negatively, to change processes?**

Organizational theorists have extolled the coming of the learning community and its autonomous knowledge workers (Clegg, 1990). However, alternative accounts are also available; 'It is possible to interpret the post-modern trend in precisely the opposite direction, seeing stability, exploitation and domination where others see change, flexibility and empowerment' (Huczynski & Buchanan, 2007:58). Such commentators see a de-socialized learning experience and educational systems colonized by profit sector values, leading to performativity and managerialism (Ball, 2001; Mulford, 2003). There is disagreement whether teacher autonomy is increasing or being reduced. During times of workplace change when professional identity is being redefined the development of theories embedded in experiential knowledge can contribute to professional learning; 'Theory only becomes worthwhile when it is used to explain something' (Hatch, 1997:106). Therefore an account of workplace change can be of use to others in the context of ubiquitous change. After deconstruction of the narratives about workplace

change accumulated during the research process it will become possible to identify **Which factors can be identified as enabling teachers to respond positively to change?** – and make recommendations on the basis of the answers to Research Question 4.

Structure: The introduction to the research context of the study uses a funnel approach, moving from the European to the national and then the local context. Then the research rationale and foci are established and the research questions are outlined and discussed. The existing state of research is indicated in a review of the literature in chapter 3. There is an extensive literature concerning change processes, and the objective of the literature review is to demarcate the area of investigation, and position the research activity within it. Attention is paid to change processes in educational systems in general, and in particular, modernization processes in Higher Education and the experience of academic working life. As an extension of the literature review a brief outline of desk research activities is given. The literature review and the desk research inform the methodological choices made. Quantitative and qualitative (specifically ethnography, action research and insider research) methods are discussed in chapter 4. The choice of a case study approach combined with comparative analysis and the data collection procedures used are explained. In chapter 5 the research process is examined. Special attention is paid to the experience of insider research and in particular the strengths and weaknesses of semi-structured interviewing as a research tool and the ethical issues concomitant to insider research. Then the findings are presented and explored in chapters 6, 7 and 8. The findings are presented in the same sequence as the research questions:

- How are teachers in the setting responding to change?
- To what extent do they feel able to operate autonomously?
- Is there a link between teacher autonomy and teacher ability to respond positively or negatively to change processes?
- What factors can be identified as enabling teachers to respond positively to change?

Therefore there is a general examination of how teachers are responding to change, then an exploration of the role of autonomy in their working lives, particularly in reference to the team experience, theories of distributed leadership and continuing professional development. Finally conclusions and recommendations for practice are presented in chapter 10.

Chapter 3: Review of the literature

The review of the literature parallels and informs processes of data collection as a novice researcher establishes what is already known about the research subject, learns how this knowledge was uncovered and embarks on a research apprenticeship with the objective of making a contribution to what is known about the research subject (Hart, 1998). Accessing the writings of other researchers is a form of comparative analysis applicable to both the generation and verification of theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). An empirically based and coherent account, the product of a self-reflexive research endeavour which includes engagement with others' research writings, contributes to the production of explanations which are plausible, credible and relevant to others (Hammersley *et al*, 2001). The literature review is 'dialogic' (Silverman, 2005:295) as researchers engage with the literature already available and interpret it in the context of their research questions, continuing the conversation with future readers.

For a novice researcher an early objective was to engage with the writings of organizational experts. To facilitate understanding of the workings of change processes within an organization such as FUAS theoretical insights from the management literature were sought. A useful and perceptive approach was found in the work of Handy (1984). His work provided a basis, but was insufficiently contemporary. However, the development of organizational theory could be further traced via the writings of Hatch (1997), Buchanan & Badham (1999), Pettigrew *et al* (2003) and Huczynski & Buchanan (2007). Many of the themes around which my research into engagement with change in a post-Bologna teaching university revolved were dealt with in their writings. A deepening interest in these themes led to the work of organizational psychologists. The work of Maslow (1954) on his theories of the hierarchy of needs - ranging from deficiency needs to safety needs and culminating in esteem and self-actualization needs - could be related to the workplace experience and motivations of teachers in the setting. Belbin's (1981, 1993) analysis of success factors for teams indicated that it was not the intellectual level of the team, but the balance of individual roles within the team which led to successful teamwork. His description of the types of behaviours needed for successful team performance gave insight into the realities of team membership in the research setting. Tuckman's 4 stage model of team development (2000) provided a theoretical basis for understanding team life cycles, and could be applied to the team experience in the research setting. Cognitive psychologist Kolb's (1984) theory of experiential learning - concrete experience leading to observation and reflection, resulting in the formation of abstract concepts which in turn are tested by practical experience - gave me not only as model for the research

process but also shed light on the processes undergone by the research subjects during processes of engagement with change. Finally Wenger's insights into the inherently social nature of learning, and the inseparability of learning from context suggested how the teams in the setting could be seen as communities of practice supporting teachers in processes of mutual engagement and joint enterprise (1998:72). These writers provided theoretical context and background, and the perspectives of interdisciplinary research. An immersion in their organizational theories was a necessary precursor to my research.

Further reading led to an understanding of the limitations of management literature. It became clear that some management literature is written with the intention of providing more effective management tools, rather than out of concern for organizational wellbeing (Huczynski & Buchanan, 2007). A further shortcoming was the impression of order, rationality and progress in the unquestioning accounts of innovation given by some organizational theorists (Schön, 1991). Their writing suggested 'It has become a matter of serious criticism to accuse an institution or an individual of being incapable of adjusting to – or better still "thriving on" – change, or failing to grasp its multitudinous opportunities' (du Gay, 2003:664). The outcomes of change initiatives were idealized, but the implementation trajectory was neglected (Pettigrew *et al*, 2003). This management literature is generally prescriptive and often prioritizes the roles of leaders (Fitz & Halpin, 1994). It ignores the frustration, ambivalence and even desperation of those caught up in change processes (Hargreaves, A., 1993). There are complex emotions involved - for example when a loss-making course is terminated 'profound relief and deep-seated anger' (Tight, 2007:3) which do not find expression. The turmoil of organizational politics is insufficiently delineated (Ball, 1993; Buchanan & Badham, 1999). Acknowledgement in such management literature of confusion, failure or anxiety is scant. There is less attention for innovations that do not work than for "success stories" - perhaps because of a reluctance to be associated with failure. A credibility gap exists between such 'sanitized mountaintop accounts' and the experience of change in the 'swampy lowlands' of the practice setting (Schön, 1991). Furthermore, much of the literature concerned with documenting change processes derives from profit sector models. However, the environmental context, the organizational objectives and the cultural factors prevailing in educational institutions are not the same as those of the profit sector. The public sector environment is fundamentally different, and therefore there is a need for study of change trajectories in the public sector context that focuses on its specific environmental and organizational factors (Kickert, 1997). Reluctantly, the educational researcher is driven to conclude that; 'The advice in management books often is contradictory, general, confusing and non-actionable' (Fullan, 2004:4) and there-

fore of limited usefulness for those attempting to understand change processes in educational settings.

Despite these reservations concerning the management literature, my objective was to build on previous research and use it to define and focus the research questions. Many perspectives are based on largely untested interpretations of what change in universities means to those who work in them (Brennan *et al*, 2007), and therefore it became my objective to produce a practical account which could be developed into inductive theory. Defining and recognizing the individual experiences of those undergoing workplace changes is the foundation of this process. These realities can also be explored by engaging with the writings of others involved with workplace change and professional identity; as Fullan explains; 'Educational change is a process of coming to grips with the multiple realities of people who are the main participants in implementing change' (2001a:96).

The literature on educational change indicates that it is pervasive, radical and gathering speed. There is agreement on the inevitability of change, which is seen as 'endemic to post-modern society' (Fullan, 1993:3). Not only are good educational systems required in order to develop citizens capable of functioning in democracies, but change is also necessary because education has a moral purpose (Fullan, 1993, 2003 a, 2004; Hargreaves, A., 2007). 'Societal improvement is really what education is all about..... teachers are moral change agents in society' (Fullan, 1993:14). The failure of past educational systems to combat inequality and poverty and their inability to promote the wellbeing of youngsters is an additional reason why educational change must come (Louis *et al*, 1999, Fullan, 2003b, Hargreaves, A., 2007). Because educational systems are the setting for a stream of change initiatives, implemented with varying degrees of success, and impacting on teachers' sense of their professional identities in different ways (Fullan, 1993, 2001a, 2001c, 2005b) detailed enquiry into the experience of engaging with change is needed. An account of engaging with change in a Dutch teaching university could contribute to professional understanding of the impact of educational change initiatives.

Ensuring H.E. is fit for purpose in a changing global context preoccupies a range of researchers (Walford, 1987; Miller, 1995; Ball, 1998; Bleiklie, 2005; Clark, 2005; Davies *et al*, 2006; Lambert & Butler, 2007; Brennan & Teichler, 2008). Futurologists are debating a variety of H.E. change trajectories (Scott, 2000; Blackmore, 2001; Lorenz, 2005; Lambert & Butler, 2007; Lefrere, 2007). In order to understand the research context - to determine the socio-political changes taking place and the structural changes and processes evident in the Bologna

area - reading was restricted to texts on European H.E. Research is a process of contrasting and comparing, and this implies reading about change processes in the Netherlands and other European countries (Kaiser *et al*, 2005; Lambert & Butler, 2007; Witte *et al*, 2008). A fascinating account of Portuguese dependence on private education to supplement the shortfalls of public sector provision is given by Teixeira & Amaral, (2007), and the lack of throughput in Italian universities (European Consortium for Political Research, 2002) where it took seven years to complete a four-year degree course, was equally indicative of the need for modernization of many pre-Bologna European H.E. systems. However, the implementation of change initiatives is often problematic, as evinced by accounts of the interplay between hierarchization and fragmentation in Scandinavian H.E. (Bleiklie, 2005), and the management of change as a paradoxical intervention in an Austrian university (Meister-Scheytt & Scheytt, 2005). Letting go of the past is painful; in German universities the death of Humboldt is mourned (Ash, 2006) and *Besitzstandswahrung* is the inimitable, and untranslatable, word which describes concern about losing rights and privileges during processes of structural change (Weiler, 2005). In these very recognizable workplaces colleagues are undergoing parallel change processes, yet experiencing them after their own fashion. Perspectives on what is happening may diverge, but there is general agreement that initiatives backgrounding educational change are convergent - in Europe in general and the Netherlands in particular (van der Wende, 2001; Lorenz, 2005; Luitjens, 2005; Witte *et al*, 2009). Global rankings facilitate comparison between universities, and European policy initiatives such as the Bologna Declaration mean that H.E. is structured and provided in a similar manner throughout the signatory countries (Keeling, 2006; Witte *et al*, 2008). There is common ground, which means that a localized account of engagement with workplace change has a wider relevance.

Having consulted the literature concerning the wider context of change processes in H.E. it was time to sharpen the research focus. As Yin (2003) has indicated, although many researchers review the literature in a search for answers, the review of the literature can also help in defining the research questions. In a process of progressive focusing the research questions given in chapter 2 were identified, and the research journey could begin.

The initial research question focuses on how teachers in the setting are responding to change. In order to answer it, it was necessary to establish what changes actually took place in the post-Bologna period under investigation. Because teachers' subjective experience of change is a crucial factor in the success or failure of implementation trajectories (Elmore, 1996; Louis *et al*, 1999; Fullan, 2001a) not only what was changing, but also how these change initiatives were

presented to teachers was consulted. Sectoral information (see the following section) played a role in this process, but it was supplemented by the literature concerning the rationale for educational innovation. There was agreement that a major policy shift intended to improve learning outcomes has taken place in H.E. (Blackmore, 2001; Clegg, 2002). Whitchurch (2006) describes this process as the transformation of a community of scholars into a community of professionals. Academic teaching and learning are meeting changed societal needs (Drucker, 1997; Hargreaves, D., 1997; Clegg, 2002; Knight *et al*, 2006) and becoming more entrepreneurial (Clark, 2004), sustainable (Hargreaves, A., 2007) and fit for purpose in knowledge societies (Walford, 1987; Hargreaves, A., 2003; Bleiklie, 2005; Simkins, 2005). The educational innovations that are to be observed in European H.E. are a response to this perceived need for change. The emphasis on the development of generic competences combined with emerging phenomenon of horizontilization (Wenger, 2005) imply negotiated processes of knowledge sharing between teachers and learners. However, this egalitarianism has been perceived as a threat to the discipline expert. Commentators express concern that process-orientated educational methods lead to a reduction in the amount of discipline – specific knowledge acquired (Moust *et al*, 2005, Lambert & Butler, 2007) and threaten the ability of teachers to make autonomous choices about educational content (Turnbull *et al*, 2008) leading to an impoverishment of teaching and deprofessionalization of teachers (Hargreaves, 1993; Davies *et al*, 2006). According to some commentators, the drive to improve student outcomes enables workers fit for purpose in the knowledge societies of the future to roll off educational conveyor belts, commodifying the learner and turning teachers into ‘classroom drones’ (Ball, 2001:266). Because ‘intractability’ is becoming inextricably associated with the experience of implementing change (Fullan, 2001a) there is agreement that teachers’ attitudes as well as their activities must fundamentally change if educational innovations are to be successful (Hargreaves, A., 1994; Elmore, 1996; Fullan, 1993, Geijsel *et al*, 2001). ‘Teachers are not simply changed or improved, they are “re-made”’ (Ball, 1999:2). This painful process of identity re-definition creates a complex of tensions and anxieties in teachers that can lead to unwilling compliance or resistance (Fullan, 1992; Hargreaves & Fullan, 1998; Geijsel *et al*, 2001). These descriptions of processes of assimilation, compliance or resistance resonated with the first research question concerning teacher response to change, and informed the analysis of what educational innovation means to university teachers.

According to some commentators these developments have led to the learning experience becoming de-socialized, bureaucratized and reduced to the production of measurable outcomes, and our educational systems have been colonized

by profit sector values, leading to the evils of performativity and managerialism (Noble, 1998; Ball, 2001; Mulford, 2003; Sergiovanni, 2003). An incentivized educational landscape can undermine professional standards and even create cheating teachers (Levitt & Dubner, 2005). It is argued that enhancing economic competitiveness is the true objective of innovation initiatives in H.E.; 'In effect, the market solution is articulated as a new master narrative' (Ball, 1999a:3). Market thinking is impacting on teaching processes - education is regarded as a commodity to be bought and sold, and unattractive educational products are swiftly removed from the market (Tight, 2007). The emphasis on knowledge as a wealth-creating asset leads to suggestions that 'professors should be better paid only if they teach useful, profitable courses' (de Weert, 2001:95). The tenor of some commentary on these developments appeared alarmist. There is a need for balance and composure. Personal experience teaching undergraduates indicates that a desire to improve personal employability and maximize earning potential is an important motivator for many students. Undergraduate degree courses are increasingly vocational in orientation; the Bologna Declaration defines their content as primarily focused on employment-related skills and competencies (Lorenz, 2005; Keeling, 2006). Research activities are indubitably increasingly assessed according to their wealth-generating potential in knowledge societies (Blackmore, 2001; Hargreaves, D., 2003; Sikes, 2006). It is clear that the consequences of the re-positioning of universities as providers of well-educated employees, rather than being occupied with an abstract pursuit of knowledge, deserve further investigation (Brennan & Teichler, 2008). This account of specific experiences of engagement with change in a Dutch teaching university in the first decade of the 21st century is an attempt to contribute to the debate about the implications of the re-positioning of universities. Little is known about the consequences of this process, and therefore this research project is an attempt to meet the demand for clear and discernible "impact trails" of educational research (Hargreaves, D. 1996).

What changes in the workplace experience of academics are taking place? The second research question focused on the extent of autonomy experienced by teachers in the setting, and led to an examination of the literature concerning workplace organizational structures. The relationship between individuals and professional communities is the location for negotiated autonomy. Whilst teamwork is an unquestioned aspect of working life in many business settings (Wenger, 1998; Pettigrew *et al*, 2003; Huczynski & Buchanan, 2007) and is a recognized phenomenon in primary schools (Nias, 1991; Paredes Scribner *et al*, 2007) it is a relatively new introduction to H.E. University teachers in the past often worked alone as intellectual sole traders, enjoying a collegial, even uncommitted, rela-

tionship to other similarly independent purveyors of knowledge. However, the educational innovations described in the preceding paragraphs have brought about curriculum integration, and in conjunction with managerial attempts to position responsibility lower down the organization, have led to increasing deployment of teachers in teams. The impact of teams on the autonomy of the individual teacher is subject to varying interpretations; teams may be seen as facilitating the development of personalized roles (Belbin, 1993), as being the context of the fulfilment of social needs (Maslow, 1954) as having a community of practice support function (Wenger, 1998) and offering scaffolding resources to the individual during change processes (Fisher & Savage, 1999) - or as a means to apply peer pressure and generate conformism. Team membership may be seen as diminishing teacher ability to make independent professional choices and pursue personal ambitions, or enhancing it (Berdahl & Anderson, 2005). The implementation of teams is often bound up with organizational development (Gronn, 2000; Huisman *et al*, 2006) and may therefore be construed as part of a managerialist agenda. Teams experience lifecycle processes (Tuckman, 2008) and teams may therefore be the arena for growth and vigour or decline and metastasis. Team membership requires inter-personal skills and subjection of personal priorities or the incidence of conflict will increase (West, 2006). Team structures are well developed in the research setting, and therefore analysis of their operations can be of interest to other professionals – especially as personal experience suggests that the implementation of self-managing teams is particularly widespread in Dutch H.E. Because the team experience of university teachers has been largely unexplored, an examination of perceptions of autonomy, identity and change in the context of team participation is needed (Woods *et al*, 2004).

If the team is the micro workplace environment, the institute is the meso context for university teachers. In order to understand processes of change attention was directed to the literature concerning the processes at work in the academic workplace. Commentators agreed that the pressure of market forces - universities being run as quasi-businesses (Miller, 1995; Hellowell & Hancock, 2003; Clark, 2004) - is discernible throughout European H.E. Output related funding and the massification of educational provision increase the pressure on universities to generate student throughput (Gleeson & Shain, 1999). Historical divisions between Town and Gown are breaking down as governance procedures increasingly incorporate input from employers and other external stakeholders (Kickert *et al*, 1997; Maassen, 2000, Turnbull *et al*, 2008). The market is expediently used as a *deus ex machina* when university managers are reluctant to take decisions (Ball, 1999; Gleeson & Shain, 1999; Marshall *et al*, 2003). Perspectives on the desirability of these developments are divided. Inevitably some deplore the op-

erations of market forces; 'the education market both de-socializes and re-socializes; it creates new identities and destroys sociability, encouraging competitive individualism and instrumentality' (Ball, 1999:4). Equally vociferous are those who welcome market forces as a sensible form of regulation; Fullan's writing is often interspersed with examples derived from business models and fresh insights may be obtained from looking over the campus walls (Fullan, 1993, 2004). Blackmore & Blackwell (2006) suggest that academic insularity from market forces has had a detrimental effect, allowing university teachers to conflate professional concerns with personal interests. Clark (1998, 2004) goes further and promotes the formation of entrepreneurial universities – and entrepreneurial academics – as essential for sustaining change in H.E. However, the question is whether educational systems are indeed just another form of service provider, to be aligned with business enterprises (Noble, 1998; Lomas, 2007). The "market for H.E." is not really a free market, subject to the laws of supply and demand, because of the extent of government intervention. Although it is possible to view the student as a client buying a service, the student can equally legitimately be viewed as a product or an apprentice; '.....in a H.E. setting, academics are aiming to provide students with what they need, rather than what they want' (Lomas, 2007:35). In a free market the customer is king, but a student in a university is in a relationship of dependency, reliant on teachers to provide cognitively transformative learning experiences.

An exploration of the extent and definition of academic autonomy in the meso workplace environment should, in addition to examining of the impact of funding mechanisms, also attend to the professionalization of management (Fullan, 2001; Bennett *et al*, 2003; Clark, 2004; Blackmore & Blackwell, 2006) and introduction of quality assurance systems (Hulshof *et al*, 2004, Kaiser & Vossensteyn, 2005, Huisman, *et al*, 2006). Like the impact of market forces, these phenomena are subject to widely differing interpretations. Those with management focused change agendas see them as offering new definitions of the role of university teacher and manager;

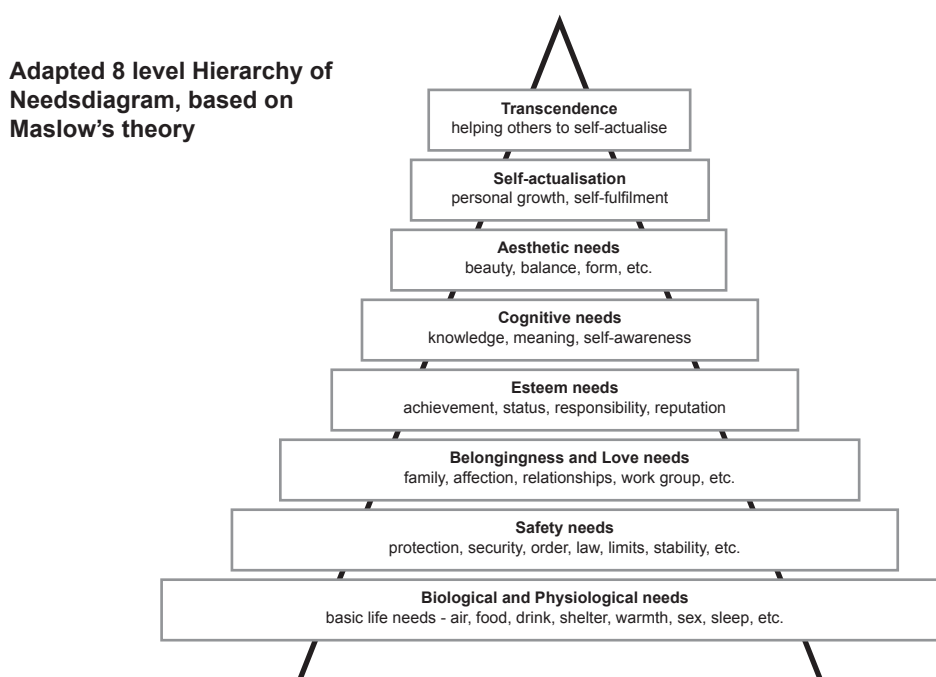
'The challenge for those in formal, senior positions in universities will be to become leaders of leaders: to create environments and workplaces in which academic and administrative staff feel – and in fact are – capable of influencing the directions in which these institutions will go. Strategic leadership and management behaviour – that is behaviour that is goal-driven, proactive and where opportunities are seized and recognized and threats are identified and overcome – must therefore be an identifying feature of university staff' (Marshall *et al*, 2003:44).

However, such advice is more easily given than taken and other interpretations

are available. 'Such developments are deeply paradoxical' (Ball, 1999:123). The holistic role of university teachers, combining teaching, research and administrative activities in a collegially oriented organization, is subject to fragmentation (Henkel, 2005; Blackmore & Blackwell, 2006). Review of the literature indicates that whilst commentators are unanimous that the academic environment is increasingly subject to financial pressures, there is a divergence of opinion on the results of this increased economic awareness. Was it possible that academic freedom and professional autonomy are being undermined by marketplace orientation? The third research question explores the relationship between teacher autonomy and ability to engage with change in an increasingly commercialized and target focused academic environment.

An interest in the experience of autonomy led to the work of Maslow. His hierarchy of needs (1954) could be readily applied to the research setting.

Fig 3.1 Maslow's hierarchy of needs diagram



The drive to gratify social needs in relationships with colleagues, and then esteem needs through recognition from students, colleagues and superiors could be observed in the behaviour of teachers in the setting. As these needs are gratified, the higher ranking need of self-actualization becomes operational. The workplace experience of university teachers, offering generous opportunities for the satisfaction of belongingness, esteem, cognitive, self-actualization and even transcendence needs could be seen to be an ideal workplace environment for the continuing satisfaction of Maslow's higher level needs. However, a closer exami-

nation belies this interpretation. The literature concerning the experience of academic working life indicates that teacher autonomy in the academic workplace is threatened by developments that offer new ways of internalizing surveillance and 'elicit the compliance of professionals in new modes of control over their work' (Gleeson & Shain, 2003:231). Foucaultian (2002) interpretations of power – disciplinary power enabling the organization to gain knowledge about its members in order to manage them effectively and pastoral power being exercised by the individual in a process of self-regulation – may lead to the conclusion that change processes have led to a reduction of teacher autonomy. However, deploping developments is of little help to those caught up in them. My final research question attempts to identify the factors contributing to successful engagement with change, and review of the literature indicated the directions which my research could take. Clegg (1990) claims that effective management extends the discretion of the individual, and this discretion can empower the individual. Whether the initiative is top down or bottom up, the implementation of forms of distributed leadership - an emergent property of a group of interacting individuals, opening up the boundaries of leadership and seeking to develop varieties of expertise present in a group (Woods *et al*, 2004) – can strengthen the autonomy of individual teachers and offer them perspectives for self-actualization. Therefore developing forms of employee participation such as distributed leadership can be viewed as forms of resistance to the processes that undermine teacher autonomy (Gronn, 2000; Storey, 2004; Paredes Scribner *et al*, 2007). They contribute to a positive use of power and can be a source of change. Equally, solutions may be found in recognizing 'the importance for leadership of exploring the interaction between structure and agency in particular contexts and how this is mediated by individuals' values, personality and personal history' (Simkins, 2005:190).

Desk research additional to the literature review

The researcher has been compared to a teacher using two pedagogical methods - didactic and discovery learning (Stake, 2005). Whilst field research becomes a process of discovery learning, desk research activities can be compared to the didactic element of teaching. Mindful of Glaser & Strauss's injunction that; 'A personal devotion to the accuracy of one's own eyesight in the field ought not cause the researcher to overlook perfectly good documentary materials' (1967:181) policy documents – the reports generated after the inter-governmental congresses at Prague (2001), Berlin (2003), Bergen (2005), London (2007) and Leuven (2009) subsequent to the signing of the Bologna Declaration, sectoral information about Dutch H. E. and internal FUAS reports - were consulted in order to better understand the major issues.

The objective was to acquire a macro-level understanding of developments within the H.E. workplace. Then the structural changes to Bachelor courses - the meso level of sectoral players - were examined. The Bologna area provided a geographical demarcation, and the signing of the Bologna Declaration in 1999 and the 2010 deadline for implementation of its objectives defined the timescale of the research. The historian uses secondary sources to lead to primary sources, and it is in this context that seemingly anodyne desk research activities may be placed. However, it would be mistaken to suggest that governmental statistics, policy documentation, sectoral information or even internal information can be viewed as neutral (Halliday, 2005; Burgess *et al*, 2006). Equally, it would be naïve to suppose that an interpretation of what a policy document such as the Bologna Declaration “means” is value-free. Policy documents themselves are *bricolage* - the result of complex decision making processes and trade-offs. Their meanings are relational and indexical because their sense depends on their contexts of use. Often self-referential and intertextual - ‘where specific other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text’ (Fairclough, 1992:117) - they create an argumentative and rhetorical context implicitly intended to construct a social and educational reality. The discourse of organizational change is used as ‘a rhetorical device in reshaping identity’ (du Gay, 2003:664). Words in the discursive genre of policy documentation are shape shifters, developing new meanings and different contexts of use. This territory is inherently political, and information placed in the public domain is done so in the context of management of meaning. Therefore the researcher’s critical analysis of secondary sources - policy documents written at supranational, national, sectoral and institutional levels – is indispensable for the researcher needing to obtain a helicopter view of the context of change agendas. In this way the study of the literature – the present state of research - and analysis of documentation – the interpretation of events advocated by policy makers - contribute to testing and strengthening theory.

