

Unified National System or Uniform National System? The Australian Experience

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The paper will explore how well the UNS has served the country.

In the binary system of higher education which operated in Australia until 1988/89, universities and colleges of advanced education/institutes of technology had distinct roles and profiles, different academic structures and salaries. Since the abolition of the binary line and the institutional mergers institutional missions might sound the same, but the performance on a number of indicators, including external research funds and higher degree research completions show that there is clear differentiation within the sector by type of institutions.

The same differentiation continues to exist in teaching and course profile. But there is a strong governmental belief that the existing diversity camouflages fundamental 'sameness', ie a teaching-cum-research mission and aspiration.

The federal government has been pushing for greater differentiation and expects to achieve this by allowing universities to charge zero HECS or increase it up to 25 % above the 'standard' HECS. The soon to be released research paper will attempt to do the same through research funding.

The former third sector of tertiary, though not higher education, Technical and Further Education has meanwhile tried to enter the degree market, a move resisted by the universities.

The Commonwealth National Protocols on Higher Education deal with the accreditation of new universities. It could be argued that they are currently formulated so that little diversity is possible - all universities are to be teaching-and-research universities. The protocols are currently being reviewed and it is likely that the concept of teaching-only universities will be proposed which would meet the resistance of the Australian Vice-Chancellors. But would the public be well served?

Until fifteen years ago Australia had a higher education system consisting of universities and colleges of advanced education and institutes of technology. Its tertiary education system also included the large Technical and Further Education (TAFE) sector. In 1988/89 the Australian binary system of higher education was changed into the Unified National System, following the release of a Green, then White Paper by federal Minister John Dawkins. The UNS would include only institutions with a minimum of 2000 EFTSUs (equivalent fulltime student units) and an agreed profile. Institutions with 5000 plus EFTSUs could have a broad teaching profile, those with 8000 plus a broad teaching and research profile – or so it was



envisaged. Subsequently, and urged on by state governments as well, over the next few years, the 19 pre-1987 universities and 40 plus colleges of advanced education and institutes of technology amalgamated in various configurations to become eventually 36 public universities. Some of the former institutes and colleges had TAFE components, and brought these into the new university status, becoming dual sector institutions.

Twenty-five years after the release of the Martin report, which had led to the establishment of a formal Advanced Education Sector, a conference held at the University of New England in 1991 examined Australia's binary experiment for higher education. I was asked to evaluate it, and I called my address 'The Binary Experience – Success or Wasted Effort?'¹

After a dozen years, my conclusions still hold and I will use this paper, published in 1993, extensively to provide the background, before looking at the Australian higher education sector in 2004.

Expectations of the Binary System

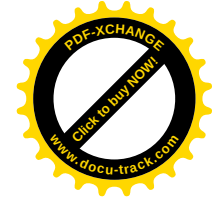
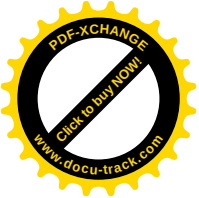
Australia was not the only country with a binary system. The UK with its polytechnics, and Germany with the *Fachhochschulen* had a similar stratification, and similar expectation of the non-university sector.

In Australia, like Germany's *Fachhochschulen*, the colleges of advanced education and the institutes of technology (the CAE sector) were distinct from the university sector. Universities provided broad education in the established disciplines and professions, academic staff conducted research and trained the next generation of researchers. They were 'cosmopolitan' in their outlook and supported the teaching-research nexus. In the CAE sector staff provided more praxis, more industry oriented training and education for the professions. They were 'local' and teaching and service oriented, and if they conducted any research, it was applied research. Colleges offered bachelor and master by coursework degrees, universities also research masters and above all, PhDs. Universities were self-accrediting institutions, whereas institutions in the CAE sector had to have their degree programs accredited by state appointed panels. Both, position titles and functions, and salary structure differed in the two sectors.

