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The dislocation of teaching and research and the reconfiguring of academic work

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The relationship between teaching and research is a touchstone in thinking about higher education. However, the last 40 years has seen the 'dislocation' of these core academic activities as a result of policy and operational decisions to distinguish the way they are funded, managed, assessed and rewarded. The activities of 'teaching' and 'research' are also disintegrating and the roles fragmenting, which, paradoxically, is allowing their reintegration in novel and innovative ways. However, this process cannot, ultimately, be successful without the fundamental reconfiguration of academic work to meet the needs of a different student cohort and a changing society and economy.

Keywords: teaching; research; teaching and research nexus; academic work; higher education policy

Introduction: the MBA in higher education management: a personal view

It was with great pleasure that I accepted Professor Shattock's invitation to speak at the conference celebrating ten years of the MBA in Higher Education Management (HEM) programme. I was part of the first cohort on the programme and was proud to be among those who graduated in March 2005, along with several others attending the conference. At the time, I was a policy adviser at Universities UK (UUK), and in the slightly odd position of being the only course participant not then working in an institution – although I had spent the best part of the 1990s at the University of Sussex. Initially, perhaps, I was conscious that I might be regarded as a mole and that I might be constantly quizzed for the official line of the vice-chancellors. However, I need not have worried. 'Course participants' – as we soon learned to call ourselves – quickly set aside organisational affiliations and were willing to examine issues and examples from a highly professional and usually impartial perspective. Likewise, here, I write as an individual, and not on behalf of Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) or the Government. What follows are my own personal and academic deliberations, and not to be taken as representative of any official line.

The MBA in HEM broadened my knowledge of the sector and how institutions operate. I met some senior and influential figures in the sector who generously shared their knowledge and experiences with us. Crucially, it allowed me to collaborate with other mid-career professionals in a wide range of roles, in a way that was not possible at either UUK or the University of Sussex, even. Longer term, I became much more familiar with the academic

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literature on higher education. Professors Shattock and Williams and others gave me the confidence – and, indeed, the opportunity – to submit writing for publication. This led to a period as a policy researcher at the Centre for Higher Education Research and Information (CHERI) at the Open University, sadly now defunct, during which I continued to publish and edited a couple of books.

In this contribution, I revisit an article I wrote while on the MBA programme as my starting point (Locke 2004). This was published in the journal, *Higher Education Management and Policy*, which Professor Shattock edited at the time. I weave in the findings of an international study of the *Changing Academic Profession* that I contributed to whilst at CHERI. I also draw on my own experience in the last 20 years of moving between roles in teaching, supporting learning, research and management, and in exploring the relationships between evidence, policy and practice. However, this is not a predominantly autobiographical sketch and I want to convey others' insights, too. This topic – the relationship between teaching and research – is a good vehicle for highlighting the contributions of a number of people who have taught on the MBA programme. Most of them, at some point in their writing and teaching, have commented on this relationship, because it is one of those touchstones in thinking about higher education. However, like so many touchstones, it has become clouded with use, misuse and even abuse.

First, the evidence base for the relationship is deeply flawed. In writing about the relationship, Elton (2001, 44) asserted:

> enquiries into the problem of the research–teaching link have been bedevilled by simplistic investigations which would not pass muster in any other research area.

Also, the topic is obscured by mythology. Hughes (2005, 26) concluded:

> It is an irony that research into, and reflection on, the relationships between research and teaching in higher education can sometimes fall short of the best standards of research. What we have is a field marked out by a number of myths that are hard to dislodge.

Finally, it is a highly politicised topic – a 'wicked' issue to use Watson's term (Watson 2000). Scott (2005, 53) started an essay on teaching and research in mass higher education by writing:

> The relationship between teaching and research is among the most intellectually tangled, managerially complex and politically contentious issues in mass higher education systems.