Chapter 4: Research methodology

Having established strong foundations, researchers must seek their own materials with which to start the work of construction, and carry out their work in such a way that it can withstand inspection and gain the approval of the research community. Attention to methodology is part of the research benchmarking process. Whilst individual researchers are subject to the limitations of the human condition, procedures are objective (Smith & Hodgkinson, 2005). Meticulousness about choice of methodology and methods is part of the researcher's interpersonal responsibility - responsibility to participants, readers and the research process (Mieth, 1997). Honesty, depth and richness (Burgess *et al*, 2006) then contribute to the reliability and validity of the research produced. Therefore the quality of research depends on the researcher's ability to make the right choices about which questions need asking, to find the most effective, respectful and discriminating way of answering them, and to theorize on the research results (Fitz & Halpin, 2005). A plausible account, empirically grounded and internally reflexive, can then produce findings that are transferable (Hammersley, 1993). The research community subsequently exercises its powers of discrimination; continuing processes of peer review determine the significance of the research output, because 'truth is the daughter of time' (Pettigrew *et al*, 2003:9).

If research is a systematic answering of questions, methodology is about choices and decisions concerning how to do this. My objective in designing my research was not only to devise a methodology which would enable me to learn from the research, but equally to produce an account of use to others and therefore I 'aim to integrate the research act into the educational setting' (Kemmis, 1993:173). However, when research impacts on people's lives it has potential for good or harm. This is especially true in workplace contexts where colleagues and careers are involved. Awareness of these dangers had to inform my research choices because 'Methodology is not rhetorically and ideologically innocent' (Gitlin *et al*, 1993:193).

The research process has rational and systematic elements - and can also be intuitive and serendipitous because; 'It is a balance between science and creativity that we strive for in doing research' (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:13). Many researchers have indicated that there is a gap between abstract methodological theorizing and the messy realities of doing research (Nias, 1991; Ball, 1993b; Fitz & Halpin, 1994; Burgess *et al*, 2006). How could I most effectively and efficiently focus the investigative lens on the response of the teachers in my workplace to the change processes influencing their working lives? What methodology would be accept-

able to them and respectful of them, yield useful data that would enable me to answer my research questions and satisfy ethical requirements?

Quantitative or qualitative?

The act of researching is a 'steady affirmation of the relevance of reason and knowledge' (Trow, 1997:211). However, there are various ways of making that affirmation. An analysis of the appropriate way to answer the research questions should determine the choice of methodology. Researchers in the field of education derive from a variety of disciplines. The issues they research are frequently complex and multifactorial. Therefore educational researchers often deploy a variety of methodologies from diverse backgrounds.

The quantitative approach is characteristically empiricist, and directed towards the establishment of universal laws and abstract knowledge. The quantitative researcher will choose to search for causal relationships conceptualized as the interaction of variables, and use research instruments to collect numerical data that are statistically manipulated. The outcome of quantitative research is then the proving or disproving of a hypothesis.

Qualitative researchers focus on natural settings and the meanings and perspectives evidenced by their inhabitants, emphasize process and use inductive analysis and grounded theory to generate research results (Hammersley *et al*, 2001). Empathetic understanding is used to create practical and situated knowledge. An undogmatic blend of qualitative and quantitative approaches is also an option (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Burgess *et al*, 2006), although some would argue that epistemological assumptions countermand such a combination.

Both qualitative and quantitative researchers agree that making the right methodological choices maximizes the opportunity to learn from the research activity (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Stake, 2005). The nature of my research project suggested the use of qualitative research methods as appropriate. The focus on a naturally occurring setting and interest in the meanings and perspectives of its inhabitants implied the use of language-based, rather than numerical, techniques of data collection. Standardized research instruments such as surveys seemed unlikely to provide the individualized and richly personal accounts that I sought. Whilst empiricist research traditionally distances itself from the research subjects my objective was to include them. I did not expect to discover realities during my research, but rather to construct them jointly and on equal terms with those I researched. My perception of myself as a researcher suggested a non-empiricist

methodology because I recognize that;

'Relativism is our inescapable condition as finite humans..... and stands for nothing more or less than recognition of our human finitude. It is not something to be transcended; rather it is merely something with which we, as finite beings, must learn to live' (Smith & Hodgkinson, 2005:921/2).

Furthermore, change processes do not lend themselves to the testing of hypotheses. Neither human behaviour nor change can be adequately explained in terms of simple causes and effects. Both are too complex, synergetic and unpredictable in their workings;

'Processes are themselves multilayered and have their own logic, trajectory and pace and the asymmetries between the different levels of context with their own processes is itself a driver of change. The recognition of this interactive field of cause and effect necessitates a move away from the variables paradigm with its neat demarcation of dependent and independent variables towards a more holistic form of analysis and explanation.' (Pettigrew *et al*, 2003:348)

It has been observed that descriptions are structured by theoretical assumptions that underlie their explanation and interpretation (Hammersley, 1992). However, desire to produce accounts of use to my professional community demands the deployment of resources of empathetic discernment simply to describe what is happening in the H.E. workplace - 'to catch reality in flight' (Pettigrew *et al*, 2003:4) and search for its meaning. Research has been criticized for failure to contribute to occupational practice (Hammersley, 1992). Researchers have been described as elitist and mechanistic in their attitude to that which is researched (Kemmis, 1993). My objective was to use knowledge as a basis for action in a situation where there is an urgent need for practical response, and to do this in a participatory and democratic manner. Doubts have been expressed about the ability of quantitative approaches to produce accounts of workplace change that are of help to practitioners;

'The approach of positivist research to generalization has been to abstract from context, average out cases, lose sight of the world as lived in by human beings and generally make the knowledge gained impossible to apply (Greenwood & Levin, 2005:55).

Certainly ticking boxes or allocating grades in no way reproduces the complexity of response to many research questions. Such surveys constrain the realities experienced by the researched, and serve ends they do not ascribe to. Unsurprisingly response levels are low, haste and boredom characterize the

process of data collection, and the recommendations appear non-actionable¹. Therefore the use of a qualitative approach, based on research data derived from interviewing suggested itself as an appropriate way to approach the research setting and likely to provide useful research data.

Ethnographic research

In my search for names and categories to describe the chosen research methodology, one of the first labels that seemed to fit was that of ethnography;

‘Ethnographic research consists essentially of a description of events that occur within the life of a group with special regard to social structures and the behaviour of individuals with respect to their group membership, and an interpretation of the meaning of these for the culture of the group’ (Taft, 1997:71).

If the characteristics of an organization derive from the personalities and qualities, experience of group membership and shared history of those who work in it, then ethnography is an appropriate method of studying this social reality. The ethnographic lens is focused on research into the special and specific and through it the “tribes” in my workplace could be studied as ethnographic communities. The ethnographic attention to marginalization and the divide between powerful and powerless resonated with some of my concerns about workplace change, yet I became aware of the constraints that the ethnographic label would impose on me. In spite of the intention to re-create the experience of their subjects, ethnographers set the research agenda and write up the research with little input from those they research. Conversely, in answering the research questions about the experience of change in the working lives of university teachers I would rely on the involvement of the research subjects – my colleagues. My view of the research process was that it should enable those involved to think together on equal terms about constructing social reality. An interest in engagement with change implies

¹ An extreme example of the use of quantitative techniques concerned a survey of teacher reactions to an accreditation conducted in my department in 2005. The accreditation had been scheduled before the merger of our degree course with two others became known. Nevertheless, a degree course that would probably be remodelled in the near future was extensively documented in accordance with accreditation requirements. Our Director of Studies worked long and hard on preparations. Unfortunately he was not re-appointed in the new organization. In addition, no place was found for a few other colleagues, who left the organization. The accreditation was only partially successful. After the accreditation we were asked to give a quantitative evaluation of the process. My emotions were so complex and overwhelming I was unable to complete the survey and returned it blank.

critique, rather than unconditional acceptance of the lived present. I intuited that the ethnographic interest in describing the present, in all its richness and complexity, might be a handicap when researching dynamic and future-focused change processes. Although mindful of the argument that attaching political purposes to it damages the Integrity and validity of social research, I decided my research stance would be that of 'citizen anthropologist' (Foley & Valenzuela, 2005).

Action research

Direct social engagement contradicts the fundamental basis of the research endeavour (Hammersley, 2003). However, the proponents of action research are committed to achieving emancipatory outcomes by means of self-reflective, participatory and democratic spirals of research process (Greenwood & Levin, 2005). They are methodologically open-minded, often small-scale in focus, interested in theorizing about practice, committed to intervention strategies and political. The objectives of action research are the implementation of change agendas because;

'Participatory action research aims to engender practical critiques of existing states of affairs, the development of critical perspectives and the shared formation of emancipatory commitments, that is commitments to overcome distorted ways of seeing the world, distorted practices and distorted social arrangements and situations' (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005:580)

I had no illusions about the possibility of intervening directly in the change processes taking place in the research setting. Similarly my 'authentic commitment to social action' (Kemmis, 1993:179) was constrained by the realities of my position. Individuals cannot influence the change processes described in my research project, and research seems most likely to have a general and indirect influence (Hammersley, 1992). I am hesitant about the Action Researchers' commitment to emancipatory change because of the risk of bias that it introduces in the research process. Action Researchers committed to change agendas could impose their realities on the working lives they are researching, devaluing their research in the process;

'Consciousness-raising or change of any sort is not likely to occur unless researchers formulate problems through a dialogue that considers and critiques both the subject's and the researcher's view of reality' (Gitlin *et al*, 1993:199).

I intended to go further than generating the action researcher's practical knowledge about the specific research setting. Although involvement of colleagues in peer review processes was part of my research design, my objective was the

construction of widely applicable theory relevant to a larger audience. Whilst retaining the commitment to democratic principles of the action researcher, I strove for transferability of my research findings, if not generalizability, and to transcend the oppositions of 'emic versus etic embeddedness thinking' (Pettigrew *et al*, 2003:333).

Insider research

Having learned from the perspectives of the ethnographer and the action researcher I positioned my research activity as insider research. I share language and history, enjoy in-group access, absence of culture shock, enhanced rapport and interconnectedness and community with those researched. My colleagues would not have to fear the stranger's critical gaze or the doubtful loyalty of the external researcher (le Gallais, 2003). My research was sponsored and legitimized by my organization. However, insider researchers cannot rest on their organizational laurels. It is equally true that organizational sponsorship leads to scepticism. In a politicized environment, being trusted by certain parties means being mistrusted by others (Buchanan & Badham, 1999). The insider researcher has to avoid being used as a forum for discontent, or identifying with factions within the setting. The insider researcher who is a payrolled employee is particularly exposed to conflicts of loyalties. My vaunted ease of access could be revoked by my organization if I was perceived as the source of critical accounts. Organizational critique can be interpreted as ungrateful or irresponsible. Absence of organizational critique can be interpreted as mendacious failure to address salient issues.

My insider status could equally be viewed as researcher acculturation (Taft, 1997). Groupthink is a hazard for the insider researcher - prolonged exposure to an organizational culture reduces the ability to critically engage with it. Insider researchers may themselves be complicit in workplace practices their research condemns, and feel loyalty to colleagues whose behaviour they repudiate. Motivation in researching colleagues should be subjected to self-scrutiny. The seemingly harmless researcher-colleague can inadvertently expose colleagues to identification or criticism. Demarcation lines between research activity and inter-personal contact between colleagues are hard to maintain, and the production of interesting research findings may become more important to the insider researcher than promises of maleficence. Motivation in researching colleagues should be subjected to earnest scrutiny and an awareness of 'the Kantian ethical imperative to treat persons as ends in themselves and not as means to our ends' (Soltis, 1990:252)

Three independent domains of organizational life – discourse, behaviour and organizational structures – were the focus of research attention. The research data derived from participant observation, semi-structured interviewing, organizational data and some numerical data. The focus on teacher engagement with change through the lens of autonomy supported the research objective of generating theory that would facilitate successful engagement with change by educational professionals.

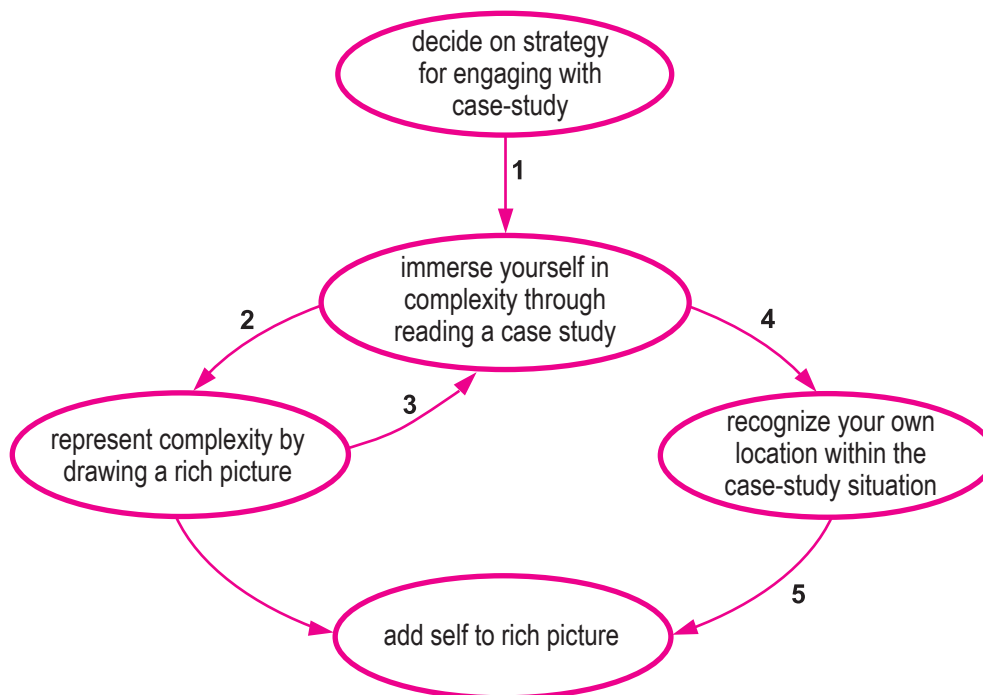
Case study

In the post-Bologna context of change in Dutch H.E., processes are interdependent, mutually influential and inter-twined. They present a ‘mutuality of context and action’ (Pettigrew *et al*, 2004:348). ‘Complex, situated, problematic relationships’ (Stake, 2005:448) are present in the setting, and influence teacher engagement with change. My reading of the case studies carried out at Aston University (an engineering and technologically focused setting, sharing many experiences and features with my own workplace) by Walford (1987) and Miller (1995) convinced me of the strengths of case study in making sense of such complex realities (see fig. 3, stage 1). In his analysis of the entrepreneurial university Clark (1998, 2004) had also used case studies to demonstrate how a variety of universities had engaged with change because;

‘We need to engage in case study research that balances descriptions of institutionally unique complexities with inductive conceptualization of elements across cases..... When successful, we forge an ethnographic compromise between warranted generalizations and institutional specificities. We thereby emphasize situationally conditioned generalizations. We assert common elements without straying far from the working knowledge of practitioners caught up in varied contexts’. (Clark, 2004:6).

Case study exemplifies a holistic, systemic approach; an appropriate research tool for qualitative research because of its applicability to broadly defined topics, contextual conditions and multiple sources of evidence (Donmoyer, 1990; Yin, 2003). Case studies have retrospective and real time components, fitting for the study of engagement with change processes in an educational settings A longitudinal case study incorporating successive rounds of interviewing allowed me to return in an iterative process to interviewee engagement with change (stage 3, Fig. 4.1). ‘Qualitative research, when studying a dynamic phenomenon, is like a movie. It starts with one image, and then moves on to others that show how things evolve over time’ (Schofield, 1993:104/5).

Fig 4.1 Case study and researcher role (source T306, Open Learn)



It has been argued that case studies, because of their individual and particular nature, are unable to provide a basis for empirical generalization or logical inference from which conclusions about the validity of a theory can be extrapolated. However, stringent case selection and the investigation of corroborative and deviant instances enable generalizations to be made; 'By selecting cases in such a way as to open the theory up to maximal threat we can provide a basis for increased confidence in the theory' (Hammersley, 1992:182). Equally, the relevance of the findings and their usefulness to other practitioners is significant in case study research (Burgess *et al*, 2006).

The research was conducted in *Fontys Hogeschool Bedrijfsmanagement & Techniek* (for an historical overview of the institute, see Appendix 1). It is a longitudinal study, encompassing the decade of post Bologna change subsequent to the signing of the Bologna Declaration in 1999. The unit of analysis was the process of engagement with change, as exemplified by a selected group of research participants (the population and samples are described in Chapter 5). One case study confined to my immediate colleagues could be too narrowly defined and yield data of limited usefulness. Therefore the case study had to be constructed in such a way that comparisons could be made and analytical generalization became possible (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Yin, 2003). For this reason comparative interviewing with parallel institutes was incorporated in the research process. Category development derived from separate cases made cross case analysis

possible and developed contextual understanding; “In case study research, *contexts matter*” (Burgess *et al* 59:2006). Therefore, when scrutinizing engagement with change – my research focus – observing its operations in other settings illuminated the central case study; ‘It is possible to use the comparison of existing cases to make reasonable judgements about causal relationships’ (Hammersley, 1992:196). Observation of the common experience of engagement with change, undergone in different ways, yielded categorical information of analytical relevance. ‘Complexity necessitates case studies that can describe the play of idiosyncratic features perched on top of the role of common elements found in classes of institutions’ (Clark, 2004:164). The making of theoretical comparisons stimulated thinking about the properties of the case study, and directed the research process (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The constant comparative method of qualitative research, comparing the case studied (FHB&T during the decade of Bologna agenda implementation) at different moments in time with other institutes allowed me to develop theory within a case study framework. As has been observed, ethnography is based on our routine strategies for making sense of the world (*ibid*) and implies the systematic use of observation, questioning and the search for congruence or discrepancy. The in-depth findings of case study research - a coherent and illuminating description informed by researcher reflexivity (Fig 4.1, stages 4 and 5) - allows others to gain vicarious experience of the research setting. My case study incorporates several elements that facilitate generalizability (Donmoyer, 1990). As explained in the rationale (chapter 2) it is a study of what is typical, and it therefore has an exemplary function. Because of this, a case study set in a post-Bologna teaching university can become not only intrinsically interesting, but also instrumental in that it can be studied for its external interest (Stake, 2005). Educational professionals can then apply the findings of this particular case study to their own workplace contexts.

Yin (2003) gives five types of research questions to which case study can provide answers. Firstly case study is a means of describing the research setting in order to answer questions (such as my first research question about how the teachers in FUAS during the period 1999 - 2010 are responding to change) about what is happening. Secondly an in-depth case study can provide illustrations – and this is linked with case study’s descriptive power - of phenomena. An illustration of the experience of engagement with change in a defined setting can provide practical understanding which large-scale theoretical discussion does not yield. Thirdly, case studies provide answers to exploratory questions – such as my objective of exploring the extent to which the teachers who provided the data input for the case study felt able to operate autonomously. Finally, on the basis of description, illustration and exploration of the case study it became possible to proceed to

explanation - to answer the question; “What does this mean?” – and to evaluate the significance of the research output in the production of conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 5: The research process

In order to understand and evaluate the research process, the reader needs to know what was done, and how it was done. In this chapter the principles guiding interviewee selection, the process of interviewing during the period 2006-9, the analysis of organizational communication and the procedure of data analysis are described.

Populations and samples

Engagement with change is my research focus, and therefore a research objective was to enable comparison and contrasting of this process in operation. The possibility to learn from my case study could be increased by the systematic selection and study of several comparison groups because; 'By comparing incident to incident in the data, we are better able to stay grounded in them' (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:43). Populations are represented by samples. In selecting samples my objectives were to triangulate key observations, select alternative interpretations and develop themes, research strategies and generalizations.

The first round of interviews

My interviewing process began in 2006, with interviews of nine colleagues from three undergraduate courses: Business Management (*Bedrijfsmanagement MKB*), Business Engineering (*Technische Bedrijfskunde*) and Logistics (*Logistiek*), from three locations (Tilburg, Eindhoven and Venlo) in the South of the Netherlands. These three undergraduate courses comprised *Fontys Hogeschool Logistiek & Bedrijfskunde* (the Institute of Logistics and Business Studies— for a historical overview of the setting, and the changes of nomenclature and composition, see Appendix 1). The question list used can be found in Appendix 2. I interviewed colleagues who had been employed full-time for more than five years in our workplace, and thus had assimilated the organizational culture. Interviewees were predominantly male because women are under-represented in the population and the sample, and due to the demographics of our workplace, generally in their 50s. Colleagues with leadership responsibilities and / or change agent status were numbered amongst the interviewees.

Subsequent interviewing

However, after the 2006 pilot study when I resumed interviewing in 2007 the setting had changed considerably. A number of interviewees had left the organization, and subsequently after the decision was taken at Board level to unbundle the merged organization (a process concluded on December 31st 2008, see Appendix 1) the Venlo-based Logistics interviewees could no longer be seen as direct colleagues and participants in the research setting. The teachers of the

newly created Institute of Business Management & Technology (consisting of the Business Management and the Business Engineering degree courses) remained as the core population from which the sample was derived. In the Institute of Technology & Business Management in its unbundled state in January 2009 43 teachers were employed. However, many of them were not in full time employment, or were recent recruits, and therefore did not fall into the population that I had defined. Of the 24 who did, and still remained after the reorganization and unbundling processes, 20 were interviewed during 2007 / 2009. Amongst this number were five of the participants in the 2006 interview round. These interviews are an evidential core. The questions asked can be found in Appendix 3. I subsequently decided in 2009 to interview new recruits – for their questionnaire, see Appendix 9.

The curriculum workgroup interviews

These interviews were supplemented during 2007 by in-depth interviewing of the workgroup members tasked with establishing areas of curriculum overlap and making proposals for the Foundation Year curriculum. Because of their change agent status and the importance of this workgroup in the merger context, I wanted to give extra interviewing attention to these colleagues (see Appendix 4). However, after the departure of our then director in March 2007 his successor sidelined this workgroup, and the data gathered, although useful in establishing context, passed its use-by date.

Interviews of team leaders

Similar in-depth interviewing took place from 2008 / 2009 of the team leaders of Business Engineering and Business Management teams (see Appendix 7). Teacher interviews had highlighted the social and organizational importance of the team experience to teachers, and had indicated that it focused and defined the experience of autonomy in the working lives of teachers. Therefore I decided to examine the perspectives of team leaders. Three team leaders (all of whom were included in the general interview sample) were interviewed additionally about their leadership experience.

Comparative interviewing of teachers from other institutes

All four FUAS institutes included in the Faculty of Innovation, Science and Technology - Business Management & Technology, ICT, Engineering and Applied Sciences - have a shared experience of adversity: declining enrolments, stakeholder criticism of educational provision and reorganization. Equally, all four technological departments enjoy positives: their graduates are in demand; they are courted by industry and smiled upon by governmental agencies. Interviewing teachers

from all four institutes of technology could have a corroborative function. Equally, there are context-specific factors that could influence processes of engagement and identification. Selecting interviewees myself could create bias in the interviewing process. Therefore I interviewed everybody who consented to be interviewed and met the selection criteria within my own institute. Within ICT, Engineering and Applied Science I made use of my network to contact one interviewee, asking them to nominate another interviewee meeting my selection criteria. I interviewed 2 teachers meeting the same selection criteria from each of the three other technology departments - ICT, Engineering and Applied Science.

Employees of all four institutes of technology had undergone reorganization and implementation of a new post-Bologna bachelor curriculum. Interviewing representatives from all four institutes enabled exploration of the impact of these experiences on teacher élan and commitment. It also alerted me to the impact of reorganization. Within my immediate work context this had been relatively painless compared to the trauma and bitterness encountered in other institutes. The use of theoretical comparison forced me to examine my assumptions and qualify my initial framework. If I had restricted my interviewing to direct colleagues I would have missed an opportunity to examine the impact of reorganization.

‘When we want to think about an object or event in different ways we turn to theoretical comparison’ (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:80). To facilitate theoretical comparison of the data collected during the interviewing of teachers working within the Faculty of Innovation, Science & Technology two teachers from the Institute of Applied Psychology were also interviewed. The Bachelor in Applied Psychology course welcomed its first student intake (of more than 100 students) in September 2007. It is fresh, new and vigorous. The relative absence of shared history, preponderance of young teachers, the challenge of setting up a new undergraduate course and a different discipline orientation provided me with a contrasting workplace environment and helped me to understand the properties of my research setting better (Keats, 1997). I became aware of a variant set of problems, mainly derived from teacher inexperience, the struggle to set up a completely new degree course and excessively high student enrolments. These problems were so different from those encountered in the research setting that I could do little with the data collected. The research objective of incorporating the viewpoints of newcomers to university teaching that had motivated my interviewing of Applied Psychology teachers was subsequently met when I included the new recruits to my institute in the interview sample (see chapter 8 for an analysis).

Student interviews

Students have unique opportunities to observe their teachers. On the receiving end of educational provision, they are able to indicate the extent to which they experience engagement with change in curriculum, teaching methods and content. Their perspectives are short-term, and therefore contrast interestingly with longer-term teacher perspectives. I interviewed 5 randomly selected 2nd and 3rd year undergraduates from the Business Management & Technology courses.

Interviews with managers

Senior managers are directly subject to external accountability pressures. They are able to take a helicopter view of teacher engagement with change. Their input is significant in evaluating the state of affairs. Interviews were scheduled with the Directors of Studies of two technological degree courses and their deputies. The question list can be found in Appendix 5. I was fortunate in being able to interview (see Appendix 6) our vice chancellor just before he took retirement in February 2008.

The input of students and managers can provide different insights and is primarily intended to counterpoint the teacher interviews.

Fig. 5.1 Grid depicting second round of interviews completed in January 2007 - 2009

Degree course	Teachers	Students	Deputy	Director
Business Management & Technology	20	5	1	1
Curriculum workgroup	6			
New recruits	5			
ICT	2			
Applied Science	2			
Engineering	2		1	1
Applied Psychology	2			
Vice Chancellor	1			

Interviews with new recruits

I had originally chosen to interview colleagues who had worked for at least 5 years within the organization because they are imbued with the organizational culture, and would be able to take a long-term view. However, a practical problem presented itself as these colleagues began to leave our workplace. These interviewees were focused on the past, rather than the future, and less interested in engaging with change than reducing its impact on their working lives. I realized that a sample group selected because it represented those imbued with the workplace culture, due to the preponderance of older interviewees was becoming less representative.

The impact of new recruits was not only apparent to myself. During their interviews many of the original interviewees referred to it. The enculturation and professional induction of the new recruits attracted widespread interest. It was clear that my interviewees were exercised by concerns about how the new entrants could assume the professional identity of university teachers, about the contribution (or, occasionally, lack of it) that the newcomers were making, and also about the coaching role that some of my older interviewees aspired to. It struck me that I shared assumptions about our work situation with the older interviewees and I decided to include the perspectives of the new colleagues. Their views on issues of autonomy and professional identity could reconfigure the input of seasoned teachers. In 2009 5 new recruits to the organization were interviewed. The previous requirement that interviewees be in full-time employment was waived in order to include all of them. The new recruits had previously worked in business before transferring to teaching. I was interested in obtaining their perspectives on engagement with change, especially when contrasting their experiences in their present and previous workplaces. I specifically sought their input on how they experienced teacher autonomy – the extent of which is said to be one of the reasons to choose the teaching profession - and what recommendations they could make concerning continuing professional development as a means of helping teachers to engage positively with change. A question list for newcomers was designed to meet these objectives (see Appendix 9).

Semi-structured interviewing

Identities are discursively constructed by the way people relate to the world and other people, the choices they make, their practices, their use of language and the accounts they give of themselves and others. The interview has been described as the best way of obtaining such accounts 'in a society characterized by individuation, diversity and specialized role relations' (Fontana & Frey, 2005:714). Semi-structured interviewing facilitates collection of comparable data (Keats,

1997). It is a data-gathering tool appropriate to case studies, and allowed the strands of engagement with change processes and the interplay of identification, internalization and compliance and teacher autonomy to be teased out.

