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The Position and the Role of the Dean in the Transforming Higher Education System

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1. Introduction

1.1. The questions of research and their relevance

According to mainstream higher education research, the tertiary education of developed countries has been characterised by massification, the transformation of the institutional system of research, decreasing public funding, the transformation of the role of the state and increasing competition in recent decades (*Barakonyi* [2004b]; *OECD* [2008]; *Halász* [2009]). Due to these changes, not only have new services and technologies appeared in the institutions (such as IT systems, career centres, student counselling) but the techniques used in business management have also been gradually introduced in the operation of universities, such as controlling, HR, strategic planning, quality management and benchmarking systems (*Sporn* [2006]). Thus, the governance and management systems of the institutions of higher education have undergone significant transformation. As operators of the new services and management techniques, the importance of institutional management and administration[1] – with regard to the resources used and the number of employees – has increased (*Gornitzka, Kyvik et al.* [1998]; *Gornitzka – Larsen* [2004]), and their roles have changed significantly (*Teichler* [2001]; *Barakonyi* [2004a]).

However, during the introduction and analysis of these processes, as well as the examination of the changes in roles, institutional management is considered to be homogeneous and coherent (*Mignot-Gérard* [2003]); moreover, overtly or covertly, it is identified with the senior management of the institution, thus, a more differentiated approach towards the institutional management is missing. As a consequence, significantly less attention is paid to middle managers such as the deans and heads of departments, although they are the key actors of the transformation process (*Santiago, Carvalho et al.* [2006]). Hence, this is the level at which the new managing techniques can be implemented in everyday practice, in the context of resolving actual problems, so the transformation of higher education management systems is realised atthis level. Namely, it depends mostly on mid-level managers whether the strategic approach, controlling, quality management and the other techniques *indeed* operate in the institution or they are simply stuck at the level of fulfilling external expectations without having any impact on the

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[1] Here I find it expedient to clarify the meaning of the words used in the paper liable to be misinterpreted. "Institutions of higher education" and "university" are used as synonyms in my paper. If I refer to the university as a specific institution of higher education (e.g. I differentiate it from the college), I will indicate it in the text. The expression "academic" is translated as "akadémiai" according to Hungarian practice, and it refers to the educational-scientific sphere of a university. If by the term "academic" I mean the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, I will indicate it in the text.

In English the word "faculty" may refer to the academic staff as well as an organisational unit. In this paper I am going to use this term in the first sense (except for quotations). The term "administration" or "administrator" covers all the members of the non-academic, management staff of the university. "Academic management" refers to the heads of departments, deans and rectors.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the internal structure of the institutions of higher education can vary. For the sake of simplicity, I do not intend to show this diversity in my paper. Instead, I differentiate between three institutional levels: the level of the university, that of the faculty and that of the department (which includes the institutes and centres as well).

everyday life of the institution (see e.g. *Lozeau, Langley et al.* [2002]). Thus, mid-level managers – in Fulton's highly critical wording – "are soldiers fighting in the front line of the reorganisation process" (*Fulton* [2003] 162.o.). The importance of their role and also its contradictory nature is highlighted by the fact that the transformation of tertiary education – and the management system in particular – is far from being without arguments and conflicts, as many professors regard it as the betrayal of the mission of universities while others feel it to be losing social status, deprofessionalisation; moreover: proletarisation.

In this proposal, I undertake the analysis of the deans' position. The reason for my choice of them (over the heads of departments) is that I see their responsibility as more significant, while their position more difficult and more abundant in role conflicts than those of other mid-level managers at universities, as the deans have to face considerable organisational and contextual complexities, the pressure to decide, conflicting expectations and a restricted space for manoeuvre at the same time. All this originates from the fact that the contradictions emerging from the transformation of the higher education system are particularly apparent in their case as it is their responsibility to harmonise, on a daily basis, the academic, economic and administrative spheres of the institution, as well as external expectations. Thus, the inconsistencies between these factors become palpable at the deans' level – primarily in the increasingly strong controversies of the expectations towards them.

The deans, however, are not only passive receivers of the opinions about and the expectations towards them, but they themselves also do and are able to do a lot to help redefine (or, as a matter of fact, preserve) the role of deans and through this, to shape higher education.

As for the analysis of the dean's position, two questions arise from the above:

1. **What role or roles do deans play in the transforming institutions of higher education?**
2. **How do deans reflect upon their own role as deans and their position?**

The first question refers to what collective expectations the person in the dean's position has to face, what kind of role or roles are attributed to them or, in other words, what being the dean of an institution means for the organisation. With the second question, I am examining what being a dean means to the deans as individuals, namely, how they process the collective expectations, how they relate to them, what kind of interpretations and expectations they have of their role and what they do to establish collective expectations as well as make their own interpretations accepted.

Therefore, the unit of analysis is the institution of the dean, the dean's position. In the first question, I examine its possible place in the social structure and its interpretations while in the second question, I investigate how deans themselves contribute to these and how they reflect upon their own contribution. The two questions constitute an organic unity as the transformation of the institutions of higher education results in the transformation of the role of the dean, which further manifests itself in the changing expectations as well as the conflicts and dilemmas experienced at the level of the individual. This logic can be applied conversely as well: from the dilemmas experienced at the individual's level, the changing of expectations and that of

the role of the dean can be anticipated, which, then, may predict the transformation of the institutions of higher education.

On the whole, I reckon that deans are the "litmus papers" of the transformation of higher education. Their behaviour and interpretation patterns, perceived and experienced conflicts as well as the expectation towards them and their contradictions not only mirror but also anticipate the transformation of higher education as in them surface all the ongoing changes that have not yet been institutionalised and so are unrecognisable in regulations, customs and traditions; namely, the macrostructures of the higher education system.

I intend to perform the empirical analysis of the research questions in Hungarian higher education institutions; therefore, I would like to highlight the similarities and differences that make the examination of the deans in Hungary interesting and relevant.

The Hungarian higher education system, if with digressions, follows the international trends (*Ladányi* [1999]; *Fábri* [2004]; *Derényi* [2009]): after the change of regime, massification started, the per capita public funding for students decreased radically and funding has been a question permanently at issue ever since (*Semjén* [2004]; *Polónyi* [2009a]; *Polónyi* [2012]). With the transformation of the final/entrance exam system and the stagnation of the number of students, competition also seems to be stronger and the 2005 Higher Education Act can be also considered as an attempt to transform the role of the state.

However, some significant differences are also present. In Hungary – just as in every other post-socialist country – the processes above appeared congested, simultaneously, while in Western-Europe, they took place gradually, in steps. Due to the changes, the system of values is more unstable, generations having been socialised in considerably different higher education systems co-exist inside the institutions. Due to the lack of time and the expediency measures to handle problems, a discourse about the role and function of higher education is missing, which was apparent not only in the futile efforts to introduce a tuition fee but also at the time of the transition to the Bologna system (see e.g.: *Derényi* [2008])[2]. The attempts at reform and modernisation from above have been hectic, characterised by interruptions and frequent changes of direction. On the whole, the inconsistency between the different elements of the higher education system is even higher in Hungary (and possibly in the majority of post-socialist countries) than in the transforming Western-European countries, as a result of which higher education leaders including the deans are forced to handle a situation even more complex than the one in Western-Europe.

However, following the change of regime, in parallel with these processes, the number of faculties within the institutions grew significantly. This was facilitated by the ambiguous results of the integration process, the introduction of the Bologna system supporting the separation of faculties, the funding mechanisms facilitating an increased awareness of faculty interests and the

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[2] This does not mean that there has not been any discourse about this among experts. I would rather like to point out that, for instance, during the transition to the Bologna process, the transformation could reach the stimulus threshold of the public only at the time of implementation instead of the planning stages; therefore, the public discourse was hectic and without any real impact. In other cases, the questions of higher education appeared in a highly simplified way and context among the members of society (e.g. the tuition fee dispute); therefore, there has never been any reflection on what social role higher education should play. This was not only the result of the questions becoming political and the shortcomings of educational policy but the halt of the academic sphere's search for a concept as well (see e.g. *Fábri* [2004]).

overcompensation of the state-socialist past degrading the role of faculties before (*Kováts* [2009]; *Kováts* [2012]). The invigoration of faculties does not necessarily mean that of the dean's position, however, it extends their responsibility and it does not only increase but also changes the expectations towards them.

1.2. The Aim of the Dissertation and Sources of the Literature Review

In the dissertation, I intend, on the one hand, to introduce the analytical framework used for the examination of the dean's role as well as the approach resulting from it. My further aim is that by summarising, explaining and organising the literature, I define starting concepts, topics and analytic fields that can be further exploited and enriched during **an explorative empirical research** introduced in the second half of the dissertation. The sources of the theoretical framework and the summary of literature are the following four categories:

1. The theoretical framework of the research is "role theory", the focus of which is the observation, explanation and comprehension of the recurring behaviour patterns of a person in a certain social status or organisational position. Role theory emerged in the 1930s. It had its golden age in the 1950s and the 1970s, under the dominance of functional sociology.

Role theory became popular in the field of organisation research (and higher education research) in this period, the milestones of which were the works by *Katz and Kahn* [1966] and Mintzberg (*Mintzberg* [1971]; *Mintzberg* [1975]). By the '90s – in parallel with the increasing embracement of the interpretive, constructivist and particularly the postmodern theories – role theory had lost its sense of novelty and the attention both in the fields of organisation research and higher education research shifted towards identity analysis (*Martin – Wilson* [2005]; *Simpson – Carroll* [2008]).

Nonetheless, I have chosen the concept and theory of the role as a theoretical framework for two reasons. On the one hand, I encountered numerous works during my research in which the authors practically used the concepts of role and identity interchangeably; furthermore, the expressions used in role theory (e.g. role conflict, role ambiguity and role change) appeared in other works as concepts not requiring any explanation. Both phenomena indicate that the language and conclusions of role theory, if not consciously and explicitly, are still part of the scientific discourse (a similar perspective can be found in *Bailey – Yost* [2000] p. 2425). The interchangeability of concepts also indicates that some of the authors have only replaced the terminology, not the concept; namely, I attribute the disappearance of the theoretical-level reflections of role theory (as far as the level of organisational research is concerned) to the intellectual fashion periods rather than the weakness of role theory. Furthermore, I found the concept of the role more suitable than that of the identity for the examination of the individual situation of the dean as well as their place in the social structure (the organisation). I am going to return to the clarification of the concepts or role and identity later.

2. The dean's position – in a transforming higher education system in particular – is difficult to judge without analysing the changes of the system itself, its institutions and the environment affecting it. In my opinion, it is important to present the dean not in a vacuum but

within the context of the higher education institution as there may be significant differences as well as similarities between the dean's positions in different ages, countries and institutions. It is mostly the comparative analysis of the institutional systems of higher education and country studies that reveal these differences and similarities. However, I feel that these are too indirect to be able to apprehend the dean's closer environment and they are only capable of true but highly general conclusions such as Moses's observation, which claims that

> "deans in the American system have more formal powers than heads, whereas in Europe, the United Kingdom, and Australia it used to be the opposite. The systems are converging, and the constraints for heads and deans are largely similar and internal: traditions and values of academia, for example, collegiality; length of term; and status of heads." (*Moses* [1992] p. 1393)

Moreover, with the increasing institutional diversity (*Hrubos* [2002]), the significance of country comparisons, which, from the dean's point of view, overgeneralise, has decreased further. Therefore, in this paper, I do not apprehend the dean's environment by analysing the regulatory and funding context or introducing the (hardly accessible) provisions concerning the deans. Instead, I apply a more general approach better fitting the theoretical framework: I make the context surrounding the dean's palpable by describing the points of view and interpretive frameworks of higher education; namely, the narratives. During the analyses, I do not explore the institutional parameters of the countries concerned systematically (mostly, they are not even known) but I search for the characteristic thinking patterns with the help of the literature relevant to the operation and aims of higher education systems and institutions. I reckon that institutionalised structures and their subsistence are the results of these beliefs, and the dean may secure legitimacy and approved operation with a role adjusted to these beliefs.

During the introduction of the narratives, I aim at relying on a considerably diversified literature, which touches upon the fields of university philosophy, the operation and development of higher education systems, the shaping of the scientific institutional system as well as the governance and culture of higher education institutions. This also means that the section of my dissertation summarising the literature is not localised, it cannot be linked to specific countries and institutions. Naturally, the Hungarian higher education system providing the ground for research will be described in more detail later; however, it will be incorporated partly in the framework of the research; namely, from the deans' perspectives.

Therefore, my paper is not localised, it cannot be linked to certain countries or institutions. Even Hungarian higher education serving as the field of empirical research is to be examined in general, at the system level; thus, I am not going to analyse either the legal-regulatory context or the national and institutional documents defining the dean's position. (These may be discussed in the final dissertation provided that the participants of the empirical research find them relevant.)

3. The third important group of sources used is higher education management and the literature of higher education research relevant to the deans. This group includes both empirical research (e.g. *Wolverton, Wolverton et al.* [1999]) personal reports (e.g. *Gallos* [2002]; *Kirk* [1997]) and normatively oriented management handbooks (e.g. *Krahenbuhl* [2004]).

The reflections upon the deans' particular position, if initially with low intensity, have been present in American higher education research since the 1960s. However, in Europe – at

least according to the sources available for me – the question has been addressed highly sparsely, occasionally even since the 1990s (earlier, the university history approach was more dominant while it has recently been taken over by the higher education policy approach). The reason for this may be that in the United States, the marketisation and massification resulting in the transformation of the governance of universities and that of the dean's role had finished by the 1960s, while in Europe, it only started in the 1980s and the 1990s. This is also supported by the fact that while Thornsten Veblen was criticising American universities for their business-type management as early as 1918 (*Veblen* [1918]), then, in 1964, Rourke wrote about the managerial revolution of universities (*Rourke – Brooks* [1964]), in English higher education, for instance, these thoughts first entered public awareness via the so-called Jarrett Report in 1985, and it was only at the beginning of the 1990s that they became the central element of both higher education research (see e.g. *Trow* [1994]) and that of the normative literature of higher education management. Thus, the interpretation of the dean's position as a specific (managerial) one – namely, its distinction from other activities and professions – had been completed in the United States relatively early; therefore, the individuals filling this position were more likely to become the subject of independent analysis. However, in Europe, this process is taking place at present – with plenty of controversies and internal tensions[3] (*Amaral, Meek et al.* [2003]).

This is what makes the analysis of the research questions particularly interesting in Europe and in Hungary. That is, the question what it means to be a dean in an environment transforming significantly in a short period of time and by what sort of conflicts and tensions it is accompanied cannot be answered relying on the mostly American accessible literature, as the latter devotes little attention to the question what relationship is there between the organisational characteristics of the university as well as the transformation of the higher education system and the specific characteristics of the dean's position and the changes of his/her role. Therefore, it is unable to reflect upon the transition that is taking place in Europe and in the higher education systems of Central- and Eastern-Europe in particular.

4. The dean's position can be interpreted as a middle manager's position, which enables the relevant literature of business management to be involved in the analysis. The management literature defines the concept of middle managers fairly liberally. Uyterhoeven says that a middle manager is "a general manager who is responsible for a particular business unit at the intermediate level of the corporate hierarchy" (*Uyterhoeven* [1989/1972] p.136). Mintzberg called the level of hierarchy between the operative core and the strategic apex the middle line (*Mintzberg* [1991] p.331), while Huy defined middle managers as "any managers two levels below the CEO and one level above line workers and professionals" (*Huy* [2001] p.73).

Constructing the general definition is even more difficult as what we mean by middle management is subject to change according to the size and complexity of the organisation (group) as well as the applied organisational structure. Mintzberg's definition also points out that

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[3] The controversy is most emphatically indicated by the fact that the critique of the organisational transformation of higher education is much more present in the European literature. According to my experience, this approach is almost completely missing from the American literature (especially from higher education research). In the United States, it is primarily the questions of the system-level crisis of higher education that have been under discussion (see e.g. the books of Allen Bloom, Bill Readings or Derek Bok), not, however, the question of how this is rooted in the micro-practices of the institutional management.

the conceptualisation of the organisational structure in itself may influence who we define as a middle manager as from the Mintzbergian definition, it follows that the managers of technostructure (e.g. university and faculty administration) are not middle managers.

In more hierarchic or complex organisations, middle management may include further levels of hierarchy, namely, there may be a hierarchy among middle managers as well. Therefore, sometimes middle management is further divided into "upper" and "operational" middle management (*Floyd – Lane* [2000]), which also shows that the line dividing middle management form direct supervisors and senior management is highly indistinct. In the university context, all the above definitions suit the dean; the dilemma may be about the heads of institutions and departments. Henceforth, I am going to categorise them as operational middle managers.

Due to the suitability of definitions, I believe that integrating the theoretical and empirical sources concerning the specific characteristics of business middle managers – primarily their roles, role conflicts and the transformation of roles – may enrich the analysis of the deans' position with interesting perspectives. This is supported by the fact that on the basis of Mintzberg's manager observation (*Mintzberg* [1971]; *Mintzberg* [1975]) and the analyses completed among American deans, Jackson points out that "patterns of executive behavior of academic deans generally match those of business executives" (*Jackson* [2003] p.96). Despite this, I believe that these analyses – in a European context in particular – should be used carefully. The experience gathered here can only be utilised to the extent to which the institutions of higher education are identifiable with business organisations.

This paper is limited in the sense that (due to a lack of language knowledge) I only used articles and books written in English and Hungarian for literature review. This necessarily limits the possibility of analysis as the topical questions of the German or French higher education systems were available for me only in a mediator language, mostly in English, while, due to our historical heritage, we carry the imprints of these systems in a direct or indirect way.

1.3. The Structure of the Dissertation

In the second chapter of the dissertation, I am going to introduce the possible interpretations of the concept of the role and its relations to the concepts of the individual and that of the organisation. Departing from the symbolic-interactionist approach, I am going to define the framework of analysis that determines the structure of the following chapters and the approach applied in the empirical research. One of the major messages of this chapter is that the dean's role is socially constructed, in other words, the role emerges and is reproduced in the interactions of the dean and those communicating with her/him. In an organisational context, these interactions are mostly structured, i.e. they display a specific pattern and recurrence, the reason for which is that the parties participating in the interaction have a (collective) preliminary impression about the operation of the system, the requirements and behaviour of its actors as well as the explanation of all these. This means that there is a strong connection between the collective organisational images (narratives) and the dean's role, as if the narrative changes, it results not only in the transformation of the university as a whole but that of the expectations

towards the dean (that is, the role) as well. Also vice versa: the changes of the expectations towards the dean mirror and anticipate the transformation of the organisation itself. As a result, the dean's role and its changes cannot be understood without understanding the collective narratives of the organisation and their changes.

This leads us to Chapter 3, in which I am going to introduce the narratives that – in my opinion – are regarded as the most significant ones in the literature: the community of scholars (collegium), bureaucracy, the entrepreneurial university and the corporation. These narratives characterise the web of interactions and roles in which the dean's role has to fit. This chapter does not only introduce the narratives and their critique but at the same time, it allows for a glimpse into the "context" of the dean's position – on the basis of the literature.

Chapter 4 focuses on the dean. My aim is to present the possible interpretations of the dean's role and based on these, define the roles of the dean suiting the organisational narratives. I am going to discuss four of these roles in detail: the hero, the service provider, the catalyst and the strategic player. To elaborate on them, I am going to introduce the literature discussing the role of the dean and middle managers as well as the basic dilemmas and situations emerging from the dean's specific position. As the last part of the chapter, I will digress a little about the other roles of the dean as an individual and examine what relationship there is between these roles and deanship. I am going to analyse, for instance, what relationship (and tension) there is between the dean's role as a professor and a dean as well as how deanship integrates into the deans' career path.

In Chapter 3 and 4, the organisational narratives and the dean's roles that fit them are going to be introduced. Chapter 5 is about the dynamics of the organisation. Its starting point is that at the university, there are more than one valid narratives at the same time (this will be demonstrated by the example of the Hungarian higher education system in a subsequent chapter). By executing their role, deans contribute to the fortification of some of these narratives and, consequently, to the transformation of the organisation, which, however, raises the problem of choosing between narratives or that of relating to them.

In Chapter 6, I delineate the scheme and methodology of the empirical research. The aim of the explorative, qualitative research presented here is to further facilitate the understanding of the dean's role and its changes with the help of the empirical data collected in Hungarian higher education institutions. As such, I do not intend for the research to confirm or refute the narratives and roles defined in the proposal, but I wish to deepen and contextualise all that was said previously and thus, enhance our understanding of the dean's roles.

The aim of Chapter 7 is to demonstrate the context of the Hungarian higher education system and the most important factors and trends influencing the position of faculties and deans by relying partly on the literature and partly on interviews and other forms of data gathering. Here, I discuss in detail the changes of the relationship between the state and the higher education system, the expansion of the institutional system and faculties, the transformational trends of the system of higher education institutions and the structure of institutions as well as the changes of the funding system.

In Chapter 8, I give an overview of the regulations on deans and their consequences along three characteristics: the elected nature, temporariness and the requirements for professional and administrative experience. The analysis of the regulations will be complemented

with analysis of some of the statistics on deans working in the Hungarian higher education system as well as the analysis of the patterns delineated by the interviews, for instance, the description of typical career paths. Apart from the presentation of the deans' characteristics, a further goal of the chapter is to draw conclusions – on the basis of frequent patterns – with regard to the expectations towards deans.

While the dean's position is examined essentially from the outside, from an external perspective in Chapter 8, in Chapter 9, I seek to demonstrate the dean's position from an internal point of view. To this end, I first analyse the motivations for becoming dean as well as the strategies for "surviving" deanship. In the third, most comprehensive section of the chapter, I scrutinise the deans' own role interpretations. The deepening, contextualisation and revision of the original framework of role interpretation defined in Chapter 4 are also provided in this section.

Chapter 10 is the summary: emphasising the results and the summarising the answers given to the research questions.

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This structure does not only reveal my research approach; namely, the two-round, gradually deepening process of understanding, but the relationship of the dissertation proposal and the dissertation as well. The first half (Chapter 1-5) of the dissertation is largely identical with the dissertation proposal, containing the literature review and my own reflections and conclusions. The second half of the dissertation (Chapter 7-10) examine the previously formulated questions in light of the specific context and the empirical data. The two halves of the dissertation essentially discuss the same issues, albeit in different context and through various types of data (literature, then empirical data).

An undisputed disadvantage of this type of discussion is that certain topics are repeatedly present in the dissertation (for instance, the dean's roles introduced in Chapter 4 are return in Chapter 9). However, I hope that the recurrence of these topics do not appear to be repetitions but may rather ensure the enhancement of our understanding.

Discussing the topic in two rounds, however, enables the research design formulated in the proposal and its implementation to be easily followed all along. Accordingly, the content of Chapter 2-5 is largely identical with the similar sections of the dissertation proposal. I merely refined the text on a few occasions in these chapters and I moved a subchapter demonstrating the Hungarian conditions into the chapter discussing the Hungarian conditions in detail.

2. Role, Individual, Organisation: the Analytical Framework

I am attempting to apprehend the specific characteristics, difficulties and transformation of the dean's position with the help of the concept of the role; therefore, in this chapter, I am going to discuss the interpretation of this concept as well as the theories about the emergence and changes of roles. As the role is a link between the individual level (self-interpretation, the self, the identity) and the social level (the organisation), when interpreting this concept, it is inevitable to discuss the relationship of the individual and the organisation as well as the operation of organisations. Thus – although it is the concept of the role that is constantly in the focus –, the analytical framework for the dean's position is eventually provided by the conceptual triad of the individual, the role and the organisation.

The interpretation of the concept of the role does not only determine the theoretical focus points of the analysis, that is,, the structure of the dissertation but it is also highly significant in choosing the research method.

2.1. The Concept of the Role

There is a regularity and system in human behaviour, which role theory traces back essentially to social relationships (and not, for instance, individual attributes). This is mirrored in the concept of the role, which is nothing other than a repertory of accepted behaviour patterns, behaviours and attitudes considered to belong together and appearing as a generally accepted expectation towards an individual in a certain position or situation (*Bailey – Yost* [2000]; *Turner* [2001] p. 233). In addition – especially in the management literature –, the concept of the role can not only refer to a normatively prescribed (expected) behaviour (for which the term role expectation or role ideal would be more appropriate) but the actually manifest behaviour as well (*Buda* [1997] p.80).

Role theory essentially does not perceive roles as something "acted out". The role

> "refers to behaviour in general and, in particular, to the spontaneous, deeply experienced behaviour which is felt self-identical… [The] concept of the role generally refers to collective, specific forms of behaviour the execution of which deeply involves the more important elements of the personality; it mobilises emotions and motifs, evokes attitudes and presents specific value relations." (*Buda* [1997] p.77-78)

Similarly, Turner also finds it one of the key components of the role for it to be a comprehensive attitude and behaviour pattern that is linked to some identity (*Turner* [2001] p.234).

Role theory traces the emergence of roles back to expectations. Expectations – which may be defined in a formal, explicit way (e.g. in a job description) or may be expressed in an

informal, implicit way as well (e.g. in a group or in a friendship) – are linked to some sort of social status, (organisational) position or specific situation. On the basis of this, there are

- basic roles such as the gender and age roles, which are roles characteristically innate,
- position and status roles such as the roles in the family as well as the roles associated with a formal position within an organisation or a certain profession (doctor, lawyer), for which you have to "fight" through your life,
- functional group roles, which are roles emerging spontaneously in certain situations and are generally not formalised (such as Belbin's team roles[4]), as well as
- value roles, which also emerge spontaneously and are strongly associated with some value observed by a community (roles such as that of the "hero" or the "traitor") (*Turner* [2001]).

Among position and status roles, we can distinguish between the roles of general effect, which determine the behaviour, life style and attitude of the executor of the role outside the strictly defined professional sphere as well (for instance, the teacher or the soldier) and the roles of limited effect, in which "the social organisation only controls a circumscribable segment or aspect of the behaviour (*Hegedűs* [1997] p.100).

It is important to emphasise that the roles cannot be observed in themselves, only in social relationships and interactions, which means "we can call something a role if the behaviour pattern in question is interpersonal in nature" (*Buda* [1997] p.78). However, not only one party participates in the interactions but both parties express themselves in some role. Many roles may only be interpretable with their partner roles and altering roles, as only this way may the content of the role under discussion become meaningful. For instance, the superior's role becomes clear only together with the role of his inferior; the seller's with the buyer's, the teacher's with the student's.

However, a certain organisational position or social status can have not only one but several typical relationships (and as such, behaviour patterns) associated with it. The dean does not only speak as a dean to professors but also to the rector and the students; however, this means different behaviour patterns in the different relations. That is, deanship does not mean one role but a role-set (*Merton* [1968/2002] 453.o.) which is manifested in not only one relation but in the relation-set characteristic of a particular role[5]. From all the above, it also follows that according to role theory, the participants of interactions do not only express themselves as individuals but also as the representatives of a particular social role. This is demonstrated by the following report:

> "University culture is so much against administration, hierarchy and authority that even such an undisciplined, spontaneous and self-masking person as I am has to learn to accept the faculty

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[4] In his famous book, Belbin stated that the members of groups have different roles in the operation of the group. On the basis of this, Belbin distinguishes between roles such as the monitor/evaluator, the completer/finisher, the plant, the shaper, the resource investigator, the team worker, the implementer and the specialist. (see e.g.: *Belbin* [2010]).

[5] The distinction between the role and the role-set allows for the interesting relationship of role theories and network research (*Polzer* [1998]; *Biddle* [1986]; *Biddle* [2000]). Henceforth, I am going to use the expression "role" according to general practice, except for the cases in which the distinction between the role and the role-set is key to the arguments.

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professors' insistence on the fact that while I am the deputy head of academic affairs, I cannot be only myself. The role involves such strong expectations that no good-will, flattering or attempt to break the boundaries imposed on me allows me to escape the insistence one professor described the following way: "when we speak to you, you are not Allan Cohen but the vice-chairman" (Cohen (1996), in *Gallos* [2002] p.180).

Consequently, the analysis of roles essentially means the examination of the relationship between individuals and social systems – such as organisations or society –, namely, how a particular social system influences the individual's behaviour (as well as self-interpretation and the identity) through the roles and vice versa. The concept of the role "expressed in unity the individual and social factors providing the regularities of behaviour" (*Buda* [1997] p.77); this is why Merton called role theories "intermediate-level sociological theories" (*Merton* [1968/2002]). The attachment of the individual and collective level also means the "interdisciplinary core" of the concept of the role (Buda [1997] p.78), through which the concept gained a central explanatory role in sociology, organisation research, anthropology and social psychology as well.

Having appeared in the 1930s, the concept of the role has also become an organic part of two major theoretical branches of sociology, the functionalist-structuralist and the symbolic-interactionist approaches[6]. However, the two basic paradigms of sociology approach roles in fundamentally different ways. The differences are summarised in Table 1; they are going to be discussed in detail – with the primary focus on organisational references – in the following subchapters. It is necessary to mention as much in advance that the various interpretations of the role in the majority of cases may be attributed to the ontological, epistemological and methodological differences of the paradigms. The detailed introduction of these is beyond the scope of this paper (see their discussion with an organisational theoretical focus (in e.g. *Gelei* [2006]; *Burrell – Morgan* [1979]; *Scherer* [2008]); therefore, hereunder, I am going to refer to the characteristics of paradigms only where it is inevitable for the interpretation, emergence, functioning and subsistence of the role.

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[6] Mead expressed his social theory/philosophy by the introduction of the development of self-image and with the help of the concept of the role, while Parsons regarded roles as the building blocks of society.

Table 1: The Comparison of the Structuralist-Functionalist and the Symbolic-Interactionist Approaches

Name	Structuralist-functionalist approach	Symbolic-interactionist approach
Unit of analysis	Status/Position	Interaction
Core question	Why is there social order?	How is meaning born?
The organisation (society)…	…is an objectively given unit of analysis	…is the network of interactions, a social construction
The role…	…is a normative expectation associated with status and based on social consensus; namely, a "behavioural script"	…is a social construction structuring interpersonal interactions but lacking or with little normative pressure
The individual…	…is essentially reactive and passive, whose position is determined by social structures	…is essentially active and performing, who, through their interactions with others, creates and actively forms the social structures, which, in turn, react on and structure future interactions
Central categories	Conformity, Sanctions, Role Conflict, Role Ambiguity, Role Overload	Negotiated Order, Role Taking, Role Making

Source: the author's own compilation

2.2. The Functionalist-Structuralist Approach[7]

The functionalist-structuralist (in short: structuralist) role theory, which is hallmarked mainly by the names of Parsons and Merton, primarily investigates the question how social order is possible. It focuses on examining how the individual integrates (through roles) into bigger social structures, what *function* they have to fulfil in society, in the organisation or the group and how they contribute to their performance and subsistence[8].

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[7] Some simply refer to it as structuralist role theory (e.g. *Stryker* [2001]) emphasising that it has the analysis of social structures in its focus. However, they recognise the strong attachment of the approach to functionalist sociology. I use the term structuralist-functionalist because I examine primarily the organisational references of role theories and in the field of organisational theories these approaches are usually referred to as functionalist (e.g. *Burrell – Morgan* [1979]). However, there are researchers (e.g. *Biddle* [1986]) who distinguish between functionalist and structuralist role theories, meaning by the latter an approach that focuses on the descriptions of social structures and networks with primarily mathematical methods and is not concerned about behaviour analysis.

[8] Therefore, the leading metaphor of the functionalist-structuralist approach is the theatre, where the actors perform roles written in advance. Roles are written by the social culture and they change through evolutionary adaptation. Roles are written in advance because it ensures the coherence of the play (society) in case somebody starts improvising. The creation of roles occurs with regard to the interests of the play/ the survival of society (*Biddle* [2000]; *Turner* [2001]).

The core concept of the approach is the place in the social rank, the "status" and the "position" in the organisational context, to which commonly shared, specific and expected behaviours ("roles") belong. (As the analysis essentially concerns the institutions of higher education, henceforth, I am going to use the expression "position" uniformly.) According to theory, after the description of roles, it is possible to explain and anticipate an individual's behaviour in view of his position (*Biddle* [1986] p.70). The positions are the results of differentiation within the organisation (*Turner* [2001]).

From the structuralist point of view, the role is already given before filling the position, as it has emerged from the collective experience of those having fulfilled the position before in an evolutive way, adapting to external expectations. There is consensus about the developed roles. The content of the role is passed on in the socialisation process, as a result of which the majority of role expectations are internalised; "integrating into the personality, they become internal drives and partly moral imperatives." (*Váriné* [1994], n.p.). Thus, the behaviour of following norms (the order) is provided by partly the affirmative positive feedbacks and partly the internal or external sanctions (guilty conscience, disapproval, condemnation, etc.) Consensual role expectations both authorise and restrict the behaviour of the individual fulfilling the position as there are commonly accepted rights and obligations belonging to every role. The actions of those who act in accordance with the role expectations (conform to them) do not need explanation or justification in front of others (authorisation); moreover, their fulfilment of the role will be confirmed. However, behaviour inconsistent with the role (deviant behaviour) requires explanation or sanctions (restriction) (*Turner* [2001]). Thus, through the actors' striving for conformity, roles standardise the behaviour of others in similar positions and as such they stabilise and make organisational relations predictable. Roles even enable authority to work, as it is encoded in them which behaviour of a person in a certain position is legitimate and which is not (*Bess – Dee* [2008] p.245).

The empirical application of the structuralist approach is possible on the condition that the statuses are well identifiable and unambiguous, which is the case in particular within groups and organisations of developed status-hierarchy (*Lopata* [1995])[9]. It is not accidental that the majority of empirical analyses have been conducted in an organisational context, as the relationships within the organisations are generally highly formalised; therefore, statuses can be apprehended as the positions in the organisation. Organisations have proved to be fertile land for the analysis of numerous basic concepts and relations of structuralist role theory. The concepts of role conflict, role ambiguity and role overload were clarified through the examination of questions such as how contradictory, vaguely expressed or exaggerating role expectations affect the performance of the individual/organisation; which individual and organisational factors influence the unambiguous nature of roles, etc.

At the same time, however, as statuses are so plausibly apprehensible with the help of formal positions, roles are interpreted in a simplified way in many researches being identified only

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[9] The conceptual clarity and empirical apprehension of status have been criticised by many (*Lopata* [1995]; *Jackson* [1998]). Now, at the social level, I also find this criticism relevant to today's Western societies as the social structure is less and less describable as a simple class structure while individual career paths can be regarded as less and less linear. However, in an organisational context, I see structuralist role theory (at least from this point of view) as acceptable.

with formal responsibilities and scopes of authority (*Bess – Dee* [2008] p.246-247). In the focus of this approach there are the questions what function a certain role has with respect to the organisation as a whole and how it contributes to the operation of the latter. This approach is very close to that of Organisational Design (OD)[10] and it is an organic continuation of classical bureaucracy theory approaches. However, with the exclusive analysis of formal roles associated with positions, the actual behaviour, the so-called hidden (latent) role is disregarded and it is impossible to apprehend the real role fulfilled in the organisation since "because of the formalization, the separation between role definers and role incumbents, and the organizational rigidity that resists prompt adaptive change [...] role incumbents typically develop what might be called an informal or working role that differs significantly from the formal role." (*Turner* [2001] p.243) As a consequence, even in an organisational context, roles are mainly rooted in the organisational culture and not exclusively in the formal structure.

Two essential criticisms can be formulated against the functionalist-structuralist approach (*Stryker* [2001]; *Biddle* [1986])[11]. On the one hand, theory assumes an oversocialised individual who is only able to accept the roles but not modify or change them, and it has simplifying motivational assumptions when it claims that individuals follow organisational norms to gain positive feedback increasing their self-esteem. On the other hand, structuralist theory assumes that the role originates from the position and is "forced" on the actors. This is acceptable only if we also assume developed, steadily subsisting relations. However, the social system is not necessarily stable and structuralist theory is unable either to explain the emergence of roles or to describe the actual process of transformation.

2.3. The Symbolic-Interactionist Approach

Symbolic interactionism built on the work of Mead and Blumer may be considered to be a general theoretical framework along which more theories may be formulated, with great differences among them (see the introduction of the most important discussion items and approaches in *Stryker – Vryan* [2006]). The common starting point of the theories based on symbolic interactionism is that individuals act in a way it is sensible and meaningful to them. This way, the physical and social contexts are also "interpreted" contexts. If their interpretation changes, the behaviour associated with (directed towards) them also changes.[12].

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[10] This fact also points out what other fields, due to the specific interpretations of the concept of the role, role theory has a close relationship with.

[11] *Biddle* [1986] also formulates many less heavy-weight criticisms not related to the basics of the concept, such as the fact that empirical data do not confirm that nonconformity always results in sanctions; neither is the fact proven that sustaining conformity indeed requires sanctions. A further criticism is that the structuralist theory has numerous mistaken restricting stipulations: not all roles are associated with position/status and not all roles have a (social) function. In addition, there is not necessarily a consensus about norms within the whole society; this has not been empirically proven either. Thus, the theory is unable to interpret the differences and changes of the relations between normative role expectations and relevant actions or behaviour (e.g. permanent deviant behaviour) either.

[12] This is not simply about a perceptual difference but what meaning (consequences and explanations) is attributed to certain events.

Therefore, the core question of the approach is how something becomes sensible and meaningful to somebody. This is significant with regard to the fact that the possibility of social co-existence depends on whether we are able to communicate about the problems concerning co-existence and survival, that is, whether there is a shared interpretation – at least, accepted for the time of the interaction – of situations, problems and the perceived environment. These provide the participants with "the understanding of each other, they create coherence, give the participants directions; eventually, they enable co-ordinated collective action." (*Gelei* [2006] p.85).

Creating shared interpretations through interactions is possible with the help of symbols (e.g. the language). Interactions are negotiation and consensus processes, in which the parties adjust their expectations and interpretations to each other. In Stryker's words, interactions are „battles of varying intensity over whose definitions will organize the interaction." (*Stryker* [2001] p.226).

The representatives of extreme symbolic-interactionist theories are convinced that consensus processes repeatedly occur in every interaction, thus, they deny that general statements are possible to make about the relationship between the individual and bigger social structures (organisations, society). Therefore, they avoid the concept "role" as they regard it as too static; consequently, talking about "role theory" is not particularly relevant in their case.

Hereunder, however, I am going to start from a different, more moderate approach of symbolic-interactionist theories, according to which interactions do not occur in a "vacuum" as they are structured by shared interpretations encoded on many occasions in rules, typologies, customs (in one word: institutions) formulated as a result of previous interactions; in other words, the shared interpretation formulated in interactions affect (react to) the actors and influence future interactions as well as their individual interpretation processes. Thus, the development of social (organisational) reality is recursive: individuals create social structures during interactions (e.g. they agree on the roles), which later influence further interactions, according to which they recreate the structures and so forth. Thus, they are mutually conditional; neither of them can be deemed primary to the other (*Stryker* [2001]; *Váriné* [1994]). With the recurrence of interactions, a part of common agreements becomes routine and is gradually crystallised into rules, norms and customs. Descending below the conscious level, they become natural and taken for granted, that is, they are objectified and externalised. While the performing individuals actively participate in reproducing these agreements, they will perceive them as an external, unalterable reality (*Berger – Luckmann* [1998]).

From this point of view, roles are also the results of the social construction process; that is, they emerge and are clarified in interactions through "common agreements". This is not necessarily the result of a conscious process; that is, the majority of interactions are not about (re)defining the roles but everyday activities and problem solving. Thus, the negotiation process in interactions is rarely about the roles themselves, it rather serves as the frame of the interaction; furthermore, the modification of roles is the unconscious (unintentional?) consequence of the interaction.

Eventually, however, the role could be considered to be the result of a local, evolutive, emergent and enacted negotiation process rather than a pile of external expectations forced upon the participants as it is suggested by the structuralist approach. "Roles, then, are thought to

reflect norms, attitudes, contextual demands, negotiation, and the evolving definition of the situation as understood by the actors." (*Biddle* [1986] p.71).

However, with the recurrence of interactions, their meaning is also stabilised, in which process they become part of the social structure as well. The roles emerging this way, however, are not static but are constantly reconfirmed in interactions, namely, they are constantly reproduced; they are in the state of continuous reconstruction.

The essential element of this process is role-taking[13]; that is, when the actors attempt to place themselves into the other's role during the interaction, they imagine the position and actions of others and they adjust theirs to those. However, role-taking is not simply copying given scripts. The taken roles and the related expectations – unlike in the structuralist approach – do not necessarily exercise a normative pressure on the participants in the interaction; rather, they may be regarded as broad examples which can be reinterpreted and modified in the interaction; that is, roles may change (it is called role-making). "The way and content of interpretation […] is not fully controlled by society; there is space for individual interpretation as well. Consequently, the individual is not only a passive role-player but the co-author of his own role" (*Váriné* [1994]).

The attempt at making a role does not originate simply from the desire for mutual understanding, the affirmation of social integration or efficient interactions but also from the fact that the consensus process of the interaction is also a self-interpretation process. The self-image – the ability to observe ourselves from the point of view of others, from the outside, as an object (reflexivity) – emerges through the placing of oneself into different roles. Therefore, individuals interpret even themselves through their own roles, during which some of the role expectations are internalised or, in other words, they become identity (*Stryker* [2001]; *Bailey – Yost* [2000] p.2423). Simpson and Carroll, however, argue that the role never becomes identity; instead, roles – as "boundary objects" – participate in the process of forming the identity as the mediators and translators of meaning (*Simpson – Carroll* [2008] p.43). Whichever interpretation is accepted, both lead to the conclusion that a certain individual's interpretation of their own role, self-image and identity are the results of a social construction process, which mirrors the collective beliefs about the role as well.[14]

According to interactionist theory, the outcome of interactions cannot be anticipated and the content of roles can be rewritten during role-making. However, this does not result in the considerable changeability or instability of meanings – it is still possible to apprehend the content of possible roles. Demonstrated with an example of physics, the emerged meanings of roles are more reminiscent of the state of an object which, although continuously exposed to forces, is still at rest. Although, with the change of forces, the object may start moving, the change of state, which depends on the size of the object, occurs gradually. Thus, according to the analogy, the more deeply a given meaning is ingrained in public thinking, the more considerable restructuring of interaction processes is needed for a change, which also requires even more participants. Thus, meanings formed are apprehensible but contingent (*Wollnik* [1995] p.367), that is, there is a permanent possibility of change even if it does not necessarily occur.

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[13] In Mead's words, this is the reciprocity of perspectives (cited in *Martin – Wilson* [2005]).

[14] "Since self reflects society, selves incorporate the characteristics of society." *(Stryker – Vryan* [2006] p.24)

From the numerousness and parallel nature of interactions as well as the openness of interpretation processes, the highly significant conclusion can be drawn that concurrently, several collective interpretations (narratives) of a certain thing – e.g. the operation of the organisation or the role expectations concerning the dean) may coexist within the organisation. (*Wollnik* [1995] p.370). This is going to be discussed in detail later.

2.4. The Observations of Critical Theories about Role Theory

In past decades, critical theories have gained strength both in sociology and the fields of organisational theories. By critical theories I mean approaches whose starting point is that the current social (organisational) order is not built on consensus but on the oppression of conflicts, either by explicitly or implicitly exercising power, by the oppression of thinking differently or by preventing the awareness of conflicting interests. (*Lukes* [1974]). According to critical approaches, all this is either generated by the dominant groups of society or they are the unintentional consequences of human co-operation.

Critical theories formulate their counterarguments about role theories from this point of view, as well when they argue that role theories confirm and reproduce the current social order and the social ideology they are based on; therefore, they are essentially conservative theories.

By being scientific and using a technical, seemingly neutral language, structuralist theories, on the one hand, disguise that there are social ideologies behind the content of roles and, on the other hand, they create the impression of being unchangeable by displaying formulated roles as objective reality. For instance, by the explanation of the functional differentiation of roles, theory presents the evolved relations to be general, evident and necessary.

The categories of status and position disguise diversity and show as homogeneous what, in reality, is quite versatile (such as the fact that university lecturers are very diverse in gender, origin, ethnicity, linguistically, etc.). Thus, the role associated with the status, as a matter of fact (and necessarily), sets the image built on the dominant ideology as standard, it generalises this image and projects it to the whole society. Those who differ from these roles are abnormal, non-conform or deviant.

Although, with the introduction of role conflicts, the explanation to conflicts appeared in the theory, this regards the conflict as an individual problem, as a result of which it is also resolved at the individual level by applying techniques (e.g. trainings) that help the individual display behaviours conforming to the expectations in a certain role (*Jackson* [1998]). According to critical theories, however, the primary source of tensions is not the individual; therefore, Biddle writes that „research on role conflict […] diverts our attention from concern for the real conflicts that appear in social systems or from the possibility that persons might cope by changing those systems." (*Biddle* [1986] p.82)

Critical theories formulate similar criticism about symbolic-interactionist role theories as well, which describe the emergence of roles as a negotiation process but they ignore the fact that the negotiating power of participants is different. That is, in the social construction process of roles there are going to be groups becoming marginalised, oppressed and vulnerable while

others are going to gain a central role in defining dominant meanings. Eventually, by presenting the current situation as a consensus, symbolic-interactionist role theories also legitimise it; as such, they contribute to the reproduction of dominant social (organisational) relations and ideologies (see also *Bess – Dee* [2008]). Simpson and Carrol pass a similar judgement disapproving that "there is no engagement in this conventional literature with debates about the discursive, cultural and political construction of roles, nor with issues of control and contestation. In the absence of such critical engagement, role theory appears naïve, and therefore limited in its capacity to deal with the realities of organizational life." (*Simpson – Carroll* [2008] p.31) The critical perspective enriches the symbolic-interactionist framework by pointing out: the definition of roles in the social construction process is not a neutral process but it also means and is the consequence of the distribution of power.

2.5. The Analysis of the Dean's Position – Summary and Conclusions

In the upcoming chapters of the dissertation, I am going to apply the role and organisational interpretation of the more moderate approach of symbolic interactionism for double reasons. On the one hand, the structuralist approach interprets the relationship between the individual and the social structures in a simplifying way; therefore, the microprocesses of the emergence, changes and transformation of roles cannot be understood and analysed. As a result, in a radically transforming higher education system, this approach is less applicable to the analysis of the changing role of the dean. On the other hand, symbolic interactionism incorporates numerous significant components of the structuralist theory by acknowledging the claim that developed social structures affect the situation of individuals as well as the process of constructing reality.

The relationship between the key categories of the approach applied in the paper and the research – the role, the organisation and the individual – is displayed in Figure 1.

Figure 1: The Review of the Symbolic-Interactionist Approach Applied in the Research
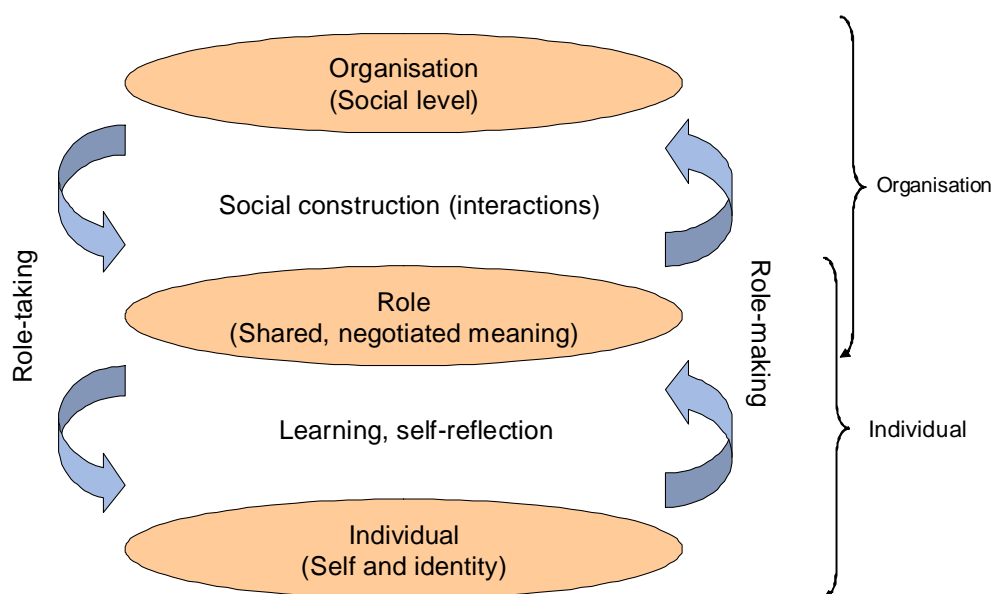
Source: the author's own compilation

On the basis of what has been said so far, with regard to the rest of the dissertation as well as the empirical research, I have drawn the following conclusions:

1. According to the symbolic-interactionst approach, the role of the dean is a social construction; in other words, it is not due to the regulations, the division of responsibilities and authorities or to historical necessity (the natural differentiation of tasks) that the content of the role is subject to change, but because of the fact that the image of the dean's behaviour alters in the minds and belief systems of the people getting in touch with him/her (*Kieser* [2008]). In the interactions, the dean and his/her partners behave in accordance with this system of beliefs; therefore, in these interactions, the image of the dean's role is under continuous reconstruction and reproduction, which stabilises the dean's behaviour as well, appearing, in due time, in visible forms as regulations, for instance. Thus, in the analysis of the dean's role, the system-of–beliefs-in-use and the espoused system of beliefs of the dean and his/her partners are to be examined; in addition, the conflicts and challenges affecting the system of expectations towards the dean's role should be moved to the focus of the analysis of role changes. This also means a source of the dean's role conflicts as different belief systems give rise to different expectations.

2. The role of the dean cannot be interpreted in itself as a given interpretation of the dean's role implicitly includes the expectations towards the tasks and activities of role partners. By exploring and raising awareness of these, not only the dean's role but also beliefs about the operation of the university may be observed. The description of the interrelations of roles, in fact, means the description of the operation of the organisation. Therefore, role interpretation embedded into the belief what the university is like and how it is supposed to (should) be operating (this is going to be referred to as a "narrative" later). The logic, I assume, works the other way round as well: the belief concerning the real or desirable operation of the organisation explicitly or implicitly includes who the key actors of the organisation are and how they are expected to behave. From all this follows that it is necessary to reveal the narratives of the

organisation as well in order to understand the role of the dean. The narratives dominant in the higher education system are going to be explored in the next chapter while the roles incorporated in them are going to be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

3. As a result of the interconnection of roles, the alteration of a particular role induces the change of the expectations towards the role partners closely connected to the role; that is to say, the reorganisation of partner roles (*Turner* [1990]). Therefore, a significant change of the content of a central character's role represents the change of the whole organisation as, due to the transformation of such roles, other roles are reinterpreted as well. Having a central, mediator role (this idea is going to be supported later), the dean may be seen as a character of such; therefore, through the changes of the dean's role, the transformation of the whole organisation can be apprehended.

4. From this follows that the transformation of the leader's role is an inevitable part of the significant transformation of an organisation. Moreover, from a managerial point of view, the changes of and changing their roles, their interpretations as well as having them approved and confirmed in the social structure are organic parts of the institutional transformation. (The dilemmas of the dean's choice and execution of roles are going to be discussed in Chapter 5.)

5. The role is closely related to the identity and self-image of the person fulfilling the role as the role is not only the result of an interaction with others but that of a self-interpretation process, as well (that is, of the interaction with ourselves and self-reflexion). Therefore, it is also part of the transformation of the dean's role for the manager to be able to understand, embrace and identify with his/her new role. Thus, the organisational transformation manifests itself in the changes of the dean's self-interpretation (interpretation of role, identity) as well as in the emerging dilemmas and conflicts related to them. These dilemmas also mean a further source of role conflicts.

Starting from the conclusions above, in the following chapter of the paper, I am going to introduce the most popular narratives of the operation of universities on the basis of the literature. These narratives mirror the systems of beliefs of major higher education actors as well as their interpretations of higher education and universities.

The possible interpretations of the dean's role are incorporated in the narratives. Therefore, the aim of Chapter 4 is to reveal interpretations of the dean's role that mirror particular narratives on the one hand, and to explore topics and conflicts that are characteristic of the dean's role and the individual perception of which could be examined in the empirical research.

Chapter 5 focuses on the transformational process of narratives, the relevant changes of roles as well as the individual dilemmas about them.

3. The Narratives of the University in light of the Literature

One of the conclusions of the previous chapter was that the expectations towards the dean are incorporated into the narratives of the university. By narratives I mean a collective interpretational framework, belief and system of explanations that answer the questions

- to what basic values can the operation of the university be traced back, that is to say, what makes the operation of the university legitimate (and what does not),
- how the relation of higher education to society as well as the operation of the higher education system are to be (or are not to be) interpreted; who are (and who are not) the dominant groups of the higher education system,
- what is (and what is not) the desirable operation of the university like,
- what are (and what are not) the tasks, roles and situations of the major internal actors of the university – such as academic leaders, the administrative personnel, professors and students [15].

Undeniably, there have been attempts to answer the questions incorporated in the narrative or parts of them from various approaches before (see Figure 2).

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[15] Instead of "narratives", the terms *ideology* (see *Barnett* [2003]), *discourse* and possibly *paradigm* may be used.

Figure 2: The Sources of Answers to the Questions Incorporated in the Narratives

Values, mission	*Higher education philosophy*				
Higher education system		*Higher education policy*			
		University governance and decision making models			
Organisational operation			*Organisational metaphors and images*		
				Organisational culture of universities	
Individual		*Roles*			*Identities*
	1970	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	
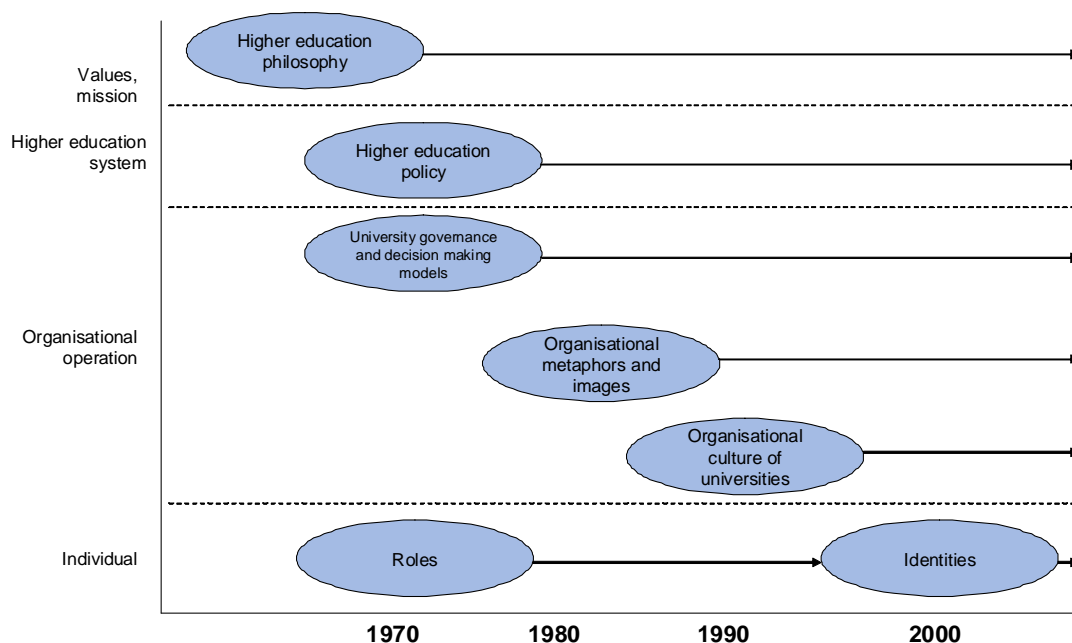
Source: the author's own compilation

Higher education philosophy (and history) have been concerned about the social roles of higher education and their changes since Kant; however, these approaches focus little on the operational level of the organisation as well as on how one or another interpretation appears in everyday interactions. Nonetheless, these debates are particularly topical today. The prospering of the literature about the crises of universities (e.g. *Lyotard* [1993]; *Readings* [1996]), their functional transformation (*Tóth* [2001]) or the social contract (*Hrubos* [2006]; *Martin – Etzkowitz* [2000]; *Neave* [2006]) prove this well, which represents the transformation of legitimacy criteria as well as the struggle of higher education institutions searching for their self-identity.

The description of the higher education system has evolved predominantly from the economic and policy-analyses as well as sociology (*Clark* [1983]); it centres on the relationship of the state, the market and higher education as well as its regulatory and financial questions. Due to the ongoing transformation of higher education systems, this area has been particularly dominant in Europe in recent decades.

The analysis of the organisational level has been following the dominant trends of management since the beginning. The first systematic analysis of the institutional operation was conducted in the 1970s. Their results were compared within the analysis of different university governance models (e.g. *Walford* [1987]; *Hardy* [1991]; *Miller* [1995]; *OECD* [2008] p.109-110; *Barakonyi* [2004a]; *Barakonyi* [2004b]) and the models of decision-making systems (*Hardy, Langley et al.* [1984]; *Hardy* [1990]). In the 1980s, following an impact of Gareth Morgan's book *Images of Organization*, organisational images and metaphors provided the framework for answering organisational questions (*Middlehurst* [1993]). In the 1990s, organisational culture was the call word some used in their attempts to describe the operation of higher education institutions (*Tierney* [1988]; *McNay* [1995]). It was in this period when works analysing disciplinary cultures were written (*Becher – Trowler* [2001]). As I have already pointed out, the analysis of

roles had been taking place since the 1970s and it was replaced by the analysis of the identity in the 1990s (*Henkel* [2000]). Some of the approaches describing the university have survived (new trends did not eliminate them); therefore, there is a considerable number of starting points from which narratives may be apprehended.

Hereunder, I am going to demonstrate the items of the definition of the narrative – legitimacy, the explanation related to the system, organisation and roles – by "mixing" the sources above. My starting point is *McNay* [1995]'s model of university culture, in which McNay distinguishes between four institutional cultures (see Figure 3): the collegium, bureaucracy, the entrepreneurial university and corporation.[16].

Figure 3: The Narratives of the University
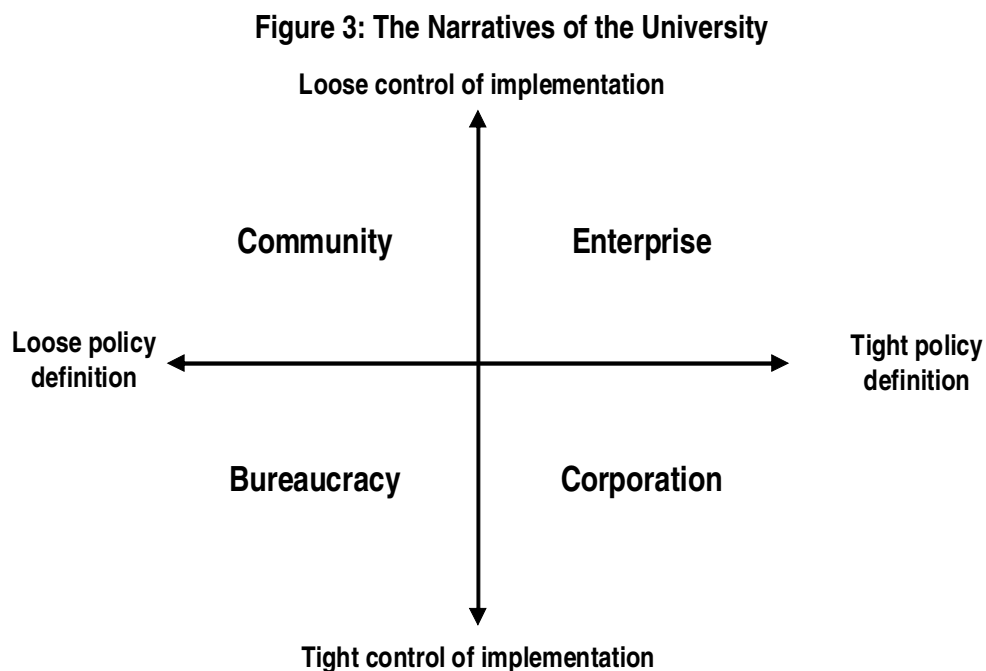
Source: *McNay* [1995] p.106

However, I am going to use these categories in different ways and for different purposes than it can be seen in the original model. McNay suggests that each and every institution can be categorised as being *one of the types* (and only one of them); namely, he describes his typology to be *comprehensive and universal* while the culture to be *homogeneously* characteristic of the institution as a whole.