The Wark Report – Colleges of Advanced Education 1967-69, noted:

We would regard the more important distinctions to be drawn between colleges of advanced education and universities as these. In the colleges there would be:

- (a) Students with somewhat different types of interests*
- (b) A greater concentration upon part-time studies associated with employment, especially in the scientific fields*
- (c) A more applied emphasis*
- (d) A more direct and intimate relationship with industry and other relevant organisations*
- (e) Far less attention to post-graduate training and research*



(f) *A primary emphasis on teaching.*²

We would expect that some members of staff would devote a measure of their time to investigations which had a direct application to industry. A corollary to the lesser emphasis upon research in the colleges is that quality in teaching should be regarded as of paramount importance.

The Binary Experiment – Success of Wasted Effort?

Binary systems, if restrained in a legal framework that does not reflect reality, have an in-built self-destruct mechanism; this mechanism operated in Australia and subsequently in England. It was visible but fiercely resisted in Germany, but as this conference demonstrates, is operating in Germany, too.

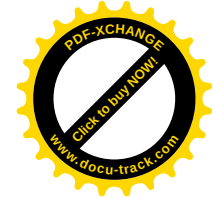
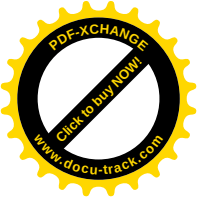
In his classification of inequality systems, Gross noted that plural stratification as was envisaged for the higher education sector in Australia tends to become single – sectors are using the same criteria to establish a status order. Plural systems can only survive if there is no competition, even no communication. But in the Australian binary system, transfer of students and recognition of awards was promoted from the beginning by governments, unlike in Germany. Competition for students and for funds was intense - between the sectors and the institutions within them.

Discrete systems also tend to become continuous – a fluid hierarchy is established and it is possible to move one's place within this hierarchy of organisations.³ This did occur. But like Germany, Australia never supported large variations in the quality of institutions and the education they provide.⁴ Two institutes of technology successfully crossed the binary line, just prior to its abolition in 1988/89, by meeting university criteria.

From an equity point of view the binary system must be judged a success, even if full equity was not achieved. The advanced education system responded first to equity and access concerns. In the CAE sector, proportionally more women, mature age students, part-time students, Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, students from low socio-economic background and ethnic origins were enrolled; and many of the non-metropolitan CAEs also enrolled predominantly rural students, another equity group. But there were both regional and metropolitan universities which had better records in some of the areas than some of the colleges. There had been a convergence across the binary line, with a large amount of differentiation within each sector.

There had been considerable academic drift within the CAE sector. CAEs increasingly upgraded diplomas [which are in Australia at sub-degree level] to degrees, partly in response to pressure from professional bodies, and added postgraduate courses – ie they were becoming more like universities in their degree structure, though they could not award PhDs.

Some discipline areas like Veterinary Science, Dentistry, Medicine, were only, and Law mostly, taught in universities. Education, Commerce and Business were predominantly taught in the CAE sector, and Health related areas like nursing, but also visual and performing arts, virtually exclusively.



Teaching staff in the CAE sector brought to their academic appointments more professional experience than academic staff in the universities. But recruitment in the college sector had increasingly become similar to that of universities, with research qualifications and experience becoming more valued.

The Efficiency and Effectiveness in Higher Education review as late as 1986 noted as a success of the binary system that it,

allowed educational and economic advantages to be gained from concentration of effort; and

enabled higher education opportunities to be provided economically for our widely dispersed population.⁵

This concentration of effort was particularly in research via competitive research funding, and research funding was coveted by many in the CAE sector. The last argument counts heavily – it was cheaper to establish and maintain colleges than universities. At the end of the binary era, the CAE sector had enrolled more students than the University sector – again quite unlike the German experience.

From the point of view of the (pre 1987) universities, the binary experience must be judged a success. It enabled them

- to enhance their status in a stratified system as a group of institutions;
- to concentrate on their research function to the extent that all academic staff from lecturer to professor were expected to conduct research, and expected to be given resources to do so;
- to remain relatively elitist in student selection while making concessions to social pressure for more open access (this applies only to the old universities);
- to try and 'beat' colleges in areas which were favoured by government, eg to match colleges in liaising with industry and to increase the professional relevance of their courses.