A well-structured interview is an aid to the process of 'finding a formulation for a question that makes it answerable' (Ball, 1994:111). Therefore I arranged the interview questions for the teacher interviews in a logical sequence. My first questions were intended to establish rapport, my credentials and reduce threat. I began by asking for a short career history and went on to ask about the interviewees' understanding of recent developments. This helped me to tune me in to the interviewee, and help the interviewee understand my research objectives. As such, the first questions were sensitizing questions (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) for both of us. Then I went on to cover facets of the experience of autonomy, arranged in clusters of questions about FUAS in its totality, the institute, the team and personal experience. These questions were intended to yield insights into process, variation and the relationships between concepts – theoretical questions (*ibid*). The interviews were semi-structured in that, although I used a question list, I allowed interviewees to discuss matters that they found important. This generated many useful insights and opened up new areas of enquiry. The questions were open, so unexpected or unclear answers were clarified. Interviewees were asked to give examples to illustrate statements they made, and opinions were invited. The groupings of questions were cohesive and I used anaphoric references to help my interviewees develop continuous lines of thought (Mercer, 2000). Feedback loops were used to check inferences. I concluded by evaluating the interview experience with the interviewee.

The interviews were conducted in the Dutch language, to enable the interviewees to speak without constraint. Two of my interviewees decided to speak English during their interviews – however, this was not a success. They struggled to find words to answer my questions and frequently lapsed back into Dutch. My objective was to allow interviewees to speak freely, preferably in their native language, and the interviewees were indeed talkative; during pilot interviewing in 2006 I found that interviews lasted approximately 90 minutes. Such discursiveness was in tension with my objective of gathering comparable data, so I learned to shepherd my interviewees in the direction of answering the questions, and reduced the length of the interviews to approximately 60 minutes. The British Association of Applied Linguistics and the British Educational Research Association guidelines supplied a social-interactional context and ethical framework. The same approach was used in the interview process of managers, students, team leaders and the curriculum workgroup.

‘To write the researcher out of the report is to deny the dependency of the data on the researcher’s presence’ (Ball, 1993:46). My interviewee’s feelings about me will have influenced the interviews although my intention was to impinge as little as possible on process or data. I remained alert to the risk of gathering data to prove a theory because researcher assumptions, foreknowledge and theoretical frameworks inevitably influence interpretation of data (see fig. 3, stage 5). As Thomas & James have observed ‘..... *a priori* assumptions are uneliminable, and this fact – far from being a source of anguish – is what the qualitative researcher should expect: *a priori* assumptions are what make study (a) worthwhile, and (b) possible.’ (2006:783).

In formulating the questions I saw my role as ‘discourse guide’ (Mercer, 2000:170). My questions had to enable the interviewee and myself to think together about the complex issues of identity, autonomy and change. During this collaborative effort I adapted style and content of the interview to suit the interviewee whilst covering the research areas: personal experience of change, relationship with management, colleagues and students, role of discipline orientation and influence of team membership. Therefore I used the question list as a basis, but allowed the questioning to become more or less concrete or abstract, or direct or indirect, and discussed a variety of issues ‘leading to negotiated, contextually based results’ (Fontana & Frey, 2005:698). To achieve any meaningful data interviewee openness and cooperation were crucial. However, this engenders ambivalence; all of the interviewees knew me, but in the interview situation I had to minimize the effects of established reciprocity because; ‘The researcher must eventually withdraw into objectivity’ (Kogan, 1994:74). This was difficult at times; amongst the sample were colleagues whom I regarded as friends as well as some with whom I had experienced difficulties. As my research process developed I became aware of the risk of accepting my interviewees’ interpretation of events – the folk history circulating in the organization – uncritically. One of the strategies I used to do this was by raising sensitive issues that forced interviewees to go outside their comfort zones. For example, because I wanted to define the extent of personal autonomy I probed the extent to which the interviewee complied with team leader requests to undertake tasks defined as uncongenial. As a colleague I deplored the fact that certain colleagues opted out of unwelcome tasks, as a researcher I needed to objectify the phenomenon.

The researcher is primarily concerned with gathering comparable data, and therefore I worked with 3 separate question lists for teachers, managers and students ensuring that the same areas were covered (for questions, see Appendices 4, 5 and 6). I used different question lists in the 2006 and 2007/9 interviews, enabling

me to develop themes and cross-reference between answers. My interviewees, perhaps unlike most research respondents, have expectations of the conduct of research and a tendency to tell me how to interpret the data. Although I could assume a familiarity with research procedures this did not mean research hygiene - acquiring informed consent, maintaining confidentiality, anonymizing data and subjecting research output to peer review - could be neglected.

Power relations between researcher and interviewer became significant when I interviewed students. They were asked to evaluate the presence of engagement with change in teaching methods and content. My teaching is primarily directed at 1st year students, and therefore students from other years whom I no longer taught were selected. It was necessary to gain their trust in order to gain useful data. I guaranteed the students confidentiality and anonymity to support this process, and also spent some time discussing my research project with them, relating it to their own experience of research. The ethical problems involved in eliciting accounts of the professional conduct of colleagues required sensitivity. For this reason I decided only to interview students from the degree course on which I teach. Our students are encouraged to become articulate, confident individuals, and some of them used the interview as an opportunity to point out perceived failures by their teachers to engage successfully with change. They were not reticent in referring to my colleagues' out of date teaching materials and inability to work with new technologies, for example. My familiarity with context and personalities enabled me to evaluate their remarks.

Our vice chancellor is more accustomed to giving interviews than I am to conducting them. I was fortunate in my timing: I was able to interview the vice chancellor just before he took retirement in March 2008. He made some forthright statements. Other management level interviewees were generally more circumspect in their answers; I encountered interviewees skilled at controlling the provision of information, presenting their own version of events and avoiding answering questions (Ball, 1993b; Fitz & Halpin, 1994). I had to remain alert to the defense of vested interests and attempts to present the approved organizational narrative. At times I felt I had been cast in the role of audience, uncritically absorbing managerial discourse. However, it should be reported that I also encountered this threat to the research process when interviewing colleagues, and was particularly sensitized to this risk of bias when interviewing management.

'Qualitative researchers are guests in the private spaces of the world. Their manners should be good and their code of ethics strict' (Stake, 2005:459). For this reason sensitivity to ethical issues should inform the research process (Meith,

1997). I was fortunate in my articulate, cooperative and uninhibited interviewees. Defensive answers to questions about engagement with change might have been expected. However, sometimes I perceived 'the release of talkingand willingness to be frank to the point of indiscretion' (Nias, 1991:151) This required sensitivity; the interviewees were required to give their versions of events and I became conscious at times of having to protect them against their outspokenness, my research against distorted accounts, and myself against assuming a therapeutic role. Progressive focusing was a research objective. I asked the same questions during each interview, and regularly felt the need to check my interpretations of earlier interviews by raising issues discussed by earlier interviewees. However, during the pilot in 2006 I kept my interviews "leak proof", thus reducing my freedom to develop certain themes. Reflecting on my choice, I decided it was the outcome of inexperience with the interviewer role. Increased interviewing proficiency in my later interviewing allowed me to introduce material from other interviews without revealing my sources. I mastered the journalistic technique of the unattributed reference. During the successive rounds of interviewing I was able to return to statements made by interviewees during an earlier interview. This yielded many insights, and I considered it as a good example of learning from the research itself (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). For example, I interviewed a team leader shortly after his controversial appointment in 2006. When I re-interviewed him again in January 2009 I was able to return to his initial uncertainties, and ask him about the process of gaining team members' trust and allegiance. In my interview I was able to track the process of his acquisition of leadership skills.

One inevitably forms opinions about one's colleagues. When I started interviewing in 2006 I selected interviewees in accordance with a number of criteria – length of employment and organizational responsibilities being the most significant. However, I later realized that I had also – unconsciously – selected interviewees I found personally interesting. I had decided that these interviewees would have something important to say, and therefore introduced an element of bias into the process. When I resumed interviewing in 2007 colleagues previously not interviewed were included. It became clear that in some cases my original estimation was correct, and these interviewees provided corroborative material but few fresh insights. On other occasions I was pleasantly surprised by the quality of the input. I realized that an element of subjectivity had been introduced when some interviewees were categorized as having a greater contribution to make to the research process than others. The 'ethical dilemma inherent in the study of people for opportunistic reasons' (Fontana & Frey, 2005:710) became clear to me.

Interviewing gives one access to information not available in the normal course of

events. For example, a colleague confided during an interview that he had been expelled from his secondary school, and after a conflict with his doctoral supervisor had sought a replacement. I had found this interviewee to be an amiable colleague, but the interviewing encounter gave me information that influenced my estimation of him, and changed the collegial relationship between us. Discourse analysis of his interview reveals thematic references to repression. He was also the only candidate to have sworn during his interview. Was I to conclude that this interviewee is a member of the awkward squad and discount the data obtained? Or that he is an independent-minded whistle-blower? A research objective is to include a variety of perspectives, but does that mean including those of extremists?

A similar case was that of the colleague who informed me that because his wife was in the terminal stages of multiple sclerosis, he preferred to work from home as much as possible. In order to avoid questions about his whereabouts he registered his working hours in a logbook. Was he exhibiting paranoid behaviour or providing conclusive evidence of a low-trust working environment? Again this involves the researcher making a judgement about data and its contribution to the research process that is essentially ethical. And how can this researcher place an account of this ethical dilemma in the public domain without the individual concerned becoming immediately recognizable?

A final example: when answering questions about work / life balance an interviewee became distressed. He explained that in the last two years he had lost both his parents, and his wife's parents, and that the experience had been extremely difficult. He asked me to stop note taking and the interview was adjourned. Am I to conclude that insensitivity to work / life balance of individuals with problematical home lives is a feature of the research setting? Or was I encountering an individual under extreme pressure? The interview experience had unsettled an ostensibly cheerful person. Did the research ends justify upsetting a cooperative interviewee? These cases involve researcher sensibility and sensitivity – to the research process and those being researched. An interview is an ethical balancing act – and in chapter 9 I return to the ethical issues raised (and not completely resolved) by insider research processes.

Data analysis

The mass of data generated was daunting, and the researcher struggled with a sense that 'the whole story exceeds anyone's knowing and anyone's telling' (Stake, 2005:456). An English-language report was written up immediately after interviewing to give as inclusive and undistorted an account as possible (see Ap-

pendix 10). The translation activity focused on rendering what had been said as precisely as possible, using comparable values and emphases. It also reminded me that Dutch culture is one of plain speaking – or that English native speakers are more indirect. On a number of occasions I returned to the original text to make sure that my interviewees had indeed been as blunt in the original Dutch as in my translation.

Re-reading the initial data indicated that on a number of occasions interviewees had not answered the questions. This could be for a number of reasons: they had misunderstood, gone off at a tangent, or had deliberately avoided answering – possibly out of political motives. An example of the latter occurred during the interview of a deputy director. Although I knew him to be frank and plain spoken, during his interview he was reticent and evasive. I later found out that after a conflict with the portfolio holder at Board level this deputy's immediate superior had been made non-active. Probably in a highly sensitive situation my questions set off alarm bells. Whatever the reason for my interviewees' failures to answer my questions, I attributed the problem to my inexperience with interviewing, and became more alert – and persistent – in subsequent interviews.

My interviewees' passive understanding of English was good enough for them to validate my interview report, which functioned as research data and a basis for thematic discourse analysis (see Appendix 10). A number of interviewees gave feedback on the interview reports and asked for clarifying additions. Although some had made critical remarks about their workplace, none requested retractions. In general the reactions to the interview reports were positive, and some interviewees expressed their appreciation of the opportunity to talk about their work.

Field notes were then written up to clarify the interview report. Any record of a language event will be selective: I concentrated on surprising information, storytelling devices and interviewee revelation, informed by my personal responses. I included information about date, time and location of the interview, seating arrangements, body language, intonation and expression and untoward events. I also described my state of mind and reactions. I attempted to remain alert to negative instances and data that did not fit – for example assumptions I had made about the presence of high stress levels in my interviewees could not be verified by interview evidence. After collection the data were available for re-analysis and quality control procedures.

After validation by the interviewee of the interview report an iterative process of

discourse analysis took place. My analysis was based on two premises; firstly that the development of some theoretical understanding of how language works was necessary if language was to be used as a source of research data, and secondly that the choice of methods of analysing language should develop from my understandings about the nature of the social world, and how it may be studied. Acting on this basis, I used Systemic Functional Linguistics to guide my approach to the interview data;

‘ A language is a system of meanings: a *semiotic* (author’s italics) system, to give it a technical term. But it is more than that; it is a system that makes meanings: it is not only semiotic but *semiogenic*.There are three rather different assumptions that may be made about meaning in relation to language: different although also, I think, interrelated. The first is that meaning is related to ideational meaning: it is ‘content’. The second is that meaning is a form of representation: it is ‘symbol’. The third is that all meaning can be measured: it is ‘information’ ‘ (Halliday, 2005:63)

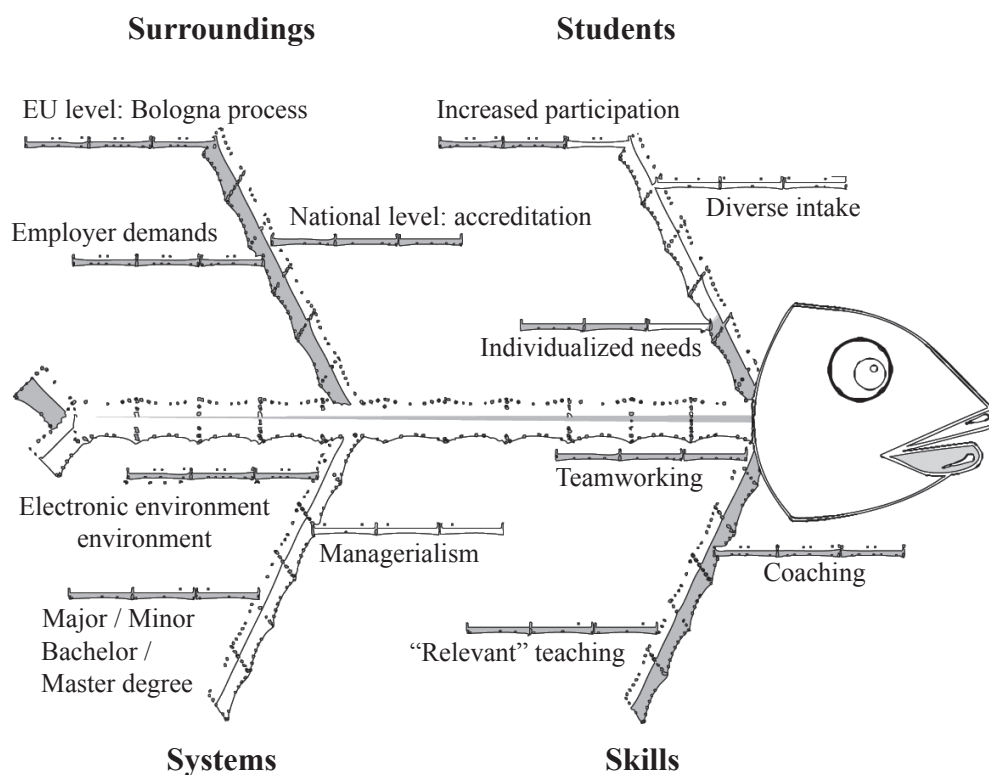
Attention to these three assumptions about language was supported by my interest in Critical Discourse Analysis. CDA struck me as being an entirely appropriate research tool for the citizen anthropologist;

CDA analyses texts and interactions, but it does not start from texts and interactions. It starts rather from social issues and problems, problems that people face in their social lives It is “critical” in the sense that it seeks to establish non-obvious connections between semiosis and other elements of social processes, including connections which contribute to unequal relations of power. It is also “critical” in the sense that it is a form of research and analysis which is committed to changing people’s lives for the better – although there are usually no simple answers to what is better; rather this is a matter of ongoing debate and assessment’ (Fairclough, 2001:26)

Discourse analysis is often viewed as an imprecise science, such as ‘chicken-sexing or bicycle-riding’ (Tuffin & Howard, 2001:200). Therefore I approached it as methodically as possible. Initial analysis of interview transcripts took place by using the “Search” function available in my word processing program. I input search terms clustered around themes of autonomy and engagement with change, and placed the chunks of text retrieved in a provisional file using a coding system to convert the data into workable information. However, this method seemed crude, and therefore I re-read the interviews highlighting recurrent word usage and themes, referring to my field notes in an iterative process. I enjoyed the process of engagement with the data, and regularly found myself correcting preliminary impressions. Unexpected perspectives and fresh insights were present in interviewees’ accounts, and also a mass of corroborative data. How-

ever, interviewee input remained in need of structuring and classification. In order to assist in this process I decided to use a tool more familiar in a business studies context. I constructed an Ishikawa cause and effect diagram for myself (see Fig. 5.2). Ishikawa diagrams are a familiar tool of quality management, and are primarily used to depict the key relationships between variables, especially in complex and multi-factorial situations. In service industries the 4 Ss are applied – Suppliers, Surroundings, Systems and Skills. By replacing Suppliers with Students I was able to construct an Ishikawa diagram that fitted my educational research context and used it to assist in categorizing data. As a provisional method of engaging with the data, I found it helpful.

Fig. 5.2 Ishikawa diagram of changes in the research setting



Having made a rough division of the data I used the Copy/ Paste function to categorize the data further. Chunks of the interviews were collected under thematic categories Students, Surroundings, Systems and Skills. Almost the entire interview could then be divided over these categories, and what was left over could be entered as "Miscellaneous". It is perhaps ingenuous to state that categories emerged from the data; my close involvement with the setting facilitated the recognition of themes and I am conscious that I had formulated the questions and determined the significance of what has been said to 'create a theory of what needs to be described' (Yin, 2003:22). However, I conscientiously strived to remain alert to unexpected data, and the themes of bureaucracy and surveillance

technology are examples of such data.

Online communication

During the research process interaction with the data can lead to the development of research strategies. An example of this was the decision to analyse organizational communication flows. E-mail has become an increasingly significant communication mode in the research setting and leaves a conveniently evident paper trail. I noticed that colleagues working in the same room mail one another rather than engaging in conversation – probably to avoid disturbing colleagues who are working. It seemed probable that team members would communicate more with one another than with outsiders, therefore strengthening their sense of togetherness and group culture. I had also noticed a difference between the culture of the Business Management (*Bedrijfsmanagement*) and Business Engineering (*Technische Bedrijfskunde*) teachers. The Business Engineering teachers appeared slightly introverted, and the Business Management teachers more externally focused. It seemed probable that communication between team members would be more intensive than with other colleagues. In order to test these suppositions, I devised a procedure. Colleagues were asked to choose a day in May 2007 exhibiting normal levels of e-mail traffic, and to count the total number of mails they received on that day, and categorize them according to their origin: team members, department colleagues, colleagues from within the FUAS organization, students and mail from outside FUAS. Although my research methodology is qualitative, a quantitative approach seemed more likely to produce useful input in this aspect of the research process. 'The aim of theorizing is to develop useful theories. So any technology, whether qualitative or quantitative, is only a means for accomplishing that aim' (Strauss & Corbin 1998:27). My analysis of quantity and direction of communication flows was intended to develop theory about workplace cultures in the setting.

Conclusion

Interviewing focuses on what people say, observation on what they do. It is quite possible that interviewees may say one (socially desirable) thing and do another. As a participant observer I was able to triangulate interview data with participant observation of organizational life and secondary source information from internal documentation. People tend to 'describe events in such a manner as to subvert negative attributional interpretations' (Tuffin & Howard, 2001:198) and the insider analyst is better able to identify this bias than an outsider. The process of interviewing, subject reading and report writing is intensive and confusing. It is easy to feel overwhelmed and disorientated;

'The research process is like finding one's way through a maze. And it is a rather badly kept and complex maze; where paths are not always clearly distinct, and also wind back on one another; and where one can never be certain one has reached the centre' (Hammersley, 1992: 183/4).

My research objective was to describe engagement with change in a H.E. workplace, and to identify the factors that facilitate or constrain successful engagement with change processes. The tenets of grounded theory – that enquiry should be structured, that data collection and analysis feed off each other and are contemporaneous, that conceptual categories become refined through theoretical sampling and raise the research activity to more abstract analytical levels capable of generating new theory – met my methodological needs. My decision was hardly unorthodox; as Strauss & Corbin assert grounded theory's methods are 'now amongst the most influential and widely-used modes of carrying out qualitative research when generating theory is the researcher's principal aim' (1997:vii). Although critics challenge grounded theory's status as a theory, and question its claims to produce better predictive and explanatory outcomes (Thomas & James, 2006) I welcomed grounded theory's integration of the rigour associated with quantitative methods with the freedom and creativity of interpretative methods (Geertz, 1973). Additionally, 'such a theory fits empirical situations, and is understandable to sociologists and laymen alike. Most important, it works – provides us with relevant predictions, explanations, interpretations and applications' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967:1). However, I supplemented my research methodology by drawing on the accumulated research and theory on organizational change as described in the literature review in chapter 3. The principles of grounded theory structured my work, but I incorporated insights and categories derived from sources external to the research because I was convinced that they improved the research outcome.

'In discovering theory, one generates conceptual categories or their properties from evidence; then the evidence from which the category emerged is used to illustrate the concept' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967:23). My interview objective was to identify conceptual categories deriving from teacher experience of engagement with change, and in particular those connected to teacher experience of autonomy. Firstly I needed to describe how teachers in the setting were responding to change. Description is basic to conceptual ordering (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Then a variety of conceptual categories concerning teacher engagement with change could be generated. 'Researchers must learn to listen, letting the data speak to them' (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:59). Initial data collection had alerted me to autonomy – or the extent to which teachers perceive that they are able to behave autonomously - as a conceptual category.

Having established the operation of autonomy in teachers' working lives a link with teacher ability to respond positively – or negatively – to change could be made. My final objective was to use focus on a defined dimension – teacher engagement with change in a certain workplace – to generate theory of a wider relevance to teachers undergoing workplace change, 'to find the world in a grain of sand' (Hammersley, 1992:16). In this way a research contribution can be original – not in the sense that no other researcher has ever thought of the idea – but because an idea is articulated, organized and connected to existing research in a way that opens up new avenues of thought. My research activity in a Dutch teaching university in the decade of post-Bologna change was carried out with this objective in mind.

Chapter 6: Findings and analysis: How are teachers in the setting responding to change?

Data analysis: themes present in the interviews

Description is a necessary precursor to analysis. Therefore the initial research question focuses on how teachers in the research setting are responding to change. In order to answer it, the change processes identified by teachers in the setting need to be defined. Analysis of the data collected during the pilot round of interviewing of 6 colleagues from the Institute of Technology & Business Management in 2006, revealed three dominant themes. Firstly references were made to conflict and conflict avoidance, especially in the context of working with others, secondly the impact of Bologna change on educational provision and the impact of the new curriculum was evident, and finally perceived changes in management styles could be discerned as significantly present in interviewees' accounts. Conflict and cooperation, the implementation of the Bologna agenda and teacher-manager relationships are refracted by the changing realities of teacher experience. These themes suggested the focusing on engagement with change through the analysis of teacher autonomy in the research setting.

In 2007, during the subsequent and expanded round of interviews, interview data could be categorized into themes of "bureaucracy", "solidarity", "the merger", "the new manager" counterpointed by clusters of references to "solidarity", "team experience" "teaching new style", "students" "assessment" and "surveillance technology." This unexpected new theme revolved around the impact of technology on teachers' working lives – an impact that was experienced as surveillance, and threatening to teacher autonomy. However, an adumbration of categories has little significance, and therefore in the following chapter I will establish basics and describe teacher response to workplace change since the signing of the Bologna Declaration in an attempt to answer the first research question: **How are teachers in the research setting responding to change?**

The impact of the Bologna agenda

The two successive rounds of interviewing – the second with a focus on the significance of autonomy as a variable influencing successful engagement with change, a theme which had emerged during the pilot interviews - yielded a range of reactions to post-Bologna change. Interviewees referred not only to those changes that are a direct result of the implementation of the Bologna agenda, but also to concomitant change. For example, the introduction of the three tier Bachelor / Master / Doctorate degree system in Dutch H. E. is an outcome of the Bologna agreement. Concomitant upon the implementation of the Bologna

agenda was the introduction of constructivist educational methods to teach these degrees.

Reactions to the implementation of the Bologna agenda were invited (see Appendix 3, question 9). My interviewees extrapolated a range of change outcomes from their premises about the Bologna agenda. Therefore, their responses often related to engaging with change in a post-Bologna teaching university in its wider sense, rather than reacting specifically to the Bologna agenda. Interviewees generally exhibited an unemotional, pragmatic response to questions about Bologna. It was taken as a “given” in the working lives of European academics – probably because Bologna represents a supra-national educational agenda that had been drawn up without the involvement of the academic rank and file. As a colleague (under) stated; “I wasn’t there in the Ministry to take the decisions”. EU policy-makers had left the university teachers out of the loop. Furthermore, although Dutch governments pay lip service to European ideals, financial commitment to support implementation of the Bologna agenda had been lacking – a Europe-wide phenomenon recognized by the signatories of the Bologna Declaration;

‘Governments should show their genuine support for the Bologna reforms by providing sufficient funding for their implementation, without reducing the already tight budgets for other core areas of universities, such as research and infrastructure, which in most countries have been severely underfunded for decades’ (Graz Convention, 2003:32).

As the European Commission observed, European H.E. ‘is facing in the Bologna reforms a particularly far-reaching institutional reform process, requiring an unusual effort of communication and orchestration on the part of institutional management’ (*ibid*). I was curious about the extent to which communication of the Bologna agenda had been successful in this educational workplace, particularly because of the lack of funds to finance implementation and the absence of grassroots professional involvement in its inception. Additionally, organizational theory indicates that communication failure is a widely recognized phenomenon throughout the world of business (Huczynski & Buchanan, 2007) and it seemed likely that Bologna agenda communication flows had been impeded at times. Unsurprisingly teachers tended to blame management for communication breakdowns - an interviewee commented; “Management is an important source of information to teachers, but they do not always communicate the European context to us”. The vice chancellor’s riposte to this was; “Teachers often don’t bother to turn up when this sort of information is made available to them”. In a confused situation teachers ascribed a variety of changes to the Bologna agenda;

“We have now got competence-focused education because of Bologna”.

“I’m not sure what the outcomes of Bologna will be – however I have seen that all the Information Technology courses were thrown together, and after a combined foundation year students are able to choose a specialization”.

“Bachelor / Master and major / minor systems – in themselves not really so great, and it’s a shame about the implementation”.

The confusion about Bologna objectives of some interviewees was noteworthy. University teachers may be assumed to be intelligent people who keep abreast of current affairs. However, when discussing the Bologna agenda it appeared that interviewees had problems in making sense of the changes brought about in their working lives. The link between the objectives of the Bologna agenda and workplace change had not been made. The big picture of Bologna agenda change and the small picture of subjective meaning, or lack of meaning, of the changes experienced in the work situation remained worryingly unfocused in the perceptions of some of my interviewees. Creation of deep ownership therefore became unlikely because;

‘Neglect of the phenomenology of change – that is how people actually experience change as distinct from how it might have been intended – is at the heart of the spectacular lack of success of most social reform’. (Fullan, 2005a:8)

Interviewees put it more bluntly;

“There have been changes since Bologna – the European-wide changes put pressure on our education. Implementing the Bologna agenda has been difficult, and FUAS may be proud of achieving it. However, this has been at the cost of repressing the personnel”.

“Implementation was messy and confusing, and also inconsistent and unclear. Students are confused as well, and often management does not have the answers. The people who had to organize the process didn’t know what they were doing”.

My student interviewees confirmed that they too were confused about the significance of the Bologna agenda, one confiding that;

“I thought I would be able to choose between a Bachelor degree and a HBO-diploma when I started studying”.

