# 10

# BUREAUCRACY

There is the principle of fixed and official jurisdictional areas, which are generally ordered by rules, that is, by laws or administrative regulations. (Weber, 1946/2005, p. 73)

## INTRODUCTION

Organizations, from a bureaucratic perspective, are "rationally ordered instruments for the achievement of stated goals" (Selznick, 1948/2005, p. 125). Bureaucratic principles are so inculcated into modern living that they are often considered inherent parts of daily life. In reality, bureaucracy is just one of many ways to organize collective human behavior. "Virtually all colleges and universities have been organized at least partly along bureaucratic lines, so it is important to understand their advantages and disadvantages" (Bess & Dee, 2008, p. 203). Though many decry the red tape and glacial pace of bureaucracies, it is difficult to imagine administrative operations without this form. Bureaucracy is an undeniable and enduring perspective through which to view organizational functions in higher education. While this book describes a number of ways to view organizations, aspects of bureaucracy either shape a number of those perspectives or exist as the norm against which other forms are compared. Despite the dominant and ubiquitous nature of bureaucracy in institutions of higher education, the presence of this dominant organizational form was not always the case.

Early universities, if one can call those early organizations by that term, were not bureaucracies. Operating with an informal paternalistic style, scholars set up shop in a cafe or public establishment and attracted paying students. Scholars were deemed as such because they owned the book; the technology of the time that made learning possible. These early scholars were not associated with an institution but were self-employed, independent scholars. While non-institution-affiliated scholars exist in today's higher education system, they are the exception rather than the rule. In modern day colleges and universities, rank, title, and employment with an organization are formalized.

Many take these organizational elements for granted, but each is based on bureaucratic principles as defined by early theorists such as Max Weber and Henri Fayol. Students, like professors, find their place in higher education institutions through their association with a formal educational institution. Through this connection, they earn credits and, ultimately, a degree. Using bureaucratic principles of standardization and specification, learning is classified into majors, degrees, and certificates.

## MODERNIST ASSUMPTIONS AS A FOUNDATION FOR THE BUREAUCRATIC PERSPECTIVE

Max Weber, the father of bureaucracy, made this organizational form decidedly modern by emphasizing precision and efficiency (Merton, 1957/2005): "Weber's ideas were based on his presumption of the importance of rationality, impersonality, and objectivity in decision making and in the application of rules" (Bess & Dee, 2008, p. 204). Borrowing from the Enlightenment, Weber built the modernist assumptions of logic and progress into his theory of bureaucracy. These underlying principles endure in today's bureaucratic forms (see Table 10.1).

Weber built rationality into every principle and characteristic of bureaucracy (Merton, 1957/2005). This rationality is particularly expressed in the goal orientation that underlies all organizational activities. True to the modernist perspective, people in bureaucratic organizations assume that progressive movement toward goals is essential. Movement toward organizational goals is achieved by the competent action of the people who fill the ranks of institutional staff and management. Progress is also reflected in principles about growth that underscore modern organizations. Bigger is better in bureaucracies as, in the case of higher education institutions, student bodies grow in size, majors are added, and new ways of teaching are developed.

Today, those who work in bureaucracies, use their services, or consume their products often have a negative view of this organizational form. The cumbersome, time-consuming procedures common in bureaucracies are the source of frequent complaints. Despite its current problems, bureaucracy was a revolutionary and forward thinking concept when Weber first theorized its principles. Prior to this organizational

**Table 10.1** Strengths and Weaknesses of the Modernist Theoretical Foundation

| Strengths | Weaknesses |
|---|---|
| Provides a familiar way for people to view organizations. | Discourages innovation through the imposition of order and rationality. |
| Seeks to build order and rationality by imposing a structure from external sources. | Assumes an ideal type of organization, eliminating other possible forms. |
| Can provide measurable units for accountability and planning processes. | Cannot account for the less tangible, hard to measure products of organizational systems. |
| Eliminates duplication of effort through reductionism and specialization. | Lack of redundancy places organizations at risk for catastrophic failure. |
| Allows people to adjust slowly to incremental change. | Does not account for the ways that organizations and systems change in sudden and revolutionary ways. |