Equally, from a consumer/stakeholder point of view it was a success. The binary system meant

- access increased
- choice increased for students. In particular a lot of degree programs were legitimised as higher education courses through the college sector, eg. the therapies, communication studies, nursing, tourism.
- courses were vocationally relevant
- employers could recruit graduates with the skills needed for immediate useful employment
- communities gained from colleges which were geographically more widely dispersed than universities and contributed significantly to the cultural and economic life of rural and regional Australia.

However, the binary experiment clearly was not successful in maintaining two distinct sectors. Once established, CAEs strove to become like universities, and indeed to



become universities. Academic staff wanted the same privileges, same salaries, same nomenclature as university staff.

But was it a wasted effort? No - we have learnt a great deal about how government frameworks shape reality, how institutional cultures develop in interplay with internal and external forces, how academic drift occurs.

In 1991 I said that I did not think we would lose in the new Unified National System those features which emerged because of the convergence in the system: the diversity in the student body, the emphasis on vocational relevance and on interface with industry, government and the community; or experimentation in teaching and assessment methods; or geographical dispersion. And we have not.

I thought professional experience of staff in professional courses would remain important, although this might need to be refreshed or complemented by academic qualifications. And it was.

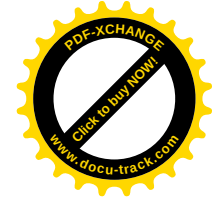
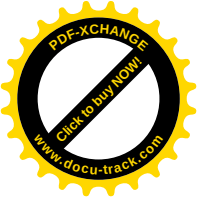
I thought we might lose the diversity in courses offered which the large number of institutions provided for a very diverse student body. But we have not, though courses where 'upgraded' to a perceived university level, and so a mismatch between the traditional student groups in the CAE sector and course offerings was created. The high attrition rates in many courses begs the question whether the admission criteria are not high enough and/or whether a substantial proportion of students should be enrolling in TAFE rather than in a university.

Fifteen years on, do we operate in a Unified National System or a Uniform National System?

The Unified National System

In 1988/89 major policy reforms took place which led to:

- *Major expansion in student places.*
- *Introduction of rolling triennial funding arrangements with operating funds allocated as a single block grant rather than multiple specific purpose elements.*
- *Introduction of new programmes to increase equity.*
- *Abolition of the binary divideand creation of a 'Unified National System'. Associated with this was a major programme of amalgamations and rationalisations ...*
- *Establishment of the annual profiles documentation and meetings process as a mechanism by which institutions and the Commonwealth negotiate and agree on key allocation and performance objectives and targets and exchange views and information on broad strategic and policy issues.*
- *Increased targeting of research funds to reward excellence.*
- *Increased flexibility for institutions as regards staffing, notably salary payments.*
- *Encouragement to institutions to become more entrepreneurial and attract more non-Commonwealth income.*
- ...



- *Encouragement of improvements in institutional planning, management and governance.*⁶

Fifteen years on, in Australia, the Unified National System consists of 37 public universities and a few colleges. In addition, we have two very small private universities and a host of private colleges. The public system as a whole expanded considerably, new places were created through the introduction of HECS (the Higher Education Contribution Scheme) – the number of enrolled students doubled between 1989 and 2002.

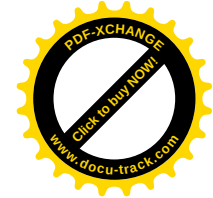
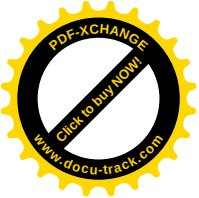
The creation of the UNS was not without critics. There was concern that instead of unified it would be uniform.

Of course, pre UNS Australian universities were proud of a high and seemingly uniform standard across the dozen and a half universities. Sure, the universities were founded at different times, and their age reflected the extent of their comprehensiveness, their focus on research, their wealth via endowments and bequests, their status. Thus the oldest universities in each state – and Australia is a Commonwealth, a federation of states – are the most comprehensive ones with medical and other health schools, with a monopoly virtually of generations of influential and rich alumni, and with a wealth in research expertise, income and reputation. Each state also has universities founded in the 60's and 70's which reflect the ethos of those days – they were more student centred and curricula and academic organisation influenced by an educational philosophy which stressed interdisciplinarity or multidisciplinary.