As I have indicated in chapters 1 and 2, the Bologna agenda combined and fo-

cused a range of change processes. Implementation provided opportunities to bundle together a number of organizational changes, educational innovations and system updates. It is highly probable that issues associated with the implementation of the Bologna agenda clouded understanding of its objectives; especially as the new Bachelor and Master courses were taught using novel constructivist educational methods, in an innovative electronic learning environment supported by new systems of pastoral care and student registration. However, as our new² vice chancellor admitted;

‘Although at board level there was extensive discussion about the objectives by programme managers, there was little or no connection with the line organization where eventually the strategic choices should have had their effects It has to be said that the manner in which the educational innovations were conceptually rolled out in their totality has destabilized the organization’ (MARAP 1-2008)

To be fair, in their response to the question about the Bologna agenda interviewees mentioned the standardization of educational provision, harmonization of academic titles, and the positioning of Dutch H.E. internationally as benefits; “We have to know where we stand and announce it to the world” as one interviewee put it. Others distinguished the opening up of European educational borders, increasing student and teacher mobility - physically and intellectually – as post Bologna gains. However, the failure to communicate the Bologna agenda effectively and the confusion of its implementation together with a raft of educational and systemic innovations may be seen as a managerial failure to involve the teaching professional, because;

‘In a socially constructed world, responsibility for environmental conditions lies with those who do the constructing. Social constructionism does not locate power in the individual, but in the social collectivity. We cannot, as individuals, choose a different reality and impose it on others, the others must participate as well’ (Hatch, 1997:367).

Thematic analysis: the experience of bureaucracy, intensification and re-skilling

Although the primary focus is on engagement with change within the research setting, interviewees did not necessarily share these concerns. An interview provided an opportunity to get immediate grievances off chests, and the interview (see section E, Appendix 3) afforded an opportunity to do so. Often interviewees

² The previous vice-chancellor was vice chancellor of FUAS from 1996-March 2008, when the present vice-chancellor succeeded him. The citations in this document are from the previous vice-chancellor, unless it is indicated that they are from the “new” vice chancellor.

wanted to talk about occurrences from their working lives that might seem mundane, giving – ‘a view of a university composed of individuals and departments united only by complaints about car parking’ (Miller, 1995:100). Indeed, references to the increasing amount of bureaucratization teachers experienced in the research setting proliferated;

“There is more pressure of bureaucracy. For example my travel declaration. I don’t drive all that much, and so I don’t submit it every month, as I am supposed to. I have saved up a few months’ declarations, and now I come to the grand total of €78 – I wonder if I will be paid!”

“I have worked a lot of overtime. I am an Apple user, and wanted to have an Apple at work. I was prepared to give my overtime hours in exchange for an Apple. However, the bureaucrats said I had to take time off in lieu of the extra hours I’d worked – so I just gave the organization three weeks work”.

Not everybody is so generous – and some try to beat the organization at its own game of imitating business models;

“I wanted to take time off in September, but was told it wasn’t allowed. I would prefer to take three weeks off in the summer, and some time in the spring and autumn, just like they do in business – and I was prepared to justify my choice to them upstairs! The holiday planning is an attempt to use a bureaucratic approach by people who don’t understand how to run an organization”.

The increased intensity of action and number of participants in larger and information-rich H.E. workplaces mean that even the trivialities of working life require regulation. However, although it was clear that interviewees perceived bureaucracy as interfering with professional autonomy, they also perceived these processes as necessary, and grumbled whilst complying with them.

Teachers are not only the subjects of regulation, but also increasingly provide input for a range of administrative systems (Miller, 1995). Participatory structures mean that there are more meetings to attend, and documentation to read. Massification means that teachers are dealing with larger student cohorts. The demands of accountability, the possibilities of Information Technology and higher user and client expectations of systems mean that procedures, rules and regulations are demanding more teacher attention.

“Efficiency and guaranteeing quality and process monitoring are becoming more important – and we’re more involved in them. For example all that registration we have to do ourselves!”

A member of the Management Team explained;

“We have a lot of user-unfriendly systems which are incompatible. Just look at the processing of examination grades. A lot of working hours go into their registration. We used to input grades on one afternoon a year – things have changed around here”.

Intensification of the experience of academic working life seemed an inevitable outcome to interviewees – and one that teachers participated in creating, because; ‘Many of the demands in teaching seemed to come from within the teachers themselves’ (Hargreaves, A., 1993:81). As one of the interviewees put it; “I’m one of the idiots who always says yes!” Although interviewees recurrently identified intensification – “My wife says I work too hard” – as an unwelcome aspect of their work situation they also indicated that they had developed coping strategies to deal with increased workloads. A teacher of logistics explained that whilst in the past he used to spend entire weekends marking examination papers, he now used answer papers that were scanned by a computer. Others made a conscious effort to spread the workload. Many welcomed the present-day variety of educational activities – tutoring project groups and providing pastoral care – as preferable to the burden of long hours of classical class teaching which had been normal at the beginning of their working lives. A Taylorite workplace characterized by repetitive tasks and strict role definition had been reconceptualised, according to many interviewees. Almost everybody referred to the vastly improved accommodation and facilities – “When I started here I didn’t even have a desk” commented an interviewee, and a teacher of statistics reported teaching classes of 30 students sharing 10 computers only ten years ago. The benefits of technology enabled interviewees to do their work more efficiently and effectively. Although they had not grown up with computers, they develop lesson materials with Power Point and Excel, use the electronic learning environment N@tschool to upload lesson materials and download student work, and input student assessments in PeopleSoft. As autonomous professionals they are deploying new skills in improved working environments to reduce the pressures of bureaucracy and intensification, and therefore I concur with Hargreaves that ‘claims and inferences that intensification is part of a long linear process of degradation in teachers’ work are difficult to support’ (1993:91).

Responses to organizational change: A further significant theme concerned responses to the reorganization described in Appendix 1. Although, to be accurate, the reorganization was not a teacher response to change, but initiated by senior management in response to Bologna-associated change, it had an extreme impact on my interviewees and produced shock waves that reverberated through many of the interviews, especially in 2006, but also in 2007. During the reorganization of the Faculty of Innovation, Science & Technology that took place in

2005 a teacher screening process was carried out under the aegis of an external consultancy bureau. Its objective was to determine who would find employment after the re-organization. Many teachers experienced the screening as a threat to their professional status and autonomy. It breached the 'psychological contract' (Handy, 1984) between teachers and management. The screening reinforced the view that our workplace was run by managers 'who often have strongly Taylorist visions of work organization and who operate at a great distance from the site of value production' (Greenwood & Levin, 2005:44). Largely academically educated, some teachers felt insulted by being required to take intelligence and aptitude tests. Others felt stressed by having to demonstrate their intelligence and aptitude, especially later in life, whilst some regarded the tests as a frivolous diversion. A group of teachers wanted to boycott the tests, but was told that this could jeopardize re-employment. Some teachers asserted that they had sabotaged their tests, although possibly this was their way of explaining disappointing test results. Whilst some of the assessments were unsurprising – a teacher of English was found to be devoid of spatial intelligence - other results were unexpected, as when an economist was assessed as lacking numeracy skills. Certainly the test results generated a buzz of interest, with colleagues divulging their results to a confidante, only to find the whole organization knew about them the next day.

The assessment of past performance made by directors was equally controversial. Some suspected that it was used to settle old scores, many felt demoralized. It reinforced a view of universities as 'profoundly authoritarian workplaces' (Greenwood & Levin, 2005:480). A general reaction was that regular performance appraisal – not then a feature of the organizational calendar – would have obviated the need for damaging commentary on past performance. The interview with the organizational psychologist was equally fraught. It seemed that colleagues who reported honestly (if naively) what they thought about developments were punished for their candour. They figured prominently on shortlists for early retirement or outplacement, whilst those who toed the organizational line were awarded continuing employment status. As a survivor of the reorganization indicated; "The wrong people lost out in the screening".

One assumes that senior management did not intend to alienate the academic workforce. However, as an interviewee reported; "The solidarity between colleagues has increased. There is a sense of "them and us" – a sense of hostility towards the upper layers of the hierarchy". This sense of solidarity led to angry letters being written to the Governing Board, especially in defense of colleagues. Individuals and union representatives took legal action, students started petitions and the media became interested in the reorganization. Questions were asked

during Open Days, and there was general stakeholder concern. As a deputy director explained;

“There was an inadequate understanding of the impact of the screening. The mistakes weren’t made because of lack of respect, but out of stupidity. It was something that should have been done at an earlier stage, in fact”.

The objective of the screening was to determine who would find a place in the reorganized Faculty of Innovation, Science & Technology. University managers are custodians of the public purse, and therefore loss-making educational activities may not be allowed to continue indefinitely. Educational provision must be regularly revised and updated. Furthermore, innovation, science and technology have a socio-economic significance demanding that they are taught well, and using the latest educational insights. However, the teachers who were unwilling or unable to function in a changed working environment may be seen as personal losers in the change process, or as demonstrating an organizational failure to promote continuing professional development. When I asked our vice-chancellor if an organization should feel responsible for them, his answer was; “Only for as long as they stick around”. The screening process was an extreme solution to the adaptive difficulties of teachers - terminate their employment to solve an organizational problem and *pour encourager les autres*. In any organization underperformers can be found. However, the screening process became lodged in the organizational memory, as provoking solidarity – this word was used repeatedly by interviewees – rather than a desire to engage effectively with change;

“As far as non-performing colleagues are concerned, I think they should be left alone – these things regulate themselves. Solidarity is more important. At the moment there is a “them and us” relationship between management and teachers. Management clearly isn’t part of the team. One has to be tactical about airing grievances. There is mistrust about what management does with information about teachers – a double message, Trust us / Don’t trust us”.

Collegiality is often identified as one of the employee benefits of the traditional university system. However, the problem of underperformance exposes a weakness of collegiality as a regulatory mechanism. Colleagues are reluctant to address underperformance, and collegiality lacks mechanisms for dealing with it. As a manager explained;

“Teachers in general don’t like to give each other feedback about performance – they are afraid of being criticized themselves. There is a tendency to avoid conflicts. Of course teachers are people-minded, and they become attached to one another”.

However, although the screening sparked my interest in engagement with change there are limited lessons to be learned from the experience, and in the search for factors that positively influence teacher ability to deal with change the screening provides a negative example. A research objective is to distinguish more constructive ways to 'stimulate the academic heartland' (Clark, 2004:2) and to conclude that the screening was not the way to motivate teaching professionals to deal positively with change would be kicking in an open door. However, in an analysis of how teachers are responding to change – the first research question – the impact of demotivating experiences such as the screening should not be under-estimated.

The impact of structural change: The first round of interviewing took place in 2006 when the merger of the Logistics, Business Engineering and Business Management courses had been announced but not yet initiated. Mergers are generally considered to be stressful events (Locke, 2007) and even though no one course was perceived as taking over another, concerns about loss of distinctive identities - "You can't make an omelette without breaking eggs" as a colleague put it - and a struggle for control of resources in a politicized environment were expressed by interviewees. The impending merger seemed to have alerted colleagues to conflict issues, and although no questions about conflict were asked, the word appeared in every account, often in reference to conflict avoidance. Thus an interviewee reported repeatedly receiving sub-standard examination questions from a colleague. His professionalism, sense of responsibility to students and desire to avoid conflicts created an impasse that he resolved by re-writing the examination questions himself.

An outcome of conflict is division. Workplace change creates division between winners and losers, and those for or against. An interviewee gave the past a location; "I feel homesick for the way things used to be". Division is perceived as negative, and in this context during the 2006 interviews all three Business Management interviewees used storytelling devices in unsolicited reference to a traumatic event that had taken place five years earlier; the departure of a director in whom the organization had lost confidence. The proceedings had polarized the organization and impacted on careers; "It was a rotten time!" exclaimed one interviewee. The conflict anxieties when caught up in a merger reported by interviewees may be categorized as one of the 'local effects of one-size-fits-all national policies, operationalized in simple quantitative indicators' (Clark, 2004:34). Its impact on long-term teacher attitudes to management is explored in chapter 9.

Subsequent interviewing in 2007 revealed a tougher frame of mind. It has been report-

ed that when Cor Boonstra was appointed CEO of Philips, the consumer electronics multinational founded in Eindhoven, he demanded to know; “Where are the bleeders?” At times of increasing workloads and decreasing resources it is unsurprising that merger partners scrutinize each other’s operations looking for excess. As a colleague exclaimed about a merger partner; “They’ve got more teachers than students!”

When resources are scarce, competition for them inevitably intensifies. In a merger situation the Resource Allocation Model needs to be clear to all and fit for purpose otherwise an internecine struggle for power and resources will ensue (Locke, 2007). As an interviewee exclaimed;

“If there is a problem, communicate it! Not in the sense of pointing out who is guilty, but explain the situation so that we understand the financial measures that have to be taken”.

However, although economists were numbered on the institute’s payroll, the figures remained shrouded in secrecy. Probably the very presence of those economists was the reason; if the financial data had been made available, pressure on management to take action would have mounted. Discrepancies would have to be addressed, unprofitable activities abruptly terminated and both the internal and external environments would have been alerted to the difficulties. Instead, the Institute of Business Management & Technology began 2009 at break-even point (*MARAP* 2009) – although prior to unbundling, the Institute of Technology and Business Management was said to have had a deficit in July 2008 of almost one million Euros (the outcome of cash flow problems associated with consultancy activities). Those who call for H.E. to be run in accordance with profit sector models have quite possibly not worked in loss-making environments, and had no cause to be grateful to the deep pockets of the public sector. Although their graduates are sought after by industry, the courses offered by the Faculty of Innovation, Science and Technology suffer from declining enrolments. Similar processes at work in the UK have led to closures: ‘Between 1994 and 2002, UK departments offering physics degrees declined from 79 to 53 – a loss of 26, or one third’ (T.H.E.S. 2002b).

However, one of the benefits of size is the ability to support loss-making activities and a willingness to ‘top slice income from various sources and then cross-subsidize with funds thus set aside to come to the aid of academic departments weakly positioned to generate income’ (Clark, 2004:14). The Institute of Business Management & Technology is well positioned to generate income, but has problems in attracting and retaining students. This is not the place for a discussion of the relative merits and relevance to socio-economic needs of various undergraduate

courses. Fortunately for loss-making departments, until recently the governing board looked over faculty fences when deciding how funding should be allocated. This may be seen to be one of the advantages of a 'strengthened steering core' (Clark, 2004). However, the arrival of a new vice-chancellor in 2008 led to a reversal of this policy. In response to resentment from profitable institutes used as cash cows, the rhetorical question was answered- "Why should nearly 40 profitable institutes subsidize 10 loss- making ones"? - by terminating loss-making activities. Changes in the academic workplace attributable to the rise of 'academic capitalism' (Brennan & Teichler, 2008) imply declining support for cross subsidizing, and the replacement of collegial solidarity by economic rationalism. When universities become entrepreneurial, the teachers in them follow suit.

When the Institutes of Business Management, Logistics and Business Engineering were merged, it was on the basis that they all contained elements of Engineering and Business Studies curricula. There was indeed common ground and common cause, yet it was also obvious that the cultures of the three courses differed, and multi-site operations exacerbated the situation. The new institute was anarchistic and multi-cultural because culture – 'the normative glue' (Sergiovanni, 2003:14) - worked to maintain the separate identities of the three merged courses. In the initial, confused period after the merger synergy was hard to detect. In a reference to unprofitable away days an interviewee remarked;

"We went to Deurne and we wasted some time! I have the impression that our management doesn't really know what to do – we were invited to make suggestions because they didn't have any. We have just struggled on with the development of the Foundation Year, and we still don't know if it has to be rolled out to all the first years or not".

Culture, "the way we do things round here", evolves from shared experience and is given meaning in organizational role enactment. However, culture is not fixed and static. It can change and develop. It certainly plays a role in the process of engagement with change, particularly in organizational re-structuring. As explained in Chapter 1, FUAS is the product of ongoing processes of takeovers and amalgamation. Unsurprisingly, when I asked (Question B.3, appendix 3) interviewees to describe FUAS (see Appendix 3, section B), size was often the first descriptor: "Too big!", "Enormously big and slow moving", "The product of a number of mergers," were typical epithets. The search for economies of scale is driving processes of concentration and enlargement in the Netherlands and producing an obvious change in the work context to which teachers are reluctantly adapting.

Changing teacher / management relationships described by interviewees:

it would be easy to conclude from the account of implementation of the Bologna agenda and the screening and reorganization of the Faculty of Innovation, Science and Technology that a dramatic decline in managerial acumen was a change outcome identified by teachers. In a complex and changing situation much is expected of those in management positions. Leadership is perceived as the cost-effective solution to problems caused by teacher demotivation, financial restraint and policy failure. Particularly where the implementation of change agendas is concerned leadership is seen as a vital ingredient - there is an extensive body of literature describing how “super heads” have turned round failing schools (Fullan, 1992). However, leadership is a social construction, and leaders cannot lead without the cooperation of followers. Events such as reorganization and mergers whittle away at willingness of teachers to accept leadership (Locke 2007) yet if educational policy is to be translated into practice teacher commitment is essential. Certainly, when ‘riding the tiger of change’ (Mulford, 2003:3) our senior managers seemed to have lost their grip, if not fallen off. However, the research focus is on how teachers are responding to change, and therefore I do not wish to analyse what has gone wrong with decision making at board level in the setting since 1999. In a sense I agree with Fullan, that ‘Leadership has become a thankless and undoable task’ (2005:261). Blaming senior management is a simplistic reaction and responsibility for ‘organization structures as the continuously and ever precarious product of human activities’ (Pettigrew *et al*, 2004:40) has to be shared.

My interest was focused instead on middle management - the directors of institutes, who are significant players in the working lives of teachers in the setting, and often the initiators of organizational change processes. In answering the first research question concerning the response of teachers to change it was necessary to establish whether teachers perceived changes in their relationships with their direct leaders (see Appendix 3, section C). Relationship with management is inextricably bound up with issues of autonomy, and this implies investigating interviewee’s perception of management during organizational change.

Interviewees asked to describe their first directors gave a generally affectionate account (question C.11). Of course distance may have lent enchantment to the view, but the directors were described positively; “He was very good to me as a new recruit”, “I appreciated the way he tried to motivate us”, “He kept his promises”. Personal experience enables me to comment on the way those directors were selected. They rose through the ranks, assuming leadership responsibilities almost imperceptibly and developing relational authority on their way before be-

ing officially appointed within their institute. As one of the managerial interviewees explained;

“I didn’t actually apply for a management function – I was asked to hand in my C.V and rather to my surprise, I got a letter sent to my home address appointing me as deputy.”

Such an appointee was imbued with insider workplace knowledge and could rely on the endorsement of colleagues. Strong links with the work floor were also maintained. As an interviewee explained; “In those days our directors taught lessons themselves and supervised graduates”. Possibly such candidates had functioned well in the past, but did not possess the skills and vision needed in a changing environment. Interviewees referred to demotions amongst the ranks of earlier managerial appointments. Managerial casualties amongst the first directors had been unable or unwilling to function effectively, was the explanation volunteered by interviewees;

“He was too *laissez faire*”.

“His lack of academic credentials meant that he became unacceptable as director”.

Restructuring processes, often used as costly devices for shifting under-performing directors, were not always applied. As one of my interviewees remarked about his first director; “He’s my colleague nowadays”. Middle management has been the target of successive reorganization during the struggle to achieve the flattest and most cost-effective organizational form, and observation of the research setting leads to the conclusion that the middle section of Disraeli’s greasy pole is the most slippery.

‘A change in context, actual or perceived, implies a change in the behaviours required to operate effectively in that context’ (Buchanan & Badham, 1999:214). Were interviewees (see Appendix 3, section C) conscious of a change in management style in their work situation, and if so, what was their response to perceived changes? When interviewees were asked what they expected of present day institute level management three themes emerged. Firstly the “new manager” whose management style was described as threatening teacher autonomy was the subject of thematic reference. Conversely, however, in a second cluster of thematic references, managers were described as being the locus of conflicting forces, and therefore themselves personifying a threatened autonomy. Finally, regular references were made to the discrepancy between managerial theory and practice.

The interviewees confirmed my presupposition that a new management style was apparent in their workplace. This development was traced back to the selection procedure determining managerial appointments. In the recent past candidates for directorships were known to teachers, and appointed with teachers participating in the selection process. However processes of managerial professionalization set in operation within FUAS since 1999 had ended this. Promising candidates are selected by their directors to follow a series of courses and training (known as the “TOP” course) intended to prepare them for leadership. Organizational investment in such formal management programmes (Bennett *et al*, 2003) has become part of the work experience of aspirant managers, differentiating them from their erstwhile colleagues. Job rotation enables them to gain “on the job” experience – and effectively severs their workplace roots;

“Nowadays the selection criteria of managerial appointments are not communicated to us. They are not made public. The TOP course participants are just dropped somewhere. There is a merry go round, and those on it have to be found a place. It is a carousel rather than a management tool – although we have to deal with our directors on a daily basis.”

Job rotation policies combined with the exigencies of reorganization meant that the interviewees had experienced a rapid succession of directors (see Appendix 1). Within the Faculty of Innovation, Science & Technology interviewees described the replacement of the old guard of directors by energetic new brooms. An outcome of this was a weakened and attenuated relationship between teachers and middle management. Interviewees indicated that a distance had opened up between themselves and their institute directors. The relationship had become hierarchical and manipulative;

“M. hardly ever comes out of her room nowadays. If she does, you know it’s because she wants something.”

“The involvement of management with teachers is minimal. We are invited to go on an outing (which three quarters of the teachers don’t go on) but management doesn’t venture outside its rooms and socialize with us.”

These new style directors were perceived as loyal to those who had appointed them rather than to those whom they were to manage. Although their initial professional identities were those of teachers, the new guard of directors had moved on and defined themselves in managerial contexts. Pushing through the implementation of policy rather than helping subordinates understand the need for change was prioritized, and sticks were more in evidence than carrots, according

to interviewees;

“Managers play a stifling role, they act directly. When people try to take decisions for me that acts like a red rag to a bull. We should reject the manager as ruler role”

However, job rotation policies impede the cronyism and favouritism of which some old style managers stood accused. They should also facilitate the introduction of diversity in the ranks of managers. Although women and ethnic minorities are still under-represented within FUAS management, under old-style “jobs for the boys” promotion trajectories these categories were even less likely to succeed (Clegg, 2008).

Theory tells us that whilst managers are transactional, task-focused and concerned with systems maintenance, leaders are transformational people-focused and capable of creating change (Louis *et al*, 1999; Fullan, 2001b; Bennett *et al*, 2003; Blackmore & Blackwell, 2006). Locating leadership during periods of change within one person loads the role of the educational leader. It was unsurprising that the claims of external stakeholders – employers, businesses, government officials, and policy makers – were described as preoccupying directors in the setting;

“Management is externally focused, we never see them”.

Quite rightly, in the opinion of some interviewees, because;

“They should be aware of the content of our education, but not interfere with it. They should direct commercial activities, and be externally focused”.

Occupying a role as “buffers” between university management and teachers and charged with explaining the one to the other, educational middle managers have to deal with role ambiguity and express multiple identities in their working lives (Gleeson & Shain, 2003). Subject to the pressures of accountability to university management and the focus of grass roots expectations, interviewees confirmed the view of managers as the unenviable locus of conflicting forces. The demands of accreditation committees, financial accountability and endless consultation processes within the organization monopolized their attention. Even an increasingly vociferous and occasionally litigious student body was described as compelling attention, not only from university teachers, but even from management levels;

“A student reasons; “I have a problem, and I need a teacher – right now. And if I don’t get one, I’m taking my problem all the way to the top!”

In addition to dealing with internal and external stakeholders the new manager has to be able to command the intellectual respect of critical and articulate university teachers. Acceptance of newly-appointed directors within the Faculty of Science and Technology is facilitated by a technological discipline orientation because;

“A director has to have the appropriate way of thinking to communicate with the specialists in the department”.

When I asked how teachers should be managed the discrepancy between theory and practice was regularly pointed out;

“Do you mean the management style they should be using, or the one they really do use?!”

“There should be more freedom and fewer leaders. Unfortunately what we do have is more bureaucracy. I think we don’t need leaders – professionals don’t need management”.

This statement – that professionals do not need management – has intrigued me since the inception of this research project. I believe that it is true, and I know that it is not. Although there is consensus that autonomy is at the foundation of academic freedom, in the research setting it is being subjected to re-negotiation. Developing managerial styles existing in tension with professional identity demarcate the HE professional’s freedom of operation (Clegg, 2002). Our Vice-Chancellor was adamant that autonomy was an irrelevancy for the well-integrated professional;

“The discussion about autonomy is often the outcome of a fragmented view of the world. Often autonomy is really a fake, and for the individual working in harmony with the organizational context discussions about autonomy are really irrelevant. Changes in teachers’ work have led to a sense of diminished freedom. Then talking about effective teaching is seen as interference. We have to decide what is really important and not reduce the discussion about autonomy to trivialities”.

Although the perspective of a vice-chancellor is powerful I evaluated his response as an attempt to control the discourse in order to ‘support particular versions of ‘the truth’ by concealing uncertainties and by suppressing opposite meanings and contradictory viewpoints’ (Huczynski & Buchanan, 2007:59). From many inter-

viewees I heard reports of a constrained experience of professional life that contradicted his words. An interviewee distinguished between operational, tactical and strategic levels of decision-making, and concluded that her autonomy was restricted at the two higher levels;

“I think our autonomy is relative. Looked at practically, I have freedom to take operational decisions, but tactical decisions have to align with FUAS structure. At strategic level we have absolutely no input – we are not involved in decision making. We have to hope that what we say filters through to the higher levels”.

Another related his work to industrial processes;

“ New demands are made of us; there is a more rigidly-defined structure within which we operate. We have to make production. For example, when we are developing course material we have to make something other people can use. Of course I try to give the curriculum my own colouring. We have a restricted freedom derived from management norms.”

Interestingly, although older interviewees indicated that they considered that teacher autonomy had been reduced by recent events, many of them indicated that their experience, relational authority and knowledge of how to work the system enabled them to carve out a niche for themselves and assert their personal autonomy. Interviewees explained;

“I see myself as an intrapreneur – however, there are colleagues who are forced to do work they don’t like.”

“Because I’m older I can put things into perspective – and get things done”.

The findings reported in this chapter are an attempt to answer my first research question: **how are teachers in the setting responding to change?** They relate to the experience of Bologna agenda implementation, organizational change concomitant on its implementation, and the role of management in these processes in the post-Bologna Dutch teaching university where the research was conducted. A certain amount of confusion was reported by teachers about the scope and objectives of the Bologna agenda, and they referred to intensification and increased bureaucracy as concomitant changes devolving from Bologna agenda implementation. The teachers interviewed identified a range of structural changes – restructuring and reorganization –as having been experienced in the setting. Although not directly due to the implementation of the Bologna agenda, they were the outcome of participation of greater numbers of students (a Bolo-

gna and national objective) in larger administrative units (an economy measure). Finally, interviewees critically explored their experience of the new management styles they encountered in the academic workplace, and the extent to which they facilitated engagement with change.

Perhaps one of the most striking of the findings is the presence of a time lag between the implementation of change, and sense making by those affected by change. Complex, multi-factorial change demands complex, multi-factorial adaptations, and whilst policy makers and senior management appeared to have understood and responded to the demands of Bologna implementation, the teachers they managed were left to muddle through the concomitant change processes without a clear understanding of why change processes had been set in motion, and where they would lead to. Control over one's destiny is a basis of autonomy, and therefore in the next chapter the extent to which teachers in the setting felt able to operate autonomously is explored.

Chapter 7: Findings and analysis: To what extent do teachers feel able to operate autonomously?

In my exploration of Research Question 1 concerning the response of teachers in the setting to change it became clear that teachers were confused about the impact of the Bologna agenda on their working lives. They felt they had been left out of the decision making process. Their sense of powerlessness had been intensified by the experience of reorganization and restructuring, and their relationships with management were perceived as impersonal and hierarchical. Recent events had brought about a sense of endangered personal autonomy. Clearly the extent to which these developments had impacted on professional autonomy deserved further exploration. Therefore the interplay of the professional, the workplace, the exercise of power, and the defense of autonomy during changing times became the focus of my second research question: **To what extent do teachers feel able to act autonomously?**

Professional identity is not a fixed property, but is part of the complex totality of a teacher's working life. Therefore autonomy is not only negotiated between management and teachers. Self-identification with subject disciplines, participation in team activities, interaction with students and involvement in multi-disciplinary educational provision are locations in which the ability of teachers to act autonomously is changing (Henkel, 2005). What it is to be a teacher, and how the teacher interacts with students and colleagues has been re-defined by processes of educational innovation and organizational development. Team membership, requiring inter-personal skills and subsumption of personal priorities, shapes the social context of teachers in the research setting.