However, I interpret the components of McNay's typology as being more general and I regard them as typical interpretational frameworks that may *simultaneously* co-exist within the organisation. This list, however, *cannot* the least *be considered a full one* as, apart from these components, interpretations depending on local interactions are also relevant. Some are selected from the *heterogeneous* mix of narratives, they secure dominant positions at the university or parts of it and form the operation of the organisation to their own image; that is to say, they

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[16] It could be interpreted as corporate university; however, this refers to the universities operated by a corporation (e.g. Hamburger University, Microsoft University, etc.).

integrate into the system of values and rules. I am going to discuss the reasons and consequences of this process in detail later.

The basic differences between the narratives may be apprehensible along two dimensions. One of them is the way of policy-making while the other is identical with the strictness of implementing policies. Thus, the two dimensions organise the narratives according to how they relate to the two essential characteristics of the university: its professional nature and fragmentation. Therefore, first, I am going to revise briefly what dilemmas to be resolved are hidden in these two basic characteristics of the university, and then l am going to elaborate on the individual narratives.

3.1. The Dimensions of the Organising Model of Narratives

3.1.1. The Control of Implementation: the University as a Professional Organisation

The main profile of the university, education, research and – depending on the narrative – consulting is accomplishing highly complex tasks requiring expertise. Apart from universities, there are other organisations carrying out professional-type tasks, such as hospitals, consulting companies, offices of architects and lawyers, etc. The common feature of those working as professionals is that, unlike other employees (such as vocational workers), they claim exclusive authority not only over their working conditions but also questions such as which issues fall within their scope of competence and which do not; who has what sort of authority to decide in certain situations, which actions are approved and which are not as well as what punishment or sanction is to follow disapproved actions. (*Scott* [1995] p.X). Doctors, for instance, regard the question of giving birth at home and its regulation as a professional one – hence, they allocate it into their own scope of authority – excluding others (laymen) by claiming they are incompetent. Likewise: it is characteristic of professors and researchers working in higher education that they intend to decide in questions such as which problems belong to their own scientific field (and which do not), who and how is supposed to/may resolve them (and how they are not to be resolved), how they are supposed to be taught (and how they are not), etc. The Hungarian Constitution claims that "the state is not entitled to make decisions in the questions of scientific truth and only scientists are entitled to evaluate scientific research".[17]

However, by exclusively possessing a distinctive and valuable sort of expertise, experts seize organisational and social power (*Clark, Gewirtz et al.* [2000] p.8). They monopolise decision-making and prevent the supervision of their activities. The basis for the demand for professional autonomy and authority is the high complexity of teaching and research activities, which restricts the standardisation of the process and output of teaching and research. Ouchi says that the focus of standardisation can be

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[17] Article 10(2). It is to be noted that the Constitution previously in effect (until 2011) has a similar wording: "only scientists are entitled to make decisions in the questions of scientific truth and determine the value of scientific research" Article 70/G(2)

- the chain of activities (namely, the transformation process itself), on which process regulation can be built as long as the process is well describable and can broken down into its structural units or
- the output, on which output-regulation can be built as long as the results or the added value of activities are apprehensible along clear-cut viewpoints, and finally,
- behaviours that are, in fact, the consequences of norm-control (see Table 2).

Table 2: The Possible Forms of Standardisation

		The possibility to standardise processes	
		High	**Low**
The possibility to standardise outputs	**High**	Output or process control	Output control
	Low	Process control	Behaviour control

Source: *Dobák, Antal et al.* [1999] p.162 Table 11

With regard to teaching, the difficulty of **process regulation** is fairly easily acknowledgeable as teaching is fundamentally a dialogic process, of which the student is not a passive but an active participant[18]. Therefore, during the teaching process, lecturers are forced to make an infinite number of instant decisions which cannot be made in advance. From this also follows that any process regulation may be applicable to the regulation of teaching conditions only (e.g. advertising courses, providing information, the conditions and circumstances of exams) but not the teaching activity itself[19].

The difficulty of process standardisation applies to research as well. Although scientific methods (the acknowledgement of which also depends on the scientific field and school) provide some handholds, the essential components of the research process (e.g. the recognition of problem, selection of the analytic method, etc.) can only be generalised at a highly abstract level, which does not allow for the regulation of a particular, specific research process.

Instead of processes, the **standardisation of the output** may be emphasised. This implies that there is a generally accepted system of criteria along which the output of universities can be described properly. The strength of the regulation based on the standardisation of the output lies in the fact that to enforce it, the executor is given a free hand. It is sufficient to record and monitor the desired output, thus, the continuous supervision of implementation is not necessary.

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[18] The essence of process regulation is that the rules the executor has to observe to accomplish the desired result are to be delineated very accurately. The number of the points of decision during the activity is restricted; therefore, the process is predictable and unifiable, so, they do not have to be recreated (and customised) again all the time. Thus, efficiency depends on the executor only as much as they observe the rules.

[19] A consequence is that the "quality" of education cannot be provided through process regulation as even unified lesson plans do not guarantee that the course will produce students of the same knowledge, abilities, satisfaction, etc. The unification of lesson plans, however, is not completely unimaginable as there are business schools where a very detailed educational guideline is provided for each class, which – theoretically – are to be followed. This, however, is a fairly costly process and I believe that still more depends on selecting the suitable professor.

One of the difficulties of output standardisation in higher education is that the output of neither teaching nor research may be regarded as homogeneous. Although, from a quantitative point of view, the output is more or less describable (e.g. with the number of publications or graduated students), this provides little information concerning its quality. Quality measurement and evaluation, however, is considerably difficult as even the concept of quality itself is complex and versatile; therefore, it is an ongoing question who and on what basis is entitled to judge the quality of a course or research.

This ambiguity always entails questionability as well as the possibility of output relativisation; furthermore, it perpetuates the effort to reinterpret performance. As a natural consequence, competition in higher education is always present at two levels. One is the competition evolving at the level of performance made along the currently dominant quality criteria, the main question of which is which university (or faculty) is the better one with regard to the given criteria. The other level is the interpretational level at which the parties are trying to have the assessment criteria favourable for them and their definition approved by the others concerned (other institutions, the public, other faculties of the university, etc.) in questions such as who is a good lecturer/researcher, what are the criteria of quality education or what describes excellent research universities. The field of the interpretational competition can be assessment and accreditation organisations (e.g. MAB – the Hungarian Accreditation Committee) as well as ranking lists, PR work, the influence on legislation or the activity of the senate and the faculty council, etc. (see *Barnett* [2003]). As a consequence, it is not only performance that can be the subject of debate but also the framework of reference (this is connected to the fragmented nature of the higher education organisation, which I am going to revisit).

The questionability of outputs is further aggravated by the considerably long feedback cycles of higher education (*Lockwood – Davies* [1985]; *Varga* [1998]) as the separation of influential factors and the presentation of the real effects of education/research involve many difficulties giving grounds to arguments. For instance, whether the teaching material of an educational programme is appropriate will only be known when the students have already entered the labour market and employers (or alumni students) voice their dissatisfaction. Even in the case of short programmes, this may take 2-3 years, not to mention longer programmes. After such a long period, it is difficult to judge to what extent the lacking abilities of students, the insufficiencies of teaching materials, the incompetence of professors and teaching methods or the changing of some external circumstance (e.g. a world economic crisis) have contributed to the dissatisfaction. From a managerial point of view, studying such factors does not provide unambiguous feedback on what should be changed in order to achieve better results either.[20]

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[20] Likewise, it is difficult to assess to what extent the future success of a graduate can be attributed to the university. Namely, it is also possible that because of his/her abilities and social status, the student would have been "destined" to success nevertheless. On the basis of this, it can be said that universities of high prestige are successful not necessarily because they teach or research well but because they can admit students and employ researchers who excel in another environment as well. From this also follows that the performance of a university is not the graduate who knows much but the added value the student would not have been able to gain without the university (that is, in higher education, inputs cannot be regarded as homogeneous, as there may be significant differences between two admitted students). Obviously, this interpretation of performance is even more difficult to grasp than the earlier ones, which generates further interpretation and methodological debates.

The essence of behaviour and norm-control is that as it is difficult to create a general system of criteria, list of indicators or means of assessment with the help of which the laymen unfamiliar with the field in question is able to reliably judge the quality of teaching or research; only fellow experts (peers) are able to do it. However, towards the top of the organisational hierarchy of higher education institutions, the homogeneousness of the expertise of lecturers and researchers subordinated to the manager is gradually decreasing, thus, so is the integrity of the governed structural unit(s). Simultaneously, the manager's competence in the scientific fields under their supervision also decreases. All this means that at universities – as in any professional organisation – the majority of control is transferred to the professional community beyond the walls of the organisation. In Mintzberg's words: "the organization surrenders a good deal of its power not only to the professionals themselves but also to the associations and institutions that select and train them in the first place" (*Mintzberg* [1981] p.109) It is primarily by "the standardisation of skills" (*Mintzberg* [1981]), that is, by long socialisation processes that the community itself ensures that lecturers and researchers – within certain limits – observe the accepted norms and community practices. Such regulatory mechanism is, for instance, the review practice of journal articles, the criteria exercised in distributing research resources or a comprehensive assessment preceding appointments or promotions (such as a PhD or habilitation). Confirmation of suitability occurs through professional acknowledgement. Behaviour control means a continuous urge to adjust to community norms; however, within these norms, lecturers both inside and outside the university are entitled to significant autonomy in acting and decision-making.

The dimension of implementation control is eventually seeking answer to the question who is able, how and to how general an extent, to define the concepts of success, performance, quality and output in the individual narratives. Each narrative – from different considerations – accepts the different forms of control as legitimate and applicable to different extents.

3.1.2. The Definition of University Policy: the University as a Fragmented Organisation

Every organisation is characterised by fragmentation to a certain extent due to the differentiation of the organisation or the development of various occupational cultures, for instance. In each professional organisation, the most obvious fracture line can be found between the administration providing background support and experts completing core tasks, which is becoming more and more apparent in higher education as well due to the increasing size of administration. Incongruencies can be traced back to the differences of aims and processes. Administration is routine-like, which emphasises stable and reliable operation instead of original problem solving methods. Process regulation, the hierarchical structure, the (so-called functional) division of labour specialising in partial tasks and the well regulated system of responsibilities and authorities fit this well. Thus, with regard to its operation and system of values, administration rather follows the functioning of classical bureaucracy, as opposed to the academic sphere, where work is characterised by a high level of autonomy, a minimum of the (functional) division of labour, responsibility for the whole of the task attended and a lower degree of hierarchy .

However, at the university, cultural differences cannot only be found between the administrative and academic sphere but within the latter as well, which cannot in the least be

regarded as unified or homogeneous. The university is different from other organisations employing highly qualified, autonomous professionals (such as hospitals, accountant companies, etc.) in that it is not dominated by certain professional groups; therefore, their system of values cannot have an integrating effect on the operation of the university. Rather, universities – and higher education in general – are characterised by the co-existence of numerous professional groups, which, instead of integration, makes universities fragmented (*Clark* [1983]).

The fracture lines between professional groups are most frequently apprehended in the differences between scientific fields as disciplines are diverse not only in their fields of interests or their concept of knowledge and reality but also in their social organisation.[21] (For a possible division of disciplines see Table 3.) Thus, on the one hand, certain disciplines represent a specific concept of knowledge; they interpret and analyse the natural and social reality surrounding us in accordance with their orientation. On the other hand, these disciplines create a community of lecturers and researchers the members of which possess a specific identity, norms and language, which are connected partly to the method of knowledge gain; however, partly to the preservation and improvement of the social status of the scientific community as well (*Becher – Trowler* [2001]). All this is represented in the faculty/departmental specialisation since, to some extent, every faculty and department can be regarded as the local (organisational) projection of the scientific community of a given scientific field.

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[21] In Becher's simile: disciplines do not only differ in the attributes of hunting territories but in their tribal organisation as well.

Table 3: The Epistemological and Community Characteristics of Disciplines

	Pure	Applied
Hard	**Pure sciences** (e.g. physics) Nature of knowledge - Cumulative; - Atomistic (crystalline/tree-like); - Concerned with universals, quantities, simplification; - Resulting in discovery/explanation. Nature of disciplinary culture - Competitive, gregarious; - Politically well-organised; - High publication rate; - Task oriented.	**Technologies** (e.g. engineering) Nature of knowledge - Purposive; - Pragmatic (know-how via hard knowledge); - Concerned with mastery of physical environment; - Resulting in products/techniques. Nature of disciplinary culture - Entrepreneurial, cosmopolitan; - Dominated by professional values; - Patents substitutable for publications; - Role oriented.
Soft	**Humanities** (e.g. history) and **soft social sciences** (e.g. anthropology) Nature of knowledge - Reiterative; - Holistic (organic/river-like); - Concerned with particulars, qualities, complication; - Resulting in understanding/interpretation. Nature of disciplinary culture - Individualistic, pluralistic; - Loosely structured; - Low publication rate; - Person-oriented.	**Applied social sciences** (e.g. education, business administration) Nature of knowledge - Functional; - Utilitarian (know-how via soft knowledge); - Concerned with enhancement of (semi)-professional practice; - Resulting in protocols/procedures. Nature of disciplinary culture - Outward-looking; - Uncertain in status; - Dominated by intellectual fashions; - Publication rates reduced by consultances; - Power-oriented.

Source: *Becher* [1994] p.154

Disciplinary differences have been examined in several respects: in addition to the organisation, aims and desirable behaviour patterns of teaching and research (e.g. *Smeby* [1996]; *Smeby* [2000]; *Becher* [1994]; *Becher – Trowler* [2001]; *Neumann, Parry et al.* [2002; *Hyland* [1999]), the differences were pointed out empirically in other areas as well. Thus, for instance, there are differences in the concepts of quality (*Kekäle* [2002]; *Ylijoki* [2000]), the conceptualisation of the research process (*Brew* [2001]), the meaning of the concept of "scholar" (*Neumann* [1993]) or the leadership practice of heads of departments (*Kekäle* [1999]). It suggests that the key adjustment points of lecturers and researchers and the success criteria of their work are at least partly discipline-dependent; thus, their commitment to the university employing them – which often only serves as the background (means?) to their individual ambitions – is not exclusive (moreover, in many cases, it is only secondary). Furthermore, on many occasions in the

course of fulfilling their ambitions, they go against the interest of the university employing them, which explains the low level of university-consciousness of the lecturers in certain disciplines, which means a great problem to numerous leaders (think of, for instance, the business professors running a successful private counselling practice or the researcher benefiting from their knowledge as an expert in their own enterprise as well).

Another aspect of fragmentation is also to be mentioned; this could be called the multi-positional nature of the university. It means that professors may fill more positions within the organisation at the same time; namely, depending on their further positions, there may be significant differences between professors working in the same scientific field, formally being in the same position (such as two associate professors). This affects their motivation, interests and their ability to assert their interests, as a result of which professors cannot be homogeneous even within the individual scientific fields. The reason for being multi-positional is primarily the scientific and organisational hierarchies existing parallel with each other, which is further coloured by the system of titles, ranks and other appointments. For instance, today, in Hungary

> "somebody may teach for no revenue, may be a commissioned, part-time or full-time employee; secondly, they may be in a researcher and lecturer status; thirdly, they may work for a definite period of time or with an open-ended contract; fourthly: they may progress in five steps from assistant lecturer to be a university professor and in six from research assistant to research professor; fifthly: they may be in charge of a subject, chairmen of examiners, thesis consultants, examiners at a state exams. […] They may be the head of a group, deputy heads of departments, heads of departments, deputy heads of institutes, heads of institutes, (different types of) vice deans, deans, vice rectors and rector. They may have memberships and presidential positions in important committees. In doctoral schools, they may be invited members or founding (currently: core) members, and to both, they may be internal or external, with or without the rights to be consultant for doctoral students…" (*Nagy* [2007] p.448-449)

The dimension of policy making analyses narratives on the basis of the fact to what extent the fragmented nature of universities are considered to be desirable and acceptable as well as what mechanisms are applied to harmonise diverging interests.

3.2. The Narratives of the University

Along the two dimensions demonstrated just before, four narratives of the university evolve: the collegium, bureaucracy, the entrepreneurial university and the corporation. In Table 4, I summarise the most important characteristics of the narratives and I am going to discuss them in detail in the individual sub-chapters.

Table 4: Summary of the Narratives of the University

	Aspect	Source	Community	Bureaucracy	Enterprise	Corporation
Values, mission	**Source of legitimacy**		Education towards enlightenment and disinterested "truth"-seeking	Social justice	Satisfaction of consumer needs, utility	Economic return, competence, survival
	Dominant value	*McNay* [1995]; *McNay* [2003]; *Clark* [1983]	Expertise and excellence	Equity and efficiency	Competence and compliance	Loyalty and effectiveness
Characteristics of higher education system	**The coordinating group of the higher education system**	*McNay* [1995]; *McNay* [2003]	Academic oligarchy	State (as bureaucracy)	Market policy	State (as policy maker)
	Barriers of entry		High	High	Low	Low
	Performance control		Low	High	Low	High
Charateristics of the operation of higher education institutions	**Idealised organisational form***	*Mintzberg* [1981]; *Mintzberg* [1991]; *Weick* [1976]	Missionary organisation, loosely coupled system	Professional bureaucracy	Operative adhocracy	Divisional organisation
	Hand's cultural equivalent	*McNay* [1995]; (quoted by *Bakacsi* [1999])	Person culture	Role culture	Task culture	Power culture
	Quinn's cultural equivalent	quoted by *Bakacsi* [1999]	Supporter-oriented	Rule-oriented	Innovation-oriented	Goal-oriented
	Operational focus		Internal (organisation)	Internal (organisation)	External (environment)	External (environment)
	Dominant unit	*McNay* [1995]	Department/individual	Faculty/committees	Sub-unit/project team	Institution / senior management team
	Decision arena	*McNay* [1995]	Informal groups, networks	Committees and administrative breafings	Project teams	Working parties and senior management team
	Management style	*McNay* [1995]	Consensual	Formal, 'rational'	Devolved leadership	Political, tactical
	Role of central authorities	*McNay* [1995]	Permissive	Regulative	Supportive	Directive
	Timeframe	*McNay* [1995]	Long	Middle	Instant	Short/middle
	Environmental 'fit'	*McNay* [1995]	Evolution	Stability	Turbulence	Crisis
	Nature of change	*McNay* [1995]	Organic innovation	Reactive adaptation	Tactical flexibility	Proactive transformation
	Initiatiors of change		Professors	Administration	Customers	Senior management team

Table 4: Summary of the Narratives of the University

Aspect		Source	Community	Bureaucracy	Enterprise	Corporation
	External referents	*McNay* [1995]	Invisible college	Ministry, regulative bodies	Customers, sponsors	Policy makers as opinion leaders
	Internal referents	*McNay* [1995]	The discipline	The roles	Market strength, students	The plans
	Basis for evaluation	*McNay* [1995]	Peer review	Audit of procedures	Repeat business	Performance indicators
Roles in higher education institutions	**Leaders**		Primus inter pares	Rational planners	Visionary leaders	Controlling managers
	Source of leadership authority		Scientific excellence	Formal position	Persuasive vision, expertise	Control of resources
	Students	*McNay* [1995]	Apprentice academic	Clients*	Customers	Unit of resource
	Lecturers		Memeber of scientific community	Experts, professionals	„state-subsidized entrepreneurs"	Knowledge workers
	Administration	*McNay* [1995]	Serves the community	Serves the committee	Serves the client, external and internal	Serves the cheif executive
	Role of boeards and committees		Community rituals, preserving community culture, sharing information	Decision-making, coordination	Scene of brainstorming and problem solving (project)	Legitimisation and preparation of decisions
Related concepts			Organised anarchy (*Cohen – March* [1974]), public good regime (*Slaughter – Rhoades* [2004])	Soft managerialism (*Trow* [1994]), public good regime (*Slaughter – Rhoades* [2004])	Soft entrepreneurial university (*Barnett* [2005]), academic capitalism (*Slaughter – Rhoades* [2004])	Hard managerialims (*Trow* [1994]), hard entrepreneurial university (*Barnett* [2005]) Public management regime (*Bleiklie* [2005])
Criticism based on other narratives			Inefficient, non-accountable, disregards the expectations of the environment, needs (ivory tower), elitist, strives monopoly	Limits creativity, slow, unable to keep up with the changes of environmental needs.	Lack of mission	Commodifies knowledge, oppressive

* The original proposition of the author cited has been changed

3.2.1. The Narrative of the Community of Scholars (the Collegium)

The narrative of the community of scholars has the concept of freedom in its centre. Karl Jaspers, for instance, delineates the task of a professor in his work *The Idea of University* the following way: "the professor […] relates freely to his/her work, being obliged only to take responsibility for his/her own research, which – even including raising the question – he/she conducts entirely independently, without the interference or instructions of others." (*Jaspers* [1961/1991] p.244)

Freedom results in a specific internal controversy of the community of scholars: the organisation of the community is simultaneously based on the differences as well as the identical features of the members. While the relevance of the former is rooted in the diversity resulting from freedom, the latter is supported by shared core values allowing for freedom. While the image of the community based on differences is described by Weick's loosely coupled system (*Weick* [1976]) or Cohen and March's organised anarchy (*Cohen – March* [1974]), the latter can be demonstrated by Mintzberg's missionary organisation (*Mintzberg* [1991]); that is, by the monastery metaphor, where the members may pursue their personal ambitions and interests only within a given system of values.

The hidden assumption of the approach built on the similarities of the community members is that the members have similar views concerning certain core values; thus, for instance, they acknowledge the autonomy of others, they are devoted believers of reason and rational decision-making, and reciprocity beyond direct mutuality is predominant, namely, "collegiality seems to mitigate the calculus of one-on-one social accounting on college campuses, replacing it with a more generalized, if subconscious, faith that the benevolence of the system as a whole will redound ultimately to individual benefit." (*Bess* [1992] p.9) In addition, they accept the Mertonian norms characteristic of scholarly communities (universalism, communality, disinterestedness and organised scepticism; *Merton* [1946/2002]).

Due to the shared system of values, conflicts are simply the consequences of a lack of information, which may be resolved by providing more information (*Miller* [1995]). This view is easily reconcilable with the typical expectations about universities as one of the central elements of scientific thinking is rationality and analytic thinking, which presumes that different people draw the same conclusions from the same (and also sufficient) information. This approach, however, suggests that the members of the community are able to harmonise their interests and reconcile them with community interests alongside Reason. The harmonisation of interests occurs through negotiation processes; thus, the members control the community on a consensual basis. Therefore, the function of boards is not as much decision-making as the facilitation of negotiations; thus, the function of the university council is rather ritual, approving the decisions made informally earlier (*Lockwood – Davies* [1985]). "When the senate itself becomes a frequent forum for making decision, it signifies failure as a collegial structure. In other words, when a senate becomes the locus of protracted resolution of conflict, it reflects a breakdown in the collegial mechanism of the system. It means that politics rather than trust and reciprocity have come to dominate the norms of interpersonal exchange in the system as a whole." (*Bess* [1992] p. 22-23)

Thus, eventually – according to the ideal of enlightenment – the university is an exemplary community that operates as the forerunner of an enlightened society (*Readings*

[1996]). Its function is not simply to reveal the truth (research) but to educate people in accordance with the ideals of enlightenment (according to the Humboldtian logic, this is what the unity of teaching and research means). Primarily, the university does not channel the truth but teach people to seek the truth – by setting examples, among others. This is conveyed not only through the unity of teaching and research but also in the way the university community embraces (emancipates), discusses, handles and, aiming at a consensus, tries to integrate different opinions.

However, being democratic does not mean that the members are equal in every respect. To become a full member of the community is a long, multistage process, during which the old community members decide about the candidate's performance and norm-conforming behaviour. Therefore, the basis of the narrative built on freedom is characterised not only by democratic but also meritocratic features.

Numerous consequences evolve from this narrative with regard to the situations, positions and tasks of the actors of the university. The central figures of university life are professors and researchers. In accordance with autonomy, they decide about the educational and research question as well as the financial ones. They regard students primarily as apprentices receiving the culture (and method) of seeking the truth. Financial administration and affairs essentially have an inferior role; their function is merely to propose initiatives and execute decisions, not to question or influence them. No independence of financial administration is acceptable.

University leaders are *primus inter pares*; namely, they are first among equals. Their task is "less to command than to listen, less to lead than to gather expert judgements, less to manage than to facilitate, less to order than to persuade and negotiate." (*Baldridge, Curtis et al.* [1978] p.45). In this narrative, leaders are elected by the community; however, not primarily for decision-making but for the facilitation and conduct of the decision-making process as well as to fulfil protocol functions. Therefore, leadership abilities are not required as the decision is in the hands of the community (and the university council and other elected committees symbolically representing it).

The basis for election is mainly scientific performance and academic excellence; that is, this narrative does not only emphasise democracy but meritocracy as well.

The idea of the community of scholars can be realised most purely in institutions enjoying great financial and intellectual independence, where there are close direct relationships between the members of the university (e.g. the size of the organisation is small). However, if the fragmentation of the organisation increases and relationships become more superficial and formal (e.g. due to an enlargement), the integrating force of the unified academic system of values weakens and the *value* community will be replaced by an *interest* community, among the members of which there is mutual interdependence (*Weick* [1976]) in the sense that certain goals may only be achieved together (as faculty or as university). However, apart from the occasional need for cooperation, the university rather becomes the gathering place of independent experts committed to the community of their own scientific field, among whom there are relatively few relationships. In Miller's words: it is a "university composed of individuals and departments united

only by complaints about car parking" (*Miller* [1995] p.100). Therefore, it is a frequent opinion that "the idea of the collegium[22] and the academic community is more of a revolutionary ideology and a utopian projection than a description of the real shape of governance at any university" (*Baldridge* [1971] p.13).

Although acknowledging the merits of the narrative of the scientific community, Barnett considers it to be a harmful ideology that has double aims:

> "What emerges is that the 'academic community' is an ideology doing double duty. It serves as an emblem of unity when it is in the interest of university staff to pretend – both internally and beyond the university – that there is a collegial unity to their work *and* it obscures, while advancing at the same time, the collective interest of academics *as individuals*. This ideology at best adverts to the fading community, even a community that never was, while promoting the new individualism that is in the collective interest of the academic members of the university." (*Barnett* [2003] p.109-110, emphases in the original).

In other words: the boundaries of individual behaviour are not defined by community interests and values but the other way round: community interests are formed along the interests of the individual. This suggests the "political" reading of the operation of the university community, in which the aim is for individual interests to be legitimised by being presented as community interests. "Judging by behaviour alone, it is difficult to distinguish collegiality from politics. Moreover behaviour that seems clearly to be the one sometimes prove to be the other. Thus, successful politics often requires a collegial posture (Pfeffer, 1979). One most cloak self interest in the mantle of common good." (*Hardy, Langley et al.* [1984] p.187)

As each and every faculty, department and professor has their own aims, expectations and stakeholders, the reconciliation of aims at the university is a neverending process. The target strucure of the university "can be described better as a loose collection of ideas than as a coherent structure; it discovers preferences through action more than it acts on the basis of preferences" (*Cohen, March et al.* [1972] p.1.); therefore, there is a significant constant goal ambiguity (*Cohen – March* [1974]). Official strategies and lists of objectives may be regarded as the snapshots of negotiation processes at best; in less fortunate cases, they are only virtual aims – not considered to be determining by the participants at all –, which have been formulated to satisfy external expectations (*Peeke* [1994]; *Patterson* [2001]).

From the perspectives of other narratives, some further criticism can be expressed about the narrative of the community of scholars. As the community is self-regulatory, science develops in accordance with its own internal dynamics.[23]. Therefore, it is insensitive to social demands and needs; their satisfaction takes place only incidentally (during the application of research results). Thus, this narrative implicitly emphasises the isolation from society (cf. "ivory tower"). On the other hand; however, we have also seen that the community is not always able to restrict the freedom of its members with normative pressure; therefore, there is an opportunity for professors to avoid responsibility by claiming individual freedom and instead of freedom, lack of control will prevail (*Barakonyi* [2004b] p.60).

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[22] The author refers to the „collegium" as the „community of colleagues" here (see e.g.: invisible collegium).
[23] This is identical with what Gibbons and associates called Mode 1 Knowledge (see *Gibbons, Limoges et al.* [1994]).

3.2.2. The Narrative of Bureaucracy

The narrative of bureaucracy has two central categories: equity and efficiency. Equity originates from the idea of democratising and popularising knowledge, which is indirectly the source of the legitimacy of this narrative. The process of expansion, that is, the constantly increasing number of students, which started in the 1960s in most developed countries and accelerated in the 1980s, is a determining factor for this narrative. Parallel with the numbers, the heterogeneity of the students' demographics also increased, which extended not only the students' needs but also the diversity of the pedagogical and learning methods applicable in higher education. All this led straight to the diversification of programmes (*Hrubos* [2002]), the increased complexity of education organisation and the appearance of various models of organising teaching and education.

Thus emerged the dilemma how individuals in the same position may be provided with identical processes. How is it possible for students participating in the same programme to receive an education of equal quality and to be able to take exams on equal conditions? How can it be achieved that a certain qualification covers identical knowledge? Etc.

Massification led to the valorisation of operational efficiency, the other central category of the narrative as the increasing number of students – not unaffected by the economic crisis of welfare countries starting in the 1970s – was not followed by the increase in public funding. Thus, higher numbers are impossible without the transformation of the internal operational processes of the institution.

The means of providing equity and efficiency is greater formalisation, increased regulations and standardisation, which foregrounds the more impersonal regulatory mechanisms and emphasises the systemic nature of the university. Massification intensifies the attribute of universities which Hardy and his collaborators very aptly called pigeonholing:

> "…the pigeonholing process divides the organization's activities into a series of standard components or programs that are applied to predetermined situations or contingencies, also standardized… [T]he object is to force all students into existing slots." (*Hardy et al.* [1984] p.175; see also *Mintzberg* [1981])

The massification of higher education also makes the needs more heterogeneous, which can only be handled by an even more complex pigeonholing system and the even higher level of process standardisation (bureaucratisation). This requires the employment of more and more administrative experts specialised in partial tasks; thus, in educational administration, independent groups are created for education IT, schedule planning and handling student affairs, which ensure the smoothness of education organisation. However, it also requires the recording of the exact scopes of authority and tasks of the participants in processes (including boards as well as lecturers and researchers).

In this process, the student is primarily a client, who undergoes the educational process worked out in advance by administrative and academic experts, which, eventually, provides the student with a well determined and confirmed knowledge. As a client, the student may have expectations and demands; however, they are still in a vulnerable situation as they cannot

possess the ability to judge the adequacy of the training[24]. Therefore, external professional or state organizations take action on behalf them and supervise (through accreditation and audit procedures) the operation of institutions. In the meantime, the government sector tries to force institutions to operate adequately (i.e. in a way which supports efficiency and equity) by enforcing considerable direct regulation.

Among the core activities of the bureaucracy narrative, education is particularly pushed to the foreground, not only because its legitimacy is provided by massification but also because educational administration and the system of criteria of education are among the more easily controllable and organisable areas within the institution. Despite this fact, university administration is not only expected to be professional in these areas but in general as well, as working out standard and practical solutions to the characteristic problems and processes arising is the essence of bureaucracy.

In the bureaucracy narrative, higher education is still represented as an autonomous sphere which is controlled by its own norms and traditions and administration only facilitates the more efficient and rational implementations of these tasks. Therefore, the idealised organisational image of the bureaucracy narrative is the Mintzbergian professional bureaucracy (*Mintzberg* [1981]): it acknowledges the complex nature of teaching and research as well the difficulties of their regulation; thus, the position of lecturers and researchers performing core activities being the priority as well. However, apart from this, it attempts to regulate all other processes. Thus, administration is essentially characterised by a neutrality of interests; its function is to accomplish the internally defined aims of the university efficiently and professionally, to develop rules ensuring equity; namely, administration aims at having an executive, service provider's and counselling role.

This is true even if the government intends to regulate the operation of higher education institutions significantly as the application of rules and their translation to the institutional level still remain the concern of the institutional academic community. The stronger and more complex the external regulation is, the more important the role of administrative experts becomes in the interpretation and translation process of expectations, and so, in the indirect shaping of institutional operation. That is to say, administrative experts may gain significant – although limited – independence. In bureaucracy, two factors prevent the administration from growing too independent: academic management and board decision-making.

The responsibilities of university (academic) leaders include the operation of administration and its control as well as ensuring that the academic aspects are indeed represented in the executive process. Their other task is rational decision-making; namely, ensuring professional operation. To guarantee that the decision-making process includes the recognition and assessment of problems, defining the alternatives and making a rational choice among them. This originates from the assumption of the bureaucracy narrative that the aim(s) of the university is (are) clear, the leaders are able to clearly formulate them. Therefore, both the context and the arising needs are analysable and the procedures and processes indispensable

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[24] It is not simply informational asymmetry as the problem is not the lack of information but the lack of the ability to assess and interpret information. It is through training how this skill evolves in the student.

for success can be designed. On the whole, university leaders are expected to possess excellent administrative expertise and professional knowledge. (*Baldridge, Curtis et al.* [1978]).

The most important fields of decision-making are boards gathering lecturers as well as the administrative personnel, which spend most of their time revising and adopting regulations. Formal channels of communication have a significant role. Events must be documented: requests, applications and complaints must be handed in a written format; minutes have to be recorded during meetings and sessions (on occasion, even about interactions with students).

A number of criticisms can be mentioned about the bureaucracy narrative. On the one hand, the narrative assumes stable external context and internal relations; however, both are true only to some extent. The aims to which the processes of the university are optimised are regularly modified and replaced due to either the changes of the regulatory context or those of the internal interests of the university. As the shaping of the system essentially takes place in a reactive way, regulations can never keep pace with the changes in the rapidly transforming context (*Mintzberg* [1981]; *Middlehurst* [1993]). In addition, handling exceptions and individual solutions is always problematic for bureaucracy, which kills creativity and everything that cannot be incorporated in the systemic logic as standardisation disables solutions alien to the system (*McNay* [1995]).

3.2.3. The Narrative of the Entrepreneurial University

Although the term „enterprise" appeared in the literature of higher education research surprisingly early, already in 1987 (*Davies* [1987]), it became widely known in 1998, when Burton Clark's often cited book called *Creating Entrepreneurial Universities* was published (*Clark* [1998]). However, the time since has not been sufficient for the clarification of the meaning of this expression; therefore, Barnett says: "the concept of entrepreneurialism is itself far from clear: a wide range of modes of practice within universities may count as 'entrepreneurial'" (*Barnett* [2005] p.52). It is due to this conceptual confusion why I find the clarification of the concept of enterprise and its distinction from what I call "corporate-like university" (or simply: corporation) important.

In the literature of higher education research, there are at least two different approaches merging in the concept of the enterprise. In one of them, the role of the economic return of the entrepreneurial activity is predominant. This is the "hard" entrepreneurialism, which I call a corporation. The other approach refers to the "soft" entrepreneurialism, in which the concept of return is also of great significance; however, it is not necessarily of a financial-economic nature (for the hard and soft enterepreneurialism, see: *Barnett* [2005] p.56)

Apart from the novelty of the concept of the enterprise, the reason for the mixing of approaches is that the common features – such as the requirement for universities to open up and adjust to the external context – are considered much more important by some authors (those in particular who argue from the perspective of the community of scholars) than the differences. Another possible reason is that in everyday life, enterprises are also companies, that is, they are considered to be identical on the basis of their operational and management forms, activities, pools of instruments and rhetoric. Differences cannot primarily be observed regarding the applied means of control but in the way of using them; namely, in the managers and employees' ways of thinking, their attitudes and eventually, their existential status and identities.

Henceforth, by entrepreneurial university I am going to mean the soft entrepreneurialism; the hard entrepreneurialism, i.e. the corporation is going to be discussed in the next sub-chapter.

The legitimacy of the entrepreneurial university is rooted in its utility: only what has a social and economic function and value may be legitimate. Thus, the university is redefined as a service provider, where "the university subjects itself to society and, simultaneously, attempts to transform the needs of society. It becomes an entrepreneur, who sells his/her products with strong advertising campaigns." (*Bókay* [2006] p.245) Thus, instead of assumingly existent "pure rationality, [...] the university intends to present the arousal and satisfaction of the desires and experiential backgrounds of society convincingly, with suitable rhetorics." (*Bókay* [2006] p.245) Its success depends on the extent to which it as capable of innovation; namely, the recognition or creation of new needs as well as their satisfaction.[25]

Innovation potential is present primarily in research, thus, the necessity of becoming entrepreneurs can also be traced back to the transformation of the institutional system of research. An excellent reason for this is massification, due to which there is an increasing number of people suitable for doing research work. In addition to the fact that this directly reduces the exclusivity of universities and that of their professors, it also contributes to the phenomenon that more and more researchers establish themselves in jobs at organisations beyond the sphere of higher education the main profile of which is (among others) to solve complex problems for financial or other reasons (such as consulting companies, foundations, research institutes, government organisations, non-governmental organisations /NGOs/, etc.) The appearance of new actors does not only increase the amount of knowledge but also eliminates the previous monopoly of universities in research and significantly transforms national institutional systems of research, as a result of which

> "the tradition of university-based research is threatened by the encroachment of industry and the profit-making mentality and values… A multi-billion dollar knowledge industry has developed outside established educational institutions, responding in more direct, and usually more effective ways to the needs of industry and the labour market. This is leading to the erosion of the monopoly the universities have enjoyed in providing training and granting educational credentials with good currency in the private sector." (*Gibbons, Limoges et al.* [1994] p.76).

Therefore, universities "are no longer in a strong enough position, either scientifically, economically or politically, to determine what shall count as excellent in teaching or research." (*Gibbons, Limoges et al.* [1994] p.85)

As a result, not only the amount of knowledge increases but the concept of knowledge also expands and its content is relativises (*Barnett* [2000]). New pieces and interpretations of knowledge emerge, which are are outside the traditional (so-called Method 1)[26] interpretation of

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[25] Clark himself has the dilemma whether he should call it "innovative university" instead. (*Clark* [1998] p.4)
[26] The features of "Mode 1" knowledge production considered to be traditional by Gibbons and associates include research being conducted in a well circumscribable institutional system operating on the basis of Mertonian norms, being of low diversity and high homogeneity (mostly in higher education constituted by universities and research institutes), the organisational basis of which is the discipline. The scientific problems to be solved and the quality of results are determined by the disciplinary community. Production and application are linear processes; basic

universities. This has a significant effect on not only research but teaching as well as the expected meaning is increasingly hard to define; therefore, the emphasis is shifting to the socially applicable abilities (skills) of graduates; in other words, "the emphasis of university education built on truths has to be shifted to the rhetorical-hermeneutical processes of establishing the truth" (*Bókay* [2006] p.245).

The appearance of new knowledge interpretations also provokes that apart from the academic and higher education institutions, other actors may belong legitimately to the organisations producing "scientific" knowledge, which is also shown by the increasingly heated argument of defining science and pseudoscience[27].

Although we could be of the view that, due to losing its current monopolies, the role of the university in determining knowledge is being marginalised, contradictory trends can also be found. That is to say, the production processes of new knowledge producers are less flexible as their research staff is static. Therefore, sooner or later, consultants, knowledge brokers, think tanks, etc. will be interested in the marketing of solutions instead of problem solving and they will start standardising their services. However, due to the constant turnover of students, universities – where senior students may contribute to research significantly – are highly flexible in conducting research (*Leydesdorff – Etzkowitz* [2001]).

In addition, with the increase in the number of scientific fields, science becomes more and more fragmented, the complexity of new knowledge increases, so, its overview and systemisation become more difficult (*Nyíri* [2005]); thus, achieving novel and relevant research results requires increasing specialisation (*Clark* [1997]; *Clark* [1998]). Therefore, it is more and more expensive for any business enterprise to retain the increasingly more specific expertise; namely, it is more cost-effective to "rent" them. As a result, "university employees are employed simultaneously by the public sector and are increasingly autonomous from it. They are academics

research and the application of results in practice are sequential, separate steps. The results of research are public goods; they are accessible for everybody.

In "Mode 2" knowledge production/organisation the definition of the research problem is not exclusively the competence of the scientific community but the community affected by a certain problem. Problems are defined in the context of application. Thus, the distinction between basic and applied research becomes redundant in Mode 2 (e.g. pharmaceutical industry). The utilisation possibilities, consequences and effects of research results must be taken into consideration from the beginning. Accountability already permeates the definition of problems and research priorities as well. Quality control over the entire research is exercised by those involved in the process on the basis of whether it has been able to provide the context defining the problem with reliable and relevant knowledge. The basis of research organisation is not the unchanging research group but the variable research project of occasional constitution. (*Laki – Palló* [2001]).

[27] If a piece of knowledge has been gained "scientifically", it has a fundamentally rational and value-neutral connotation. Thus, scientific knowledge acquires legitimacy through presenting itself independent of direct social relations, the perception and interests of the researcher, etc. Therefore, value-neutral knowledge becomes value-loaded as well as a social value is associated with scientific knowledge.

As a result, there is a huge "struggle" for every type of research or knowledge to appear "scientific", which is possible due to the fact that defining what is meant by the "scientific" cognitive process is impossible; namely, the "demarcation criteria" cannot be defined adequately. At the same time, "along the social-practical dimension, the question is not where the boundaries of science are but where the boundaries which separate reliable knowledge and knowledge our decisions are based on from unreliable assumptions can be found." (*Kutrovácz, Láng et al.* [2008] p.354) However, reliable and authentic knowledge may be gained by methods considered to be non-scientific, which gradually extends and relativises the concept of knowledge.

who act as capitalists from within the public sector; they are state-subsidized entrepreneurs." (*Slaughter – Leslie* [1997] p. 9).

The organisational operation of the entrepreneurial university is described very aptly by Mintzberg's adhocracy model, a core characteristic of which is that decisions are made at the closest possible level to the consumer as this ensures flexible adjustment to the consumer's needs. Therefore the project becomes the most important unit of the entrepreneurial university (*Laki – Palló* [2001]). Leaders themselves are also experts, thus, they participate in projects. Among their most important tasks there are the harmonisation and development of bottom-up proposals for new needs and potential markets as well as the stimulation of the brainstorming process by interconnecting different projects and teams. The means of this is the operation of boards on the one hand and the introduction and operation of structural instruments such as matrix-solutions on the other hand (*Dobák, Antal et al.* [1999]; *Drótos* [2003]; *Drótos* [2009]). Obviously, leaders themselves are very important sources of the visions concerning the future needs of students, companies and society. On the whole, the essential role of leaders is to establish an "integrated entrepreneurial culture" at universities and "stimulated academic heartland" (*Clark* [1998]).[28]

The innovative nature of the entrepreneurial university originates primarily from the transformation and project-like character of research. The standardisation tendency is stronger with teaching programmes; therefore, the orientation towards bureaucratic solutions is more likely. However, this does not mean that it is impossible to aim at innovation in education, especially in the fields of programmes of great added value, short programmes and corporate trainings or among, for instance, optional courses. However, the precondition for innovation is demand ready to receive it; therefore, the content of educational programmes is primarily shaped by the students' needs. Thus, within the narrative of the entrepreneurial university, students are essentially customers who know what they want and they take responsibility for their choices.

Barnett [2003] expressed numerous fundamental criticisms about the entrepreneurial university. The problem is not the entrepreneurial character but its transformative nature. In an entrepreneurial university, the market does not simply have an effect on the university but universities (and its professors) define themselves through the market. Therefore, the university loses its integrity as well as capability of dialogues as they are no longer going to be interested in dialogues but success.

3.2.4. The Corporation Narrative

The university as a corporation narrative can be found under the disguise of the entrepreneurial university with many authors. What is different from the previous, soft entrepreneurial approach is the emphasis of financial return, which results in a motivational structure different from the previous one (*Barnett* [2005]). It is highly characteristic of critical authors to refer to this concept

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[28] Clark lists the five basic criteria and characteristics of the entrepreneurial university in his book mentioned earlier: 1) Strong and professional management, 2) creating developmental peripheries 3) diversified funding 4) creating a strong and stimulated academic heartland as well as 5) an entrepreneurial culture permeating the university. In the soft entrepreneurial university, in my view, the last two are emphasised, the other three criteria rather mean the possible instruments of establishing entrepreneurial culture. (*Clark* [1998])

as the pejorative "hard" or "new" managerial approach (*Trow* [1994]; *Trowler* [1998]). While the soft managerial narrative (introduced earlier here as bureaucracy) attempts at improving efficiency respecting the specific, self-controlling nature of the autonomy of higher education, the representatives of hard managerialism

> "…have no such trust in the wisdom of the academic community, and are resolved to reshape and redirect the activities of that community through funding formulas and other mechanisms of accountability, imposed from outside the academic community, management mechanisms created and largely shaped for application to large commercial enterprises." (*Trow* [1994] p.11).

The legitimacy of this narrative originates from two argument systems which are closely interconnected. One of them is the capitalisation of knowledge:

> "As scientific knowledge is appropriated to generate income, science itself is transformed from a cultural process that consumes the surplus of a society into a productive force that generates new income out of an aspect of culture. When anything, tangible or intangible, is used with the intention of creating economic value, it becomes an item of 'capital' rather than consumption. […] Culture, including science, becomes capital when it generates a stream of income." (*Etzkowitz* [1997] p.143)

Capitalisation makes direct contribution to the economic development of society possible as well as mandatory for universities by directly involving them in market transactions and "establishing the university as an economic actor in its own right." (*Etzkowitz* [1998] p.833.). Etzkowitz calls it the second academic revolution[29] (*Etzkowitz* [1997]; *Martin – Etzkowitz* [2000] p.14), in which universities not only create and transmit new knowledge but it attempts at its economic exploitation by itself. "To put in a nutshell, the new entrepreneurialism is the old one plus the profit motive." (*Etzkowitz* [1998] p.828)

The other category on which the legitimacy of the narrative of corporation is built is competition. As soon as the capital-like nature of knowledge is recognised, the difference between universities and the business sector disappears, which results in competition. There is competition in both teaching and research.

The educational market expanding by massification is an attractive target for business enterprises (e.g. for-profit universities); that is, new actors enter the higher education market. This mostly coincides with the efforts of educational policies lacking financial sources to intensify competition (see later). Competition is also aggravated by the higher education system incompetent in or insensitive to satisfying specific educational needs, which is an incentive for enterprises to establish their own training centres (corporate universities), which offer not only internal courses but are open to the public as well. Competition is also increased by the stagnant and decreasing number of students following the period of expansion.

As for research, the massification of higher education has inherently led to the expansion of the traditional field of research (universities, the academic network, professional organisations) as graduates are increasingly capable of using their acquired knowledge outside

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[29] The first academic revolution took place int he 19th century when, beside education, research was incorporated into the system of the aims of universities. This is complemented with a third aim here.

the higher education system. In addition, the accumulation of capital by multinational companies enables a corporate research infrastructure which – requiring large investments – was only possible with the involvement of public funding earlier. As a result, today, corporate research centres, consultants, government research centres, think thanks, etc. step up as real "producers of knowledge".

However, the real catalyst of the dissolution of boundaries is the transformation of the state role. The economic difficulties of the 1970s put an end to the prosperity following the Second World War. Controlling constantly increasing public expenses became a major question for welfare states. Increasing budget funding subsequent to the constantly expanding number of students inevitably delegated higher education among the fields to be transformed, which resulted in the changes of the management and financial systems of higher education. Reforms were targeted at creating regulated competition, the involvement of the private sector and the expansion of the space for manoeuvre in management and control at the higher education institutions (*Johnston* [1998]; *Eurydice* [2000]). However, parallel to these, the role of state also changed during reforms: from a direct service provider and organiser into the role of a regulator, a client, a principal and supervisor acting on behalf of citizens. As opposed to the bureaucratic narrative, where the role of the state is to control service inputs and the operation of service providers, the control of the service outputs become increasingly emphatic here (*Goedegebuure, Kaiser et al.* [1994] p.330), for instance, with the introduction and comparison of different performance indicators. Thus, it is not by far about the decreasing significance of the state role (see *Teichler* [2003]), which is particularly apparent in countries where a highly regulated higher education quasi-market has been established under strong state control (e.g. England). Moreover, the role of the state even increased in these countries.[30].

In an environment of decreasing public funding and increasing competition, universities cannot afford the operation generally characteristic of the higher education institutions (which is closest to that of the community of scholars and bureaucracy) such as the lack of strategic planning, the low level of individual and collective accountability, individualism and little commitment to the institution, avoiding conflicts and denying problems, the ambiguous articulation of aims, the lack of determination of instruments needed to achieve the aims as well as a highly time-consuming decision-making process due to indefinite scopes of authority and too much authority of boards (*Davies* [2001]).

Good performance in competition can be ensured by the improvement of the efficiency in utilising resources, the harmonisation of institutional efforts to secure resources, developing suitable systems of incentives and determining institutional priorities and focus points; namely, implementing a more long-term strategic approach. Its precondition is for state supervision to become indirect; that is, the expansion of institutional autonomy in decision-making, while its instrumental system is the introduction and adaptation of methods focusing on conscious utilisation of resources which have long been applied in the business sector[31]. For instance,

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[30] *Bleiklie* ([2005] p.52; 2007]) call these public managerialist regimes complementing the popular theory of *Slaughter and Rhoades* [2004] according to which knowledge into capital from public good, i.e., from a public good knowledge/learning regime, higher education is transformed into an academic capitalism knowledge regime.

[31] It is worth mentioning that such changes in management do not only take place in higher education but in the organisation of public services in general as well. Its ideological framework was and still is the New Public

controlling, HR, strategic planning, quality-management and the introduction of benchmarking systems (*Sporn* [2006]); furthermore, techniques managing intellectual capital and knowledge assests such as creating developmental peripheries and spin-off enterprises (*Clark* [1998]); and finally, establishing centres of technology-transfer and others specialising in the management of patents.

This is accompanied by a considerable transformation of the organisational structure as well, the reason for which is the reduction of costs on the one hand, and the establishment of clear-cut financial accountability and authority relations on the other. For instance, there are generally enonomies of scale considerations as well as the ambition to enhance interdisciplinarity behind the merger of faculties and departments (*Taylor* [2006]); furthermore, instead of co-ordination, the creation of a suitable financial incentive system can be found in the centre of matrix structures established within faculties (as opposed to the entrepreneurial model) (*Drótos* [2009]).

The clarification of the relationship between the institutional and faculty levels is also a significant part of structural transformation. In this question – and in the operational model in general –, the organisational ideal is the divisional structure, in which faculties (as divisions) receive much autonomy to organise teaching and research as well as to position the faculty, which also involves significant (although limited) autonomy in decision-making and financial responsibility. However, the management at the intuitional level has the authority to make a decision about the portfolio of the institution (mostly about the establishment of new faculties and training programmes) as well as about redistribution among faculties. The basis for the latter are, for instance, the performance of faculties, their potential for development and the attractiveness of markets covered by the faculty. Accordingly, accounting systems providing benchmarking and the comparability of performances (quality affairs, controlling, HR) as well as comprehensive strategic systems and those of capacity planning (HR, property management, IT, the management of spin-off companies, etc.) are centred at the institutional level. In addition, activities requiring significant standardisation as well as numerous services – from economies of scale considerations – are also delegated to the institutional level (*Mintzberg* [1981]; *Dobák, Antal et al.* [1999]).[32]

There is a distinct division of labour not only among organisational units but also among the different actors. The administration concepts of earlier narratives become meaningless as academic management and administration are intertwined within "institutional management" (*Clegg – McAuley* [2005]), which is institutionalised as an independent profession within the organisation. The main role of the management

> "is the *reduction of the risks* threatening the academic feature. [...] Thus, university
> management is responsible for the quality of *teaching and research* on the one hand, [...]

Management approach (*Hajnal* [2004]; *Thom – Ritz* [2005]; *Horváth* [2006]). However, I do not intend to introduce and analyse this interpretational dimension here.

[32] It is worth implementing the investment and service activities at the institutional level (e.g. real estate management, IT systems) as well as activities that could also be completed at the faculty level, however, their centralisation is more cost-effective even with little deterioration of quality (such as finance and accounting, library, student affairs and services). The services ordered only on an occasional basis are also worth delegating to the institutional level as providing them at the faculty level is unnecessary (such as legal services).

furthermore, […] for the quality and quantity of *instruments* required for the operation of the university […] and thirdly, for the *effective utilisation* of financial resources funding the operation of the university…" (*Barakonyi* [2004b] p.179, emphases in the original)

Thus, the performance of the management is aimed at the reduction of contextual dependence (risks), capacity planning, monitoring and, if necessary, intervention. The professors' task is merely to teach and perform research (however, the management is responsible for their quality) as well as the administration directly connected to these activities. There is a division among professors due to partly the separation of teaching and research (there are exclusively teaching and research staffs) and partly the strengthening of the boundaries between temporary staff employed to balance capacities and part-time and full-time professors.

McNay says that the corporation model is essentially a crisis model; that is, its highly centralised nature and its operational model approved due to a need to survive cannot be maintained for long (*McNay* [1995]). However, it is possible to imply permanent crisis by constantly emphasising competition, with which the narrative and operational model of the corporation-type university can be legitimised permanently. It is the division of labour mentioned above that enables this as the information required for the interpretation of the context is in the hands of the management. Namely, the management serves as a puffer in the complex environment (*Gumport – Sporn* [1999]) and it filters, interprets, categorises and transfers to lecturers the information received from there, which it can use to legitimise its own position as well. Reed calls this the narrative of strategic change, in which the redistribution of power is disguised by the seeming generality and inevitability of transformation. Thus, the interests of the management are represented as universal organisational interests (*Reed* [2001]; see also *Fulton* [2003]). Here, we have arrived at the criticism of the corporation narrative.

Critical authors question the core assumptions of the narrative and introduce its unintentional or disguised consequences from different ideological points of view as well as in different depths. It is worth mentioning that the corporation narrative displays some similarities to the narratives of bureaucracy and the entrepreneurialism along certain features; therefore, in some respects, the criticism aimed at the corporation refers to these two approaches as well. Hereunder, I am going to introduce only some observations of the rich critical literature deemed to be important.

What Etzkowitz calls the capitalisation of knowledge is the suppression and commodification of the "personal nature" of knowledge (Polányi). In Lyotard's words from his book of great impact, *Postmodern Condition*:

"We may thus expect a thorough exteriorization of knowledge with respect to the 'knower' at whatever point he or she may occupy in the knowledge process. The old principle that the acquisition of knowledge is indissociable from the training *(Bildung)* of minds, or even of individuals, is becoming obsolete and will become ever more so. The relationship of the suppliers and users of knowledge to the knowledge they supply and use is now tending, and will increasingly tend, to assume the form already taken by the relationship of commodity producers and consumers to the commodities they produce and consume – that is, the form of value. Knowledge is and will be produced in order to be sold, it is and will be consumed in order to be valorized in a new production: in both cases, the goal is exchange. Knowledge ceases to be an end in itself, it loses its 'use-value' .." (Lyotard, 2001, p.4-5)

In this narrative, the preconception related to knowledge is that "the product of learning, knowledge, is conceptualized as atomistic, permanent, cumulative, context-independent and commodified." (*Trowler* [2001] p.188), and thus, learning is the rational and mechanic process of the successive acquisition of the elements of knowledge (*Trowler* [2001]), from which follows the thesis of the measurability of teaching and knowledge; namely, individual and organisational performance.

There are numerous unintentional consequences of determining and measuring performance criteria. One of them is that unmeasured factors lose their relevance, however useful they may be. Mintzberg himself also found the divisional structure particularly unsuitable for managing universities:

> "By emphasizing the measurement of performance as its means of control, a bias arises in favor of those divisional goals that can be operationalized, which usually means the economic ones, not the social ones. That the division is driven by such measures to be socially unresponsive would not seem inappropriate—for the business of the corporation is, after all, economic. … But outside the business sector, goals are often social in nature and nonquantifiable. The result of performance control, then, is an inappropriate displacement of social goals by economic ones." (*Mintzberg* [1981] p.111)

What Mintzberg delineated for the organisational level is also true for the measurement processes of individual performance. Performance measurement at both the individual and organisational levels (e.g. auditing, accreditation, etc.) is mostly a bureaucratic and unproductive procedure inducing distrust. As resources are distributed on the basis of measured performances, everybody becomes interested in producing fake results, which has to be revealed during the measurement process, which induces further distrust within the organisation. This is also enhanced by the fact that the market logic applied for the distribution of resources also focuses on competition instead of co-operation even within the organisation (this enables the strategy of "divide and rule" in the management (*Chandler, Barry et al.* [2002]). However, the extra effort invested in the measurement process could be put in teaching and research as well, thus, the distrust induced by measurement results in decreasing productivity. This is demonstrated well by the controversial effects of rankings on the institutions and deans. Several cases of empirical research prove how rankings distort the institutional target system and how they force deans to maintain the appearance of achievements, to consolidate activities completely detached from research and teaching (e.g.: PR, marketing) (see, for instance. *Sauder – Espland* [2007]; *Espland – Sauder* [2009]).

Due to fake results, the more detailed regulation of not only administration but also teaching and research processes become necessary, which results in the McDonaldisation of universities, their becoming "McUniversities" (*Ritzer* [2002]; *Prichard – Willmott* [1997]).

The application of management techniques focusing on the logic of "setting goals→ measurement → comparison → intervention" can eventually be considered nothing other than an experiment that attempts to introduce the Taylorian principles of work organisation into universities. This does not only reposition the management to be leaders controlling processes but it has a great impact on the situation of professors as well, who will perceive the changes of management as a process of deprofessionalisation, proletraisation and becoming inferior to the

management (*Parker – Jary* [1995]; *Fulton* [2003]; *Reed* [2001]; *Prichard – Willmott* [1997]; *Hayes – Wynyard* [2002]), in which the professor is transformed into a "knowledge-worker" standing next to the "intellectual assembly line". The distance and conflicts between managers and non-managers also increase as the horizontal relationships are replaced by vertical ones, resulting in resistance.

To summarise briefly: as soon as the university choose enterprises and business corporations as operation role models and it sets the goal of joining the "global market of knowledge", it will not be distinguishable from other companies as it becomes identical with them with regard to its operational logic and interests. University as a concept becomes meaningless, it loses its distinctive quality and it becomes the synonym of corporations providing educational and research services. Universities becoming corporal is a process in which – in Habermasian terms – the business-economic logic "colonise" the "life world" of higher education.

3.3. Summary and Conclusions

An overview of the narratives having been given, the question how higher education institutions and systems may be associated with particular narratives and how this changes with time may arise. Although, the analysis of these dynamics is important, it is going to be discussed only in Chapter 5. Beforehand, however, I intend to clarify the role and situation of deans, for which I would like to point out two conspicuous phenomena concerning the narratives.

On the one hand, narratives picture quite different and partly mutually exclusive faces of the university; however, overtly or covertly, they all regard the community of scholars as their starting point and define themselves in relation to that. This means that according to the organising model, every interpretation departs from loose decision-making and loose implementation; namely, they are seeking answers for two basic questions about the operation of the institution. On the one hand, how it is possible to implement decisions among professors possessing great expertise and autonomy, i.e. professionals. On the other hand, how they can harmonise the aims and interests of professionals following their own interests with those of other interest groups of the university; that is, in a highly *fragmented organisation.* These features are dominant in each narrative to a different extent.

Secondly, with regard to the situation of leaders, each particular narrative either refers implicitly or possibly explicitly to the leader in the highest position (the rector, vice-chancellor or president) or they only refer to leaders in general. Thus, the interpretation implying the possible role or roles of the dean, which fits the specifications originating from the dean's organisational position is missing from the narratives. Therefore, in the next chapter, I am going to concentrate on this question.

4. The Dean's Roles in Light of the Literature

The main focus and structure of this chapter are characterised by the research question referring to the organisational position of the dean. The primary aim of the chapter is to present possible roles compatible with the organisational narratives defined in the previous chapter on the basis of the analysis of the literature and the dean's situation. To accomplish this aim, first, I am going to give an overview of the literature about the role of the dean as well as that of the middle manager, then, I am going to analyse in detail the consequences of the fragmentation and professional nature of the university and their effect on the dean's position. On the basis of these, I am going to suggest a role model fitting the narratives of the university.

The other aim of the chapter is related to the second research question referring to how deans perceive their own role. With regard to this, the aim is to identify typical dilemmas, situations and conditions which deans might have to face in their jobs and which, therefore, may serve as the starting point of empirical research. These characteristics are related to limitedness of the dean's authority as well as the intermediary, middle-managerial situation.

