

Academic Autonomy as a Lifelong Learning Process for Universities



Sijbolt Noorda

Universities need a fair degree of autonomy to be able to fulfil their mission well. Yet autonomy in itself is not sufficient for success. This article describes three factors that are essential for the success of academic self-government. 1) The missions and profiles of universities are always contextual, so academic autonomy should be practiced as a dynamic project, changing over time and responsive to new demands. 2) Even more important are the internal structure and culture of the autonomous university. Because it is at the same time a complex and a professional organization, academic autonomy should be organized at all levels, in all fields and work processes of the university. 3) Self-government cannot be practiced without changing traditional fragmentary models of academic organization. This requires strong academic leadership at all levels and in all fields.

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For your convenience, all articles have already been organised by chapter and subchapter online at www.lg-handbook.info. This article, A 3-1, has been assigned to:

Chapter A: Contexts and Concepts
Subchapter 3: Key Features of Good Governance: Policies, Politics, Trends, Fashions, Fads

**University autonomy:
a dynamic process**

1. Introduction

At the end of his catalogue of thanks Thomas Estermann, one of the authors of the 2011 EUA report on university autonomy in Europe, acknowledges the financial support of the European Commission Directorate-General for Education and Culture, which co-funded the project under the Lifelong Learning Programme (Estermann et al, 2011, p. 7). This reference to the EU Lifelong Learning Programme very nicely expresses an essential insight: Autonomy is the quality or state of being self-governing, which, in a complex and ever-changing environment, is never a steady state but rather a dynamic process, and could indeed be considered as a lifelong learning process itself for universities. In addition, in different situations, legal systems or institutional cultures similar practices may have different consequences and impact. It all depends on finding the right balance each time, keeping in mind ultimate goals and purposes.

Also, in the particular case of universities, self-government ('academic autonomy') must be practiced in terms of development and finding a new balance rather than in terms of fixed structures and final solutions. This is why promoting and practicing academic self-government is an ongoing activity, never finished, always under way, a matter of *lifelong learning* for institutions and practitioners alike.

2. Academic Autonomy

2.1 Academic self-government: an institution-specific, dynamic, evolutionary process

Seeing the development of academic self-government as an evolutionary process also implies that each individual case of self-government requires specific choices and strategies responsive to individual developments, needs and settings. This does not mean that one cannot learn from colleagues. One can indeed study and apply what has been done and tested elsewhere, provided it is done *mutatis mutandis*, taking into account different settings and opportunities, while adapting to present and new contexts and conditions.

This reminder that self-governance issues must always be seen and practiced as dynamic projects, changing over time, being responsive to new demands, and depending on contextual specificities, is the first message of the present article.

2.2 The meaning of academic autonomy

What do I mean by *academic autonomy* in this context? It is an umbrella concept, denoting the autonomy or self-governance of a university by virtue of its academic role and status. Sometimes academic autonomy is taken in a narrower sense. It then refers to the specific freedom to design and define *academic* programmes and curricula, and to select (categories of) students. In my view the freedom to design and carry out organizational and financial competences and capacities should be seen as aspects of the *broader* academic autonomy of a university. All these aspects are closely linked, and more importantly a university needs broad freedom of action exactly because of its core academic role.¹ A university is not a theatre under independent management where various academic groups come to perform academic plays, but rather an integrated academic company and community responsible for all and everything it needs and brings forth.

**Academic autonomy:
a broad and basic
concept**

In an abstract way and at the institutional level, academic autonomy refers to the freedom to design and execute individual, integral strategies and services. Autonomous universities have full authority and are able to carry full responsibility for the efficiency and quality of their performance – in teaching, in research and in public service. In this sense autonomy implies a considerable degree of *independence*, the freedom to make all strategic and operational choices and decisions relevant to a university and its role in society.

Autonomy isn't only relevant at the institutional level, however. Academic individuals, teams and departments within a university need such freedom as well, allowing them to make their own decisions by force of their professional qualities and responsibilities. So also inside the institution there must be room for various degrees of self-governance.

¹ It is beyond the scope of the present article to explain what this *academic role* implies. Let it suffice to note that three aspects are basic: to protect and promote academia as the independent house

- where (multi-)disciplinary academic knowledge is being developed and transferred to new generations,
- where academic professionals (teachers and researchers) are at work,
- and where academic skills are practiced by professionals and learned by students (in terms of powers of thinking and argumentation, intellectual independence & drive to inquire; scientific integrity, in terms of working with evidence, sources, methods & colleagues; professional ethics, as part of socialization & the ability to handle risks and complexities; and civic qualities, in terms of public interest & world citizenship).