Re-visiting the teaching–research nexus

The article mentioned above started life as an MBA assignment on integrating research and teaching strategies. In it, I argued that the relationship between research and teaching has become a highly contested issue perhaps because evidence of synergy between them is so modest and inconclusive. I suggested that the separation of research and teaching in the UK is itself the result of policy and operational decisions made over some 30 years (now 40 years) or so to distinguish the way these activities are funded, managed, assessed and rewarded. I cited a report for HEFCE (Coate, Barnett, and Williams 2001) to illustrate how this separation operates at the departmental, as well as the institutional and system, levels.

This, however, has been at variance with the dominant discourse within the academy, which espouses the enduring link – even dependency – between the two. I felt it is probably fair to say that teaching and research can exist in a range of relationships with each other – positive or negative, integrated or independent – and that it is a matter for strategy and policy, at system, institutional and departmental level, whether synergies can be found between them.

I contended that it remains for higher education institutions to maintain and maximise the beneficial relations between the two, if they wish to do this. I argued that research, teaching and the relations between them are matters for strategic choices about the nature and future of a higher education institution. Ultimately, I concluded that views and actions on these matters reflect differing beliefs about the nature and purposes of higher education and the contribution of graduates to a knowledge economy.

Broadly speaking, I would still go along with this. I might be slightly more pessimistic now about the policy and financial operating environment. However, I would also want to draw attention to the deeper and longer-term trends in the political economy of higher education that have become more apparent in the last ten years. These trends suggest the need for a serious reconsideration of the nature of the relationship.

The enduring belief in the interdependency of teaching and research

Let me return to the touchstone for a moment – the enduring belief in the interdependency of teaching and research – and that familiar reference point from the dawn of mass higher education in the UK, the Robbins Report of 1963. The Report of the Committee on Higher Education stated:

> There is no borderline between teaching and research; they are complementary and overlapping activities. A teacher who is advancing his general knowledge of his subject is both improving himself as a teacher and laying foundations for his research. The researcher often finds that his personal work provides him with fresh and apt illustration which helps him set a subject in a new light when he turns to prepare a lecture. (Robbins 1963, 182)

Clearly, there are a number of assumptions going on here. For example:

- that the relationship between teaching and research is embodied in *the individual academic* (and, as was conventional in the early 1960s, that the academic was a man),
- that a 'general knowledge' of the subject – what might be referred to as scholarship – is important to both teaching *and* research,
- that research is a personal, individual, activity,
- and that it often provides an original perspective that will enliven an individual's teaching.

There are many more recent – and more sophisticated – formulations that bring the relationship up to date. However, even this version, now nearly 50 years old, needs to be contextualised and set in a broader sweep of history. Until the second world war, higher education was predominantly about the education of an elite, and research was, largely, an individual activity for university academics. It was only in the post-war period that research activity – and state funding – grew and became more significant in universities' budgets overall. Alongside this, the provision of postgraduate education mushroomed. The post-war emphasis on science, technology and engineering also promoted the increase in university research in these areas. More recently, the transfer of ministerial responsibility for higher

education in England from the schools ministry to the department for innovation, universities and skills, now business, innovation and skills and combining it with research funding and science policy also helped to tie both functions to the goal of national economic development. So, the notion that a 'proper' university teacher should actively engage in research, and a 'real' university should undertake research across the full range of its undergraduate curriculum, is relatively recent. Certainly, for Cardinal Newman writing in the nineteenth century, research was not part of the core mission of a university (Newman 1852).

A brief history of the relationship between teaching and research

So, what have been the key 'events', 'trends' and 'movements' in the history of the relationship between teaching and research since Lord Robbins published his report? In the limited space available here, I can only hint at the most significant of these, but the following table includes a slightly more comprehensive list in summary form (Table 1).

Table 1. Key factors in the teaching–research relationship.