'Moreover, in so far as individuals conceptualize themselves as having an identity as an academic, this multiple and shifting term exists alongside other aspects of how people understand their personhood and ways of being in the world.' (Clegg, 2008:329).

I wanted to know how my interviewees 'understand their personhood' and this led me to ask whether team membership and participation in multi-disciplinary educational provision facilitate or constrain the autonomy of the individual teacher?

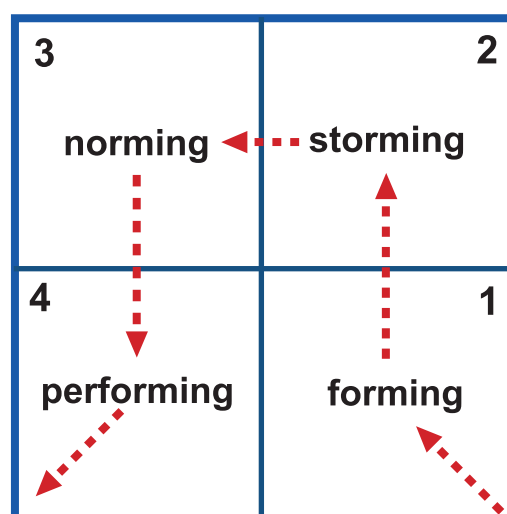
Implementation of teams: Organizational theory promotes working in teams as the solution to a range of organizational problems (Huczynski & Buchanan, 2007). Team working meets organizational objectives of improved internal cooperation and communication and intensified commitment. As the rate of change accelerates, teams are seen as the way to react decisively, quickly and accu-

rately to external change. (HEFCE, 2007). They are characterised as simple, transparent and streamlined. They exhibit short vertical communication lines, and a web of horizontal ones. They position responsibility low in the organization at implementation level. Team structures are considered to empower the individual, in both routine work and creative contexts. They offer a context for social learning (Wenger, 1998) and a 'psychological home' (Handy, 1984). Teams can function as think tanks, process monitors and implementers. They provide opportunities for the development of a variety of roles (Belbin, 1993). Although teamwork is an unquestioned feature of life in many business settings, what works in the profit sector may not be appropriate in educational settings (Kickert *et al*, 1997). Developing a university course is not similar to building an automobile and the introduction of teams may contribute to the Toyotaization of educational provision – lean organizations, labour contracted from suppliers and ongoing cycles of process monitoring. Certainly, in educational settings the operation of multi-disciplinary teams is relatively recent and comparatively unexplored (Woods *et al*, 2004). In an investigation of the extent to which teachers feel able to act autonomously the experience of team membership requires scrutiny.

Tuckman (2000) distinguishes phases in the lifecycles of teams. As a participant observer personal experience of team membership informs my understanding of the interaction between teams and the individuals deployed in them. The initiation of self-managing teams and their embedding in the organizational context involved teams in the research setting in the processes delineated in the figure below. During the period covered by this longitudinal study, the operations of teams in the setting have been subject to change. A transition has been made from forming to performing: the curriculum redesign described in chapter 7 has

Figure 7.1

Bruce Tuckman's 'Forming Storming' Team Development Model - 1965



involved hitherto isolated discipline experts in processes of discipline integration, and management styles have shifted from absence of control to supervision, from egalitarianism to hierarchy, from self-regulation to accountability. What has been the role of teams as change agents during the decade of post-Bologna change? Has the emphasis on the team experience during this decade constrained the autonomy of the individual teacher? Or have teams contributed to the development of self-actualizing teaching professionals?

Section D of the questionnaire (see Appendix 3) examines the operations of teams. The inter-personal relationships, which flourished prior to 1999 are also a feature of present-day teams, as my interviewees indicated;

“Even though I’m an educationalist I like doing things together with colleagues. The team is your home base and we share good times and bad times. Twice a year we do something together, go out together, just because we like to. It’s OK to show your emotions in our team - doors have been slammed and tears have been shed – it’s all possible in my team.”

“FUAS is a big place! A team as a home base means that you don’t get lost in a crowd.”

“The team offers its members security, trust and a sense of belonging”.

The extent to which the team meets psycho-social needs may be gauged from the intensity of the resistance when in 2007 attempts were made to restructure the teams in the setting. A director tried, and failed, to promote course integration between the Business Engineering (*Technische Bedrijfskunde*) and Business Management (*Bedrijfsmanagement*) courses by attempting to re-structure the teams. His objective of creating a Foundation Year team responsible for a general first year was received with hostility and suspicion. The team structure has remained unchanged.

When students were asked if they were aware that their teachers were divided into two teams they responded; “Yes we divide them into two teams too – the student friendly team, and the student unfriendly one”! Although team membership may not be clearly apparent to the students the team serves, educational provision is the team’s *raison d’etre*. The team’s significant function as a community of practice is important to its fulfilment of this role. For the entrant to the teaching profession the team provides role models and scaffolding experiences. For experienced teachers the opportunities for cross-pollination facilitate continuing professional development. As an interviewee explained;

"I like the exchange of ideas, hearing about other ways of doing things, examining other options – discovering other worlds. I like doing things in co-operation – finding solutions together."

Multi-disciplinary teams offer members the chance to learn about the work and objectives of others. This involvement means that accountability becomes what an interviewee described as "a positive pressure" (1/4). Performance becomes visible to others and a team responsibility. However, team members have limited means of bringing about behavioural change when colleagues do not respond to ideals of team conduct. Autonomous teachers are able to resist peer pressure. As one of my interviewees commented on a team colleague during an interview in 2006;

"L., for example. He has stated that he would not do certain tasks, and developed his Automotive activities instead. It is unbelievable that he could get away with it!"

Visibility does not ensure changes in behaviour, and when I interviewed a newly appointed team leader at the beginning of 2009 she indicated difficulties in getting older colleagues to carry out unwelcome tasks, such as teaching evening classes. A more experienced team leader indicated that individual teacher autonomy was in tension with standardization of educational provision;

"Teacher autonomy is less – we have to plan things more rigidly. Teachers don't have a free hand to do their own thing. It should be that I. does the same thing as F. and P. (but he doesn't always)!"

Teams have few resources for enforcing an equitable distribution of the workload when appeals to fairness fail – although in my discussion of the role of the team leader (see Chapter 8) the organizational solution to this problem will be explored.

Teams within the Institute of Business Management & Technology are described as "self-managing". When teams are held accountable, quality control becomes an aspect of team hygiene. Teachers are brought out of their isolation and their performance is subjected to scrutiny – and their freedom of operation is defined in relation to their team colleagues' perception of success and contribution. Teacher reluctance to pass judgement on colleagues – a shortcoming of collegiality as a regulatory mechanism – is replaced by a more robust attitude. Informal, peer-mentoring approaches may be more effective than hierarchical appraisal because team members generally have a better insight into the performance of colleagues than management. In a rapidly changing workplace the team func-

tions supportively, enabling the individual teacher to develop coping strategies in a group context. In times of adversity, such as reorganization, the team offers solidarity and protection to the individual. Even when the team becomes an arena for inter-personal conflict it offers a possibility for relationships that sustain the individual teacher.

Inevitably each team develops its own ways of doing things – a team culture which can even lead to rivalry between teams. A team leader indicated that he fostered a sense of competitiveness with other teams in order to raise student satisfaction ratings. Interviewees mentioned other disadvantages of team membership. They indicated that their teams were not fully self-managing – “It’s not really responsible for anything!” (1.4) one exclaimed. Obviously managerial objectives of positioning responsibility lower down the organization had not met with universal success. Others referred to tardy decision-making processes, and the dangers of the norming phase (Tuckman, 2000) stifling the independent-minded. Such conformism makes the team a lonely place, as an interviewee explained;

“I am with them, but not of them – and there is a tendency to groupthink”.

Another expressed impatience with the social aspects of team membership;

“I’m not interested in cosy chats. What I want is vigorous debate with intellectual equals”.

For the team member whose involvement with team activities is peripheral, team membership may become irksome. “I feel more appreciated outside my team than by my team”, as one interviewee put it. The social control a team exerts may then no longer be experienced as positive pressure, but coercion, and the proximity of colleagues can trigger conflicts.

Relationships cannot exist without communication taking place. I became interested in communication flows within the organization and between team members and set up the e-mail traffic analysis described in chapter 6. As I expected, communication between team members was most intensive, and as I had suspected (the Business Engineering teachers have described themselves as “slightly autistic”) the Business Engineers mailed the least of the three departments and had the fewest external contacts. Logistics in Venlo mailed the most - probably because they are a bi-lingual department employing German and Dutch native speakers, and therefore to avoid confusion more organizational information is communicated via e-mails than would normally be the case. However, it seems reasonable on the basis of the e-mail analysis to conclude that increased inten-

sity of communication is an aspect of team membership, creating a professional social network that has the possibility of growing into a community of practice. Equally, the intensification of communication between team members could be interpreted as reducing contact with those outside the team, leading to the risk of togetherness become clannishness.

The introduction of surveillance technology: ‘Respectful consideration of respondents’ concerns reduces the risk of being irrelevant or merely trivial’ (Strauss & Corbin 1998:38). My request to colleagues to monitor their e-mail traffic unintentionally generated a new data set. In their replies, colleagues indicated that they experienced e-mail as burdensome and potentially a threat to their autonomy. An interviewee referred to “e-mail terror” and described his horror when on opening his in-box after a three day absence he discovered 84 mails claiming his urgent attention. Students were described as demanding a response within 24 hours, prone to classifying their mail to teachers as urgent, and requesting read responses. Moreover, accustomed to chat modes, they omitted to use the conventions of formal correspondence, and lapsed into informal modes of address (Dutch has a formal “u” form, and an informal “jij” form). Colleagues contributed to the pressures generated by e-mail. It was suggested that certain individuals habitually mailed late at night, at weekends and during holiday periods in order to impress others with their diligence and productivity. In general, interviewees indicated that they felt obliged to deal with mail promptly, and in some cases experienced this as de-personalizing their contacts with students and colleagues, encroaching on their freedom outside working hours and restricting their autonomy as private individuals.

If e-mail generated laughing references to surveillance technology the provision of mobile telephones to employees was regarded more circumspectly. The mobile telephones were made available on the basis that employees would be able to call all FUAS numbers (FUAS is a multi-site operation) at any time and make a limited number of personal calls free of charge. Colleagues interpreted this provision as implying that they would be expected to be accessible by telephone during working hours, and possibly even outside them. They also feared that students would start calling or texting them “at all hours of the day and night”, encroaching on private space and time.

The making of appointments is facilitated by the use of electronic diaries. Making teacher timetables and personal diaries electronically available via intranet and mobile telephones to the organization would have all manner of efficiency benefits. It is becoming customary for the administration to make appointments

in Outlook that only require confirmation by e-mail. However, for some colleagues this was perceived as undermining their freedom of action; “They’ll be tattooing a bar code on our foreheads next,” remarked an interviewee in reference to tracking and tracing technology. It is undeniable that communication technology has enormous advantages and enables teachers in the setting to work more efficiently and productively. Equally, it has the potential to frustrate and impede work processes. There are implications for the autonomy of the individual teacher, of which perhaps the most significant is the de-personalization of contact in the educational setting. When means dominate ends the Habermassian systemsworld is experienced as colonizing the lifeworld (Sergiovani, 2003). Bearing this in mind, I will return to my analysis of working relationships in the Institute of Business Management & Engineering.

Hierarchical change and the developing role of the team leader: Does the presence of a team leader constrain the autonomy of the individual teacher? Management literature indicates that clear leadership is a condition for successful teamwork, and the personality of the team leader was mentioned by two of the managerial interviewees as a Critical Success Factor for a team. The team leader may be expected to signpost the direction of change and model appropriate behaviour. As a team leader wryly commented;

“In a sense I am a role model. I can demonstrate that we have to set our shoulders to the wheel. It is an objective of mine to do more to establish our team values”.

However, it has also been argued within the research setting that the team leader is superfluous in democratic team processes, and introduces an unwanted extra layer in the hierarchy. Supervision is unnecessary for HE professionals because;

“We are placed in self-managing teams, but all sorts of layers are being constructed between us and management – team leaders, deputies. Education should be provided in flat organizations. We opposed the introduction of team leaders – I object to having a performance appraisal conducted by a colleague. Decisions could be made which would have financial consequences – and we don’t want power differences.”

Certainly the team leader may be better informed about the activities of an individual teacher than a remote director of studies. The individual teacher may appreciate the watchful attention of a close colleague or resent it as an imposition. However, fears about the creation of new layers of “bosses” seem unfounded. Leadership is a social creation, and a team leader depends on the support of

team members in order to function effectively. As a team leader explained;

“I can tell people that they have to do things, but ultimately we would have to go to G. so I prefer not to let things escalate. However, I can slowly influence and refocus the team culture. That’s why P. will also be teaching in Tilburg next block, and L. will be teaching some of the evening classes. I have little compassion with people who object to doing something because they don’t like the activity”.

Few sanctions or rewards are available to the team leader. To the older teachers in my sample tenure is guaranteed, and their position at the top of pay scales inures them to financial stimuli. As our Vice-Chancellor commented;

“In some European countries – Germany in particular – university teachers have civil servant status. This status robs them of dynamism. On the sliding scale between civil servant status and absence of tenure in the Netherlands we are more like civil servants”.

In this sense the autonomy of teachers in the setting can contribute to insensitivity to change stimuli. A team leader requires reserves of patience and pragmatism to negotiate changed behaviours, and can be held accountable for the shortcomings of team members. Therefore there is a lack of enthusiasm amongst some teachers for the role. When I asked an interviewee how his team leader was selected, he commented: “Nobody else put their hand up.” However, the experience of leading a team can be an introduction to management responsibilities and offer opportunities for professional development. As a team leader explained;

“When I started doing this eight years ago I would have said that determining strategy in the MT was what I liked doing – but now I feel that coaching team members is more rewarding. I am giving more attention to being a sort of father figure – patting team members on the back or drawing their attention to what they should be doing. There has been a shift in what I do from sorting out technical issues to do with deployment to people management”.

Within the Business Engineering course, after a vigorous discussion concerning the desirability of team leaders, appointments were made in December 2008. Business Management had always worked with team leaders. The team leaders are responsible for allocation of personnel and resources to meet quality requirements, may make proposals concerning recruitment of new teachers and training of existing teachers and take the lead in development of educational products and services. A pilot project with the Business Management team leaders set up in 2009 allows them to dispose of a team budget and conduct performance appraisals in order to facilitate the process of improving teacher performance. The team

leader has become an organizational focus for the allocation of responsibility. Why has the team become so important in organizational development in the research setting? It seems likely that the development of teams has been an organizational response to the avalanche of change that has overwhelmed Dutch H.E.. Teams have become the designated vehicles for change, exhibiting group dynamics that facilitate teacher engagement with change. The changing student population and the development of the new curriculum and multi-disciplinary educational provision that serves it will be the focus of my discussion in the following sections.

A changing student population: A more heterogeneous student population, presenting more complex needs, is entering university classrooms. It requires a more student-centred and inclusive educational experience, capable of being completed successfully by greater numbers of undergraduates. Confusingly for teachers, in certain aspects today's students are extremely advanced, whilst in others deficiencies give cause for concern. The online generation is accustomed to multi-tasking, but has difficulty concentrating. It is adept at gathering information, yet weak at internalizing it. Teachers have to compete with a variety of modes of communication – MSN, MP3 and mobile telephones - and activities such as gaming and social networking before they can capture the attention of students. Students are increasingly subject to financial pressures and expect timetables that allow them to finance their studies by means of part time employment. They choose to remain under the parental roof. "It's like a five star hotel. Why should I move out?" as one student explained. Remaining at home means their experience of student life is more sheltered and materially comfortable, and less independent. Teachers in the interview sample reported changes in the students arriving in their classrooms;

They concentrate less; they want to finish their work more quickly. They used to have more depth of insight into their work. They want a flashy approach, and their ability to concentrate is differently focused.

Yes of course students have changed. Society has changed, and students reflect social changes. Students are broader, yet more superficial. Yet in a fundamental sense I think students have stayed exactly the same!

I have developed game and quiz based material to appeal to the students of today. They respond well to it, and I like it too!

Although my older interviewees stated that they did not experience stress when teaching (Section E of the questionnaire), some critical comments were made

about the student population;

“We do seem to be more involved in teaching them good behaviour nowadays. A lot of them have had a very free upbringing, and the difference between their behaviour when they begin in the first year and the desired state when they graduate is very large. We even have to teach them polite forms of behaviour nowadays. For example if they come to class wearing a baseball cap their eyes are hidden, and that’s bad manners.”

“I have had problems with some decadent assholes. This is a restricted group. We are responsible for the public purse, and young people should not be allowed to impede the teaching process. I can give an example of a mail exchange with a student about the possibility of re-sitting an exam. I was very reluctant because my exam questions are fraud sensitive. I don’t want to run the risk of them getting into circulation. I used to want to be a friend to students – now I want to create distance.”

Although my research focus was on establishing the perspectives of teachers, I was convinced it was necessary to counterpoint these perspectives. Therefore I needed to establish the student point of view on teachers. Certainly when I asked students if their teachers had high levels of autonomy in their working lives, the students were unanimous that teachers enjoyed high levels of self determination. Students described teachers as in control of their own time, making and postponing appointments to suit themselves. The inaccessibility of teachers was commented upon – students often did not know where their teachers were, or what they were doing – and therefore students assumed that teachers encountered few monitoring mechanisms in their working lives. The student who commented, “If you ask me, they earn their money quite easily” was perhaps expressing a general view.

There was general agreement that whether teachers see students as clients or products, teaching them requires a new skills set. The widespread implementation of project-based constructivist methods means that class-based transmissional teaching has been superseded by informal, egalitarian and individualized teaching methods. As a deputy commented;

“In the past within the Faculty of Innovation, Science and Technology there was no clear didactic model – teaching was derived from secondary school models, with an engineering sauce poured over it.”

For many teachers educational innovation was a liberating experience, granting official status to teaching forms they had already applied. However, for others, de-

skilling and loss of status were the perceived outcomes (Hargreaves, A., 2003). Students can learn just as well from Internet, or from each other, is the message such teachers heard, and which they interpreted as a loss of their autonomous expert status.

Continuing changes to subjects, the curriculum and standards: The curriculum and the subjects it contains are key elements in the processes of recruitment, retention and successful graduation. However, the curriculum is more than just an academic conveyor belt. Good teaching of a professionally relevant curriculum is the *raison d'être* of vocational courses in teaching universities. For those responsible for delivering the curriculum it embodies an enormous personal investment of time, energy, knowledge and experience by generations of teachers in 'the struggle for control and definition of what is to count as education' (Ball, 1993:169) Project and competence-based educational methods have re-defined the teaching process. Knowledge is no longer imparted in a socialization process during which the learner assimilates the perspectives of the teacher / expert but constructed by students working in project groups in electronic learning environments. The teachers researched operate as process guides, workshop coaches or portfolio assessors. These roles offer opportunities to develop professionally rewarding coaching relationships with learners and are a source of satisfaction to many teachers. However, for those whose entry to the profession was impelled by a love of their subject and a desire to transfer subject knowledge, these new teacher roles may be perceived as unsubstantial. Such teachers value their roles as subject experts. Although the usefulness and relevance of subject knowledge are questioned by those who advocate applied forms of knowledge acquisition, the reduction of the knowledge component and the dwindling recognition for subject teaching within the curriculum has led to widespread concern about "dumbing down".

"Students nowadays are numerically weak. Numerical skills have been scrapped from the curriculum and replaced by communications skills. Students game and chat a lot, but they can't concentrate."

Additionally, teachers experienced the constructivist teaching methods as having been imposed on them by senior management. An interviewee remarked;

"I think I have less autonomy concerning how I teach. This is the first time in my working life that the educational model has been imposed on me from above. I have to teach within the given context. I – like many colleagues – chose teaching because I love my subject, but nowadays I get less opportunity to teach. I used to regard meetings as a welcome interruption to teaching, but

nowadays teaching is a welcome interlude to taking part in meetings.”

Project based education demands an integrative approach. When working on a project, students bring insights from a range of disciplines to bear. This means that the role of individual subjects is subsumed in a broader context. Interviewees indicated that they are no longer allowed to prioritize their own subjects, but had to accept the claims of others. Extensive processes of negotiation are the outcome as teachers compete for their place on the curriculum and in the classroom. Furthermore, subjects morph into one another in project-based education and subject teaching can no longer be delivered as a “stand alone” activity. Forms of team teaching are needed to deliver the integrated curriculum. Most teachers enjoy relating insights from other disciplines to their subject area - the situation becomes more complicated when they are asked to teach those other subjects.

“ There is less freedom in a curriculum that has been jointly developed. It does happen that we are asked to teach a course that we haven’t developed. Development and teaching should be a combined team responsibility.”

Whilst a more flexible teacher workforce who can be widely deployed benefits the organization, individual subject teachers can enjoy a reduction of professional satisfaction when the link with their discipline is over-stretched. They fear a loss of quality of teaching (Moust *et al*, 2005). As a colleague explained;

Any team member can teach any of the lessons in our first project. That says something about the depth of knowledge imparted to the students.

Additionally, there are concerns about the reduction of opportunities for the subject teacher to inspire learners with their love of the subject. The distinctive subject flavour gets lost in an insipid and tepidly-served curriculum stew.

Although teachers agonize about these developments, the student perspective belies their concerns. When I interviewed students they described approaching teachers for help with project work, and receiving widely differing answers from individual teachers to the same questions. Students interpreted teacher desire to give nuanced and subtle answers appropriate to undergraduate study as inability to decide on “the right answers”.

Quite probably students prefer teachers who give clear and unambiguous information that can be successfully reproduced under examination conditions. Certainly assessment is subject to negotiation not only with students, but also with

management. Do teachers feel pressured to lower standards in order to achieve acceptable success rates? Particularly within universities the role of teachers as “gatekeepers” - determining on the basis of academic performance which students will have access to knowledge - is value-laden. The introduction of market forces to the educational situation impacts on this role;

“I would like to go back to the old way of doing things. This system is still at a developmental stage, and we don’t have the same grip on things. It does seem that far more students roll through the system, but I don’t know if that is a good thing.”

The marketisation of course provision and output related funding create a tension between teacher responsibility for upholding standards, and teacher realism about accountability (Gleeson & Shain, 2003). Teachers’ autonomy of operation is constrained by awareness of financial pressures and recruitment and retention issues.

The teachers interviewed described how they resolved these tensions in their workplaces in a pragmatic and sensible way. However, the strains of making the best of things were clearly expressed by a minority. Emotional work is the effort employees put into keeping their private reactions to a situation suppressed, or presented in organizationally acceptable ways. Emotional work can lead to disillusionment and cynicism. Teachers put in emotional work when cajoling apathetic learners to study, especially when they themselves are doubtful about the educational experience they are providing (Hargreaves, A., 2003). Ideally teacher’s sense of professional self-worth finds expression in teaching the subjects they love, with the recognition of their colleagues, to students who are able to benefit from their teaching. However, during the implementation of educational innovations, the curriculum has become an arena for the negotiation of teacher autonomy.

The implementation of teams and the developing role of the team leader, the introduction of new IT technology and the transition to the European standardized post Bologna curriculum all clearly have the potential to constrain the autonomous H.E. teacher. Equally, they also offer significant user benefits. To take the introduction of “surveillance technology”, as some teachers described the use of electronic communication - undoubtedly it was seen by the teachers in the research setting as encroaching on personal liberty, yet it offers so many user benefits they accepted it gladly. The interviewees indicated that the developing significance of team participation, and the role of the team leader offer similar trade-offs to the H.E. teacher. However, the issues surrounding the role of the body of knowledge

incorporated in the curriculum and the quality control processes that assess student learning are at the core of teacher identity. The fight for a place on the curriculum and anxiety about quality slippage were serious concerns for the teachers interviewed. Teachers who only grumble about office hours timetabling and performance appraisals can become intransigent when their subject, its place on the curriculum and its assessment are concerned. These issues relate to core teacher values, and as such can become non-negotiable. However, the findings of this chapter indicate that if teachers are convinced that change processes will result in benefits for the quality of educational provision, teacher professionalism will lead to successful engagement with change. Because teachers in the setting were largely convinced of the benefits – and the inevitability – of Bologna agenda change, they were prepared to make a success of the ensuing educational innovations. If they can be convinced that change processes will lead to better educational provision, the majority of teachers will accept encroachments on their autonomy. If not, teacher resistance can be the outcome (Fullan 2003,a).

Chapter 8: Findings and analysis: Is there a link between teacher autonomy and teacher ability to respond to change processes?

In the preceding two chapters, the fluctuating presence of autonomy in the working lives of the teachers in the research setting was explored. The teachers interviewed reported their experience of complex and far-ranging change during the decade subsequent to the signing of the Bologna agreement in 1999. When individuals, and the organizations they work in, are confronted with a changing environment, in order to survive they have to adapt. Judged on organizational continuity, the teachers working in the Institute of Business Management & Technology could be considered as having displayed an ability to adapt successfully to its changing environment during the first decade of the twenty-first century. Despite the changes described in the preceding chapters, enrolments increased, the student population graded its satisfaction with the learning experience with 7 on a scale of 10 and large numbers of students graduated and successfully found employment. New recruits joined the staff and employee satisfaction was graded at 3.6 on a scale of 5 (*Zelfevalautierapport*, 2008). There is a seeming paradox between an account of the problems that beset such an educational workplace, and the apparent reality that as an organization it is still functioning, and even thriving. The teachers working within a university – in which the human resources are the means of production – are the critical success factor on which organizational prosperity is based. Which factors – and specifically those associated with teacher autonomy - have enabled the organization and the teachers working within it to respond positively to change processes? In order to answer this, my third research question seeks to establish: **Is there a link between teacher autonomy and teacher ability to respond positively, or negatively, to change processes?**

The lens of autonomy was selected because it sharpens the focus on the interaction between individual and the collective, the worker and the organization, the teacher and the student during change processes – the processes of engagement with change in a Dutch teaching university during the post - Bologna period. Autonomy is a word composed of two parts - autos (self, individual) and nomos the law that governs the individual. A concept laden with cultural values, it embodies the tension between individual freedom and social responsibility which is at the basis of civilized behaviour;

‘The liberty of the individual is no gift of civilization. It was greatest before there was any civilization, though then, it is true, it had for the greatest part no value, since the individual was scarcely in a position to defend it. The development of civilization imposes restrictions on it, and justice demands

that no one shall escape those restrictions This replacement of the power of the individual by the power of a community constitutes the decisive step of civilization' (Freud, 1930:32/33)

During the research timeframe (the signing of the Bologna Declaration in 1999 to the deadline for implementation of its content in 2010) an increase in organizational autonomy became apparent in the FUAS organization, and H.E. as a whole in the Netherlands. Policy moves devolved power to the H.E. institutions and processes of public managerialism 'empowered those working on the frontline to make more of their own decisions and to take responsibility for solving their own problems' (du Gay, 2003:672). There is some discussion about what the outcomes of increasing organizational autonomy are. Some commentators see a managerialist agenda being put in place (Ball, 1999). Others see an enhanced personhood for the employee in which autonomy, responsibility and freedom to make choices are stressed (Clegg, 1990). Such divergence of opinion suggested a further examination of the role of educational leadership in mediating teacher ability to engage positively with change through the exercise of professional autonomy.