Autonomy: a dynamic practice rather than a legal status**2.3 Autonomy: a privilege and a responsibility**

The second message of this article is that autonomy or self-government is a basic quality of modern universities, *if practiced well*. Universities need a fair deal of autonomy to be able to fulfil their mission well. Yet, although this is an essential condition, it is not sufficient for success. Autonomy may be seen as a privilege; nevertheless, it should be practiced as a responsibility and a task. If academic self-governance is mainly being perceived as freedom – be it from outside and/or from top-down interference – and if it is not embedded in a broader practice of good quality governance and balanced responsibilities, it will not yield the desired fruits. Simply put, autonomy may be a popular theme, it is not a cure-all. Good self-governance requires much more than the restriction of outside intervention. It should be seen and practiced as a core aspiration of the university community, both in terms of structure and of culture, of responsibilities and of personalities.

2.4 Autonomy: highly contextual, never absolute and complete

Before the implications of self-government are analysed, it should be clear that university autonomy is *never absolute and complete*. Thinking about it and above all practicing it there is always an interaction with contexts and demands. It always involves a balancing act, both between academic institutions and their societal environment (the general public, lawmakers, funders, employers), and inside these institutions between academic leadership (deans, directors, presidents, provosts) and academic professionals (teachers, researchers, educators, instructors, professors). This explains why the issue changes over times and differs with locations. Academic autonomy is something different in medieval Bologna, early nineteenth century Berlin or today's Berkeley. Our thinking on autonomy, and the design and practice of academic self-government should therefore relate to contexts and conditions, demands and directions.

So autonomy *is always contextual* and always in movement. Just look at the ebb and flood of university autonomy in the present European situation. Three examples may illustrate my point.

2.5 Modern universities need partnering rather than top-down instructing**Detailed legal arrangements have limited impact**

European public universities are heavily dependent on *detailed legal arrangements*, with a high degree of political plausibility (in terms of regulation of student access, funding of education and research, defining and protecting the status of academics, and the degree of variety of missions in Higher Education). These arrangements of national or

regional states are often made up of quite detailed legal frameworks that easily translate into equally detailed government steered operations. In recent years there has been a clear trend to less detailed provisions, e.g. budgeting by block grants in stead of line-item budgets, leaving more room for decision-making by universities themselves. Yet at the very same time, new government rules and regulations are being designed to make sure that the university system operates in line with fresh political demands, e.g. the need to explain and show the societal impact of academic programmes. In most cases this is done with the best intentions. Yet government ministers and politicians in general seldom realize the limitations of what can be achieved by detailed top-down scripted steering and directing. A recent international study by McKinsey & Company shows that educational systems do benefit from intensive care and control by governments only as long these systems are in their early phases of development (Mona Mourshed et al, 2010). To enable a full-grown mature educational system to make further progress, moving from good to better and on to very good and excellent, institutional leadership and classroom professionals need a fair amount of independence. For such purposes governments should develop and use different methods, of partnering rather than top-down instructing. And realize the benefits that come with autonomous institutions.

My second example illustrates the need for autonomy vis-à-vis the highly national character of laws on Higher Education. Lawmakers see European public universities to a very large degree as providers of graduates to *national labour markets* and of skills and solutions to *national economies*. This may have made sense in earlier days; today the international mobility of academics and graduates, and the international competition for talent both put pressure on these national traditions and preferences. A clear example of the consequences of these changes can be studied in the domain of student fees. Within a walled national system of taxation it is fair to allow and even to stimulate nationals to study for free, on condition of fair access. As graduates they will repay in their dual role as taxpayers and as professionals, directly and indirectly, a fair share of the cost of their education and in many cases much more. In a world of open borders, student migration and professional mobility, however, such a system gets stuck. National systems first try to solve these problems by distinguishing into in-state and out-of-state students and fee levels. Yet at the end of the day that is not enough, not in the least because some Higher Education Institutions are much more international than others. Subsequently, system-wide approaches that do not allow for exceptions and room for institutions to independently set student fee levels are doomed to perform sub-optimally. Here autonomy is needed to allow for tailor-made solutions responding to ever-changing international contexts of supply and demand.