innovation, paternalism was the predominant style of organization. Early organizations relied on leadership approaches emphasizing authoritarianism and arbitrary treatment of employees. The Great Man Theory (i.e., leaders are born, not made) (Carneiro, 1981), outdated by today's egalitarian standards, was firmly rooted in the early paternalistic higher education organizations. These early and in some cases current paternalistic organizations lacked consistent policies and procedures. The organizational leader operated as the "head of the family" with unlimited power and arbitrary, at times capricious, rule. Bureaucracy was invented to revolutionize the excesses, favoritism, nepotism, and lack of procedures of paternal organizations. Credentials replaced favoritism; standard operating procedures traded for opinion; and objectivity supplanted subjectivity.

## METAPHOR

Quintessential bureaucratic organizations include the military, Catholic Church, and McDonald's. Each conjures the image of a well-oiled machine (Morgan, 2006). In McDonald's, every action—from the way customers are greeted to the salt on the fries—is routinized. Consistency is assured through standard operating procedures. A McDonald's franchise whether in Paris, France, or Bloomington, Indiana produces the trademark product with minor variations. This worldwide standardization is possible because individual staff choice is eliminated. Any McDonald's staff member, trained in the procedures, can substitute for other staff members. Each employee is a cog in the wheel of the machine created from a central corporate location and, as such, is expendable (Ferguson, 1985). Standardization as illustrated on an organizational chart dictates "'A place for everything and everything in its place'" and "'A place for everyone and everyone in his [sic] place'" (Fayol, 1916/2005, p. 57).

## STRUCTURE

Bureaucratic theory holds that organizations should follow an ideal, natural, or perfect order (Fayol, 1916/2005; Ferguson, 1985), one in which human action follows the hierarchy of nature. Following this natural, ideal order, bureaucracies adopt a hierarchical, pyramid shaped structure. Mimicking the simple to complex forms found in nature, early proponents of bureaucracies used authority and responsibility as a way to vertically organize organizations. Bureaucracies are "natural" in their organization from simple to complex, lower to higher, and smaller to greater. They are complex because employees with more complicated jobs are positioned near the top of the organization. They are higher in the ways that responsibility increases as one goes up the hierarchy. Greater in the ways that power is concentrated at the top of the hierarchy. Although many are tempted, bureaucratic theorists advise against changing the structure to accommodate individual personalities. To do so interferes with the rational order and can result in a Byzantine organization that lacks logic and objectivity.

## MAJOR CONCEPTS, CHARACTERISTICS, AND PRINCIPLES

Ferguson (1985) outlined the major characteristics of bureaucracies as originated by Weber:

> A complex rational division of labor, with fixed duties and jurisdictions; stable, rule-governed authority channels and universally applied performance guidelines; a horizontal division of graded authority, or hierarchy, entailing supervision from above; a complex system of written record-keeping, based on scientific procedures that standardize communications and increase control; objective recruitment based on impersonal standards of expertise; predictable, standardized management procedures following general rules; and a tendency to require total loyalty from its members toward the way of life the organization requires. (p. 7)

For the purposes of this introductory text, only the basic characteristics of bureaucracies are discussed in this chapter (see Table 10.2). Bureaucratic concepts that may be of interest but which are not discussed in this chapter are outlined in Table 10.3. Additional information on bureaucracies is located at the end of the chapter.

Despite advice by early bureaucratic theorists (Fayol, 1916/2005) about the need for flexibility and artful application of principles, bureaucratic organizations tend to "fossilize." Their ways of operating and standard operating procedures become an impediment, a sea of red tape that frustrates everyone associated with these organizations.

## APPOINTMENT OF STAFF

The move away from the nepotism and patronage systems of the pre-bureaucratic, paternalistic organizations introduced meritocratic organizational practices. In a meritocracy, one gains a position because one has the necessary qualifications (Weber, 1946/2005). In other words, people are hired as employees and paid to fill an office. Objective credentials and qualifications are used to judge whether the candidate is suitable for hiring, theoretically regardless of personal connections or family background.