4.1. The Roles of the Dean in the Literature and Their Criticism

Numerous typologies of roles have been created in higher education research as well as in the management literature concerning heads of institutions (*Cote* [1984]; *Cote* [1985]; *Engwall, Levay et al.* [1999]; *Middlehurst* [1993]; *Neumann – Bensimon* [1990]), the chief academic officer (*Mech* [1997]) or the head of department (*Middlehurst* [1993]; *Larsen* [2003]). There are also several typologies about the dean's role.

Wolverton és Gmech [2002] say that resource management, the improvement of the (internal) productivity of the faculty, managing academic personnel questions as well as performing their own teaching-scientific tasks belong among the roles of the dean. However, the content of the different roles represents rather different activities. For instance, managing the non-academic staff, ensuring the accuracy of records, handling the financial and physical resources of the faculty, keeping up with technological development as well as ensuring compliance with accreditation objectives belong to the management of resources. Informing faculty constituents, co-ordinating co-operation with them, planning and conducting "leadership team meetings", assigning duties of heads of departments and faculty heads as well as encouraging proposals concerning the improvement of the faculty belong to the role of "leadership".

Maghroori and Powers' following five roles are also similar (*Maghroori – Powers* [2004]). According to them, the dean

- as a provider ensures resources in every possible ways (initiating entrepreneurial activities, fund-raising, competition, etc.);
- as a promoter campaigns organises press-related and PR activities
- as a prophet, a visionary leader motivates colleagues;

- as a police officer guards whether the faculty employees observe the written and unwritten rules of the university;
- as a politician balances between various factions and interest groups while making decisions.

Krahenbuhl [2004] provides an even longer list about the dean's roles in his handbook for deans, among which there are the:

- Chief Administrative Officer, being "responsible for managing the affairs of the college and its many dimensions including personnel, budget, academic programs, facilities and space, student affairs, development" (*Krahenbuhl* [2004] p.20).
- Chief Development Officer, being in charge of fund-raising;
- Chief Academic Officer, preserving academic standards and philosophy;
- Lead Mentor: if somebody makes a mistake, the dean has to call their attention to the fault discretely and in a nice manner as well as to explain why and how the problem should have been handled instead;
- Chief Morale Officer, the dean sets the tone for the discourses at the college. Krahenbuhl notes: "An educational leader, the dean, in this case, must be optimistic about the future in order to provide effective leadership." (*Krahenbuhl* [2004] p.22);
- Chief Communication Officer: a visionary, organising the public life of the college.
- Master of Ceremonies at important college events.
- Principal Steward – the dean holds absolute responsibility for the affairs of the college, thus, "the range of responsibilities has financial, intellectual, operational, functional, organisational and legal dimensions"
- Chief Adjudicator, the decider and mediator in conflicts within the college

A popular, often cited threefold definition is provided by Bryan és Tucker (cited in e.g. *Wolverton, Wolverton et al.* [1999]), who think that deans have three major roles: as a dove, they reconcile fighting groups and factions; as a diplomat, they control and encourage lecturers and researchers working at the faculty while as a dragon, they protect the faculty against external and internal threats.

The authors cited so far defined the dean's roles intuitively, which they later used in their explanations or (quantitative) empirical analyses. However, Martin's qualitative analysis within the contexts of research universities was aimed at the exploration of the roles themselves (*Martin* [1993]). The author made environment studies about deans deemed successful by the academic community, as a result of which, he distinguished between five roles.

As a *cultural representative* who embodies research ideals and impersonates the culture, it is important that the dean be committed indeed to the scientific field of the faculty as well as to university and faculty affairs and his system of values be identical with the ideal of the research university.

As a *communicator*, the dean is able to organise the formal ways of sharing information (consultative boards, committees); however, he/she still spend sufficient time at the faculty and do not only share information but is able to listen to others as well.

As a m*anager*, the dean is able to organise the accomplishment of tasks and to delegate them in order to be able to devote more time to the broader, more philosophic questions of the faculty and the university. They are the masters of budget planning, introducing the

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financial situation of the faculty comprehensibly as well as of lobbying for support at the university. Deans as managers can perceive accurately where the boundaries of their scope of authority are and they know "when and where to make independent decisions, when to make collective and/or consultative decisions and when not to make any decisions at all." (*Martin* [1993] p.24)

As a *planner and analyst*, they are able to create a shared vision and draw up the route leading there. They are able to see the situation of the faculty holistically, they recognise the relationship between seemingly independent phenomena and they are talented in distinguishing between important and less significant factors and affairs.

As an *advocate*, deans make the faculty recognisable to others. They form strong relationships with other faculties and are able to provide for the operation and development of the faculty with external resources by fund-raising. These activities consume at least 50% of the dean's time.

Martin believes that "these roles are not static and do not operate according to a script which one can easily follow. Rather they are an integral part of personal character and congruent with the values of the colleges they lead" (*Martin* [1993] p.17) In addition, all the five roles are equally significant to produce a good performance. However, it is striking that the authoritative features are completely missing from Martin's analysis. This agrees with the general image that the dean is in a considerably weak power position at the faculty. ("The dean may only make suggestions" – Gallos sums it up in one sentence (*Gallos* [2002] p.179).

There are considerable overlaps between the role typologies, which means that they are representative of real (or at least believable) expectations towards the dean. However, there are some remarkable differences. In most typologies, the dean is expected to embody the faculty ideal; however, only one categorised teaching, research and personal academic work as belonging among the elements of the dean's role-set. This implies that whether the activity is expected from the dean depends on the narrative. Later, I am going to return to the relationship between the dean's roles as a professor and as a leader in detail.

More criticisms of the typologies mentioned so far can be formulated. On the one hand, awareness must be raised of the fact that all the typologies have been created in the context of the higher education system of the United States, in which – in general – institutions enjoy more economic and operational independence than European institutions. The bases of the American higher education system have been shaping for a long period of time and the system is undergoing changes of a considerably smaller scale than, for instance, European systems which have enjoyed state protection or been under state control for long. As a consequence, on the one hand, these models rather represent the expectations having evolved in the context of American higher education.

For instance, these role typologies analyse deans as independent leaders and do not reflect upon the fact that the dean as a middle manager is in some intermediary position between the university and the faculty; therefore, their activities depend not only on the faculty but the institutional level as well. Most of the roles defined could be associated with rectors or general leaders as well; thus, the "sandwich position" – although undoubtedly present on the basis of the literature – is not represented specifically in roles.

Accordingly, role models do not help the judgement of conflicts emerging from the changes of the dean's role as it is invisible what internal contradictions can be found between particular roles. This is the result partly of the fact that the roles are not seen as they are mirrored by in the dean's interpersonal relationships, in other words, the organisational embeddedness of the dean is missing. The lack of context-sensitivity also complicates the examination of roles through these typologies.

Despite the criticism, it is still useful to review these role models as they provide a comprehensive enough – if not too deep – image of the tasks the dean accomplishes.

4.2. The Role of Middle Managers in the Management Literature

Clegg and McAuley [2005] propose a different approach for the apprehension of the dean's roles. They projected the interpretations of middle managers in the literature of business management to the middle managers of higher education. Four interpretations were differentiated in the business literature; however, one of them was considered to be little relevant to higher education. Hereunder, I am going to introduce the possible interpretations along their logic while complementing it as well.

4.2.1. The Middle Manager as Part of the Surveillance System

According to the dominant approach of the period before the 1980, middle managers are the extended arms of senior managers, whose essential role is to communicate and implement the intentions of the senior management through the operation of the internal surveillance systems of the corporation. Thus, the middle manager is no other than "part of the organization's control-system" (*Floyd – Wooldridge* [1994] p.48), which is responsible for the delineation of tactics and budget suitable for strategy implementation, monitoring individual and collective group performances as well as enforcing behaviour fulfilling the expectations. Middle managers, therefore, had primarily a "puffer" (*Clegg – McAuley* [2005]) or "relay" role, they were "human boosters for the faint, unfocused signals that pass for communication" (*Drucker* [1988] p.46). In some narratives, the role of executors may be relevant to the dean as well; however, Clegg and McAuley did not consider it to be a relevant interpretation of the dean's role.

In addition, they also called attention to the fact that, apart from operating the surveillance system, middle managers had another, latent role as well. As they usually emerged from lower levels of the hierarchy, they were the most important possessors and mediators of the knowledge of corporate traditions and familiarity with the local context. In the context of higher education, according to Clegg and McAuley's interpretation, this is identical with the transmission of academic values (*Clegg – McAuley* [2005]).

4.2.2. The Self-Interested and Managerialist Middle Managers

The literature about the situation, role and function of middle management started prospering particularly in the 1980s. As a reflection on the deceleration of economic growth, the management trends appropriating a radical reduction of the number of middle managers – such

as decentralisation, lean management, empowerment and BPR – became popular in this period. In one of his works delineating the future, Peter Drucker proved through exemples that that large and successful information-based organizations had no middle-management at all (*Drucker* [1988] p.48). Behind this ambition, there was the belief that – reversing the arguments of the previous era – depicted middle managers as essentially conservative actors insisting unyieldingly upon traditions and preventing rapid, flexible action instead of being the representatives of corporate values. Thus, they use their informational advantage resulting from their position and technical expertise to protect and solidify their own personal situation. Mintzberg, for instance, called the aptitude for balkanisation – tendencies dividing power and creating smaller units with broad autonomy – the basic characteristic of middle managers. (*Mintzberg* [1981]). Numerous factors had contributed to the evolution of this approach.

The economic recession of the 1980s slowed down the growth of organisations, which resulted in the congestion of career paths in organisations with numerous levels of hierarchy. Due to the recession (and the solidification of consumer orientation), divisional-type organisations were reinvigorated, which were looking for mainly middle managers with a generalist approach. This undermined the identity of middle managers in functional areas, which was earlier built on technical expertise. Eventually, it was often an argument for the downsizing of middle managers that the operative surveillance and data providing responsibilities of middle management would be easily replaced by up-to-date IT solutions, with the help of which the control span and surveillance power of senior management could be increased considerably. These trends and the downsizing following them reduced the motivation of middle managers, which confirmed the original belief (*Dopson – Stewart* [1990], *Dopson – Stewart* [1994], *Dopson, Risk et al.* [1990]).

In their book entitled *Academic Capitalism,* Slaughter and Leslie suggest that due to decreasing resources, middle managerial positions will marginalise at research universities; however, later, seeing the increasingly stronger roles of deans, they dismiss this possibility (*Slaughter – Leslie* [1997] p.231-232). Clegg and McAuley did not find the trend of the decreasing number of middle managers relevant to the expanding higher education either (*Clegg – McAuley* [2005]). Although empirical data is not available, both teams of authors may be right about the fact that the number of middle managers have not decreased in higher education. On this basis, however, – I assume – the interpretation of the "self-interested manager" cannot be excluded from the possibilities relevant to higher education. I am going to return to this problem later.

The downsizing and delayering movements did not only *not* take place in higher education but it even had a smaller impact than many suggested in the business sector. Despite, it still transformed middle management considerably as, although the number of middle managers decreased only slightly, their authorities and responsibilities – in accordance with the then prospering empowerment and job-enrichment movements – were expanded significantly (*Dopson – Stewart* [1990], *Dopson – Stewart* [1994], *Dopson, Risk et al.* [1990]). This expansion reorganised the profile of their work as well: the role of operative surveillance requiring technical expertise was reduced (it was redistributed to the authority of direct supervisors); however, the responsibility for the performance of the entire organisational unit requiring a generalist approach increased (including, for instance, exercising employers' and financial rights of the organisational unit as well) (*Hales* [2006]). Parallel to this reorganisation, however, the workload also increased

significantly. Referring to this, Vouzas, Burgoyne and Livian (1997) (cited in *Thomas – Dunkerley* [1999] p.158) simply called the management trends of the '80s "the rhetorical justification of increasing workload".

Clegg and McAuley interpreted this generalist middle managerial class as the representation of the managerialist ethos of higher education (*Clegg – McAuley* [2005]), in which middle managers are "corporate bureaucrats" who contribute to the designing, operational, monitoring and executive processes instead of professional-supervisional tasks.

4.2.3. The Middle Manager as the Transmitters of Organisational Wisdom

At the beginning of the '90s, the starting points of the approach evolving as the countermovement of the previous period were the empirical researches attempted to prove that the increasing importance of information technology had not replaced the role of middle managers as senior managers, not least because of market volatility, did not wish and were not able to exercise operative control. Moreover, the spreading of information technology put actors with specific expertise in important organisational positions. This increased the internal complexity of the organisation.

Thus, the reduction of responsibilities of operative supervision and technical specialisation of middle managers did not indicate the disappearance of the middle-managerial level but the transformation of the content of middle management; namely, the intensification of their strategic role. All this is represented in a purified form in the works of *Floyd és Wooldridge*, who inspired numerous research analysing the roles of middle managers in strategy-making with their model (Figure 5) (see e.g. *Floyd – Wooldridge* [1994]; *Floyd – Lane* [2000]; *Floyd – Wooldridge* [1992]; *Mantere* [2008]; *Westley* [1990]; *Currie* [1999]; *Currie* [2000]; *Currie – Procter* [2005]).

Table 5: Middle Managements' Strategic Roles

		Behavioural activity	
		Upward Influence	Downward Influence
Cognitive influence	**Divergent**	Championing strategic alternatives	Facilitating adaptability
	Integrative	Synthesising information	Implementing deliberate strategy

Source: *Floyd – Wooldridge* [1994] p.50

Objecting to the distorting interpretation of middle management of previous years, *Floyd* és *Wooldridge* [1994] argued that when middle managers disregard the ideas of the senior management, they do not act against but for them. This is because the middle manager is much more aware of local relations than the senior manager creating the strategy, which, although, may result in deviating from the strategy during the implementation process, it also improves its feasibility.

Floyd and Wooldridge also thought the approach that the role of middle managers is restricted merely to the local implementation of central interests or the compiling, synthesising and forwarding of local information required for decision-making was simplifying. Thus, the role of middle managers may not only be conceivable within the already existing cognitive framework but they can successfully represent strategic alternative possibilities that senior managers cannot think of due to the lack of familiarity with the locality. Therefore, the middle manager is an active participant in shaping the strategy, whose familiarity with the location may help apply the central strategy – observing its "philosophy" – to the local circumstances (flexible adaptation) and thus, help him become from "change resister" to "change master".

In addition, the local initiatives of middle managers increase the number of variations within the organisation, which can be particularly advantageous in a dynamic context changing unpredictably. Eventually, middle managers are corporate entrepreneurials who have a central role in the strategic renewal of the company and in acquiring new organisational competences and skills.

Clegg and McAuley considered the role of the mediator of organisational wisdom to be completely relevant to the higher education context as well. They define the middle manager as a "craftsman" who possesses both professional and managerial knowledge. Their key question is whether the excellent knowledge of professional networks as well as the humanistic attitude, which is part of this approach, may enable the less confrontative transformation of higher education (*Clegg – McAuley* [2005]). *Kallenberg* [2007] had similar thoughts. (Middle management approaches applied in business management can be found in Table 6).

Table 6: The Transformation of Middle Managerial Role Interpretations in Management Literature

	'70s	'80s	'90s
Characteristics of Business Middle Management and its Role Interpretation	Operative role: implementing Representing organisational interest Functional expertise Transitory position to senior management Puffer role	Self-interested managers Balkanising	Strategic role Corporate entrepreneur and innovator
Dominant Management Trends	System theory Contingency-theory Divisional and matrix organisation	Empowerment Lean management TQM BPR	Organisational learning
Major Problems analysed by the Middle Management Literature	Role conflicts	Harmonising empowerment and downsizing Handling downsizing Handling survival syndrome	Entering Strategy-making Role conflicts Identity conflict
Socio-Economic Context	Economic growth (Functional) organisations with numerous levels of hierarchy	Decelerating growth Peak of demographic cycle (?) Increasing importance of divisional organisations Enhanced consumer-orientation Taking over of IT	Economic growth
Possible Interpretations of Middle Managers in Higher Education	Representing academic values	Managerialist middle manager	Master craftsmen

4.3. The Analysis of the Dean's Position

To introduce the possible roles of the dean, I am going to interpret the dimensions organising the narratives as well as the questions raised by them at the dean's level. The aim is to apprehend dilemmas and situations which provoke topics which may be examined in an empirical research as well and along which the roles incorporated in the different narratives of the university may also be defined.

4.3.1. The Dean as Middle Manager

The first dimension refers to the possibilities and desirability of the agreement and sharing of goals, which may be a dimension to determine the narratives due to the fragmented nature of the university. Merton already suggests that due to their different situations and positions in the social or organisational structure, role partners belonging to a certain role may have different interests and values as well as different role expectations (*Merton* [1968/2002]). The more fragmented the organisation is, the more subtle the system of expectations in which deans have to find their way will be. Figure 4 shows the typical partners of the dean. Undoubtedly, the interactions with different partners are various in intensity and frequency; with regard to the dean, there are more significant partners, who shape the dean's role with their expectations to a greater extent while others do not.

Figure 4: The Dean's Partners
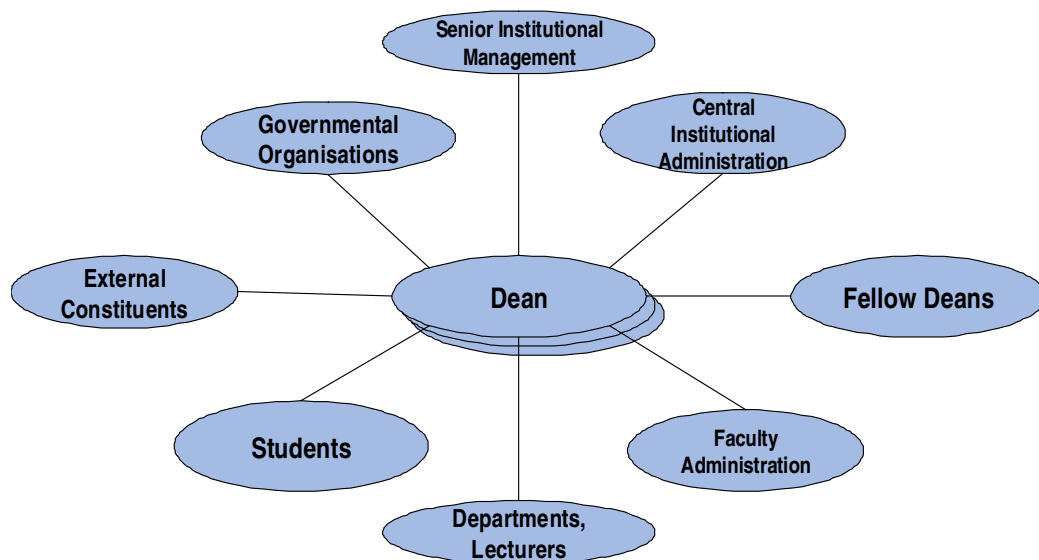
One characteristic of the dean's position is that the number of significant partners is high. As middle manager, the dean's closest partners – I believe – include the heads of departments, academic staff and faculty administration as well as the academic and administrative senior management of the university (*Jackson* [2003]). They are the ones who shape the content of the dean's role to the greatest extent.

Table 7 summarises some significant differences between the positions of heads of departments and the academic senior management as well as it demonstrates that the dean as a middle manager faces transitory (in-between) situations.

Table 7: The Transitory Situation of Middle Managers

	Heads of Departments and Institutes (Operative Management)	Dean, Vice-Deans (Middle Management)	Rector, Vice-Rectors (Senior Management)
Homogeneity of skills and statuses of subordinates, integrity of managed organisational unit(s)	High homogeneity High integrity		Low homogeneity Low integrity
Competence in managed scientific fields	High competence, specialist		Limited, generalist
Operative/Strategic Orientation	Operative functioning, Organising and managing educational programmes, subjects and teaching of the faculty, Managing colleagues		Managing the funding positions and educational portfolio of the university, Asset and real-estate management, Handling the infrastructure
Thinking spectre and temporal distance	Short-term (6 month-1 year) Partial approach		Long-term Global approach
External/Internal Orientation	Internal operational orientation		External operational orientation
Form and frequency of interactions with lecturers and students	Significant, face-to-face		Low intensity, incidental, often formal

Due to the differences between positions, heads of departments and university leaders have different expectations towards the dean concurrently; that is, a role conflict emerges. Gallos believes that the expectation towards the dean at the faculty is little intervention, utmost support, respecting autonomy and diversity as well as a non-hierarchic relationship. However, from the university level, the major aspect is to what extent the faculty is able to fulfil the requirements of quality, a balanced budget, the amount of external support, creativity, productivity and the willingness to cooperate (*Gallos* [2002]). While the professors and employees of the faculty expect the dean to represent faculty interests at the university level, university leaders call them to account for the representation of university interests at the faculty level.

The urge to fulfil the (conflicting) expectations is called either "dean's vise" (*Gallos* [2002]), or "sandwich-position" (*Baldridge* [1971]). By usually referring to Janus, the two-faced Roman god, others think that the dean is a "two-faced leader" (*Gmelch* [2003]), who "serves two masters at the same time" (*Rosser, Johnsrud et al.* [2003]; *Wolverton, Gmelch et al.* [2001]). Furthermore, in Huy's words, middle managers are "tight-rope artists" who are trying to ensure continuity between transformation and stability balancing between different interests (*Huy* [2001]).

The dean has an intermediary position not only in the faculty-university relation but they also fulfil a boundary spanning position in the relationship of the faculty and external partners (companies, authorities, etc.), who mostly little understand the specific internal relations of the university and consider the dean to be a leader who, in that position, has the authority to guarantee the enforcement of agreements. Thus, the dean has to respect the faculty professors' need for autonomy as well as the "clients'" expectation to handle their affairs fast, accurately and smoothly at the same time. By breaching the former ones, the dean risks internal conflicts while by breaching the latter ones, he may seem to be an incompetent and weak leader (*Gallos* [2002]).

On many occasions, contradictory expectations do not only appear shifted in time, but also simultaneously. For instance, in a meeting, there are students, professors and senior managers at the same time, the dean addresses them collectively. Deans have to be careful not only about what they are saying but also with in what context they are doing it.

The boundary spanning position may have a paralysing effect on the dean due to the conflicts resulting from it, especially if it is judged in the light of the relative weakness of the possibilities of formal decisions. However, it should be acknowledged that the position of the dean has its merits as well, which originate from the very same source as the difficulties. It is because of their position that deans are similar to the "playing coach" (*Uyterhoeven* [1989/1972]). Unlike the senior management of the university, they *may* still directly know the everyday life of the faculty, they participate in its operative management; however – as opposed to the heads of departments –, they already have a perspective of and influence on the long-term, strategic affairs of the university (*Martin* [1993]). Therefore, the dean has information which may secure them a significant role in creating and implementing university-level strategies as well as in shaping the framework of strategic thinking (*Floyd – Wooldridge* [1994]). On the other hand, this situation, yet again, positions the dean in between conflicting expectations; for instance, they have to be sensitive to individual problems while they also have to be aware of the system-level consequences of events. Or: they have support and encourage creativity and individual ambitions; however, they have to preserve the integrity of the faculty as well. Mediation between the internal and external worlds of the faculty requires "bilingualism" (*Uyterhoeven* [1989/1972]), the ability to be equally familiar with the bureaucratic and administrative (political?) cultures of the university as well as the professional-scientific culture of the faculty. However, the necessity of bilingualism is even more evident in situations in which the dean mediates between the faculty and the actors more alien to the academic culture (external clients and administration) (*English* [1997]). Understandably, all this also requires the dean – taking their fragmented daily routine into consideration – to be able to switch between the elements of their role-set and the language games of different relations (at one moment, they are talking as a supervisor and some minutes later, they are in an inferior position).

So far, I have delineated situations in which the dean faces the conflicting expectations of *two different partners*. However, it is worth mentioning that role conflicts may emerge as seemingly surprising ones, when the *very same* person expresses contradictory expectations towards the dean. There may be various reasons for this.

One of them is represented by the utterance of a head of department, who participated in a research conducted at an American university: „at times I wish the dean would provide more

leadership. For the dean it is sort of a 'Catch 22.' If he provides leadership, he is going to get resistance; if he doesn't provide leadership, then people will wish he did. I'm not sure how any one individual can resolve that." (cited in *McCarty – Reyes* [1985] p.15) Gallos also emphasises that the professors, researchers and heads of departments of the faculty often have an interest in having a decisive and a lenient dean at the same time (*Gallos* [2002] p.180).

Another possible reason can be traced back to the characteristic of the university that certain individuals may hold more than one position within the organisation. From these, on occasions, they express various expectations and they might not even be aware of the contradiction themselves. Likewise, the juxtaposition of formal and informal expectations results in the same conflict. (*Turner* [2001]).

4.3.2. The Boundaries of the Dean's Authority

The other dimension of the model organising the narratives referred to the control of implementation, which raises the question for deans how it is possible to ensure the implementation of decisions in a professional organisation and supervise their accomplishment (regardless of the fact whether the decisions were made by a board, a supervisor or the dean himself/herself). What means and possibilities do deans have in order to complete this and what dilemmas and difficulties do they face during the implementation process of decisions? Eventually, what is the basis of the dean's authority?

Hereunder, I am going to analyse three sources of the authority: 1) expertise, 2) the control of resources of key importance and thus, the possibilities of punishment and reward as well as 3) ambiguity and information control (see also *Bakacsi* [1999]).

The expertise of the dean has a significant role in whether they are able to judge the educational-pedagogical arguments and those of research and scientific policy behind decisions. However, education and research are tasks of high complexity and towards the top of the organisational hierarchy of higher education institutions, the homogeneousness of the expertise of lecturers and researchers under the manager is gradually decreasing, and so is the manager's competence in the scientific fields under their control. Although, it is mostly the dean who takes formal responsibility for the quality of actions at the faculty, they can exercise only limited control over actual meaningful questions. It is enough to take into consideration how difficult it is for a manager to prove the (in)competence of a lecturer or researcher.

Thus, the dean is characteristically a *generalist* leader; namely, they are responsible for the surveillance and harmonisation of areas in which they are less competent than the experts under their supervision. The more heterogeneous the managed faculty is, the more the dean is reliant on the internal and external experts (e.g. professors) of the given field as well as the heads of departments for the information needed in decision-making, although, the dean is superior to them in the management hierarchy. Undoubtedly, the size of the faculty and the homogeneousness of its scientific fields, the degree of consensus in the given scientific field as

well as the extent of specialisation also influence what degree of professional surveillance is possible with the dean's competence in the given field; thus, the extent of the generalist feature.[33]

The reliance on internal experts and heads of department is also required by the essentially individualist nature of education and research as in most cases, it is not only the dean's competence that is limited but the resources necessary for the surveillance of the fragmented activities of the faculty are also missing. The complex nature of education and research makes it difficult for these activities to be apprehended mechanically with the help of some indices. However, it is possible to change this situation with creative techniques and surveillance systems. For instance, lecturers do not have to be actually supervised; it is enough to sustain a real possibility of supervision. If, for instance, every lecture is recorded with the purpose of making them available for students and the broader public later as well (eventually, university lectures are open for everyone), it ceases the one-time nature of the lecture as it carries the opportunity of lectures being revisited by anybody in the future (including colleagues, fellow professors, managers and accreditation representatives). Thus, in this case, publicity as well as the possibility of supervision and imposing sanctions result in increased (self)control.

The dean may be have a generalist role in his/her relationship with their financial or IT personnel. That is, deans are not only the supervisors of their own administration – unless they themselves possess this expertise – but they are also at its mercy, having to rely on it in financial or IT matters.[34] This is the case in particular if the administration is invariable and the dean changes from time to time (e.g. somebody else is appointed or elected). In these cases, the continuity of some of the affairs is ensured by the administration. (Obviously, dependence and the rule of administration are significantly influenced by the length of time which the dean may spend in office.)

The dean's position is determined by the fact that the expertise of lecturers and researchers – to different extent in the various disciplines – can be converted into economic, network or social capital (private consulting, company management, membership in editorial committees and governmental responsibility). In many cases, real, up-to-date knowledge requires the lecturer or researcher to have a suitable web of connections (e.g. being incorporated in their professional community).

This has two consequences: on the one hand, the negotiating position of academic staff in opposition to the institution strengthens and their direct dependence on the institution decreases as, for instance, they earn the majority of their income from sources external to the institution[35]. Thus, the dean may have a significant influence on the implementation of decisions

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[33] From another point of view, however, the generalist judgement of the dean may be reversed. As while from inside the faculty, the dean is merely a person being (highly) competent in a part of the scientific filed and completing administrative tasks, whose strength, thus, is (also) dependent on the benevolence of the faculty; from the top (and the outside), the dean is a specialist in and representative of the whole scientific field, whose expertise and authority is confirmed by his/her position. (*Gallos* [2002]; *Jackson* [2003])

[34] Today, this is a frequently observed phenomenon at the higher levels of hierarchy in Hungarian higher education such as in the relationship of the rector and the director-general of finance.

[35] Analysing the data of 1997 incomes, Péter Tibor Nagy finds that 76% of the professors' income is salary income for their full-time jobs while the other 24% is complementary income. However, deviations are great: the rate of complementary income with professors working as members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences or in social scientific and technical fields is significantly higher (*Nagy* [2003] p.213-215).

through the control over resources (rewards and punishments) only if they are resources which are inaccessible for professors elsewhere (such as the expensive pool of research instruments). This possibility, however, depends on the characteristics of the particular discipline.

Furthermore, professors have access to resources critical to the university or faculty as well which increase their ability to assert their own interests within the institutions (*Pfeffer – Salancik* [1974]). These professors become "prima donnas" (*Bakacsi* [2008]), and "stars" determining the profile, operation and possibilities of the faculty, who demand extra attention or freedom from the dean. For instance, as the possessor of academic and MTA qualifications required for accreditation, a famous lecturer attracting the audience as well as an influential executive board member of a larger company, they are able to acquire an influence within the organisation which exceeds the influence of managers otherwise higher in the hierarchy. That can happen without having significant formal positions. This power to assert their interests may also be exercised in order to gain influential positions at the university but that is not necessary.

However, key resources may be provided for the university by the dean as well. Thus, the network-building, fund-raising role mentioned by numerous authors (*Wolverton – Gmelch* [2002]; *Krahenbuhl* [2004]; *Maghroori – Powers* [2004]) is not only a role of the deans but also the basis of their ability to assert their interests within the faculty.

The control of information and ambiguity means more indirect control than the supervision of processes and resources. The more complex professors perceive the external context as well as the internal operation of the institution, the stronger their ambiguity will be as comprehending and understanding processes occurring in higher education is more and more difficult; they require increasingly more time and effort. The dean – as a "puffer" of some sort (*Gumport – Sporn* [1999]) – may have a significant role in reducing ambiguity by providing interpretational frameworks and narratives, which help professors know their way around by simplifying complex reality and explaining it (*Gioia – Chittipeddi* [1991]). Thus, the direction of their actions can also be influenced. The control of ambiguity depends on partly the personal attributes of the dean – their persuasive force, charisma and authenticity – and partly on the degree of informational asymmetry between the dean and professors.

The latter may be influenced by numerous factors. Thus, for instance, to what extent professors are embedded in other external (professional and professional political) communities, where they have access to much information relevant to the scientific field or the institution. When this embeddedness is deep, it both helps the faculty access critical information in due time as well as weakens the information edge of the dean.

Mobility in higher education is also significant. If it is low, resigning deans may return to their department as "simple" lecturers; however, they still preserve their information, influence, web of connections and embeddedness[36]; thus, they affect their successor's behaviour and space for manoeuvre. (In contrast, imagine the business organisation in which chief executives

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[36] This is not present in every sector: in Hungarian public education, for instance, it is very rare for a school principal to return to a teacher's position – many consider it as failure indeed (*Bauer – Kováts* [2006]). The reason for this, among others, may be that in higher education – due to research – the professional career path provides more opportunities for self-fulfilment than the teacher's career in public education. Therefore, the interpretation of career along the organisational hierarchy is much stronger in public education. I believe that the very same phenomenon applies to career paths in health care.

replaced in the past decades continue working as experts.) In some places, the management tries to avoid this phenomenon by providing the dean finishing his/her term with a one-year research leave. A further consequence of low mobility is that, within a short period of time, a dense matrix of relations, history of personal relationships as well as interest positions emerges which may lend multiple meanings impossible for the outsider to decode to every interaction. The "political" role of the dean (*Wolverton – Gmelch* [2002]; *Maghroori – Powers* [2004]) emphasises the sensitivity to this, which is the precondition of understanding what happens at the faculty and why. The major disadvantage (and also the major advantage) of a dean coming from the outside is that they are not involved in these relations. The familiarity with the place may carry some hazards for a dean chosen from within the organisation: they may become entrapped in local relations.

Thus, it is apparent that professors have access to information not only through the dean but from various other sources as well. This fact, however, does not necessarily mean that they will devote the sufficient time and effort to it. The significance of the dean's formal position is that by it, the dean has the dedicated time and resources at their disposal to participate in different committees, collect information and influence decisions.

To sum up what has been discussed in this chapter: the control of the implementation of decisions raises the question for the dean how it is possible to influence the operation of an organisation constituted by experts demanding great autonomy and supervise the implementation of decisions. Depending on how the control over expertise, resources and information is distributed among the actors of the institution or the faculty, various constellations of the relationships between the dean, the administration and professors may evolve. A strong position of the dean may evolve; however, there is a possibility of emerging situations in which the dean is inferior and superior to others *at the same time*. Such a situation is when the associate professor of a given department is appointed as dean, who, thus, is simultaneously superior and inferior to the head of the department (*Nagy* [2007]). If these status inconsistencies are frequent and important in the operation of the university or faculty, there is no possibility of articulate and clear-cut hierarchies and it is not going to be obvious who is whose boss and what "being a boss" means (*Nagy* [2007]). Eventually, this results in role ambiguity. The boundaries of the dean's (and of all other) leadership role may only be determined by trial-and errors. Another consequence is role overload (*Bess – Dee* [2008]), the situation in which the dean faces behaviour expectations the fulfilment of which are beyond their capacities (the time and resources at their disposal). This is represented in situations in which everybody expects the dean to solve a problem while the dean feels he/she has little authority to influence the factors at (and outside) the faculty having caused or being able to amend the problem.

4.3.3. The (Re)interpretation of the Dean's Roles

The two dimensions organising the narratives, the method of harmonising aims and the control of the implementation of decisions result in two general dilemmas.

The method of harmonising aims in a fragmented higher educational organisation essentially raises the question how the dean, as middle manager, should balance and mediate between the faculty and the university as well as the expectations of the faculty and the students/clients. In other words: to what extent can the dean's efforts to improve the operation of

the faculty be shaped in accordance with the internal interests and dynamics of the faculty and to what degree external reference points, primarily the university and the even broader context may be taken into consideration. The different narratives imply different answers to these questions. While the community of scholars and the bureaucracy narrative emphasise primarily the internal operation of the faculty and its consistence, the narratives of the entrepreneurial and corporation-like universities focus on fitting the external environment, the dependence on external factors as well as the urge to reflect resulting from them.

The control of the implementation of decisions raises the question what instruments the dean as a generalist leader should rely on in order to implement decisions at a faculty full of experts. One possibility is the processes and systems influencing the accomplishing of tasks such as education administration, planning, budgets, incentives and wages, benchmarking and student information. By shaping these, standardisation, comparability and the possibility of monitoring resources can be provided, which makes the operation of the faculty more transparent, thus, controllable. The shaping of systems and processes is based on the sources of power associated with the dean's position, particularly because it requires a strong contribution of the administrative personnel. Therefore, the significance of formal communication is relatively high.

The other possibility is to influence the motivation, attitude and thinking patterns of the academic staff (decision makers), which enables a looser but more flexible implementation of decisions. This instrument relies on the power sources of the dean as its operation is affected by factors such as the authenticity, expertise and charisma of the leader, which take effect primarily when the dean engage in direct, informal communication with many people. The significance of the dean's formal position is rather represented by his/her better access to information.

With regard to the implementation of decisions, the different narratives imply different focuses for the dean: the entrepreneurial university and the community of scholars centre flexibility and creating similar attitudes and systems of values while the narrative of bureaucracy and the corporation emphasises the transformation of rules, processes and the system.

Along the dilemmas resulting from the harmonisation of aims and the implementation of decisions, four roles of the dean integrating into the narratives of the university may be described, which I have given metaphoric names: the idealised dean of the community is the hero, the bureaucracy's is the provider, at the entrepreneurial university, the dean works as a catalyst while in the corporation, the dean is essentially a strategic player (see Table 5). These roles entail some components of the role models introduced previously and they partly overlap the role interpretations of business middle managers presented before (*Clegg – McAuley* [2005]); however, on the basis of the analysis of the dean's position, I have reinterpreted them at several points[37].

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[37] I defined this role myself on the basis of the information gained on organisation narratives and deans. However, since the conclusion of my dissertation proposal in 2009, similar typologies have appeared elsewhere as well (see, for instance, *de Boer et al* [2010]). These, however, consider deans to be the leader of the faculty and disregard the middle managerial, intermediary nature of the dean's position.

Figure 5: The Narratives of the University and the Possible Roles of the Dean

Loose control of implementation
(flexibility, human beings, way of thinking)

Community **(Hero)**	**Enterprise** **(Catalyst)**

Loose policy definition (internal, operational focus) ← → **Tight policy definition (External, strategy focus)**

Bureaucracy **(Service provider)**	**Corporation** **(Strategic player)**

Tight control of implementation
(Integration, systems, processes)
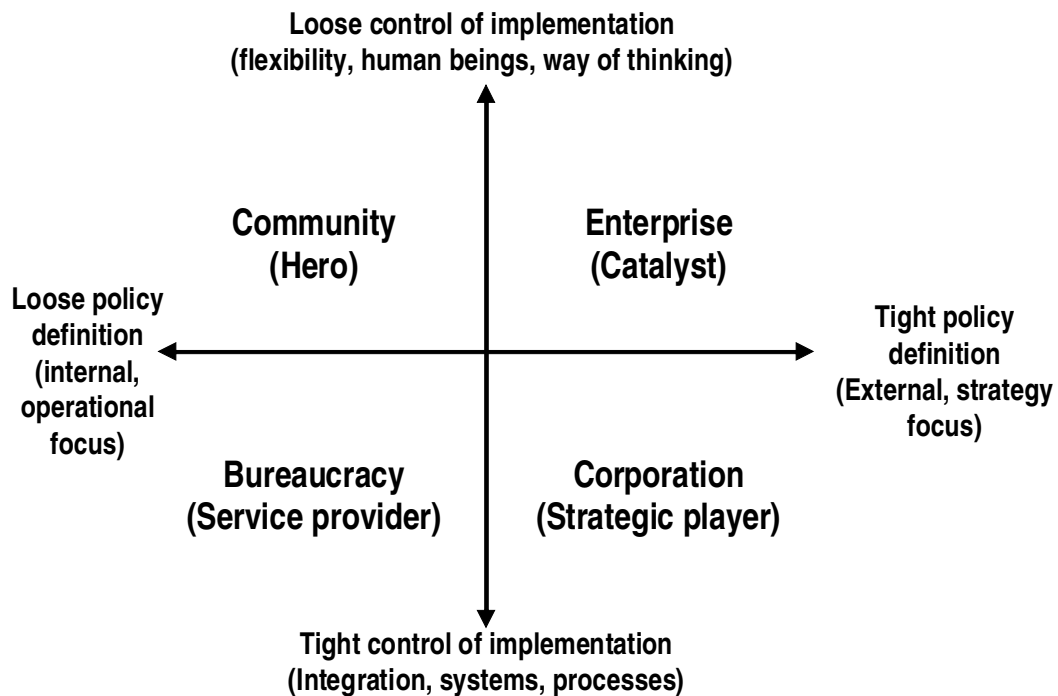
The *hero* is a dean who is particularly successful in terms of the system of values valid in the community; thus, as a dean, s/he does not only embody but also confirms community values and beliefs; moreover, s/he becomes a model to be followed (therefore, the expression *role model* would also be justified). This generally means that the dean has a successful academic past. However, it does not necessarily mean that they are still professionally active. Rather, they are the honoured, wise members of the community who are familiar with the know-how of the scientific profession as well as the faculty's history and past. Therefore, the dean is not an outsider to the community and they perceive themselves as part of the lecturers' community.

The responsibility of the hero is not to change but to solidify the current system of values and thinking patterns as well as their symbolic mediation in both the internal communication of the faculty (master of ceremonies, managing boards) and the relationship between the faculty and the outside world (spokesperson). Within the faculty, they actively help the other members of the community identify with the current system of values (mentor) and call attention to opposite trends. Outside the faculty, the dean proceeds with community authorisation. Deans gather, synthesise and focus the opinions formed at the faculty as a lens; furthermore, with the help of this, they lobby for the representation of faculty standpoints.

The dean as *provider* recognises his/her role in satisfying the emerging demands and needs effectively. Within the faculty, this means the provision of administrative conditions required by teaching, research and studying. Thus, they aim at reducing the administrative responsibilities of faculty professors and students by, for instance, the rationalisation and effective organisation of faculty administration, the centralised maintenance of administrative tasks received from the university level or supporting such tasks as well as by making proposals concerning the shaping of university-level systems. Thus, the provider's activities include giving information, organising communication, managing assessments, accreditations and promotions

effectively, providing the operational conditions of committees and boards, the maintenance of economic-financial and education-administrational tasks, managing the administrative personnel of the faculty as well as accurate record-keeping, etc.

The dean is characterised by the same provider attitude towards the centre, whose data inquiries and regulations the dean satisfies accurately and fast. Their main role in channelling information between levels is the messenger's; namely, they strive to forward messages accurately (therefore, the metaphor of the amplifier or relay would also be suitable).

In case of a conflict, the reference points are regulations and committee/board resolutions. On the basis of these, the preservation of order and enforcing rules are also part of the dean's activities. Deans as providers perceive themselves as professionals of the faculty administration and not as part of the lecturers' community.

The dean as *catalyst* aims at facilitating and supporting the transformation processes taking place at the university as well as the faculty. The dean's middle managerial position enables them to make ideas and opportunities flow while their expertise help them generate new ideas and connect them creatively. Thus, they do not simply forward bottom-up initiatives and top-down visions, as does the provider or the hero, but they utilise and shape them (see *Floyd – Wooldridge* [1994]). They find connection between ideas that others may overlook.

Thus, the dean is not a neutral mediator between the faculty and the university as well as the faculty and the outside world but has an active, enriching role. For instance, they are able to translate the top-down visions into the language of the faculty or to positively adapt the philosophy of the university strategy to the position of the faculty; thus, to make the whole vision appear attractive. They encourage, support, enrich, colour and creatively integrate bottom-up proposals into other bottom-up or top-down initiatives.

Undoubtedly, deans themselves are also the source of new visions; therefore, their aim is not only to transform the current patterns and orientations of the professors and university leaders' thinking but to explore new opportunities to be exploited[38]. The source of these visions is primarily the continuously changing context, with which the dean is in constant interaction. This helps the dean remain professionally (scientifically) active, as a result of which they are able not only to keep their knowledge up-to-date but to expand their relationships and preserve their authenticity within the faculty as well.

The role of the catalyst dean is primarily outward-oriented, that is, it is directed at recognising and satisfying new needs of the market or society as well as working out and implementing new ideas for tenders. As a result, however, they are of key importance in forming new organisational (and not exclusively faculty) competences; thus, they have an impact on the renewal of the internal relations of the university. The catalyst dean is not only "entrepreneur" but "intrapreneur" as well – and thus, s/he is more than an innovative dean. Namely, the catalyst dean is not only innovative but by inspiring others, s/he is able to enhance and catalyse the innovation capacity of the faculty as a whole. This justifies the name of the role.

The behaviour of the *strategic player* is characterised by the recognition that the faculty is dependent on its context (including the university level as well as the broader context) as the context provides the resources required for its operation (financial resources, prestige, legitimacy,

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[38] For details about the role and characteristics of the visionary leader, see: *Barakonyi* [2004b]

lobbying power, web of connections, access to students and research funding, etc.) The focus of their activities is to lessen the degree of this dependence, which they ensure by reducing demand for resources (i.e. by the improvement of internal efficiency) on the one hand, and by increasing control over resources as well as reducing risks on the other hand. Thus, the dean concentrates mainly on planning, the assessment of the context (products and markets), evaluating the performance of professors and departments as well as the construction of objective systems facilitating (or the introduction of university systems serving) these aims. Reducing the degree of environment-dependence also means the solidification of the dean's position within the faculty.

As a strategic player, the dean is characterised by a calculative approach and transaction logic: they judge everybody and everything on the basis of what resources they need and provide as well as to what extent they contribute to the increase of control over key resources; thus, to the reduction of dependence. They observe the faculty simultaneously as part of the university as well as disregarding the organisational context; namely, their attitude towards the university is ambivalent and is determined by the degree to which they are dependent on it. In case of a small degree of dependence, the "balkanisation tendencies" (*Mintzberg* [1981]); namely, the idea that "the university is for the faculties" may take over.[39]. However, in case of strong dependence, the dean integrates into the university and behaves as not an independent leader but as a real *middle manager*. Deans perceive themselves as managers and less as part of the lecturers' community.

4.4. The Boundaries of the Dean's Position

Deanship is only a more or less significant part of dean's life. Although the analysis focuses on deanship, other roles (border roles) which deans also fulfil are also worth a look. This digression is justified by the fact that these roles also influence how the dean behaves in the dean's position as well as what roles they may identify with. In the following sub-chapter, I am going to summarise the relatively small literature of the dean's career paths and their roles as a lecturer and researcher. For further justification, the introduction of the impact of deanship on privacy as well as the balance between work and private life would be another important aspect; however, I am not going to discuss that due to the small amount of works written about them on the one hand, and, on the other hand, because I am of the view that the works in this field (such as *Wolverton, Wolverton et al.* [1999]; *Jackson* [2003] p.94) provide little insight beyond everyday experience.

4.4.1. The Dean's Career Path

The analysis of the dean's career path is justified by the fact that the dean's educational-scientific, administrative and other positions filled in the institutions are not independent of each other. Due to the fact that the professional and administrative hierarchies

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[39] Therefore, I am of the view that the interpretation of the self-interested middle manager appearing in management literature is indeed applicable in higher education as well.

exist simultaneously in higher education, the concept of career is much more complex in higher education than in the business sector (see e.g. *Gilliot, Overlaet et al.* [2002]). This raises difficulties concerning the enforcement of a homogeneous status-hierarchy within the organisation. Unfortunately, the small number of empirical research does not analyse the dean's career path in such a complex fashion but they almost exclusively mean the analysis of the administrative (leadership) career paths by it.

In his analysis involving 1200 American deans, *Moore* [1983] analyses two factors: one is the position from which somebody becomes a dean and the other is whether they arrive from the outside or inside the organisation. The most frequent assumption – the model considered to be the norm – is the internal (inside the organisation) linear career path: lecturer → head of department → vice-dean → dean. This ideal path, however, was not confirmed by Moore's research. On the basis of empirical data, Moore distinguished between six characteristic career paths (Table 8).

Table 8: Typical Career Paths of Deans

	Career Paths					
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
Ratios	5,5%	22,2%	14,4%	40,2%	4,7%	13,0%
Dean	■	■	■	■	■	■
Vice-Dean	■		■		■	
Head of Department	■	■				
Lecturer	■	■	■	■		
	Internal Career Paths				External Career Paths	

■ – career step

Source: on the basis of the data by *Moore* [1983][40]

Data demonstrate that neither the position of the head of department nor that of the vice-dean is indispensable for deanship. The former was significant in 27,7%, the latter in 24,6% of the cases. It is also to be noted that deans were appointed from within the institution in most cases; however, 17,7% of them filled the position as outsiders, primarily in fields having a close connection to some practical sphere (e.g. law). On the whole, the career paths of deans displayed a quite variable image, on the basis of which the "ideal" path can be considered to be true only in general terms. In reality, "more individuals conform to variations from the 'norms' than to the 'norms' themselves" (*Moore, Salimbene et al.* [1983] p.514).

Later analyses suggest slightly changing tendencies. On the basis of the data of a large-sample analysis in 1996, Wolverton and associates claim that more than 60% of deans have experience as a head of department, 40% of them as a vice-dean, 18% of them from outside the university and 30% as a previous dean. However, they also confirm that in the United States deans are still appointed mostly from within the institution and the "hierarchic-linear model"

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[40] In another study of Moore (*Moore, Salimbene et al.* [1983]), she publishes different ratios in a smaller sample; however, the reason for the difference remains unexplained.

of the dean's career path can still not be delineated (*Wolverton – Gonzales* [2000]; *Wolverton – Gmelch* [2002]).

There are only approximate data available about the typical career path of Hungarian deans. According to Forgó Melinda's survey, 64,4% of the people filling a dean's position in 2006 had some previous experience (as vice-dean, head of department or possibly as rector or vice-rector) (*Forgó* [2008]). This seems to be identical with the data of the 1996 American survey; however, the typical patterns of career paths are not provided here either.

The image about the deans' career paths would be complete if the positions filled after deanship were also examined. Thus, it would also clarify to what extent the dean's position can be regarded as an attractive one, valuable in itself or to what extent it is only a stepping-stone to secure another position. Unfortunately, there are also only approximate data available with regard to this question in the 1996 American survey, in which deans were interviewed about their future intentions (see Table 9). I have no knowledge of a Hungarian or European research of such kind.

Table 9: Career plans of Deans in Different Disciplines in a Research Conducted in the United States of America (%)

	Liberal arts	Business	Education	Nursing
Returns to faculty (as a lecturer)	27	24	27	18
Deanship at similar institution	4	2	7	3
Deanship at a more prestigious institution	8	12	8	11
Remains dean in the current institution (no interest in moving)	15	14	17	19
Higher position in Academic Leadership	35	26	22	21
Non-academic leadership position	0	7	2	5
Retirement	12	16	17	23

Source: *Wolverton – Gmelch* [2002] p.106

The results of the survey show that – except for nurse training – approximately 1/3 of deans remaining in higher education return to be a lecturer, 1/3 of them see themselves as deans in the future (in their own institutions or others) and those intending to be promoted to a higher managerial position also add up to 1/3 of the sample. This suggests a high rate of "leaving the profession". This seems to be supported by the opinion of some authors that the dean's term is becoming shorter and the turnover is very high, especially in areas such as economic science (*Twombly* [1992]; *Gmelch, Wolverton et al.* [1999]). Gmelch attributes this phenomenon to the great degree of stress, ambiguity and conflicts associated with the position, due to which he describes the dean as an "endangered species" (G*melch, Wolverton et al.* [1999]).

In their small-sample, qualitative research, McCarty and Reyes were seeking the answer to the question why heads of department (do not) want to be deans. For instance, the facts that less time is left for teaching and research, the administrative paperwork and meetings are unattractive, the position is too stressful, decisions are too hard to make, the dean's authority of control is too limited as well as the one that the position involves too much politics can be found among the counterarguments *(McCarty – Reyes* [1985] p.13, Table 1 and 2).

4.4.2. The Dean as a Scholar

Analysing the identification and identity of the dean, several surveys imply that the majority of deans still see themselves at least partly as scholars. In Australia, for instance, "deans, overwhelmingly, think of themselves as faculty or some combination of faculty and administrator" (*Gmelch, Wolverton et al.* [1999] p.733). In the US, 2/3 of the deans define themselves as lecturers or having mixed roles. This survey also shows that, as opposed to heads of department, the rate of deans with a mixed-identity is increasing (see Table 10) (*Gmelch* [1999]). Furthermore, in England, Henkel drew the conclusion that the more traditional a university is, the less the possibility of deans' identifying themselves as managers is, even if they admit that they accomplish managerial tasks (*Henkel* [2000]).

Table 10: The Identification of American Deans

	(Academic) deans	Heads of Department
Lecturer (faculty)	6	44
Administrator	32	4
Lecturer and Administrator	62	52

Source: *Gmelch* [1999] Figure 1 and 2

Consulting the literature also provides interesting conclusions about the compatibility of the roles of the lecturer and the dean. Many emphasise the synergic nature of these roles. Those considering the dean's role as a role model important regard teaching and research organic components of the dean's job (see e.g. *Newsome* [1997]). Others point out that lecturers and researchers take only deans who can produce constant valuable teaching and research work seriously. Thus, teaching and research are not organic constituents of the dean's role but they contribute significantly to strengthening its legitimacy within the faculty (*Gallos* [2002]). This approach is compatible with the image that in a professional organisation, experts expect their managers to be sufficiently competent in the given field and also to demonstrate their competence on occasions.

However, most authors analysing the dean's role do not mention teaching and research among the elements of the dean's role-set. The deans' personal reports in which they summarise their experience and activities, hardly even mention teaching or research tasks accomplished during their deanship. Harman seems to confirm this; he reveals in his analysis that, in comparison to other actors of the university, the research activity of Australian deans and heads of departments decreased significantly between 1977 and 1997 (*Harman* [2002]). In addition, *Kirk* [1997] emphasises that teaching and research are activities that help deans disengage themselves from their administrative daily routine and contribute to recreation and relaxation; namely, teaching and research are rather connected to the person and not the dean's organisational role.

The simultaneous fulfilment of the expectations originating from the lecturer's and the dean's positions may be the source of (so-called inter-role) conflicts. This can be traced back not only to the difficulties of their reconciliation in time but also the significant differences between the

activities of scholarship and deanship, which, complementing *Gmelch* [2000]'s opposite pairs, can be summarised in the following way:

- Social actor instead of solitude: lecturers do most of their work alone, independently, while the majority of the dean's activities are societal: meetings, board sessions, preliminary meetings. Thus, from individual actors, lecturers have to become the operators and maintainers of a network of relationships. This also means that the dean – as opposed to the lecturer – rarely participates in the actual implementation of tasks and the delegation is much more important.
- Accountability instead of autonomy: the work of lecturers is characterised by great autonomy, the need for freedom to decide and responsibility taken for their own decisions. In the dean's job, responsibility taken for the operation of the whole faculty becomes dominant. It is to be added that lecturers may exercise significant control over the process, the circumstances and the result of the activity. However, deans have only limited authority to influence factors that determine the operation of the faculty. Thus, the reaction to the changes of uncontrollable factors accounts for the majority of their activities. All this also means that although, as a leader, the deans are able to influence their own working conditions, the degree of freedom in the role decreases compared to the autonomy of lecturers[41].
- Fragmented work instead of focused work: lecturers deal with certain tasks for long periods of time, without interruptions while the dean's work is often interrupted; their working hours are fragmented (*Jackson* [2003]). As the majority of managers (*Mintzberg* [1971]), neither may deans control their own working hours.
- Memos instead of manuscripts: lecturers work with thorough, elaborate scripts and loose deadlines; however, deans have to learn concise, expressive writing and observe strict deadlines.
- Public sphere instead of private sphere: while lecturers limit their public time (the time to contact them), deans possibly always have to be available. The public role and visibility of the dean are important elements of the dean's role-set.
- Persuasion instead of professional work: the main task of lecturers is to improve the scientific field while deans predominantly seek consensus.
- Mobility instead of stability: lecturers explore their own professional field, which provides them with a sense of stability, predictability and familiarity. However, deans – as the representatives of the faculty – have to contribute to everything and many times even express an opinion in questions which are beyond their professional competence. Thus, they have familiar with everything a little.
- Custodian instead of client: lecturers expect suitable working conditions and services; thus, they behave as clients while deans supervise the distribution and utilisation of resources.

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[41] By the degree of freedom of a role, I mean the extent to what the fulfiller of the role is able to influence the characteristics of the activities, aims and expectations associated with the role. (*Nicholson* [1984])

Thus, on the whole, the teaching-research work and the dean's work can be described with the specialist-generalist opposition mentioned before, with the complementation that, in the majority of cases, deans as teachers-researchers engage in their role in fields that only partially contribute to the success of their activities as deans (e.g.: new knowledge in particle physics are only limitedly applicable in the everyday life of the dean). It is also an important finding that the socialisation of the teacher-researcher's career path only partially prepares a person for the situations of the dean's everyday life.

4.5. Summary

In this chapter, I presented an overview of the literature about the roles of deans and business middle managers as well as summarised the literature discussing the specifications of the dean's position. On the basis of these, I defined four roles of the dean compatible with the previously defined narratives: the hero, the provider, the strategic player and the catalyst. In addition, several topics are worth analysing within the empirical research emerged such as conflicting expectations, bilingualism, vulnerability, the problems of responsibility and control, the relation to the lecturer's role or the position of deanship within one's life path.

5. The Transformation of Narratives and Roles

The previous two chapters discussed the organisational narratives and the roles of the dean fitting these narratives. The aim of this chapter is to connect the two and interpret transformation processes; that is, dynamising the model.

5.1. The Co-Existence of Narratives and the Emergence of Dominant Narratives

The fragmented and professional nature of the university naturally results in the fact that there are numerous co-existing narratives within the organisation at a given time. Due to the professional nature, lecturers have much control over the accomplishment of tasks, which reduces the urge to cooperate. Thus, there is no need for frequent interactions between the lecturers of various departments and faculties. Therefore, teaching and research groups are isolated from one another; thus, there is also a possibility of better co-operating groups operating as more or less independent subcultures (*Weick* [1976]), which entails creating their own narratives about the operation of the university. Furthermore, in addition to their own specific community of scholars – in more open disciplines in particular –, they are also part of several other communities of practice external to the university, which may be the source of additional narratives.

Thus, the fragmented and professional nature of the university as well as the infrequency of interactions result in a variety of narratives as well as in the fact that no narrative may gain general relevance at the university as new interpretations are appearing continuously, which contradict the core assumptions of the narrative striving for dominance. In Trowler's words, universities are "dialogical entities" (*Trowler* [2001] p.191); namely, there are always various narratives simultaneously present at universities at a given time.

However, the simultaneous co-existence of narratives in the organisation does not mean that certain narratives could not seize temporary dominance. The mechanism of this process is shown by *Simsek and Louis* [1994], who parallel the changing of the dominant narrative with the processes of Kuhn's paradigm shift (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: The Transformation Process of Narratives

Questioning narratives

Anomalies, random shocks, triggering events

Industry knowledge base

Dominant narratives

Examples (practical consequences)

Dominant narratives / Examples (practical consequences)

Dominant narratives / Examples (practical consequences)

Dominant narratives / Examples (practical consequences)

Competing narratives

Selection
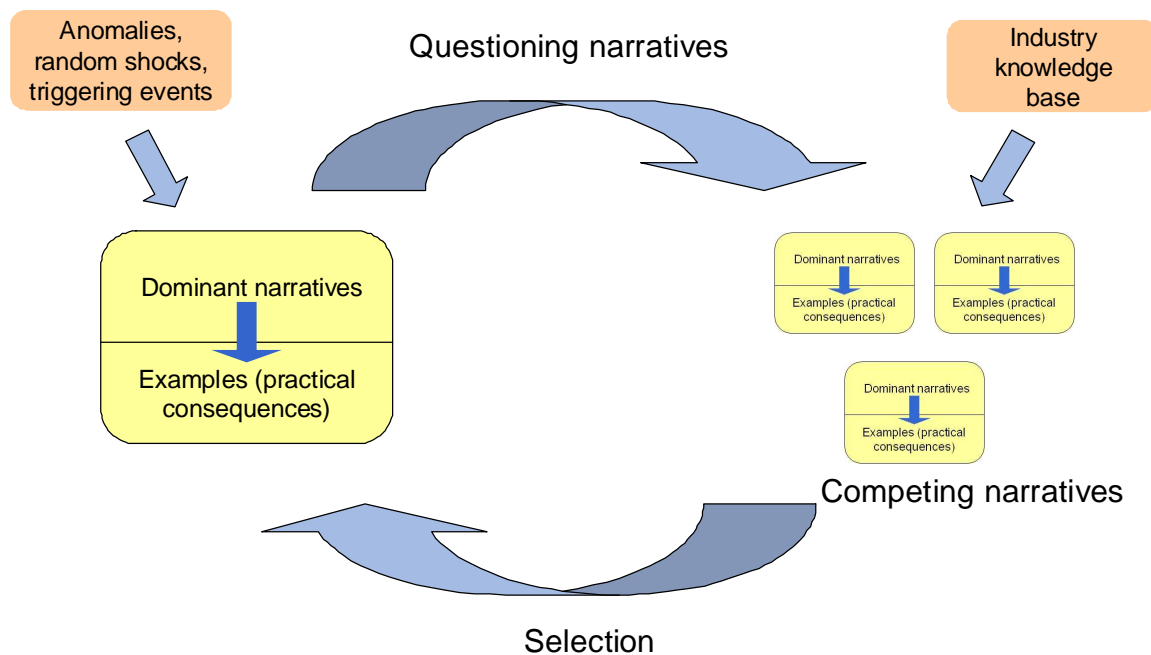
Source: based on *Simsek – Louis* [1994] p.675

They believe that, from time to time, dominant narratives face anomalies; that is, the members of the university collectively recognise and assess economic and organisational processes to which they cannot find suitable organisational explanations within the frameworks of the dominant narrative (such a dilemma is, for instance, massificatition, competition or decreasing resources) to be significant. Thus, the door gradually opens for the supporters of alternative narratives. Transformation takes place by pushing the representatives of certain narratives into the background. As soon as the number of the supporters of alternative narratives hits a critical level, an abrupt change occurs in the dominant interpretational framework of the organisation, which is followed by the gradual realignment of highly visible institutionalised solutions (the organisational structure, positions, the system of values, customs, roles, etc.). Thus, the reason for the change is not the recognition of some "real" organisational problem but the change of the interpretational system, the persuasion of those with sufficient influence about the necessity of a change (*Kieser* [2008]). Unquestionably, this process is often influenced by currently topical management trends (*Birnbaum* [2001]) as well as by social discourses on the peripheries of the higher education system. Such is the New Public Management movement aimed at rethinking the role of the state as well as the organisation of public services (see e.g. *Hajnal* [2004], *Thom – Ritz* [2005], *Horváth* [2006]).