In the UNS, through the amalgamations of colleges with universities in particular, the research ethos of the former universities pervaded the system. Even though the government had signaled that it was not going to fund 36 research universities, in Australian universities' self definition, research distinguished a university from a college. After all, this was the Australian experience. There was great external pressure on institutions, in particular on new universities, to focus on or establish areas of strength in research. Government funding for research changed over time, becoming more competitive, and universities were required to produce for the government research management plans. Yet, as I wrote a few years later, "the detractors of the UNS who called it the *Uniform* National System have some cause for criticism. There was/is too much emphasis on the research university, too much emphasis on research excellence as the defining factor for university excellence. The emphasis on research in the definition of 'university' leads to a distortion in values and to a confusion over legitimate functions of universities."⁷

The amalgamation of colleges with universities and colleges with colleges led to a smaller number of comprehensive universities. These universities, whether old or new kept or introduced degree programs from the former CAE sector which were highly popular with students, eg. media studies and communication. Medical, dental and veterinary education remained in the old university sector, but law schools were introduced in very many new universities.

Increasingly, in the new UNS, strategic planning, quality assurance, and competition for resources, staff, students and reputation were openly on the agenda and



encouraged or requested, and marketing became professional and influenced by the jargon of the commercial markets – universities needed to have a ‘brand’, a USP (unique selling point), etc. A host of regulatory mechanisms, from national surveys on graduate satisfaction and graduate destinations, to publication of comparative key statistics for each university strengthened the notion that differentiation in the market was essential. ‘Efficiency and Effectiveness’, slogan and report title in the ‘80s retained its influence into the 21st century and is now related to achieving institution-specific missions and strategic goals.

All of this occurred, however, within a shared concept of ‘university’ – a university is an institution of higher learning across a field of disciplines, offering degrees from Bachelor to higher doctorates, and staffed by academics who teach and research.

This notion was re-enforced by funding formulae, the regulatory environment, by a national scale of academic positions with functions to be performed at each level, and by national quality assurance processes.

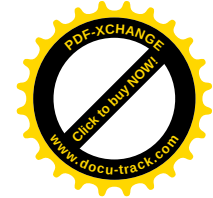
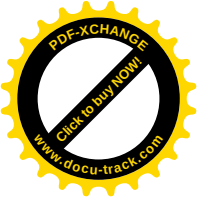
Van Vught, in his discussion of isomorphism in higher education, introduces Hannan and Freeman’s term ‘structural isomorphism’. Structural isomorphism is the result of higher education institutions competing with each other for scarce resources; competing institutions become more similar.⁸ Van Vught proposed, “The larger the uniformity of the environmental conditions of higher education organization, the lower the level of diversity of the higher education system.”⁹ This is borne out in Australia. His second proposition states, “The larger the influence of academic norms and values in a higher education organization, the lower the level of diversity of the higher education system”.¹⁰ Again, as mentioned above, university culture and university values permeated the system.

However, while there was no diversity in institution types, there was and is within Australia great diversity within institutions and between institutions on a number of performance indicators: prior qualifications of students; ethnic, regional and SES background of students; number and proportion of international, part-time, external students and graduate students; number of fields taught at the institution; qualifications of academic staff; relationship with industry; curriculum focus; dependence on government funding; research income; and number of campuses.

But all of this occurs within that common framework of what defines a ‘University’. Within Australia’s public higher education system there is at present no room for a teaching only university, for an undergraduate university, for a specialised university in, for example, the performing arts, or medicine, or engineering.