Teaching	Research	General
• Teaching Quality Assessment/ Subject Review/Institutional Audit and Review • Expansion (including postgraduate taught provision) • Validation by universities of awards at non-degree awarding institutions • Franchising provision to further education colleges • Trebling of undergraduate tuition fees (twice) • Changes to the criteria for university title (the creation of teaching-only universities) • Growing influence of performance indicators and survey data (Destination of Leavers from Higher Education, National Student Survey etc) • Funding reductions, targeted funding • Proposal to give degree awarding powers to non-teaching bodies (e.g. examination bodies)	• Research Assessment Exercises • QR (quality research) funding • Selectivity: fundin concentrated in fewer institutions and departments • Dual support (from funding councils and research councils) • Prominence and prestige of research • Contract research (ers) • Intellectual property rights applied to research outputs • Reduced research council funding	• End of tenure for academic staff • End of the binary divide between universities and polytechnics • Introduction of undergraduate tuition fees • Teaching-only/Research-only contracts • Higher education predominantly perceived as a private good rather than a public benefit • Knowledge Exchange/ 'Third Stream' funding • Tying higher education to the goal of national economic development • The encouragement of private providers

The separation of the assessment of the quality of teaching and research from the mid-1980s onwards is, perhaps, the most significant of these developments. For research, this formed the basis for the allocation of funding that became increasingly selective and concentrated on the Russell Group of universities and, especially, on those academic departments focusing on medical and scientific research. From this flowed a number of other developments – none of them inevitable, but many of them critical to the gradual dislocation of teaching and research. These included the predominance of research over teaching in the reputation of universities and the career prospects of academics, the differentiation of research-only and teaching-only employment contracts and (from 2004) the elevation of teaching-only institutions to the status of universities. Of course, the results of the assessment of the quality of teaching have never been used to disperse funding for this activity although, in principle, failure could lead to the withdrawal of funding council income. So this has never been a means for a university or college to attract additional funding. Nor have the methods of assessment of research and teaching prioritised the relations between these activities as an indicator of high quality in either or both.

Indeed, many have argued – not least academics themselves – that the way research is assessed and funded has had some negative impacts on both research and teaching, not least because it has reinforced the lack of parity of esteem (McNay 1998; Brown 2002; Harley 2002). A number of national reports have drawn attention to this, including the Dearing Report (NCIHE 1997) and the House of Commons Select Committee on Science and Technology in 2002, which commented that

> The RAE has had positive effects: it has stimulated universities into managing their research and has ensured that funds have been targeted at areas of research excellence. But it also stands accused of distorting research practice, ruining academic careers and contributing to the closure of academic departments. (House of Commons, 2002, summary)

At its most extreme is the permanent hurt caused by excluding individual academics from the Research Assessment Exercises (now Research Excellence Framework). Lord Dearing noted that a motivation for many people entering the higher education profession is to pursue a subject of interest and to enthuse others in that subject through teaching and writing. No one appreciates being told that this is not likely to happen, and yet this is what many university managers have increasingly had to do.

In some senses, the period since the 1990s has been punctuated by a series of attempts to raise the status of teaching, ensuring sufficient reward and recognition for the activity and achieving parity with research. Initiatives such as the Institute for Learning and Teaching, the Learning and Teaching Subject Network, and their successor, the Higher Education Academy, have sought to embed this vision. HEFCE's Teaching Quality Enhancement Fund, the Rewarding and Developing Staff initiative and the Centres for Excellence in Teaching and Learning all featured elements of this. HEFCE also initiated a small funding stream to support research-informed teaching, particularly aimed at those institutions that were losing out in the increasingly exclusive competition for dual support of research. Some of these initiatives have employed concepts of 'excellence' to establish equivalence with notions of research excellence and to restore the central place of teaching in a 'world class' university. However, these concepts are usually vaguely defined, often contested and largely focus on 'excellent' teaching rather than learning (Little and Locke 2011). More recently, there has been greater interest in students' perspectives on these matters and their engagement as active partners in a broader learning community (Little et al. 2009).