However, the narratives becoming dominant do not invalidate other narratives at once, they still exist in the "background" of the university; moreover, they may remain significant in the less central structures and mechanisms of the organisation (such as in the practices of a faculty

or department). The process, although including an abrupt, shock-like step, can be regarded as *transition*, an emphasis-shift rather than a shock-like *transformation*[42].

Thus, narrative diversity results in the flexibility as well as the inflexibility of universities at the same time, as diversity, on the one hand, perpetuates disputes and misunderstandings as well as complicates the co-operation of the actors of the university; however, the university – due to the new narratives and those pushed to the background – always has the potential of renewal, which is, paradoxically, rooted in the ever-lasting arguments. The reason for the diversity of higher education institutions is the narrative diversity of the university.

It follows from the discussed process of dominant narratives that transformation does not have a predictable direction as it depends on at least as much on the internal dynamics of the institution (the balance and negotiating position of forces supporting each individual approach) as on the external (perceived) factors.

However, the limits of predictability do not exclude the *post-reconstruction* of the transformation of dominant narratives. This is the basis of the evolutionary, developmental explanation of higher education institutions and systems. According to this, initially, there were elite universities (community model), which, due to massification, were bureaucratised, then funding difficulties resulted in the incorporation of the entrepreneurial/corporate culture (see e.g. *Hrubos* [2004b]; *Hrubos* [2009]).

This overly generalising logic may be refined if we suppose that different narratives become dominant in higher education institutions of different type and constitution. For instance, Ildikó Hrubos implies that more prestigious, traditional institutions can resist the "introduction" of the entrepreneurial or corporate culture more successfully (*Hrubos* [2004c]). Similarly, differences may also be assumed between teaching-dominated colleges and universities taking research seriously. It is also presumable that universities at which applied sciences – rooted in practice – are dominant (technical sciences, economic science, management science, law, etc.) are more open to the entrepreneurial culture than institutions with faculties of arts and natural sciences, etc.

The evolutionary logic is also applicable to the development of higher education systems: for instance, at the time of the writing of his article (in 1995), McNay saw England to be moving from academic oligarchy and direct state supervision to the quasi-markets operated with indirect state supervision, the organisational equivalents of which include the collegial-bureaucratic as well as the entrepreneurial-corporate cultures. Countries with a changing regime, however – at least in McNay's opinion – were shifting from a system supporting bureaucratic-corporate culture towards a system facilitating the collegial-entrepreneurial culture (*McNay* [1995] p.111-112).

These explanations present the evolving situation as the inevitable consequence of external factors; thus, they as much create (legitimise) as they explain the currently dominant narrative. Although evolutionary theories may be good heuristics for the apprehensibility of complex events, they still (necessarily) conceal and homogenise the narrative diversity and internal dynamics within the higher education system (institutions).

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[42] It is the *transformation* vs. *transition* debate of economic science in the period of the change of regime at the organisational level.

Hereunder, I am going to introduce the presence of narrative diversity within the Hungarian higher education system in broad terms. There are two reasons for this: on the one hand, it is necessary, which results from the fact that empirical studies which could help make this phenomenon and its consequences clear also at the institutional level are missing (the empirical research I am planning would make up for this lack). On the other hand, prior to the empirical analysis, the narratives currently present in the Hungarian higher education system (thus, influencing the institutional discourses) are worth a look.

5.2. The Simultaneity of Narratives in the Hungarian Higher Education System

I believe that the simultaneity of narratives in countries undergoing a change of regime is even more characteristic than in Western countries. The reason for this is one of the determining attributes of Central- and Eastern-European countries: congestion. Following the change of regime, all the processes having taken place gradually, in 20-30 years in developed Western countries commenced at the same time in post-socialist countries. It is noticeable in Hungary as well that the massification of higher education, the attempts at the reform of funding and management, the transformation of the educational structure, etc. took place simultaneously. (*Fábri* [2004]; *Semjén* [2004]; *Derényi* [2009]; *Polónyi* [2009]) These processes occurred within the considerably unstable legal and normative frameworks of the change of the socio-economic regime, as a result of which there was no real possibility of a consistent implementation of mature higher education concepts. Thus, although changes occurred fast in the regulatory context (and often altered), in practice, already familiar solutions are proved to be dominant. The adjustment of the different elements of the higher education system has not yet taken place.

As a consequence, numerous higher education narratives co-exist simultaneously. One of them is the extensive reinvigoration of Humboldtian ideals (which may be regarded as equivalent with the community narrative).[43] The Humboldtian ideal places the freedom (and unity) of education and research in its centre, which is provided by the state through guaranteeing the autonomy and academic freedom of higher education institutions. As these – in the social sciences in particular – were highly limited under the communist regime, the fulfilment of the Humboldtian ideal meant the transcendence of the Soviet model and in many countries – in Hungary as well –, the return to the national model.

However, the legitimacy of the Humboldtian model is not only based on these two factors but also on the fact that Western-European universities have mostly been identified with this model. The belief that the institutionalisation of the autonomy and independence of the university guarantees the modernisation of Central-European universities and their approximating

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[43] Referring to this, Scott aptly said that "so even after Communism ceased to exist, it continued to promote homogeneity" (*Scott* [2006] p.430) Although the higher education systems of the countries in the region have different (partly German, partly French) roots, the 40 years of Soviet influence proved to be a significant homogenising force, as a legacy of which significant co-movement can be seen in the countries of the region after the change of regime as well (*Reisz* [2003]).

Western higher education is also rooted in this phenomenon (*Neave* [2003] p.25)[44]. Meanwhile, however, it is forgotten that – as we have seen – academic freedom is increasingly conditional even in the West; namely, it cannot be taken for granted but has to be fought for (*Henkel* [2007] p.96). Therefore, the attitude towards the Humboldtian model in Western higher education is significantly different from that in Central- and Eastern-European higher education: "at the very moment higher education in Central Europe successfully called upon the ghost of von Humboldt to cast out the demons of Party and Nomenklatura, so their colleagues in the West were summoned to exorcise the spectre of the same gentleman, the better to assimilate Enterprise Culture, managerialism and the cash nexus into higher education" (*Neave* [2003] p.30) In other words: post-socialist countries are pursuing an idealised, perceived model (*Reisz* [2003]). It is understandably why Scott writes that "the Humboldtian university exists in a purer form east of the Elbe" (*Scott* [2006] p.438)

Meanwhile, in the economy and other spheres of society, the (neo)liberal approach was significantly prevalent, in which the role of the state was reassessed and self-sufficiency as well as the increasing role of market mechanisms were emphasised more. Rhetorically (e.g. through the concept of the entrepreneurial university) as well as in regulation (e.g. attempts at introducing the tuition fee, the reform of the management system or the appearance of alternative funding concepts), this tendency appeared in higher education as well; although, I believe, it was unable to secure a dominant position.

Thus, there is a specific ambivalent relation within the beliefs about the role of the state in higher education: the post-Soviet legacy implies the desire for institutional autonomy and the refusal of state intervention. However, institutional autonomy [45] also wants protection against the vulnerability of market relations, which, however, is provided by state regulation. Thus, in the Hungarian higher education, the desire for and refusal of a provident state (and state regulation) co-exist[46]. Paradoxically, the Humboldtian idea simultaneously becomes a "progressive" notion as well as one "preventing progress" as it can be considered to be the correction of the overcentralised Soviet model as well as the inhibitor of the (otherwise contradictorily judged) transformation processes taking place in Western-Europe facilitating a more significant social participation of institutions.

Thus, at first sight, four bigger narratives of Hungarian higher education seem to be evolving:

- the modernising-idealising-traditionalist Humboldtian narrative, which is equivalent with the community narrative;
- an anti-state, pragmatic Humboldtian (post-socialist) narrative, which is equivalent with the community logic rooted in anti-bureaucratism;

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[44] Here, I am not going to discuss the question of imitation; the behaviour when institutional systems and solutions are copied formally (for instance, for legitimacy reasons) but they are not actually used.

[45] Institutional autonomy itself is a concept with multiple meanings, which is interpreted in different ways in certain narratives. I am not attempting at the deconstruction of this here. About autonomy in detail, see e.g. the works of *Barakonyi* [2004b] or *Henkel* [2007].

[46] The role of the state in Western-European higher education is changing; however, there, the process is not rooted in the distrust of the state, as it is in post-socialist Central-European countries.

- a pro-state narrative rooted in the anti-market approach, which means a logic refusing the market and believing in the protective, regulatory and controlling role of the state (bureaucratic narrative), and finally,
- a pro-market logic, which urges the "emancipation" of institutions and their taking responsibility as well as the extension of their space for manoeuvre and business actions (entrepreneurial-corporate logic).

In practice, the co-existence of models and ideals as well as their incorporation in one another result in hybrid solutions such as the institution of "super-professorate". In the system of ranks and titles in higher education, to be appointed as a university professor requires a PhD, habilitation and, practically mandatorily, a doctorate from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In this respect, the Anglo-Saxon (PhD), the German (habilitation) and the Soviet-French (central assessment, HAS dominance) models, together with all of their hidden aims and meanings are simultaneously present in Hungary (*Nagy* [2007]).

5.3. The Simultaneity of Narratives and the Role of the Dean

What are the consequences of the diversity of narratives with regard to the dean's position? What is the relationship between the dean's behaviour and role and the narratives? To answer these questions, the commensurability of narratives as well as the dean's role in the manifestation of narratives are to be analysed.

With regard to the commensurability of narratives, I proceed from the fact that a certain narrative is a given, defined way of perceiving and interpreting a situation (such as the narratives listed in Chapter 3 are the interpretations of the transformation of higher education). As a consequence, along the various narratives, different conclusions can be drawn from the situation; thus, different decisions are made. Supporting faculty autonomy, for instance, may be interpreted as an ambition to preserve faculty influence or escaping central control and benchmarking (the narrative of the corporation-type university), the rational solution to preserve flexibility and adaptability (the narrative of the entrepreneurial university), the basis for sustaining the freedom of teaching and research as well as interest-neutrality (the narrative of the community of scholars) or a regulatory and authority-distributing solution, which is to be assessed on the basis of the aim of the organisation (bureaucratic narrative). With another example: sustaining a small educational prgramme may mean the protection of national science and expressing the commitment to academic freedom (the approach of the community of scholars), the successful protection of departmental or faculty interests (the corporation narrative), the trust that the major contributes to the long-term academic and economic advancement of the university (entrepreneurial university narrative) or simply compliance with the accreditation requirements (bureaucratic narrative).

Although the narratives are essentially different from each other, this does not necessarily mean that contradictory conclusions *must* be drawn in each case along the individual narratives. It may also happen that different narratives, although along *different logic*, draw the same conclusion in a given question (for instance, the matrix structure is used by both the entrepreneurial and the corporation-type university; however, from different considerations). This

allows for co-operation in case of different preconceptions; i.e. of narrative diversity. However, it also disguises the narrative diversity of universities as the majority of interactions is about the assessment of possible consequences (namely, about decisions and the solution of problems) and not the differences of preconceptions. The clarification of the latter rather takes place in case of permanent disagreement (and a persistent urge to compromise) or of a great degree of openness and reflective skills.

Thus, narratives do not exist independently of actors; rather, they are represented in actions. Thus, when deans make a decision or act, they fulfil a role in the interaction; however, they not only contribute to the reproduction and confirmation of the given role interpretation but to those of the narrative in question as well. For instance, through their decisions, utterances and arguments, deans assign significance to some topics (and others not). Thus, they also confirm one interpretation of the phenomenon in question. However, what topics the dean might find important (and what not) and what standpoint they have in the given question (and what not) are not of exclusive significance as it is also important how these actions take place (e.g. the dean takes the initiative or only reflects; consults, proposes or decides, etc.). Thus, their utterances influence what problems, why and how they have to consider at the university (what the narrative is) as well as what topics, why and how deans have to deal with (what the dean's role is).

Undoubtedly, the dean might be aware of the various interpretations of a given phenomenon; that is, narrative diversity is recognisable. *Decision*, however, (or the lack or postponing of decision as well as shifting it to others) is made along a certain interpretation; namely, through and by fulfilling the different roles, deans contribute to the solidification of a given narrative. It is at this point that the role indeed becomes a personal question: the confirmation of which thinking patterns and interpretational frameworks; that is, the birth of what sort of university does the dean contribute to? What sort of university do they themselves want? Finally, is it possible to make a different decision, fulfil a different role and by that, create a different university?

For the dean, the impossibility of commensurable narratives and the urge to decide result in not simply a complex but a constant, *supercomplex* situation seeking answers:

> „Complexity we may take to be that state of affairs in which the demands before one exceed the resources to meet them: consequently, one is faced with an overload of data, entities or clients. Such conditions can generate real challenge, and even stress, but they are in principle manageable, if only one had more resources. Supercomplexity, in contrast, arises under conditions of a conceptual overload: in short, supercomplexity is the outcome of a multiplicity of frameworks. […] Once we are inside a framework, the rules are more or less clear; the difficulty is that, in the modern world, we can no longer be sure as to which framework we are to inhabit" (*Barnett* [2000] p.415)

The difficulty of choosing between narratives lays in the fact that the criteria of rationality are themselves part of the interpretational framework; therefore, in their own right, all narratives are legitimate and rational. There is no universal criterion of rationality valid at all times, on the basis of which narratives could be selected.

An alternative may be to seek some compromise. Translating it to the dean's position, it means that the relationship between the dean's roles is not "either-or" but "as well as". The successful dean has to perform well not only in one role but they have to fulfil the role of the hero, the strategic player, the provider and the catalyst as well as other roles emerging in the

organisation simultaneously. Thus, the dean has to be able to think from the perspectives of the university and the faculty, of the people and systems together.

The difficulty of this task is that through roles, the dean also mediates narratives; namely, the harmonisation of roles requires the harmonisation and authentic mediation of *narratives incompatible with each other*. For instance, analysing the transformation of English higher education, Reed finds that

> „Our manager-academics, by-in-large, are very 'reluctant managers' who seem rather unwilling to fulfil the historical destiny that the ideology and practice of new managerialism has scripted for them. Rather than constituting the 'storm troopers' of a managerial revolution that will sweep away outmoded and inefficient organisational practices and recalcitrant professional producer-monopolies, they find themselves in the somewhat unenviable position of trying to hold together fundamentally incompatible imperatives of an 'ancient regime' that is badly damaged but will not die and a modernising ideology that is still only half-formed" (*Reed* [2001] p.175)

This reluctant behaviour is the result of the fact that the different roles of the dean – as it follows from the concept of the role – assume self-identical behaviour. Namely, compromise as logic requires deans to be themselves (in their own role) and something else (in another role) simultaneously. However, is this possible?

Decision-making is certainly influenced by the currently dominant narrative, which may orient the dean towards one role or another. If there is a strong dominant narrative, it makes the dean's decision easier, regardless of the fact whether their own role interpretation is compatible with that of the dominant narrative. If it is, the dean conforms to expectations. However, if the two are incompatible, it is still not the choice that is difficult but the fulfilment of the new role and its acknowledgment by others. The problem of choosing arises when there are several, similarly legitimate narratives. In this case, the dean indeed faces a supercomplex choice situation. I believe that, due to their transitory state, there is a greater possibility of this situation in post-socialist countries.

6. Deans in the Hungarian Higher Education System: Description of the Empirical Research

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the research design serving as the basis of the empirical analysis. For that, I am going to rely on Maxwell's "interactive research design model", which interprets the research plan not as a linear sequence of components but as a set of elements interconnected, and so, responding to each other (*Maxwell* [1996] p.5). The figure below gives an overview of the research design. The individual items of the figure are going to be discussed in the sub-chapters.

Figure 7: The Overview of Research Design

Purposes
Theoretical purpose: •Deepening the understanding with regard of the situation (and position) of deans   •Deepening the understanding of the internal world of higher education institutions, exploring the dominant Hungarian narratives and interpretations of deans' roles.   **Practical Purpose:**   •Providing a possibility for deans and for the Reader to reflect   **Personal Purpose:**   •Understanding higher education as my own life sphere. Promoting my own career.

Conceptual context

Symbolic interactionist approach of role theory
Higher education literature with regard to deans
Higher education literature with regard to philosophy, policy and management of higher education institutions
Management literature with regard to middle managers

Research question(s)

1. What role or roles do deans have in Hungarian higher education institutions?
2. How do deans perceive their own role as deans in Hungarian higher education institutions?

Research methods

Qualitative research methods
  Semi-structured interviews
  Observation
  Document analysis

Validity

Validity: Maximum variance method in sampling
Triangulation of methods, data sources and data types, self-reflection
Reliability: Transparent research process
Transparency: describing the sample in details, „thick description"

Source: *Maxwell* [1996] p.5 adapted

6.1. The Purposes of Research

Maxwell proposes the clarification of three purposes: research, practical and personal purposes (*Maxwell* [1996] p.15).

Research or theoretical purposes are aimed at the understanding of something; thus, they emphasise theoretical, conceptual novelty. What novel knowledge do we wish to acquire through the research?

The theoretical aim of the research is to gain insight into the internal sphere, operation, dilemmas and characteristic narratives of Hungarian **higher education institutions** since – in my opinion – empirical micro-sociological research exploring real institutional practice is missing from Hungarian higher-education research of the period following the change of regime (an exception is, for instance, *Hrubos* [2004a]). Within the current research, this goal is achievable by understanding the dean's specific position, situation and conflicts.

The research is aimed at the apprehension of the dean's roles. The purpose of the research is to fill the roles and narratives defined in the theoretical summary with living content via the interviews conducted; thus, provide a more in-depth interpretation of the abstract concepts deduced from the literature. As a result, within the framework of the research, I also examine where – at any rate, on the basis of the interviews conducted with members of the Hungarian higher education system – there are differences, interpretational difficulties, inaccuracies and dilemmas as compared to the role interpretations deduced from the literature; that is, the specification, deepening and, if necessary, reinterpretation of the original role concepts also become possible.

The research is not intended to be statistically representative. My aim is rather to explore and apprehend patterns which are largely characteristic of the diversity of the position on the one hand, and the questions and dilemmas generally arising in this position on the other hand. Thus, I am searching for typical patterns just as much as atypical ones.

The practical purposes of the research are aims which I intend to achieve with the help of the research. I am of the view that in Hungary, institutionalised mechanisms which would help pass on experience as well as the learning process and self-reflection of deans are missing. Therefore, "every academic manager has to build themselves from scratch", as János Setényi pointed out in a conference (*Setényi* [2008]). As far as I see it, the reason for this is not only the lack of organisations gathering deans and formalised trainings but also the lack of research about them. The research designed here intends to possibly counteract this deficiency in two ways. Firstly, through its results, the experience of deans is going to be accessible and possible to be experienced by other as well. Secondly, the research process itself is an opportunity in which deans may reflect on their own actions and operation. However, training deans is not a goal of the research; thus, it is not action research. Specifying this is significant primarily for the clarification of my role as a researcher (see later).

The personal purposes of the research can be demonstrated well by Tamás Kozma's remark saying "researching higher education is a »science« that is cultivated by those whom the research is about." (*Kozma* [2004] p.13) Thus, the personal aim of the research is that it is about me as well; namely, the sphere of higher education is not only a distant field of research but my

everyday living space. Therefore, during the research, I am going to aim at an understanding which may help me in my own personal life as well.

6.2. The Theoretical Framework of Research

The theoretical framework of the research is the symbolic-interactionist approach of role theory, which was discussed in detail in Chapter 2. The content nodes can be found in chapters 3-5 of the paper.

6.3. Research Questions

In the introduction of the dissertation, I have already listed two questions of the research, namely: What role or roles deans have in the institutions of higher education? How do deans perceive their own role as a dean in higher education institutions? The empirical analysis of these questions is going to take place in Hungarian higher education institutions; therefore, the questions of empirical research are the following:

1. **What role or roles do deans have in Hungarian higher education institutions?**
2. **How do deans perceive their own role as deans in Hungarian higher education institutions?**

Due to the lack of empirical sources related to the roles and experience of deans, the research is explorative research, the aim of which is to understand "deanship" and to deepen the concept of the dean's role. This is agrees with the logic of "grounded theory", in which theory (the dean's roles, the organisational incorporation and changes of roles) develops alongside empirical data collection (Glaser-Strauss [1967], cited in *Maxwell* [1996] p.33). Therefore, hypotheses are not going to be formulated in the course of research. Instead, I will try and elaborate on the research questions, "operationalise" them below; that is, divide them into categories along which the initial research questions may be apprehended at the level of everyday life. Thus, I am going to attempt to resolve the research questions by answering the following questions:

– What (role) expectations do deans face in the Hungarian higher education system?
- Who is elected dean? What formal and informal criteria do deans have to meet during the selection process?
- What expectations do the different actors have towards deans?
– What are the deans' own role interpretations? What does it mean to be a dean?
- Why and how one becomes a dean? What advantages and disadvantages of deanship are described? What adaptation strategies exist?

- What kind of managerial self-image do deans have? Which topics do they discuss extensively and which do they ignore? Who do they consider to be significant actors (who do they talk much about) and who do they not? What conflicts do they perceive of (moreover: what do they regard as conflicts)? How do deans reflect upon their role as middle-managers?
- What organisational narratives do deans have? What metaphors do they mention?

6.4. The Research Methods

Both the exploratory nature of the research and the symbolic-interactionalist approach selected as the theoretical framework justify predominantly the application of qualitative research techniques and data collection procedures. Accordingly, my primary data collection method is the semi-structured interview. However, the validity and reliability of the conclusions drawn from these interviews should be refined by gathering additional information (triangulation), which is provided by document analysis, observation as well as statistical data gathering in the current research.

6.4.1. Document Analysis, Statistical Data Gathering

On the one hand, I meant to establish the answers to the research questions introduced above from the general data gathered on deans and faculties. To understand the dean's formal position as well as the situation of faculties, I examined the higher education laws and significant regulations having been in effect since the change of regime; furthermore, in 2011-2012 I reviewed the Rules of Procedure of all state institutions as well as some of the employment statutes, and I analysed the institutional websites as well. Additional data were gathered in August 2010 and as a result, I systematised the most significant statistics of the 150 faculties and deans operating in Hungary, reviewed the faculty websites and analysed the deans' CVs.[47]

The document analysis and statistical data gathering were essential not only as supplementary methodologies but because they meant an important preparation for gathering data via conducting interviews.

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[47] The source of the data on the number of lecturers working in the faculty and that of the students was the 2008 higher education database of the Ministry of Education and Culture (Ministry of National Resources, NEFMI) (these were the latest available data at the time of data processing – in August 2010). I supplemented these with the data found on the websites of the individual faculties and in the documents available there. As for the deans, I used their data and CVs on the faculty and departmental websites on the one hand, and additional biographical data found in CVs available in other databases (the list of birth dates, for instance, was completed from the data on www.doktori.hu).
Further data gathering took place with regard to the faculties, during which the Rules of Procedure and organograms of the faculties were collected (I wish to thank Ákos Horváth for his help with this).

6.4.2. Semi-structured Interviews

The unit of analysis in the research is deanship; that is, the dean's position; the expectations associated with it (i.e. the roles) and their perception. The fundamental instrument of collecting related data is the semi-structured interview (*Kvale* [2005]), which is an appropriate means of apprehending characteristic role interpretations, the self-perception of the role and existing university narratives. In addition to the espoused theories, the analyses of the interviews allow for the exploration of less conscious theories-in-use and the observation of hidden meanings.

The primary sources of data should be the deans themselves; therefore, I used the interviews to be made with them as a basis for formulating the question of sample selection. In qualitative research, unlike in quantitative research, there is targeted (and not random) sampling so that the researcher is able to examine cases which are rich sources of information with regard to the subject of analysis (*Jones, Torres et al.* [2006] p.66). Thus, qualitative sampling can be described in the following way (*Miles – Huberman* [1994] p. 27.; *Gelei* [2002] p.169-170):
   – small sample and contextual embeddedness (as opposed to a large sample and disregarding the context);
   – intentionally, purposefully selected sample (as opposed to random sampling);
   – sample selected on the basis of theory (as opposed to representativity);
   – sample evolving continuously, step-by-step (as opposed to a pre-defined sample).

At the beginning of the interview-research (in June 2010), 150 deans were in charge in Hungarian higher education. During the sample selection process, I primarily intended to provide maximum variance (*Miles – Huberman* [1994] p. 28) since I believed that the analysis of deans being in significantly different life situations enabled the documentation of a variety of roles and experience while, at the same time, it also allowed for the identification of common patterns. However, I also took practical (convenience) aspects into consideration; namely, I contacted the deans of only a few, well-selected institutions in order to be able to conduct the interviews in a concentrated manner.

To ensure variance, I was determined to act upon the following considerations during the sample selection process:
   – the sample should represent diverse disciplinary backgrounds (see *Becher – Trowler* [2001], as well as everything written in the chapter on fragmentation),
   – interviewees from both universities and colleges should be involved (type of institution), both from within and outside the capital (place of institution),
   – deans of institutions operated by providers of public, church and private institutions should also be interviewed (provider),
   – to take into account the past of the institution; namely, the deans of newly founded and historic faculties as well as the ones undergoing the institutional integration process should be included in the sample,
   – since women are rather excluded from a career in higher education, my intention was to interview as many female deans as possible.
   – young and elderly deans may have been socialised in different ways, their motivational profiles may be dissimilar; therefore, I tried to include both young and elderly deans within the profile; and finally,

- I sought to include in the sample leaders filling their position for a long time as well as those being new to the profession.

Apart from the active deans of the selected institutions, I also contacted *former deans* who had completed their tenure the year before the research took place and who could provide their opinion from a different, more reflective position. The dean's role partners also contribute to the construction of the dean's role, out of these partners, I involved the *senior managers of higher education institutions* in the research. The purpose of conducting interviews with them was to better understand the institutional context and the expectations towards deans.

Eventually, I contacted 58 of all the deans and senior managers of 12 institutions via e-mail and attached a short, three-page long summary of the research topic to the message. I conducted interviews with 30 (incumbent, outgoing or future) deans and 8 senior managers of seven higher education institutions. Some of the senior managers had been deans before; however, I addressed them primarily in their role as senior managers. All the interviews but two were conducted at the interviewee's workplace, while in the other two cases, at Corvinus University of Budapest.

The interviews were carried out in three rounds: in July 2010, in November and December 2010, as well as in April and May 2011. In short, the distribution of interviewees was the following:

- The distribution of deans: 25 active deans, 3 former deans, 1 acting dean (vice-dean), 1 future dean. 21 interviewees were male, 9 were female.
- The distribution of active deans by age (at the time of the interview): above 60 years: 9 persons, between 51 and 60 years: 10 persons, 50 years or under: 5 persons (no data available on 1 person). By the length of tenure: 0–3 years: 6 persons, 4–6 years: 13 persons, more than 6 years: 6 persons.
- The distribution of interviewees addressed in their role as senior managers was the following: 1 rector, 1 former rector, 2 strategic vice-rector, 2 director-generals of finance, 1 deputy director-general of finance, 1 secretary-general. Among the 8 senior managers, one was female.
- The interviewees came from seven institutions; that is, 4 universities and 3 colleges. 25 interviewees worked at a university, 13 at a college.
- 9 interviews were conducted in institutions of Budapest, 29 in institutions outside the capital. It may be an interesting addition that approximately two-thirds of the potential interviewees contacted in Budapest refused to co-operate, while 90% of those from other settlements agreed to participate in the interview.
- The institutions involved in the study were all state institutions. I contacted one institution operated by a church and one run by a foundation but neither of them consented to be interviewed.
- The disciplinary distribution of the 30 faculties represented by the deans was the following: 8 faculties of business administration/social sciences, 5 technical/IT faculties, 2 faculties of agriculture, 2 faculties of science, 5 faculties of pedagogy, 3 faculties of arts, 2 faculties of law, 3 faculties of healthcare and medicine.

About the process of the interviews, in short: Before conducting the interview, I reviewed the institution's website, its institutional development plans, accreditation documentation, most significant statistics, the faculty council agendas and faculty newsletters (if they were available) as well as the accessible data on the dean (CV, list of publications). The aim was to have an image of the faculty's history, its relative significance and position within the institution, the trends affecting the faculty as well as topical issues. I summarised the most important characteristics and questions on one sheet for each faculty. I took notes during and after the interviews, in which I recorded the circumstances of the interview as well as my observations and impressions regarding the location and the interview.

I prepared a preliminary draft for the interviews (which I revised after the first round, for the revised version see the Annex), on the basis of which I planned the interviews to be 90-100 minutes long. In general, the deans were able to devote less time to the conversation. The average length of the interviews was 60-75 minutes. The shortest one took 35 minutes, the longest one three hours. Due to the limited time frame, certain topics I had originally intended to include were either less emphatic or were not addressed in all conversations. During the interviews, my aim was not to "run through" all the questions of the draft but to have the interviewee talk about the most significant areas. By asking a few general questions at the beginning of each interview, I tried to let the interviewee talk as much as possible, then, based on and referring back to what they had said, I moved the conversation on.

The majority of the interviewees were happy to answer my questions and seemed to be delighted to talk about their experience as a dean. Several of them noted that they had never been asked about this before. The conversations had a pleasant atmosphere and in numerous cases, the time frame originally agreed on at the beginning of the interview was either significantly exceeded or the interviewee continued talking about their experiences for long after the formal termination of the interview.

Establishing trust is crucial when conducting interview-based research. In order to achieve that, I ensured the following:

- I attached the three-page long summary of the aim and background of the research to my letter of request, which several interviewees did read.
- In my request, I indicated that anonymity would be ensured during the research; that is, I would use the interviews only in ways which would prevent any implication of the institution, the faculty or the interviewee.
- I informed all interviewees about the aim of the research and the use of results at the beginning of the interviews again.
- Albeit – having asked permission for it – I recorded all the interviews with a dictaphone, I offered to turn it off when more delicate matters were addressed, which several interviewees accepted.
- I also offered the interviewees to share the research results (the dissertation itself) with them.
- On one occasion, I was asked to report on which parts of the interview would be used; however, the reason for this was not the lack of trust but rather the interviewee's unfamiliarity with the interview method.

6.4.3. Methods of Data Gathering Planned but Not Applied

Although I had originally planned, no questionnaire survey was carried out in the research and apart from the senior managers, other representatives of the dean's role partners were not interviewed. One of the reasons for excluding these was that I did not intend to increase the amount of data gathered by conducting further interviews since I would not have been able to process the additional data in sufficient depth. Furthermore, the aim of the research was to deepen and refine the existing model within the Hungarian context, for which I felt the group of people interviewed was sufficient.

The option of conducting case studies had also been considered. In the end, I gave it up because I thought it was more important to interview deans working in various institutions or being in different positions (in order to achieve maximum variance) than explore the dean's roles more thoroughly in only one or two institutions. Eventually, this was also the reason for conducting 30 interviews instead of the 12-15 ones originally planned, since only these many conversations could ensure the diversity of the interviewees (and saturation point was reached at this number[48]). This also means that due to the research methodology, emphasis shifted on the deans' own interpretations of their roles and the organisation, the content of these interpretations and not the expectations of other actors. I tried to counterbalance this shift with a more detailed analysis of the institutions and practices regulating deanship as well as the interviews with senior managers.

6.4.4. Analysis of Data

The approximately 44 hours of audio material had been transcribed verbatim, the volume of the transcription was 700 pages (approximately 2 million characters[49]). During the course of the transcription, the interviewee's longer pauses, emotional expressions (such as laughter) and gap fillers (such as "erm") were also recorded in order to reconstruct the situation as accurately as possible.

The processing of the interviews was carried out in several rounds, using the Nvivo software. In the first round, I had coded 4–5 interviews applying the open coding method (*Strauss – Corbin* [1990]); based on this and the original interview questions and role models, I created a fixed, hierarchical code system (this can be found in the annex). All the interviews were coded with this system. Afterwards, in light of the experience gained, I revised the code system and recoded the interviews where necessary. The analyses were implemented on the basis of the recoded interviews.

During the course of the analysis, I tried to identify the topics appearing in several interviews and on the basis of these; I attempted to formulate new dilemmas and typologies. In addition, I attempted to define how each interviewee may be related to the initial role models introduced in Chapter 4.3.3; namely, I searched for utterances in the interviews which would assign the role of the hero, the provider, the catalyst or the strategic player to the dean in

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[48] The theoretical saturation point represents a sample selection strategy which searches for newer and newer subjects until there is no more new, significant information and samples are repeated (Strauss 1987, cited in *Maxwell* [1996] p.133).

[49] I would like to thank Virág Ladencsics for typing the text of the interviews.

question. By doing so, I not only put the model established by the overview of the literature into context but managed to redefine some of its elements as well.

In order to increase the credibility of the research, I will support and demonstrate the interpretations and patterns emerged with the interviewees' own words when describing the results. For the sake of enhanced readability and due to my commitment to ensuring anonymity, the quoted interview sections were edited. I omitted or changed the parts breaching anonymity and excluded the laxities and repetitions of live talk. However, I was careful not to change the meaning of the interviews during editing on all occasions.

Since I promised the interviewees anonymity, I will not indicate the characteristics of either the institution or the interviewee which would betray them when quoting the interviews. I assigned codes to the interviewees; the quotes from deans are marked by the code "D", the ones from senior managers by the code "F", and an identification number each.

6.5. The Validity, Reliability and Generalisability of Research

As with each research, the criteria of the "goodness of research" are supposed to be clarified in the case of qualitative research as well. Traditional, positivist researches apprehend and ensure the scientific nature of research results by the categories of validity, reliability and generalisability. However, the symbolic-interactionist (interpretative) approach reinterprets these concepts in accordance with its own methodology (see Table 11).

Table 11: The Interpretations of Validity, Reliability and Generalisability

	Traditional/Positivist Approach	Interpretative/Qualitative Approach
Validity	Does the measurement instrument measure what it is supposed to measure?	Has the researcher explored and familiarised themselves with local knowledge and meanings to the greatest possible extent?
Reliability	Would measurement results be the same on other occasions as well (on condition of the invariability of the "subject" of analysis)?	Would other researchers at other times have the same observations?
Generalisability	What is the (statistical) probability of the identified attributes of the sample being valid for the broader population as well?	To what extent is it probable that the observations and theories resulting from the context are applicable to other contexts as well?

Source: Easterby-Smith et al., [1993], cited in *Gelei* [2002] p.189

Validity – which may also be called authenticity, credibility and internal generalisation (see *Miles – Huberman* [1994]) – is basically "the correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation, or other sort of account" (*Maxwell* [1996] p.87.). Validity

may be difficult for two reasons: on the one hand, the distorting and non-reflected subjectivity (bias) of the researcher and, on the other hand, the unconscious, unintentional influence of the researcher on the field (for instance, they may provoke an urge to please on the interviewee's part). However, the researcher's preconceptions and their influence on the field are part of each research process; therefore, their elimination is impossible. Instead, the researcher must become aware of them, which requires constant self-reflection on their part (*Gelei* [2002]). It is important to note that empirical research is conducted in a filed that is part of my everyday life as a lecturer, researcher and administrator. On the one hand, this is advantageous as I possess deeper knowledge of the Hungarian higher education system than of another research field. However, it is also probable that I have numerous latent, unconscious preconceptions about the operation of the higher education system, which influence the interpretation of data and thus, the validity of the research. To eliminate distorting subjectivity, a technique of some sort facilitating self-reflection is to be applied, which is going to enable me to explore and become aware of my own preconceptions before and during the research as well. To this end, I kept a research journal (*Gelei* [2002]); namely, I continuously recorded my reflections during the course of the research and the analysis of data.

Distorting effects may be eliminated by further methods as well, from which I applied the following (*Maxwell* [1996]; see also *Miles – Huberman* [1994] p.266):

    – Consciously seeking controversial data and cases, which can reduce the possibility of drawing unsupported conclusions.

    – Triangulation. Collecting various data with different methods and from different sources with regard to each phenomenon (statistical data, document analysis, interview as well as the utterances of deans and senior managers).

As a further method confirming validity, Maxwell also mentions collecting and analysing rich data, for instance, to work with interview scripts instead of merely using notes (I did so) as well as creating "quasi-statistics", with the help of which the frequency of events and observed phenomena are analysable (I am going to refer to these again later). This may also facilitate drawing valid conclusions.

Reliability refers to the extent to which the research process is consistent and stable in time and among researchers (whether researchers working later or parallel with us will have the same findings). Transparent and (theoretically) reproducible research as well as its necessary components such as the clarified role and status of the researcher, the unambiguity of applied instruments and paradigms as well as the clarity of the research question enhance reliability. In addition, large-scale data collection may also help (*Miles – Huberman* [1994] p. 278.; *Bokor* [2000]; *Gelei* [2002]). It is important to indicate that the reliability of my research is weakened by the partial lack of transparency caused by the anonymity ensured for the interviewees.

Generalisability is seeking answer to the question to what extent the experience gained from the research may apply beyond the direct context of the analysis. Generalisability may be relevant within the analysed group (internal generalisability) or a more general population (external generalisability). Qualitative research focuses primarily on the former one (*Maxwell* [1996]). In this research, I intended to ensure the effective generalisability of results to the Hungarian higher education system by applying the maximum variance sample selection method. I believe that to a limited extent, the results may be generalised to middle managers as well.

In addition, generalisability may be enhanced by, for instance, the detailed introduction of the attributes of the sample (see later the analysis of statistical data) so that they are comparable with the samples of other analyses. As a further means of enhancing generalisability, I intend to support the dean's role interpretations, dilemmas and conflicts with "dense descriptions", on the basis of which the reader may identify the conditions identical with his/her own situation. This is also an indispensable prerequisite for the practical purpose of the research; that is, that it should facilitate the self-reflection of deans and other actors of higher education. The description of processes and their results as well as making the generalisable theory (theories) explicit also contribute to the possibility of generalisability (*Miles – Huberman* [1994]; *Bokor* [2000]).

7. The context: the transformation of the Hungarian higher education system

In this chapter I give a broad overview of the post-regime change transformation of the Hungarian higher education system, primarily from the deans and faculties' points of view. Although in case of a completely interpretative research, even the context should be introduced from an internal point of view (in the interviewees' words and from their perspectives), I analyse the factors considered important dominantly from an external point of view; namely, on the basis of the literature, statistically gathered data and other interviews. The reason for this is that the part of the research relying on the interviews was not aimed at the examination of the broader context; therefore, the points of view gained from these are considerably fragmented. However, in order to have a general image of the context of the deans' operation on the one hand and to be able to determine the relevance of the questions related to the Hungarian higher education system on the other hand, I considered it necessary to introduce the broader (system-level) and narrower (institutional-level) contextual elements responsible for the situation of the faculties as well as the trends characteristic of them. The analysis covers the period between 1985 and 2011, with special regard to the situation at the time of conducting the interviews, in 2010 and 2011. I refer to the post-2011 period in the analysis only tangentially. I will introduce the changes along the following four categories: the contradictions of the relationship between the state and the higher education system, massification, the transformation of the system of higher education institutions and the institutional structure as well as the changes of management and financial concerns.

7.1. The Transformation of the Relationship between the State and the Higher Education System

In the interviews, in the unanimous opinion of the deans and senior managers, the context of higher education was characterised by the malleability and unpredictability of the regulation.

> "The higher education system has been under constant reform for 20 years now. As I see it, it should be left alone for a while, although it's only my opinion. (the interviewee is smiling) It might be of more use to society than its perpetual transformation. But now once more, which is going to rewrite the map of competition again, we'll have to be very sensible there." (D26)

> "And what is worse, it does not only change but in a sense, legal certainty is no longer ensured due to the fact that laws are beginning to have retroactive effect. So this has been going on for years. To me, the most astonishing was: the first sign of the possibility that serious problems might emerge was when we changed the taxation legislation and rules were changed within the year, or they were changed at government level. Within one year. So the way I started to pay taxes at the beginning of the year was different from how the end-of-the-year accounting had to

be completed. I can't imagine anything worse than that, I have to admit. So, this undermines people's faith in legal certainty." (D15)

"It's not easy since practically this constant change since the 1990s… so, it's always a race against time. […] we would need the kind of (short pause) stability that now, now for 4 years or so, we could know what is going to happen. Thus, there may have been too many changes for me and this is why I have this kind of need." (D5)

"Another thing is that the macro-environment is impossible to follow. So the constant changing of the rules of the game. The whole thing is not simply very exhausting to follow, but absolutely, it's not fair. Is it? Look, then you say: why should I take part in a game which is not fair? Well… So, this is very, very boring when you are forced into a process of such constant adaptation. Which you either live up to or not. You try to live up to it to the best of your knowledge. But it's difficult, well, difficult to live up to it." (D10)

"Now we're terrified, of course, what the higher education legislation will be, so what the chiefs up there are going to say. So, what he's going to do with us there. Integrate, split, divide, collect, gather, well, it's doing immense harm if he changes this, for example. But of course, the world's like that, it's constantly changing. But we would need some rest in this once. So, some 10 years of quietness. Wouldn't we?" (F7)

The dominance of this perspective is not surprising if we consider that the interviews were conducted in 2010 and 2011, when the new educational government were beginning their term and brainstorming about the higher education policy. However, it is also true that between 1990 and 2011, for instance, Hungary had four substantially different higher education laws, which were supplemented by numerous legislative amendments and government decrees.

One possible reason for the continuous change is one of the defining attributes of Central- and Eastern-European countries: congestion. Following the change of regime, all the processes having taken place gradually, in 20-30 years in developed Western countries commenced at the same time in post-socialist countries. It is noticeable in Hungary as well that the massification of higher education, the attempts at the reform of funding and management, the transformation of the educational structure, etc. took place simultaneously. (*Fábri* [2004]; *Semjén* [2004]; *Derényi* [2009]; *Polónyi* [2009]) These processes occurred within the considerably unstable legal and normative frameworks of the change of the socio-economic regime, as a result of which there was no real possibility of a consistent implementation of mature higher education concepts. Thus, although changes occurred fast in the regulatory context (and often altered), in practice, already familiar solutions are proved to be dominant. The adjustment of the different elements of the higher education system has not yet taken place.

As a consequence, numerous higher education narratives co-exist simultaneously in the public discourse. One of them is the extensive reinvigoration of Humboldtian ideals (which may be regarded as equivalent with the community narrative). Referring to this, Scott aptly said that "so even after Communism ceased to exist, it continued to promote homogeneity" (*Scott* [2006] p.430) Although the higher education systems of the countries in the region have different (partly German, partly French) roots, the 40 years of Soviet influence proved to be a significant homogenising force, as a legacy of which significant co-movement can be seen in the countries of the region after the change of regime as well (*Reisz* [2003]).

The Humboldtian ideal places the freedom (and unity) of education and research in its centre, which is provided by the state through guaranteeing the autonomy and academic freedom of higher education institutions. As these – in the social sciences in particular – were highly limited under the communist regime, the fulfilment of the Humboldtian ideal meant the

transcendence of the Soviet model and in many countries – in Hungary as well –, the return to the national model.

However, the legitimacy of the Humboldtian model is not only based on these two factors but also on the fact that Western-European universities have mostly been identified with this model. The belief that the institutionalisation of the autonomy and independence of the university guarantees the modernisation of Central-European universities and their approximating Western higher education is also rooted in this phenomenon (*Neave* [2003] p.25)[50]. Meanwhile, however, it is forgotten that – as we have seen – academic freedom is increasingly conditional even in the West; namely, it cannot be taken for granted but has to be fought for (*Henkel* [2007] p.96). Therefore, the attitude towards the Humboldtian model in Western higher education is significantly different from that in Central- and Eastern-European higher education: "at the very moment higher education in Central Europe successfully called upon the ghost of von Humboldt to cast out the demons of Party and Nomenklatura, so their colleagues in the West were summoned to exorcise the spectre of the same gentleman, the better to assimilate Enterprise Culture, managerialism and the cash nexus into higher education" (*Neave* [2003] p.30) In other words: post-socialist countries are pursuing an idealised, perceived model (*Reisz* [2003]). It is understandably why Scott writes that "the Humboldtian university exists in a purer form east of the Elbe" (*Scott* [2006] p.438).

Meanwhile, in the economy and other spheres of society, the (neo)liberal approach was significantly prevalent, in which the role of the state was reassessed and self-sufficiency as well as the increasing role of market mechanisms were emphasised more. Rhetorically (e.g. through the concept of the entrepreneurial university) as well as in regulation (e.g. attempts at introducing the tuition fee, the reform of the management system or the appearance of alternative funding concepts), this tendency appeared in higher education as well; although, I believe, it was unable to secure a dominant position.

Thus, there is a specific ambivalent relation within the beliefs about the role of the state in higher education: the post-Soviet legacy implies the desire for institutional autonomy and the refusal of state intervention. However, institutional autonomy[51] also wants protection against the vulnerability of market relations, which, however, is provided by state regulation. Thus, in the Hungarian higher education, the desire for and refusal of a provident state (and state regulation) co-exist[52]. Paradoxically, the Humboldtian idea simultaneously becomes a "progressive" notion as well as one "preventing progress" as it can be considered to be the correction of the overcentralised Soviet model as well as the inhibitor of the (otherwise contradictorily judged) transformation processes taking place in Western-Europe facilitating a more significant social participation of institutions.

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[50] Here, I am not going to discuss the question of imitation; the behaviour when institutional systems and solutions are copied formally (for instance, for legitimacy reasons) but they are not actually used.

[51] Institutional autonomy itself is a concept with multiple meanings, which is interpreted in different ways in certain narratives. I am not attempting at the deconstruction of this here. About autonomy in detail, see e.g. the works of *Barakonyi* [2004b] or *Henkel* [2007].

[52] The role of the state in Western-European higher education is changing; however, there, the process is not rooted in the distrust of the state, as it is in post-socialist Central-European countries.

Thus, at first sight, four bigger narratives of Hungarian higher education seem to be evolving:

– the modernising-idealising-traditionalist Humboldtian narrative, which is equivalent with the community narrative. This is reflected well by the Constitutional Court's explanatory statement about the unconstitutionality of the sections of the higher education law of 2005 on establishing the Financial Board[53]. According to this, it is against the freedom of education and research if such a board has the authority to decide on the institutional strategy, and such freedom may only be ensured through a body elected via the local government and from institutional members.[54]

– an anti-state, pragmatic Humboldtian (post-socialist) narrative, which is equivalent with the community logic rooted in anti-bureaucratism. This means that the state is unable to make as suitable decisions in a bureaucratic way as the institutions experiencing the consequences of the decisions are.

– a pro-state narrative rooted in the anti-market approach, which means a logic refusing the market and believing in the protective, regulatory and controlling role of the state (bureaucratic narrative). This is demonstrated by the research in which the processes of strategic planning of higher education institutions were examined on the basis of interviews with managers (e.g. vice rectors) in charge of strategy-making. One of the research questions referred to the examination of what should be changed in the strategy-making process. A group of the interviewees thought that *"a strategic system and its supervision should be centrally developed. As a result, the institutions would receive substantial support and they would not only be able to refer to their own expectations but they would see much better their weaknesses and success and strengths in relation to other institutions as well. (Lévai* [2011] p. 99).

– a pro-market logic, which urges the "emancipation" of institutions and their taking responsibility as well as the extension of their space for manoeuvre and business actions (entrepreneurial-corporate logic).

In practice, the co-existence of models and ideals as well as their incorporation in one another result in hybrid solutions such as the institution of "super-professorate". In the system of ranks and titles in higher education, to be appointed as a university professor requires a PhD, habilitation and, practically mandatorily, a doctorate from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (*Polónyi* [2006]). In this respect, the Anglo-Saxon (PhD), the German (habilitation) and the Soviet-French (central assessment, HAS dominance) models, together with all of their hidden aims and meanings are simultaneously present in Hungary (*Reszkető – Váradi* [2002]; *Nagy* [2007]).

A significant problem is that a more or less consensual vision about the social role and function of higher education is missing; thus, the content requirements which can be defined for higher education and represented and accounted for by the government are also non-existent. In

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[53] The members of the Management Board are not employed by the university, who are delegated by the university, the students and the educational government in a way that the members delegated by the educational government are in minority. (The rector is also a member.)

[54] Constitutional Court ruling 39/2006. (IX. 27.) . For its detailed review, see *Barakonyi* [2009a], *Barakonyi* [2009b].

light of the ideological control of the former regime, government control and interference undoubtedly become delicate matters; therefore, certain passivity in this respect is not coincidental. However, the higher education system itself did not do much to define, communicate and start a public discussion on these (*Fábri* [2011]). With the lack of consensual beliefs embraced by succeeding governments and agreed on together with the actors of the higher education system, the government's activity may entail the following two forms of behaviour: government control may either become micromanagement, or it is manifested and made meaningful in operative tasks, during which reporting becomes bureaucratic and strategic control is missing. In the latter case, the government applied a passive policy focusing on operative functioning and the system of criteria; that is, the institutions may as well have followed their own strategies. However, this was not so much an obligation but a possibility: neither the context, nor the regulation made it necessary. Exploiting the opportunity was largely up to the institutions.

7.2. The Expansion of Higher Education and its Effect on Faculties

Following the change of regime, one of the major changes in the Hungarian higher education system was the growth of the mass of students, and, as a consequence, the needs and the educational programmes on offer became more heterogeneous.

The number of students in the Hungarian higher education system has quadrupled since 1990, which is primarily due to the growing popularity of "atypical" (mostly evening and correspondence) forms of training, and to a lesser extent to the growth occurring in full-time education. After the introduction of the fee-paying form of training (which was called euphemistically called the "cost-covering" form), the number of fee-paying students increased as well and they could be accounted for half of number of students by the middle of the 2000s. However, following a reversal of trend in 2004–2006, not only the number of fee-paying students started to decline but that of all students entering higher education, which is expected to decrease further in the following years due to the demographic downturn.

At the same time, the institutions and faculties faced a unique pedagogic-methodological as well as capacity-related challenge, since the lecturer capacities changed only little after the increase in demand, which is indicated well by the fact that the number of lecturers went up only by 30% in this period (concerning mostly the part-time staff of lecturers), and the cost per student decreased significantly (*OECD* [2011]).[55] In the words of one of the deans:

> "And to top it all, training methodologies for elite education fail at 700 students. We saw this even at 250, it became 700 gradually, not all at once. At 750, it became clear that we could not go on the way used to, we have to forget those methods, a methodology of mass education should be developed. I have to say that the methodology of mass education still doesn't exist. But it can't be created overnight. Therefore, we have to be very critical about the decision that

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[55] The picture is more detailed if we take into account that the statistics disregard "outside lecturers"; that is, student workforce, demonstrators and PhD students as well as the lecturers regularly invited or participating from the outside, who, however, played a significant part in providing the necessary lecturer-capacity in certain disciplines and institutions. This suggests that the heterogeneity of the pool of lecturers also increased in the examined period.

with the stroke of a pen, we switched to it [viz. the Bologna training system], the whole country, from one year to the next. Many problems originate from this, not only in our discipline. In other disciplines, too, that the lecturers were not given the opportunity to adjust their methods to the new situation. And this generated rather serious tasks and problems at the managerial level as well. Not only at the dean's level, but the whole university." (D15)

Table 12: The Changes of the Number of Students and Lecturers in Hungarian Higher Education between 1990 and 2010.

Year	Total number of students (thousand)	From this: the number of fee-paying students(thousand)	Rate of fee-paying students (%)	Number of lecturers (thousand)
1990–1991	108.7			17.3
1991–1992	119.3			17.5
1992–1993	136.0			17.7
1993–1994	157.4			18.7
1994–1995	179.5			19.1
1995–1996	198.9	27.9	14.0%	18.1
1996–1997	233.7	37.4	16.0%	19.3
1997–1998	258.1	49.9	19.3%	19.7
1998–1999	278.6	60.9	21.9%	21.3
1999–2000	294.0	79.4	27.0%	21.2
2000–2001	327.3	136.5	41.7%	22.9
2001–2002	349.3	157.1	45.0%	22.9
2002–2003	381.6	184.0	48.2%	23.2
2003–2004	409.1	202.8	49.6%	23.3
2004–2005	421.5	211.4	50.1%	23.8
2005–2006	424.2	207.7	49.0%	23.2
2006–2007	416.3	197.6	47.5%	22.1
2007–2008	397.7	185.3	46.6%	22.4
2008–2009	381.0	169.3	44.4%	22.5
2009–2010	370.3	156.3	42.2%	21.9

Source: Statistics of NEFMI, *Polónyi* [2009b]

The increase in the rate of students entering higher education also resulted that the student population became more heterogeneous in terms of their abilities, previous knowledge and backgrounds. In particular, the interviewees having had a long career as lecturers and leaders mentioned that the motivations of students had altered significantly.

"So, in time, these [viz. work camps] and the trips, the trips compulsory in every term, that, that we got a bus from the school, we had to organise the programme, it included a compulsory factory visit, which, anyway, if it was good, was even useful, simply disappeared. But those other two days had community-building power as well. And this no longer exists. Thus, on the one hand, the institutional context has changed and probably, whether it is related or anyway, because, because the social context is different as well. The atmosphere characteristic of these teacher-student relationships has changed, the students stated that they had had enough of the humiliation a supervisor means. Because they don't need to be disciplined. Of course they do. Because they are adults, of course, yes, by law, they are. You can tell." (D12)

"(…) in the past, if a student got accepted, they could simply feel honoured to be admitted to this institution. (…) now students feel that they have a natural right for this or that service, this or that quality and so on. And if, just in case, they don't like it, they can obviously go to court (…),

so this is a completely different situation, as if they were using a service; so they obviously have prerogatives. So I think, you can't compare the two periods." (D28)

With the increase in demand, the training programmes on offer also changed significantly. The new students reorganised the relative weight of the different areas of education in favour of the training programmes in social sciences and business, which was also resulted by the fact that a growing number of institutions started to offer trainings in these fields. For instance, the business and management basic degree programme was offered in some form by 29 institutions in 2009, while 8 institutions advertised the undivided training programme for lawyers[56]. The diversity of training programmes also increased. On the one hand, new forms of training appeared such as higher-level vocational training, specialized postgraduate education and PhD programmes, and on the other hand, the number of different training programmes available at the individual levels also increased, which caused regularly recurring concerns about the "proliferation of programmes" at the turn of the millennium.

The growth of the number of students and the training programmes offered facilitated the increase in the number of faculties. One of the senior managers interviewed explained the creation of new faculties the following way:

> "One thing is that the growing number of students within one institution makes it difficult to manage either the operation or academic processes. The other thing is that the profile started to be substantially differentiated, since new trainings were introduced in the institution that hadn't existed before in the institution." (F3)

At the time of the 2005 introduction of the Bologna-system, the proliferation of training programmes[57] was attempted to be reduced by the administrative restriction of the number of basic-degree programmes as well as the standardisation of training programmes (see e.g. *Ministry of Education* [2003] p. 22); however, this proliferation seems to be reappearing among master's degree programmes (see *Derényi* [2009]). At the same time, standardisation efforts rearranged faculty co-operations within the institution in a unique way, since the content of the new educational programmes was developed in consortiums for fields of training, the decisions of which were to be observed by the institutions with the ambition to launch the relevant programme. In most cases, separate faculties represented the different disciplines or training programmes within the institution, thus, faculties with a similar profile sought compromises in favour of their interests during the negotiation process. There seemed to be little opportunity in the process for institution-specific interfaculty cooperations established within one institution to be brought to a universally applicable (and binding) level within the training programme. Namely, the decision-making process of the consortium did not support that subjects beyond the boundaries of the disciplines represented by the members of the consortium become integral elements of the training programme – simply because this could not be implemented in institutions in institutions

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[56] Ont he basis of www.felvi.hu data

[57] During the process, the three-year college training and the five-year university training was transformed into a superimposed, multi-cycle training system, in which the three-year basic-degree training is followed by a two-year master's degree training (this is supplemented with further types of training such as higher-level vocational training and the PhD programme.

which ara unable to teach a subject . As a result, the inter-faculty co-operations within the institutions weakened. This was further aggravated by the stricter system of criteria for the accreditation of interdisciplinary programmes; that is, such training programmes must acquire the approval of two disciplinary committees of the Hungarian Accreditation Committee – which is comprised mostly of the representatives of higher education institutions –, thus, the potential prejudice to interest caused by the training (namely, the likelihood of refusal) was also higher. All this also strengthened the faculties' attitude to opt for self-sufficiency and the conviction that the training is provided by the faculty, not the institution.

Another consequence of the introduction of the Bologna-system often mentioned in the interviews was that education organisation had become even more complex. This was due to the co-existence of dual and multi-cycle training programmes and the difficulties of their administrative management[58], as one of the interviewees also referred to it:

> "And we have been carrying a lot of transitions. We are sending out the students from the former training system, the new ones are already here and it's possible that in two years this, this, this whole thing starts again. […] And this [takes] a lot of energy unnecessarily." (D5)

The Bologna-system also promoted the increase in competition, since the transition to the multi-cycle training system enabled colleges to enter the field of master's and PhD programmes, which opportunity was seized by numerous colleges (in the field of teachers' training, business administration and social sciences, in particular). Hence, the administrative difference between colleges and universities disappeared, and the road to becoming universities opened up for colleges.

The competition between institutions was also enhanced by the rankings spreading simultaneously with the standardization of training programmes. Numerous weeklies compiled their own rankings[59], which set the rankings of institutions, faculties or educational programmes/fields of trainings. All of them are characterised by featuring input variables (such as the number of certified lecturers) and subjective variables (e.g. students' opinion) and put little emphasis on the output variables (e.g. placement data). However, based on the interviews with deans, the significance of rankings is limited – they were mentioned only in a few as reference points and a criterion for success.

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[58] This is enhanced by the increasing rate of foreign-language trainings experienced in some institutions. It is enough to consider that the supervision and administration of foreign-language programmes is characteristically not integrated in the education management processes of the Hungarian-language training programmes of the institution, but new managers and organisational units are established parallel with them.
[59] From HVG, Népszabadság, Heti Válasz, as well as felvi.hu.

7.3. The Changes of the System of Higher Education Institutions and the Structures of Institutions

7.3.1. The Changes of the Number and Some Attributes of Faculties

Simultaneously with the growth of the number of students, the institutional system was transformed as well. The number of institutions gradually increased since at the beginning of the 1990s, the foundation of state and church-owned institutions were made possible (the majority of these are small, independent institutions which do not have a faculty structure.) Non-state institutions generated competition for state institutions primarily in training areas such as business, law and social sciences. In spite of that, the number of students participating in fee-paying higher education remained considerably low (around 12–13%). At the same time, however, the number of state institutions decreased significantly due to the 1999 integration process.