Being hired into an office is one of the major ways that employees are viewed as cogs in the mechanistic wheel of bureaucracies. When an office becomes vacant, another

**Table 10.2** Basic Characteristics of Bureaucracies

| Concept | Description |
|---|---|
| *Structure* | Hierarchy. |
| *Appointment of Staff* | Appointed to their office by expertise and credentials. |
| *Authority* | Concentrated at the top of the hierarchy. |
| *Communication* | Formal vertically and informal laterally. |
| *Decision Making* | Rational and top down. |
| *Ways of Operating* | Standard operating procedures. |
| *Labor Organization* | Division of labor and specialization. |
| *Span of Control* | Number and range of direct reports. |
| *Stability of Personnel* | Constancy of staff that enables effectiveness and efficiency within the organization. |
| *Centralization/Decentralization* | Location and focus of power and/or control of organizational processes. |

**Table 10.3** Additional Bureaucratic Concepts

| Concept | Description |
|---|---|
| *Unity of direction* | "One head, one plan." Unity and coordination of action among the employees in a given area is a goal of bureaucracies (Fayol, 1916/2005). |
| *Unity of command* | One employee, one supervisor. "Nothing but confusion arises under multiple command" (Gulick, 1937/2005, p. 83). |
| *Remuneration of personnel* | Employees should receive a salary based on the cost of living, availability of personnel, business conditions, and economics (Fayol, 1916/2005). |
| *Individual interest subordinated to the general interest* | The interest or interests of one employee or group should not take precedence over the interests and concerns of the organization (Fayol, 1916/2005). |
| *Scalar chain* | Line of authority. "The chain of superiors ranging from the ultimate authority to the lowest ranks" (Fayol, 1916/2005, p. 56). |

"part" (e.g., employee) theoretically and easily fills the vacancy. If the structure is well constructed, employees are interchangeable. Organizational success is not based on personal qualities but on a set of time and performance-based criteria. Rational action is thus built into human organizations (Selznick, 1948/2005). By removing the personal and emphasizing the functional, organizational success is independent of the person, but rather, depends on the way the organization or bureaucracy is organized to withstand ups and downs in staffing. This objective, impersonal process assures the continuation of the organization, regardless of those who occupy it.

The bureaucratic principle of appointment to a role was and is best exemplified in assembly lines and fast-food companies such as McDonalds. Weber, however, theorized that the position should be held for life, as a vocation, not a "job." Lifelong, vocational style employment is a bureaucratic principle widely applied in higher education institutions where tenure for faculty and disciplinary loyalty are widely accepted. These characteristics of employment apply equally to administrators and staff who are often difficult to fire and who occupy their positions, or ones similar to them, for life.

The meritocratic principles of appointment imply that the "best" person, based on objectively determined criteria, is hired to fulfill an identified role. Although this principle of merit exists theoretically, it is rarely enacted in practice. Critical race theorists (Ladson-Billings, 1998) and feminist theorists (Ferguson, 1985) have debunked the assumptions of objectivity and merit. In reality, favoritism, propinquity (i.e., hiring someone because he or she shares similar characteristics to one's own), and gender, racial, sexual orientation, and other prejudices exist within all organizations. While the value of subjectivity versus objectivity can be debated, the solely merit-based philosophy does not work in practice.

### *Authority*

The efficient and effective operation of an organization depends on authority; the authority to plan, organize, staff, direct, coordinate, report, and budget (Gulick, 1937/2005).

In bureaucracies, managers and executives, referred to as line officers, possess the formal authority to execute these responsibilities: "Authority is the right to give orders and the power to exact obedience" (Fayol, 1916/2005, p. 49). Also called bureaucratic authority, formal authority is attached to the office or position held by the employee (Morgan, 2006). Bureaucratic or formal authority is vastly different from charismatic, political, expert, or reference power. "Distinction must be made between a manager's official authority deriving from office and personal authority, compounded of intelligence, experience, moral worth, ability to lead, past services, etc." (Fayol, 1916/2005, p. 49). Higher education organizations, as seen from the bureaucratic perspective, contain considerable authority in the executive offices of the president and provost. Despite the "ideal" authority embedded in bureaucratic positions, authority cannot be exercised unless subordinates agree to be led and influenced. Authority emanates from the position or office, but real power comes from those being supervised, directed, or governed.