Senior management and teacher autonomy

'There is some evidence that those who work in education hold less than sanguine views about much of the leadership they experience' (Simkins, 2005:10). Certainly my research findings (see chapter 6) indicated a lack of confidence in senior management, brought about by experiences of reorganization and restructuring. The preparedness of senior management to admit to failings may have done something to restore confidence. More significant perhaps, was the appointment of a new vice-chancellor during the duration of the research. Prior to undertaking this research I had been sceptical about the ability of a vice-chancellor, ensnared in a web of obligations to multiple stakeholders, to significantly influence events. However shifts in organizational emphasis during the research period made clear that the personality, priorities and methods of the vice chancellor do indeed set the organizational agenda. The vice-chancellor, and the senior management team essentially determine the organizational perspective, although its dissemination is left to others (Hellawell & Hancock, 2003). The individual does make a difference, even within a complex organization subject to wide-ranging constraints at macro, meso and micro levels. The appointment of a vice-chancellor has incontrovertible domino effects throughout the university (Clark, 2004). The vice-chancellor associated with the first phase of the research – a cultural anthropologist - personified the implementation of the Bologna agenda and presided over organizational processes of expansion and centralization. His successor, an economist and entrepreneur appointed in 2008, has instigated a period of decentralization and retrenchment intended to meet educational performance

indicator targets whilst balancing the books. Whilst previously the principle of solidarity meant that profitable activities subsidized loss-making ones, the new vice-chancellor shifted financial responsibility to the institutes as business units. He identified the operation of vicious spirals; “You see it time and again if you look at certain performance indicators - student and employee satisfaction, staff absenteeism, financial position, completion rates, ratio support to teaching staff – that a reasonably consistent picture emerges. Institutes with below average scores on these indicators, perform badly in the overall rankings” (www.fontys.nl). The conclusion is that; “We cannot allow non-performers to exist in the Fontys organization. A good reputation is essential in the market for education, and that means our objectives are clear: our drive is to become one of the top teaching universities” (*ibid*).

The programme of financial retrenchment initiated by the new vice-chancellor led to a number of change initiatives. Perhaps the most relevant to an exploration of the experience of autonomy in the academic workplace was the removal of employees – primarily consultants and other support staff, but also including a number of teachers - associated with the previous incumbent’s inner circle. In an atmosphere of political ruthlessness former confidantes were removed, the fall of previously influential individuals reverberating throughout the organization. These redundancies and outplacements accompanied a number of policy switches, as projects that had been given top organizational priority were rescinded. An example of such was the drive to encourage teachers to complete doctorates. When I started my doctorate in 2007 generous funding was made available – funding which is now a less significant part of the organizational budget. Maslow’s (1954) hierarchy of needs teaches that higher level needs, such as autonomy, only come into play as motivators when lower level deficit needs have been met. For individuals whose job security is threatened, the higher-level desire for autonomy will become less significant than the desire to meet basic physiological needs. An exploration of the role of autonomy in the work experience of teachers should not fail to recognize the necessity of meeting lower level needs, and primarily that of job security, before autonomy can become operational as a motivator.

Change at institute level

Senior management may determine policy, but the implementation of organizational agendas is devolved to the directors of institutes (Hellawell & Hancock, 2003). One of the key skills of these educational managers is an ability to synthesize organizational, economic and educational objectives and present the outcome of this process – the change agenda - convincingly to teachers. Power, in the Foucaultian sense of social relationship rather than as a property of manage-

ment, has to be deployed to persuade teachers to accept leadership. Negotiation, iteration and influence are the tools of successful educational management (Henkel, 2005). Teachers have to be won over by processes of the 'organization of consent' (Handy, 1984). However, teachers in the setting were not always won over: an interviewee criticised this process during his interview in 2008;

"You can see this during the institute's study days. They aren't really intended to generate democratic decisions, but to tell us what to do – and they by-pass the power of the teaching community."

The Bologna process was the outcome of supra-national policy initiatives in which the voices of teachers were muted - although 'Significant innovation requires individual implementers to work out their own meaning' (Fullan, 2001a:195). Perhaps for this reason implementation of the Bologna agenda was largely devolved to the teachers – although my research process revealed that teachers interpreted this not as an appeal to their expertise as autonomous professionals, but as a sign that management itself did not know what to do. An interviewee commented on the implementation of the Bologna agenda;

"I have the impression that our management didn't really know what to do – we were invited to make suggestions, because they didn't have any."

Whilst teachers criticized management for failing to take the lead, one of the managers interviewed complained teachers "just sat and waited to be told what to do". To consider autonomy as being desired by teachers, but regarded as suspect by the organizations in which they work, is to over-simplify. Educational managers recognized the involvement of autonomous educational professionals as being crucial to processes of educational innovation. They understood that only engaged and committed teachers would be able to produce successful teaching outcomes for the post-Bologna university – and suspected that teacher autonomy could equally allow teachers to resist and undermine the change agenda. Management was certainly aware that autonomous teachers could negatively influence processes of engagement with change. When confronted with the Bologna change agenda Management expected (and even depended on) autonomous behaviour from teachers – but in an organizationally acceptable form, demonstrated in the appropriate contexts, and without having given teachers prior opportunities to practice. The cultural history of the organization, in which interviewees indicated that the ability to act autonomously had been insufficiently nurtured or rewarded, resulted in passivity when new opportunities for participation were offered. Management then reacted by creating uncertainty (via the screening process and

reorganizations) about the security of teacher employment in order to galvanize teachers into contributing to organizational continuity.

Although the implementation trajectory of Bologna change was unclear, the teachers researched succeeded in implementing its objectives during a prolonged period of educational innovation. The process took time, and demonstrated the operations of a self-organising system engaging with an environment itself undergoing on-going change. Engagement with change involved breaking with established routines, experimenting with the organization of the educational process and re-interpreting educational certainties – whilst using students as guinea pigs. My research subjects admitted that this was experienced more as a process of muddling through, than the operations of professionals making autonomous choices in shaping the context of their work. The combination of the customary teaching workload with educational innovation during processes of engagement with change tested organizational resilience to its limits. When this process is examined, perhaps the most significant finding is that the exercise of professional autonomy during periods of change is stressful and demanding – as is evidenced by interviewee references to “change fatigue” and the need for a period of consolidation.

Ownership plays an important part in guiding the organization through change processes (Gronn, 2000; Geijsel *et al*, 2001; Fullan, 2003b), and the directors within the setting made conscious efforts to appoint and empower change agents. These teachers had a signposting function – and by distributing influence on context, tempo and contribution teacher ownership of educational innovations was stimulated and grassroots support developed. The change agents led the way in directing the learning of individual teachers, and linked it with the learning of teams and learning of the organization. Without such links between the individual teacher and the collective, teachers will tend to see successes as personal, rather than systemic, and blame others for failures, rather than assuming group responsibility (Fullan, 2001a). Without support from colleagues, shared vision and values and a common vision of the future, educational innovation, such as the introduction of constructivist teaching methods could not have taken root and flourished. The power of the collective was harnessed to override the incidental reluctance to engage with change observed in autonomous individual teachers.

Is therefore, the team experience a means of helping colleagues to engage positively with change? How did the teachers researched learn and develop during the processes of engaging with change? It has been observed that teaching as a profession lacks a codified body of professional knowledge (Knight *et al*, 2006).

Teachers as individuals are prone to doubts about own expertise and underestimate the value of their own practice (Nias, 1991, Geijssels *et al*, 2001). During their training there is little attention to development of the skills of social learning, and much guidance is anecdotal rather than evidence – based (Louis *et al*, 1999). Therefore professional knowledge remains tacit rather than explicit (Hargreaves, 2003). The introduction of constructivist educational methods and project based learning in the research setting met with resistance and then reluctant compliance – Business Management & Technology students reported that teachers scheduled tutorials in classrooms, standing in front of a blackboard holding a piece of chalk. A student interviewed in 2008 – four years after the introduction of constructivist teaching methods – commented about a teacher; “He’s supposed to let us work out the answer – but he jumps in and tells us!” Processes of experiential learning (Kolb, 1984) were needed before teachers could understand and accept educational innovations. The effort of developing the projects that were the vehicle for the new constructivist methods could not have been borne by individuals – although individuals (and especially the team leaders) spearheaded the process, the workload was borne by teams. During implementation a great deal of learning how to teach the newly developed Bachelor degree courses using electronic educational environments and constructivist educational methods was informal, on-the-job learning. Quite possibly, this was the most effective method; it has been observed that; ‘Non-formal learning is common, important and lifelong. In terms of confronting professional obsolescence non-formal learning is likely to be a more significant response than formal learning’ (Knight *et al*, 2006:322). The focal point of this informal learning was the team. The team provided the context for social learning – of what it takes to act as a competent member and of how to experience the world outside (Wenger, 1998). The team, with its educational responsibilities, was the location where an appeal could be made to the teachers’ professional ethos of interacting with students – their educational values. Loyalty to the team leader backed up with strategic appeals to pragmatism and self-interest often tipped the balance for teachers reluctant to engage with change. A teacher commented about her team leader’s influence on team members; “Everybody in OPM/LTM would do anything for T.” Team leaders, with their close personal knowledge of individual teachers, were adept at intuiting the most effective way of approaching them. The support function offered by the team kept teachers prepared to engage with change in spite of episodes of fatigue and scepticism. The social pressure exerted by teams was sufficient to erode the resistance of autonomous individual teachers.

The challenge during engagement with change is to enable incidental professional learning to become systemic. Community of practice theory (Wenger,

1998) defines the team as providing a set of social relations that are an intrinsic condition for social learning. The development process of a community of practice, according to Wenger, is one of collective learning over time;

‘Being alive as human beings means we are constantly engaged in the pursuit of enterprises of all kinds, from ensuring our physical survival to seeking the most lofty pleasures. As we define these enterprises and engage in their pursuit together, we interact with each other and with the world, and we tune our relations with each other and with the world accordingly. In other words we learn.

Over time this collective learning results in practices that reflect both the pursuit of our enterprises and the attendant social relations. These practices are thus the property of a kind of community created over time by the sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise. It makes sense therefore, to call these kinds of communities *communities of practice*’. (Wenger, 1998:45)

The team leaders in the research setting were able to create supportive learning environments that enabled the creation of shared meaning, encouraged teachers to provide one another with scaffolding experiences and offered opportunities for reflection on professional practice (Schön, 1991). The teachers interviewed (see Section D of the questionnaire, Appendix 3) whether positive or negative about their individual team experience, indicated that their teams were the significant community of practice in their working lives – and the location for engagement with change. Loss of individual autonomy was compensated by the opportunities for social learning afforded by the community of practice.

The new recruits to the organization

The Institute of Business Management and Technology was founded in response to the needs of the business community (see Appendix 1). It is an example of a hybrid degree course, difficult to categorize in terms of graduate employment destinations or discipline orientation. Quite possibly because of its lack of academic tradition it is better able to recognize the effects of environmental change and engage more enthusiastically in ‘re-inventing, re-engineering and re-enchanting itself’ (Scott, 2000:10). Such an innovative area of course provision in a less traditional university fosters the development of new models of academic identity – leading to ‘the emergence of new, secure, hybridized identities’ (Clegg, 2008: 341). In this process the new recruits to the organization have an important role to play. Their diverse histories influenced their present workplace cultural context and they could contribute new insights that benefit organizational learning - and the newcomers were aware of their input in this process.

Teacher shortages are a feature of the educational system in the Netherlands, and governmental initiatives have focused on recruitment of graduates from the world of business to the teaching profession (MOCW, 2007). Perhaps even more effective in recruiting candidates with business backgrounds for the teaching profession was the economic downturn that started during 2008. The new recruits had left private sector employment to become teachers for a variety of reasons. Thus two of the five interviewees indicated that reorganizations in their previous workplaces had motivated their entry to the teaching profession;

I had survived successive waves of reorganization, but I knew it was just a question of time before my department ceased to exist.

One interviewee mentioned disillusionment with the commercial environment as the reason for their career switch;

I was responsible for return logistics of TV sets. This was supposed to be part of an environmental responsibility programme, but in fact most of them were just junked. I became disillusioned with what I was doing there.

Another mentioned the high stress levels associated with previous employment;

Enormous amounts of money were involved. I used to have sleepless nights about my work responsibilities.

Teaching was perceived as not only offering higher levels of job security but also opportunities to create a better work / life balance than that experienced in previous employment. This meant that the new recruits were negotiating new identities as teachers. When I interviewed them, themes connected with “negotiation” – of terms of employment, with students, and with assuming professional identity – recurred. Four of the five new recruits are female – the outcome of positive discrimination with the objective of achieving increased female representation in the Faculty of Innovation, Science and Technology. All of the new recruits had young children, and one of the interviewees was specific about the lack of recognition in her previous workplace for her maternal responsibilities;

In my previous job a hard work culture prevailed. This meant that nobody went home before the head of department. I used to be the last mum to collect their kids from the crèche. I would see his little face looking out of the window for me

Teaching undergraduates on a vocationally orientated degree course was per-

ceived as an attractive working environment by the new recruits. They indicated that in their previous workplaces they had experienced more intensive supervision and been subject to more stringent output requirements than in their present roles as teachers. They praised the quality of academic working life, exhibiting high levels of task identity, skill variety, meaningful work and autonomy. They contrasted the open access campus to the restrictive use of entry passes and access codes in business workplaces. They appreciated the reduced hierarchical distance and informality of the H.E. organization, and welcomed the autonomy with which they could organize their working lives;

You get treated decently here. I've had a lot of dental work done since I started here. In my last job I just couldn't have handled dental surgery on top of everything else. Here I could get it done – and I feel a lot better for it.

Analysis of the interviews revealed thematic reference to the concept of negotiation. "Negotiation" was first mentioned in the context of the recruitment process, and referred to the process of determining starting salaries and terms of employment. The new recruits had all been educated to Masters' level, and as well as acquiring business experience had undergone various forms of in-company training during their previous employment that enhanced their value. Therefore their starting salaries were commensurate with what they had earned in law practices, accountants offices or engineering consultancies, putting them ahead of colleagues who had worked their way up as teachers. This led to comments by some teachers that the new recruits were over-remunerated. A career teacher asked to mentor one of the new recruits was surprised to discover that she was earning more than he was;

"OK– she's got a law degree – but I'm stuck in scale 10, and she's come in in scale 11!"

Although the newcomers had useful business experience they faced the challenge of assuming the professional identity of teachers. Initially (as three of them admitted) their contribution was limited by lack of teaching skills. Here again the concept of negotiation emerged, as the new recruits described the process of acquiring professional skills. Their first classroom experience involved negotiating with students – establishing the ground rules of the teaching process;

"I told them I was new, and they'd have to be a bit understanding, and they were really very nice – but I was shaking with nerves!"

Although it was possible for the new recruits to draw on authentic business expe-

rience, the Fontys organization stipulated that successful completion of a didactic course – a process of on the job training – was a condition of employment. There was organizational recognition that the new recruits needed support; one of them indicated difficulties with becoming “a proper teacher”. Their organizational identities – teachers or curriculum developers, committed or opportunistic, temporary or permanent - are still subject to negotiation³.

However, the new recruits brought vigour to the organization – and were also heavily involved in the implementation of change agendas. An older colleague suggested that this was because “the youngsters are easier for management to push around.” Their previous business experience and only partial enculturation perhaps enabled them to negotiate change agendas more freely, and their lack of historical baggage facilitated this process. As an imminent retiree commented;

“Unimpeded by any knowledge they say yes to all sorts of organizational tasks other people have burnt their fingers on.”

However, the flexibility of new recruits contrasted with the rigidity of the career teachers suggests that the older colleagues had become set in their educational ways. Too little organizational attention had been given to ensuring continuing professional development. Job rotation and practical placements in non-educational work settings have been discussed as ways of promoting teacher adaptability. However, both are difficult to implement in the educational workplace. Institutes are reluctant to let go of good teachers, a teacher placed in an unfamiliar teaching environment may be less effective, and the sabbatical year is regarded as a needless luxury in a cash strapped environment. The teachers interviewed described professional development as dependent on individual initiatives. Their answers indicate that the opportunities are there, but it is up to the individual teacher to claim them.

The third research question explores the link between teacher autonomy and teacher ability to respond positively, and negatively, to change. The sample was limited in number, yet I encountered two instances of teacher autonomy creating organizationally - and even morally - undesirable outcomes. Whilst not specifically to do with engagement with change, they had to do with exercise of individual autonomy tolerated, if not condoned. Both cases were previously known to me, and because interviewees knew this, they discussed them. The insider

3 *One of the interviewees has since returned to the world of business.*

researcher is probably more likely to receive such confidences because of familiarity with the research setting and the lack of reticence between colleagues. However, the insider researcher then has to wrestle with issues of confidentiality and disclosure. I decided that both cases, whilst not concerned with engagement with change, are remarkable enough to deserve attention in a discussion of the workings of teacher autonomy.

Fontys University of Applied Sciences is vocationally focused. Business experience is a criterion of teacher suitability for appointment. However, interviewees commented disparagingly about a colleague whose affinity with the world of business and freedom of operation allowed him to combine his full-time teaching responsibilities with consultancy work as an IT expert; “How does he get away with it?” they asked. Interviewees referred to unexplained absences, students reported that he took telephone calls from clients during tutorials and his team leader tolerated the situation because of the difficulty of finding a replacement. Management alone remained seemingly unaware of his ex-curricular activities. Only an assemblage of entrepreneurial individuals whose autonomy was grounded in norms of privacy and non-interference could have produced such a colleague, and allowed such a situation to continue, seems the inevitable conclusion.

An interviewee who had requested a transfer from location Venlo to Eindhoven reported the second case of abuse of teacher autonomy. A casualty of ‘the sharpness and cruelty of academic politics’ (Hellawell & Hancock, 2003:258) he had moved because he was subject to workplace bullying from a colleague. It was only after a second, and then a third, teacher had requested a transfer for the same reason – although job rotation is not a feature of the work situation - that management had intervened to curtail the offender’s freedom of operation. The interviewee described the experience of being bullied as profoundly damaging. He had reported sick, and took some time to find his feet in a new working environment - and was still obviously upset when recounting the experience. An examination of the extent and experience of bullying in the academic workplace is outside the scope of this research. However, the conclusion that workplace bullying leads not only to individual unhappiness, but also has an organizational price is readily available. In certain limited instances it may also be concluded, teacher autonomy can lead to the development of entrenched and overbearing teachers. An examination of the traditional academic identity in changing times has to lead to the conclusion that the exercise of professional autonomy is not unmitigatedly beneficial. As these accounts indicate, it is possible for teachers to assert their autonomy in organizationally undesirable ways.

Because change implies loss – of privileges, security or familiar procedures – teachers will have reason to resist it. Autonomous teachers will be less able to resist engagement with change with impunity if they are enmeshed in a web of commitments and obligations. It is therefore possible to affirm that there is a link between teacher autonomy and teacher ability to respond negatively, to change processes. More salient for this research, however, is the quest for ways of facilitating, rather than resisting, engagement with change. Experience suggests that the role of senior management, and specifically the vice-chancellor, is significant. However, the operations of distributed leadership (Woods *et al*, 2004) – of institute directors appointing change agents, and team leaders facilitating individual professional learning – were reported by teachers as the most significant vehicle for successful engagement with change. Finally, the new recruits to the organization offered different and positive perspectives on the operation of autonomy in the working lives of teachers. In the following chapter the factors facilitating a positive response to change will be discussed in greater detail.

Chapter 9: Research conclusions: Which factors can be identified as enabling teachers to respond positively to change?

The fourth and final research question asks: **Which factors can be identified as enabling teachers to respond positively to change?**

After the exploration of the operations of teacher autonomy during the experience of engagement with change (research question 1) and an analysis of the extent of teacher autonomy experienced by teachers in the setting (research question 2) the time has come to draw conclusions based on the research findings about the factors facilitate teacher engagement with change and make practical recommendations that can contribute to policy and practice. An evaluation of the research process and the consequences of implementing the recommendations are to be found in the following chapter.

Relationships with colleagues

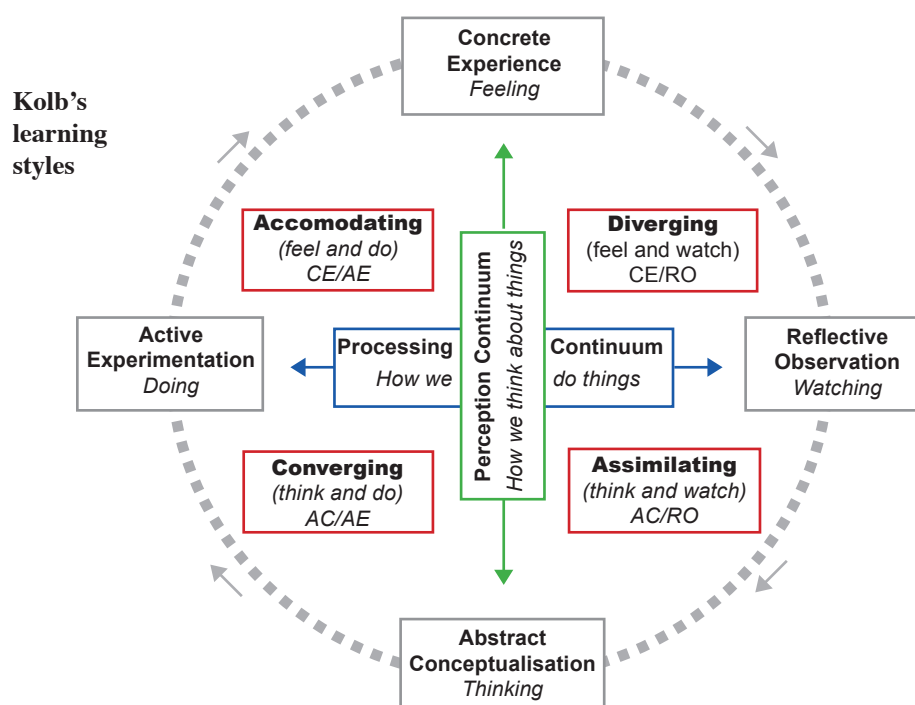
In my first chapter it was established that the functions of teaching and research derive from pre-industrial economies. They are among the few career activities people still do in the mode of traditional craft work in which the individual craft worker largely controls the design and implementation of the specific methods to be employed. Until recently within the research setting, there was little or no need to adapt these methods in accommodation of fellow teachers.

However, as the teachers interviewed described in chapter 7, the implementation of constructivist project-based educational methods necessitated integrated teaching and the breakdown of discipline barriers. Massification – an outcome of governmental initiatives and the success of the Business Management & Technology formula – meant that teachers in the setting were dealing with larger cohorts of students who require a consistency of educational provision independent of the professional disposition of individual teachers. In addition, as my interviewees reported in chapter 6, a basic Bologna objective – the implementation of translatable and transferable activities and outcomes in European H.E. – has implications that are becoming increasingly apparent for their work as university teachers. The standardization of educational provision brought about by the Bologna agenda has become a recognized driver of change, bringing with it interconnected and interactive systemic changes not yet fully assimilated by the teaching community. None the less, it is possible to conclude that the changes associated with the Bologna agenda - the introduction of modular, credit-based systems of educational provision, sectoral standardization, and the shift from trust-based assessment by autonomous subject experts to regulatory externally validated quality control systems – now mean that teachers in the research setting no longer work alongside

one another, they work together. Although the teachers interviewed reported that in the past they had worked to a greater extent as independent subject experts, they indicated that in their present work situation they possessed less autonomy of role enactment.

Thwarting professionals in their drive to self-actualization can cause disillusionment and withdrawal of commitment – the ‘metapathologies’ identified by Maslow (1954). However, the joint ownership of educational processes can offer relational resources to the individual teacher. Although the subject expert and the autonomous assessor have relinquished end control of educational processes, collaboration with colleagues offers compensatory means to promote the development of self-actualizing professionals. Cycles of experiential learning (Kolb, 1984) underlie this process.

Fig. 9.1 Kolb’s model of experiential learning



As Kolb explains, learning ‘is the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience. Knowledge results from the combination of grasping and transforming experience’ (1984:41). This cycle whereby concrete experiences are reflected upon, leading to the development of abstract concepts which are then actively tested is an effective description of the processes undergone by the research subjects – the majority of whom can be categorized (on the basis of their discipline orientation) as possessing assimilating learning styles conducive to reflective observation. Activities such as reflection (Schön,

1991) – thoughtful consideration of personal experience in applying knowledge to practice - can more profitably take place when it is possible to use colleagues as touchstones during the process of reflection. Wenger (2005) describes social activity theory of how individuals learn to work together: engagement (doing things together), imagination (creating a shared image of the community) and alignment (a mutual process of coordination enabling the achievement of higher goals). It seems probable that these processes supported the engagement with change demonstrated by teachers in the setting. Intervision – the opportunity to engage with other's practices and engage others with own practices and discuss these processes – offers individual teachers the chance to acquire new practical knowledge, benchmark their teaching and facilitate the process of engagement with change. Within the Institute of Business Management & Technology a mentor is allocated to new teachers. This mentoring tends to focus on providing practical information about equipment and systems. It is not developed as a means of improving professional practice. However the implementation of "buddy systems" could be a way of enlarging and focusing the existing mentor roles. Each teacher would then be partnered with a colleague and undertake self-reflection and intervision activities in collaboration – applying principles of experiential learning in a social context. In this way feedback loops could be created and professional knowledge be developed and shared. Professional learning could then become a systemic outcome of the interplay between individual and environment (Knight *et al*, 2006). Such partnerships would allow individuals to grow in their roles, and even attain Maslow's (1954) pinnacle of the hierarchy of needs, transference.

A condition of success for such experiential learning would be uncoupling the outcome of reflection and intervision activities from formal performance appraisal process. It is particularly important that no linkage with remuneration systems emerges. Although it could be argued that without financial incentives teachers would be unlikely to engage in reflection and intervision processes, the need to maintain employability should motivate teacher commitment to a professionalization agenda. Therefore, the focus of reflection and intervision activities should be on improving professional practice, and not on progressing up pay scales. For this reason they should be engaged in by colleagues as a form of peer support. It seems likely that coaching partnerships would offer the possibility of deeper personal relationships between colleagues and an increased *Gemeinschaftsgefühl* as well as offering methods to systematize the improvement of professional practice. Reflection and intervision would then become not only a means of engaging with change, but would also enable teachers to take control of change processes, thus increasing their scope for the exercise of professional autonomy. As was indicated in chapter 8, H.E. organizations need teachers who are capable of exer-

cising autonomy. However, autonomous professionals have to grow in their roles, and the organizations in which they work should respect and nurture this process. Therefore, both teachers and educational managers should commit to the experience of using reflection and intervision to improve professional practice if it is to have lasting individual and organizational benefits. Possibly teachers with long-term experience of teaching could be sceptical about the benefits of engaging in reflection and intervision. Additionally, it has to be recognized that self-reflection and intervision activities are limited to providing individual knowledge of practical relevance, knowledge that is embodied in people, and which can be coached and facilitated but not formally taught (Simkins, 2005). In spite of these caveats, the use of self-reflection and intervision is recommended as a means of offering teachers possibilities for self-actualization, improving the quality of educational provision and facilitating processes of engagement with change.

Colleagues working together in teams are offered further possibilities for professional learning when their teams function as communities of practice (Wenger, 1998:2005). A community of practice constitutes a set of social relations between persons, activities and the workplace and it is an intrinsic condition for the existence of knowledge sharing between participant knowledgeable practitioners. As the findings presented in chapter 6 indicate, teachers perceived their teams as functioning as communities of practice – arenas not only for mutual supportiveness, consensual decision-making and concertive action (Gronn, 2000) but also for professional learning (Schön, 1991). For this reason organizational support should be given to team structures. Teams should be facilitated – team workplaces should be grouped together, and teams should be allocated space and time in which to interact and given a modest budget to finance social activities. The health of teams should be a concern not only of team members, but also of management. As was indicated in chapter 7, teams go through phases (Tuckman, 2008), and should be helped to progress through storming phases and reconfigured during mourning and adjourning phases (see Fig. 7.1). In the context of the professionalization agenda, new entrants to the profession should be helped to develop cooperative competences and conflict resolution skills, and career teachers encouraged to understand and assume team roles (Belbin, 1993) in order to enhance their contribution to team processes. Those teachers with ambitions to fulfil leadership roles will need training and support if they are to operate successfully in distributed leadership contexts. Implementation of these recommendations will enable teams to function as the setting for successful engagement with change.