Some changes occurred in the faculty structure as well. A growth in the number of faculties is a well-perceivable trend represented clearly by the fact that the number of faculties and institutes functioning as faculties increased significantly (from 66 to 135) between 1987 and 2009. Obviously, one reason for the rise is the institutional integration process (see later in detail), within the framework of which previously independent institutions were incorporated into others as faculties. However, the spontaneous growth of the number of faculties is also significant, which is apparent from the fact that the total number of faculties, institutes functioning as faculties as well as independent universities and colleges potentially considered to be faculties in the integration process was 96 in 1987, while the same number was 144 in 2009 (taking into account only state institutions). Thus, the spontaneous (not integration-related) growth of the number of faculties was also significant. New faculties were established particularly actively by the University of Debrecen, Eötvös Loránd University, Szent István University, the University of Kaposvár and some colleges (Berzsenyi Dániel College, Eszterházy Károly College, Károly Róbert College). In numerous cases, the new faculties were established by seceding from larger faculties; however, occasional "greenfield investments" took place as well. The closure of faculties is very rare, but not unheard of (Zrínyi Miklós University of National Defence).

In addition to the integration process, the factors stimulating the foundation of faculties include the simplification of the criteria for the foundation of faculties, maintaining controllability even with the increasing number of students and training programmes, strategic considerations (entering new training areas, brand-building considerations and career-management aspects) as well as the individual ambitions of significant lecturers.

Although my experience suggests that the faculty structure is also dominant in Western higher education systems, the results of the small number of empirical research show that the trend is exactly the opposite of the one in Hungary: concentration, the establishment of a small number of faculties with a more comprehensible disciplinary feature is more frequent (see e.g.: *Taylor* [2006]).[60]

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[60] The fact that the function of faculties may also change will not be discussed here. For instance, the basic faculty-department distinction may be replaced by a matrix-type, institution-project-type structure, in which the faculty level

The other essential trend affecting faculties is the change of their size. The number of students per faculty and independent institution increased from 866 to 2245 students; this means that a faculty in 2009 was responsible for the attendance and administration of a mass of students almost three times as large as in 1987. Naturally, this is related to the increase in the number of students entering higher education discussed above. However, the number of lecturers and researchers increased only by 30% during this period; therefore, faculties became more fragmented in terms of the number of lecturers: while in 1987, 175 lecturers worked at a faculty or an institute functioning as a faculty, this number was merely 127 in 2009. (For the operationalisation of the number of lecturers, see the note of Table 13.)

All in all, the number of faculties increased significantly in the years following the change of regime, and the number of institutions with a faculty structure also grew. Hereunder, I am going to analyse the reasons for this: the legislative regulation of the operation of faculties, the consequences of the institutional integration process, the effects of the funding system and the consequences of the Bologna system in more detail.

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can be found; however, it has a different role, for instance, the content supervision and regulation of programmes do not belong under their authority (for a more detailed description see Drótos 2009).

Table 13: The Changes of the Number and Size of Faculties between 1987 and 2009

	1987			1997									2009								
	Institutions maintained by the state			Institutions maintained by the state			Institutions maintained by the Church			Institutions maintained by foundations			Institutions maintained by the state			Institutions maintained by the Church			Institutions maintained by foundations		
	Pcs	Average nr of studts	Average nr of lectrs	pcs	Average nr of studts	Average Nr of lectrs	pcs	Average nr of studts	Average Nr of lectrs	pcs	Average nr of studts	Average Nr of lectrs	pcs	Average nr of studts	Average Nr of lectrs	pcs	Average nr of studts	Average Nr of lectrs	pcs	Average nr of studts	Average Nr of lectrs
University without faculties	2	603	157	2	1212	114	3	182	34	0			4	649	177	3	185	50	2	275	79
University with a faculty structure	17			19			2			0			14			2			0		
number of university faculties	42	1008	229	49	1985	205	5	1102	108	0			106	2229	131	9	1482	127	0		
number of college faculties	10	645	71	22	1375	108	0			0									0		
number of institutes attached to universities	2			10	1166	54	0			0			7	533	65	0			0		
outplaced sections of universities/university	4			0			0			0			0			0			0		
PhD schools (indicated as independent	0			0			0			0			5			0			0		
number of institutes attached to college	0			3	292	38							0								
College without faculties, independent institute	28	1167	118	33	2074	124	24	284	34	6	2891	245	5	2430	129	20	382	45	13	2102	126
outplaced sections of colleges/college faculties	5																				
Colleges with a faculty or institute structure	7	1387	190	2	2660	283	0			0			6			0			0		
number of faculties	0			0	0	0	0			0			22	2864	90	0			0		
number of institutes attached to	12	722	92	8	665	141	0			0			0			0			0		
Outplaced sections of colleges/college faculties	8																				

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	1987			1997									2009								
	Institutions maintained by the state			Institutions maintained by the state			Institutions maintained by the Church			Institutions maintained by foundations			Institutions maintained by the state			Institutions maintained by the Church			Institutions maintained by foundations		
	Pcs	Average nr of studts	Average nr of lectrs	pcs	Average nr of studts	Average Nr of lectrs	pcs	Average nr of studts	Average Nr of lectrs	pcs	Average nr of studts	Average Nr of lectrs	pcs	Average nr of studts	Average Nr of lectrs	pcs	Average nr of studts	Average Nr of lectrs	pcs	Average nr of studts	Average Nr of lectrs
Total number of institutions	54	1834	283	56	3638	300	29	226	49	6	2891	245	29	11066	619	25	861	88	15	1859	119
Total number of institutions without faculties + faculties +	96	1048	169	124	1703	151	32	406	46	6	2891	245	144	2207	122	32	673	68	15	1859	119
Total number of faculties and independent institutes	66	866	175	92	1586	166	5	1102	108	0			135	2245	120	9	1482	127	0		
Total number of faculties	52	938	196	71	1796	183	5	1102	108	0			128	2338	124	9	1482	127	0		

Note: Neither the numbers of students nor those of lecturers are weighted (thus, I did not calculate with the equivalent numbers). The number of lecturers includes contracted lecturers and teachers as well.

Source: The author's own calculations on the basis of the OKM Statistical report 1987, the OKM Statistical report 1997 and the OKM Statistical report 2009.

7.3.2. Legislative Regulation of the Status of Faculties

The fact that institutional autonomy to shape the internal operational structure of institutions increased gradually after the change of regime contributed to the growth of the number of faculties. As a part of this process, the criteria for the foundation of faculties were also gradually simplified.

The education law of 1985 divided higher education institutions into colleges and universities. As "administrative organisational units", university and college faculties could be organised at universities and the establishment of such faculties depended on the decision of the Ministerial Council. The 1990 amendment of the legislation required Ministerial Council approval for the foundation of the faculties of non-state institutions as well.[61]

Although colleges were not allowed to have a faculty structure, in practice, some of them (such as the Ybl Miklós Technical College, the College of Finance and Accounting (PSZF) or the Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music) did create "quasi-faculties" by organising regional institutes. Later a number of these regional institutions, indeed, became faculties (the Business Administration Faculty of Budapest Business School in Zalaegerszeg used to be the regional institute of PSZF). It is worth mentioning that according to the implementing regulation of the act of 1985[62], even the establishment of departments required the approval of the minister supervising the institution[63].

Although the higher education law of 1993 provided that "higher education institutions [...] develop their own organisation"[64] and "the organisational division of the institution, the distribution of responsibilities within the institution and the organisational units belonging to the institution" [65] must be recorded in statues; it also provided that "the university is divided into faculties and other comprehensive organisational units."[66] At state universities, a government decision (together with the preliminary opinions of the National Accreditation Committee and the Higher Education and Research Council) is still required for the establishment of faculties; a separate government decision includes the list of faculties. Non-state institutions are obliged to notify the government about the establishment of faculties.

The 1993 law still did not allow colleges to operate as multi-faculty institutions. The 1996 amendment of the legislation provided this opportunity, which also extended the act of recording faculties in a government decree to the private and church-owned institutions.

The 1999 legislative amendment providing for the institutional integration was of great significance for the faculty structure, since it unified (I am going to discuss this later) the higher education system formerly divided into highly specialised colleges and universities, and it merged numerous previously independent institutions or integrated them into another institution.

The higher education law of 2005 extended institutional freedom in developing their own internal structures. The law mentions the faculty as a potential form of educational organisation[67];

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[61] Act XXIII of 1990 amending Act I of 1985 on Education

[62] Article 118 of Act I of 1985 and Article 8 of Implementation Regulation

[63] It is worth mentioning that the period preceding the change of regime, the relevant sectoral minister was responsible for the supervision of higher education institutions. Thus, medical institutions were supervised by the Minister of Health Care, agricultural institutions by the Minister of Agriculture. The Minister of Education and Culture was responsible for universities of science as well asinsitutions offering teacher's training programmes.

[64] Article 47(1)

[65] Article 51(2)

[66] Article 48(1)

[67] Article 30(2) and Article 147

however, unlike its predecessors, it did not regulate the detailed rules of this – such as the setting up of faculty councils or the dean's tasks. At the same time, the government decree related to the legislation listed the minimum criteria for establishing faculties in detail (the faculty must have a certain number of students and lecturers and it has to provide trainings at least at two levels). The Hungarian Accreditation Committee monitored in accordance with the law whether these criteria were met[68]; however, (due to a legislative amendment) in 2009, the external supervision of the requirements for establishing faculties was discontinued.

Some of the institutions exploited the opportunity to shape the operational structure freely and they established "*facultas*es[69]" and "centres", which essentially functioned as faculties, even if they were not officially legally approved (see, for instance, the *facultas*es of the College of Szolnok). Moreover, in a number of institutions, faculties emerged which did not meet the criteria of the government decree (such as the minimum number of lecturers), but their establishment was rational from a specific point of view, for instance, brand-building (this is how faculties of dentistry were created).

Another remarkable element of the 2005 law was that it gave way to colleges becoming universities, since starting master's degree programmes and establishing doctoral schools were the prerequisites of acquiring a university status. In case the criteria were met, the institutions could request to be upgraded to universities. Simultaneously, the distinction between university and college faculties disappeared.

With the 2010 change of government, a new concept of higher education started to be developed, which explicitly promoted the redivision of the unifying higher education system and the strengthening of differences between institutions. This meant the consolidation of the faculty system as well. The higher education concepts and plans made publicly available bound the different classifications of institutions (their university or college nature) to the number of faculties and it also provided for their types (university or college faculty) and minimum size. According to the 2010 autumn concept, the explanation was that "the critical mass indispensable for ensuring quality may be provided by determining the minimum size of faculties." In addition, the concepts would have restored the central regulation of the internal operation of faculties (e.g. the establishment of faculty councils) and similarly to the law of 1985, they would have required a government decision for the creation of faculties. It should be typical that during the assessment of the 2010 autumn concept, Central-European University (CEU) operated according to the American model objected (among others) to the obligation that they should also implement faculty division within the institution.

Eventually, the Parliament adopted a version of the legislation which required the existence of at least three university faculties for the granting of a university status (the proper functioning of the university faculty depends on the adequate number of people, rate of certified personnel and student-lecturer ratio; the question is whether these truly ensure efficiencies of scale. Similar criteria apply to the operation of college faculties. The law continues to allow colleges to operate in a faculty structure. However, unlike the previous concepts, the law does not regulate either the internal modus operandi of faculties or the process of their foundation and recognition.

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[68] Article 30(6) and Article 106(2)
[69] "Facultas" is the Latin equivalent of faculty.

7.3.3. The Process of Institutional Integration[70]

The institutional integration enforced by the 1999 legislative amendment[71] contributed greatly to the increase in the number of faculties and the consolidation of the faculty level. By merging institutions within the process, the fragmentation of the higher education system resulted by the highly specialised universities and colleges was meant to be reduced. In the 1990s, independent institutions were encouraged to participate in the integration by tenders and subsidising co-operations – as part of the World Bank project (such university associations were created and operated in Budapest and Debrecen for example), and when the government perceived it to be unsuccessful, they decided about top-down integration. In the framework of this, the institutions forced to merge into another one functioned as faculties within the new, integrated institution; therefore, this management level became the field as well as the measure of preserving their autonomy. Albeit the integration process took place more than a decade ago, its assessment is still substantially contradictory today. The fact that no publicly accessible comprehensive assessment on integration has been conducted since its implementation is indicative of how delicate the matter is.

Three basic considerations of integration applied during the process of integration. The assessment of the success of each of them is very different. The rather successful cases of integration include the integration of institutions in non-capital cities (such as Pécs, Szeged and Debrecen) as well as the mergers of institutions of the capital with a similar profile (The Technical College of Budapest/University of Óbuda, Budapest Business School). However, regional integration, in the framework of which the institutions found in the same region were merged under a single management (such as Szent István University, University of West Hungary) enabled only loose integration since the integration of truly rationalisable activities and educational areas (such as language training) could not be implemented. Furthermore, with some of the integrated institutions, there was a possibility of the larger institutions "skinning" the smaller ones, absorbing resources, speeding up the mortal agony of smaller institutions. The disintegration and rearrangement of regional integrations have already started and there has been no truly successful example so far.

While the pre-recorded logics resulted in contradictions (for instance, Budapest Polytechnic could have been integrated into the Technical University of Budapest, the institutions of Budapest Business School into the Budapest University of Economics, etc.), the actual process of integration was affected by numerous local and regional interests, which did not allow for the pure application of the preliminary concepts (some of the institutions in Győr, for instance, are incorporated into the University of West Hungary, the headquarters of which are in Sopron, Semmelweis University and Berzsenyi Dániel College in Szombathely managed to preserve their independence[72], Ybl Miklós College was integrated into Szent István University instead of Budapest Polytechnic, etc). Moreover, some institutions gained their independence as a result of the integration process (the College of Dunaújváros seceded from the University of Miskolc at this time).

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[70] The content of this section is built predominantly on a research for which I conducted interviews with the experts of higher education on the governance and management reforms of the Hungarian higher education system (For details, see *Temesi – Kováts* [2010] and *Kováts* [2012]).

[71] Act LII of 1999 on the transformation of the network of higher education institutions, amending Act LXXX of 1993 on higher education.

[72] Albeit Berzsenyi Dániel College has since been integrated into the University of West Hungary.

The taking off of the integration process itself stimulated the establishment of new faculties, since the given institution was able to participate in a more powerful way in the integration negotiations and could become more influential in the Senate/University council later (in which faculties had equal representation in many cases, regardless of their sizes).

Due to the integration process, the equal relationship based on co-operation between the previously independent institutions became competitive and full of tension in the integrated institutions in many places (*Derényi* [2009]). The fight for resources within the institutions valorised the role of faculties, since following the integration, the institutional management was not delegated clear powers; therefore, the rector remained dependent on the senate comprised of faculty representatives (and later the attempt at introducing financial boards which were trying to change this failed). In most cases, the tensions within the institution rendered the institutional-level exploration and fulfilment of the potentials of integration (such as the termination of duplications, determining developmental focuses) more difficult. The application of theoretical considerations providing the basis for integration was also prevented by the fact that the physical arrangement of campuses, premises and buildings was hardly implemented parallel with integration.

On the whole, where the participants were able to make long-term compromises or find a solution favourable for everyone by thinking together, integration provided significant potentials for development, which manifested, among others, in the enhancement of the institution's ability to assert its interests and attract capital. However, where the parties were less willing to compromise, integration was only formal; moreover, it became positively counterproductive on occasion.

Several institutions one or more faculties of which used to be independent institutions were included in the sample, and among them, there were cases of integration regarded as problematic as well as those considered to have been successful. Integration was a particularly important topic in the interviews where the dean (faculty) experienced it as an obligation and where as a result, inter-faculty co-operation became highly problematic.

7.3.4. The Changes in the Internal Structure of Institutional Management

According to the higher education law adopted in 1993, the head of the institution is the rector (in case of a college: the director-general); however, the University Council (Senate) comprised of the elected representatives of lecturers, students and other interest groups had the authority to decide on most matters (thus, the election of the rector/director-general). The institutions had shared management, within which the rector/directorate-general was dependent on the body electing them, while external parties concerned (thus, the provider government department) could implement their vision via indirect channels (financing, bureaucratic instructions reporting, etc.). Albeit a significant transformation of the governing system was attempted in 2005 when the government tried to develop a "two-chamber" board-style management system; due to the veto of the Constitutional Court, economic, financial and strategic issues as well as the task of appointing rectors remained within the authority of the Senate[73]. In most

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[73] According to the preliminary concept, the small-membership body comprised of external members and with significant strategic and supervisory powers (in which government representative would have been in minority) would have decided over numerous strategic issues (including the rector), while the Senate comprised of university lecturers and students would be responsible for issues related to teaching and research. However, referring to the autonomy of teaching and research, the Constitutional Court found unconstitutional the parts of the 2005 higher education law which delegates significant rights

cases, these themselves – as *Polónyi* [2009b]'s survey points it out – are also large membership bodies. Thus, they are hardly suitable for identifying and discussing strategic dilemmas, developing a common interpretation and the consistent enforcement of decisions. However, a more detailed picture would be provided by the analysis of the committee system and operation of institutions but this could only be explored by more in-depth, on-the-spot inspections.

Table 14: The Number of Senate Members in Some Higher Education Institutions

Name of institution	Number of faculties	Number of members in the Senate with voting rights	Are deans voting members by default?
Corvinus University of Budapest (BCE)	6	36	No
Budapest Business School (BGF)	3	20	Yes
Budapest University of Technology and Economics (BME)	8	33	No
University of Debrecen (DE)	15	65	Yes
Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE)	8	33	Yes
University of Kaposvár	4	29	No
Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary	4	27	No
Károly Róbert College	2	17	No
University of Miskolc (ME)	9	36	No
College of Nyíregyháza	5	12	No
University of West Hungary	10	37	No
University of Óbuda	5	20	No
University of Pécs (PTE)	10	38	Yes
Semmelweis University (SE)	6	36	No
Szent István University (SZIE)	10	47	No
University of Szeged (SZTE)	12	49	Yes

Source: the author's own compilation on the basis of institutional Rules of Procedure (reflecting the February 2012 situation)

In addition to the transformation of the governing structure, the changes in administration are also of great significance from a managerial point of view (for a detailed overview of this see *Kováts* [2012]). As a result of the integration process, institutions became so large that the creation of central administration and services seemed to be a reasonable possibility both from a managerial point of view and in terms of efficiencies of scale. This was facilitated by the change of regulation which left the internal shaping of the structure to the discretion of the institution.

Central administration in numerous institutions has been considerably extended since the change of regime. The increase in the number of students and training programmes in the 1990s

influencing institutional operation to the economic committee comprised of those not employed by the institution. Afterwards a new, significantly weaker body was established, the Financial Board, which may contribute rather to the facilitation of a change of mindset and preventing big, strategic mistakes. (The attempt to transform the governing concept is presented in detail by *Polónyi* [2006]; *Barakonyi* [2009a]; *Barakonyi* [2009b]; *Polónyi* [2009a]).

resulted in the significant transformation and differentiation of education administration: groups managing entrance exams, and later groups planning the schedule and curriculum as well as educational information technology departments were established (then disappeared). Information technology directorates were created due to the significant expansion of IT-infrastructure (such as the pool of equipment) and its maintenance. As a response to the student-exchange and lecturer-mobility opportunities taking off at the time, offices managing international relations and organising student-exchange programmes appeared and the departments managing international affairs were extended. In order to exploit the possibilities offered by tenders, Offices for Tendering and Project Management were established. Unlike education, scientific management appeared much less frequently in the structure of central administration, it was rather found partly in doctoral schools.

Since the 2000s (while the number of students was stagnant), offices offering value-added services (such as educational and psychological counselling, career support, organising internships, alumni organisations) as well as PR- and marketing departments/rapporteurs have appeared in an increasing number of institutions. However sporadically, even organisational units responsible for corporate relations have been created in a few places. Outsourcing has become widely popular in technical operation. However rudimentarily, the criteria for stricter resource management have also been developed. In 2012, a rapporteur or organisational unit responsible for strategic planning can be found in seven institutions; other institutions created controlling offices. HR activities are partly or fully provided within the framework of the directorates of finance[74]. The activity of quality management offices covers resource-control on the one hand, and marketing on the other hand. Nowadays these organisational units can be found in almost all institutions, and they have been created partly to comply with legislative requirements, partly to provide for various consolidating, accreditation-related tasks and partly as a result of the incentives of tenders.

Thus, large-scale administrative services have been established within higher education institutions by now (these are summarised in detail in the following table). Regarding their organisation, two general models evolve.

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[74] At the organisational level, two dominant solutions for the operation of HR have evolved (*Poór, László et al.* [2009]): in the one-foot solution (represented by 13 institutions today), all HR activities are carried out at the Directorate of Finance. In the so-called two-feet solutions (10 institutions), payroll-related tasks are carried out at the Directorate of Finance, while other human-resources-related activities are assigned to the organisational unit under the leadership of the rector/secretary-general. Among the Hungarian institutions studied, HR activities are completely independent at one institution, Central European University: Here payroll-related tasks also belong to the Directorate of Human Resources, which is separate from the economic-financial area. It is worth mentioning that Corvinus University of Budapest also experimented with such solution in the 2000s.

Table 15: Areas Covered by Central Administration within Hungarian Higher Education Institutions

	Strategy/Institutional Development	HR independent from DG for Economic and Technical Affairs	Quality Affairs	Career-related Services, Career Monitoring	Student Counselling	International Relations	Education Organisation	Tenders and Projects/Innovation/Technology Transfer	Corporate Relations	Educational Services and Education Organisation	Communication Activities
Budapest Business School			X	X		X		X	X		
Corvinus University of Budapest			X	X	X	X			X	X	
Budapest University of Technology and Economics				X	X					X	Cultural Secretariat
University of Debrecen		X	X	X		X	X	X		X	X
College of Dunaújváros		X	X			X		X		X	X
Eötvös József College				X				X		X	
Eötvös Loránd University	X		X	X		X		X		X	
Eszterházy Károly College		X	X			X		X		X	
University of Kaposvár						X		X		X	
Károly Róbert College					X					X	
College of Kecskemét				X		X		X		X	
University of Miskolc		X	X	X		X	X	X			Marketing and Communication Group

	Strategy/Institutional Development	HR independent from DG for Economic and Technical Affairs	Quality Affairs	Career-related Services, Career Monitoring	Student Counselling	International Relations	Education Organisation	Tenders and Projects/Innovation/Technology Transfer	Corporate Relations	Educational Services and Education Organisation	Communication Activities
University of National Public Service	■	■									
College of Nyíregyháza		■	■	■		■		■		■	PR Office
University of West Hungary							■				■
University of Óbuda	■		■			■					
University of Pécs						■				■	Marketing Office
Semmelweis University	■	■	■	■		■		■		■	Marketing and Communication Group
Széchenyi István University	■					■				■	■
University of Szeged	■	■	■	■		■		■	■	■	Marketing and Communication Directorate
Szent István University		■	■			■		■		■	
College of Szolnok		■	■	■		■		■		■	Communication and Marketing Office
Pannon University	(within the DG for Economic and Technical Affairs)		■	■				■		■	Office of External Relationships
Frequency of Occurrence	7	10	15	12	5	17	6	18	3	19	12 (6 marketing/PR)

Note: the grey head indicates that the indicated organisational unit responsible for the given task can be found in the institution. If a name is given in the heads, it indicates the name of the given organisational unit.

Source: the author's own compilation on the basis of institutional Rules of Procedure and websites (reflecting the February 2012 situation)

In case of the decentralised model (which is represented primarily by the Budapest University of Technology and Economics), the centre is responsible for only a few functions, the majority of activities are operated and carried out at faculty-level. Regulations as well as the systems ensuring accurate accounting of the services provided by faculties to one another and their shared use of resources contribute significantly to harmonisation.

In more centralised institutions, faculties may only carry out some given tasks independently. The extreme examples are the multi-faculty colleges resulted by organic development, where faculties are essentially responsible for only teaching and research since all administration is centralised.[75] There is a unique distribution of tasks between the dean's and rector's levels in these institutions, which was described by one of the interviewees the following way:

> "The dean is the academic rector. Thus, he is the academic leader. […] We often talk about the need for the rector to be a professional manager, or an academician representing best the university, or both. There are only few of those, though. I think such a person can be found in one out of five elections during the lifetime of a university. Because I don't think there are more present in the system. I think it's a great problem if the dean wants to become a manager. Great problem. It is also a great problem if the institution doesn't take into consideration the experience in management, the previous knowledge in business or such basic competencies when electing a rector. Thus, […] it's non-negotiable that the dean must be the most authentic person professionally. It's not a disadvantage for the rector either, but I don't think it's essential." (F3)

That is, the dean has no responsibility for operative management in these institutions (this is the task of the rector's management), but he primarily has academic duties. Evidently, the deans' position is significantly different from this at faculties where they are responsible for all kinds of tasks from the supervision of the faculty library to the registrar's department or the dormitories. (I am going to return to the management systems of institutions later).

7.3.5. The Development of the Organisational and Management Structures within the Faculties

Apart from the structure of administration, the dean's position may be affected by the internal academic structure of his/her own faculty as well. From a managerial point of view, an important question is to what extent the constitution of a faculty is homogeneous or heterogeneous, its profile broad or narrow, and how fragmented its management system is.

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[75] The organisation of central administration may be various as well. The supervision of certain central functions is frequently carried out by the rector/vice-rector. However, it is an important question whether the rector/vice-rector should be involved in the operative work or they may invest their efforts exclusively in strategic issues, their mediation within the university and the supervision of implementation. In the latter case, adequately qualified, professional directorates-general are usually established. Another frequent solution is the concentration of a part or the whole of central functions in the rector's or the secretary-general's office, under the operative supervision of the Secretary-General (for instance, Szent István University, University of West Hungary). In this model, the Secretary-General is not simply responsible for the institutional administrative tasks in a narrow sense, but takes over broader management tasks (for instance, he works out the performance assessment system, the quality assurance system, etc.)

Regarding the division of the academic structure of faculties, two major systems have evolved as a result of their historical development: "One professor – one department" is the essence of the *chair system* (lehrstühl) widespread primarily in the German tradition. The professor being chair of department was the professional and administrative leader at the same time, on whom, in addition, the members of the department (who could not be professors) were also dependent. The chair had powerful authority, which provided the opportunity for implementing a professional programme; however, it was also potentially particularly dangerous. The danger originated from the difficulties of the renewal of departments and faculties, since essentially, chairs of departments may have been replaced no sooner than at death. With the expansion of the higher education system, the chair system became no longer viable for two reasons:

On the one hand, difficulties in management occurred, originating from the fact that the more chairs there were at a faculty (with independent departments), the greater difficulties of negotiations and the costs of coordination became. On the other hand, with the expansion of the pool of lecturers, the chair system could not be extended infinitely; thus, the *department system* initially popular in Anglo-American circles started to spread. Here, the size of departments is larger; the head's function is more of an organisational-administrative nature and several professors belong to the department, who have considerable autonomy. In the department system, the average size of departments increases while the number of departments decreases. The head (and not chair) of department may be an elected or appointed leader, whose position is often filled on a rotation basis. One reason for the rotation is that the position of the head of department has become less attractive, supposedly because tasks have become increasingly more administrative and non-professional (part of the professional tasks have necessarily been overtaken by the independent professors). The extent of dependence on heads of departments – as a result of the autonomy of other professors at the department – has decreased significantly.

Practices in Hungary seem to be rather ambiguous; I have compiled the list of only the symptomatic signs of this phenomenon here:

- The Hungarian word for department ("tanszék") is the metaphrase of "lehrstül"
- The position of the head of department is still one of high prestige (it is enough to think of the frequent distinction between university professors being heads of departments and other university professors – the title "University Professor, Head of Department" is often indicated on business cards).
- The head of department may be formally replaced; however, in general, the position is often filled for a very long time by one person – in several cases, almost "for life" (that is, until the age of 65).
- At the same time, professors other than the head of department also appeared at the department; thus, the centralised nature of the original chair system has been loosened.
- The fragmentation of the department system caused concern even in the higher education policy of the 1970s and measures to be taken as well as the establishment of department groups were encouraged even at that time.

In Hungary, institutes (as larger, disciplinary-wise more comprehensible units) and departments (units smaller than institutes) are distinguished between within the division of the faculty in numerous places. Departments may exist within the institutes (these are generally "non-independent departments" or "institute departments") as well as at the same level of the hierarchy (so-called "independent departments"). The important question is how much autonomy non-independent departments or institute departments have, which is not necessarily revealed by the information available on the websites.

On the basis of the information available in the regulations and on the websites, approximately half of the faculties have a single-level structure (or the multi-level structure cannot be seen); thus, there are faculties or institutes there. The number of organisational units at the faculties was between 2 and 21, which shows that this structure may refer to concentrated and fragmented systems as well. This is supported by the average number of lecturers (including teachers) per faculty, which is between 2 and 31. Faculties of law, where the number of organisational units is high, but the number of lecturers is below average, characteristically operate in a fragmented fashion. For instance, at the Faculty of Law of Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, 19 organisational units operated with 73 lecturers (3.8 lecturers/unit), and a similar pattern can be seen at the Faculties of Law of the University of Pécs, Eötvös Loránd University and Széchenyi István University. Another extreme example is the Georgikon Faculty of Pannon University, where 11 departments and one foreign-language educational centre were in operation with altogether 21 lecturers/teachers (1.8/department). A relatively high level of fragmentation can be seen in the technical area as well; primarily numerous faculties of Budapest University of Technology and Economics have many departments, although the number of lecturers is above average (at the Faculty of Electrical Engineering and Informatics, 271 lecturers work at 10 departments).

The other extreme is represented by the Technical College of Budapest (today: University of Óbuda) and Budapest Business School. For instance, at Kandó Kálmán College Faculty of Electrical Engineering and Bánki Donát College Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, 5 and 3 institutes with an average of 31 and 28 lecturers, respectively, were in operation in 2010.

At two-thirds of the faculties, there is a double- or multi-level hierarchy of units (institutes, within that: departments; moreover, occasionally, there are even deeper levels of division, for instance, sub-departments). If the analysis concerns the larger organisational units, evidently, a greater concentration can be seen than what is characteristic of single-level solutions: the number of faculties is between 2 and 20 (with an average of 7 organisational units), while the number of lecturers is between 8 and 101 (with an average of 24 lecturers/organisational unit).

Naturally, faculties of art and faculties of science, where numerous institutes and departments operate, are more fragmented among double-level faculties. The most extreme example is the Faculty of Art at Eötvös Loránd University, where there were 67 departments operating in 16 institutes as well as two independent departments and a few other organisational units at the time of the survey – while the average number of lecturers working at an institute was 41.

In case of double-level structures, the real question is what kind of relationship there is between the more comprehensive and specialised units. One way of the evolution of double-layer

structures may be the merger of smaller departments into an institute (while maintaining the former department structure); however, this may not automatically mean a change in the modus operandi since it may not lead to a dramatic increase in the weight of the institute level in the field of organisation and management (which would be an element of the department system). Despite the transformation, the department level may still remain decisive (for instance, financial accounting and voting rights belong to the department); in this case, the institute level is of smaller significance. However, this step entails the potential for the institutes to become the essential units of the faculty in time (e.g. a real department as in a department system).

The other extreme is also possible; namely, the institute can be divided into further units (departments) in order, for instance, to ensure the operative management of education organisation tasks or to assign social status to heads of departments this way. Maintaining the two levels is also important regarding the transition of structural change, viz. the titles of heads of departments do not have to be revoked, but a new level of management has to be introduced.

It is also noteworthy that among the faculties studied, there was a smaller one[76] operating in a non-departmental structure. The Faculty of Information Technology at Pázmány Péter Catholic University defines itself as a faculty with a "department system". „The point of this is that there is no hierarchy among the subjects in the different majors at the Faculty, the teachers […] are solely responsible for their subjects (the pedagogical coordination of which is implemented in subject groups in accordance with the accredited curricula)."[77] Thus, there is no departmental division, the major organising principle is the curriculum (for which the head of the major and the vice-dean for education)."

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[76] There were 58 lecturers/teachers and 611 students at the faculty in 2008.
[77] http://www.itk.ppke.hu/karunkrol/a_kar_szervezete/ (19.2.2012)

Table 16: The Division of the Academic Structure of Faculties

Type of internal structure	Number of faculties	Distribution	Size of organisational units in relation to the number of lecturers (min.-max., aver.)	Size of organisational units in relation to the number of students (min.-max., aver.)	Number of organisational units (min.-max., aver.)
Single-level (department or institute)	83	55.3%	2 – 31 (average: 12)	19 – 1537 (average: 282)	2 – 21 (average: 8)
Rather single-level (institutes are divided into further departments, but a dominantly single-level internal structure)	6	4.0%	18 – 29 (average: 22)	346 – 922 (average: 546)	3 – 12
At least double-level / dominantly double-level division.[78]	49	32.7%	8 – 101 (average: 24)	82 – 3171 (average: 453)	2 – 20 (average: 7)
Other (non-identifiable, deficient data as well as the majority of medical faculties due to the specific structure)	12	8.0%	-	-	-
Total	150	100.0%	-	-	-
Average	-	-	16.4 fő	351 fő	7.5 egység

Note: the data on faculty structure was gathered in August 2010. However, at that time only the staff statistics of October 2008 were available; therefore, the calculations were made using these data. "Lecturer" covers the total number of people working as a teacher or lecturer; however, those working in "researcher" status are excluded (they are managed separately in the OM/NEFMI statistics.

Source: on the basis of the author's own data gathering.

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[78] This characteristically means the institute-department (+independent departments), and less frequently the department group-department (+independent department) division. Occasionally, special groups, research centres, etc. may be established within the department.

Regarding the management structure of faculties, the vice-dean's areas of responsibilites are worth having an overview of. On the basis of the 2010 data gathering, the average number of vice deans is 2.1, the standard deviation of which is 1. Namely, there are 1-3 vice deans at the majority of faculties. At some faculties, there are 4, while at one (the Faculty of Health Sciences of the University of Pécs) there are 5 vice-deans. Some small faculties have no vice-deans.

Table 17: The Number of Vice-Deans in 2010

Number of Vice-Deans	pcs	%
0	11	7.3
1	25	16.7
2	55	36.7
3	45	30.0
4	7	4.7
5	1	,7
Total	144	96.0
N.A.	6	4.0

Source: the author's own calculation on the basis of data available on faculty websites.

The areas covered by vice-deans are diverse, with a few particularly frequent elements. The marked areas may serve as a source of data in two respects: which areas do faculties regard as important enough to be dealt with and – if we take into account that the vice-dean acts on behalf of the dean – which areas are the ones the dean does not wish to attend to.

Table 18: The Division of Areas Supervised by Vice-Deans in 2010[79]

	Appearance of Area in Name	Weighted Proportion of Number of Staff
General Vice-Deanship	21.0%	15.1%
Education, Schooling, Student Affairs	41.6%	35.6%
Research, Science, Scientific Management	26.7%	20.0%
Economic Affairs	12.6%	9.6%
International and Foreign Affairs, Relations, Communication, Public relations	14.1%	9.4%
Strategies, Development and Tenders	7.2	4.2%
Accreditation, Quality Assurance	2.3%	1.3%
Other Areas	7.3%	4.8%

Source: the author's own calculation on the basis of data available on faculty websites.

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[79] The first column shows the areas of operation covered by vice-deans with regard to the proportion of vice-deans with whom the given area appears explicitely; for instance, a "vice-dean for education and research" is represented in both areas. Therefore, the total number does not equal 100%. The second column shows the number of vice deans in proportion to the areas (thus a "vice-dean for education and research" is considered 0.5 vice-dean in each relevant category).

Unsurprisingly, the areas of education, research, internal resource allocation and the maintenance of relationships occur most frequently. Strategic affairs, development and tenders appear less. There may be various reasons for this: these areas are not significant at the faculty, the tasks are not named or are distributed among several leaders or the tasks are not attended by vice-deans but the administration at faculty or university level. In my view, conclusions should not be drawn from the absence of these, rather, the occurrence of them may lead to the conclusion that these areas are taken seriously at the given faculties.

Some more specific areas may occasionally be assigned to a separate person; therefore, there are faculties (Széchenyi István University and Szent István University are particularly creative in establishing novel functions for vice-deans) where a vice-dean is responsible for:

- foreign language teaching (Budapest Universtiy of Technology and Economics, Faculty of Architecture),
- youth affairs (Vice-Dean for Youth Affairs and Finance, University of Szeged, Faculty of Arts; Vice-Dean for Youth Affars and Communication, Juhász Gyula Teacher Training College Division; Vice-Dean for Education and Youth Affairs, Szent István University, Faculty of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences),
- entrepreneurial affairs (Vice-Dean for Entrepreneurship and Business, Szent István University, Ybl Miklós Faculty of Architecture and Civil Engineering),
- industrial relations (Vice-Dean for Industrial Relations, Széchenyi Istávn University, Faculty of Engineering Sciences),
- schooling affairs (Vice-Dean for Schooling Affairs and Public Relations, University of Szeged, Faculty of Pharmacy),
- innovation (Vice-Dean for Strategic Affairs and Innovation University of Szeged, Faculty of Pharmacy),

It is also to be noted that there is a faculty which have a separate vice-dean for student affairs and one for education (Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Faculty of Law and Political Sciences).

An interesting point of reference may be *Jackson and Gmelch* [2003]'s study, the authors of which had conducted a survey involving the 50 best pedagogical faculties on the number of vice-deans and their responsibilities. 80% of the faculties had – similarly to the Hungarian practice – 1-3 vice-deans. The areas covered included administration, research, student affairs, teacher's training, external affairs, master's-degree programmes, basic-degree programmes and management.

Albeit detailed contextual data are not available (such as those referring to the size of faculties), it is certainly remarkable that unlike the American practice, I found no vice-dean position responsible for programmes at any of the Hungarian faculties. While in the study above and numerous institutions abroad – particularly in business schools – a separate (vice-)dean is

frequently responsible for a specific training programme or level of training[80], this practice is non-traceable in Hungary; namely, the training programme as a primary organisational principle has not yet appeared in Hungarian higher education.

7.4. The Changes of the Funding System and Its Effects on Faculties[81]

Following the change of regime, the institutional expenditure-to-GDP ratio in the Hungarian higher education system was between 0.8% and 1.1%, mostly approaching 1% from below. Considering that GDP has risen to 150% since the change of regime, it may be noted that the expenditure of higher education in real terms have also gone up by approximately the same proportion. However, the number of students has quadrupled; thus, the cost-per-student ratio has dropped dramatically, which may result in the cost-efficiency of the higher education system and a decline in quality as well. In an OECD comparative study, the higher education expenditure-to-GDP ratio is slightly lower than the expenditure of other, similarly developed countries (such as Slovakia and Slovenia), and they are considerably lower the 1.5% OECD-average. Thus, in terms of proportion, Hungary spends less on the operation of higher education institutions than the majority of developed countries.

With regard to the assessment of institutional (faculty) space for manoeuvre, the conditions of the freedom of institutional operational and management (status) is also characteristic. In spite of the fact that there has been several attempts since 1993 to revise institutional statuses; all of them failed (*Polónyi* [2009b] provides an overview of these attempts). Therefore, public higher education institutions are still supposed to plan their operation in the light of the state budget (namely, in terms of cash-flow, for a fiscal year, complying with budgetary legislation binding for institutions maintained by the state at all times). The freedom of using resources is restricted by the regularly changing, strictly bureaucratic procedures (for instance, the redistribution of appropriations, public procurement). From a faculty point of view, it is also essential that legally or from a budgetary perspective, it is the institution that makes commitments, which means that faculties are "invisible" to the outside. Having the status of a budgetary authority assumes numerous further restrictions as well: the institutional budget may be withdrawn during the year, the possibilities for economising and property management (despite the liberties of the higher education law of 2005) are limited, etc. In István Polónyi's critical words: "the management rules of a large university – with a slight exaggeration – are the same as a small country theatre or – with a slight exaggeration – a kindergarden." (*Polónyi* [2009b] p.20).

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[80] They are usually not called an associate or vice-dean for graduate programmes, but "dean of graduate programmes", "dean of undergraduate programmes", etc. This means that deans responsible for various areas work at each faculty, which is symptomatic of the development of the faculties' position within the institution.

[81] The content of this section is built predominantly on a research for which I conducted interviews with the experts of higher education on the governance, management and funding reforms of the Hungarian higher education system (For details, see *Temesi – Kováts* [2010] and *Kováts* [2012]).

Operating as a budgetary authority also means that the institutions, being part of public finance, have to plan their expenditure and so-called "own revenues", raised by the institutions themselves annually. The difference between the two is the direct public subsidy for higher education. In the 2000s, its proportion was near 50% of the expenditure and in 2010, it even exceeded that (*Expanzió* [2011]). However, it is also to be noted that three-quarters of the institutions' own revenues are accounted for by the subsidy of the National Health Insurance Fund received from the healthcare provision of universities offering medical training, and the rest of it also comes from state resources not dedicated to higher education but won through competition. The smaller share of the institutions' own revenues can be regarded as real external financing, of which fee-payment, which accounts for 10-20% of the institutions' own revenues[82] (*Expanzió* [2011]; *Polónyi* [2012]), as well as corporate commissions (10-15% of the income; (*Engloner* [2008]; *Polónyi* [2012]) are to be emphasised. On the whole, despite the high ratio of own revenues, Hungarian higher education is highly dependent on public funding. (Naturally, there may be bigger differences at different institutions.)

Regarding the structure of expenditure, it is to be noted that approximately 70% of institutional expenditures is wage costs; the restrictions originating from the status of public servants (wages, dismissal) significantly narrow the institutional leaders' pace for manouvre from the management perspective.

Table 19: State Subsidies and "Own Revenues" between 2000 and 2008

Year	Appropriations for Higher Education Expenditure (million HUF)	Appropriations for Higher Education Income (million HUF)	Proportion of Income in Institutional Budgets (%)	State Subsidies (million HUF)
2001	226.4	105.6	46.6%	120.8
2002	239.9	109.6	45.7%	130.3
2003	318.0	135.0	42.5%	182.9
2004	335.0	154.5	46.1%	180.5
2005	353.4	169.2	47.9%	184.2
2006	383.7	186.8	48.7%	196.9
2007	404.2	199.5	49.4%	204.7
2008	416.9	200.4	48.1%	216.4

Source: *Polónyi* [2009b]

Let us have a more detailed look at some elements of institutional income: the distribution mechanisms for state subsidies (including the formula funding system and the distribution system for state-funded students)[83], the budgetary system and the system for research/tender revenues. Following that, I will introduce the internal resource allocation models present in the Hungarian higher education system.

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[82] There is no available public statistics on the amount of revenues from fee-payment.
[83] Due to the lack of scope, I will not elaborate on one of the essential means of state aid between 2006 and 2011, the so-called three-year maintainer's agreements, the point of which was that an improvement in performance by the institutions assessable by indicators was expected in return for three years of guaranteed support; however, the goals of improvement as well as the indicators could be selected by the institutions, though certain restrictions applied. Therefore, numerous fake goals and indicators were determined (for details, see *FTT* [2008], p.64).

7.4.1. The Normative Funding System

Until 1996, state subsidies were distributed within the framework of the financing of institutions, a negotiation process with the ministry, which was based partly on the budgets of previous years and partly on the planned budget of the institution. In 1996, this scheme was replaced by the so-called normative funding system, which associated the state funding of the institution to specific and tangible, mostly input variables such as the number of students or that of lecturers, researchers and doctoral students. The system has often been criticised for encouraging the institutions to extend the number of their students and keep them within the system.

In theory, the normative system improved the transparency and predictability and reduced the role of negotiations between the ministry and the individual institutions; however, the frequent changes in the number, types and amount of indicators and normative grants attached to them (called "normatives" in Hungary) had an adverse effect (for a detailed description see: *Polónyi* [2012]). Since in 2011 and the preceding years 50% of direct state subsidies for institutions were distributed in accordance with normative funding for training, and 25% of them in accordance with normative funding for research, it is important to know why and how the number and amount of normatives, on which distribution is based, have changed.

Table 20: The Changes of the Number of Normative Elements between 1997 and 2011

Year	Number of Normative Elements for Training[84]	Number of Normative Elements for Research	Number of Normative Elements for Maintenance	Total Number of Elements
1997	15			15
1998	7			7
1999	5			5
2000	4	1	6	11
2001	4	1	6	11
2002	4	1	6	11
2003	5	1	7	13
2004	7	3	5	15
2005	7	3	5	15
2006	12	4	6	22
2007	12	4	8	24
2008	23	7	8	38
2009	23	7	8	38
2010	24	7	8	39
2011	24	7	8	39

Source: *Polónyi* [2012])

On the one hand, the constant changes may be explained by the fact that normatives were not regarded as incentives and means of orientation by educational policy, which, for instance, could have an effect on the acceptance and training policies of institutions; thus, influence student applications. Instead, normatives are calculated from the given state subsidies

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[84] In broad terms: the normative elements for training, for research and for providers are expected to cover the costs related to training, research and the maintenance of infractructure, respectively.

for higher education. Moreover, the effect of the normative funding system as been continuously subdued; therefore, neither the surplus(funding) resulting from favourable changes, nor the disadvantages (levies) resulting from unfavourable changes manifested clearly. The frequent changes and increasing complexity of the normative system suggest that institutional lobbies and the role of negotiation processes are still significant in funding. Therefore, it is institutional funding based on negotiation processes that prevails; however, it is realised through normative elements and other means of financing, maintaining the image of an "objective", predictable funding system. (Polónyi refers to this with the term "Potemkin-funding"; see e.g.: *Polónyi* [2009a]). This means that the changes of subsidies calculated on the basis of normative elements are counterbalanced via other channels (project funding, maintainer's funding, development tenders), maintaining a certain status quo. In István Polónyi's words:

> "Due to (Potemkin) funding based on the evolved formula and guaranteed subsidies resulting from maintainer's agreements, the funding system of higher education was moved in a direction where a system increasingly protected from the market evolved, which, instead of recognising real performance, allows for institutional self-justification on the one hand, and the subjectivity of educational policy on the other hand. Eventually, an extremely complicated funding system reflecting the interests of large lobbies and intransparent in numerous respects had evolved by 2010, which resulted in institutional conditions interwoven with intransparent interests, in many ways reminiscent of those at the beginning of the 1990s." (*Polónyi* [2012])

The characteristics of funding are not necessarily apparent for faculty leaders, who still often think in terms of normative elements. This trend may be accounted for by the idiosyncrasies of resource allocation within the institution, which I am going to discuss later.

7.4.2. Distribution Mechanisms for State-Funded Basic-Degree Places

Since 50% of state subsidies were allocated among institutions on the basis of the number of students at the end of the 2000s, it is important to review the distribution mechanisms for state-funded places as well. Before 2005, state-funded places were allocated according to institutions and educational programmes by the ministry (which, by doing so, consolidated the negotiation processes between the institutions and the ministry). With regard to places in higher-level vocational and undergraduate programmes, this system was replaced by competition-based allocation in 2005, according to which the ministry determined the number of state-funded places for fields of training, and within these, the students were ranked on the basis of their final exam results. The institution to which the student had been accepted received the subsidy for state-funded students. (The distribution of state-funded places within PhD programmes is based on performance assessed by specific indicators, this is supervised by the Hungarian Doctoral Council[85]. However, the quota-system still remains in master's degree programmes.).

The reform of the admission system essentially favoured the high-prestige and/or capital-city institutions, while the position of those with lower prestige and in the country became more disadvantageous due to the decrease in the number and quality of state-funded students. The leaders and deans of institutions in the country referred to this several times during the interviews. For instance, the senior manager of one of those institutions said:

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[85] See document Keretelosztás elvei és számítása: 2008 (Principles and Calculation of the Distribution of Grants Framework, 2008)- at http://www.doktori.hu/index.php?menuid=351&cid=24

> "…because we have students that we end up with within the new admission system, which is not a fair distribution, we are convinced. Because there are coefficients involved which is not the merit of the institutions in Budapest. I am not talking about Corvinus now, but simply about the Budapest-centric Hungarian attitude, which is way too incorporated in the structure, in the structures of the brain, not only in higher education. So, there seem to be two countries. Budapest and Hungary." (F3)

However, the effects of the system was subdued by regulatory means by the ministry; it attempted, for instance, to moderate the advantages of the larger, more attractive institutions by capacity-accreditation, it tried to support institutions experiencing hardships on alternative channels or restricted the extent of the possible annual reduction of normative subsidies from the grant for training[86].

This led to two other profound consequences: firstly, the normative funding system based on the number of students and the admission system made colleges interested in launching master's degree and doctoral programmes, which became possible since the type of the institution was no longer dependent on its training profile. Secondly, the development of the higher education system was controversial since while the number of students dropped in the institutions of non-capital cities due to the new admission system, the majority of the EU resources for the development of higher education were available for these institutions.

7.4.3. Tuition Fee

Apart from the normative funding system, another significant component of the 1996 legislative amendment was the introduction of the fee-paying form of training, which enabled the institutions to raise their own revenues. A fee has to be paid by those who have not managed to land a state-funded place.[87] The general introduction of tuition fees was attempted twice; however, these attempts were either short-lived (the succeeding government abolished it) or they were overthrown by a referendum.

The number of fee-paying students steadily increased between its introduction until the middle of the 2000s, and in 2004, it exceeded the rate of state-funded students. Afterwards, however, the trend was reversed. Today the proportion of fee-paying students in full-time programmes is approximately 20%, while in part-time and correspondence programmes, it is around 80%.

The institutional autonomy for management was significantly increased by the fact that the institutions – unlike Western-European universities – could set the amount of the fee themselves (*Estermann – Nokkala* [2009] p.41). Institutions raise approximately 30-35 billion HUF from fee-paying training, which accounts for approximately 10-20% of their own revenues and

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[86] See: Article 3(1) of Government Decree 50/2008 (III.14)

[87] This unique, dual model of fee-paying exists mostly in the post-socialist region. In this model, not only the training costs of some of those participating in the training programme is covered by the state but it also provides them with various subsidies (grants, course material contribution). However, fee-paying students are entitled to no direct subsidies. This seems particularly unjust within the context of the Hungarian higher education aggravating disadvantages. (OECD 2008).

covers 6-7% of the total higher education expenditure (see also: *Polónyi* [2009b]; *Expanzió* [2011]; *Mészáros* [2012]).

From an institutional perspective, the introduction of the fee-paying form of training expands their space for manoeuvre, particularly because the institutions may have relative autonomy in how to use these revenues. However, there are important restrictions as well; most of all, institutions are compelled to spend the revenues acquired from the market as budgetary resources (viz. the same restrictions apply; see, for instance, mandatory public procurement), which undermines the efficiency of resource use.

7.4.4. Revenues from Research and Development Activities

The last comprehensive assessment of research revenues was conducted in 2008 (it examined the trends until 2006), which notes that higher education revenues from research in 2005 was 21 billion HUF, which accounted for 12% of total revenues and 5% of the higher education expenditure (*Engloner* [2008]; *Polónyi* [2009c]). However, the share of the different institutions was uneven, since the majority of revenues were concentrated in only a few institutions (*Engloner* [2008]). Between 2003 and 2005, for instance, merely two institutions (BME, DE), while in 2006 four institutions (BME, DE, SZTE, ELTE) raised 60-65% of all research revenues (*Polónyi* [2009c]). On the basis of this, it may be stated that the significance of research in the institutional revenue structure is considerably low in general, and only a few institutions (primarily large universities) are an exception to this rule.

It is also to be noted that the rate of research revenues from outside the budget is considerably low: revenues from international research tenders and those from classic corporate commissions accounted for only 13.4 % and 17.5% of the also scarce R+D revenues in 2005, respectively. Not only does this indicate the closeness of the Hungarian higher education system, but it also shows that the R+D revenues of institutions also come from state resources. Albeit the allocation of resources for state research tenders is competitive, it is slightly limited by the interrelations resulting from the small size of the country (that is, beside the professional content, the assessment of proposals is also influenced by the applicant's relationships).

7.4.5. Allocation of Resources within the Institution and its Effects on Faculties

Similarly to the governance models, centralised and decentralised resource allocation models have also evolved, which are different primarily in terms of their internal allocation of state subsidies.

Decentralised models became widespread during the post-regime change period severely affecting institutional funding, when – often under the banner of democracy – the responsibilities for intra-institutional financial and funding decisions, in addition to the obligations to maintain and operate a part of the administration (such as students' affairs or, occasionally, management) were delegated to the faculties. By the decentralisation of management to the faculty and department levels, other institutions sought to increase revenues; thus, reduce the chronic lack of resources of the institution. The essence of the decentralised model is described by the dean of one of the large universities the following way:

"There is faculty-level management [in the institution]; this means that according to the rules of faculty-level management, [...] the faculties raise the money, they receive it and refinance the central units. So, this is the basic philosophy. Of course, we are a legal entity for the outer world, so the important thing is whether liquidity is ensured at the university or not. Of course, it is on paper, because they skimp it and then we realise there is this amount of supplier liabilities. So, these are being profitable, the university have three million forints altogether. But it's different internally, there are very clear accounts on whether something is negative, minus or positive. So, we are almost autonomous in the sense that we distribute the money we raise the way a community wishes to do for itself." (D7)

It is apparent that decentralisation and the (ostensible) normativity of the funding system have contributed largely to the consolidation of the position of faculties within the institution, since the amount with which faculties may contribute to institutional revenues became transparent.

While in theory, this model forces faculties to maintain cost-effective and sustainable management, several dilemmas emerge. One of them is that each faculty has different possibilities to obtain extra revenues, which may result in significant differences between the faculties in the long term. Another problem originates from the fact that this type of resource allocation encodes the cross-financing conflicts between faculties or a faculty and the centre, since any debate could easily end up arguing in terms of "how much revenue one faculty brings to the institution". Moreover, the surplus (or deficit) of a given faculty only exists on paper since the institution is the contracting party. Therefore, it is theoretically possible that the faculties representing the majority of the senate are making losses, which is counterbalanced by the non-consensual expropriation of the profits of faculties in minority. The source of a further significant conflict was the distribution of the costs of central services among faculties, which becomes an important issue, particularly in light of the expanding central administration.

The enforcement of normative funding in the internal allocation of resources may result in another dilemma. Namely, the economic position of the institution is not determined simply by the delivery in accordance with normative elements because the weaker performance of the indicators related to normatives may be counterbalanced by manipulating the amount of normative funding (by lobbying), initiating the introduction of new normative elements or raising revenues via other channels of state funding. However, the internal allocation of state subsidies is in accordance with the normative elements, therefore, a dean may consider it rational to operate the faculty in accordance with them. Thus, deans may find the continuous growth in the number of students reasonable since they can see that the more students they have, the greater the amount of funds will be. However, this logic is not necessarily applicable to the whole of the institution.

These dilemmas make the decentralised logic disagreeable at times.

"By no means do we want to get where ELTE or the University of Miskolc has got, just to name but the local one [the interview was conducted at BCE] So we never think that an institution should operate in a way that, for instance, the budget funding arrives at the institution, then we allocate the money, referring to the current government decree for funding and then the university starts working and the faculties have a university, not the university has faculties. So this, we don't want this situation. Because there's no real funding system, model in Hungary. [...] But the money we get from the state, the state doesn't give it for tasks. The state gives the money on the basis of deals, budgetary deals; lobbies of the national economy or certain

institutional leaders as well as political influence, and it's practically a far cry from the task the university performs. Now, broken down to faculties, this is even less [true]." (F3)

However, state subsidies do not necessarily have to be distributed among faculties along the same principles along which they have been received, since – as I have already referred to it –, these principles do not necessarily reflect the real tasks and performance of the institution. This is the departure point for the centralised model of allocation, the logic of which is described by a dean the following way:

"So the system is indeed centralised. However, it's no space for manoeuvre if you have 500 million from which you send 499 million back. Now, you can find similar situations in numerous places, because anyway, I distribute the wages and start calculating the airspace, how many cubic metres belong to you. And then the heating cost, and this normative and that normative. We have an approach saying that the money is labelled until it arrives at the university; afterwards it becomes university money. Therefore, the situation is very easy for human resources since the dean sits down with the rector every year to discuss what job and promotion opportunities there may be. If there's an agreement […], it's not my concern how I will pay the assistant lecturer's wages. This is the rector's problem. I don't have to worry about what heating, and how much we teach and how much we teach elsewhere and I don't argue with the other dean that 'screw you, we teach here so much and now you should pay this or that amount for that'. These are not present in the system." (D13)

The space for manoeuvre for faculties in centralised systems is provided by the central appropriations to be used freely (the amount of these may be determined by negotiations or applying a calculation method). At economically stable institutions, the dilemma for centralised resource allocation systems is how to incentivise faculties to acquire revenues. On most occasions, the means of this is to allow faculties to keep the whole or part of their own revenues and tender money and spend it freely.

The allocation of resources within faculties follows a logic similar to the one characteristic of inter-faculty practices. While conducting the interviews, I encountered institutions where the faculty council decided over resource allocation among the institutes/departments along a certain logic as well as those where the institutes received the money and they refinanced the operation of faculty administration from that.

An important dilemma concerning resource allocation both among faculties and institutes/departments is that the organisational units have different possibilities to raise extra revenues and gain fee-paying students.

7.5. Summary

At the beginning of the chapter, I defined two goals: to provide a description of faculty trends and to demonstrate how the deans' broader and narrower context has changed.

What has been learnt about the changes of the number and roles of faculties? On the one hand, it can be established that the number and size (in terms of the number of students) of faculties have grown, which is due partly to the structural transformation of the higher education system (e.g. integration) and partly to the fever for establishing faculties facilitated by legislative

changes. The creation of new faculties has been influenced by factors such as the increase in size, the maintenance of the manageability of institutions, the consideration of strategic aspects and individual ambitions.

As for the deans' environment, the most important finding is that the complexity of the context has increased dramatically. The growth of the number of students, the diversification of students and their interests as well as the increasing complexity of the training system account for only one of the triggering factors. An equally important factor is that the number of the relevant stakeholders of higher education has changed, as a result of which the social field of force in which deans (and higher education institutions in general) have to manoeuvre has also become significantly more complicated. The changes are well-demonstrated by a remark from a dean of an institution of a non-capital city:

> "It used to be sufficient if higher education fulfilled the requirements of the council and the party secretary. And now what it has to do is to place itself in the region and it has to make itself accepted. So this is obviously a completely different thing." (D28)

The complexity of relations is characterised well by the relationship with other higher education institutions, which the interviewees sometimes saw as a "brutal competition" in terms of funding, lobbies or the number of students and sometimes as cooperation or the obligation to cooperate.

The constantly ongoing reforms of higher education resulting in unpredictability and carried out along various beliefs and narratives of higher education (which, of course, are incorporated in different images of society) contribute significantly to the increased complexity. As a consequence, the significance of the legal context of higher education has been enhanced in particular, since parallel with the periodically received direct instructions of the maintainer, the institutions and faculties' space for manoeuvre has also been extended, the limits of which, however, were set by legislation. Reforms did not only force institutions to adjust but they also provided opportunities as long as the institutions recognised the possibilities and took the initiative. This means that they did not only adjust to the slowly changing circumstances, but they themselves shaped them by experimenting with solutions which regulations did not permit explicitly, but which they did not forbid either. In general, it may be stated that the high level of dependence on state resources and the lack of direct state supervision provided the opportunity rather than the obligation for strategic orientation, which the individual institutions could exploit if they wished to.

As a result of the changes, the closer context of deans has also become more complex. Due to integration, internal tensions and delicate equilibriums have evolved. Lecturers not competent in management issues are less able to follow the contextual complexity, the frequent legislative changes, which, in theory, valorises the significance of institutional and faculty-level administration and their relative weight within the institution. The significance of administration is also enhanced by the increasingly expanding portfolio of services.

In this context, a more or less commonly shared view of the interviewees was that if somebody

> "(…)tries [to lead] in this old, Mr. Professor style, it's a failure. So, either your colleagues will suffer because they'll have to do what would be a managerial task instead of you, or the whole

thing just won't work out. So this is the first. So if somebody doesn't accept that the world is changing." (D20)

However, it is far from being clear what role a dean should have instead of the "old, Mr. Professor style" and what role they do fulfil. These are the changes that make the research questions relevant; namely, what roles of the dean evolve in such a context in today's Hungary? What is content of the dean's role and to what extent are deans able to identify with it? And finally: what does this reveal about the development of the higher education system?

8. Deans in the Hungarian Higher Education System

This chapter, similarly to the previous one, has a double aim. On the one hand, I intend to provide an overview of the regulations responsible for the dean's position, their consequences and the deans' certain characteristics; on the other hand, I analyse what direct and indirect expectations towards deans may be deciphered from these regulations and the typical patterns observed. To this end, I am going to describe in detail the regulations on the dean's election and operation, with special regard to the temporary and elected nature of the position as well as the election criteria. I will complete the analysis on the basis of my 2010 data gathering. The changes in the names of academic leader positions and the most important election criteria are summarised in Table 20, their detailed discussion is provided in the following subchapters.