> To the extent that authority is translated into power through the assent of those falling under the pattern of command, the authority structure is also a power structure … authority becomes effective only to the extent that it is legitimized from below. (Morgan, 2006, p. 168)

Authority and its related concept, power, must be earned. Organized in order of the authority imbedded in organizational roles, positions are hierarchically organized from lowest to highest order of importance. In classic bureaucracies, the number of positions decreases and authority increases as one moves up the hierarchy (see Figure 10.1).

Authority, power, and responsibility are interrelated concepts in organizations. One can have responsibility with the required authority but lack the power to execute the role. A college president, for example, can possess the responsibility of his or her office without the accompanying personal power to effectively execute the duties of the position. Responsibility and the exercise of authority to achieve goals are more difficult as one proceeds up the chain of command due to increasingly complex work, larger numbers of workers, and tasks for which the results are more elusive (Fayol, 1916/2005). Authority without responsibility to exercise it is wasted; responsibility without authority is unproductive.

Authority and power have long been sources of tension on college campuses. The presence of academic freedom and tenure, student activism, and administrative professional power create a complicated mix of circumstances regarding how authority and power are exercised. In professional and educational environments such as higher education, successful management depends on the delegation of responsibility within the organization. Traditional bureaucratic theory defines authority and power in ways that do not adequately express the dynamics of colleges and universities.

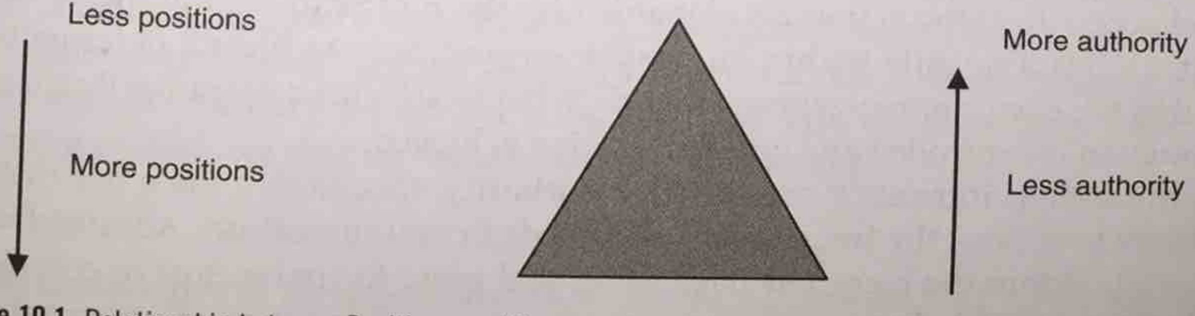


**Figure 10.1** Relationship between Positions and Power

The prevalence of bureaucracies persuades many that the existing authority configuration is the only choice available. But, powerful counterstories about a wider variety of organizational forms challenge traditional notions of authority by illustrating collaborative, generative, and more equitable approaches (Bordas, 2007; Ferguson, 1985; Helgesen, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1998). Authority, according to these countertheorists, is possessed and exercised by all in the organization.

### *Communication*

Communication patterns in bureaucracies are determined by the vertical and horizontal direction of its flow (Guetzkow, 1965). The vertical form includes top-down communication; for example, supervisor directives to subordinates, executive missives to the entire institution, and activities involving multiple levels of the organization. This formal communication type represents a major task of administrators as they oversee subordinates, plan and execute goals, and direct organizational purposes.

Communication patterns, in keeping with the objective, rational nature of bureaucracies, are formal and prescribed. Rules governing bureaucratic communication, each of which is dictated by the role, status, and power held by the speaker, include the following:

1. Subordinates respect the chain of command by only communicating directly with their bosses. It is unacceptable and precarious to skip levels (e.g., talk to your boss's boss).
2. Requests must be made "in writing."
3. Incidents, procedures, and consequential actions (e.g., firing) must be documented through a paper trail.
4. Meetings include protocols about who is allowed to speak (and who can speak out of turn), the length of time one can speak, and tolerance for side conversations.