Many of these attempts have built on more broad-based movements to raise the status of teaching and learning. In the early 1990s, Boyer revitalised the concept of scholarship to include the four aspects of *discovery* (original research), *integration* (synthesis, including interdisciplinary inquiry), *application* (the impact of research) and *teaching* (Boyer 1990). The strength of this conception was that it emphasised the equivalences between the various aspects of academic practice, including interpretation and insight as well as applied problem solving, and linked these with changing roles and rewards within the academy (Rice 1992). Others have since developed this conception to identify teaching in a direct way with research, through the 'Scholarship of Teaching and Learning' (SoTL), and thereby relocate teaching at the core of academic practice, and academics' professional identities and affiliations (Kreber 2000; Kreber and Cranton 2000; Gordon et al. 2003). SoTL has been defined as 'the improvement of student learning through a systematic informed process of investigation' (D'Andrea and Gosling 2005, 159); in other words, a research- or evidence-based approach to teaching. Viewing this from a more student-orientated perspective, another related initiative has sought to promote students as researchers, and build research activity into the curriculum as a core learning activity (Healey and Jenkins, 2009), and not just leaving this to a dissertation at the end of a programme, once 'formal' teaching has been completed. More recently, students in some universities are, themselves, being encouraged to engage in active research into ways of improving their learning and teaching experiences, thus becoming 'change agents' in their departments and institutions (Kay, Dunne, and Hutchinson 2011).

Nevertheless, at the national policy level, the disjunction between teaching and research gathers pace. This may be the result of policy accretion rather than an explicit intention to encourage their separate development, as Scott argued (Scott 2005), but the overall effect has been separation. The end of the block grant in England, as funds for teaching shift to following the new students entering the system from autumn 2012, would seem likely to reinforce this trend. The potential inclusion of private providers in this financial and regulatory system could complete the dislocation of teaching and research. Some private providers are making a virtue out of their approach *not* to engage in research. A few of the larger private providers argue that focusing simply and purely on teaching means they can deliver good (perhaps, even better) results at lower cost. This argument rests on the costs of maintaining an extensive research infrastructure plus the cultural attachment to the, so-called, 'old ways' of thinking that, in their view, stunt the creativity of teaching in the publicly funded sector. It is fair to say that there are those providers whose business model starts from such a different place from formerly publicly funded universities that they see no role for research in their teaching activity – a role for scholarship, yes, but not research.

The disintegration of teaching and research

One of Scott's conclusions is that 'any discussion of the links between teaching and research must take into account the increasing instability, even volatility, of the two "base" categories which overlap and interpenetrate each other in novel ways' (Scott 2005, 63). If anything, the experience of the last thirty years or so suggests the categories we use to describe what universities and colleges do are breaking down. In my original article on managing the integration of research and teaching strategies, I could have – perhaps should have – also referred to those other academic and academic-related activities that are undertaken and which often reconnect, 'wrap around' and even protect the teaching–research nexus and take it in new directions. These activities are summed up in words and phrases such as 'knowledge exchange' and 'collaboration with business and the community', but others, such as 'service', 'administration', 'academic citizenship' and 'engagement', should also be included.

These refer to, what might be called, 'the third dimension' of academic endeavour. Yet, they have always drawn heavily on research and teaching and their outputs and, in turn, have helped to transform their 'base' activities.

In my view, the descriptive terms 'research' and 'teaching' no longer adequately capture the vast array of activities that institutions providing higher education undertake. Introducing a third dimension simply complicates the picture and may introduce an obstacle to developing new ways of thinking about the core activities of academics, their institutions and their subject communities. Other major developments, such as the changing nature of knowledge and its production; widening participation and facilitating progression; and the strategic, institution-wide use of information and communication technologies and open educational resources, also bring into question the original 'base' categories as cohesive, distinct and discrete 'bundles' of activities.