In addition, on the basis of the interviews, I reviewed the typical scenarios of electing deans as well as the evolution of the dean's career path. During the analysis, I use the interviews as facts, my intention is to introduce the institutional system, not to describe the deans' ways of thinking. The latter will be discussed in the next chapter, where I am going to scrutinise the deans' role interpretations.

Table 21: The Names of Faculty Leaders and the Criteria for their Appointment on the Basis of the (Higher) Education Laws between 1985 and 2011

Year of Act or Amend-ment	Names of Leaders					Appointment Criteria for Faculty Leaders (Senior Leaders)	
	At Universities			At Colleges			
	Name of the Leader of a University	Name of the Leader of a University Faculty	Name of the Leader of a College Faculty	Name of the Leader of a College	Name of the Leader of a (College) Faculty	Term of Appointment	Position Required
1985	rector	dean	director-general	director-general	-	5 years, max. two terms	University faculty: associate professor, professor College faculty: associate professor, professor or college professor
1993	rector	dean	director-general	director-general	-	3 years, max two terms	Not regulated
1996	rector	dean	director-general	director-general	director	4 years, max. two terms	professor, associate professor and college professor
1999	rector	dean	director-general	college rector	director-general	4 years, max. two terms	University faculty: associate professor, professor College faculty: associate professor, professor or college professor
2005	rector	dean/director-general (not regulated)*		rector	dean/director-general (not regulated)*	3-5 years, max. two terms, Up until age 65	Not regulated
2009	rector	dean/director-general (not regulated)*		rector	dean/director-general (not regulated)*	3-5 years, max. three terms, Up until age 70	Not regulated
2011	rector	dean/director-general (not regulated)*	dean/director-general (not regulated)*	rector	dean/director-general (not regulated)*	3-5 years, max. two terms Up until age 65	Not regulated

*the law only provides that "dean" and "director-general" are considered senior leadership positions
**2/3 approval is required for starting the third term. The law also extended the age limit from 65 to 70 years

8.1. The Elected Nature of the Dean's position

The 1993 higher education law delegated the power to elect a dean to the faculty council and the power to appoint them to the head of institute. The law of 2005 provided the institutions with more liberties. According to that, the call for the vacancy for the position of dean had to be public and the decision was made by the rector, taking into consideration the senate's opinion and ranking of candidates. However, the real practices revealed by the interviews suggest that in many places, the senate's ballot merely approved/confirmed the raking of the faculty council and in the majority of cases, the rector appointed the applicant having landed first place during the election process(es).

     The internal regulations and traditions of each faculty may complement the election process and the preliminary tasks with further components. For instance, at numerous faculties, the candidates have a public hearing at a meeting for all lecturers, at others, the lecturers even vote for the candidates, the result of which is not binding for the faculty council but it may influence them; furthermore, this support may serve as a source of legitimacy for the appointed leader in the future. At other faculties, the rector establishes dean election committees (with the participation of the vice-rector), which manages the election process.

     Apart from the election process, there is another, less frequent way of becoming a dean: when there is an exigency. In this case, the rector has the authority to appoint an acting dean for a temporary period. Providing that the acting dean intends to hold his position after the expiry of the temporary period, s/he will have to undergo the formal election process as well.

     On the basis of the interviews, I managed to study the dean's election process in a total of 22 cases. In 11 cases, there was no opponent and in 11 cases, there was at least one opponent (on one occasion, the opponent had withdrawn from competition before the election took place).[88] However, there was only one occasion when the interviewee replaced the incumbent dean in competition; that is, the previous dean ran for the position for the next term, but the other candidate was elected. In all other cases, the previous dean served his/her tenure, retired, was promoted or did not intend, or due to the age limit, might not have been able to rerun for the position. (The interviewees having completed more terms talked mostly about their first election, they did not find the subsequent elections worthwhile to mention.) Nobody talked about a really close competition. It is also to be noted that albeit the law theoretically does not oblige the rector to appoint the person who the faculties have elected, none of the deans or senior managers implied that the election had not been completed confirming the faculty decision. This raises an intriguing question: if we assume that becoming the (middle-)manager of an organisation can be considered a career and a step forward, why was there competition for the dean's position only at about half of the faculties, and even in the other places, relatively few candidates applied.

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[88] There was no information on the presence of an opponent in six cases.

One explanation my be that higher education is not competitive but consensus-oriented, where some agreement on the person to be dean has already evolved on the basis of customary law or a settlement between various interest groups, and the election process is only a ritual, a performance to be "acted out" (in one of my interviewee's words). As one of the senior managers refers to this:

> "Well, to be honest, there is never much competition, so there may be two candidates, but there has never been three here, but in most cases it's more or less settled who the next dean will be." (F8)

Another reason might be that there is not a sufficient number of candidates because the formal and informal requirements for them are high. Furthermore, strong self-censure due to the prevalence of customary law might also interfere; that is, some of the suitable candidates do not even apply. For instance, one of the senior managers made the following remark with regard to the technical area:

> "(…) if there is no professor [participating in the election process], associate professors can, or could compete with each other. However, if there is a professor [among the potential candidates] then associate professors don't dare to challenge him." (F4)

This approach is prevalent in one of the dean's account:

> "Since I'm not a professor, I am still an associate professor, I never thought of ever becoming a dean, because I thought it should be a professor." (D15)

The low intensity of competition for the dean's position may also be explained by the fact that deanship is not a tremendously attractive position, which the following senior manager also refers to:

> Q: „By the way, how attractive is this position?
> A: Not too much.
> Q: And what is the reason for that?
> A: Well, what is the reason for that? I don't… it's a good question. Good question. Eeer...(short pause) it's a good question. I'm not sure. This, to answer this, this… Well, as far as I can see, it's rather personal ambition and a healthy exhibitionism that drive these people. But a dean, who is a good professor, is head of a department or institute is in no worse position than if s/he takes on being the dean of a faculty." (F3)

The dominant narratives characteristic of the election of deans evolving from the interviews may reveal much about higher education itself (or rather the higher education institution in question). A total of four (five) types of election stories could be observed in the interviews:

1. "I apply and win – even against another candidate" (4 cases): the representatives of this narrative always become deans in a competitive process; namely, they prevailed among more candidates. They consider the process of competition essentially positive. They describe the election process in great detail, many a time they can even remember the proportions of votes from several years before. The fierceness of the competition is indicated

by the fact that in most cases, they prevail over the other candidates only by a few votes. These deans describe at length what goals, motivations and talent making them suitable for the position they have; thus, they emphasise primarily their internal drive while they do not attribute much significance to the other actors of the process in their making a decision to run. Several of these deans had thought of running for rector or had already tried it. The representatives of this narrative became deans at faculties which used to be independent colleges or which were established at colleges with more centralised traditions.

> "And then this career became open and then I thought it was time I applied. I also thought I had a vision for this, regarding that [I had been here] for a long time; that is, I used to study here, I had lived through the process in which […] an educational programme was transformed into a faculty. […] Now, I hadn't really expected it, but there was another candidate. […] And then it was very interesting that this colleague of mine came to me and said that she would [apply], too, because everybody knew about me but her run was a surprise, but she came to me and said it and I said thank you, than, let's apply. And then we applied and the result was more or less obvious in terms of who would support her, since she had her circle of supporters, but I won, by not such a big margin, I can check it if you want so it was ten and some people, so I had the majority, not a landslide victory but I had the majority. […] Now, actually, if I look back I think that I was actually happy about this, because I could say that, so that there were more candidates. But it wasn't like there was one and people automatically thought that if there was one, that had to be elected." (D21)

2. Another group of deans (3 cases) also landed the position by competition; however, they report on the whole election process very succinctly or sometimes even dismiss it completely. Details about the opponents and the election process only emerge in connection with other questions. Similarly to the representatives of the previous narrative, they also mention their own goals, plans and the features making them suitable for the position (such as their extensive network of relationships).

> A: "Well look, I have been in higher education for X years, and when I got here […] I became head of department and after that […] the dean at the time […] was promoted vice-rector and a vacancy opened up for deanship. I applied, the senate elected and the rector appointed me.
> Q: […] And what was the election process or the preparation for being a dean like?
> A: Well, only that the application was open, two applications arrived, then there was a public occasion where we, the candidates could introduce our concepts and then the procedure started." (D13)

3. "Request of factions" (5 cases): according to this narrative, the interviewee runs for deanship because different interest groups of the faculty contact them and ask them to apply. Several deans pointed out that the decisive incentive had been when various, occasionally adversarial interest groups encouraged them to apply. In spite of this, there may be opponents in the election process, but in each case, the emphasis is on the agreement, the consensus prior to the election. Moreover, there was a dean who explicitly insisted on having no other candidate in the election process.

> "So I didn't want to run while, I don't know, there [were] several candidates or if I didn't feel sufficient support." (D11)

The reason for this may not only be to secure adequate authorisation but – as another interviewee mentions it – to minimise students' influence. This aspect is justified since the

narrative in question is characteristic mostly of the deans of large, fragmented and heterogeneous university faculties (such as faculties of art) or those of small, focused, occasionally young university faculties newly seceded from another institution.

> "When my colleagues suggested [that I be dean], at first I told them they must be joking. I am not used to being kidded. But they didn't stop, they kept coming to me. From more places, from more directions. You know, there's some tension between X and Y societies at the faculty. I gave in when both sides contacted me. Then I said they must want something in that respect. So I was aware of what I was taking on; thus, of progressing at a different pace in my professional career, I was making a conflict out of it for myself by accepting this situation that if I meant to do a 100% job in this position, it had its price. Among others, the one that I would advance more slowly in my professional career." (D15)

> "After the first term, [the previous dean] did not want, despite strong encouragement, to continue in this position. Then several people suggested that they could imagine me doing this in the future. So, there were several discussions which underlined the seriousness of this idea. So I accepted to run for deanship. By the way, I must mention in connection with the preparatory process that there was only one candidate. So there'd been a pretty obvious consensus before the election." (D3)

4. "The previous dean's recommendation" (3 cases): a decisive factor in the process of becoming dean is the stepping down (retirement, promotion to rector/vice-rector, etc.) of the previous dean always represented to be strong, who had played an important part not only in shaping the operation and profile of the faculty but in the fostering and selection of their successor since the new dean had served as the deputy of the previous one in each case. The election process is hardly ever mentioned in the interviews with deans, there is no opponent and the election is merely a formality. This narrative was characteristic mostly of the deans of large universities.

> "Before, I had been the deputy-director-general for research at the faculty and the director-general, who became the rector of the whole [institution], well, left the faculty to me." (D12)

> A: "then this faculty was established as a new faculty, and then I started as vice-dean, general vice-dean, and in the following term the founding dean could not rerun due to his age or the age limit, and then it was me.
> Q: And was this so self-evident?
> A: At the time I thought it was. Yes, as general vice-dean, I thought that the previous dean had been managing everything sort of that way. So, I had been involved there in everything, and that's why. However, what made it a little uncertain was that there are two large disciplinary areas in this faculty […]. Now, the founding dean was [the representative of one of those areas]; therefore, it was proposed to have someone from the other area at that time, but then it didn't happen. The truth is that other people did not have such ambition, so there was no particular competition." (D19)

5. "Request of the rector's management" (3+4 cases): The specificity of these cases is that the rector or the rector's management has an active role in the election of the dean. It is either resulted by an exigency (a situation emerges in which the appointment of the new dean becomes urgent), or the rector's management has firm ideas about the expectations towards the new dean. The latter is mostly typical of centralised institutions (former colleges), and on occasions, it may be characteristic of the dean's atypical career paths. While in the former case, deans themselves often take the position due to an exigency (without an opponent), the

deans elected along a concept emphasise the challenge and individual opportunities instead. The presence of an opponent is scarce in this case as well. The election process is formal.

> "And [the previous dean] announced his/her resignation on 10 August or so. He told the rector like this, that he would now resign. [...] So s/he put the rector in a very unpleasant position. I think there was an element of blackmail in it. So he didn't think the rector would accept it. But by then, the rector had had enough of this blackmailing because that wasn't the first time. And then he accepted the resignation and called me on Friday or Saturday, I can't remember exactly, so it was not working hours. That this was the case, and he had thought of me. [...] And I practically had no idea of becoming dean. [...] But literally, so I found myself in a situation in which the rector had asked me to be the dean, which I didn't want to do. However, I think of the rector highly enough to acknowledge what a quagmire he had got into. This was actually the reason [...] why I said yes, okay, I would take the position. (D1)

These stories show that there is no dominant election process in general because it takes place in a complex field of force. This is well-represented by the diversity of the election process and the key actors that emerged from the interviews; namely, the elected nature of the dean's position allows for a variety of deans and role interpretations related to deanship. Naturally, this may be influenced by the features, the past and the size of faculty.

These stories reveal much not only about the institutional system of higher education, but the motivations, beliefs and higher education narratives of the deans presenting them. For instance, it emerges who each dean regards as significant (worthwhile to mention, special) actors during the election process (and who they do not), what role they attribute to themselves in the election process, etc. However, at this time, the emphasis is on the description of the higher education system; the deans' mindset is going to be discussed later.

8.2. The Temporary Nature of the Dean's Position

The recent higher education laws have always provided that the dean's (or higher managerial) position may be held for 3-5 years, which term may be renewed once – via a new election. Thus, deans may hold their position without interruption for 6-10 years at the most, afterwards, they are obliged to skip a term. There were two important exceptions to this general rule. In 1999, the amendment of the law on integration provided[89] that after their term had expired, the faculty leaders of the institutions involved in the integration process would start with a "blank sheet"; namely, they might apply freely again, regardless of the number of terms they had already served in the position. In 2009 another legislative amendment[90] allowed for the beginning of a third term (even above 65 years of age) provided that the given dean was confirmed in his position by a 2/3 majority. (Several of my interviewees were serving their third term in accordance with this rule.)

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[89] Section 7(5) of Act LII of 1999 on the transformation of the network of higher education institutions, amending Act LXXX of 1993 on higher education. Under Section 56(5) of the Higher Education Act, all institutional leadership mandates granted in the successor institutions are to be considered new, first-time mandates.
[90] Act XLIII of 2009 amending Act CXXXIX of 2005 on higher education.

As a result, with the presence of certain conditions, even remaining in office since 1993 has been theoretically possible for a dean. Albeit there are examples of exceptionally long careers as dean (for instance, one dean had been at the top of the faculty/college for 19 years in 2010), 90% of the incumbent deans in 2010 had been in office for 8 years or less.

Table 22: Active Years in Office since Their
Election of Deans Active in 2010[91]

Years in office	Deans having served the given number of years:	
	their number	their proportion (%)
1	9	6 0
2	13	8 7
3	16	10 7
4	14	9 3
5	20	13 3
6	14	9.3
7	8	5.3
8	4	2.7
9	5	3.3
10	1	.7
11	2	1.3
13	1	.7
14	1	.7
19	1	.7
N.A.	41	27.3
Total	150	100.0

Source: the author's own compilation on the basis of faculty websites and the deans' CVs.

All in all, it is worth emphasising that according to the regulation, deanship is a leadership position restricted in time, which cannot be continued even if the leader would have the ambition to. This must affect the potential for the professionalization of the dean's position, the dean's future perspectives and motivations related to deanship since the existing professional positions are worth keeping simultaneously with deanship. This has several advantages, for instance, deanship requires continuous professional incorporation, thus, it does not become a purely administrative position. The necessary periodical replacement of leaders does not only provide an opportunity for the renewal of the faculty (under a new leader, issues may be revisited) but it does not let outgoing deans be detached from the profession either. Several deans among the interviewees supported this view (see the following quote) and there was hardly any opinion regretting the necessary giving up of deanship.

> "I think that this type of work, the work of a university or faculty leader can be done for two terms; let's say it can be renewed once. Since if it's a one-time job, it supposes a rotation which practically means the rule of bureaucracy. Because by the time a leader gets into the swing of

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[91] I considered it to be uninterrupted time spent in the position if the dean of a given faculty used to be the head of a college before 1999.

the job s/he is doing, time is already up and this runs endlessly. Under no circumstances, with no 2/3 majority or other tricks would I allow anyone to be dean or rector for more than two terms. However, two terms are reasonable. So this also answers your question that, this guarantees reintegration, continuation and the incorporation of everything that has been experienced in this." (D3)

Of course, temporariness has its drawbacks as well: it is less worth "investing" in deanship, and the interest in using deanship in favour of one's (future) individual professional career may be enhanced. Deans may want to preserve their previous professional and administrative positions (head of research, head of department, head of major, etc.); due to this, however, their time becomes fragmented and it makes it difficult to concentrate their efforts on tasks related to deanship.

8.3. Requirements for Professional Experience

Until the higher education law of 2005, the higher education law at all times had provided that a faculty council was to elect the faculty leader from among associate professors and college and university professors. (The law did not provide for this between 1993 and 1996, but the amendment of 1996 clarified the practices before 1993.) Albeit the wording of the legislation is not unambiguous, it suggests that the leader of the faculty should be elected from among the associate professors and professors of *the given faculty*. However, the higher education law of 2005 – with the exception of age and the number of terms – set no restrictions regarding the person to be elected dean; namely, in theory, even a senior lecturer or an external lecturer may be faculty leader. However, the Rules of Procedures and employment statutes of higher education institutions as well as the analysis of the deans' actual duties reveal that the institutions have mostly preserved the old practice and no lecturer lower in ranking than a college associate professor could become dean anywhere. (Obviously, this does not exclude the possibility of someone having been appointed associate professor so that s/he was able to hold the dean's position. This, however, did not emerge in the interviews and is impossible to examine on the basis of CVs.)

Table 23: The Deans' Duties in 2010 By Disciplines and the Type of Institution

	N.A.	College Associate Professor	(University) Associate Professor	College Professor	University Professor	Proportion of University Professors
Distribution by discipline						
Faculties of agriculture	0	0	3	2	9	64.3%
Faculties of arts	0	0	7	2	5	35.7%
Faculties of medicine and healthcare	0	1	4	4	11	55.0%
Faculties of economics	1	0	9	4	6	30.0%
Faculties of economics and technical studies	0	1	0	0	0	0.0%
Faculties of economics and social sciences	0	0	1	1	2	50.0%
IT faculties	0	0	4	0	3	42.9%
Faculties of law and public administration	0	0	5	1	4	40.0%
Technical faculties	1	0	5	3	9	50.0%
Faculties of technical studies and agriculture	0	1	0	1	0	0.0%
Faculties of technical studies and natural sciences	0	0	0	0	4	100.0%
Art faculties	2	0	0	4	1	14.3%
Faculties of pedagogy	1	0	3	10	5	26.3%
Faculties of social sciences	1	0	1	0	1	33.3%
Faculties of natural sciences	0	0	1	2	4	57.1%
According to the Becher-Trowler distribution of disciplines*						
Applied hard areas (AH)	1	2	17	10	33	52.4%
Pure areas (AH/PH)	0	0	0	0	4	100.0%
Applied soft areas (AS)	3	0	17	17	16	30.2%
Applied areas (AS/AH)	0	1	1	0	1	33.3%
Pure hard areas (PH)	0	0	1	2	4	57.1%
Pure soft areas (PS)	2	0	7	5	6	30.0%
By the type of institution						
Foundation university	2	0	1	0	0	0.0%
Foundation college	0	0	0	2	0	0.0%
State university	3	1	33	20	58	50.4%
State college	0	2	4	11	4	19.0%
Church-run university	1	0	5	1	2	22.2%
Total	**6**	**3**	**43**	**34**	**64**	**42.7%**
The distribution of active deans participating in the interviews						
	0	**0**	**6**	**5**	**14**	**56.0%**

*For a detailed discussion see subchapter 3.1.2
Source: the author's own gathering on the basis of faculty leaders' CVs.

However, due to the more lenient legislative regulation, deviations from the general trend can bee seen in some places. For instance, in some institutions (mostly colleges), college associate professors were also permitted to be elected faculty leaders. However, in other institutions criteria have become stricter and, for instance, habilitation is also required (even indirectly, attached to an appointment to associate professor).

The rigour (of either the regulation or the requirements) is not only supposed to indicate the prestige of the position but it may also guarantee that the leaders of the faculties have the appropriate experience in teaching and research. The prestige of the position and the experience serve as an important basis for legitimacy for the leader, in the more hierarchic disciplines in particular. It may not be accidental that university professors as deans are dominant primarily in hard areas (medical, technical, agricultural and of natural sciences), as it is reflected well by the data of Table 23 as well as by the following account of a dean:

"And then my appointment to university professor had already started and it is important that at a faculty like this, it's almost obligatory for the dean to be a university professor, but the vice-dean for research should also be at least Doctor of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. […] This is only our eccentricity. Because the staff is like that, we can afford this. Obviously, this [viz. deanship] requires numerous managerial skills, which the position of university professor doesn't necessarily ensure; moreover, I believe that university professors, don't write this down, but I believe they become demented by the time they get there. But the negotiations in different bodies and the acknowledgement, so as a university person you must feel that...Although it's at least not that bad here as at the Medical University. But hierarchy is always hierarchy. And *(short pause)*, so, there is, for instance, a scientific committee, which is comprised of the representatives of each department group, an elected, not delegated representative, who explicitly has to be a university professor, and all the academicians of the faculty. (…) So in such a forum, [the dean] may easily be told that a little associate professor should shut up or something like that." (D11)

However, it should be emphasised that the more rigorous the criteria for professional advancement; thus, for the (faculty) leader's appointment are, the narrower the circle of those to be elected will become; therefore, the potential number of suitable leaders decreases. It is particularly true at faculties where being a university professor is a prerequisite, which depends on the approval of an external actor (the Hungarian Accreditation Committee, MAB); therefore, securing it is more difficult in some disciplines. In the interviews conducted with those at the end of their deanship or with former deans, the difficulty of finding the faculty leader and/or the successor was mentioned several times.

"I have been thinking a lot about that, that I probably should do something about it [viz. succeeding], but who can you teach this to, who can you consider someone suitable, who you can see has an affinity to this and then you say you'll try to help them, and give them everything, obviously, but you should see someone first. Well, now, in this sense I didn't seen anyone, so, on the one hand, we have to check who complies with the legislative requirements. On the other hand, we have to consider who has any affinity to this thing. I didn't see this affinity in my colleagues, regarding that I had to work with the heads of departments. (…) And then I gave this up, because I thought others had to want this as well, while I knew that s/he complied with the legislative things and s/he was the best among the potential candidates. Now, to tell you the story like that. Do you get it? So it wasn't me who elected him/her, but surely, since I also had a vote, I also voted for him/her in this story because I said that... Look, let's admit it, contraselection exists. I was probably also a contraselected person back then, let's say it out loud, between the two of us, that s/he is also one, even if everything can be learned except for mathematics. *(they are both laughing)* In my opinion." (D21)

"So there would have been no problem with the successor at all, and it wouldn't have been a problem to find a colleague who, I can say, on the basis of his faculty experience, years of experience, and who doesn't come from the outside, and on the basis of his internal appreciation, is the most suitable in every respect. But, unfortunately, this doesn't always coincide with complying with the requirement to be qualified. And if I think it over, I may want

two different things. I would want someone who is not qualified and I could want someone else, who has the qualifications but I don't want him. I don't want him because I don't think I would like to see him here. It's not my decision, but let's put it this way, if I were asked to name a successor and I could only name him, who otherwise, from an administrative point of view, meets the criteria listed on paper, I wouldn't name anyone because I still think that, god forbid s/he should be it." (D12)

These details not only demonstrate that deans play an active part in the issue of succeeding (which is not self-evident), but the aspects of the selection as well: the person should "have affinity" to the position, s/he should not arrive from the outside and be appreciated within the institution. The limit with both of them (and the other, unquoted interviews) was set by the difficulty of acquiring the qualified status or, in harder disciplines, the title of university professor[92].

One of the idiosyncrasies of the Hungarian (and in broader terms: the post-socialist) higher education system is the long career path (see *OECD* [2008]), which means that acquiring the title of university professor, which provides real independence, may be achieved by a multi-step, prolonged process. Thus, this not only consolidates the gate-keeper role of the academic elite (since they are increasingly in charge of accepting a candidate) and conserves the candidates' dependence on them, but also results in the fact that in formal terms, lecturers become suitable for the dean's position in the second half or last third of their career paths. Thus, for instance, the deans in office in 2010 were first (for their first term) appointed faculty leaders at the age of 52-53 on average (see Table 24). At the same time, Table 25 shows that there is no significant difference in terms of age between those appointed as associate professors, college or university professors, albeit the appointment to associate professor is already achievable between 35 and 45 years of age in several disciplines. This proves that appropriate professional advancement is insufficient for the appointment; other factors also influence the process. This may be age itself (for instance, more elderly deans are preferred among the candidates), or may be a factor related to age (such as the administrative career path or age-related attributes, for instance, wisdom). This – in my opinion – affects the dean's motivations, vision, family life and habit, which I am going to discuss in detail in the next chapter.

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[92] The reason for this is that securing the title of a university professor is independent from the institution and is controlled by the Hungarian Accreditation Committee (MAB) and, informally, by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (for the approval of the appointment, the MAB often requires the title of "Doctor of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences", which, however, is granted by the Academy).

Table 24: The Average Age of Deans Active in 2010 at the Time of Their Appointment and the Average Length of Their Tenures in Office

	Dean's age at the time of appointment[93]				Time spent in the position by 2010[94]			
	Aver-age	Devia-tion	Total number of deans	Deans with no data	Aver-age	Devia-tion	Total number of deans	Deans with no data
Distribution by discipline								
Faculties of agriculture	49.0	5.4	14	4	6.10	3.96	14	4
Faculties of arts	526	6.2	14	5	4.18	2.44	14	3
Faculties of medicine and healthcare	53.4	7.3	20	9	3.92	2.23	20	8
Faculties of economics	49.4	7.6	20	9	3.93	1.79	20	5
Faculties of economics and technical studies	.	.	1	1	.	.	1	1
Faculties of economics and social sciences	51.0	12.2	4	1	6.33	3.06	4	1
IT faculties	57.7	3.5	7	0	4.71	2.63	7	0
Faculties of law and public administration	50.2	6.4	10	1	4.10	2.73	10	0
Technical faculties	54.5	6.1	18	5	4.54	2.03	18	5
Faculties of technical studies and agriculture	33.0	.	2	1	2.00	.	2	1
Faculties of technical studies and natural sciences	57.0	2.9	4	0	6.00	3.16	4	0
Art faculties	55.8	5.0	7	3	4.25	2.22	7	3
Faculties of pedagogy	53.8	4.8	19	9	7.91	4.78	19	8
Faculties of social sciences	53.0	.	3	2	7.00	.	3	2
Faculties of natural sciences	52.4	4.5	7	0	4.57	1.13	7	0
By the institutional provider								
Foundation university	42.0	.	3	2	2.50	.71	3	1
Foundation college	63.0	.	2	1	1.00	.00	2	0
State university	53.4	5.7	115	38	5.01	2.64	115	35
State college	49.5	9.2	21	8	4.81	2.83	21	5
Church-run university	48.6	6.4	9	1	5.44	5.27	9	0
Total	52.5	6.6	150	50	4.90	2.95	150	41
The distribution of active deans participating in the interviews								
	52.1	5.5	24	1	5.36	2.98	25	0

Source: the author's own compilation on the basis of faculty leaders' CVs.

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[93] Although these are not identical issues, it may be worth referring to Moore's questionnaire survey conducted with the participation of 1293 American deans, in which 8.3% of the deans were younger than 39 years upon conducting the survey, while 36.1% of them was between 40 and 49 years. 40.2% of the deans were between 50-59 years and 15.4% of them were 60 years and older. (*Moore* [1983] p.56)

[94] In comparison: in Moore's questionnaire survey conducted with the participation of 1293 American deans, 15.3% of the deans had been in office for more then 11 years upon conducting the survey, while 58.3% of them had been in office for less than 5 years. (*Moore* [1983] p.56)

Table 25: The Age of Deans upon Appointment by Positions

Position (in 2010)	Number of Deans Working in the Given Position	Number of Deans on whom No Necessary Data is Available	Average Age upon Appointment
College associate professor	3	2	33.0
University associate professor	43	15	49.7
College professor	34	18	53.8
University professor	64	12	54.3
No data on position	6	3	47.3
Total	150	50	52.5

Source: the author's own calculations on the basis of faculty leaders' CVs.

Another, indirect effect of the preference of seniority is that the proportion of women is considerably low among deans, in the technical areas and social sciences in particular (the rate of healthcare-related areas is improved by college faculties of healthcare; traditional medical faculties are more male-dominated). The lower proportion in general may be related to the fact that the proportion of women among lecturers is already low (37% in 2009, according the statistical data of the Ministry of National Resources (NEFMI)[95]) but it is presumably even lower among associate professors and university professors.[96] As a result, the number of formally suitable female candidates is, by definition, lower than that of men.

The fact that one of the important career stages, vice-deanship is already male-dominated – this is demonstrated by the following table –, also contributes to the male dominance of the dean's position.

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[95] http://db.nefmi.gov.hu/statisztika/fs09_fm/Default.aspx , on the basis of Table 3.5.2. (date of access: 20 March 2012)

[96] Unfortunately, there are no comprehensive Hungarian statistics on the number of men and women working in the different lecturing and research positions because the statistics of ministries only contain the proportion of women in total. Although it cannot be considered representative, it is worth mentioning that at Corvinus University of Budapest, the proportion of women was between 37-40% between 2004 and 2007; however, the rate is explicitly decreasing in the different positions: while the proportion of women among assistant lecturers was between 46-51% and it reached 45-48% even among senior lecturers, it was only 33-36% among associate professors and merely 13-18% among university professors. (*BCE* [2009])

Table 26: The Number and Proportion of Female Deans and Vice-Deans in 2010

	Number of Deans			Number of Vice-Deans		
	Total	From this: female	Proportion of female deans	Total	From this: female	Proportion of female vice-deans
Distribution by discipline						
Faculties of agriculture	14	1	7.1%	27	4	14.8%
Faculties of arts	14	4	28.6%	31	13	41.9%
Faculties of medicine and healthcare	20	4	20.0%	40	10	25.0%
Faculties of economics	20	6	30.0%	33	10	30.3%
Faculties of economics and technical studies	1	0	0.0%	0	0	-
Faculties of economics and social sciences	4	1	25.0%	9	1	11.1%
IT faculties	7	1	14.3%	20	2	10.0%
Faculties of law and public administration	10	1	10.0%	23	7	30.4%
Technical faculties	18	1	5.6%	51	9	17.6%
Faculties of technical studies and agriculture	2	0	0.0%	3	0	0.0%
Faculties of technical studies and natural sciences	4	0	0.0%	9	0	0.0%
Art faculties	7	0	0.0%	5	3	60.0%
Faculties of pedagogy	19	4	21.1%	32	18	56.3%
Faculties of social sciences	3	1	33.3%	5	1	20.0%
Faculties of natural sciences	7	1	14.3%	16	4	25.0%
According to the Becher-Tower distribution of disciplinary areas						
Applied hard areas (AH)	63	7	11.1%	147	27	18.4%
Pure areas (AH/PH)	4	0	0.0%	9	0	0.0%
Applied soft areas (AS)	53	13	24.5%	94	35	37.2%
Applied areas (AS/AH)	3	0	0.0%	2	0	0.0%
Pure hard areas (PH)	7	1	14.3%	16	4	25.0%
Pure soft areas (PS)	20	4	20.0%	36	16	44.4%
Distribution by institutional provider						
Foundation university	3	1	33.3%	n.a.	n.a.	-
Foundation college	2	0	0.0%	0	0	-
State university	115	16	13.9%	260	66	25.4%
State college	21	6	28.6%	25	10	40.0%
Church-run university	9	2	22.2%	19	6	31.6%
Total	**150**	**25**	**16.7%**	**304**	**82**	**27.0%**
The distribution of active deans participating in the interviews						
	25	7	28%			

*For a detailed discussion see subchapter 3.1.2

Note: there was no information on the number and gender of vice-deans at 6 faculties and there was no information on the gender of 5 vice-deans.

Source: the author's own compilation, on the basis of faculty websites

Thus, the legal regulation preferring seniority favours the appointment of more elderly male deans; however, these expectations are also manifest in informal terms. For instance, female leaders reported on the difficulties of being accepted as managers by themselves, without being asked about it, while this issue – apart from one dean arriving at the faculty from outside – was never mentioned. One of the female interviewees digressed the following way when while answering my question about the process of her becoming dean:

> "And then, on the way it emerged, my name emerged as a potential candidate and then it happened… So I wanted that beforehand – it shouldn't be me who checks it, but it should be checked whether I would be accepted. I am the first female dean [at the faculty]. So this… I usually don't attribute much significance to this. I committed the first New Year's Eve reception in a skirt, as a joke, but I don't think it causes problems." (D11)

Albeit the interviewee emphasised several times during the interview that her being a woman did not provoke any dilemma at the faculty, she still felt it important to return to the topic on a few occasions. The issues of being female and young also emerged in the case of other deans appointed at an age younger than the average.

> Q: "To what extent is the position of a male dean different.
> A: This is a difficult question. It's difficult because I have also… I have been thinking about it a lot. My predecessor was also a woman, I must add that. She was the first female director-general at the faculty, there had only been men before. And I am only the second, but the youngest, if you like, because in terms of age, I think, it's not common either that someone becomes dean so relatively early. I think it's an unconventional story. At least in a higher education institution." (D30)

> "even when I became dean, I was not young any more. But my colleague is coming back from Miskolc with the news that they're saying a slip of a girl has become dean [at our faculty]. A slip of a girl. *(both are laughing)* And I say, okay then." (D9)

8.4. The Ways of Becoming Dean

8.4.1. The Dean's Career Paths

Naturally, there are not only professional, age-related and gender-related expectations towards deans but other types as well. The first question of the interviews with deans was almost invariably the one: "how did you become dean?" The majority of respondents listed their administrative, managerial positions held before, implying the importance of this experience. One of the interviewees started the answer by saying, almost apologetically: "Well, I hadn't been vice-dean before". (D25) (As a counterpoint, it may be noted that a few of the deans talked about their professional career path, the exigencies prior to their election as deans or emphasised their motivations, their skills and abilities making them suitable for deanship when answering this question.)

We could see above that certain advancement in the professional (lecturing-research) hierarchy is also a formal requirement for deans; however, the interviews suggest that administrative-managerial experience also seems to be a prerequisite for being elected dean.

This is revealed by the interviewees' previous experience, the administrative-managerial positions held by them as well as their experience outside the institution, on the basis of which I sought to explore the presumably typical and atypical ways of becoming dean. I analysed a total of 31 cases of becoming dean[97], on the basis of which the following paths may be considered typical:

- Gradual career path (10 cases): the lecturer holds the position of a head of department and/or institute, then that of a vice-dean in the given faculty before their appointment (often keeping their position as head of department).
- Head of department turned dean (8 cases): during this career path, the head of department or head of institute directly becomes dean, skipping the position of vice-dean.
- Vice-dean turned dean (6 cases): the positions of head of department and head of institute are omitted from the career path to deanship. These deans occasionally (at times due to an exigency) become heads of departments or institutes during their deanship. I also included here the case in which a dean used to be the deputy-director-general of a previously independent college.

There are some career paths that can be regarded as atypical as well:

- Dean after a by-pass to central administration (3 cases) a unique case of the intra-institutional career path when the gradual career path is interrupted by holding a position in the central administration of the institution for a shorter or longer period of time (such as the positions of vice-rector or secretary-general).
- Dean invited from outside (from other higher education or research institution) (2 cases) In both cases, the dean's invitation from another higher education institution or academic research institute was due to the difficulty finding a candidate within the given faculty or institution who complied with both the legislative requirements and the faculty expectations towards the dean. The appointment to dean is usually not completely unestablished, it is occasionally preceded by a shorter invitation as head of department, institutional president or guest lecturer; however, poaching the person to the institution was ensured only by the promise of deanship. Invited deans had already gained administrative managerial experience in another institution; namely, they had held a presidential position or vice-deanship there.
- Dean after a career-by-pass outside the institution (2 cases): during this career path, the dean takes on an external (for instance, diplomatic, ministry-related or other extra-institutional) task interrupting their career as a university lecturer or in the administration, then, having returned to the university, they become – by persuasion – dean.

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[97] Albeit I conducted interviews with 30 incumbent, acting or future deans, not all of these could be used for the analysis of the career path. However, some of the senior managers involved in the interviews used to be deans, and the majority of them referred to the history of their becoming dean while describing their career paths. Thus, eventually, I had the opportunity to explore 31 career paths of deans in more detail.

I am not aware of any analysis of career paths of European deans or in European higher education systems; therefore, I compare the results of my small-sample research with the statistics of the American study referred to in subchapter 4.4.1. (The comparison can be found in Table 27.)

Table 27: Typical Career Paths of Deans in the United States and in Hungary

	Career Paths of Deans					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Dean	■	■	■	■	■	■
Vice-Dean	■		■		■	
Head of Department	■	■				
Lecturer	■	■	■	■		
	Internal Career Paths*				External Career Paths*	
Proportions (USA)	4.8%	19.5%	12.7%	35.4%	4.2%	11.4%
Proportions (HUN)	32.3%	29.0%	25.8%	3.2%	0	0

■ – career stage
* Internal career path means a career path within the higher education system and not within the institution. In the Hungarian proportions, I included the career paths previously regarded as atypical due to the interviewee moving from one higher education institution to another . During the external career path, a person becomes dean without experience in lecturing.
Source of the US survey: on the basis of the data by *Moore* [1983]:76[98]

The results of the American survey show some similarities with the pattern of the Hungarian higher education system evolving from the interviews in that being elected from within the higher education system can be considered the dominant practice in the US as well. However, one significant difference is that the role of deans arriving from outside the sphere of higher education is negligible in the Hungarian higher education system. In the American higher education system, approximately one-sixth of deans holding this position came from outside, particularly in the areas which were strongly related to a practical sector (e.g. law); however, this was unprecedented in Hungary. Neither is the career path of a lecturer directly becoming dean common in Hungary, while in the US, this is definitely the most frequent type of career path. One of the consequences is that the career path I call "gradual", regarded as the norm has a greater role in Hungary; furthermore, the positions of the head of department and the vice-dean are of greater significance with regard to becoming dean. The former had a role in 61%, the latter in 58% of the deans' career paths examined in the Hungarian survey, which corresponds with the results of a previous Hungarian research, according to which 64.4% of the people filling a dean's position in 2006 had some previous experience (as vice-dean, head of department or possibly as rector or vice-rector) (*Forgó* [2008]). However, Moore's data on the American higher education system reflect that the position of neither the head of department nor the vice-dean is indispensable for deanship since they were significant in 24.3% and 21.7% of all cases,

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[98] In another study of Moore (*Moore, Salimbene et al.* [1983]), she publishes different proportions in a smaller sample; however, the reason for the difference remains unexplained.

respectively. (At the same time, it should be noted that later American surveys did not fully confirm these data.) On the whole, it may be concluded that the frequency of traditional (or close to traditional) career paths leading to deanship is much higher in Hungary; namely, the majority of interviewees had practically "grown" into the position and during their careers of different lengths, they had gone through the stages of being head of department, head of institute, vice-dean and eventually dean. One or another of the different stages of the career path considered to be complete may be skipped or implemented simultaneously; furthermore, even someone becoming dean first and head of department later was possible in some cases. On occasions, the advancement in the administrative hierarchy occurred simultaneously with reaching the top of the career ladder in lecturing and research (that is, securing an appointment to university/college professor); however, the interviewees had much more frequently become heads of departments, vice-deans or deans as already successful lecturers.

Due to the gradual fashion of becoming dean, it is unsurprising that the majority of deans reported that upon being appointed dean, they were not unprepared for the tasks or the content of the role since

> "(…) when I was vice-dean, I already saw some of the tasks, even if (…) I didn't have any direct influence on the employment, economic or other decisions, but I saw them." (D1)

Thus, the acquisition of the dean's role was realised via informal socialisation (this may be considered to be general, which was confirmed by other surveys (*del Favero* [2006]). Albeit several interviewees voiced that they had never studied management, nobody mentioned with regard to becoming dean that they had participated in a formal course or started a conscious preparation process for this particular reason.

The closeness resulted by the higher education laws and internal norms have undoubtedly contributed to the dominance of the gradual career path. Closeness, however, does not only refer to the closeness of the sphere of higher education but that of higher education institutions as well. Out of the 31 career paths studied, there were only 7 which involved moving institutions, among which there were merely 3 which were admittedly related to an appointment to leader (head of department, dean or vice-dean). On the basis of this experience, the dominant practices of the Hungarian higher education system may be that institutions seek to fill each managerial position from the pool of institutional lecturers, while attracting external, already acknowledged lecturers and leaders is uncommon.

Therefore, according to the dominant practices, deans become faculty leaders in the institution where they have started their careers in higher education, or where they have spent the majority of their careers. The popularity of these practices suggests that from the perspective of the actors of the faculty, deanship is a position based on trust, which requires profound knowledge of the local context (and naturally, is the consequence of the dominant rules of electing deans – namely, the appointment depending on the support of faculty councils). An undeniable advantage of this is that the leaders already dispose of the appropriate knowledge of the local context upon their appointment, which, on the one hand, ensures the organic development of the faculty (abrupt changes of direction are rare), and on the other hand, it may result in a trust capital that can foster the acceptance of difficult decisions triggering changes. One of the deans, who used to even study at the faculty and, as a dean (having been a single

candidate), had been responsible for implementing a strict consolidation programme, not only stated that the his colleagues had trusted him because of his past at the faculty, but also mentioned that an external university commissioner appointed by the rector had been confronted with passive resistance earlier. In his words:

> "At the time I realised it was passive resistance (…). And I also thought that the commissioner, if he was cleverer, who was put here, or smarter or more able, then he should solve this passive resistance. So, he hadn't been present during the preparation of decisions, he didn't get much support. I am putting it mildly. So, if he was put here, let him do it. So, if he was entrusted, then he has the final word anyway, so let him do it." (D2)

At the same time, however, these practices result in a certain inbreeding, which, on the contrary, reduces the faculties' ability to renew themselves since by the time someone becomes a faculty leader, they might be too entrapped by the local network of interests or mindset. With a long past at the faculty, it is significantly more difficult to represent radical changes authentically, and unless there is strong external pressure, it is also more problematic to face change-related conflicts. A dean who had arrived at the faculty shortly before his appointment talked about the significance of this:

> "So, I had had a semester as a lecturer, but it was almost obvious back then that I would apply, and I was thinking about deanship as (*short pause*), whether it was a question of courage or not, especially because it was a completely different environment. But I rather thought that it was easier for me at the time because that way there was nothing that could hinder me. There had been a lot of personal relationships, that they were my students, or many other things which had been plenty of arguments which were disadvantageous for me [in the previous institution]." (D8)

8.4.2. The Significance of Experience Gained Outside the Higher Education System

The dangers of inbreeding become manifest in light of the otherwise rare interviews in which interviewees discussed the productive power of experience gained in other sectors. They assess this experience of theirs mostly as an important point of reference against which they are able to judge the practices of higher education and on the basis of which they also define their own leadership roles.

> "Before I went [abroad], I had finished my PhD thesis but I had fallen out with someone [in the institution] and then I thought I didn't care about an academic career any more, I would get up and go [abroad], make tons of money and I would be fine and that's all. Some time had passed and I started missing it. So I was missing it in the sense that, that I think it's very valuable when a person does this for such a large company. […] And then I thought I wanted to know whether I would still be able to find out theorems, I came back. I came back to Hungary, but I brought a way of thinking with me. […] an approach which doesn't necessarily exist within higher education. So I think that the reason why they accepted me even later at this faculty was that I operated this faculty and I have been operating it to this day as if it was an enterprise. So the approach that I had acquired abroad and the fact that I had created a complete accounting system for a company and if a trial balance is put in front of me, I can make sense of it, this was not entirely a typical story here." (D7)

> "The other part was a consistent, continuous interest in the modernisation of education. Now, such types of challenges can easily be found nowadays. So, because I saw some examples

here and abroad. I had to sink my teeth into French when, in addition to higher education, I was dealing with educational relationships at the embassy. It was logical to try and bring some of this experience over to the system here." (D3)

"(Before,) I had been head of a academic research institute, there had been much research going on (…). I arrived from another world into a different one because the world of academic research and the academic world function along a completely different logic, system than a university. The goals, the space for manoeuvre, the management, the interests, the systems of values are entirely different. So, these are very different. And this, so, to be honest, I needed years to realise this. (…) And here, it was, well, a customary structure, certain organisational models had evolved, certain positions, people's systems of values, and then I had brought this academic system of values, we had publications, we had been writing articles and I don't know, I had been proposed for an academy membership and all, so it was obvious for me. Then they were just sitting here like canned food on the shelf, doing nothing *(interviewee and interviewer are both laughing).*" (F7)

Work experience gained outside higher education does not only appear *as a point of reference* in the accounts. Another typical narrative – primarily in highly marketable areas – is the "*key to independence*", with which interviewees emphasise the diversity of their tasks and their financial independence from their position as deans.

"And I said if they hadn't asked me, I would obviously not have applied because my life would pass without being a dean, and I wouldn't have felt particular dissatisfaction or disappointment. Because apart from this career, as a lecturer, I also work as a lawyer, I am an arbitrator, so I have other responsibilities, and I have already tried, if you like, all branches of this profession and I am doing almost all of them, too. So, I wouldn't have chased it." (D24)

The third type of work experience external to higher education is the work experience gained as first-time employees; however, this has little significance with regard to deanship, the interviewees describe this rather as the beginning of their professional career and they only occasionally referred to it as something which had an important role regarding their operation or role interpretation as deans.

In terms of time, external work experience may appear in three ways during the dean's career path: it may precede the career in higher education, it may interrupt it (this is the atypical career path outside the institution) and it may progress simultaneously with it, permanently or temporarily.

8.4.3. The Significance of the Position of Vice-Dean in the Dean's Career Path

The long administrative career path provides the faculty with the opportunity to "test" the competence of those in the various positions while it also enables the lecturer to assess in a given position whether s/he is able to cope with the emerging tasks and has sufficient energy and inclination to deal with them. Vice-deanship, in particular, has a role in facilitating "mentoring" or "learning the craft"; at any rate, many talk about this time of their lives as a preparatory or internship period.

Q: "And why did you become a dean?
A: Well, because I had been elected vice-dean, and that, well, was like a training period. (…) I, in my preparatory period as vice-dean, it became clear, for everybody when they became vice-dean or took office, whether they can do it or not. Back then the common phrase was: make

way for the young. (…) And the most important thing is that it was a good training example not only for others to test me whether I could cope but I also tested myself whether I could cope and wanted to do it." (D4)

[the potential successor] "should probably be included in a deputy task so that they are able to learn this. So, there are potential successors." (D5)

"I was prepared in the sense that as vice-dean, I had already managed financial affairs, so it was not the first time I had ever seen a budget when I became dean […]. But when, as vice-dean, the [the previous] dean had sent me to these places, for instance, I learnt it nicely. So this, let's say it's a challenge for a dean that wow, here it is, a four-billion or five-billion budget, and what shall we do." (D19)

On the basis of the interviews, it may be stated that any position of vice-deans or deputy-directors-general may serve as a springboard for the dean's position. However, the majority of deans in case of whom the tasks attended as vice-deans were well-identifiable were responsible for research and international affairs (6 cases); this was followed by vice-deanship for education or some specific aspect of it (5 cases) and vice-deanship for students' affairs and general vice-deanship (2-2 cases).[99] However, it is also to be noted that only a few of the deans interviewed referred to the potential deans' preliminary probations as vice-deans or the interpretation of this position as a preparation for deanship as a conscious strategy.

8.4.4. The Significance of the Position of Head of Department and Head of Institute in the Dean's Career Path

Unlike vice-deanship, the time spent in the positions of head of department or head of institute was interpreted as part of the road to deanship much less frequently, since being head of department was never referred to in the context of "learning the craft". When it was mentioned in relation to deanship, the dean's own department or institute was referred to not as part of the "learning the craft" narrative but as an example which is worth implementing on a large scale once one has become dean on the one hand, and on the other hand, it demonstrates the (future) dean's leadership concepts and community-building skills.

"So, if you manage a department well, then, if you apply it – and I tried to do this at the faculty level –, it will also work well." (D1)

The difference in the interpretations of the experience as head of department and vice-dean suggests that the interviewees considered the position of head of department to be less in need of an explanation, presumably because it belongs to a lecturer's career path more organically while vice-deanship and deanship rather refer to administrative tasks.

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[99] While the position of vice-dean for education and research is a generally popular position, the positions of general vice-dean or of vice-dean for students' affairs are less frequent (I am going to describe this in more detail later); therefore, it is not surprising that fewer deans had arrived from these positions.

It is also worth mentioning that some of the interviewees had completed more terms as vice-deans or they had been responsible for several areas. With other interviewees, the areas of their responsibilities as vice-deans were unidentifiable. Some of them filled the vice-dean's or deputy-director-general's positions at smaller faculties or colleges; therefore, presumably, they could have been involved in all tasks as single deputies.

It is particularly interesting that the majority kept their position of head of department during their deanship as well. Two-thirds of the deans in the Hungarian higher education system are also heads of departments or heads of institutes during their deanship and approximately half of them is at the top of the highest-level organisation unit within the faculty (for instance, at a faculty divided into institutes and departments within those, the dean is head of an institute, while at a faculty divided into departments only, the dean is head of a department). Only a quarter of the deans hold no such managerial positions other than deanship.

Table 28: Managerial Positions of Deans active in 2010

	Managerial positions							
	N.A.	No position held	Single-level faculty division		Double-level faculty division			Other*
			Head of institute (single-level)	Head of department (single-level)	Head of institute (double-level)	Head of institute, head of department (double-level)	Head of department (double-level)	
Distribution by discipline								
Faculties of agriculture	0	5	3	3	1	0	1	1
Faculties of arts	0	5	0	2	1	3	3	0
Faculties of medicine and healthcare	0	3	3	9	1	1	0	3
Faculties of economics	1	4	4	8	1	0	1	1
Faculties of economics and technical studies	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Faculties of economics and social sciences	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	0
IT faculties	0	2	1	3	1	0	0	0
Faculties of law and public administration	1	2	0	6	0	0	1	0
Technical faculties	3	3	4	5	2	0	0	1
Faculties of technical studies and agriculture	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Faculties of technical studies and natural sciences	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0
Art faculties	0	1	1	4	0	0	1	0
Faculties of pedagogy	0	7	2	3	1	3	2	1
Faculties of social sciences	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Faculties of natural sciences	0	3	1	0	0	0	3	0
Distribution by provider								
Foundation university	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Foundation college	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
State university	3	30	17	35	8	7	11	4
State college	0	7	1	6	1	0	4	2
Church-run university	0	4	0	3	0	1	0	1
Total	**6**	**41**	**20**	**44**	**9**	**8**	**15**	**7**
Proportion	4.0%	27.3%	13.3%	29.3%	6.0%	5.3%	10.0%	4.7%
The distribution of active deans participating in the interviews								
	0	5	4	7	2	1	4	2
	0,0%	20.0%	16.0%	28.0%	8,0%	4,0%	16,0%	8,0%

*vice-rector, grand provost, deputy at the centre for adult education, head of a special group, other head of department

Source: the author's own compilation of data on the basis of faculty websites and the deans' CVs.

This suggests that preserving the position of the head of department and/or that of the director of the institute is particularly important even during the time of deanship. One possible reason for this may be that being head of department guarantees further professional prestige and legitimacy; in addition, it prevents the dean from being detached from the everyday realities of the faculty.

> "So when I distribute the tasks among the heads of departments, it means I have distributed them to myself as well." *(Laughter.)* (D15)

Albeit there was only little mention of it during the interviews, the presence of the position of head of department may help eliminate the controversies of (status) hierarchy I encountered in the interviews: as a dean, a faculty leader without a departmental leadership position is the superior, however, as an associate professor, is the inferior of the former dean working as a head of institute.

A further significant argument is that while a dean may complete only two or three terms, the position of head of department may be renewed without limitation; thus, deans may not want to give up this opportunity in the future. However, being head of department can be essential not only in terms of considerations for future opportunities or the continuity of professional work but it may also directly contribute to the success of deanship by providing the dean with a heartland and support at the time of conflicts and decision-making processes at the faculty.

Deanship is also an attractive opportunity for deans to better position their own institute:

> "On the other hand, I can make people or changes in my own institute as dean. Although, this was not prevented particularly [by the former dean]. But obviously, all these things went through him as well, that I decided as head of institute, and it was still some kind of control, and now there is no such control." (D8)

However, by preserving the positions as head of department or head of institute, the suspicion that the dean favours their own organisational unit may be sustained. The difficulty of separating the roles may easily undermine the dean's authenticity; therefore, some decided to give up their positions as head of department or head of institute consciously.

> Q: "But otherwise, do you attribute any significance (...) to the fact that there is no institute behind you that directly supports you, so you are not the head of the institute (…)?
> A: I think it will be easier for me this way. Because the suspicion of favouritism can never be justified.
> Q: Because you think this is what is pulling the strings at other faculties?
> A: There are places where it is, of course. Even if it not explicitly, but implicitly, yes. But not at us, and my predecessors had always made sure of this. So that not even the suspicion could arise. And to this end, if they had to, they even punished their own institute. Exactly in order to avoid consolidating a faulty behaviour. And I think this is how it should be. But it will be easier for me because really, even the suspicion may not arise. (…) This may be a bit better since there'll be an opportunity for faculty interests and institute interests to clash more. Because we need it, because without that, there will be no progress, and the interests of no single institute should be made the interests of the faculty." (D26)

This may be supported by the belief – not shared by all – that being head of department, similarly to deanship, is also a task which demands a whole person. Therefore, the counterargument that there is not enough time for attending the department during deanship came up occasionally as well, since managing a department also demands a whole person.

Table 29: References to the Positions of Head of Department and Head of Institute

Advantages of preserving the positions as head of department/institute	Disadvantages of preserving the positions as head of department/institute
The dean's heartland Professional prestige Experiencing everyday realities The place to retire to Safeguard for the continuity of professional work No or smaller conflicts of status hierarchy	Difficulties of separating the roles Time management problems

Source: the author's own summary on the basis of the interviews

8.5. Summary: Expectations towards Deans on the Basis of the Regulations, Statistics and Interviews

The core question of this chapter was to analyse who is elected dean, on the basis of what expectations and how it happens. The responses are essential elements of the analysis of the content of the dean's roles and the way they are being shaped.

As a first step, I reviewed the legislation affecting deans today. I have concluded that deans are leaders elected for a determined period of time; however, the interviews revealed that deans are elected in a rather complex field of force; namely, the election process is influenced by the expectations of various actors'. Albeit the increasingly more lenient regulation has orienting powers, even the assertion of very different expectations is possible within the framework provided by the requirements. Therefore, on the basis of the statistics (and the interviews), I examined the characteristics of the 150 deans working in the Hungarian higher education system. What are the typical patterns and what conclusions may be drawn regarding the expectations and the criteria for electing a dean.

The widely applied formal criterion for electability is that the dean should be at least a university associate professor. Albeit there are no statistics on this, I suppose that this level may be achieved between 35 and 45 years of age in the Hungarian higher education system. Despite this, the majority of deans are university professors, who are aged between 52-53, which implies the importance of professional prestige and incorporation. This is consolidated by the fact that the majority of deans are also heads of departments and/or heads of institutes, and most of them do not give up these positions during their deanship either. Deans without experience in managing a department are generally expected to have experience as vice-deans.

Thus, deans are expected to have not only professional but administrative leadership experience as well (however, the contrary interpretation of this results in a strong culture of authority, which favours deans who hold more numerous and higher professional positions). At

the same time, this also means that the majority of deans have to build a career within the faculty and it the cases that the dean arrives from another faculty or he gains substantial experience outside the higher education system and considers this to be a factor influencing deanship are rare. On the whole, it is apparent that one may only become dean as a result of a process of strong professional and organisational (faculty-level) socialisation.

As the last point, it should be noted that 5/6 of the deans are male, which is due, among others, to the fact that professional advancement in this career is discriminative against women.

9. Deanship from the Dean's Perspective

The aim of this chapter is to analyse what kind of mindset and attitude are characteristic of deans. The mindset is not only the result of individual will, it is also a community product. On the one hand, it is people with a certain mindset who the community elects or considers acceptable: those who are not radically different from the community itself. As one of the deans put it:

> "Anyway, I always say that it's the community's fault if they elect the wrong one for themselves. So, it's not the person's fault who, and I'm going to say something very extreme, so, who is put a managerial position while having a distorted personality." (D7)

On the other hand, deans themselves have been socialised in the environment for a long time; thus, the mindset characteristic of the dean is also characteristic of the community electing them. Unless sharp conflicts evolve between the dean and their environment, which might imply that the externally expected role interpretation and the one represented by the dean are different.

The chapter is divided into three larger sections. In the first subchapter, I introduce the motivation for becoming dean, in the second I summarise the thoughts related to the drawbacks and everyday experience of deanship while in the closing section, I analyse the deans' interpretations of their roles and the organisation.

9.1. The Motivation for Becoming Dean

"Anybody who says that they study to be a rector or a dean, lies. So, those coming to higher education want to be researchers" – an interviewee defined one of the basic dilemmas of deanship (D7). The position of the head of department or head of institute is still easily compatible with the desire to become a researcher, since this position could be regarded as the professional management of an area rather than an administrative post, but what would make someone become dean and in doing so – in the opinion of the vast majority of the interviewees – reduce their time devoted to professional (teaching and research) work? Why would anyone exchange their professional autonomy and timetable for an uncertain and unpredictable schedule, their freedom for the constraints of a constant state of readiness and why would anyone take on the necessity to manage conflicts when as a professor, they could always avoid such stress?[100]

This question is also interesting because, as it was mentioned in the previous chapter, deans are generally elected faculty leaders in the last third of their careers, when they had already become leading lecturers. Therefore, they have gone through a strict professional

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[100] I am going to return to discussing the sacrifices related to deanship later.

selection and socialisation process by the time they become dean, which is not necessarily compatible with the tasks and values demanded by an administrative managerial position. The difference was defined tangibly by one of the interviewees:

> "Higher education favours tüchtig (perfect) solutions. Because we've got used to striving for precision in research. We've got used to doing a perfect job. And I'm telling you an example now: there is a performance assessment exercise, but we could make more refined assessments than that, we could make better ones. And we don't want to accept that we can do it, only it won't work. And then we do it and indeed, it doesn't work. *(interviewee is laughing)* But we have to operate it. And then we say that this whole thing is useless. When it's only the result of overreaching and wanting to do a perfect job instead of a good-enough one. But then, we can't operate a perfect one. Because we don't have the necessary infrastructure, we are not sufficiently prepared, we lack the process for it and too many things should coincide. Of course, we'll be able to operate that perfect one as well, in 5 years' time, if we stick to it that long, but who is foolish enough to stick to a non-working system for 5 years?" (D26)[101]

Thus, the question is why someone with decades of a professional career becomes dean? What is the relationship between the professional and the administrative careers? How is the fact that deanship is a temporary position related to this? And finally: does the motivation for becoming dean have any impact on the role interpretation a dean represents?

In this subchapter, on the basis of the interviews, I give an overview of the most frequent explanation schemes of the reasons for becoming dean: service, individual interest and self-fulfilment. It should be noted that the answer to the question "why did I become dean?" is not unrelated to the answer to "how did I become dean?". The reports on the deans' choice do not only demonstrate how someone may become dean in the Hungarian higher education system, but also reveal much about the deans themselves: how competitive they are, how ready to compromise, to what extent they consider it natural that their predecessors should bequeath the position to them, that they should be elected by the rector – and whether, in light of these, they mention any tensions or conflicts. Looking at the stories of the deans' elections from this perspective, it becomes apparent which person or people the dean in question considers to be significant, and as a result, what kinds of organisational narrative they have in their minds.

9.1.1. Deanship as a Service, as an Exigency and as a Task

When I asked the interviewees the question "why did you become a dean?", they would rather reflect on the drawbacks and had difficulty formulating the advantages of the dean's position. The majority of those giving an explanation – as it can be seen in the descriptions of the election stories – did not give an internal reason or explanation but emphasised that deanship had not been their choice but others' – members of the community, the previous dean, the rector's management – who asked them to take the position. On the one hand, it flattered them, and on the other hand, as people loyal to the university, they cannot refuse it, they cannot abandon the faculty in an exigency, even if it requires them to "give up" their own career. Therefore, deanship is perceived by many as a service, "a service to the community":

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[101] I described similar differences between the lecturer and the dean in subchapter 4.4.2.