In this way, teams can build upon the collegiality that was a feature of the re-

search setting before the change processes of the previous decade took effect. Collegiality – not only in the research setting, but also in the wider H.E. context – is seen as a regulatory function, employee benefit, defining feature of academic life and basis for intellectual freedom. As Miller argues;

‘Are apparently archaic forms of collegial control in fact quite appropriate for an institution where academics as professionals have to take responsibility not only for their own teaching and research, but also for providing an environment where these activities can flourish? And not only in the forms approved by the state, corporations or even students and citizens, but also in the awkward, critical and even subversive forms which remain true to the pursuit of truth for its own sake’ (Miller, 1995:168)

However, although teachers in the setting endorsed the importance of collegiality they also were also aware of its limitations – and they specifically indicated problems with underperforming colleagues (see chapter 6). Underperformance can be seen as one of the consequences of failure to engage with change. Certainly in the research setting there was a general perception that certain individuals exploited the freedom that the principle of collegiality allows (see chapter 8). Collegiality therefore failed to perform as a regulatory function. Moreover, it has been observed that ‘traditional academic identities based on collegiality and the exercise of autonomy, were emergent from traditional elite positions, whose bearers were mostly white, male and middleclass’ (Clegg, 2008:331). Inclusive teacher recruitment policies are a feature of the research setting, and the majority of H. E. workplaces. Collegiality in its underdeveloped form as distant and uncommitted approval of those one works with because they resemble oneself, is unlikely to become the vehicle for engagement with change. The resources for professional autonomy it offers depend upon norms of non-interference and types of individual class teaching no longer found in the research setting.

There is a need to develop upon collegiality by facilitating vigorous teams. The team as location for social learning and the professional development of team members can harmonize the desires of the autonomous individual and the demands of the community described in my quotation from Freud in chapter 8. When teams develop into fully-fledged communities of practice they can become environments for professional self-actualisation. For this reason the conscious development of understanding of community of practice theory as an objective for teacher teams is recommended. In doing this the limitations of communities of practice – the boundary setting issues incumbent upon communities, the occasional lack of interest in external reference points and the problems newcomers can experience with becoming fully accepted or with assimilating previously-ac-

quired experience to their new communities of practice – should be addressed.

Continuing Professional Development

Processes of Continuing Professional Development should be deployed in order to facilitate the process of engagement with change. However, teachers in the research setting expressed confusion about the major structural changes and their consequences for professional practice brought about by the Bologna agenda, blaming senior management for failing to communicate them clearly (see chapter 6). They described professional problems with the implementation of new educational methods, and gave voice to cynicism about the objectives of study days intended to refocus teachers. When change agendas had to be implemented, institute management relied heavily on the new recruits, rather than the experienced teachers, for their implementation. It seems reasonable to conclude that processes of CPD, which should have eased engagement with change within the Institute of Business Management & Technology, had functioned inadequately.

There are obvious dangers for teachers in universities of allowing their professional development to stagnate. Should this happen, the future for such teachers is that of undervalued instructional workers who personally interact with large numbers of students but have little discretion over course content. University teachers then become educational commodity providers (Ball, 2001). Worse still, they may find themselves unable to make a contribution to a new educational context, as happened to the casualties of the screening process described in chapter 6. Some teachers – a minority – had become educational one trick ponies, capable only of classical class teaching of an outdated curriculum. Teacher autonomy, the outcome of *laissez faire* institute management styles prevalent prior to the decade under consideration, had allowed teachers to conflate their personal interests with their work as providers of education. Then when the Bologna change agenda necessitated engagement with change, such teachers had lost the professional attitudes that would have enabled them to adapt to a changing educational context.

Who is responsible for ensuring that processes of continuing professional development militate against such undesirable outcomes? One can only conclude that it is the responsibility of teaching professionals to take personal control of their continuing professional development. Ultimately, they have to ensure that their knowledge is up to date, that they are *au fait* with educational developments, and that they are capable of making a contribution to the organizations in which they work. One way of ensuring this is by a familiarity with the principles and practice of action research. When confronted with the challenge of engaging with

change, the action research process – planning, acting, observing and reflecting (Kemmis, 1993) – offers resources for the teaching professional. Incorporation of an understanding of action research in teacher training curricula would seem to be an effective way of inculcating the habits of reflexive enquiry in teachers. An understanding of personal learning styles and the application of Kolb's (1984) cycles of experiential learning could support processes of professional learning. Such habits could be of value from both a practical and research point of view (Hammersley, 1993).

However, the organizations within which teachers work should also take some responsibility for facilitating continuing professional development at a strategic level, and for this reason, my attention will now be turned to educational leadership as a factor in successful engagement with change.

Leadership

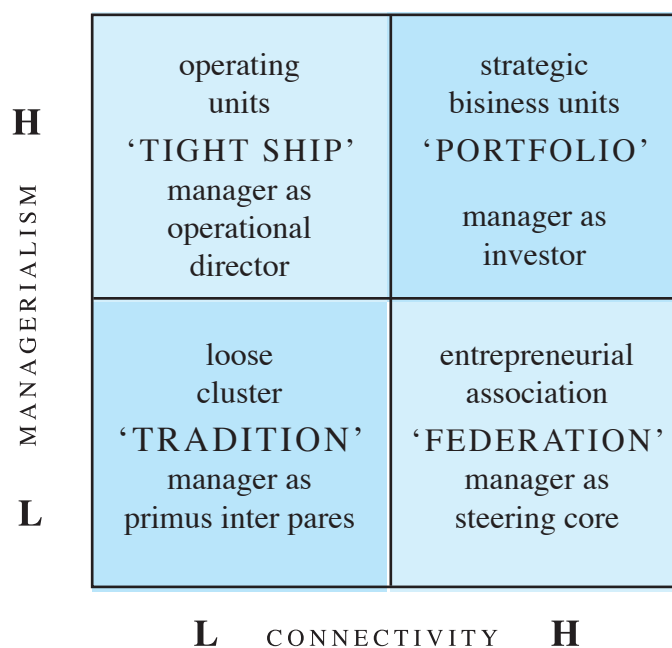
'Experience suggests that many professionals typically have deep ambiguities and uncertainties about the role of leaders and leadership hard-wired into their make-up' (Simkins, 2005:10). Certainly after undergoing the merger and unbundling processes described in chapters 6 and 7, teachers in the setting had become increasingly sceptical about the ability of senior management to steer an organizational course. They complained that senior management had not communicated the Bologna agenda clearly, failing in their sense-making role. Additionally, the organization had become too large, and teachers felt lost. The experience of reorganization had impacted negatively on the survivors. Unsurprisingly, reduced levels of commitment were reported by interviewees.

Although loyalty to the organization in its entirety had been jeopardized, interviewees reported intensified commitment to the institute of Business Management & Technology. A rapid succession of Directors of Studies and policies had not undermined loyalty to the institute, which was regarded by many as a safe haven in a choppy organizational sea. Institutes such as Business Management & Technology represent a key unit of analysis in universities. They are the administrative unit for the allocation of resources, and their activities, staff and students form the workplace context for most university teachers. The implementation of the Bologna agenda necessitated complex and wide-ranging changes to institutional frameworks that in turn became drivers of change within the workplace context. The extent to which IT systems determine the way work is done should not be underestimated. If, for example, examination questions have to be written in such a way that student answers can be assessed via a computer program, interviewees in the research setting both welcomed the efficiency and regretted

the loss of academic autonomy. The teachers who complained about surveillance technology – Internet and telecommunications applications – were ambivalent about the impact of these systems in their working lives. Little is known about the impact of Information Technology on the workplace experience of teachers – the Habermassian lifeworld of H.E. – and as I have indicated, more research in this area is required

In addition to recognition of extensive system changes there is widespread agreement amongst my interviewees and other commentators (Ball, 1993a; Hargreaves, 1994; Fullan, 2005b) that educational management styles are changing the workplace environment. Whether educational managers are described as becoming increasingly professionalized, focused on responsible use of public money and intrapreneurial (Crawford & Cartwright, 2003; Clark, 2004; Blackmore & Blackwell, 2006) or stultifying and managerialist (Ball, 1993; Mulford, 2003) there is agreement that a change has taken place – and the interviewees concurred. There was general agreement that the directors who had risen up from the ranks and whose professional identities were those of teachers were no longer to be found amongst managerial appointments. They had been replaced by economists and quality controllers. Organizational developments conferring autonomy on the institutes meant that the institutes are run as business units, with higher levels of connectivity as a result (see Fig. 9.2). Although it is not specifically Bologna related, the arrival in the research setting of highly connective, managerialist styles of leadership coincided with the implementation of the Bologna agenda.

Fig. 9.2 Model of high/ Low Connectivity and Managerialism



I have indicated in my rationale (see chapter 2) that a research objective is to outline coping strategies for teachers caught up in these processes. An individual teacher can have little influence in a workplace where economic rationalism prevails. The team as collective, however, is better equipped to counterbalance managers in their roles as steering core and director of operations than an individual, however autonomous. Unwillingness to distribute leadership – and power – is, of course, an issue in itself (Woods *et al*, 2004). Equally, the appointment of a coterie of sympathisers is an inauthentic form of distributed leadership. As I have indicated, the processes by which distributed leadership is enacted and maintained need further investigation. In spite of this caveat, a research finding is that distributed leadership located in teams of professionals was an enabling factor in engagement with change. Therefore a research recommendation is to stimulate the development of robust and effective teams, operating as checks and balances to management and capable of claiming the initiative during processes of change.

This development can strengthen individual autonomy. This was especially clear in the emergence of team leaders, generally seen as *primus inter pares* by the teachers in the setting. This form of distributed leadership involved team leaders in enhanced line roles – supervising others to ensure improved performance, a role that the team leaders interviewed indicated as being highly rewarding (see chapter 7). The implementation of new curricula meant that team leaders fulfilled project roles – orchestrating use of resources to achieve specific ends and networking roles as they led their teams in working together to tackle common problems and pursue shared educational purposes. My findings indicate a link between forms of distributed leadership and the ability to engage successfully with change, and I can concur with Hargreaves; ‘Sustainable leadership is distributed leadership’ (Hargreaves, A. 2007:225). Therefore it is possible to conclude that the development of self-managing teams can counterbalance the strengthened steering core of modern day H.E. organizations, and provide opportunities for self-actualization for the teachers who belong to these communities of practice.

Although it was suggested that senior and even institute level management played a limited role in facilitating engagement with post-Bologna change, recommendations concerning their behaviour and attitudes may still be made. Notwithstanding the generally successful engagement of teachers in the setting with Bologna driven changes, the process had its casualties. Good leadership could have focused teacher energy on engagement with change. To conclude that teaching professionals do not need managing, and that granting teachers professional autonomy is all that is needed for their successful engagement with change would be misguided as well as impracticable. Furthermore, the ability of educational

management to facilitate teacher engagement with change seems likely to become increasingly significant for a number of reasons.

Of immediate importance is the need for managerial attention to the motivation of older teachers. The demographics of the Dutch teaching profession in the first decade of the twenty first century, with a preponderance of teachers in their 50s, necessitates it. The implementation of Information Technology in the 1980s posed a challenge to older teachers comparable in some ways to that presented by the implementation of the Bologna agenda. Administrative and teaching personnel then too faced the challenge of engagement with systemic change. The stress of adapting to a computerized working environment was compounded with the high levels of “burn out” found in the teaching profession. For those unable to rise to the challenge a solution was found in the possibility to take early retirement. Departure from the labour process at the age of 57 became the norm. However, this “solution” is no longer available because it is too expensive. Governmental policy is now focused on retaining the Dutch workforce in employment until retirement age. This means that teachers in the Netherlands will be expected to work until they are 65, and as from 2011, until they are 67⁴. Therefore there is an immediate need for human resource management initiatives focusing on re-skilling and re-motivating of older teachers.

Traditionally in the Netherlands, the teaching profession has been a lifetime’s career choice. Therefore, there is a need for educational managers to develop practices and policies that ensure the long-term employability of the teaching profession. Newly qualified teachers require career perspectives incorporating opportunities for continuing professional development. Their status as knowledge workers implies constant updating of their knowledge base. The organizations in which they work expect flexibility and professionalism in changing times. Educational managers, therefore will have to nurture the competence of successful engagement with change in the teachers for whom they are responsible. Induction programmes promoting the development of change management strategies would be equally relevant to recruits to the teaching profession from outside the educational sector.

Most importantly, good educational provision demands teachers are open to educational innovation, their knowledge is up to date and they are capable of operating in a variety of educational contexts. It would be a commonplace to suggest that changing the organizational culture is the real agenda for educational

4 *Implementation of this measure will be phased.*

managers. However, the decision whether or not to allow teachers autonomy will be predicated upon the managerial view of teacher work ethics. A manager who considers teachers to be fundamentally lazy and unwilling or incapable of assuming responsibility is unlikely to grant teachers autonomy. However, a manager who believes that teachers are capable of creativity and initiative is more likely to trust to the operations of teacher autonomy. 'Values such as commitment to truth and enquiry and mutual trust are highly important components of a culture which encourages distributed leadership' (Woods *et al*, 2004). Therefore trusting teachers to make good use of the professional space granted to them - and guiding that process - should be a managerial objective. Instead of reaching for the blunt instrument of reorganization educational managers should judiciously grant teachers autonomy in order to facilitate processes of engagement with change. Perhaps the most useful thing a manager can then do for teachers is to give them freedom of operation and ensure the development of multiple feedback loops on teacher performance. Student satisfaction surveys, employer evaluations of graduates, collegial processes of reflection and intervision and performance evaluations can all play a role in guiding teacher autonomy.

Evaluation of the research process

During a longitudinal research process, changes in the state of mind and perceptions of both the researcher and the researched will undoubtedly take place. When I began my research journey in 2006 I was both more positive about the process of undertaking research and more negative about the impact of change processes than I am now in 2010 as I approach the conclusion of my research efforts. The experience of the conduct of research in combination with full time employment and a busy private life has been exhausting. One of the drivers behind my decision to embark on this research project was a desire to make a contribution to practice within my workplace. This implies communicating my research findings at senior management level, to institute directors and to teachers. However, policy changes have meant that opportunities to disseminate my research findings - plentifully available when I started my research – have been curtailed within my workplace. However, I have actively participated within a network of colleagues engaged in obtaining Doctorates and have been able to present my findings at institute level and at a research symposium. The opportunities to present my research were extremely valuable because the critical appraisal to which peers subject an insider researcher derives from subject experts. Outside FUAS I was fortunate to be able to submit and present papers to two congresses¹. Here too I benefitted from the insights of my community of practice. The experience of interacting with others engaged in conducting research has been personally enriching. It has also given a fresh impetus to my work in general and specifically benefited my teaching of Academic English.

When I embarked on the research process I viewed its conduct lightly. However, the reality of making appointments with busy interviewees, interviewing, making field notes and writing up interview reports before I could even start analyzing the data soon made clear that I had under-estimated how time consuming it would be. Because of pressures of time I was unable to explore engagement with change in other contexts. Although I am aware that my depiction of what is happening in Dutch teaching universities is my own interpretation, and therefore has its limitations, I am also conscious of having striven to give an accurate account. Unfortunately I was unable to supplement it with an investigation of engagement with change in Dutch research universities. Quite possibly other interpretations are

¹ DICOEN, Nottingham University, September 2007 and SRHE Congress, Liverpool, December 2008.

prevalent in them. Likewise, the Humboldtian tradition of German *Fachhochschulen* could have offered fascinating insights into change processes in another vocationally orientated university context (Weiler, 2005; Ash, 2006). However, I did not have the time to pursue this line of enquiry. Similarly, although I have studied within British H.E., I had to recognize my outsider status where engagement with change in British universities is concerned, and my constrained ability to contrast and compare. Certainly, an examination of the processes undergone by British polytechnics after assuming university status in the early 90s could have been of use. It is possible that the reduction of opportunities to make comparisons has led to the creation of blind spots of which I am not fully aware. However, the opportunity to engage with existing theory provided by the literature review can counteract such limitations.

Two other not fully explored avenues of investigation opened up during the research process. The first one is discussed in so far as it relates to the theme of autonomy, although it could be developed in more depth in further research. The increasing use of e-mail and the introduction of electronic agendas were laughingly referred to by my interviewees as “surveillance technology.” Interviewees indicated that they broke down the division between private and working life and imposed a 24/7 work regimen on them. The pressure to deal with e-mail inboxes punctually could be ironically compared to the surveillance machinery of Foucault’s Panopticon, which was intended;

‘to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power ... that the perfection of power should tend to render its actual exercise unnecessary, in short that the inmates should be caught up in a power situation of which they themselves are the bearers’ (Foucault, 2002:201).

It is easy to be dismissive of these pressures, and my interviewees were not entirely serious in their accounts. However, in the context of increasing online educational provision an investigation of the impact of Information and Communication Technology on the working lives of university teachers could add to our understanding of the academic workplace. By this I do not mean the extent to which teachers use Internet for educational and research purposes, but the consequences for teachers of their usage in organizational communication flows. The extent to which ICT depersonalizes and objectifies participants in organizational communication flows needs examination, and good practice should be established.

The second area of enquiry that I did not fully pursue had to do with the induction

of recruits with business backgrounds to the teaching profession. This fell outside the scope of my research project. However, in the light of governmental initiatives to address teacher shortages by re-training graduates from business backgrounds, and with a view to smoothing the transition from business to the teaching profession, it would be useful to explore the experiences of those who follow this career trajectory. Although the experiences of NQTs have been extensively documented (Nias, 1991) little attention has been paid to this special category of entrants to the teaching profession. It is necessary here to point out a general absence of attention to Human Resource Management issues within Dutch H.E. Internet searches were unproductive, and internal FUAS documentation on the subject was in short supply. However, teacher shortages and an awareness of the need for professionalization of university teaching are leading to a renewed HRM focus. At the time of my recruitment in 1991 teachers were recruited on the basis of subject expertise, and little value was attached to teaching competence. It was assumed that new recruits would learn by doing, and could fall back on their own experiences as learners. However, as I have indicated in the previous chapter, new recruits are now expected to have completed a teaching qualification and there is more awareness – partially due to the demand for good student satisfaction ratings – of the need for professionalization of university teaching. To support this process more research into the Human Resources Management of university teachers is needed.

Finally, it is my responsibility to the research process to indicate that the conclusion that community of practice and social learning theory and the implementation of distributed leadership models can help teachers to engage with change needs further exploration. As Woods *et al* (2004) observe, there is a need for further investigation of issues concerned with the development and sustainment of distributed leadership. Although my findings suggest a link between a positive team experience and the ability to engage successfully with change, Hargreaves' (2003) claim that distributed leadership can help to reduce teacher alienation (often an outcome of failure to engage with change) needs further interrogation. The teachers I researched could not be described as alienated, although some of them were suffering from change fatigue, professional inertia and disillusionment with the organization. Because I did not encounter alienated teachers in my research samples, although I am prepared to believe they are to be found in the research population, I am unable to validate Hargreaves' claims. However, my findings do reveal a correlation between positive experience of team membership and willingness to engage with change. Therefore, further examination of the ways in which a positive team experience can be used to professionalize and focus teachers during change processes is indicated.

Most importantly, research is needed into the relationship between distributed leadership and improved student outcomes. Although Fullan (2001) suggests a link, little attention has been paid to testing this assumption. If a link could be established, this would be a powerful argument for the implementation of community of practice and distributed leadership models. Should the existence of self managing teams operating as communities of practice prove to offer not only improved perspectives for professional development, but also to lead to improved educational provision, then a significant area of research would open up concerning how distributed leadership in educational settings should be put in place. Top down implementation of distributed leadership seems to be a contradiction in terms. Little is known about the processes of bottom up initiation of distributed leadership. Therefore, much research still needs to be done on the organizational cultures that support forms of distributed leadership and the social environment that promotes professional learning. Certainly my research indicates that there is a correlation between a positive team experience and successful processes of professional development. The significance of team leadership in facilitating engagement with change also became clear during the research process, even though there was a scant attention for leadership development or team training in the research setting.

I have indicated that I found the research process time consuming. However, taking short cuts seems likely to lead to poor research outcomes. A laborious process is justifiable if it produces a more accurate and inclusive depiction of the research setting and those participating in it. I am convinced that the use of a qualitative insider analysis, using semi-structured interviewing and thematic data analysis was effective in producing reliable research findings. Qualitative insider analysis has the advantage of in-depth understanding of the research setting and is directed by the concerns of the research participants. This enabled situational reflection, leading to well-grounded conclusions. My research objective was to unite the world of research – of observing and reflecting, analysing and synthesizing – with the world of action, in that I wanted to generate practice –based recommendations for all those concerned with the research setting. Ultimately my conclusions and recommendations – the implications for practice hypothesized from the process of meaning making, reflection and intuitive connection undergone by the qualitative researcher - are the touchstones of my research. However, scrutiny of the process of emerging from the “swamp” phase of data collection is necessary in evaluating those conclusions and recommendations.

The data that forms the basis of my findings derived from semi-structured interviewing. I conducted and analysed all the interviews myself. Quite possibly

another interviewer would have obtained different results. However, because I interviewed in Dutch, and transcribed in English it was not possible to find a replacement. I am unable to be certain that the research process was unaffected by myself as interviewer, and by the translation process – although I was conscious of these issues, and relying on procedural objectivity, did my best to minimize their impact during the research process. In addition, my primary objective was not replicability, but providing a coherent and illuminating perspective on a situation (Donmoyer, 1990; Schofield, 1993). My evaluation of the appropriateness of semi-structured interviewing as a data gathering technique is generally positive. I am convinced that the interview was the least intrusive research method I could use. The interviewing style was not acerbic and the objectives were to put interviewees at their ease, and help them express themselves. Although it might seem irrelevant to an assessment of research methodology, I enjoyed interviewing my colleagues, and received feedback from them that confirmed that they had enjoyed the process too, even though painful subjects had at times been touched upon. The interviews were controlled encounters that were intended to be gently confrontational without provoking defensive answers. My interviewees were generally open and unguarded. This trustfulness concerned me: when I cited from interviews I was conscious that I was exploring the boundaries of their reliance on my judgment. It was more ethically challenging when interviewees referred to others who had not been invited to participate in the research process. I have included accounts of abuse of autonomy because they contribute to the research findings. Other, less salient material concerning colleagues not invited to participate in the research process has been put aside.

My colleagues approved my interview reports and verified that the description of the research setting corresponded as closely as possible to the realities of others involved in the setting. Inviting critique strengthens the research process, and this could be done not only when the interview reports were presented to the research subjects for approval, but also when I discussed my research within FUAS and outside it. Engagement with the writings of other researchers as I struggled to review the literature, discussion with fellow students during participation in seminars and careful attention to feedback from my supervisors all contributed to this process. These activities were intended to expose my research process to critique. As Phillips has indicated, the way to produce objectivity in qualitative research is acceptance of the critical tradition;

‘A view that is objective is one that has been opened up to scrutiny, to vigorous examination, to challenge. It is a view that has been teased out, analysed, criticized, debated – in general, it is a view that has been forced to face the demands of reason and evidence’ (Phillips, 1989:66).

I have been encouraged to discover that my research objective – to explore the role of autonomy in facilitating engagement with change processes, specifically in a post-Bologna teaching university – has a wider resonance. The Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (MOCW) has commissioned a research into teacher autonomy entitled "The professional span of teacher authority" (*De zeggenschap van leraren, 2009*). The impulse behind the research is summarized as;

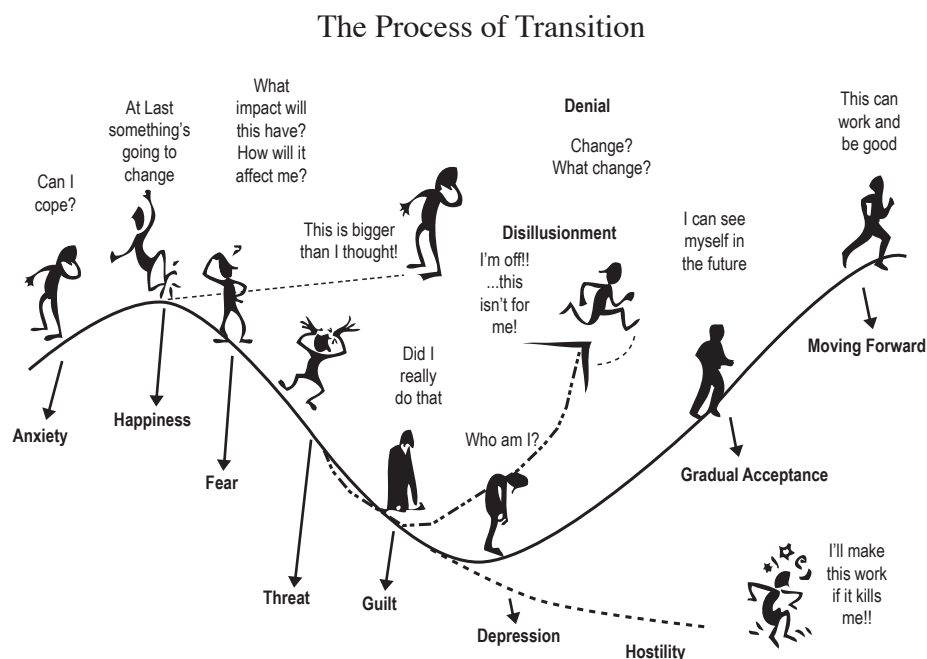
'In the Action Plan for the teacher workforce the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science has put the professional span of teacher authority high on the agenda. This concerns the professional space for teachers and the extent to which teachers experience control over, and in cooperation with colleagues give meaning to their daily work, and the tasks associated with it. Involvement of teachers with decision-making is essential to strengthen the position of teachers. This will lead to better quality of educational provision and improve the attractiveness of the teaching profession" (Hogeling *et al*, 2009:4).

It is gratifying to see that the role of teacher autonomy as an instrument for quality improvement and enhancing the attractiveness of the teaching profession is receiving attention by policy makers.

I have indicated that when I started the research process I was more negative about the impact of change processes on my workplace than I am at the conclusion of the research. My conclusion is that this is due to a major hazard encountered by insider researchers – the difficulty of sufficiently objectifying one's personal perceptions (Kogan, 1994). It seems probable that, like my colleagues, I underwent the gamut of emotional experience described in Fisher's (1999) model of processes of change (see Fig.10.1). The process of scrambling to one's feet depicted in the model was facilitated by the experience of meaning making – of being able to make sense of events – that I together with my research subjects underwent during this process. The passing of time plays a key role in processes of engaging with change (Smith, 2010, personal communication).

For myself as insider researcher this has meant the application of 'a judicious combination of involvement and estrangement' (Hammersley, 1993:219) during engagement with change in the decade under review. Initial reactions have been subjected to critical examination, and adjusted accordingly (Thomas & James, 2006). My preliminary attitude to the concept of teacher autonomy is an example of this; when I embarked on the research process I considered autonomy to be the key to successful engagement with change. I had failed to question the interpretation prevailing in my workplace – an interpretation that has obvious attractions

Fig. 10.1 Fisher's model of the process of transition



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for the teachers who espouse it. Four years later, my views have become more nuanced. Instead of taking on board the commonly accepted view of the situation, a process of stepping back and re-evaluation has taken place. As Kemmis explains; '... the dialectic of reconstituting meanings from actions by interpretation is always a process of relative emancipation This dialectical process of reconstruction is a key part of the critical self-reflection of the researcher' (1993:183). Not only the researcher; a more positive attitude to recent developments prevails amongst the research subjects – the interviewees - at this phase of their process of engagement with change. Gradual acceptance and movement forward characterize the research setting as the research process comes to a conclusion. I am able to concur with Clegg's conclusion that personal values can be preserved in the changing academic workplace;

'As personal identities are reaffirmed and remade it appeared that, despite the managerial context, most of the people I interviewed continued to act in accordance with their own values. This does not mean there is no pain or regret, but that one of the peculiarities of the academic world does seem to be that very high levels of reflexivity combined with sufficient spaces for autonomous action allow the balance between personal projects and institutional strategy to continue, if not necessarily in harmony, then at least without a major rupture' (2008:340)

However, research is conducted in order to learn something, and not as a form of therapy. Therefore I will examine the implications of the recommendations con-

cerning the factors that can be identified as enabling teachers to respond positively to engagement with change.