**National regulations
limit international
development**

2.6 The role of the government in promoting diversity – or the limits of autonomy

Unrestricted autonomy may lead to unwanted uniformity

A third example shows why, in some cases, the generous autonomy of individual schools would be *risky and even unwelcome*. With increasing numbers of incoming students in higher education comes a greater variety of supply in terms of talents and interests. Job market developments show a similar variety of demand. Without a diverse system of higher education which addresses a broad spectrum of ambitions and talents it will be impossible to combine adequate academic performance standards with high levels of individual student success. Moreover, no society should want to lose some of this talent. Thus there is a clear need for differentiation in higher education, different institutions and/or different programmes, degrees and degree levels. Seen from this perspective it is remarkable that research intensive universities in Denmark and the Netherlands are serving about 30 % of all undergraduates (the others study at universities of applied science or vocational schools for higher education) while in Austria about 95 % of all undergraduates are university students. This contrast is to be explained as the result of the dual forces of tradition and politics. For individual public institutions it is almost impossible to withstand these forces. Thus wherever a higher education system is too monolithic, new national or European policy strategies promoting differentiation are called for. Europe needs more than a few world-class research-led universities to be ranking among the world centres of learning and research. Similarly Europe needs more variety in higher education, professional schools as well as short-cycle higher education. Yet public institutions cannot create this variety by themselves. Most of them should be much more specific about their mission and profile in a context of mass higher education. Yet without national or European policy frameworks that stimulate and reward such variety, it just will not happen – a clear lesson on the limitations of institutional autonomy and the need for smart government policies.

2.7 Positive interaction and healthy division of tasks between academia and public authorities

Positive interaction of academia and government wanted

European universities in most cases are public institutions, created, maintained and governed by public laws and regulations. Autonomous universities need such a framework just as well. Pleading for academic freedom and self-governance is pleading for the enhancement of public universities, not their isolation as stand-alone organizations. This is my third message. The mission and profile of universities is always contextual. Their relevance and support relies *on a positive interaction and a healthy division of tasks between academia and public authorities*. The success of new style universities does, however, require a new style of lawmaking and political governance. In

the transition process three things prove to be difficult: to see the virtue of variety (in a political climate fond of equity and equal opportunities), to refrain from nervous interference (at times when politicians feel everything is their business and think it is their business to care for everything), and to positively support institutional strategies (instead of complaining about each unfortunate incident and every imperfection).

3. Autonomy as a quality and duty of individual institutions

3.1 Complexity and the need for autonomy

Academic autonomy is often being discussed as an issue between government and individual institutions, a priority theme of public policy making and a matter of educational system development and maintenance. This article however focuses on autonomy as a quality or duty of individual institutions. So we must inquire which purposes academic self-government should serve, and how it can be done.

Such questions must be answered with reference to the core qualities and processes of the university as *an academic institution, at the same time a complex (multiform and multitask) organization and a professional organization*. Both aspects are of importance here: the wide variety of teams and departments, tasks and programmes, and the essential role of highly qualified professionals in all of this.

Complexity has various faces in a university. It can be observed in terms of *programme and discipline variety*. Such complexity is the secret of success, both internally and externally. Biologists do it their way, and so do historians. A law faculty is well connected to the legal profession and medical people have their roles in the world of health and hospitals. Economists have a network of relations that is completely different from that of psychologists. All of this is very fortunate and it explains why and how universities do contribute to society (Sheldon Rothblatt (2006) p. 24f.). It is precisely the complexities and dynamics of modern universities, including their diverse links to outside partners and funders, which require individuality and a fair degree of independence at faculty and department level. To put it simply, in this case, one size does not fit all, and everything is linked. This implies that in a dynamic setting the responsibility for strategy as well as day-to-day leadership cannot be a political or a bureaucratic function by way of remote control, but has to be an academic, devolved and directly involved one.

**Autonomy:
an institutional
responsibility**

**Positive value of
internal variety**

Complexity is also a matter of *variety of work processes*. Teaching and learning as well as research are of course the *primary* work processes of any university and in a way the touchstone of all other processes, but many additional *enabling or supporting* work processes are just as indispensable.² Strategic coordination and stimulation, allocation of budgets, risk management and quality control, creation and maintenance of facilities, external representation and fundraising are some of the many tasks that require professional staff and leadership. While the primary work processes are the prime responsibility of academics in departments and schools which require a flat organizational structure, their strategic coordination is in the hands of deans and directors and their staff at faculty leadership level. They also carry responsibility for some of the other enabling processes. At the university level most of these secondary processes are clustered, like shared service, support and expert centres for the entire institution.

It is the multi-level, multi-process structure of university work that is one of the most weighty arguments in favour of self-government. Only when this complex fabric lies in the hands of competent and cooperating staff and leadership inside the institution can integrated strategic decisions be made and can integrated efficient services be offered. Here we find a major benefit of autonomy.