These communication patterns are predominantly one-way with limited opportunity for dialogue, feedback, or dissent. "In order to do business with bureaucrats, one must engage in conversation with them; this requires that one learn their language, play their game, and come onto their turf" (Ferguson, 1985, p. 15). Communication in bureaucracies becomes real in the form of written documents, through commands given by those in authority, and within prescribed and formal channels. In reality, communication also flows horizontally through rumor mills and a variety of informal means (Roethlisberger, 1941/2005; Simon, 1957; Taylor, 1947; Weber, 1947).

Communication within organizations has changed dramatically with the advent of electronic mail, the Internet, social networking groups, cellular phones, and other instantaneous and advanced means of communication. Technology has enabled more widespread access to information accompanied by the means to communicate across bureaucratic levels. Etiquette within bureaucracies continues to dictate older patterns established by the classic organizational theorists, but new forms have radically changed how information is controlled and communication achieved.

Communication is intricately connected to authority, specifically, the office that has the legitimacy to control the frequency and nature of communication. Administrators at higher levels within the hierarchy have wider and more formal means of communication (Guetzkow, 1965). These administrators possess a wide range of organizational resources (e.g., calling meetings, writing memos, utilizing distribution lists) through which to disseminate their messages. For example, organization-wide e-mail distribution lists are tightly controlled through the president's office, human resources, or public relations. Only a few in a university (e.g., president, provost, faculty senate president) could effectively call a community-wide meeting that people would actually attend.

Horizontal communication is less formal and more "independent of the formal structural size of the organization as a whole" (Guetzkow, 1965, p. 541). This form takes place primarily across similar bureaucratic levels (e.g., between secretaries, among faculty). The strength of the horizontal communication is measured by the initiative it engenders within the staff (Fayol, 1916/2005). The success of this method depends on the network of personal contacts held by the administrator. On the negative side, horizontal communication can undercut superiors and cause confusion among the lower ranks.

### *Decision Making*

In keeping with the assumptions of power and control with bureaucracies, the leader or leaders in a bureaucracy are charged with making rational choices. Theoretically, bureaucratic decision making proceeds through seven steps: (a) identify the problem or opportunity, (b) gather information, (c) analyze the situation, (d) develop options, (e) evaluate the alternatives, (f) select an alternative, and (g) act on the decision (Simon, 1955, 1979). The belief in the efficacy of this model has been so strong that administrators often "retrospectively" construct these steps for a decision that may have actually been achieved differently, even subjectively, haphazardly, or through "drift." "From the gut" or subjective decisions, although commonplace, are discouraged by a bureaucratic mind-set.

Simon (1956) recognized that the rational model of decision making was more myth than fact. He suggested that decisions are more often made through a process of satisficing. Rather than an exhaustive process that explores options, most bureaucrats find a solution that is "good enough," one that satisfies sufficient parameters of the decision situation. This solution is adopted and perhaps adapted. In this way, time, a valuable commodity within organizations, is not wasted on identifying solutions that will never be enacted.

### *Ways of Operating*

Most organizations have accepted standards for the ways they are to function. "The management of the office follows general rules, which are more or less stable, more or less exhaustive, and which can be learned" (Weber, 1946/2005, p. 74). These standard operating procedures (SOPs) are represented in higher education organizations through staff and faculty manuals. Elements of standard operating procedures are often codified in faculty and other union collective bargaining agreements. Hiring and firing procedures, timelines for tenure and promotion, and schedules for budgets are often strictly and legally maintained through SOPs. In organizations such as hospital emergency rooms and the military, where variation can have dire consequences, these standard operating procedures strictly dictate behavior and action.

### *Labor Organization*

People make sense of an organization's structure, lines of authority, and reporting configuration by examining its organizational chart. These charts represent the ideals of specialization and division of labor (Fayol, 1916/2005; Gulick, 1937/2005). From this familiar image, a job applicant, new employee, or seasoned organizational member can determine the areas of responsibility for administrators within the organization. In fact, one could drill down through various division and department organizational charts to see the roles and responsibilities of nearly everyone within the institution.