During the decade subsequent to the signing of the Bologna Declaration demographic change in the composition of the undergraduate intake – the drive to educate 50% of the population to first degree level in order to meet knowledge economy demands and Bologna Declaration ambitions – has led to an increasingly massified student population. The greying of the teacher corps available to teach these students has backgrounded the rise in student numbers. Increased accountability pressures and linkage of student attainment with funding allocation have been brought to bear on universities. Societal developments mean that an increasing number of students who are the first generation to attend universities and originate from diverse backgrounds are embarking on undergraduate study. Technological developments, particularly in Information Technology, mean that access to and transmission of knowledge have been transformed in the web-enabled university. Political tensions between European ideals and national realities have advanced and receded during the implementation of the Bologna agenda. Its implementation has been woven with wider change processes impacting on European H.E. This research carried out in a Dutch teaching university in the post – Bologna decade focuses on engaging with specific Bologna agenda change in the context of general demographic, economic, social, technical and political change.

In the rationale in chapter 2 FUAS, a Dutch teaching university, was described as having a representative function. A description of the process of implementing the Bologna agenda in this teaching university, from the date of signature to the deadline for implementation in 2010, was used as the basis for a case study investigation of engagement with change. Because change in the decade researched was so wide-ranging, it provides insights into a more generalized experience of engagement with change processes and affords a range of insights into how engagement with change can be facilitated. Drawing conclusions about the past is interesting, but the researcher's added value lies in generating recommendations for future practice based on these conclusions. This implies turning from the rendition of past events to discern the contours of future developments. One prediction can be made with certainty – H.E. in the Netherlands, and probably throughout the Bologna signatory countries, will be increasingly subject to financial pressures. Therefore the FUAS style of educational provision will probably become widespread. Vocational degree courses, a diverse student population requiring pastoral care if it is to progress to graduation and pressures on first, second and third source funding will characterize these H.E. workplaces. How

are the teachers who work in them to develop their ability to engage successfully with change? What factors can be identified as enabling teachers to engage successfully with change?

Firstly, it is clear that effective organizational communication is one of the critical success factors in promoting engagement with change. Those responsible for setting change processes in motion should not underestimate the challenge of providing this communication, or the time lag before the message is received and understood. It is an important task of educational managers to ensure that this communication with teachers does not falter or stagnate. Equally, communication should not be a top down one-way flow, and therefore authentic opportunities for teachers to express the realities of their experience of engagement with change have to be nurtured.

Teachers are the Critical Success Factors of the organizations they work in. Their understanding of teaching and learning processes, the product of their experience and training, means that they make the difference in the H.E. organizations they work in, and therefore should be valued as such. However, a remarkable lack of attention to Human Resource Management was apparent in the research setting. Educational management should engage with the task of providing a learning environment for teachers. This implies career development and lifelong learning strategic thinking. A workplace that encourages professionalism, adaptability and an ability to engage with change will benefit from the knowledge workers it has developed.

The use of reorganization as a management tool observed in the research setting is counterproductive. Paying teachers to go away is an expensive short-term solution that has long-term negative organizational consequences. It is perceived as rewarding under-performance. Organizational effort should be invested in enabling teachers to operate in changing workplace environments and winning commitment to change.

The opportunity to refresh theoretical knowledge and investigate practice provided by active engagement in research should be available to teachers in H.E. organizations. Involvement with the production of knowledge is an important way of invigorating teachers, and ensuring that they possess the intellectual flexibility to engage with change. It is a Bologna objective and accreditation requirement that by 2020 20% of university teachers possess Doctorates. This policy initiative will tend to promote professional adaptability to changing educational contexts. Teachers derive important social and intellectual benefits from the opportunity

to work in teams – especially if the teams possess the benign characteristics of communities of practice. The implementation and maintenance of self-managing teams should be put on the organizational H.E. agenda. Teachers should receive training in the social competences required by teamwork. Teams that are malfunctioning or stale should be reorganized. Promoting the health of teams should be high on the organizational agenda - and teams should be nurtured because they possess the attributes of change agency.

Distributed leadership flourishes in teams, and confers organizational benefits. Therefore the implementation of distributed leadership models is recommended. Distributed leadership offers important benefits for teachers. It confers autonomy, tempered by responsibility, on the teaching professional, and as such plays an important role in the recruitment, retention and ongoing motivation of teachers. However, teachers need support when assuming leadership roles, and CPD activities and career planning processes should focus on providing appropriate training.

An appeal to professionalism and teacher values can facilitate teacher engagement with change. Teachers know more about their work than managers. They expect to be granted autonomy in exchange for their education and experience. However, this autonomy should be mediated by awareness of the entitlements of others – colleagues, students, stakeholders. Additionally, processes of experiential learning in community of practice settings can support the professional learning of teachers. It is a task of educational leaders to ensure that teachers receive the opportunities they need to undergo continuing professional development. However, ultimately teachers have to deserve autonomy.

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Appendices:

1. Historical overview of the setting since 1991
2. Questionnaire teachers 2006
3. Questionnaire teachers 2007
4. Questionnaire work group
5. Questionnaire managers
6. Questionnaire vice chancellor
7. Questionnaire team leaders
8. Questionnaire students
9. Questionnaire new recruits
10. Example of interview report

Appendix 1. Historical overview of the setting since 1999

Although I am aware of the risk of producing ‘a cat’s cradle of boring minutiae’ (Clark, 2004:6) a brief background account of the researcher’s workplace is necessary to understand the research process. Prior to 1999 (the date of the signing of the Bologna Declaration) I was in full-time employment in the Institute of Logistics (*Vervoersacademie*) in Venlo. This narrative begins in 1999 with the reorganization described in section 3. A number of temporary contracts were terminated during this reorganization, and it became possible for me to transfer to the Institute of Business Cadre (*Bedrijfskader*) located in Eindhoven (my home town) and Tilburg. My former place of employment, the Institute of Logistics, Venlo, was merged with the Institute of Business Engineering (*Technische Bedrijfskunde*) in Eindhoven to form the Institute of Logistics & Business Management, where I also teach. These three institutes formed the ‘bounded system’ (Stake, 2005:444) of the research setting until 2009 when they were demerged (see below).

In 2001, after experiencing a period of mis-management and damaging internal division, the teachers of Business Cadre responded by removing their Director. A new director appointed by the Governing Board replaced him. A major task confronted the Institute of Business Cadre; it offered a two-year course, which subsequent to the post-Bologna introduction of Bachelor degree courses had to be increased to four years (the length of Bachelor degree courses in the Netherlands). This involved extensive processes of curriculum re-design, development and accreditation that led to the launch in 2004 of the Bachelor of Engineering course in Business Management of Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (*Bedrijfsmanagement MKB*).

In 2005 the Faculty of Innovation, Science & Technology (comprising ten institutes, including those that form the research setting) was reorganized. Declining enrolments, pressure on financial resources and evident overlap between courses necessitated an organizational re-think. The objective was to increase student enrolments to four newly-structured engineering departments (Information Technology, Applied Sciences, Engineering and Technology & Business Management), introduce competence-based curricula in a web-enabled environment and reorganize the teaching and support staff. A screening procedure, in which directors reviewed the past performance of teachers and administrative personnel, who were also assessed by an organizational psychologist and took intelligence and aptitude tests, determined who would find employment in the new organization. It is probably impossible to reorganize without hurting feelings, damaging careers and demotivating employees. Certainly there is agreement from all levels

of the hierarchy that the reorganization of the Faculty of Innovation, Science and Technology was mismanaged. It demoralized teachers, polarized the organization and distracted attention from the wider context of change.

As a result of the reorganization the Institute of Technology and Business Management was formed from the merged Institutes of Logistics, Business Management SME and Business Engineering. Of its former personnel, two directors and fourteen teachers and administrative personnel were transferred, took early retirement or left the organization. The new Institute of Engineering & Business Management was located in Venlo, Eindhoven and Tilburg. On 1st March 2007 the payroll of the Institute of Engineering and Business Management listed 173 teachers (133.65 full time equivalents) of whom 119 (95.30 f.t.e.s) were male and 54 (38.34 f.t.e.s) were female.

Whilst not a direct outcome of the reorganization, during the period August 2006 - July 2007, all merger partners forming the Institute of Technology and Business Management moved to new accommodation in Eindhoven, Venlo or Tilburg.

After eighteen months in function, the surviving director who had been appointed to head the Institute of Technology and Business Management took up employment outside FUAS. At Board level there was acceptance that the combination of courses and locations that formed the Institute of Technology and Business Management was unworkable. As our vice chancellor explained, "You can't delete the past, and there are situations like the Institute of Technology and Business Management where we are wrestling with organizational forms". In January 2008 two new directors were appointed to the Institute of Technology and Business Management. Their first major task was to unbundle the institute. As from January 2009 I work in the Institute of Business Management & Technology (the change in word order indicates a shift of curricular emphasis), located in Eindhoven and Tilburg and formed from the Business Management SME and Business Engineering courses, whilst in Venlo the Institute of Logistics and Engineering goes its separate way.

The Vice-Chancellor of a university (or Chairman of the Governing Board, according to Dutch nomenclature) can be seen as the central role player in directing change initiatives (HEFCE, 2007). In March 2007 a new Vice Chancellor was appointed to FUAS. Under his predecessor, growth via mergers and takeovers underpinned by efforts to increase student numbers had been pre-eminent; the new incumbent defined a new focus for FUAS. Improving the quality of the provision of undergraduate education, as defined by student satisfaction rankings, stake-

holder feedback and accreditation organs, was the new organizational objective. The search for excellence rather than increased participation was prioritized and a no nonsense culture of accountability was to replace the bureaucratic decision making processes associated with his predecessor. Associate and Masters degrees, Doctoral research and consultancy activities were all to be subsumed to the drive to provide excellent undergraduate education².

The director appointed at the same time to the Institute of Business Management and Engineering commenced rolling out these objectives within the Institute.

² *The new focus was simply expressed in numbers. A full-time employee was to work for 1,659 hours during 42 teaching weeks per annum. A student should receive a minimum number of 20 contact hours weekly and ideally obtain 60 credit points annually. The desired percentage of student linked working hours of a teacher was to be 70%. A ratio of 60/40 teaching to administrative personnel was implemented, and 15% was the amount of the budget allocated to accommodation.*

Appendix 2. Questionnaire teachers 2006

1. **Preliminaries:** reason for interview, ground rules
2. **Scene setting questions:** when start working for FUAS, in what capacity
3. **Development of new competences:** Has the way you teach changed? In what ways. Do you think students have different needs? Could you explain your answer? Have you developed new competences in the work situation not specifically related to your teaching activities?
4. **The organizational norms and values:** How would you describe the atmosphere in your work situation? How would you characterize the contacts between colleagues? If you have a work-related problem what help can you expect from colleagues?
5. **The team:** How is your team composed? Could you give some examples of typical team activities? How does your team function, in your opinion? Do you feel closer to team members than other colleagues? Can you expect special support from your fellow team members?
6. **Relationship with superiors:** If you have a work-related problem would you discuss it with your team leader? A personal/ domestic problem? What contacts do you have with your Director? How would you describe your ideal boss?
7. **Promotion and reward systems:** How was your present Director selected? How was your team leader chosen? How are vacancies filled in your department? Do you feel that career ambitions are recognized in your department? Do you see a place for performance-related pay for university teachers?
8. **Ending:** Is there anything I haven't asked you which you would like to add? I will have my notes for your approval on is that OK? Could I interview you again in the future?

Appendix 3. Questionnaire: FUAS teachers 2007

A. Introduction:

1. Could you give me a short overview of your career history to begin with?
2. Could you describe your present work situation?

B. The external environment and Fontys University of Applied Sciences

3. How would you describe FUAS to an outsider?
4. Is there a difference between its mission in the past and its mission nowadays? Or has it always had the same objectives?
5. What do you think FUAS wants to achieve in the coming 5 years?
6. Where will it be at in the second decade of the 21st century!
7. How would you describe FUAS as a place to work to an outsider?
8. FUAS calls itself a learning community. Is that a good description? Do you feel that you have the opportunity to grow and develop as a professional?
9. As you know, a lot of national legislation derives from supra-national European Union policy initiatives. How would you describe the changes brought about by the Bologna process?
10. Do you think these changes have given you more autonomy or less as a teaching professional?

C. Departmental level

11. Could you describe your first Director of Studies at FUAS?
12. Operational leadership - what do you expect of a D.o.S. in terms of management style nowadays? How do you think teachers should be managed?

13. Do you think you have the discretion to make decisions about your work nowadays? Could you give examples?
14. Has the amount or type of freedom to take make decisions about your work changed in recent years?

D. Team membership

15. Could you explain how your team is structured? Do you have a team leader?
16. What do you see as the objectives of your team?
17. What do you like about being in a team? Is there a downside? Could you explain your reactions?
18. Project and competence focused teaching means that we work together far more nowadays. How do you feel about that?
19. Are there occasions when you feel unable to teach in the way you want nowadays?
20. Are there times when you feel unable to assess students as you want?
21. Do you see team membership as protecting teacher autonomy, or not?
22. Has the relationship between colleagues changed in recent years?

E. Personal well being and work situation

23. How would you rate your personal wellbeing? Specifically in terms of work / life balance.
24. Do you feel stressed in your work situation? If so, what sort of things do you feel are stressful?
25. Are there things about your work situation you perceive as improvements on the situation when you started working here? Or since the turn of the century?
26. Has your work situation become more pressured? Are there things about

your work situation which you perceive as negative developments?
Do you see your work situation as equitable? Do you get a fair deal? Has this changed?

27. What opportunities does your work situation provide for you to grow and develop?

28. What opportunities for taking decisions as a professional are there? Has this changed?

F. Winding down

Thanks for cooperation, arrangements for interview report, request for further interview, and reminder about confidentiality.

Appendix 4. Questionnaire workgroup curriculum development

1. How did you become involved in the workgroup?
2. Could you describe how the workgroup is organized?
3. What is your area of specialization or expertise?
4. Was “distributed leadership” an aspect of the workgroup’s operations?
5. What was the role of the different course backgrounds and discipline orientations?
6. Looking back, could you analyze which factors helped make the process successful?
7. Were there constraints? What were they?
8. What lessons can be learned from the process?

Appendix 5. Questionnaire – Managers

The organizational experience:

1. Could you tell me something about your career history? How did you become deputy / director?
2. Would you describe yourself as a manager? Is it difficult to reconcile managerial objectives and collegial values? Were you trained for the position? Do you experience a tension between hierarchy and collegiality? Have you in the past?
3. Would you agree that H.E. has become a hot item politically recently? Why is that?
Public accountability – is that the reason for increasing efficiency and the emphasis on quality control standards?
4. Steering at a distance? Institutes are given funding, and are then answerable for its allocation. Does this mean institutes have more autonomy? Are financial incentives used for steering? Or performance indicators such as accreditation?
5. Has the role of the governing body (RvB) strengthened in recent years? Has it weakened?
6. Is the decision-making process now more transparent than in the past?
7. Is there more attention for teacher performance than in the past?
8. Are teachers the key success factor for institutional success?
9. Is the communication of policies essential for successful change implementation?
10. Is there more bureaucracy because of the need for accountability?
11. Directors have to answer to the central organization. Do you think directors have enough power (taken en bevoegdheden) to meet the demands?
12. Are you able to take long term strategic decisions?

Appendix 6. Questionnaire: vice chancellor

1. Binary system: teaching and research universities. Will it survive in the Netherlands? In the US and Britain ranking systems re-create the binary system. Would that happen in the Netherlands where all H.E. providers are assumed to be of equal quality?
2. What effects of globalization do you perceive in the Dutch situation?
3. How would you describe changes in the relationship between FUAS and the external community? Stakeholders such as employers, for example?
4. How would you describe the changes in participation in governance procedures by community stakeholders? Is it intensifying? Are different demands being made? Is the autonomy of FUAS increasing or decreasing?
5. Do you see FUAS' role as providing input for a knowledge-driven economy? Is this role changing?
6. Government funding mechanisms seem to have given the HE institution more autonomy. Is this really so? What kind of pressures does output – related funding impose on FUAS?
7. The FUAS mission statement uses the language of business. Is FUAS imitating profit sector managerial models?
8. Dutch HE has seen a number of mergers recently. Private sector mergers are often expensive and time-consuming before they deliver results. Is this also true of the FUAS experience? Do you think the merger process will continue?
9. FUAS has been described as “an organized anarchy”. Do you think this description fits? How strong is top down control within FUAS?
10. Is it true that introducing educational innovation means changing teacher identity? How does this process happen? Is it orderly and rational? How should it be managed?
11. All changes are linked to new sets of values and moral codes. What are they, do you think?

12. Managing change is really about managing those who will be affected by change. Do you agree with this statement? How should it be done?
13. Change creates winners and losers. Is it true that resistance to change is often due to status anxiety, or a defending territory? How should a manager deal with the losers in change processes?
14. Could you define what you understand as teacher autonomy? Do you feel teachers have more or less autonomy now than in the past? In what ways do you think teacher autonomy is being impacted on by change processes?
15. I think the concept of “distributed leadership” is significant in successful implementation of change. Do you agree? Do you observe distributed leadership operating in FUAS? Would you promote it?

Appendix 7. Questionnaire team leaders

1. Could you describe the process by which you became team leader?
2. How long have you been a team leader?
3. Could you describe your tasks as team leader? (Prompts: What takes most time? What do you find most important? What do you least like doing?)
4. Could you describe what sort of authority you have? (prompts: sanctions, punishments)
5. What are you responsible for?
6. To whom are you accountable?
7. Could you explain about your activities external to the team? (Prompts: Management Team, Team Leaders Team)
8. How much autonomy do you have?
9. Has the extent of your autonomy changed?
10. Has the extent of the autonomy of the individual team member changed? (Prompts: educational provision, assessment, deployment)
11. How much autonomy do you think the director here has?
12. What teams have you seen in the team experience in the last ten years (when appropriate)?
13. What changes do you expect to see in the experience of team leadership?
14. What sort of qualities does a team leader need to have?
15. What sort of training did you receive prior to becoming team leader? Do you have any suggestions for further training?
16. Would you like to add anything?

Appendix 8. Questionnaire – students

1. Could you tell me something about your education before FUAS?
2. Could you describe the teaching methods you have experienced in the past?
3. How would you describe the teaching methods you have experienced here?
4. Do you feel that the subject matter of projects and case studies is up to date?
5. Do you feel that the teaching methods are up to date?
6. Do you notice processes of Europeanization in your education?
7. What do the developments round major / minor and Bachelor / Master mean to you?
8. Did you realize that the teachers here work in teams?
9. How do you think the teams are structured?
10. How much freedom do you think that teachers have to teach as they want?
11. How much freedom do you think that teachers have to assess students as they want?
12. How much autonomy do you think that teachers have?

Appendix 9 Questionnaire: new recruits

1. Could you tell me about your educational background?
2. What is your career history?
3. Why did you start working here?
4. How do you feel about working as a teacher?
5. What differences are there between your previous job and your work here?
6. How would you describe the level of autonomy here?
7. What do you notice about the relationships in the work situation?
8. What about the work content?
9. Do you have any recommendations for the organization?
10. Do you have anything to add about the subject of teacher autonomy?

Appendix 10: Example of interview report: Interview held in project room 1.83, 03/04/08

I chose to sit in a project room because I had a heavy cold – normally I let the interviewee choose.

P. seemed a bit shy in the beginning – rather unexpected!

1. Could you tell me about how you came to work for FUAS?

I started in 1991 together with two others (Theo Verbeek and Katinka van Garderen). Actually three vacancies were advertised but I was too modest to say I could fulfil all of them! Here Peter started relaxing – he omitted to mention R., with whom he also started. In fact I got a 'phone call asking if I would teach Bedrijfskunde (Business Management).

2. Could you describe your present work situation?

I teach Management & Organization – and a whole range of other subjects, including Mathematics, Statistics, and Corporate Economics – reference to this subject being my teams' responsibility (follow up theme of team rivalry) - and of course Philosophy! Prompt from me – and Internationalization (obviously not a priority)

3. How would you describe FUAS to an outsider?

It would depend who was asking! I would refer back to our history as Bedrijfskader, and explain about how we had developed to become Bedrijfsmanagement MKB – something we can be proud of. . Here I think P. did not answer my question – should have brought him back to subject.

4. Is there a difference between the mission of FUAS in the past, and nowadays?

No, the mission hasn't changed – provision of education. However, the manner of working is different. That frontal teaching, with knowledge transfer has been replaced by a different approach (under pressure of circumstances) P. ambivalent – likes constructivism, yet fears standards are falling – we want to let students experience for themselves, obtain experiential learning.

5. What do you think FUAS wants to achieve in the coming 5 years?

FUAS has to maintain its position between a number of large competitors. I think **cooperation** with the world of business and with other universities will be intensified. **Follow up cooperation as theme.**

6. How would you describe FUAS as a place to work?

Really nice! I'm talking about BMKB now, but FUAS as a whole as well. I'm sure I could be perfectly happy working somewhere else as well, but I've always enjoyed good contacts within my work situation here. **Categorize answers numerically.**

7. FUAS calls itself a learning community. Is that a good description?

There is an attempt to create the appropriate conditions. It does seem as if FUAS is trying to bet on two horses. There are developments (such as Verbraak's comments about the number of contact hours) which seem counterproductive. Learning for me is gaining experience – it should be facilitated, not forced. **Here I meant learning community for teachers – P. interpreted it literally, for students.**

8. How would you describe the changes brought about by the Bologna process?

Bachelor / Masters and Major / Minor systems – in themselves not really so great, and it's a shame about the implementation. The minor is good for the personal development **Most interviewees positive about minor – chance to follow up personal interests.** and students should be free to choose what they do – however, it seems that their freedom of choice is going to be reduced.

9. Do you think external changes have given you more or less freedom as a teaching professional?

I have developed a lot because I like doing it. I think we should have a lot of small modules – portions of theory – which we can get out of the book cases when necessary. We do too much – we should stand still for a while, and look at what everybody has done. **Reflective practitioner!** A lot of double work is done – that applies to us and the other team. There have to be other points of view, but we don't know what they are.

10. Could you describe your first Director?

It was Geert M. He was a really good director. He was funny, took decisions and was prepared to defend them. He invited confrontations (*vechtsfeer*) and was prepared to use arguments to overcome opponents. He managed to get people to back him. He kept his promises. New things were developed during his directorship. **All interviewees so far have given positive account of first director – distance lending enchantment to the view?**

11. What do you expect of a director nowadays?

The management style has changed. I wasn't involved in the accreditation, but it seems that Henk vdl personifies the new management style. What do we have to do with it? (*Wat moeten we daarmee?*) We went to Duerne and wasted some time! **Reference to unproductive away days.** I have the impression that our management doesn't really know what to do – we were invited to make suggestions because they didn't have any. **Like H.G. P. indicates lack of sense of direction by management.** We have just struggled on (*doorgemodderd*) with the development of the new foundation year, and we don't know if it has to be uniform or not. However, looking back, it does seem that Henk had the right capacities. He was human, and had the right attitudes, but was not able to communicate clearly with us. **Inability / reluctance to explain strategy referred to again. Why?**

12. Do you think you have the discretion to make decisions about your work nowadays?

Yes, to an extent. I estimate I can fill in 80% of my time according to my own insights. Because of my home situation **P.s wife is in the terminal stages of multiple sclerosis – his absences are noticed, but not condemned by colleagues** I try to do as much as possible at home. However, our Board of Directors says we have to be available to students. Of course, a student reasons; "I have a problem, and I need a teacher – right now". **P. feels pressured to answer student questions within 24 hours – should have raised this with him.** This might be efficient for the student, but not for the teacher. In the business world things are done differently. Actually, I don't really make a distinction between private life and work. Often I work at home with Communicator on at all hours of the day and night. I 'phone people up or mail them when it suits me – **reference to phone call to me last week.**

13. Has the amount of freedom to make decisions about your work changed in recent years?

There should be more freedom and fewer leaders. Unfortunately what we do have is more bureaucracy. I think we don't need leaders - professionals don't need management. Here we were interrupted by Rene asking if Peter was taking an exam!

14. How is your team structured? – not asked because I know – subject cluster Operations Management / Logistics Management.

15. What are the objectives of your team?

They have not been explicitly formulated, but I think we are all together on wanting to give good educational provision. Activities outside the team are often not discussed. What about team members (such as J.v.B.) whose activities are mainly outside the team?

16. What do you like / don't like about being in a team?

We are sensitive to one another (*elkaar goed aanvoelen*). We are honest, and we share the burdens – although I have to pay attention that this happens fairly. For example, I don't like having to tutor too much. Teacher reluctance to assume other roles? We have a year planning that allows us 12 weeks holiday, but in the past Rene and I often sat together and worked in the holidays. Now although the amount of activities has not been reduced we have fewer days off. Your activities have to be visible, and that's why I make a registration of my hours. Rather surprising – extreme reaction? Needs evaluation.

One thing I don't like is that the BMKB pragmatism often gets the upper hand. We solve problems incidentally rather than structurally. For example there is criticism of the demand led programme, but we have to get on with things. There are mistakes made with defining competences, for example, but we just keep going. Maybe this reaction is because I had a low score for result focus during the screening! Belbin test – defined as plant (creative, maverick).

17. Project and competence focused teaching mean that we work together more nowadays. How do you feel about that?

There is cooperation – we are flexible, and discuss together what we are going to do. I think all trying to do the same thing is not good – we shouldn't aim for uniformity. Students have to realize that every teacher has an own approach – just as it is outside the classroom.

18. Are there occasions when you feel unable to teach the way you want to?

No. I do prefer to teach things that I personally believe in, because then I work with **passion and emotion**. For example I had a film about why change is painful, with an interesting presentation, but the students' reaction was; "What do we have to know for the exam"? "Will I get study points for this?" It's as if I **can't get to them, can't inspire them** **sense of frustration** – this has to do with our assessment procedures – **check this**. All they have to do is pass their exams and tell a good story (example of daughter given). Put your energy in things that are important to you!

19. Are there times when you feel unable to assess students as you want?

If you look at Physics, it's clear that new discoveries are made regularly. Things that were once taken for granted are now really out of date. We need more ability to see things in perspective (*relativeringsvermogen*). Also students from other cultures interpret questions in different ways. It should be clear what we are testing.

20. Do you see team membership as protecting autonomy, or not?

Team membership protects autonomy. You can't get everything sorted on your own.

21. Has the relationship between colleagues changed in recent years?

I have to think back to our time in the **Jan Smitslaan!** **Good old days thinking – often discernible**. Then we used to get together on Friday afternoons. The location here splits up the team – really we should all sit together **reference to shortage of space – investigate further the influence of physical location on team performance**.

22. How would you describe your personal well being, specifically in terms of work / life balance?

It's Ok – I don't feel pressured. I don't see work as pressurizing, even though I have little private life **reference to situation at home**.

23. Do you feel stressed in your work situation?

No.

24. Are there things about your work situation you perceive as improvements?

All the facilities are much better – computers, beamers etc. I am one of the early adaptors of new technology – for example I built my own computer, hard disc and portal.

25. Has your work situation become more pressured?

Yes there is more **pressure of bureaucracy**. For example my **travel declaration**. I don't drive all that much, and so I don't submit it every month, as I am supposed to. I have saved up a few months' declarations, and now come to a total sum of €78 – I wonder if I will be paid!

26. Do you see your work situation as equitable?

Yes. Maybe students should see that they don't just evaluate us, but we also evaluate them. ????

27. What opportunities does your work situation provide for you to grow and develop?

It does offer opportunities. You have to take the initiative yourself – perhaps I have made too little use of them. It is nice that there are opportunities – I am jealous of the people who take them.

28. What opportunities do you have for taking decisions as a professional? Has this changed?

Yes, there are opportunities, although you have to be sure of support and agreement. For example I am interested in Cradle 2 Cradle. I have taken the initiative to organize a meeting about it – but I had to **use the FUAS house style on the publicity material** – even though I didn't like their version. And there wasn't any money for a lunch!