Teaching is increasingly fragmenting into a multitude of activities to facilitate learning. Indeed, the centrality of 'classroom-based instruction' in higher education pedagogy is in question, despite the preoccupation with 'contact hours' at national policy level. The variety of forms, modes and locations of learning, the different needs of learners and the requirements of graduates entering a range of employment and further training are fundamentally changing the nature of education at this higher level. The processes of 'facilitating learning' are being disaggregated and increasingly undertaken by multi-skilled teams in which each member specialises in one aspect. In parallel, there has been a growth in the numbers of staff in 'non-academic' roles (i.e. not formally teaching and/or researching) in higher education institutions, now representing more than 50% of full- and part-time employees. Of these non-academic staff, many are administrators and support staff, but there has also been a substantial increase in the proportion of professionals – experts in quality assurance, finance, fund-raising, marketing and sales – and 'para-academics' performing core academic tasks such as student admissions, learning support and assessment.

Likewise, the spectrum of research has broadened, as the range of government, corporate and social bodies interested in its outputs has extended. This spectrum includes original research (Boyer's 'scholarship of discovery') – or traditional knowledge generated within a disciplinary, primarily theoretical, context largely governed by academic interests. Increasingly, it has incorporated applied, collaborative and interdisciplinary research generated in a variety of social and economic contexts in response to specific problems and to meet a range of users' needs. Whether this represents a fundamental shift between different modes of knowledge production (Gibbons et al. 1994) is open to debate. The impact on research activity – and researchers' activities – however, is not in question. Related to this, the research role is fragmenting between, for instance, basic research, data analysis, project management and the preparation of research proposals. In some institutions, for example, the research proposal process has been 'professionalised' to the extent that there are separate institution- or faculty-wide units dedicated to gathering intelligence about sources of funding and ways of maximising proposal success rates. This fragmentation of roles and the spectrum of activities – from large scale, high cost, collective 'knowledge production' to individual academics researching in their own time with little or no institutional (let alone external) funding support – makes the single 'base' category, 'research', problematic.

Paradoxically, this disintegration of the activities of 'teaching' and 'research' and the fragmentation of roles could allow for their reintegration in novel and innovative ways, for example, the integration of undergraduates into departmental research cultures promoted by the Reinvention Centre (http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/cross_fac/iatl/cetl) and student-driven research into improving their own learning experiences (http://as.exeter.ac.uk/support/educationenhancementprojects/current_projects/change/). Likewise, open access to

research outputs and open innovation models of networking between universities and businesses can increase the awareness, understanding and potential for collaboration and the exchange of knowledge to a much wider audience (Wilson 2012). These new ways of reintegrating and reinventing the core activities of higher education are only just beginning to be explored, let alone investigated and understood, and this ought to become a priority for researchers, teachers and higher education managers alike. However, significant obstacles to this lie at the heart of the academic profession and the way it is currently conceived and configured.

The changing academic profession

My second main source in exploring these issues is the international study of the Changing Academic Profession (CAP) as it has come to be known, of which I led the UK part between 2006 and 2010. The core of this was a survey of academics in 20 countries in 2007 on a range of topics: from their interests and attitudes to teaching and research, to their views on their working conditions and the management of the institutions they worked in, to issues such as internationalisation, the knowledge society and external influences on academic work. For those countries – such as the UK – that had participated in a similar survey in 1992, there was also the possibility of making comparisons over time. The findings of the CAP study are too numerous, rich and complex to outline here, and are reported in a number of publications (e.g. Locke, Cummings, and Fisher 2011; Cummings and Finkelstein 2012). Here, I draw on our analysis of the UK findings that are relevant to this discussion.

It is clear from the CAP study that the academic profession in the UK consists of a diverse range of academic staff both in their demographic profile and in the roles they undertake. Indeed, I have argued that the profession is becoming *increasingly* differentiated, even stratified (Brennan, Naidoo, and Locke 2007).