3.2 Human capital development and autonomy

Human resources policies require devolved responsibilities

Human capital is the other important element. A university's core academic success and failure factors are closely linked to individual *professional qualities*. Universities are resource-based organizations. They as a rule spend between 75 % and 85 % on salaries and other staff costs. Both in teaching and learning and in research the volume and quality of human capital are key. By far the most important market for universities is the labour market. Maintaining a strong position in this market is therefore essential. This implies that universities must be visible, attractive and strong in the upper regions of the job market.

Recruitment of staff is one of the most important success or failure factors for any university. This not only requires the freedom to individually recruit instead of being dependent on state run competitions, it above all demands the eyes of experts. Teaching and doing research are demanding tasks that require professional expertise. Recruiting

² A research university has 3 work processes: 1) teaching and research; 2) development of academic discipline and professional quality of academics; 3) coordination, stimulation, general budgeting and all other matters of general interest to the university. Each of these should be at home in specific units and be entrusted to competent academic professionals.

and evaluating faculty members should be done by their peers. It is hard to imagine an even partly political or bureaucratic selection or evaluation process that is equally fit for this.

Similarly short and long-term career planning and counselling of junior and senior staff in teaching and research, and the creation and maintenance of a professional quality culture rank among key responsibilities of university leadership. It is truly amazing how often these tasks are underestimated, left to individual staff members themselves and/or entrusted to personnel departments alone. Here deans, presidents and provosts have a crucial role to play.

So each university needs a fair amount of autonomy, precisely because it is *at the same time a complex and a professional organization*. This is my fourth message. Yet autonomy does not make things better automatically. Autonomy by itself is no more than space and opportunity. It demands good quality players and good quality play. This is why academic autonomy should be translated into good self-governance at all levels and in all fields.

3.3 Autonomy is a lot more than freedom: the Dutch case

Academic autonomy is more than *freedom from* outside interference, and more than the *freedom to* do things yourselves. It has and should have serious implications for university structures and cultures, strategic plans and operational practices.

Autonomy dynamics in Dutch Higher Education

These more or less general remarks can be best illustrated by a concrete example.

For Dutch higher education, modern times began around 1985.³ In those years a new contract was negotiated between universities and government (labelled Higher Education Autonomy and Quality), mainly because the government realized it could no longer cope with everything required for, and in, steering higher education institutions. Political governance was no longer fit for purpose. Leading bureaucrats and their ministers felt that the traditional system of government bureaucracy and remote control had reached its limits in the field of higher education. The complexities and dynamics of rapid growth

³ The Dutch HE system comprises 13 research-intensive *universities*, 1 Open University, and 40 professional *hogescholen* (a broad category of more than 100 former polytechnics and vocational schools, merged into 40 universities of applied science), in total serving approximately 500.000 undergraduate students (30 % university, 70 % in polytechnics). Only research universities have graduate schools and offer doctoral programmes.

both in student numbers and in research volume, budgetary interventions caused by stricter fiscal policies, and intensified external interactions with other research institutes, with the corporate sector and with not-for-profit institutions could not be handled by the ministry top down, at a distance and according to uniform standards. As a consequence many responsibilities were transferred to the university level. This increased autonomy was then mirrored by a higher degree of accountability of universities towards government and society. In addition to a new set of rules for financial reporting, quality assessment of teaching and research was made a key responsibility for the academic communities.

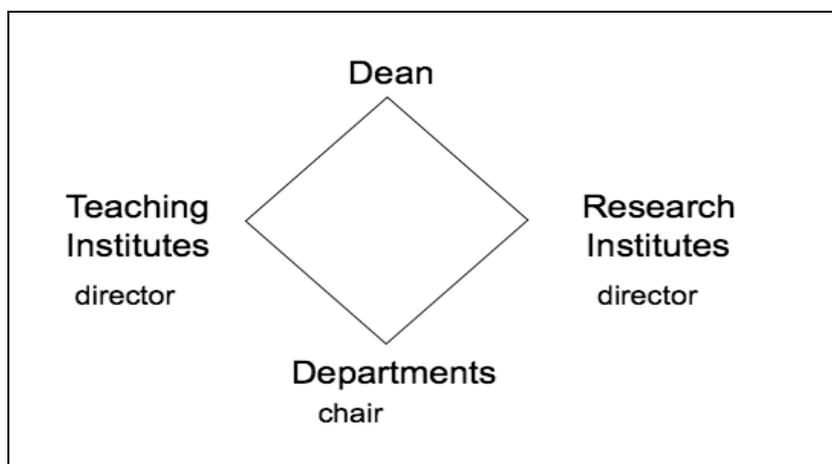
**Growing independence
requires stronger
institutional
performance**

All of this led to new legislation reinforcing university autonomy (including management) and accountability (quality evaluation of education and of research as a national peer reviewing process). Yet very soon it was realized that universities could not handle these new tasks without considerable changes to *their internal organization and governance*. This is my fifth message: do not think that self-government can be practiced without changing traditional practices and models of academic organization.