The Australian Vice-Chancellors’ Committee’s definition and criteria for admission to this Council of Australian University Presidents, re-enforces the commonly held definition. Criteria include,

- *the institution will have a stated and actual commitment to the advancement, dissemination and preservation of knowledge through teaching, scholarship and research*
- *the institution and its staff will have an appropriate research record together with research plans and capabilities.*¹¹



The Australian Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA) endorsed in early 2000 National Protocols for Higher Education Approval Processes. Protocol 1 established the *Criteria and Processes for Recognition of Universities*.¹²

Among these criteria are:

- *Authorization by law to award higher education qualifications **across a range of fields** [my emphasis] and to set standards for those qualifications which are equivalent to Australian and international standards;*
- *teaching and learning that engage with advanced knowledge and inquiry;*
- *a culture of sustained scholarship extending from that which informs inquiry and basic teaching and learning, **to the creation of new knowledge through research, and original creative endeavour** [my emphasis];*
- ***commitment of teachers, researchers, course designers and assessors to free inquiry and the systematic advancement of knowledge** [my emphasis]*

So far, no application for university status has been successful, and a review of the National Protocols is currently underway.

In 2002 a new federal Minister, Dr Brendan Nelson, launched a series of discussion papers, aimed at creating public awareness and public reaction to a series of issues and questions in relation to a reform of higher education.

The UNS as it existed was seen as no longer sustainable. The phrase ‘one size fits all’ was commonly used to describe the present system and to claim that this uniformity was not in Australia’s interest. The lack of market mechanisms like unregulated tuition fees and the limited capacity to expand student numbers were seen as indicators of this unsatisfactory situation. Again and again, a lack of differentiation between institutions was quoted as justification for reform. The question of previous years, “Can Australia afford to have 36 research universities?” became, “How can we develop/fund one or two world class universities to be in the top 50, 75 or 100 in the world?” Similar questions have been raised recently in a number of other countries.

The Ministerial Discussion Paper, *Higher Education at the Crossroads*,¹³ presented in an appendix some different national structures for consideration – but there was little interest by the public or the universities. The paper raises a number of questions on institutional specialisation. It notes:

Notwithstanding this increasing concentration [via competitive research funding], some have argued that there may be a need to shift the policy thinking from ‘unplanned’ to ‘planned’ differentiation, for example, the Government could designate and resource a small number of institutions, or a few distributed networks across a range of fields, for world-class research intensity. Alternatively, some suggest that different packages of funding measures could enable institutions that are not research intensive to reorient and reorganise. Universities could variously focus on high quality undergraduate teaching, professional development, industry partnership or community service. (p.25)



There was resistance to redefinition of what a university is, as could be expected. The Submission to the Inquiry from Charles Sturt University, one of the new universities with origins only in the CAE sector, stated,

CSU is first and foremost a university. As such, its principal activities and the standards by which they are measured must be the same as for any other university. This role carries with it a responsibility to be able to provide programs from bachelor level through to PhD in areas where the University has expertise, and there is need and demand.¹⁴

The Minister's paper goes on:

...There are also some emergent Australian models that could be further developed, including dual sector institutions, graduate schools, multi-sector educational precincts, as well as strategic alliances with businesses and other education and training providers. The challenge is to find a means to allow Australia's universities to establish their own areas of excellence, whether it be institutional research, teaching or regional service. (p.25)

In Australia, most academics would agree that the 'unplanned' differentiation had led to desirable results, had led to diversification, specialisation and if not specific institutional identities, then to specific reputations in specific fields. This 'unplanned' differentiation had come about, *inter alia*, by external pressures and by incentive funding from government, and by incentive funding within each university. Incentive funding is accepted as a legitimate way by both government and university management for introducing change, and indeed by many academics who make use of it.

At national level, for example, research priorities were established by national research funding agencies. And in an environment with operational funding to universities ever more declining, and most research funding competitive, universities increasingly developed internal strategies to create critical mass of researchers and research students in research centres and to assist them in gaining external research grants.

One can safely say, in 2004 all Australian universities, except perhaps the newest, have research centres of national importance, and many of international reputation.

Yet, within the research domain there is no uniformity:

Despite the increase in research in the former CAEs, research income was a minute part of an institution's total revenue, 1 % in 1992, rising to 3.6 % in 2001 when the national average was 10.6%.