The main 'fault lines' are between:

- academics in different types of institution, particularly between those that are in research-intensive universities or departments and others,
- those working full- and part-time,
- those on permanent and fixed-term contracts,
- those on traditional teaching–research–service contracts and those who are required only to teach or only to research,
- senior academics (in other words, professors, senior lecturers and senior researchers) and those on more junior grades,
- those in different academic disciplines and fields and, particularly, between science, technology, engineering and mathematics on the one hand and other subjects on the other hand,
- and between academics and 'para-academics', that is, those performing academic-related work or an aspect of the academic role, who are not formally on academic contracts.

However, in much of the existing literature, the profession is treated as a homogeneous entity. Individual academics are regarded as rational actors, performing largely similar roles and operating on the basis of a core of common academic and collegial values (Locke and Bennion 2011).

We analysed the UK CAP data-set according to several variables including institutional type, age, gender, professional grade, time in the profession and mode of employment. The following table and charts represent a tiny sample of the key findings (Table 2 and Figures 1 and 2).

Table 2. CAP Study: primary interest (%).

	1992	2007
Primarily in teaching	12	11
In both, but leaning towards teaching	32	28
In both, but leaning towards research	40	37
Primarily in research	15	24

For example, we asked them where their main interest lay: primarily in teaching; in both, but leaning towards teaching; in both, but leaning towards research; and primarily in research. Clearly, in the 15 years after the end of the binary divide, there has been a distinct shift away from teaching and towards research.

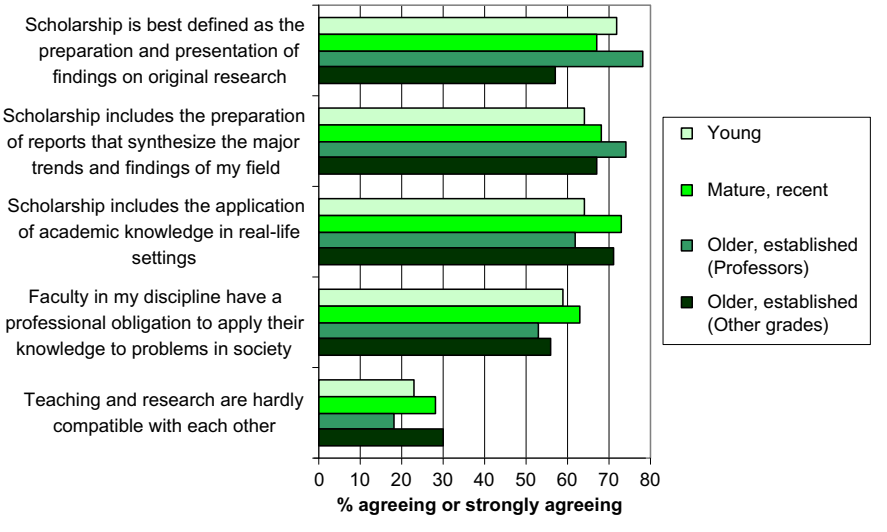

Figure 1. CAP Study: conceptions of academic work, by age, grade and time in profession (%).

We also asked them about their conceptions of academic work, in particular, scholarship, original research, the application of research findings to problems in society and the relationship between teaching and research. We analysed their responses by age, time in the profession and whether the respondents were professors or not – what we called 'career trajectory'. We found that established professors were more likely:

- to emphasise original research and
- to conduct basic and theoretical research, which is
  - multi-disciplinary,
  - international in scope and orientation.

Other established academics, who were not professors, were more likely to emphasise the importance of applying academic knowledge in real-life settings. They were also more likely to agree that teaching and research are hardly compatible with each other, although this is still a minority of respondents in this and all academic staff categories. Mature, recent academics were the most likely to agree that 'Faculty in my discipline have a professional obligation to apply their knowledge to problems in society'. This may reflect the experience they have had in a profession outside academia. So, even by 'career trajectory', we have interesting variations in conceptions of research and scholarship, let alone by subject and institution.