In the Dutch case, university leaders and the responsible minister reached agreement on the implications resulting from enhanced autonomy and accountability. So another new law was made that allowed universities to design their own internal structures and to put greater trust in academic leadership rather than in broad representation and decision-making by lengthy meetings of large councils and committees that more often than not lack determination and continuity. By appointing full-time deans and academic directors the degree of professionalism and continuity in schools and faculties was enhanced considerably. Even more importantly, both the primary processes and the supporting processes were re-organized into units or institutes replacing the traditional departments (as the former fragmentary operators of the primary process) and staff offices (as the extensions of the president, rector, secretary-general and deans responsible for the various support processes). Departments traditionally were organized along lines of disciplines and sub-disciplines. This led to a quite fragmented picture, while large units or institutes for teaching and learning reflect the shared responsibility of a varied community of scholars of different departments and sub-disciplines for a cluster of study programs. Similarly, relatively large-scale research institutes within schools or faculties reflect the realities of multi-disciplinary co-operation. At the same time, these new units were much better prepared to professionally organize themselves and respond to the multitude of tasks in terms of funding and operational research management in a modern research university.

The organization chart of the average faculty of a Dutch research university would from now on look somewhat like this:

Structure should follow function



In this scheme both teaching and research for the very first time were organized as the joint responsibility of teams of teachers and researchers within the framework of teaching or research institutes, each with an academic director as its head. In this way, the traditional very fragmented professorial model was being replaced by co-operation in teams and institutes. One of the many benefits of this change was the creation of a clear sense of ownership for processes in teaching and research that had formerly been quite fragmented and hard to address. At the same time departments got a more limited, yet more clearly defined task: staffing policy and development of the department's academic field or discipline. They serve as capacity groups of academics that then are 'hired' by one or more teaching and/or research institutes to contribute to the work programmes of these institutes.

The whole process of change took about seven years. Major reforms of this kind and scale are by no means only a matter of new lawmaking. New patterns must be developed and agreed upon in each individual university according to its mission, ambition and potential. The upside of a slow implementation process is that it enables universities to get fit for their jobs. Accepting full responsibility does not change institutional culture by magic. This is something an academic community has to learn gradually, just like well performing deans and presidents have to grow; they cannot be created overnight. Over a period of about seven years all executive decision-making was devolved from the ministry to university executive boards, including appointments, capital investments and strategic planning. Small high-level supervisory boards were established at each institution. Quality assessment became standard practice, and so was block grant funding based on a general formula, partly output based.

Change takes time and determination

What can be (or in the Dutch case, has been) accomplished this way? Results come with time, not all at once. But they are manifold, like a clear profiling of individual universities in terms of strategy, institutional culture and performance (the Dutch HE system is now much less of a national system with local campuses), and a much better academic, i.e. research performance, a revival of teaching and learning, and an adequate management performance. Overall accountability has become fully accepted and has been reasonably well handled. At the end of the day, however, one should not just celebrate success. Growth and development, adaptation to new demands and contexts are ongoing phenomena.

At the end of the day – within the limitations of the system (average level funding, low tuition fees) – Dutch universities have considerable freedom for strategic development as well as day-to-day decision-making. A three to four level leadership, however, runs into trouble where and when these levels do not work in the same direction at the same speed in the same spirit. Yet outside observers see the difference. The Dutch research universities are seen as doing a good job, comparatively speaking. Leading academic research directors and their teams enjoy much more ‘entrepreneurial’ leeway in terms of programming, funding and co-operations. Each individual university has over the years become more distinct and acquired a stronger individual profile. They have become better rooted in their own (regional) context and thereby more attractive for all stakeholders.