In recent years new groupings have been formed, national and global strategic alliances and formal grouping: The Group of Eight (comparable to the Russell Group) with a strong emphasis on research¹⁵ set itself apart first; the Australian Technology Network (ATN)¹⁶, consisting of the five former capital-city based large Institutes of Technology and colleges amalgamated with them, followed The Innovative Research Universities¹⁷, consisting of universities founded in the 60s with distinct multi or



disciplinary focus and the New Generation Universities (all from the former CAE sector) are very recent and as yet loose alliances.

The Group of Eight which attracted the largest research funds in the 80s, dramatically increased its research income from 1992-2002; the other groups of universities increased their income but even in 2002 each group had not even reached the starting position of the Go8 in 1992. The former colleges increased their income minimally.

The Go8 dominate research, with about 60% of the total national research income in 1999.

Research student enrolment at doctoral level had been reserved for universities in the binary system. After the establishment of the UNS, the new universities developed research degrees in most of their areas. Their own academic staff without PhDs enrolled, and whole fields of study, like nursing, which had been in the CAE sector saw academic staff enroll in PhD programs. Research degree completions flow into the formula for distribution of research income to universities. It is clear, that the Go8 remain the leaders. The CAE group has increased its share, but it is still a very small share.

In the research area, government intervention through regulations and funding has successfully concentrated research in a number of institutions while not denying other institutions the opportunity to establish research concentration, to seed fund research, and to enroll research students.

More measures to concentrate research are expected to be announced in the next governmental research paper, possibly in the May budget.

Competitive funding was used as a change and steering instrument by government for other activities as well, for rationalisation of courses and co-operation with other universities, for academic staff development and for innovations in teaching, on an individual, departmental or even institutional level. And most universities followed, if they did not already have such schemes - and many did, and established internal staff development and teaching development grants to promote changes in teaching, supervision, assessment and student support.

All of this led to a certain differentiation in profile, achievement and reputation.

In the UNS mixed messages were sent by government – the government wanted more diversity but the funding environment was uniform; it wanted more entrepreneurial activities but the regulatory environment became stricter; it wanted more students, but it paid less; it wanted a market, but it did not allow deregulation in terms of fees or student numbers. It did succeed in making universities leaner; it did succeed in introducing a performance culture; it did succeed in forcing universities to concentrate their research and research training efforts; it did succeed in providing access to ever increasing student numbers. But the government did not succeed in reducing what it calls ‘duplication’ in the system, nor in gaining qualitative institutional differentiation.

The Future



There is no longer talk of the UNS; with yet another funding reform following the serious of discussion papers, the UNS has been quietly put to an end.

Higher education is no longer seen as primarily a public good. While it is true, that graduates earn more and experience less unemployment than non-graduates, there has been a marked shift to students/graduates largely having to fund their own education through HECS and part-time work.

Over the past fifteen years there has been considerable differentiation in research. But we have as yet not seen new institutional types emerging.

The recent higher education legislation, introduced in December 2003 and only now being operationalised, may eventually lead to qualitative differentiation. From 2005,

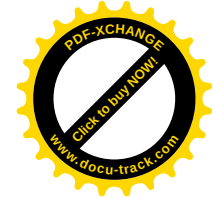
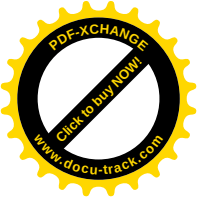
- universities will be able to set HECS charges from \$ 0 to 25% above the 'normal' HECS for commencing students, both undergraduate and graduate, except in the national priority areas of teaching and nursing [there is shortfall of teachers and nurses in the labour market].

Already a large number of Australian universities have opted to go straight for the 25% with a few universities adopting a 'wait and see' approach and a few others rejecting HECS increases for specific reasons.

- Additional funds will be made available on teaching performance. The criteria are yet to be determined by the Government in consultation with the university sector. But with the richer universities able to invest in academic staff, in student support, in teaching innovation and technology, it is likely that the richer universities will be able to access most of those funds.
- Private higher education institutions will be treated similar to public universities.
- The funding formula for government supported research students will lead to concentration in fewer and fewer universities.
- The research funding paper, yet to be released, will make the rich richer and the poor poorer. The effect will be similar to the British research assessment exercise and whole teams from 'poorer' universities are likely to be bought by richer universities.
- The national pay scales which are determined with the local branch of the national unions will no longer be very similar but will reflect a university's capacity to pay and the cost of living in a city.