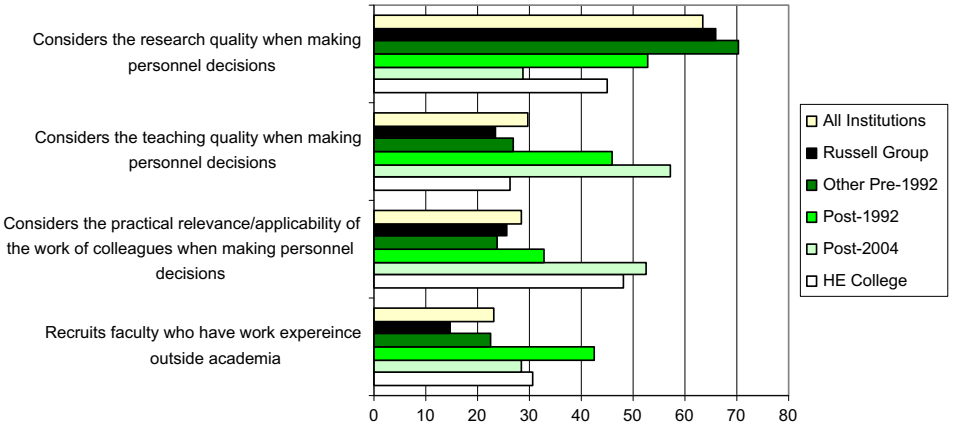

Figure 2. CAP Study: academic work – institutional emphasis in personnel decisions, by institution type (%).

Finally, respondents were asked about their institution's practices in making personnel decisions on recruitment and promotion. In particular, how they took into account the quality of candidates' research and teaching. We analysed the responses by institutional type. The predominance of research criteria in making personnel decisions was clear in all types of institutions except for post-2004 universities. In the latter, teaching quality and the practical relevance and applicability of the work of colleagues were thought to be key criteria by a majority of respondents. Of all the countries and territories included in the CAP study, only Hong Kong had a higher proportion of respondents than the UK reporting that their institution considered research quality when making personnel decisions. The UK also had the largest difference (at 33%) between those believing that their institution considered research quality important and those perceiving that teaching quality was regarded as important.

While few of these trends and findings would be a surprise to those familiar with academe, it is, perhaps, the comparisons with other nations which stand out most of all. Overall, the UK seems to emphasise research over teaching more than any other national higher education system in the CAP study.

However, common to all the countries participating in the CAP study is the experience of external pressures on academics and their work becoming more intense and complex with the continuing expansion of higher education. There are increasing demands laid on them by government, students, employers and others, against a backdrop of the relative reduction in public funding available per student and staff member. In particular, there are pressures on academics to:

- attract research income and generate publications and citations in high status academic journals;
- recruit, teach and graduate an increasingly diverse range of students;
- maximise the commercial and reputational value of both these core activities.

Contrast this recent comment from an academic with the Robbins quote from earlier:

> Even though there is a spoken acknowledgement that all three (teaching, research, and service) are important, every academic knows there is a hierarchy, with research sitting at the top … I think academic institutions forget that we need a blended balance of strong teachers and strong researchers in order to make the university viable and profitable – and we can't expect that we'll get both out of one person who has any sort of work-life balance! (Bexley, James, and Arkoudis 2011, xi)

In practical ways, current circumstances often pit research and teaching against each other in competition for academics' time: productivity and effectiveness in one area is sometimes achieved at the expense of the other, at least in part. New ways of ensuring that learning is actively connected to research within institutions are integral to maintaining the quality and meaning of higher education. This need not mean, however, that all academics should conduct research or teach in their area of research.

The leadership and management challenge

So, how do we manage the synergies between these activities as they become increasingly unbundled and more loosely coupled? How do we develop a more differentiated approach to the diversity of those undertaking academic work? How do we handle different individuals' motivations, expectations and ambitions? What are the prospects of recruiting and promoting the next generation of academics, academic managers and academic leaders? Finally, what are the implications for institutional, faculty and departmental management and, indeed, for policy makers, funders and regulators?