Future challenges demand freedom to respond

Today’s European context presents new challenges to Dutch universities: how to respond to global competition, how to re-profile in terms of teaching and research, and how to acquire adequate funding. I find it difficult to imagine how they could successfully face these challenges without the degree of independence they enjoy. Extra funding will most probably only be available from private contributions. Such private money cannot be acquired by a national system, and least of all by a system run by government. Whether we talk about higher fees or private donations, in both cases recipients will have to be identifiable entities that one can relate to. Similarly, the demands of global competition and niche profiling can only be successfully met by individual institutions. Distinction in one category or another is the *conditio sine qua non* for future achievements. In the face of new challenges universities must have open eyes and ears for what is happening in their own society and abroad, and be agile enough to be able to respond.

By way of illustration one could think of new challenges in the domain of teaching and learning: 'Much of the value added will not be content. As content becomes ubiquitous and, in each area, the world's leading universities or authorities become its providers, the content of a course will cease to be a decisive factor. Instead, it will be a matter of what a university and its faculty build around the content – for example, the quality of teaching and mentorship, the nature of facilitated dialogue between students (which could be global), or indeed the type of assessment and the path from university into the labour market. There is tremendous room here for innovation which universities can embark on right away, with limited risk' Michael Barber et al. (2013). http://www.ippr.org/images/media/files/publication/2013/04/avalanche-is-coming_Mar2013_10432.pdf

4. Conclusion

On the dual basis of general considerations and the actual Dutch experience I am convinced that autonomy is and should be a modern university's daily bread. Yet it is not a simple magic formula. If it is to bring success this will be more a matter of change of culture and leadership styles than of new law making alone. I do not present the Dutch case here as *the* recipe for success but as a proven concept of how new style academic self-government can be realized and what kind of benefits it can yield.

From this example lessons can be learned, but only *mutatis mutandis*, adapted to new local contexts and conditions. The learning outcome will, however, be limited if by way of conclusion I would not point to two major factors defining success or failure.

For quite some time already it has been fashionable to see autonomy as key to university success. In fact universities need more than a high degree of autonomy. They above all need *good governance*, in terms of their structures and of their operations, and first and foremost they need and deserve *good quality academic leadership*. This is my sixth message. An independent university is not a free-for-all anarchy. And it is not an imperial style centralized institution either. Governance is about much more than top and central leadership. We need adequate devolved leadership; no super rector or president can do it all by herself; universities need professional deans and strong research leadership. Academics must be prepared to play their parts in academic leadership. I do not think that outsiders – seasoned business people or experienced politicians – can perform better than or as well as *academic* leaders. Although large investments, business co-operations, joint ventures and in general, the running of a university require strong management, these requirements do not warrant the decision to let non-academic general managers lead universities.

**Leadership in the hands
of well-prepared
academics**

**Neither a free-for-all
anarchy, nor an
“emperor’s domain”**

Academic leaders should come from academia

The main reason why I am convinced of this argument in favour of academic leadership is the need for shared values. Showing and telling the shared values of the academic community may be *the* core contribution of any dean or president. Especially in the case of devolved institutions, with a high degree of autonomy at various places and levels of the organization, the promoting and handling of shared values is absolutely key. Academic professionals, included those in leadership positions, have no remarkable talent for obedience. They must be convinced that what they are or should be doing, is the right thing to do. For this deans and presidents must sometimes possess considerable powers of persuasion, but they must always speak and understand the language of academia. Academic leadership therefore ought to be seen, treated and rewarded as a well-established career path for experienced teachers and researchers. It undoubtedly is more than a part-time or temporary assignment. Also this is one of the consequences of more freedoms and more responsibilities for universities.

Change is a sign of vitality

Another most elementary factor defining the success or failure of a modern university is its ability to engage in innovation and positively respond to change. I remember I was once asked by the university library staff to speak about change. They asked because many of them did not like innovation at all. It was in the early days of digitization. Would this new trend not endanger the very existence of the library? By now, twenty years later, this very same library is both the champion of digitization and the leading centre for pre-twentieth century books, maps and manuscripts. With hindsight it looks as if what I then said ('the art of survival is the art of adaptation') had been a convincing statement.

Success, however, is not always guaranteed. There is not always time to prove success. Leadership is not infallible. And sometimes strong waves of golden days nostalgia can easily sweep away many. 'If only individual autonomy were restored like in the days of Professor S or T' they then say, referring to very rare and renowned scientists of the distant past. Such a statement does not have to be literarily true or even relevant *in casu* to be a very effective means to block change and discredit innovation. Speaking for myself, this is precisely why I have always looked for collegial support, valued international exchanges and read about the success and failure of others. Whether this brought consolation or improvement, it always was an instance of lifelong learning.

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Biography:

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