The result? Over the next decade or so, we are likely to see a clear hierarchy of universities on research and teaching excellence.

We will see the emergence, through the new funding arrangements, of near teaching-only universities, and we might see predominantly undergraduate universities.



And we are likely to see, assuming the National Protocols are being changed, new private universities on the market, specialising in particular fields and mainly undergraduate.

Will this benefit the public? It is hard to predict. In other countries, eg the US, stratification is accepted, as is the huge gap between the best and the worst of higher education institutions. In Australia, there is no such acceptance at present.

There is already a new institutional drift occurring with institutions in the TAFE sector offering degrees. Such institutional drift is not in the interest of the public, in particular as there are a large number of articulation arrangements in place which enable TAFE students to access, with advanced standing, university courses.

I concur with Meek and O'Neill, "diversity and differentiation are not good things in and of themselves. As a minimal condition, we would give a system approval if it offered high diversity (in both senses) and if differentiations were sufficiently fuzzy to allow entry to and transfer between sectors, between institutions *and* within institutions."¹⁸ Our system has been allowing this for years, to the benefit of students.

¹ I Moses, 'The Binary Experience – Success or Wasted Effort?' in VL Meek and G Harman (eds) *The Binary Experiment for Higher Education: An Australian Perspective*, Dept of Admin. and Adult Higher Education Studies, University of New England, Armidale, 1993, pp 11-20

² Wark Report, *Colleges of Advanced Education, 1967-1969*

³ E Gross, 'Prestige, Influence and Power in the System of Higher Education', in E Gross and J Western, *The End of a Golden Age*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1981, pp 47-49

⁴ U Teichler, 'Diversity in higher education in Germany', in VL Meek, L Goedegebuure, O Kivinen and R Rinne, *The Mockers and Mocked Comparative Perspectives on Differentiation, Convergence and Diversity in Higher Education*, Pergamon, IAU Press, 1996, p.118

⁵ CTEC, *Review of Efficiency and Effectiveness in Higher Education* (Chairman: H. Hudson), Canberra, AGPS, 1986, p.13

⁶ B Nelson, *Higher Education at the Crossroads*, Commonwealth Department of Education, Science and Training, 2002, pp 63-64

⁷ I Moses, 'Redefining Academic Roles: In support of Teaching', in J Sharpham and G Harman (eds) *Australia's Future Universities*, University of New England Press, Armidale, 1997, pp175-196

⁸ F van Vught, 'Insomorphism in higher education?', in VL Meek et al, *The Mockers and Mocked*, op. cit, p. 52

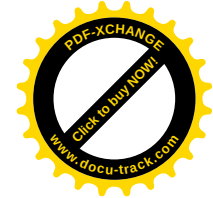
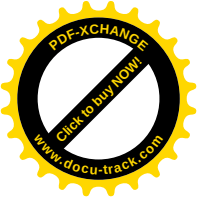
⁹ van Vught, op. cit, p. 54

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ http://www.avcc.edu.au/about_avcc/current_office_holders/avcc_members.htm

¹² www.dest.gov.au/highered/mceetya_cop.htm

¹³ B Nelson, *Higher Education at the Crossroads*, Commonwealth Department of Education, Science and Training, 2002



¹⁴ Quoted in *Varieties of Excellence: Diversity, Specialisation and Regional Management*, Issues Paper, prepared for the Government Review Higher Education at the Crossroads, DEST, 2002, p. 23

¹⁵ University of Queensland, Sydney, NSW, Melbourne, Monash, Adelaide, Western Australia and ANU

¹⁶ Queensland University of Technology, University of Technology, Sydney, RMIT University, University of South Australia, Curtin University

¹⁷ Griffith, Newcastle, Macquarie, La Trobe, Flinders, Murdoch

¹⁸ VL Meek and A O'Neill, 'The Australian unified national system of higher education', in VL Meek et al, op cit. p. 76