I started to address some of these issues in the UK chapter and, with my co-editors, in the introduction and conclusion to Volume 2 of the book series on the CAP study (Locke, Cummings, and Fisher 2011). I elaborate on this further in a chapter in a subsequent volume on job satisfaction in the same series (Locke forthcoming). Although I should stress, neither of these is specifically about the relations between teaching and research.

To summarise my argument, I believe the key leadership and management challenges are as follows:

- for leadership and governance, to re-engage academics in strategic decision-making,
- in managing diversity in the workforce and in the activities of the academic enterprise,
- attracting and developing talent: introducing flexibility in employment without creating unfairness and
- reconfiguring work design, workloads and working conditions.

What follows are some suggestions for approaches that might be taken in addressing each of these challenges.

First, how to re-engage academics in strategic decision-making? Institutions need to find effective forms of communication with all the different groupings of academics, including part-time, sessional and contract staff. This will not necessarily be the same forms or messages for all staff and will need to be customised for their different locations, work

patterns and affiliations with the institution. As part of this, they should seek to ensure information flow to and from academic units and within larger academic divisions. Having ensured that they are well-informed, they must involve academic and other groupings in relevant kinds of strategic decisions and at appropriate points in the decision-making process. However, this should not be burdensome. Institution should aim to minimise the administrative load on academic and other professional staff and provide space for creativity and innovation. They can also provide the encouragement, support and professional development required by academics who wish to take up a role in management or leadership.

Second, on managing diversity, institutional managers need to appreciate the different working conditions, roles and experiences of various academic groupings, within the same institution and even within the same department. They should provide each with appropriate opportunities for career and personal development, progression and promotion. They should also seek to reduce and eventually eradicate inequalities in the pay and conditions of those who undertake work of equal value and who make an equivalent contribution to meeting the goals of the institution. Institutions could support different activities (such as teaching, outreach, learning support, scholarship, research of all kinds, and the various forms of knowledge exchange) in equitable ways, and in accordance with the institution's mission.

Third, in order to attract and develop talent, institutions could think about offering reward and recognition for a range of types of contributions. This should not just be for recruitment purposes or solely in the most competitive academic labour markets. They could also be encouraging and supporting transfer from other professional and knowledge-based occupations to academic roles. These transfers could be encouraged from within as well as from outside the institution. They should also seek to ensure that flexibility benefits the individual and the institution and, where possible, both simultaneously. Individual academics could also be enabled to move between different modes and conditions of employment during their periods of service.

Finally, to reconfigure work design, workloads and working conditions, institutions and departments might consider the more explicit differentiation of academic work roles in recruitment, role descriptions, job titles, rewards and recognition and promotions policies to foster and support greater role specialisation. They could develop more flexible career pathways for those specialising in teaching, in whatever type of institution they work, which allows time for scholarship and periods of research or knowledge exchange. Broader role and career development opportunities might be offered for para-academics that would free academics from some of the academic management tasks around audit, administration and co-ordination.

We are at a significant transition point – a point which is clearly expressed in a recent report on the Australian academic profession by Bexley, James and Arkoudis from the Centre for the Study of Higher Education at the University of Melbourne. I would argue that this equally applies to the UK:

> The traditional model of academic work evolved to serve the knowledge generation and knowledge dissemination needs of a student body and a society different to those it serves today. The unbundling of academic work is an evolutionary stage in the way in which universities are organized to fulfil their social mission. This process will not be successful if a diverse range of contributions are not placed on equal footing within the policies and cultures of universities. (Bexley, James, and Arkoudis 2011, xv)

This will not be easily or rapidly achieved, as it will require the fundamental reconfiguration of academic work to meet the needs of a different student cohort and a changing society and economy.

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