> "One feels it's basically a service, so, if I put the arguments pro and contra on the two sides of a scale, the balance would be tilting heavily. So, there are at least as many arguments for as against it. However, there is one argument which cannot be avoided: this is service." (D4)

> "I gave in when both sides contacted me. Then I said they must want something in that respect. So I was aware of what I was taking on; thus, of progressing at a different pace in my professional career from then on, that I was making a conflict out of it for myself by accepting this situation that if I meant to do a 100% job in this position, it had its price. Among others, the fact that I would advance more slowly in my professional career." (D15)

Others regard it as a task to be completed properly:

> "then I'm going to do it, that's for sure, that then I think if I have taken on it, it's done, this is my duty, I'm doing it." (D9)

> "And not with such a great elan, but I said, properly. So let's do it properly, and then I did it properly." (D21)

> "Well, I thought to myself that well, if it was my turn, then I had to solve it, period. [...] [the older generation] doesn't want to take on it again, because they'd rather concentrate on their professional career, others drop out and then someone must "take the blame", so to say. And then finally, I accepted that okay, in the following three years, I would be the dean." (D26)

> "So because I always think that the task comes, the task has to be completed, there are conflicts as well, the conflicts have to be resolved. And then, there is progress. (…) And also, this means considerably frequent occasions of momentary success. (D11)

Others identify the reason for their becoming deans as an exigency, an expectation resulting from the situation:

> "Well, I had done it in the following year and I felt that a year had passed and nothing changed here. So, that now I would act like a nice girl again, being reluctant and preening myself, and they would be begging me, no, it won't happen. So the situation hadn't changed, I would apply again, well I couldn't, I couldn't do much else, I would apply again." (D21)

> "But there used to be this thing, even more so earlier, so I'm saying this has been my 40 years of experience that if someone was professionally successful, they were expected to be leaders without, for instance, having had their ambition or talent or whatever examined. So it wasn't, I don't think it was really good." (D19)

> "…I didn't have ambitions to become dean, so I belong among those who are deans by accident. (…) And than the term had been completed, that of vice-deanship and a dean was needed. And this is how I became dean. *(interviewee is laughing)* So no, I hadn't gone through the process that in the sandbox, I had told little Suzy that I would be a dean when I grew up, there was no such thing… *(interviewee is laughing)*" (D9)

> "So like this, overnight, and I said if it was necessary…So I did. How shall I put it? When, on the other hand, one's job is at stake at that particular moment, then I have to say it doesn't matter. So then, one composes oneself and even attempts the impossible." (D2)

The quotes are abundant in phrases such as "have to", "must", "someone has to take the blame", "I was expected", "It was my turn". In light of these, deanship is an activity which requires individual goals and desires to be subordinated to the community goals and external pressures. Thus, in this approach, being a dean means partially giving up one's individual goals

and self-fulfilment. Therefore, deanship requires sacrifice, which predominantly means giving up on science, research and/or a family. For them, the difficulty is to try and balance these fields, for the purpose of which they occasionally subordinate the tasks of deanship to teaching (or less frequently research). Accordingly, for the majority of them, the post-deanship period also means a return to the profession, to research and being head of department or head of institute. (Deans have a high workload in education anyway. I am going to return to this later.)

Since this motivation lacks internal drive, it frequently accompanies the need for consensus and the non-competitive election of the dean, as who would volunteer to give up their professional careers when there is someone else who would be happy to take the position?

Naturally, the narrative of deanship as a service may be a simple tactic to conceal individual interests and intentions. Namely, reference to the community ensures the legitimacy of the activity through which individual advantages may also be realised.

> "In 90% of the cases, I don't believe that those people insist on it because they've realised how marvellous things they can do for the community, and now this… Of course not! It's all about their losing a bunch of opportunities which they have today, but not tomorrow." (D7)

These advantages are discussed below.

9.1.2. Deanship as a Reward and the Source of Personal Advantages

The essence of this approach is to foreground the advantages gained through the dean's position and applicable for the purpose of individual advancement and the (professional) career. These are mentioned very rarely, sometimes only indirectly (while referring to others) during the interviews. As if talking about individual advantages (next to the "sacrifice" and "service" narrative, in particular) were inappropriate, which is reflected well by the apologetic sentences in the quotes (see highlighted sections):

> "Well, it has numerous advantages. So, for instance, establishing international relationships, getting to know programmes. So practically, I'm more well-informed than if I work as a leading lecturer of a department. *But I don't abuse this advantage of being well-informed, but I pass it on to my colleagues.* So, that it has some advantages. In terms of prestige as well." (D5)

> "Well, there is not much good in [deanship], basically *(laughing).* As for me, I took on these because one simply has a larger space for manoeuvre in the area. So, at us it's still true – and I think it's this, I don't know, Hungarian tradition –, that anyone in a managerial position, well, receives more acknowledgment in the given discipline on the one hand*, however, this is not good, this shouldn't be like that..* […] Because anyway, if they were inferiors, but I don't know, their opinion and their work are counted on, they would also have to participate in these committees and all those workshops discussing the more important issues of the faculty. And then it's not all the same who will determine when it should be and how it should be. So, it's also another thing... *But I, how to put it, don't approve of this thing at all from a power point of view or what.* (D19)

> "The good thing in it is that one has an insight from a certain level. […] Well, this is a nice feeling because you feel that, I don't know, that you're confident […]. So, to be in the best things. This is what they say. So, this is a good feeling that you are in it this way. And then you understand why things happen and why this stupid thing happens and why that stupid thing does. So, this involvement, or I don't know how to express [it]… So, this involvement, this is a, it's a, it's a nice feeling." (D10)

"(…)before – I think – it was a huge prestige. Not so much any more, I'm almost sure it's not so much any more. I actually don't feel good about it. So I could be happier with my role if also this… But it doesn't matter, now I will fight for this, that this should still be treated as something prestigious. (they are both laughing)" (D8).

With the help of extra resources, insight, network of relationships and influence gained from the dean's position, the dean also fulfils resource allocation tasks and the tasks of a (professional) gate-keeper; for instance, they become the member of journal editorial boards, they are invited to join different international and accreditation bodies, through which they might have an influence on others' publications, accreditation, etc. Of course, this cannot be completely separated from their previous professional performance, but deanship may increase one's prestige. For instance, one of the deans mentioned during the interviews that he was usually introduced as a dean at conferences, even though he was present as a researcher there and not in his capacity as dean.

Influence may be used in favour of the faculty just as much as for gaining individual advantages (rents) or building one's individual (professional career). Although tasks related to deanship indeed rob you of the time for active research and teaching activities, the disadvantage in professional advancement may be compensated for by stronger positions available in the field of science management. In addition, in Western-Europe as well as in smaller countries, administrative and leadership performance within the institution is taken into account in the decisions about one's academic and professional career (and vice versa). In larger (and especially Anglo-Saxon) countries, professional assessment is more separable from the institution (*Pokol* [2004] p.206, see also p.224-225); due to its size, the academic community is able to judge the professional qualities of candidates more independently, thus, the interdependence of positions is also smaller there.

Due to the interdependence of positions, the organisational career may be used consciously in favour of paving the way for a later professional career. In Péter Tibor Nagy's words:

"Sometimes, the institutional career provides an alternative way of acquiring or stepping into higher positions instead of, for instance, a fellow professor who have been invited abroad or is the member of the Academy. Sometimes, the dominant person of the next generation does not "dethrone" a professor or academician dominating a certain discipline but "by-pass" them this way. However, on other occasions, professors intend to improve the relative position of a department or professional group that matters to them when they fill the dean's position, sacrificing much of their personal professional career and time." (*Nagy* [2007] p.443)

The same topic has emerged during the interview with a senior manager of a university:

"There used to be […] a department group here the heads of which were appointed rector, dean, this and that, one after the other. And they used it to, how to put it, to fatten up their academic achievements, they hired young colleagues, so the number of lecturers in relation to the number of students was huge." (F6)

The approach of deanship as a task or service regarded the dean's position as one for which the professional career had to be sacrificed (teaching and research had to be given up).

However, the approach of deanship as a reward proves that deanship can not only hinder a professional career but on the contrary, it may even facilitate and support it. In this respect, the fact that the majority of deans had already been professionally successful (they had been university professors) by the time they were elected dean is of no significance since there are still formal titles and positions to achieve (e.g. becoming a member of the Academy), and extending one's professional influence may also be a potential goal. However, deanship is also suitable for counterbalancing the potentially weaker professional performance – which may result from the tasks related to deanship. In other words: in some disciplines and at a period of life, deanship does not stand for an administrative position detached from the professional career (as in the previous narrative) but a stage of the professional career through which deans may excel professionally among their other colleagues working in a similar position. One of the interviewees contemplates the relationship between the size of the faculty, the number and motivations of professors the following way:

> "If the number of professors exceeds about 30-40, then it's not at all the same who [will be the dean]. Then there are more who may be suitable for this. Deanship may be a question of prestige; moreover, the career path can be of great importance in that case. In case of a faculty where, I would say, people between 30 and 50 represent the weight of the faculty and the number of professors are considerably lower than the one I mentioned, the organisation will be more task-oriented, I suppose. Because of prestige… Being a professor at a faculty already provides you with prestige, there's no particular need to go on about this prestige thing. And then I think, there are a lot of tasks. And of course, the younger an environment constituting the organisation, the more the organisation wants to improve and doesn't want to peg itself down. But, of course, I'm not saying that the older colleagues don't want to improve, only that they are in another period of their lives in this respect...." (D26)

9.1.3. Deanship as (Self-)fulfilment

This approach is different from the previous ones in that here, the faculty is in the focus of the dean's activity: it is either the object of transformation, which the dean intends to shape according to his/her own vision or (less frequently) the object of education, the improvement of which the dean strives to foster, which the dean wants to make more mature and steer towards being able to fulfil its own potentials. The central actor of this narrative is the dean himself, who has a clear vision of what to do, and through whom success is realised.

> "Well, because I thought that there was a concept for what this faculty should be like and I wanted to go through with it." (D27)

> "I also thought I had a vision for this, regarding that for a long time; that is, I used to study here, I had lived through the process in which […] a major was transformed into a faculty." (D21)

> "So how I see it is that if I launch different projects, that I have a vision of the faculty's future and there is consensus about it and there is a favourable outcome, then I'll do it. So for me, positive feedback is important." (D4)

> "One creates a vision of what one should do, how it should be done and how much one would like to do it. And then you finally grab the opportunity when it comes, that I should try now, if, if I have an idea, I should get closer to the opportunity to realise it." (D12)

> This often means that deans see deanship not as giving something up but a chance for

improvement and self-fulfilment. Thus, the position is no burden but something favourable, which is even worth being tested in a competition. It is not surprising that a large number of these deans entered the election process as self-appointed candidates and won the position against another candidate. Moreover, the ones who aspired or are aspiring to achieve even higher managerial positions (or do not exclude the possibility of it) can also be found among the deans of this motivational background.

Although many of them admit that deanship does not forward their professional career, they no longer desire that either. They are searching for new challenges since they feel that their professional career has ended, there is no room or real intention for more advancement; therefore, giving up on it does not seem to be a genuine sacrifice. The creative tasks related to deanship provide an opportunity for renewal, another type of self-fulfilment, which may as well mean experiencing professional work in a different fashion.

> "It is obvious that if I had been a mathematician who makes a decent career as a mathematician, an excellent career, then I would probably never have chosen this [viz. administrative] path." (D7)

> "So I'll add that I don't want to achieve more in this field [in the profession], but to realise my plans, and it is exactly this that brings the numerous international relationships, the plenty of guest who come. I would not want to miss out on this." (D25)

Despite the professional career being of less importance to deans, they cannot give up teaching and research. However, they do not (only) describe it as an internal need but as an exigency as well:

> "Well, I want to live up to the expectations, because I want to avoid, by all means, providing my colleagues with any reason to turn against me. So I teach as much as any other college professor. This is 8 classes a week, so I teach my 8 classes. [...] Practically, I teach those classes; moreover, I had a TDK (Students' Scholarly Circles) competition yesterday, I have one student participating, so I'm trying to make them feel that otherwise, I'm a completely normal professor." (D17)

> "I still have individual aims, so obviously, some little, more profound academic [work], if I can get to it somehow. But in fact, I see that I would also do that only to make even these properties of this faculty even better. So it doesn't seem likely that I would be an academician in the future, I'm not so interested in it anyway. But I am [interested] in, well, pushing my way to a academic doctorate, and again, only to set a good example." (D25)

> A: "But you must advance further, because to achieve a next…so, that a….
> Q: Do you have to achieve another one?
> A: Yes, you have to achieve another one because our university regulations include that although I am a college professor, and the higher education law does not require me to gain habilitation, but our university regulations provide that you have to gain habilitation until 2012 and then I said I couldn't afford failing to do that. (…) Because then I said what it would look like if the one person who was a member of the regulations preparatory committee which decided on this, even if, theoretically, I can't be deprived of my title as college professor. (…) I could stay here that way [without habilitation], but I still say that I have to do [make progress in] this, too, since just because I'm a dean and tell my colleagues to complete certain tasks and I don't, what does that look like?" (D21)

These quotes reflect that they acknowledge – if at all – the importance of teaching and research out of decency rather than a real conviction. The pressure to participate in teaching and research may originate from the belief that the dean is a good leader only if they fulfil all the requirements (or parts of them) which apply to faculty professors, because this is the only way for them to authentically expect others to provide a similar performance. Thus, deans define themselves as setters of examples, as those determining norms.

> Q: "And are you teaching or doing research at the moment? So, are you still doing this, do you still have the…?
> A: I still have to, teach and do research as well.
> Q: You have to? Why do you have to?
> A: Well, because, on the one hand, in the [faculty] there is a level of expectation also for the teaching activity, so the compulsory number of classes is 6, which is quite much. On the other hand, there is a score system for lecturers, which is part of the quality assurance system, and you have to perform there every year, you have to go to conferences and publish in different academic journals. And also, you shouldn't fall behind much either. Because if I don't do it, how can I expect my colleagues to do this kind of activity?" (D5)

Furthermore, by participating in teaching and research, the dean also conveys the message to the faculty lecturers that s/he is a lecturer as well. Participating in teaching may also play an important part in the leader's gaining crucial information about what is going on at the faculty, which may be relied upon in management tasks. On the one hand, it drags them back to the ground, makes them face reality and not be detached from the core processes.

> "From a managerial point of view, these [teaching and research] are not important. From a personal perspective, it is an important question. But not from a managerial one, so this is not used, not utilised in management tasks. Only the impulses really, which you experience in connection with this, this is an important question. But these impulses can be obtained in other ways as well, I would say. It's a basic principle for me that the leader must work in the frontlines, so to say. So you cannot lead something from an office." (D26)

> "But at the moment when you see that you are getting detached from research, you have to stop this immediately. Because you won't feel exactly what problems the others face and you won't have a proper answer to them." (D3)

> "So as I said, that I teach the classes so that I remain human, and that I go to have a beer with the students or play table soccer with them. This is not a conscious role, but I love them. But you need this to remain sane." (D17)

What these quotes reveal is that teaching and research do not necessarily originate from an internal drive but is subordinated to the managerial role and becomes a means of becoming a more successful leader.

However, not everybody considers deanship to marginalise or end one's professional career. Some of the deans regard deanship neither as a giving up of their professional career for the community or for self-fulfilment, nor the foregrounding of individual interests (the professional career). Namely, in some disciplines (e.g. business administration) or in case of specific higher education interests, deanship may be interpreted as putting theoretical knowledge into practice – therefore, deanship means neither a necessary compromise between professional interests and leadership activities, nor the abandonment of the professional career.

"And I say, since it's management, well, I work in management anyway, this is absolutely exciting. So you have to sit down with some people to play this whole game or something, but I don't feel it to be a nuisance. Okay, it's time-consuming and all, but this is practice what you preach. Once you do it. (…) I am obviously aware that this is not so clear and evident, that only advantages. Certainly, it will probably have drawbacks, but it isn't [present] in my mind so much at the moment." (D8)

"So, after all, I work in an area, I became a professor in an area, this is marketing and management, and within that, I deal with marketing. Where I don't think it's enough if you only say it, when necessary, you also have to do it at least as much." (D12)

"I think that it's an interesting challenge in the sense that I have always been interested in the modernisation of education, the structures of education, foreign or Hungarian […] The other part was this consistent, continuous interest in the modernisation of education. […] So this way. My field of interests and the challenge formulated, the two met and this is how I stared it." (D3)

As a result, these deans also regard the position as a learning process which contributes to their individual professional development (in so far, this aspect may be related to the deanship narrative of seeking individual advantages as well), but which is not expected to produce immediate gains (and this differentiates it from that). However, this approach was very rare among the deans.

"So I guess this is also an experiential phase, there must be another phase later as well. I mean, when I'll do a completely different thing. I presume. But I'd also say that I'm enjoying this at the moment, so this is a learning process." (D8)

This example also properly demonstrates that certain motivations do not necessarily exclude one another; more of them may be present simultaneously.

9.2. Under Pressure: the Drawbacks of Deanship and Counterbalancing Strategies

The common feature of the three motivational schemes evolving from the interviews is the clarification of the relation to the professional career, teaching and research. It is evident that teaching (research is less frequently referred to) remains part of the lives of almost all deans; however, the reasons for this are manifold. One of the reasons frequently mentioned is that this is required by law and the employment statutes since deans remain associate professors and university professors during the time of their leadership, on whom the system of employment criteria imposes a certain teaching and research workload. As deans, they are only partially exempted from these rules, primarily in the field of teaching, which is more easily assessable and strictly accounted for[102] However, many do not even exploit this opportunity and on occasions, I

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[102] When I reviewed the systems of employment criteria of higher education institutions, I saw a surprising deviation regarding the dean's exemptions. The higher education law of 2005 requires 10-12 hours of teaching (this is equivalent with 5-6 classes of 75-90 minutes). Mostly at colleges, the requirement is higher than this (for instance, it

experienced a surprising amount of teaching workload during the interviews. Mostly at colleges or former college faculties, even a 14-16-20-hour teaching workload is not unheard of. As it was demonstrated by the previous section, further reasons included that teaching (research) is necessary because

- it is internally important, it is the aim of higher education,
- deanship is a temporary position and you will have to reintegrate later,
- it is relaxing, regenerating, eases the stress of the managerial job,
- this is the way for the dean to remain "human",
- the dean may gain the impulses of everyday operation by "working in the frontlines",
- this is the way to remain authentic for other lecturers,
- the dean has to set an example for the lecturers, only this way can s/he expect them to perform.

The fact that teaching (and research) are part of the deans' lives in a committed and conscious way suggests that the vast majority of deans see themselves as members of the community of lecturers or try to appear so. Deans confirmed their identity as a lecturer and researcher regardless of their motivational background, which means that (at least at the level of their declared values) they accept that the norms of the lecturers' community apply to them. Namely, even as deans, they interpret themselves (make others see them) as a lecturer being in a unique situation rather than someone who, due to the specificities of their activities and tasks, is outside the lecturers' community.

However, the result of this conviction is a "double workload": Deans are not only responsible for carrying out the tasks related to deanship, they also want to prove themselves as lecturers and researchers due to external pressure, internal motivation or considerations for the future. This is particularly difficult in light of the fact that numerous faculty leaders believe that deanship is an activity demanding a whole person, which cannot be executed in a part-time fashion. It is no wonder that deans mentioned obligations taking from dawn until late at night, so very little time remains for their personal lives and families. All this is aggravated by the impossibility of making plans and the unpredictability resulting from the dean's position.

"So the environment, the conditions do not provide a fixed stability and more often than not, it happens that I plan my next week at the weekend, what I will do and how I will do it, what the schedule of things will be, I come in here and it all falls through at once because an e-mail arrives that wants this and that right at the moment. Well, these are the worst." (D15)

"That's for sure that I've always felt it was a drawback that I wanted to manage my own time but I was never able to do that, so obviously even less so as a deputy since there's still a boss who would interfere with it even more, but not as the dean either, because there's still a system above me which says that I am allowed to organise how we operate at the faculty, and then I say that I'm only available during office hours, so there I know. But the fact that the rector calls

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is 14 hours at Károly Róbert College). The deans' teaching workload may be reduced by from 20% (University of Szeged) to 75% (Corvinus University of Budapest) or by 2-4 hours; however, in some places where the number of teaching hours generally required is higher, the deans' reduced teaching workload is also larger.

me to come in because he wants to talk to me or there is a committee session or I don't know what. So I would rather… you are not your own boss, not really." (D21)

"A disadvantage is that it never ends. So the kind of feeling that I get up at dawn, then I sit in front of my computer, check my e-mails and…so it never ends. So this… I never have the feeling that…that good feeling that I've finished something and this is the end of it. Because they reproduce themselves all the time. So perhaps this burden resulting from plenty of administration, and what is particularly difficult for me is that nothing can be planned. So this impossibility to plan anything." (D5)

"I believe that deans who are a genius at organising things are rare, which is, so it seems, not true for me, but work 8 hours or less. This means a constant state of readiness. (…) So this is a 24-hour job." (D3)

This does not only lead to a sense of the lack of control, but the tension of the need to be constantly on your toes. For instance, one of the deans recalled that it had been in the year of her election when the main building of the College of Zsámbék had burned down.

"So it haunted me for 7 years. So I felt that anything could be any time, well, not necessarily a fire – but I have to tell you that it almost happened, it's the self-fulfilling prophecy –, that I felt everything as a quasi, not drama, but a task that had to be completed. It had to be completed by all means. And the operation of an institution had to be maintained […]. And any other building may practically be in a condition that the storm or something blows off the roof or we are flooded by rain, which obviously happened, all of which I can have tackled, but I came in every Monday morning thinking whether anything had happened at the weekend I had to start and fix then, as fast as possible, and I took these back home with me. I took them home and when I closed the door, I couldn't stop thinking about them." (D21)

Due to all this, a frequently recurring topic of the interviews was the organisation of the daily schedule and time management. E-mailing restricted to the early or evening hours and time management entrusted to secretaries were mentioned among the general techniques. Good organisation of teamwork, the ability to delegate tasks and the trust in colleagues were regarded as indispensable.

Some solve the problem of participating in teaching with special techniques of class organisation (for instance, they may only teach in the weekend correspondence programme). Participation in research is provided by internal distribution of tasks (deans carryout supervising activities and contribute as a source of ideas), others mentioned making alibis (they take on only a small part of the task). In some fields of humanities and social sciences demanding profound engrossment and plenty of reading, research may be completely abandoned or pushed to late nights and weekends (that is, at the expense of free time and family time).

The burdens of a dean's life and its hectic nature results in tensions particularly among deans with a family who become leaders at a young age since there are usually small children there; moreover, the burden of professional performance may be even more predominant at this age (for instance, in order to gain a lecturing position).

Q: "And apart from lunch, what else do you have to do without?
A: This is a very cute question. Well, mostly my friends, my family. So they…so, my friends, they regularly write e-mails in which they say thank you, but you shouldn't write more. So my children at home, let's say when Saturday morning my son asks me "dad, where are you going today?" Or Sunday afternoon at two, when I put on a sweater and want to go out to park the car

in the garage, then he asks me where I am going. So that they can see that I am always going, going, going. So these, my relationships, those suffer. So I like people very-very much and I give up these. When I don't give up something, that is mainly football, so I don't give up sports. So I go doing sports. But I give up a lot of things. I do, a lot of things..." (D17)

"I had been hoping for a smaller workload once I became dean, but this didn't happen. *(small pause)* Well, yes, we have to talk a lot about this at home. We have to talk a lot about this at home so that it would become natural that – I'm sure I do something wrong, I accept that – but I'm the last one to leave the building, so the receptionist lets me out through otherwise closed gates. I practically don't leave the building before 10 p.m., and I am in before 8 in the morning. Sometimes at half past 7. And this, this has to, had to be told and discussed at home very often. That yes, you do have to give a little of your soul to home as well and the role of a mother that society says is the organising force of the family, you have to fulfil that, too. This is a very difficult. So I think this way, it is very difficult. Not only the way of thinking, but this part, this is particularly demanding." (D30)

All this is very difficult to do without a supporting background in the family (one of the senior managers talked about the deans' balanced and consolidated family backgrounds being a definite advantage). The real support, the "stable zone" was provided by the parents for several deans, who helped the dean as a coach, a mentor, an advisor with resolving work-related conflicts.

"So I ask him [the father] about a lot of things. So human things. He knows everything about all the faculty staff *(interviewer is laughing)* and he usually says absolutely clever things. Mostly in the direction of wisdom. So, because as a thinker, I am probably older than my age but I am not wise enough in a certain respect, and he always supports the direction which I later also find right, which is consensus, discussion, human treatment, so which makes us human, which is steering us in that direction, so he doesn't approve of me 'digging up the hatchet' and it's not my style anyway." (D17)

"…on the other hand, my parents are 82 years old now, they have supported me all along […] they have been the stable zone […]. The supporting discussion was about them listening to me and telling me in their great wisdom that these things were not important, but I practically put such burden on them I should never have put on them." (D21)

Among older deans, whose children are already grown-up, deanship is only restricting if they have grandchildren; however, it was primarily female deans who mentioned that. For instance, one of them said with resignation that "I have become a Sunday grandmother" (D22) The deans without a family find it difficult to form and maintain relationships, which originates from the unpredictability and the "24-hour service", which they are trying to "survive" by settling down for temporariness.

9.3. The Deans' Leadership Roles and Organisational Narratives

In this chapter, I summarise the organisational narratives and interpretations of leadership roles which I encountered during the interviews. Since the aim of the research was to deepen, enrich, contextualise and if necessary, revise the initial model describing the roles, I used the original role model as the starting point of the research analysis, that is, I tried to interpret the experience of
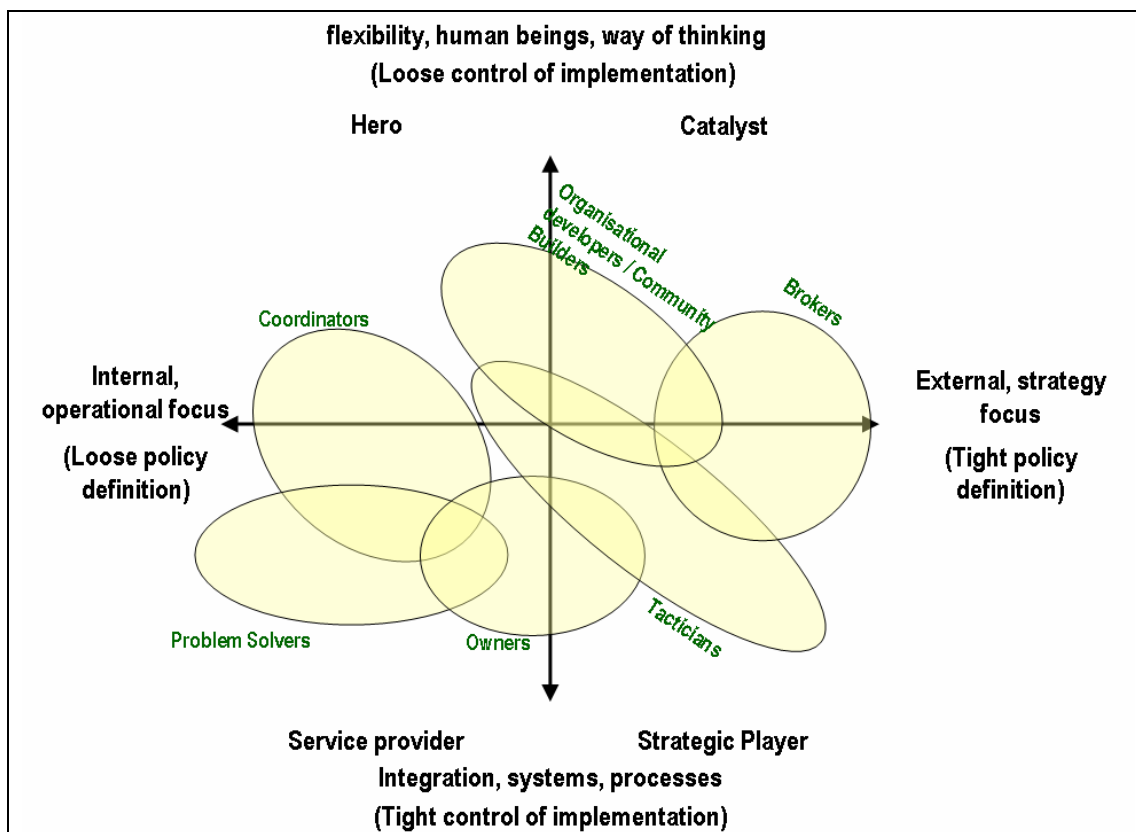
the interviews within the scope of the roles of the *hero, the provider, the catalyst and the strategic player*, then further specify them on the basis of what the deans had talked about.

In addition, I also made an attempt to describe new (so-called secondary) roles on the basis of marked, regularly recurring topics and thoughts[103]. I found altogether six secondary role interpretations: the coordinator, the problem-solver, the owner, the tactician, the organisation developer and the broker. The secondary roles are justified by the fact that – as I have already referred to it while introducing the original role model – deans rarely focus exclusively on one role or another; the approach blending the different roles is more frequent. The secondary roles try to represent exactly this by reaching across the original role interpretations. Furthermore, they also help make the apprehension of well-identifiable thinking patterns possible.

The following figure summarises the relationship between the primary and secondary roles. The contextualisation of the primary roles and the detailed discussion of the secondary roles are provided in the different subchapters.

It is important to point out that I do not analyse (let alone evaluate) the given dean below but I try to grab the recurring collective thinking patterns and models.

Figure 8: The Secondary Roles Defined on the Basis of the Interviews and Their Relations to the Initial (Primary) Roles:

Source: the author's own compilation

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[103] This is a secondary role in the sense that I tried to place the roles which could be extracted from the interviews within the model provided by the original roles (considered to be primary).

9.3.1. The Hero

> "An interesting thing happened when I was working abroad. I didn't know the rector and suddenly I got a message that the rector was expecting me. What? What business do I have with the rector? I went over to him and he says: here is this small bag, your mother-in-law has sent it from Hungary. (they are both laughing) Namely, he was at a conference in a discipline where he met my father-in-law (interviewee is laughing) and he gave the bag to him. So this proves that he really attended conferences, he was doing things. So let's say I can indentify this type of leadership role with myself or I can identify with it, as a dean or rector or anything, who continues to be a professor trying to create something." (D14)

According to the dean's role interpretation being in the focus of the mindset described by the quote above, the dean strives to execute their teaching and research tasks at a high level while being in a leadership position. Thus, the dean might set an example for the rest of the faculty lecturers and in doing so, they help the consolidation of the existing system of norms – the primary focus of which is science. Namely, high-level science automatically results in high-level teaching and a high-level service since science is the basis for these as well (the Humboldtian basic principle, the unity of teaching and research is reflected here).

> "Now, if someone is good at science and ambitious, this is projected into teaching as well. So that part should not be dealt with very thoroughly, only if there is a problem, but fortunately, there are no problems." (D6)

> "…of course, you also feel that you want to enforce your own system of values. I am a highly science-oriented person, so this is by far the most decisive factor in my system of values. In my view, the university is primarily an academic and educational institute and even teaching requires science since it is very difficult to imagine university-level education without the adequate academic performance. So my system of values is actually easily definable." (D27)

As a result, the dean's task in this role is primarily to represent and embody academic values. Its means are not using force or establishing motivational structures by, for instance, requiring academic achievements, but creating a supportive culture that fosters individual improvement and the internalisation of the love of science. The dean contributes to this process primarily by setting an example and mentoring.

> "…I like openness, co-operation, I'm never envious that I would like to pen an article alone, on the contrary! I like being the last author. I like if there is a doctoral student on top of the list and there is a younger colleague who helped the student and finally there is me, who is nudging them from the background to do research. But I like that when we write an article, the final version always has the signs of my work on it, so I even correct commas in it. So it is not about displaying my name on it. I won't let anything go out which I don't agree with , let's say, 95% or 98%. This is obviously very time-consuming and here is the great conflict, but I feel that I have to set an example with it and I always say that you should do it as well, establish such little schools and in places, it does work. It is in operation at several departments now: the doctoral students are summoned, they have seminars together, they start writing and article and a common research, so after all, this model is working quite well." (D14)

Thus, there is no intervention, no enforcement of a required behaviour by the dean. The dean does not need immediate control, the pressure to perform is practiced by the internalised

culture itself and the community representing it, not by the faculty management systems established and run by the dean (for instance, performance assessment or the operation of punishment/sanction systems).

> "We decentralise the money and it's very important that the dean does not interfere with the academic performance and management of the given institutions The dean only makes remarks about it, if it's insufficient or something, but doesn't interfere with it directly." (D6)

However, it is obvious that, in reality, no intervention is only an ideal, which may prevail most clearly in places where consensus about the significance of academic performance has been reached. However, where this is missing, the dean must take on a community-building role as well, which may push the dean's role towards the role of an organisation developer (see later the dean as a catalyst, as well as the part on the culture-dependence of innovation). The basic assumption of the prevailing organisational narrative behind this role interpretation is that a similar system of values of the members is desirable. The interviews characteristically emphasised the importance and love of science and the commitment to it as the general content of the value system but I think that any other component may become a core value within the community (such as the importance of teaching). What is essential is the assumption regarding these values as internalised values which motivate the members internally.[104]

The common value system enables the emergence of a general belief about the concept and content of achievement; that is, about what is to be regarded as an achievement. In this respect, the representatives of harder disciplines are favoured on the one hand and faculties having a longer academic and professional history on the other hand. It may not be accidental that in the interviews, deans representing a way of thinking similar to the role interpretation of the hero came from university faculties with a narrower profile, rather representing the harder disciplines. The other typical group comprised colleges where deans – due to the lack of competence – already emphasised the facilitation of the academic character instead.

Three consequences of the consensus on the concept of achievement are worth highlighting: the consensual nature of management, the meritocratic character of the organisation and the role of prestige, seniority.

Management built on consensus (or the desire of it) is an element recurring in numerous interviews:

> "Another important thing, it may matter here: I [think] – and, unfortunately, it's the case everywhere, but it used to be characteristic of our faculty as well – that they think that the opinion of the number one leader is important and everybody just has to accept it without question. But I don't want this. So I explicitly ask the others to be so kind and criticise that thing, because I don't want to announce my opinion and then I might hear something in the corridor that it should have been done differently. I like hearing it directly and I don't mind at all if someone dares to contradict me; moreover, I like when the opinion, practically the common

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[104] In this respect, the practices of the selection and socialisation of lecturers, researchers and colleagues would also be of particular significance. Very few deans referred to these; therefore, I do not discuss the issue here. However, I presume that there is a very widely applied and accepted practice of training and selecting succeeding lecturers in higher education (the doctoral programme), the validity of which is considered self-evident and deans take this for granted.

opinion is shaped during a debate and what it's possible that what I think is not the right thing. (interviewee is smiling) I'm not saying that it's usually not the right thing because it's not true. But it may not be suitable. And then I don't feel it as a loss of prestige if I have to withdraw my opinion or say that… I always say it directly that this is simply better and I'm happy it has come out and that's all." (D6)

However, seeking a consensus is not generally applicable, it does not refer to everyone, only a certain circle: heads of departments, professors, leading lecturers and those giving an excellent performance. Thus, the assumption of the validity of the organisational narrative results in the meritocratic nature of the organisation. The following quote does not only reflect the dean's role interpretation and its consensus-orientation, but the partners relevant in seeking a consensus as well:

"But I keep a workshop for heads of departments and leading professors, it takes place every Tuesday afternoon from 2 p.m., occasionally, depending on the topic, until we collapse. (Laughter) I mean, we start at 2 and we finish around 7 p.m. And we only interrupted the polemics then. This way, we first discuss with the fellow leaders every decision which is in this direction, for instance, affects the strategy or other, in advance. As for me, I am all for consensual progress. So I try to further cases until a consensus is achieved, if only in a teeth-grinding way. It's very rare when we decide on the basis of a majority principle because if someone challenges an idea, they always have serious arguments." (D15)

The positions distributed along the dominant performance interpretation ensure the institutionalisation of the given performance interpretation as well as its reproduction, which, at the same time, may also have overlaps with the dean's tactical, political role interpretation. Namely, by referring to the performance, the existing power-dominance status quo may be transformed or conserved.

Q: "What do you need to be a good dean?"
A: (…) To find the personal contact between people and consensus making things unambiguously advance further. (...) After all, I think the main means of this is to provide the professors who are decisive, tractive forces at the faculty – and I believe there are six-eight-ten of those at every faculty –, with opportunities by all means. So the vice-dean, the chairman of the committee, since they are the ones who [inspire us] anyway, regardless of this…. And they are the ones you have to be in constant contact, and your system of beliefs is mostly similar to those of these professors of the university with a similar mindset. So I've never felt 'how different their ways of thinking are.' There're obviously some differences, nuances, really. However, the main system of values is identical and this already provides a basis for something to move in the same direction. So, to steer the ship in one direction." (D27)

The last two quotes also reflect that the framework of a dean's mindset is essentially provided by the faculty (and not the university), while their most important partners are the dominant internal actors of the faculty. The majority of deans did not even mention the university management (thus, the faculty and the dean are autonomous actors) or it appeared as a barrier to the dean's activity (frequently at faculties of a college origin). Therefore, in this narrative, deans – at least on the basis of the interviews – do not interpret themselves as middle managers but as the number-one leader of the faculty.

Meritocracy applies to the deans themselves as well since they are authorised to fill the position by their own academic (or other, generally accepted) performance. The most substantial

source of the dean's prestige is their excellence (the deans quoted in this section are all significant actors of their own disciplines).

> "...and age is an important issue here. You have to have high prestige. It may sound strange that I describe myself as having high prestige. I believe that yes, otherwise, form an academic point of view, I am not the first academician of the faculty. So it's obvious that the institute run by me is the best, so anyhow, on the basis of any standards, it's the best institute, for sure. So this already establishes that if I say something, it, it has slightly greater importance..." (D6)

However, the fact that the dean's position is so closely related to professional performance may eventuate that teaching and research remain an organic part of the dean's activities during the period of deanship as well (see the opening quote of the chapter). This is not only important for setting an example but the significance of science (or the prevailing performance criteria) may also be demonstrated and the performance and expertise providing the basis for the dean's authority may also be maintained by it.

Another consequence of this approach is that deanship becomes an organic constituent of the professional career. The prestige originating from the dean's position must have been provided by the professional achievements of those filling the dean's position. However, this relation may be reversed in time; namely, the dean's position itself may become prestigious, ensuring greater acknowledgement for those filling the position. Therefore, at the (traditional) faculties having a longer academic and professional history, the dean's position may easily become an organic part of the professional career, which distinguishes (raises higher) its holder among the lecturers with a similar status. (There was competition for the position at the majority of faculties concerned.)

The consensual nature of performance does not only make the organisation meritocratic but it also valorises the role of seniority. Not only because the summary of a more senior lecturer's academic achievements (and thus, their prestige) is probably larger than those of a younger lecturer but also because tasks related to mentoring and consensus building require wisdom and sensitivity on the one hand, and on the other hand, they may be completed more easily towards the end of one's professional career, when the pressure to prove and perform is already smaller.

> "Age makes you more experienced and wiser. Also, calmer and more judicious. I think this is very important. These are essential characteristic of a leader today. A young man may be more dynamic and probably possesses the same mental abilities, this is not the question. I believe that leading an educational institution requires calmness, particularly today when we can witness these hurried, hurriedly implemented measures. Our young politicians who think they understand the system, well, unfortunately, do not understand the system, or not many of them do. But they try to interfere and in general, they do more harm than good." (D6)

What consequences and lessons regarding the role interpretation of the hero described earlier might we draw from the research results? In my opinion, there is no sharp difference between the role delineated by the literature and provided by experience. However, it is worth drawing attention to the fact that emphasising academic authority and seniority corresponds with the Hungarian regulatory system related to the selection of deans, which – apparently – fundamentally supports the deanship of lecturers of a more advanced age, in the second half of their careers. Namely, as if explicitly or implicitly, this interpretation of the dean's role was

encoded in the institutional system. In light of this, it is somewhat surprising that during the interviews, I only scarcely met those who had a similar notion of the dean's role; moreover, it did not even appear in its pure form in the interviews, but rather supplemented by or combined with other role interpretations (see later the secondary role interpretations of the *coordinator* and the *organisation developer*).

It was more characteristic that the role of the hero appeared as a contrastive example, in light of which the interviewees tried to describe the changed circumstances, the specificities of their situations and role interpretations. Therefore, the relatively low occurrence of the hero's role may be attributed to the trends of the transformation of the higher education system described earlier.

> "…[deanship] used to be – I think – a huge prestige. Not so much any more, I'm almost sure it's not so much any more. I actually don't feel good about it. So I could be happier with my role if this… But it doesn't matter, now I will fight for this, that this should still be treated as something prestigious. (both are laughing) (short pause) And the way it used to be identified, that this is a scientific and intellectual prestige, or it must have been that. Today, of course, they sometimes ask back that, and I myself also had a good friend, that did you need this?" (D8)

> "So I have [an] old teacher who said that deans should go in at 10, sign papers until 11 and then should go to do science. Which is a completely justified story, but not at a college of a non-capital city." (D17)

> "So if somebody as a leader doesn't accept this and tries in this old, Mr. Professor style, it's a failure. So, either your colleagues will suffer because they'll have to do what would be a managerial task instead of you, or the whole thing just won't work out. So this is the first. So if somebody doesn't accept that the world is changing." (D20)

> "So don't I believe that if you want to do this type of work as dean or rector, you can do it the way that you come in at 8 o'clock, quickly sign some papers, ask if there is anything and at 9.15 you are down at your department tackling departmental issues. No. I, from 8 a.m. till 5 or 6 p.m., every time – I have to say that – I am absolutely busy." (D7)

New circumstances require new role concepts. I will introduce the other roles evolving from the interviews in the following section.

9.3.2. The Provider

In the model based on the literature, the role of the dean as a *provider* is defined within the organisational narrative of the bureaucratic university, in which faculty goals are formulated among several actors, in negotiation processes; however, their implementation is a strictly supervised and focused process. This approach is the starting point for several deans:

> "I always say to my colleagues here that democracy prevails until a decision is made but afterwards it has to be severely implemented, so from then on, there are no individual interests and individual opinions. If we've decided to implement something, everybody must work towards it. And from then on, they are not to object that they don't like it and how they would like it to be. If they participated in the opinion formation, in the decision-making, either at the level of the faculty council or the managerial sessions, they are not supposed to back down later. They had been there, they had had the opportunity to interfere, to shape the opinion." (D1)

> "So I always say that I am very ready to compromise but my compromise means a diplomatic compromise, a negotiation compromise and when I started I wrote an, I don't know, 40-50-page long presentation. I summoned all the head-of-department professors and told them to cross

out what was wrong and add what was missing; what was considered positive should stay, and that would be it, that I had planned for 3 years. In the following 3 years I was going to do it with this timing. But I wouldn't ask committees for the implementation, I would be doing it myself, or someone else if I had them do it." (D24)

This starting point seemingly makes the implementation of only commonly accepted decisions and the emerging problems the dean's tasks. However, in reality, there is much more to it since the dean is also responsible for the coordination of the assistive forums and negotiation processes facilitating the making of common decisions as well as the creation of the system of (administrative) criteria for the operation of teaching and research in general. Undoubtedly, the majority of these tasks are of an operative nature and deans characteristically concentrate on technical aspects. Lecturers remain responsible for the professional aspects of strategic decisions and questions. A further essential characteristic is that the teaching and research activities carried out by the dean are indifferent from the perspective of completing deanship-related tasks.

"There is not one clearly deep scientific element in it, but these are all everyday tasks, which is special because the sphere of the university itself is special." (D23)

"(…) I don't think that a dean should go deeply into professional areas. His primary task is to operate this as a whole. And to move it in one direction." (D28)

"So obviously, this is the reason for the necessity to generate processes, for the fact that deans have to do something, because they obviously have to, but their mission is not to find it out. So there were huge debates about it, that I said that it was not my mission to find out what kind of training they wanted to do. The department has to figure this out. Now, if that training requires more staff, otherwise we cannot do it, then it is, indeed, my task to provide the position for it, and I don't know, we made seminar rooms, so because this, here, is a very practice-oriented training." (D21)

One of the tensions of this role concept is that the separation of professional and administrative tasks or the differentiation between technical and professional decisions is not always possible. For instance, the drafting of proposals and determining the order of the negotiation of cases may influence decisions as well (I will return to this later). For instance, a dean – in accordance with previous examples – defined her role fundamentally as an administrative leader; however, she also expressed the dilemma of this:

"[The dean's role] is an administrative one since we have a bunch of administrative tasks. However, among the administrative tasks, actually, if I say that my task is training development, then I can't decide whether it is an administrative task or a scientific one. The boundaries are blurred." (D30)

Due to these dilemmas, the role can be defined primarily with the goal of the dean's role and not the nature of tasks to be completed. In case of deans as providers, the basic task is none other than to reduce uncertainty and establish a stable environment indispensable for creation and teaching.

"This a kind of ars poetica that I am a teacher, I want to make a school and the dominant aspiration, on the one hand, is to create a predictable, viable environment, an environment

radiating safety and integrity and an organised air for students. And on the other hand, to ensure that my colleagues feel that [there are] stable and constant ideas, that consistency does not only refer to this day. But if we make a step, as we operate, forward, that it is not governed by not some randomness but a planned, visible, a sense of method which is predictable for them, in which they don't have to expect sudden things, great dramas, big explosions." (D12)

"And I don't think that the university is the kind of system which should be constantly moved and the rules should be constantly changed. To tell you the truth, serious, good universities are characterised by predictability. And I think it's very important, and I tried to suggest this with my decisions and actions. Long-term predictability, that is." (D6)

However, the means of this may be various, along which diverse secondary roles evolve from the interviews. Uncertainty may be reduced
  – by ensuring the transparency of decision-making (coordinator),
  – by increasing predictability, which does not only refer to the dean's predictable behaviour but to the consistent operation of faculty systems and processes as well (role of the owner)
  – as well as by absorbing uncertainty; that is, by the possible taking over of problem solving (problem-solving/puffer role)
  – or by any combination of these.

The starting point for the *coordinator's* role is typically provided by the specificities of the university or the faculty; namely, the tangible organisational narratives:

"(…)the internal sociological constitution of a university faculty can only be compared to another environment, this is the theatre. So, this is very sensitive, intellectual, doesn't lack self-esteem, so to say, and it's ambitious for success. The right word is probably exhibitionist. It may not express what I mean but a desire to perform, in the positive sense. And the issue of sensitivity regarding habit is closely connected to this. So, this means that goals are less achievable through instructions and ultimatums and so than incentives and the provision of the possibility of success. And when appropriate, adequately publicising success may ensure achieving these." (D23)

"(…) a university isn't structured the way that there are cuboids or cubes or so and then I build something from these symmetric cubes, oblongs, cuboids but the structure of a university is more like a puzzle. Where all the parts are different from the other, but if we put them together, they make a picture." (D23)

"This is not a shareholders' company, this is no corporation, no bank where the chief head of department is always right over the head of department, and do what they say. This is it, it's strict, a mandarin system, this is the way to progress. Even at the university or within a faculty, there are as many small companies as professors. All of them are small and separate worlds and everybody wants to make their own world come true. Now, I think the challenge is to recognise how these small worlds connect to each other. And to find the direction of the main path the way that they can integrate their own small worlds in it as well. And if it doesn't harmonise completely with what I would like, it has to be taken there the way and so long that they would put them there by themselves. So, it is no use binding them violently to it because they will fight to no end in order to sever the bond. And they will do it. Because a professor, a head of department will be going individual here. So it's not that the wheels must indeed be put on the car because if I don't put it there, the fourth one will be missing. Everybody is making their own cars. At one department, and in their own jobs, too." (D24)

> "(…) this is a congregation of people of a considerably rational mind and it's possible that we agree on something and follow through along that path. And I think that you can really advance this way, it's vector addition, and vector operation, that if we pull into opposing directions, we cannot progress further so much and the stances may be harmonised to an extent that we could go in one direction." (D11)

Every quote is about the complexity of the target structure of the institution and the faculty as well as the actors' diversity and unique habits. These images may be completed in theory: if the lecturers represent the parts of the puzzle, then the dean is the one to find the picture which they fit into. If the lecturers are vectors pointing into different directions, then the dean's task is to find the resultant which is closest to the directions determined by the vectors. If the faculty is the sum of individual companies, the dean is the project manager who has to find the project in which most of them are able to participate. If the faculty is a theatre, the director is the one who compiles the repertoire in which the actors are able to shine most brightly; however, at the same time, he provides the necessary conditions for acting (for ensuring success) as well.

Albeit some of the metaphors imply the possibility of the dean emphasising the pressure to live up to external expectations (for instance, you have to perform pieces which prove to be successful at the box office as well, not only those which are of high-artistic quality), yet, the metaphors confirm that the dean's task is to find the goals suitable for the given lecturers, researchers and competences. Thus, they imply not only that goals are defined from inside, but also that the establishment of the pool of lecturers and the set of competences at the faculty is not the dean's task. (Deans who can be related to this role only occasionally mention, for instance, dismissals and the conflicts resulting from them.) Thus, the question is not how to create an organisation well suited to the context, but how to exploit the existing conditions to the fullest. Therefore, the dean's role is defined as a question of efficiency, rather then effectiveness.

The essence of the *coordinator's* role also evolves nicely from the quotes: facilitating the harmonious operation of the faculty by the dean's effort to find everyone's place within the faculty. The dean fosters the development of activities and goals that are acceptable to everyone and by doing so, the potential of fundamental conflicts arising may also be reduced. Thus, the dean contributes to the negotiation processes primarily as a mediator reconciling interests, who tries to make proposals mutually acceptable to the parties with various interests. Namely, the strategic decision is made by the faculty and university representatives as well as the significant actors of the faculty. This requires the dean to be able to make wise compromises and display negotiation skills as well as sufficient sensitivity.

> "May someone lead a kindergarten group or the Parliament, it has to be done a little like it 's put together; one has to have talent. Eyes to see and ears to listen. To hear unuttered sentences as well. So it means a lot [that] you more or less have a sense of which direction the other wants to go. And these have to be prevented, mostly. Or if you can't, then moderate it to an extent so that it, indeed, doesn't cause irresolvable contradictions. It happens, but I think these things can be tackled with wisdom. Of course, sometimes it seems like 'well, it could be decided right now' and we don't decide, only the next week. Yes, Yes, I'll decide now, but then I push someone off the wagon. Isn't it true? Then, it's better to decide a week later when that persons says that yes, yes, yes, it would have been better if I had been able to take a seat in a row more in the front of the wagon, but I was told to stay where I was, or perhaps I was even moved further back, but I'm still on the wagon. And it means a lot to me as well if I know that he'll stay on the wagon instead of us having pushed him off and he would start tossing a block of wood under the wheel to stop us. So, it's not good." (D24)

The role concepts of the *coordinator* and the *hero* can be harmonised well. The common focus is that the dean appears as the "conductor" of the ill-structured goal-setting and decision-making process in both cases, and the dean rather plays a reactive role in both approaches; that is, s/he is more of the executor and not so much the shaper of the community's intention. However, the difference is that while in case of the hero, the emphasis is put on the (consensual or compromise-based) presidency and conduct of informal negotiations and formal committees; as a coordinator, the task is to appropriately prepare and effectively manage board meetings. They are easy to compare in the following quotes:

> "But I keep a workshop for heads of departments and leading professors, it takes place every Tuesday afternoon from 2 p.m., occasionally, depending on the topic, until we collapse. (Laughter) I mean, we start at 2 and we finish around 7 p.m. And we only interrupted the polemics then. This way, we first discuss with the fellow managers every decision which is in this direction, for instance, affects the strategy or other, in advance. As for me, I am all for consensual progress. So I try to further cases until a consensus is achieved, if only in a teeth-grinding way. It is very rare when we decide on the basis of a majority principle, because if someone challenges an idea, they always have serious arguments." (D15)

> "When the material is sent to the faculty secretariat, then we have established within the faculty who would look at which material. So if, for instance, there is something related to the curriculum, there is the curriculum development committee operating beside the council, who look at the material first. They will say what is possible and what is not from a professional point of view, why this is good, why not good and so on, but I myself always look at these materials and I have always consulted these curriculum development committees as well. […] And then if any such material arrived, so an issue never reaches the faculty council without me [having seen it]. If I initially disapprove of it, or there are many cases when they submit something which would be against the law in the first place. Because they are not familiar with the law, nor the college regulations and so on. […] But I believe that if you put this much effort in the preparation, when we submit it to the faculty council, everything will go smoothly and we don't have to return the materials five times and so on." (D28)

Apart from the *coordinator*, another manifest version of the dean as a *provider* is the *problem solver.* I encountered this role concept mostly in decentralised institutions as well as among the reluctant deans (who did not emphasise the advantages of deanship but the inconveniences and exigencies resulting from it). The mindset of the problem solver dean is demonstrated well by the example in which one of the interviewees says the following with regard to performance assessment of lecturers introduced at the institutional level:

> "'I don't like' tasks are, for instance – and this is not different in other institutions – the scoring of lecturers. Because the previous academic year should have been scored, I told them now, two months late. Okay, it's not me who has to give the scores, but it's the dean's task to draw the attention to it, and that this is a 'don't like' thing, just as certain parts of quality assurance are. And then there is something you forget. (…) There were more important due tasks and then obviously, the whole thing was forgotten." (D29)

Another example is related to the indicator reports of the 3-year maintainer's agreements[105]:

> "Well, it came again that now in every so-called interview monitoring, in, I don't know, December, we have to check all indicators again. Because the final will be at the end of January or the beginning of February. We checked, but for what? So in order to check those unfortunate 14 or 15 indicators we have, an incredible apparatus has to be mobilised. Because we [have to ask] the different organisational units for a complete detailed statement. Now, this is something you don't need when you know it makes absolutely no sense. So this is absolutely unfair. (…) Nobody dares to object but everybody is playing stupid and everybody fills these in and I don't know. But as I say, an incredible apparatus [is needed] and it's extremely time-consuming." (D10)

Instead of set goals, both interviewees talk about tasks, problems and the way to solve them. In the first case, the dean considers his task to be the drawing of attention to filling in the forms, instead of performance assessment and the drafting of feedback. Similarly, in the second interview section, the dean carries out the monitoring of indicators in order to ensure formal compliance and not to be able to evaluate, improve or prioritise. It is particularly important to note that the institution itself chose the indicators at the time of concluding the maintainer's agreement and it also set the target results itself for the purpose of being able to monitor development annually. In spite of this, not only did the dean find the monitoring unreasonable due to the lack of funding, but she found collecting data extremely difficult as well.

What is striking is that the means which could be the means of controlling management and performance (for instance, in the hands of a *strategic player*) are only restricted to ensure compliance with the top-down bureaucratic system, the aim of which is not quite apparent either. Undoubtedly, this becomes the source of numerous frustrations.

The interpretation of the two cases may be generalised as the dean's role concept as a problem solver. In this role, the dean's priority is to organise – the least painless way possible (from the faculty lecturers' perspective) – the implementation of the tasks assigned from within and outside the faculty as well as to solve the problems arising during the operation. In one of the deans' interpretation, this is the puffer role, in which the dean does not delegate the inquiries received from different directions, does not avoid but absorb and solve them.

> "Well, the number one difficulty is the puffer role. Finally, the dean is hit from below, above, the front, the back, everywhere (*interviewee is laughing*). And then you either endure these punches or the other tactic is to simply avoid it like a... Isn't it? So there these two kinds of things. Well, I'm not the avoider type. So, if I'm already here, I will rather endure it. Now, you get to hate it after a while. When you are being punched from right and left, from below and above." (D10)

One of the reasons for the puffer role – and a fundamental experience of problem solver deans – is that eventually, faculties are responsible for carrying out the core activities, thus, they are supposed to implement every reform, data inquiry or examination, even if the inquiry is formally received by the institutional management. Since in these cases, it is only the postman and participates in summarising the proposals received from the faculties at best.

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[105] See the 84th footnote for more details.

"..but what is decided at the topmost level, then it's sent one level lower, to the rector's level, this I have to put into practice. I have to ensure that it works and progresses further. And I have to work with people and I have to say that you won't get extra payment for the job to… So these are conflicts and I'm at the end of the queue." (D30)

"And many times it filters through [the rector's management]. And it's easier to say, to take it one level lower and say 'You! Do it!' Now, the 'do it!' is, many times, how to put it, it pushes you into almost impossible situations but we solve them. (…) And then there is this level where, where it has to be solved. And then we do solve it, usually, I say, we do solve it. (…) So I don't say to a task that we won't do it because it's so stupid. We do it. So it may be the ministerial past in me, so such a bureaucratic history helps a lot, because there you never ask what and why but what and how. Don't you? That's the point. So we concentrate on solving it. But many a time I know deep down that it's either stupid or senseless or I disapprove of it or I don't know, but we complete it." (D10)

This also defines the dean's middle-managerial role since in this role, the dean is the executor of the inquiries received from outside and above and the mediator of solving bottom-up problems.

Another factor pushing the dean towards the problem solving role is the diversity of activities (in the more decentralised institutional models in particular) having been assigned to the faculty. For instance, Barna Mezey, the former dean of the Faculty of Law at Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE) (the rector of ELTE at present) describes the dean's role as a "universal robot" who is responsible for

"…international relations, organising conferences and editing publications as well. […] If it's about the accessibility of the building, or when the fire department or the National Public Health Service check us, I am the one they look for." (*Sereg* [2008] p.55).

Therefore, the dean has to be versatile and sensitive to problems, as it is demonstrated by the following quotes:

"To be competent in the most possible things. But from driving a screw to painting and legal matters and taxation matters and psychology, everything." (D29)

"You have to have a process approach, here a little, I'm sorry, I'm not saying it for myself but I think that we are at a point when there's a given task, or, let's say, a problem. But you have to see each stage of the problem immediately. So you have to see until the end of it. What the punch line will be." (D30)

The problem *solver's* role concept mostly assumes a short-term, reactive way of thinking.

"And I don't know what other deans say but we're exposed to an increasing number of impulses which makes us tackle daily problems, otherwise our efforts will be scattered." (D30)

The role is frequently accompanied by the feeling of a lack of control since deans have to concentrate on solving others' problems instead of realising their own goals. It may easily happen that successful problem solvers will attract these types of tasks more and more to themselves. However, others find justification and success in solving a series of problems.

"And this is why the dean's position is the most difficult one. I want to say it, that almost only the problems are present in our daily work. Success, of course, it's obvious. But problems always land here. And a level higher, of course. This is why senior managers get exhausted, because there are problems, problems, problems. If a procurement goes smoothly, it doesn't reach [them]. It reaches them at the beginning and at the end. But if there is a problem, it's here with me, every stage of it." (D30)

"So, they often tell me that they envy me. So, because I always think that the task comes, the task has to be completed, there are conflicts as well, the conflicts have to be resolved. And then, there is progress. So this also means considerably frequent occasions of momentary success; obviously, there are bad days as well, so this. But you have to learn how to tolerate it." (D11)

The roles of the *coordinator* and the *problem solver* were mainly about how the dean could facilitate the manifestation and realisation of the community's intention. However, a third role concept, the *owner's* role emphasises the consistent enforcement and compliance with previous decisions, rules and established norms. The dean acts on behalf and in the interest of the community and seeks to convey an attitude which results in everyone treating faculty issues with such care as if they were dealing with their own problems (hence the name of the role)[106].

"So after all, they explained why it cost so much but I will account you for it, if you are spending community money, why are you spending so much? Would you have spent so much for yourself? I am trying to convey this approach to the others as well, that what we save will be saved for the community. We can afford many things because we don't buy a lot of things we don't need." (D7)

"(...) it was stated that – basically these, that these are stated, these stick in everyone's mind and become a system of values, a system of requirements, and on the whole, part of the institutional culture – that no wishes are welcome about teaching classes. A timetable shows when everyone has a class, that's when you have to do it. And there are no swops, no bargains with the students, and everybody has to have all their classes. And the classes have to be held from the first minute to the last one. Now, these are things each of my colleagues knows exactly that this is the right way. Deep down they know this is how things should be. But from the first moment, this belonged to the issues which are constantly being loosened. Or there is a constant effort to loosen them. Well, on the one hand, this is a game for two players. They know that I know, I know that they know, and then my duty is not to allow it, and then my task is that it's found out that at the beginning of every semester, we should ask the lecturers for a workload statement, and ask the departments for the workload statements of all the lecturers and to check whether the lecturer holds their classes and the class is when it's supposed to be. After a while, if not heartily, but it is noted that yes. And then, they know anyway that this is the order, so they do, even if there is always a little conflict behind it." (D12)

"(…) now I'm going to say something very funny, I never let the human waste container washer device be bought. (*they are both laughing*) Because those at the nursing department are always [bringing up] the human waste container, I said not to buy it. Go out and watch it in practice, but the dummy on which you have to practice how to prick a vein, well, we should definitely buy that. So in this sense, I've tried to set the limits according to some logic. Because we used to see it with many things that we bought them and didn't use them, so they had to explain why they wanted to the purchase it, we had to prioritise the items, those which are indispensable for

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[106] If I regarded compliance with the rules as the only major constituent of the role, the name *policeman* would also be appropriate; however, I believe that this is a broader role.

the operation the following year, what the next category is, which, if we calculated we would have enough money we would buy and what were the things we were still longing for, so it should be written down. And they were returned this list eight times. And couldn't we… And then it was submitted to the faculty council and on the basis of this, I had to mediate when one of the departments had a larger requirement for purchase […] So in this, they had to understand that sometimes one [should be supported], sometimes the other. (D21)

In the *owner*'s role concept, the dean is more active, takes more initiative than in the role of the reactive *problem solver* and that of the *coordinator* seeking compromises. The dean's participation in the goal-setting process is not justified by their excellent professional achievements, but their administrative expertise and the fact that the members of the community are not necessarily able to enforce the aspects of implementation and maintainability. The basic dilemma of bureaucratic operation is that faculty representatives are often unprepared in terms of financial and legal issues, for instance, they lack the knowledge even about professional processes such as the accreditation of educational programmes. Moreover, familiarity with the broader legal context cannot even be expected in a relatively frequently changing environment. Furthermore, the more long-term approach of sustainability is also often missing since faculty representatives usually have a partial approach.

„[the member of the faculty council] doesn't want to see to it, doesn't want to examine these things more closely. So if I ask them of their opinion, what they think about it, they will say that it doesn't concern their department, so they don't care. (…) I can see that they scratch the surface which satisfies them and don't research a lot of things. They don't research them because they are satisfied with picking up some information somewhere." (D21)

"(…) even when we took things to the college senate, the fewest problems, comments and so on were about the really important questions. About the institutional strategy and so on. The jerkwater, non-questions, whether the door would be replaced or not, of course, they were able to argue about these for hours. Now, as a result, it's simply, how to put it, it seems as if, I don't know, some would not want the other departments to succeed. And this is very awkward because, obviously, in a situation like this you feel you would do something else if you could, but you may not be able to." (D29)

"(…) interestingly, there are the "rubber bones" of topics. So one of the rubber bones, which may result in endless discussions, is the performance assessment of lecturers by students. Because everybody is an expert in that." (D11)

Albeit it is very convenient for deans to refer to themselves essentially as the executors of community decisions, in a context like this, the dean may take on a role which is more active and assertive than the passivity of the *problem solver's* and the *coordinator's* roles; namely, they can influence the decisions as well. Thus, on the one hand, they may enforce a certain resource-based approach (which is also characteristic of the *strategic player*), and on the other hand, they may ensure that the decision-making process complies with the rules and norms established before. Undoubtedly, this means facing more conflicts as well (for instance, these deans often mentioned employment disputes).

The dean's role as an owner definitely requires legal and financial background knowledge. The deans close to this role concept not only emphasise their related skills and abilities but also the fact that these competencies are not very self-evident at the given faculty.

This does not only provide the basis for their administrative expertise but also means that, from a professional perspective, they will remain outsiders to a certain extent.

9.3.3. The Strategic Player

On the basis of the literature review, the major characteristic of *strategic players* is to reduce dependence and risks by strengthening the control over resources. In this role interpretation, this may be guaranteed by the centralised definition of goals and their controlled implementation. The issue of control was brought up by several deans during the interviews:

> "I wasn't driven by the question what I should do, but the game, you know. And the game is that a system starts behaving, working, shaping, developing the way I would like it to. And this is what interests me. Nothing else matters in this respect. But what does is that you can test yourself at such a – so this is how we say it at the university – higher leadership position, whether the faculty is able to do this and how it's doing it and how it's working." (D13)

> "I'm not saying about myself that I am a manager because my self-image is not realistic in this regard, but if being a manager means that you're able to handle it, to tackle it, than there is this kind of motivation in me, or there is a trend along which I may also be called a manager. I am not saying that by no means, well, I would rather consider myself an academic, but …" (D4)

> "The whole structure of educational can be reorganised. New educational programmes may be generated. Programmes may be discontinued. So as a head of department, you can't even dream of this. Here, you have the chance to influence the process. To be not just a participant, but to control a given area. So, this is a much bigger opportunity. And this way, you may enforce the strategy you envisage for the future. But the failure is much greater, too." (D1)

Naturally, the issue of control was not only relevant among deans as strategic players but also among deans with the role concept of the *provider* (particularly the *owner*), for instance. One of the differences is clearly demonstrated by the comparison of the quotes above and below:

> "…I think that like a mother hen, you have to pay attention to every committee, every deputy. So the team I am lucky to work together with at the moment is really good, but I like to be up-to-date about where everyone is and what they're doing, so it's important." (D11)

> A: "So as a leader, so to be competent in everything, to be very human, and as I say, to keep an eye on everything in particular. Be just, human, and keep an eye on everything. […] […]
> K: What does keeping an eye on everything mean?
> A: It means that in the life of the given unit: everything, to the highest, middle, lowest levels. It was no coincidence that I mentioned fastening the screw in the lock and painting and so on. So, if we think of the educational institution in particular, so professional issues, the curricular and subject issues, then who teaches what, how they teach, methodological supply, professional supply, infrastructural supply, familiarity with personal things of the individual people, familiarity with professional things, like that." (D29)

The difference between the quotes may be described by the notions of operative and strategic control. While the provider dean concentrates primarily on controlling details, strategic players focus on the control of the parameters essential for the goal. The scope of thinking is considerably broader in the latter case and it is less limited to the details. More exactly: essentially, the strategic player's attention is not directed towards details, but it is possible, when

necessary, that the details may be controlled and checked as well. One of the senior managers interviewed describes the difference very vividly the following way:

> "(…) so there are those who are able to think in terms of strategy, they will subordinate costs to the strategy as well. Those who cannot think in terms of strategy will make the cleaner switch off the light even if the cleaner tumbles over." (F2)

Another difference is that in the case of strategic players, the dean is not a guardian of some general rule, community intention or norm (like in the quote about checking whether the classes are held) but asserts his own will. The dean is a central actor here, which is demonstrated in the first interview section in this subchapter by the sentence "*it starts behaving, working, shaping, developing the way I would like it to*" (D13). As a result, the community is often represented as the object of management or the executor of tasks with strategic players. The dean's central, active role in the development of the faculty is also referred to in other interview sections (italics mine):

> "…a marketable [master's programme] also *developed by me* before*."* (D13)

> "…at that time, I launched the [...] college training… Now, its whole process obviously *depended on me*." (D13)

> "Look, I don't like any position in which I cannot implement *my own concept*." (D13)

> "Well, the first and most important thing was to create courses, and this is a basic thing, we had to offer courses which *I thought* would be popular among students." (D13)

> "…*just now I have written a new strategy*, I am applying the final touches to it at the moment." (D4)

> "So as I see it is that if *I launch different projects*, that I have a vision of the faculty's future and there is consensus about it and there is a favourable outcome, then I'll do it." (D4)

> "All we see now is: cuts, etc., etc… Accordingly, we have to find new ways and *I have written the new strategy* for that. (D4)

> "…whether *I can manage* the budget…" (D4)

> "So I had a serious vision and I knew which direction I would steer the bow of, if I had been the captain, of this faculty, of this ship or at what pace at all, and which direction to orient it." (D25)

> "…because the most enjoyable way of being this number-one or whatever-level leader is when you feel that you can work in and contribute to the processes significantly. I felt like a footballer, that the ball had been bouncing in front of me for a long time. Now you cannot really blame the tip-of-the-shoe pass on someone else." (D25)

Two things are striking in the quotes: the strong goal-orientation and the fact that the goal of the faculty is often identifiable with the dean's goals (unlike in the case of the coordinator's role concept, in which goals develop in a negotiation process coordinated by the dean). These goals mostly mean giving a successful performance in competition as well as growth; however, on some occasions, they stand for subsistence and making up for shortages or losses; that is, truly managing a crisis.

On the one hand, goal-orientation allows for the concentration of resources and their purposeful use; that is, a very conscious management of resources (this is an identical feature of deans of the owner's role concept as well). The following quote does not only reflect the logic of thinking in terms of resources but a feature which, I believe, is characteristic of this narrative and which recurred in other interviews as well (for instance, in the metaphor of the ship captain):

> "A general sets goals that now, we're going to conquer or occupy or defend, etc. His first task is always to count his army, what condition it is in. Napoleon knew whether he could reach Moscow … because his army was in a suitable condition, there was equipment, ammunition, food, arms, horses, cannons, etc., now...so, (thinking) if I look on my colleagues I see that they are overloaded, financial recognition is obviously minimal; if you are an assistant professor, you know how much you earn. (…) But it can be compensated for by enthusiasm or inspiring others. If you know that what they do is important in the context of a larger system, it is (...) good. (…) So for a while, enthusiasm may compensate for all kinds of shortages, but [even] if the general knows how to inspire his army, his priority is still to secure ammunition and food, and, etc., etc…" (D4)

This metaphor determines the dean's role in terms of being the one who secures and distributes resources for the set objectives. Another consequence of goal-orientation is the resulting instrumental, transactional logic, in which the value of everything is determined by the extent of its contribution to the achievement of goals.

> "…if you sense that, where the attributes of your discipline or faculty, where the case could be boosted with a relatively low expenditure but relatively significantly." (D25)

> "I always had the, as a mathematician, I used to have the philosophy that really beautiful mathematics is the mathematics which takes a problem from real life, creates a mathematical model for it, solves it and gives it back to practice and says that this is the solution. So I have always been interested how certain optimising processes may be applied or how a problem of calculating the optimum may be tackled. So, I was interested in these." (D7)

> "So I'm not an accountant or head accountant and the approach is not good either (…) But as a dean I'm more of the dynamic person who makes investments." (D4)

For a group of deans, the utility approach and the transactional logic are interpreted not only in terms of the relationship between the faculty and its context, but the relationship of the dean and his/her environment as well (I call this secondary role the *tactician*). Given that the goals of the faculty and the dean's goals – as we have seen above – easily overlap, this is not surprising. As a result, these deans consider deanship as a game (see the first quote of this subchapter) in which the environment can be divided into supporters (loyal members) and oppositionals (disloyal members), and where disagreement is seen as resistance to be overcome. The words "compromise" and "consensus" hardly occurred in the interviews with the deans representing this role narrative.

Obviously, it does not mean that other deans had not been confronted with resistance; however, tangible differences may be recognised with regard to explanation schemes. As an example, I describe the impatience and urge which the majority of purposeful deans (they can mainly be found among entrepreneurs and strategic players) experience when changes do not occur at the expected pace. One of the deans demonstrates the phenomenon the following way:

"The biggest failure? Slowness. So I cannot progress as fast as I'd like to. So this is a failure. And my two deputies are just as frustrated about it. So all of us can feel that this could be done faster and we are not able to. (…) One of the reasons for this is that some of the faculty staff extremely enjoy themselves in this lukewarm situation. And they are making their own luck elsewhere. So this is one thing. The other thing is that it's not a problem, so I didn't mean it in a negative sense. Because they do it this way as, for some reason, they cannot do it that way here. And those because of whom they cannot do it, those, I can't fire because my hands are tied because of the accreditation. So this is it." (D1)

Another dean (whose role I fundamentally saw rather as the entrepreneur or the organisation developer) provided a different explanation for a similar phenomenon:

"I didn't expect one thing: I didn't think that what was half a year in my head would not be realised even in four years. So, for instance, I still haven't been able to make my colleagues use the website to the extent I'd like them to. So we always have to get rid of one or two corpses or one or two who leaves, who are not here, because this is not entirely needed yet. So, this is a heroic fight." (D17)

Thus, while the first dean attributed the slow changes to contrasting interests and the lack of adequate authorities (power), the other dean considered the same thing to be a cultural phenomenon, the inertia of attitudes, culture and organisational traditions. Moreover, in the first case, resistance can be more easily personified; thus, the applied means will also be different.

Regarding the tacticians, two big systems of means of handling resistance and promoting goals evolved on the basis of the interviews: strength and tactics. The source of strength may be the authorisations resulting formally from deanship and the control over resources. The logic of strength is well-demonstrated by the following quote, in which I was asking the dean about the reasons for keeping his responsibilities as head of department beside deanship:

"I don't think you can be a good dean without a department behind your back. Because the department is what *you yourself* build. And the department provides you with the stable, solid professional base which can help your work. (…) The dean's position is fortified by the existence of a group, let's call it a department now, which is his school. So, which is supposed to strengthen his professional background. So the dean does not hang in the air and, as a result, is not a puppet of the mass of heads of departments. But, indeed, he has a hinterland which he has created, and which is embodied in the people who represent those areas. (…) So that, behind me, there are [numerous] […] doctoral students having defended their dissertations who were supervised by me. Who, as a result, or at least I hope so, but experience also suggests, are quite loyal to me." (D13 – italics mine)

What is remarkable in this interview section is that the train of thoughts could have led to the direction of the dean's professional authenticity (which could easily happen in the community narrative of the faculty) but eventually, it was interpreted in terms of a political ability, the ability to assert one's interests. Namely, the dean's own department is needed for the support of a "hinterland", so that the dean would not become the puppet of other heads of departments (which might happen in case the dean has no department). The dean found emphasising the loyalty of the doctoral graduates specifically important as well. The whole logic is interpreted in terms of the "we" versus "they" dichotomy.

Further significant means of strength for the dean is the employer's licence, which was mentioned at non-capital-city colleges in particular, where finding a new job is more difficult once someone has been dismissed, and the control of appointments. For instance, during a structural reorganisation, new heads may be appointed and contracted and

> "who I appoint as head of department at the beginning depends on me. And this more or less decides who the head of department will be in the long term. Since then a call for proposals is announced but the one who's already doing it has an advantage in this system, so this way there's a greater chance for them to win." (D13)

The other means of asserting managerial interests is applying tactics and suitably controlling information.

> "…before the submission, we sat down and discussed that he would apply and we would do everything to make him rector. But that the candidate of [another faculty] would be the runner-up, it's out of the question. Because it would be problematic. So if the ministry or the prime minister happened not to appoint him [viz. the number-one candidate] for any reason, the next person in line should be [from our faculty]." (D1)

> "This constant consultation takes two forms. One of them is the faculty council, the other is the so-called management meeting, which means I summon and ask the leaders of each unit on a weekly basis. I do this because many were offended that not everybody got into the faculty council. There must have been a reason for it, after a while, when they started to support me, it was obviously my supporters who got there. And it's very good to work with the faculty council. It's much more difficult during the management meetings because everyone is there. But I still say and believe that this is the feedback which, if occasionally painful or makes everyday life complicated, but it definitely illuminates another aspect of the same problem, which you don't always accept blindly, but it's still feedback that contains information and reflects another perspective, which should be the basis for the calm management of the whole faculty, because if I hadn't asked them, it would potentially lead to uncertain changes. So, if there were a quasi, a clique, which is probably offensive, but is not even asked and is ignored, then they would attract more people because poor them, they are not even asked and then they are ignored and… But this way it's not possible. So this opinion may remain isolated while it's also asked. This is a large group, it's not always me who has to face the challenge because the community decides what should be what we eventually accept." (D18)

> "…when you have to confront others, it's better to do it face-to-face, because you should not fight on too many frontiers simultaneously, because then you suddenly face huge resistance. That I have a problem with everyone and I think that this is why there isn't so much resistance, because the team is easier to convince one by one, and on the other hand, thanks to the consolidated situation, they are a bit calmer and my problems always originate from the fact that they are a little too calm." (D2)

What consequences and lessons regarding the role interpretation of the strategic player described earlier might we draw from the research results?

First of all: based on the interviews, the dean's external orientation does not seem to be stronger in this role narrative than in others. The role of the external environment is represented mostly by a demand for training to be identified or covers mentioning the cooperative and protocol relationships with the local authority and the city. Therefore, apart from the occasional exception, not the contextual challenges or the pressure to adapt to them are the factors that justify the interpretation of the dean's role interpretation; thus, this model can hardly be regarded as a crisis-

model. (Obviously, the durability of their deanship is difficult to determine since I did not collect data on the satisfaction of other parties concerned.)

Instead of emphasising external pressures, the deans' goal-oriented behaviour, their eagerness to succeed and readiness to act are much stronger. Thus, goals originate from the inside rather than the outside; therefore, in this case, strategic or goal-orientation is more relevant than external orientation.

Secondly: on the basis of the literature, the strategic player is characterised by building management systems, which ensure the control over key resources and adequate incentives for the other actors. However, regarding the narrative, this demonstrates that deans do not interpret their roles and position through these means, which also means that management and governing systems have not been institutionalised, but are (remain?) strongly related to the individual, which explains why, on the basis of empirical experience, the political–dependence interpretative schema is so powerful in this narrative. This justifies the legitimacy of the secondary role of the *tactician* as well.

9.3.4. The Catalyst

According to the literature review, the *catalyst* is the dean's role narrative within the entrepreneurial university. The initial interpretation suggests that the dean as a catalyst focuses on external needs; the aim is to explore and satisfy them. Another focus point is the human focus, that is, these deans emphasise flexibility, innovativeness and the community culture and attitude ensuring these. This is reflected perfectly by a motto I came across on the wall of the main hall of the newly opened building at the site of one of the interviews, while the dean was proudly showing the building to me. *"Everybody knows that certain things cannot be executed, until somebody who is unaware of this arrives and makes them come true."*

Thus, the central concept of this role narrative is novelty, innovation, which stands not only for inventing new ideas but – and in the interviews, much more often – the novel application and combination of things as well. However, it is important to realise that innovation cannot only be referred to in relation to the catalyst's role interpretation, but in all role narratives as well. As for the catalyst, innovativeness has a key role, which is not a one-time event but refers to a condition sustainable (to be sustained) in the long term. Thus, the dean does not simply make innovations but is able to elevate innovative efforts to the level of an organisational ability and preserve it as well. (Hence the name 'catalyst' instead of 'innovator'.)

Innovation is a relative term: what is considered to be an innovation depends on the existing culture, relations and operation of the faculty in question, since something which is an extraordinary novelty for one faculty may be a self–evident part of everyday operation at others. Therefore, the assessment of deans belonging to this role narrative may be changeable; moreover, it might change over time as well, thus, the boundaries of this role are really uncertain. This is also demonstrated by the fact that almost all of the deans representing an attitude similar the catalyst's role also 'overlap' with other narratives.

Depending on the target of innovation, I encountered two characteristic approaches within this role: one of them emphasised the organisational culture, the other focused on the renewal of the product portfolio and the network of relationships. Therefore, the former one may

be called the internal entrepreneur (*intrapreneur*), *organisation developer* or *team-builder,* while the latter one is considered more of a classic *entrepreneur*, whom I call the *broker.*

The name *organisation developer/team-builder* originates from the fact that the renewal of the community is in the focus of the thinking of deans representing this concept. Naturally, this does not mean the total lack of external motivations, but the goal is to facilitate the renewal of internal relations. The following quote summarises this mindset concisely:

> "The dean's main task is probably to create a community. So it's not science, not education [but] building a community. If you have a community, there is everything else. So if I can establish cohesion, I can steer them in one direction. It's another thing that there is no cohesion while we don't do anything, so I mean, you have to define sensible goals and put a team has behind them. Now, sensible goals are obviously diverse. They are obviously teaching- and research-oriented, but it's more colourful since, since a non-capital-city college cannot be isolated from the world. So I had to kind of open up, towards schools, the region and companies as well." (D17)

It is worthwhile to mention immediately that community building and developing the organisational culture may not only happen exclusively within this narrative. However, their interpretative framework is highly different in the various narratives. For instance, a dean who could mostly be characterised by the strategic player narrative says that

> "Well, building these communities, this is very important for the effectiveness of a system. We can see that in… but they are called trainings at companies operating on the market, that this training, that training, that they are building identity, they are building teams, forming communities in order to enhance the efficiency of their work. So obviously this… we don't have to do trainings, we don't build the community like that, not in such an organised fashion. It's possible that the whole thing, if a manager looks at it he might say that this is practically team-building, what I am doing right now. But it has a centuries-old tradition and it's rather community formation, community building." (D4)

This logic differs greatly from the logic of the previous quote. Namely, while in the first case, the definition of tasks and the setting of goals provide the means of community building, in the other one, community building is the means of achieving the goals. While in the first case, building a community is the goal itself, in the latter one the development of the community may be a potential means of enhancing the efficiency of activities and it is not only subordinated to a goal but, if necessary, may be substituted for by the application of other means (for instance, by the provision of more resources). This corresponds with the former statement that the mindset of the strategic player is dominated by an instrumental attitude; that is, one based on performativity.

I named the other role interpretation the *broker* since the renewal of the portfolio and the network of relationships are in its focus. The aim is to find out and introduce new products and services, to find new needs, partners and target groups and form novel connections with partners; namely, here external orientation may indeed be considered to be dominant and the organisational operation is adjusted to it. This approach is demonstrated by the following longer account:

> "For instance, it's also evident that the practice-oriented master's and post-gradual training programmes existing in numerous countries are missing from the Hungarian system. So an approach which links the university more closely to its environment was needed. To the region,

the city, the European region, if you like. So the first programme which resulted in the establishment of Eurolegion X was initiated by Institute Y. [...] Now, this approach was worth keeping with regard to developments in general. In the previous period, we were consciously seeking what innovative master's programmes could be launched and accredited. To this end, international relationships and experience were obviously important. [...] Now these master's programmes already assume some interdisciplinary, interfaculty and inter-university or interinstitutional relations as well as a certain kind of openness towards the environment.

To mention a real example, it often happens that different people, groups are not able to work together or don't get on well with each other. On such occasions, one traditional way of tackling the problem is to divide a department into two and everybody can work in piece. Now, there was such an attempt at us as well, I said it was possible, but I would like to see the programme first. So if now [...] we are specifically talking about master programmes, first there's the programme and the master's degree major and then we examine if the necessary structure could be adjusted to it. So we don't create a [new] department first and then something will happen but first let's see the programme itself. This way, the logic was reversed. [...] But this meant, for instance, that [...] the same number of students applied for this master's degree programme as [one of the most popular] majors. Which, on the one hand, shows the demand. Undoubtedly, there is a fashion factor in it, but on the one hand, it definitely met the demands of those to receive the training. On the other hand, we took into consideration that the partners [we have] here in the neighbourhood, in the country or beyond the borders – be they theatres, museums, film studios, animation studios or others – might be interested in the training course. They can receive people for professional internship, they are a potential market, and should be integrated into it." (D3)

Very similar accounts can be found with other deans as well:

"As for education, we've been considering to move a little away from the agricultural area, to open. Even by cooperating with other faculties of the university or external organisation. One of the ideas is the field of ceramics. Since there are five china or ceramics factories here in the city. In addition, there are numerous smaller facilities and private potters, so ceramics, pottery and china have a long tradition here [...] and we already have agreements with factories to take up, if... Moreover, they will pay for people's education if such training could be launched." (D2)

"Well, I think what basically depends on deans is that you have to be good at observing trends, what are the newer, I wouldn't say, social needs, because this cannot be said in this respect as it's still fully incomprehensible to me why on earth andragogy is so attractive for an 18-year-old person. [...] So this is not even market, so you have to be intuitive about which direction the young are moving, which questions, where, and then different majors and specialisations for these…so you should ensure the constant extension of the training courses on offer." (D19)

What is common in the accounts above is that the deans carry out the renewal of the portfolio by recognising trends and fashion as well as observing shortcomings and the needs of potential partners. Experience gained elsewhere – in another institution or abroad – and awareness have a huge role in this, in the light of which shortcomings and possibilities become apparent. The implementation itself frequently takes place within the framework of the cooperation of various actors – different disciplines, regions, institutions, companies.

As the quotes demonstrated, the dean's activities incorporate both the adoption of the approach and the establishment of structures and processes fitting the new solutions (this is the reason for the broker's role interpretation being related to the narrative of the *strategic player* as well). And, albeit deans themselves are the source of new ideas, mediation between various actors and contexts as well as the creation of the system of criteria for it (networking, gathering information) still remain their most important tasks. This justifies the name *broker*. This role

interpretation inevitably suggests that the attempts at innovation are not always successful. Therefore, an essential element of this approach is the trial-and-error logic.

> "So you have to know a lot of things you see, you would otherwise not encounter and the adoption of which may be worthwhile. And then if there's insufficient demand for these, they'll wither, but you always try whether they would work or not. What has been like this so far has almost always worked." (D3)

The common feature of the approaches of the *organisation developer* and the *broker* is that both emphasise the significance of the mindset, the community culture (even if to a different extent). In this respect, the *catalyst*'s approach is closely related to the role narrative of the *hero*, in which the dean also focuses on the community culture and system of norms. What differentiates between them is that the dean as a catalyst (and the *organisation developer* in particular) does not only intend to preserve the existing culture but actively shape it; namely, the dean has a solid vision about the desirable modus operandi. However, unlike with the *strategic player*, the attempts at transformations are not guided by specific goals but distant visions, "dreams".

> "And they say that those who are prepared and want a lot are helped by the angels and God. So we had won a TÁMOP tender […]. And God gave it us exactly the way that the things to be improved were those which are my hobbyhorses. So I practically received 140 million HUF to make my dreams come true." (D17)

> "So what we know or we are familiar with, or what is good, we had to and have to be able to figure out and create in different genres." (D3)

In contrast, it is worth mentioning the remark of a former dean who defined his standpoint primarily from the perspective of the *provider* role. During the conversation, he differentiated between "practically important" and "elegantly important" goals. When I asked him to elaborate on the content of elegantly important goals, he replied:

> "Nowadays chasing dreams, which appears in an absolutely general fashion. We are running after what is abroad. So, we are chasing the favours of foreign institutions, who do not seem to be favouring us so much. What trainings they offer, what we might adopt from them, how they could cooperate with us and the common joint degree master's and doctoral programmes and I don't know. There are so many things which we are supposed to sort out in a down-to-earth manner, which...so what is essential has to be done. Afterwards we might think about organising who knows what kind of joint degree programmes with the who knows which famous university." (D12)

The significance of the fact that instead of goals and tasks, visions and "dreams" define the operation under the dean as a *catalyst* is that this makes it possible; moreover, inevitable for others to participate in the elaboration of the process leading there. Contribution does not only require creativity also from others, but at the same time, it makes them partners as well. From this also follows that in this narrative, there are no supporters and allies or people pursuing their own agendas while recognising realities and ready to compromise, but partners, those who think together. Despite the dean having firm convictions (dreams) about the future, the vision itself is not set in stone. The members of the community may form and shape it just as much as the dean

does. The dean's task is to provoke a debate via his ideas and propositions and create the occasion of and opportunity for dialogue, in the framework of which everybody becomes aware of the presuppositions, images of the future and beliefs and this will provide the basis for the possibility for others to contribute to the vision. Only via constant dialogue may the operation of the faculty become a *common* enterprise. Naturally, the dean may introduce his beliefs in this dialogue; however, these may not be identical with the common belief.

> "I always start from the belief that it's not what the dean thinks that is important. The dean might think different things as a person. The question is what the dean can agree on with the faculty. Obviously, the dean's idea will be one of many here, even if it has slightly more significance due to the situation. But this doesn't mean that s/he can convince the faculty about its very opposite. Therefore, if I, if we examine the ars poetica in this regard, my ars poetica is rather that I see key areas in which my task is to convince my colleagues about compromises, to make us decide because what I find the worst of all is if there's no decision. […] At the same time, it shouldn't be all about what the dean wants, but the faculty should want it and everybody should be aware of it because if only the dean wants it, it will no longer exist in three years. So, organic development may only be achieved through organisational will, this is an essential question for me." (D26)

As a result, the dean does not vindicate priorities and does not intend to control everything according to his own beliefs, unlike in the *strategic player's* narrative (and simultaneously, similarly to the *hero's* narrative).

> "Sometimes the greatest secret [of deanship] is to let people do their jobs. So it's a very important leadership attitude that I don't want to figure out everything. So my grandfather used to say that there is no stupid person who wouldn't be able to say something clever at times, and I exploit this to the fullest. Obviously, there are no stupid people, but that I fully trust the fact that I'm not the cleverest one. I don't only trust it, I also know it. There is a bunch of smart people here and I let them work, I provide the conditions, I lobby for everything, I face conflicts for them, even with the rector, if necessary, and in return, I expect them to brainstorm." (D17)

> "And this is when I say that you have to gather colleagues around yourself who you can rely on, because this is not a one-man show. […] I don't have to be the smartest in the field of economy. I don't have to be the smartest in the area of education, feel the changes of the higher education system every moment, but in fact, it's rather a conductor function in a way. I could say this. So the conductor might not be the best musician in the orchestra. But he knows who to address." (D2)

The dialogue must be maintained at all times and including everybody is an extremely time-consuming process, which puts strain on the dean.

> "So I talk very-very much, so I'm among my people a lot. […] So this is incredibly much time for me, so it's 10-12-14-16 hours for me daily, it depends. I work very-very much, which is not exactly…sometimes I go home and say that I didn't even work. So I didn't do anything today, because I'm trying to take care of these democratic measures. So I go to the institute, sit down with them, discuss it, they sit where you are sitting. They complain, I listen, think, juggle it, function as a psychologist. I try to encourage them, stand by them if I need to." (D17)

> "Talking to people takes plenty of time, but I know how valuable it is, especially in my place, when they also have to get to know me. As I say, I've already fitted in because they accepted me, and not just the other leading lecturers but the staff as well. I know because I get, so I obviously get positive, not negative feedback. (D8)

With regard to the role interpretation of the *catalyst*, innovation tries to feed on the community; therefore, it results in organic development, which builds on the past, so it means, for instance, the novel use and combination of existing skills and abilities or the transformation of the existing thinking patterns. However, the approach of the strategic player is characterised rather by disruptive innovations, when the dean selects and introduces the new form of operation, as it is demonstrated by the following quote:

> "And then there were a lot of surprises because there had been customary law, as they used to say, skeletons. [...] And then they came that they used to do this way and that they usually did it like that and then I said it was okay. It used to be like this, but I would like it like that from tomorrow. So I told them relatively nicely and quite decisively how I would like it to be." (D25)

Contrarily – as we have seen it – in the role concept of the catalyst, the dean indicates directions or creates opportunities in which the new directions are set and then the community fills these with content.

So far, I have described the content of the catalyst's role mostly in terms of the relationship between the faculty and the dean. However, the leader of the faculty is also a middle manager, which allows for a different evolution of innovativeness. Namely, innovation does not only refer to products and relationships, but organisational solutions and the internal operation as well; moreover, it may manifest itself not only in the context of the faculty and the external world but within the faculty as well, for instance, in the relationship between the faculty and the centre. This – on the basis of the interviews, at least – is also decisive in the dean's role interpretation as a middle manager.

> "...they [the rector's management] cooperate in every idea which is otherwise not against the decisions and core principles of the university, comply with the rules of procedure but if it requires a little creativity, well… How shall I put it? This is a mutual work or cooperation, game, it can be called anything, when our task, I think, is that our problems… We shouldn't burden the rector's management with our problems, what problems we have, but we have to present our proposals for solutions to make it easier for them to decide. Because if we only impose our problems on them, they'll still decide easily, but it's not so good for us. So we always have think one step further when we get an instruction, how it could be implemented in a way so that it doesn't affect our faculty more than it's necessary. However, it's obvious that this requires a certain mindset on our own experts' part, and thank God, we are blessed in this regard because many of them have the insight, who participate in this decision-making, management circle, they see these situations clearly and try hard to protect the faculty's interests even in case of any negative decisions." (D2)

What have learned in addition to the initial model? Numerous elements of the entrepreneurial concept of the organisation and the catalyst role narrative recurred with the interviewees who displayed the most similarities with this approach. Nevertheless, there are shifts in focus and differences as well.

On the one hand, there was a clear division within the catalyst's role narrative between the representatives of the secondary roles of the organisation developer/team-builder and the broker, respectively, as well as the contents of these secondary roles.

On the other hand, the interviews allow for the conclusion that innovation was mentioned exclusively in terms of organisational-operational and educational considerations. The topic did not arise with regard to research, which is not surprising if we take into consideration the

data suggesting that the majority of Hungarian higher education institutions have a minimal amount of corporal commissions. In general, the dominant logic of operation is characterised by the urge to satisfy the needs of potential clients (such as future students, potential employers) and real procurers are hardly ever mentioned.

Thirdly, the literature says that in this approach, the source of legitimacy is provided by the satisfaction of consumer's needs and utility. Almost all the deans among whom this approach prevailed relatively clearly referred to a certain exigency. These included the decreasing number of students and the weakening social legitimacy with regard to some faculties of arts (what is the use of studying these humanities). In one institution, innovativeness fed on the constraints of the dean's powers; that is, on the tension between the centralised institutional management and the dean's desires and ambition to act. Thus, in a sense, all the deans had become involved in this narrative as entrepreneurs out of necessity and not only for the purpose of realising their own visions.

Fourthly, on the basis of the deans' accounts, the assumption that lecturers are "entrepreneurs funded by the state" seems to be unjustified. Innovations and services initiated and implemented by the lecturers themselves in the spirit of entrepreneurship were mentioned only occasionally. No problems emerging in relation to such achievements were mentioned (for instance, what the lecturer and what the faculty is entitled for after implementing a project from faculty resources). Instead, the reports frequently referred to the fact that lecturers' ideas proposed during a common brainstorming session became faculty-level projects.

10. Summary and Remaining Open Questions

10.1. The Summary and Outcome of the Research

I sought the answer to two questions in my dissertation. On the one hand, to the question what role or roles deans have in Hungarian higher education institutions and on the other hand, to the question how deans perceive their own role as a dean.

The central concept of these questions is the role. The role is nothing other than a repertory of accepted behaviour patterns, demeanours and attitudes considered to belong together, which appears as a generally accepted expectation towards an individual in a certain position or situation (*Bailey – Yost* [2000]; *Turner* [2001] p. 233), and the aim of the research was to explore the content of these roles (I focused less on the process of the construction of roles; this would have been difficult to examine within the framework of the selected methodology.)

The description of the content of roles was provided by consulting the literature on the one hand and empirical research on the other hand.

The role model defined on the basis of the literature which I deduced from the analysis of the dean's unique position and the literature related to middle managers and incorporated in the narratives of higher education institutions (such as the community of scholars, bureaucracy, the entrepreneurial university and the corporation) can be regarded as one of the research results. Further novelty of the dissertation is that I did not analyse the dean's position in isolation but attempted to reflect upon their role as middle managers as well. The outcome of the initial research was the description of four well-definable roles deeply incorporated in the narratives, to which I assigned metaphoric names (hero, provider, catalyst, strategic player).

The aim of the empirical research was to contextualise, deepen and, if necessary, revise these roles; namely, to fill them with rich content by which they become more comprehensible and tangible.

One of the pillars of the research was provided by the analysis of institutionalised structures (regulations, career paths, selection mechanisms) from which conclusions may be drawn with regard to the content of the frequent samples. From these, it could be concluded that deans are elected in a rather complex field of force; namely, various actors' expectations influence the election process; however, it may also be noted that despite lenient regulations, one may only become dean as a result of a process of strong professional and organisational (faculty-level) socialisation. This is supported by the institutionalised elements and statistics related to the elected, temporary nature of the dean's position as well as the analyses on the dean's professional experience and career path.

The other pillar of the research was provided by the interviews. Via these, I sought to (re)interpret the previously defined roles and to define new roles on the basis of recurring topics. Eventually, I also incorporated them in the initial role model.

The central concept of the role of the *hero* is to become role models for other lecturers of the faculty by performing lecturing and research at a high level; thus, to help the consolidation of the existing system of norms – the primary focus of which is science. As a result, the dean's

task in this role is to represent and embody academic values. Its means are not using force or establishing motivational structures by, for instance, requiring academic achievements, but creating a supportive culture that fosters individual improvement and the internalisation of the love of science. The dean contributes to this process primarily by setting an example and mentoring. Thus, there is no intervention or control on the dean's part, the pressure to perform is triggered by the culture itself and not by the faculty management systems established and run by the dean. Based on the interviews, however, it is obvious that no intervention is only an ideal, which may prevail most clearly in places where consensus about the significance of academic performance has been reached. However, where this is missing, the dean must take on a community-forming role as well, which may push the dean's role towards the role of an organisation developer.

For the role defined above, the dean is authorised by his/her own academic performance. Thus, one source of the dean's authority is his/her academic excellence, which does not only result in a meritocratic organisation but valorises the role of seniority as well. This corresponds with the regulatory system related to the selection of deans, which fundamentally supports the deanship of lecturers of a more advanced age, in the second half of their careers. In light of this, it is somewhat surprising that during the interviews, I only scarcely met those who had a similar notion of the dean's role. This role occurred more frequently as a contrastive example through which the interviewees tried to demonstrate the changed circumstances and the transformation of the dean's tasks.

In the model based on the literature, the role of the dean as a *provider* is defined within the organisational narrative of the bureaucratic university, in which faculty goals are formulated among several actors, in loosely structured processes. The reason for this is that due to the variety of the actors' intentions and their specific habits, the goal structure of a given faculty is highly complex (one of the interviewees demonstrated this with the examples of the theatre and the jigsaw puzzle). Thus, apart from executive duties, the dean's role in this narrative is to "provide the possibility of success", which may be implemented through ensuring sufficient support and creating an environment necessary for effective work. Its elements include the reduction of uncertainty, the provision of regulation, predictability, stability and order, the easing of unnecessary bureaucratic burdens (the puffer role) as well as the creation of an optimal working atmosphere, the reduction of the number of conflicts between lecturers. Accordingly, three secondary roles evolved on the basis of the interviews. The *coordinator* ensures the harmonious operation of the faculty by striving to help everyone find their place within the faculty. In this role, the dean fosters the development of activities and goals that are acceptable for everyone. This reduces the chance of trivial conflicts arising. In the process of determining the goals, the dean acts as a partner or proposes ideas, while the decision itself is made by the faculty and university representatives as well as the significant actors of the faculty. The *problem solver* tackles and resolves administrative difficulties, possibly relieving the lecturers of these problems. His role is predominantly reactive. The *owners* contribute to the goal-setting process not only as mediators (as the *coordinator*) but their administrative expertise and insight into feasibility and maintainability make them active participants. They provide a certain resource-based approach (which is also characteristic of the *strategic player*), but they also guard the consistent observation of formulated rules and norms (the policeman's role).

On the basis of the literature review, the major characteristic of *strategic players* is the reduction of dependence and risks by strengthening the control over resources. This means a centralised determination of goals and their controlled implementation; therefore, the community is often represented as the object of management or the executor of tasks, the central actor in this narrative is the dean (typical metaphors are the ship captain and the general). The narrative is characterised by strong goal-orientation and the fact that the faculty goal is often identical with the dean's own goals. On the one hand, this allows for the resource-based approach; on the other hand, it results in an instrumentalist logic, in which the value of everything is determined by the extent of its contribution to the achievement of goals.

For a group of deans, the utility approach and transactional logic are interpreted not only in terms of the relationship between the faculty and its context, but the relationship of the dean and his/her environment as well (I call this secondary role the *tactician*). Given that the goals of the faculty and the dean's goals easily overlap, this is not surprising. As a result, these deans consider deanship as a game in which the environment can be divided into supporters (loyal members) and oppositionals (disloyal members), and disagreement is seen as resistance to be overcome. The words "compromise" and "consensus" hardly occurred in the interviews with the deans representing this role narrative.

Regarding the *tacticians*, two big systems of means of handling resistance and promoting goals evolved on the basis of the interviews: strength and tactics. The source of strength may be the authorisations resulting formally from deanship and the control over resources. A further significant means of strength for the dean is the employer's licence and a certain level of control over appointments. The other means of asserting managerial interests is applying tactics and suitably controlling and presenting information.

Based on the interviews, an important finding in contrast to the initial assumptions is that the dean's external orientation does not seem to be stronger in this role narrative than in others. Therefore, apart from the occasional exception, not the contextual challenges or the pressure to adapt to them are the factors that justify the dean's role interpretation; thus, this model can hardly be regarded as a crisis-model. Instead of emphasising external pressures, the deans' goal-oriented behaviour, their eagerness to succeed and readiness to act are much stronger.

However, the literature says that the dean as a strategic player characteristically builds up management systems, which ensure the control over key resources and the motivation of other actors. However, only a few deans mentioned such management systems. Regarding the narrative, this demonstrates that deans do not interpret their roles and position through these means, which also means that management and governing systems have not been institutionalised, but are (remain?) strongly related to the individual, which explains why, on the basis of empirical experience, the political–dependence interpretative schema is so powerful in this narrative. This justifies the legitimacy of the secondary role of the *tactician* as well.

According to the literature review, the *catalyst* is the dean's role narrative within the entrepreneurial university. The initial interpretation suggests that the dean as a catalyst focuses on external needs; the aim is to explore and satisfy them. Another focus point is the human focus, that is, these deans emphasise flexibility, innovativeness and the community culture and attitude ensuring these. This is reflected perfectly by a motto I encountered on the wall of the main hall of

the new building at the site of one of the interviews. *"Everybody knows that certain things cannot be executed, until somebody who is unaware of this arrives and makes them come true."* Thus, the central concept of this role narrative is novelty, innovation, which stands not only for inventing new ideas but – and in the interviews, much more often – the novel application and combination of things as well.

Depending on the target of innovation, I encountered two characteristic approaches within this role: one of them emphasised the organisational culture, the other focused on the renewal of the product portfolio and the network of relationships. Therefore, the former one may be called the internal entrepreneur (*intrapreneur*), *organisation developer* or *team-builder,* while the latter one is considered more of a classic *entrepreneur*, whom I call the *broker*.

The *catalyst* approach is closely related to the role narrative of the *hero*, in which the dean also focuses on the community culture and system of norms. What differentiates between them is that the dean as a catalyst (and the *organisation developer* in particular) does not only intend to preserve (reproduce) the existing culture but to actively shape it; namely, the dean has a solid vision about the desirable modus operandi. Unlike in the case of the *strategic player*, however, the attempts at transformations are not guided by specific goals but distant visions, "dreams". The fact that instead of goals and tasks, visions and "dreams" define the operation under the dean as a *catalyst* is significant since this makes it possible; moreover, inevitable for others to participate in the elaboration of the process leading there. The dean's role is to involve the most possible people in the process and catalyse both the dialogue and the implementation. Contribution does not only require creativity from others as well, but at the same time, it also makes them partners. From this also follows that in this narrative, there are no supporters and allies or people pursuing their own agendas while recognising realities and ready to compromise, but partners, those who think together. This enables the organic development of the faculty.

Compared with the initial assumptions, the interviews allow for the conclusion that innovation was mentioned exclusively in terms of organisational-operational and educational considerations. The topic did not emerge with regard to research, which is not surprising if we take into consideration the data suggesting that the majority of Hungarian higher education institutions have a minimal amount of corporal commissions. In general, the dominant logic of operation is characterised by the urge to satisfy the needs of potential clients (such as future students, potential employers) and real procurers are hardly ever mentioned.

The literature says that in this approach, the source of legitimacy is provided by the satisfaction of consumer's needs and utility. Almost all of the deans among whom this approach prevailed relatively clearly reported on a certain exigency (a decreasing number of students, weakening social legitimacy, the limits of the dean's powers). Thus, in a sense, all the deans had become involved in this narrative as entrepreneurs out of necessity and not only for the purpose of realising their own visions.

The analysis of the deans' roles does not only serve the purpose of providing deans and the experts of higher education with the opportunity for self-reflection and help them clarify their own role interpretations but it allows for drawing conclusions with regard to the transformation of the higher education system as well. Namely, the dean's dominant role interpretation was lacking conflicts in the majority of cases; that is, I did not see that they would rather indentify with a role different from the one they have the opportunity for. This means that

the deans' ways of thinking largely reflects the expectations of the community constructing the deans' operation. However, this is not surprising if we consider how significantly the dean's socialisation process is built on the acquisition of the faculty culture.

All this allows for the following conclusions with regard to the transformation of the higher education system. The *hero* narrative of the initial role model did occur; however, only incidentally and in its pure form, only at very small, stable and/or narrow-profile, homogeneous faculties, where the assessment of performances is fairly unambiguous. It blended with the narrative of the provider dean (the role of the role model and that of the coordinator seeking consensus/compromises work smoothly together), the leader of changes (if the dean happens to intend to extend the culture of scholarliness) and, to some extent, the tactician (when the narrative of the community hero is only a mask). Even if the role of the hero has ever existed in its pure form (anecdotes say it has), I did not encounter it during the empirical research, which means that the narrative of the "community of scholars" cannot be regarded as a dominant interpretational framework.

It was an important experience of the interviews that not only the focus of the entrepreneurial approach but its popularity is also limited. On the basis of the majority of the interviews, entrepreneurships seemed to occur only occasionally, concentrated in the training programmes (related to other activities, characteristically not), and I only incidentally encountered an interviewee who approached his/her task as a developer of organisation or culture.

The provider role seems to be very strong and popular. This is reflected in the fact that numerous secondary roles emerged in connection with it. This suggests that the bureaucratic organisational narrative is valid, which is also justified by the conclusions of the contextual analysis on complexity. The general opinions delineated from the interviews conducted with senior managers also implied that deans managed the faculties but they lacked strategic orientation and the orientation towards external relations.

It is a novelty, albeit unsurprising that the role of the strategic player covers organisational politics rather than management systems. This is not excluded by the original model either. What is surprising is not the dominance of the organisational policy but the lack of thinking in terms of management systems and systems of incentives. It can be stated in general that the role of external orientation is weak. Although the city as a partner and the importance of networking appeared with regard to some non-capital-city institutions; this aspect was far from dominant during the interviews.

The weakness of the hero and entrepreneurship narratives as well as the strength of the provider and strategic player narratives demonstrate that task-orientation has a considerably more dominant role in the interpretation of deanship than relationship-orientation. With the transformation of the position, administrative tasks, systems and the sources of power originating from the formal position of deanship are taking over. However, this does not mean a complete detachment from the entrepreneurship or the hero narrative, which is proven by the numerous secondary roles overlapping with them on the one hand, and the fact that the majority of deans consider their identity as a lecturer-researcher important and emphasise it on the other hand.

On the one hand, all this corresponds with what I defined in relation to the context of the Hungarian higher education system: the complexity of the higher education system has significantly increased in recent years (due to the heterogeneity of educational programmes and

students, the growing number or parties concerned and institutional integration); however, the strategic approach, the enhancement of external orientation appeared only as a possibility and not an exigency. On the other hand, it corresponds with the European experience related to the transformation of the higher education system: a purely administrative, managerial approach has not been able to secure an unambiguously dominant position anywhere (*Chandler, Barry et al.* [2002]; *Fulton* [2003]; *Carvalho – Santiago* [2010]; *Trowler* [2010]). Not even in countries where the environmental pressure (would have) forced institutions into this direction more obviously and strongly than in Hungary (e.g.UK)

10.2. *Remaining Open Questions*

Albeit the effects of variables which, in fact, may influence the interpretations of roles had been taken into consideration during the research design, – due to the limits of scope – I only tangentially reflected on them. These include, for instance, the size of the organisation, the disciplinary differences, the type of the institution, the effects of integration, the dean's age, the number of completed terms, etc. Furthermore, the dynamics of changes, for instance, whether the dean's mindset had changed between the first and second term, were also excluded from the analysis (as for one dean, it was apparent that by the second term, the 'transformation fever' had been replaced by the intention to complete tasks decently – the motivation had changed but had the mindset as well?) Several themes worthy of analysis were also only mentioned in the dissertation, albeit these could have been organic parts of the different role interpretations: these include, for instance, the examination of typical conflicts, the effects of integration, etc. Their further analysis would contribute to our understanding of the dean's situation and role.

During the present research, I aimed at an analysis of a broader scope but less depth. However, specific institutions would be worth examining in case studies as well, which would not only enable the analysis of the role content defined from the dean's perspective but the expectations and attitudes of other role partners could be studied as well (this would have been made possible by the analysis of the interviews conducted with senior managers; however, the limits of scope prevented me from presenting them). The construction of roles could also be studied within the framework of case studies.

The comparison with international practices would also be an interesting addition; however, this requires empirical research in other countries as well. Such studies were conducted in the last one or two years; however, a comparison was not yet possible in this case.

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Annexes

The Draft of the Interview Conducted with Deans

Extended Interview Draft (Version of July 2010)

During the course of the interviews, the extended draft covered all areas of interests. I could use it with those who were available for a longer period of time.

1. Starting the interview
- Introduction
- The objective, process and time of the interview
- Clarifying the recording method (dictaphone, note-taking, background talk/off-the-record talk), asking for consent
- anonymity

2. The content of the interview
Background, motivations
- How long have you been working in higher education? Why did you choose this career?
    - What have you done so far, what positions have you held?
- When and how did you become a dean? Why did you become a dean?
    - What do you think were the characteristics and factors which made you be elected dean?*
    - What was the election process like?

Exploring the organisational narrative
- What (organisational and individual) objectives did you have at the beginning of your deanship?
- What future vision do you have for the faculty? What kind of faculty would you like to see in 10 years?
    - What kind of faculty/university would you like to see in 10 years? What is the ideal relationship between the faculty and the university like? What is the position of the faculty at the university (in comparison with other faculties) like? What do you think about the debate that "the university has faculties and not the faculties have a university"?

Role interpretation, self-interpretation
- What depends on you (as dean) in the achievement of your vision and objectives?
    - How do you interpret your own role at the faculty and the university?
- Do others think the same?
    - In your opinion, do the other actors of the institution interpret your role the same way or do they have different expectations? Does the difference in role interpretations cause you any difficulties?

- In your view, what is a good dean like (at this faculty)? Is there or has there been a role model (example) that you follow as a dean? What made him/her a role model? How would you describe him/her?
- Did you prepare for deanship before or after your appointment?
- Do you think that being a dean at this faculty is more idiosyncratic and unique than being a dean at other faculties of the institution? And in comparison with similar faculties of other institutions?
    - Do you think your position, opportunities and role as a dean would be different if you were a man/woman?
    - Has the dean's role changed in time? What would/do you do differently than your predecessors? Why?
- To what extent and in what ways does the dean's position differ from other managerial positions you have already had experience with (e.g.: if you were head of department)?

History, critical events, conflicts
- What have been the highs and lows of your career as a dean? What were the critical events?
    - What typical conflicts and tensions do you experience in your job as a dean? What do they originate from?*
    - Has there been a decision or task during the course of your deanship which you had difficulty indentifying with? Why?*
    - Has there been a time during your deanship when you felt it would be better to withhold information form others? Why? (From whom, characteristically? Is this a regular phenomenon?)
    - On which occasion did you feel the least prepared for carrying out your tasks? What was the reason for this? How did you manage the situation?

How can you take responsibility for something you are not sufficiently competent in? What do you do to change this?

Relationship with other actors, perceived expectations
- Please, by giving a mark from 1 to 5, assess how much, in your opinion, the rector/heads of departments/leaders of the central administration/members of the faculty administration/lecturers/your partner or spouse and you are satisfied with you/yourself? Why do you think so? What does each actor's satisfaction depend on?
    - To which of the actors are you accountable?*
    - Can we say that the dean is the "boss" of the heads of departments and lecturers? If not, why? If yes, what does this mean? To what extend are you able to influence heads of departments? What is the reason for this influence (or the lack thereof)?
    - What distribution of tasks is there among the dean, his deputies and the administration? To what extent is the dean dependent on them?
    - Do deans have a rector or the rector has deans?
    - How does deanship affect your private life? What do you have time for and what do you not? What does your family think about your being a dean?
    - To what extent has deanship matched your preliminary expectations? Do you indeed have to do what you have expected to? Is there any aspect of your job that you did not expect or expected in a different way?

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- How do you know that you are a "good" dean? Do you receive honest feedback? From whom? Who are those who do not give you feedback but you would like them to?
  - Whose support can you rely on for carrying out your tasks as a dean properly?
  - What further support would you need as a dean? What prevents you from receiving this support?
  - Who do you trust? Is trust an important issue within the institution?

Everyday matters, activities, relationship with other actors/positions (role interpretation), the future
- Do you have a typical workday? If yes, what is it like?
  - Could you describe what typical tasks and activities you perform?
  - Which tasks do you enjoy the most? And which do you enjoy the least?
  - To what extent are you able to determine which tasks to perform and what your daily schedule should be? If there is an exigency, what does it originate from?
- How does deanship influence your professional career in the future? Does it strengthen it? Does it weaken it? Why?
  - Do you do academic work? Do you teach? How much? Do you publish academic work? How much? Would you like to? Why do you not do it?
  - To what extent do you consider yourself a lecturer (part of the community) and to what extent a leader outside the community?
- What other positions do you hold simultaneously with deanship? How do they relate to deanship? (Are there synergies, conflicts of interests, etc.?)
  - If you are a dean and head of department at the same time, how does your work as a dean affect your work as the head of department? Why are you doing both? What is the advantage/disadvantage of the double position? What differences are there between being a head of department and being a dean?
- What future plans do you have? To what extent are these furthered or hindered by you having been a dean? Why?

3. Concluding the interview
- Do you have any questions about the interview?
- Future contact

Abridged Interview Draft (Version of 22 November 2010)

Due to the shortness of time, I used the abridged version of the interview draft in the majority of cases, in which the questions were divided into leading questions and subquestions. I sought to cover the areas addressed by the leading questions on each occasion with the given interviewee; however, we had time for the subquestions less frequently.

1. When and how did you become a dean? Why did you become a dean?
   - Why were *you* elected dean? Who becomes dean at this faculty?
   - What is the disadvantage of being a dean? What do you have to give up? Why did you become a dean then?
   - How does deanship influence your professional career? Does it strengthen it? Does it weaken it? Why? How much is your workload as a lecturer and how important is teaching for you? Why? Why is it worth being a dean then?
2. What do you do, what is your task (as a dean)?
   - What do you enjoy and what do you not?

- o What are the things you would like to or should do but you do not? Why?
- o Is there any aspect of your job that you did not expect or expected in a different way?

3. Is there or has there been a role model (example) that you follow as a dean? What made him/her a role model? How would you describe him/her?
    - o In your view, what is a good dean like (at this faculty)?
    - o What does a dean have to know, what competencies does he/she have to possess? Why?
    - o Is there a unique task or habit characteristic of the dean at this faculty?

4. What have been the highs and lows of your career as a dean so far? What were the critical events?
    - o How would you like to see the faculty in 5 years? When would you be satisfied with the conclusion of your deanship?
    - o What is the dean's role in achieving, fulfilling these?
    - o What means and methods does the management of the faculty use? What would you like to use but cannot? Why?

5. What typical conflicts and tensions do you experience in your job as a dean? What do they originate from?
    - o On what or whom may the dean rely in these conflicts?
    - o What is missing, what kind of support do you miss? Why?

6. Has there been a decision or task during the course of your deanship which you had difficulty indentifying with? Why?

7. On what occasion did you feel the least prepared for carrying out your tasks? What was the reason for this? On what/whom were you able to rely? How did you manage the situation?

8. Being a woman/man: Would your position, space for manoeuvre and role as a dean be different if you were a woman/man?

9. What future plans do you have? To what extent are these furthered or hindered by you having been a dean? Why?

The Draft of the Interview Conducted with Senior Managers

The following interview draft is the version of 7 April 2011.

1. Starting the interview
- Introduction
- The objective, process and time of the interview
- Clarifying the recording method (dictaphone, not-taking, background talk/off-the-record talk), asking for consent

Career path
- How long have you been working in higher education? What have you done so far, what positions have you had?
- Have been a dean? Have you worked as a dean?
- How is being a dean different from being a rector?
- To what extent and in what ways is the dean as a leader different from other leaders at other managerial levels (such as heads of departments)?

The dean's role, task, responsibility, authority and competencies
- Why have faculties been created in the institution?
- What kind of institution would you like to see in 10 years?
- What do you think is the dean's role in achieving this? What is the dean's responsibility? What is not the dean's responsibility?
- To whom is the dean accountable?
- What obstructs and prevents deans from achieving this? What internal, institutional factors do? Why are these present?
- (You do not have to name them but) do you think there is a faculty in the institution which outweighs the others in terms of operation and success? Why? To what extent is the dean responsible for this? How is the dean there different from the deans at other faculties?
- What kind of dean would you like to work with? Why? Are the deans here like this? What does this depend on?
- Against which criteria do/would you assess the deans' performance?
  - So far in your career, have you ever met a dean who you thought was a good dean? What was s/he like? What did s/he do that others did not?

Being a man/woman
- Are male deans different from female ones? In what sense?

Activities, tasks

	Tasks significant for the institution (in your opinion) that the dean has to/should attend	Tasks not significant for the institution (in your opinion)
Deans devote much (sufficient) time to it		
Deans do not devote (much/sufficient) time to it		

- Is there a difference between deans in this respect? What does this difference depend on?

Support

- How can a dean be helped to be a better leader? What can you do to help this?

The attractiveness of the position, the election of the dean

- How attractive a position is it to be a dean in this institution? Why?
- Who becomes dean in this institution? Why?
- Are deans elected from among the people (candidates) (seemingly) being the most suitable for the task? If not, why?
- How does one become a dean? What is the process of this here? (Could you describe the election process for deans?)

Autonomy, dependence and independence, relations to other actors

- Has there been an occasion when the dean wished to decide in a question alone but could not? Why? How was this situation resolved?
- Has there been an occasion when the dean expected someone else to make the decision although s/he was the one to act? Why? How was this situation resolved?

- Have you ever felt that some information should be withheld from the dean? Why?
- Have deans ever withheld information that you should have known or do they ever present any information in a different way (distorted, embellished)? Why?

Conflicts

- What topics, issues and problems are frequently discussed during the consultations and interactions with deans? What topics do you initiate and what topics do deans suggest to you?
- Is any of these topics regularly accompanied by tensions and conflicts?
- In your experience, in what issues do deans tend to have conflicts with others? What are the characteristic conflict situations in the deans' lives?

The Hierarchic Code Structure Applied for the Analysis of the Interviews

_thought-provoking, interesting quotation
0_career path
        0_career path, preliminary qualifications
        1_stories of the election of deans
        2_future_plans
        3_motivation, advantage
        4_disadvantage, drawback
        5_teaching and research
        6_daily schedule
        7_family
1_the dean's role narrative
        1_entrepreneurial dean (catalyst)
        2_hero
        3_provider
        4_manager (strategic player)
        a story of decision-making
        task and responsibility, goal and means
        power
        HR practices
        filtering of information and control
        innovation
        skills and abilities
        challenges, difficulties
        conflicts - cooperation
        metaphor
        quality assurance
        you cannot be yourself
        setting an example
        policy
        part-time dean
        strategy
2_reference to an organisational narrative
        autonomy – gaining independence - integration
3_relationships with other actors (expectations towards the dean, the dean's expectations)
        faculty
                administration, faculty-level
                students
                lecturers
                head of department, head of institute
                bodies, faculty-level
        centre
                administration, university-level

rector
bodies, university-level
other deans and faculties
4_context
extra-institutional
bologna
distribution of students
students
integration
institutional funding
creating faculties
regulatory context
performance agreement
competition
university-level
internal allocation of resources
central levies
calculation of costs
(lack of) transparency
faculty-level
5_other_topics
other positions of the dean and their roles
predecessor
elderly-young
being a woman - being a man
learning, support (during deanship)
unique disciplinary feature
succession, election
authority
asymmetry of information
everybody to find their place
control of daily schedule
we do not speak the same language
open door policy

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