In bureaucracies, tasks and responsibilities are systematically divided into offices and among people. With efficiency as the goal, organizations work to avoid repetition, map out clear lines of communication and effort, and delineate responsibility: "The object of division of work is to produce more and better work with the same effort" (Fayol, 1916/2005, p. 48). Efficiency is achieved because this approach allows management to (a) take advantage of employees' different skills and aptitudes, (b) eliminate lost time when people are assigned only the tasks for which they are trained, and (c) better utilize lower skilled workers (Gulick, 1937/2005). An important function of the division of labor and specialization is the separation of thinking as performed by management versus doing as performed by staff. This division of labor becomes the justification for salary, power, and status differences within the organization. The separation of thinking and doing is evident in the division of labor and specialization among faculty, administrators, and staff in higher education organizations.

The organization of faculty and their academic work also represents specialization and division of labor. Disciplines (e.g., English) are divided into specializations (e.g., African American literature) and subdisciplines that are then represented in the departments that make up the academic structure of a college or university. The myriad departments and programs representing disciplinary specialization is more complex today than when the University of Vermont established academic departments in 1826, the University of Wisconsin in 1836, and the University of Michigan in 1841.

### *Span of Control*

The bureaucratic concept of span of control refers to the number of departments, staff, and areas of responsibility coordinated by an administrator who is a specialist hired for her or his expertise in those areas. The manager's knowledge limits and that person's time and energy limits the span of control. Most people can adequately direct only a few people (Gulick, 1937/2005). The supervisor's limitations on knowledge are more significant today than when Gulick wrote about span of control. The wide range of technologies and specialties required to manage a modern college or university are substantial. Higher education executives often manage broad spans of control. It is not unusual, in fact it is commonplace, for a director to supervise employees who are proficient in areas unfamiliar to the supervisor. Provosts, in particular, can be responsible for academic affairs (through coordination of a number of deans or directors), institutional finances, teaching and learning initiatives, student affairs, diversity initiatives, and any number of areas. Although close supervision is not an expectation at that level, the wide span of control can threaten effective and strategic management of a college or university.

Space and physical facilities are additional complicating elements regarding span of control (Gulick, 1937/2005). Coordination, even with a broad span of control, is easier when all personnel are located in one space. The introduction of branch and satellite campuses, including international campuses, significantly impacts span of control, coordination, and effective management. Technologies such as electronic mail and video-aided telecommunications augmented with regular local and international travel are now standard expectations of many higher education administrators.

### *Stability of Personnel*

Stability and constancy within bureaucracies occur through consistency of personnel.

> Time is required for an employee to get used to new work and succeed in doing it well … If when he [sic] has got used to it or before then, he [sic] is removed, he [sic] will not have had time to render worthwhile service. If this be repeated indefinitely the work will never be properly done. (Fayol, 1916/2005, p. 58)

Unless hired on a temporary basis, most administrators and staff are employed with the expectation that long-term employment is possible and desirable. Retirement and medical benefits, vacation accrual, and the promise of advancement are elements that shape the expectation that stability rather than instability is expected. This stability allows the employee to become familiar with the organization and work of the unit, gain experience useful to the organization, and build loyalty to and connection with the institution.

### *Centralization/Decentralization*

The choice whether to centralize authority in one or several offices or to decentralize and share authority across a wider range of offices is a difficult one for any organization. "Centralization is not a system of management good or bad of itself, capable of being adopted or discarded at the whim of managers or of circumstances; it is always present to a greater or less extent" (Fayol, 1916/2005, p. 55). In higher education, with its multiple goals and purposes, the centralization–decentralization dilemma is particularly acute. The professional and disciplinary expertise of deans and faculty exacerbate the centralization-decentralization tensions in academic bureaucracies. Centralization enhances standardization, control, and consistency. Decentralization can allow multiple purposes to exist within the organization because oversight is less vigilant. Leadership across a wider range of offices and units is possible because responsibility is diffuse, located away from the center of the organization. An advantage of decentralization is that "local" management can make up for leadership deficiencies at the executive (e.g., president and provost) level. But, too much decentralization can be detrimental to organizations. Goals become too disparate, waste results from duplication of effort, and power struggles erupt throughout the organization.

> Unless the sentiment of general interest be constantly revived by higher authority, it becomes blurred and weakened and each section tends to regard itself as its own aim and end and forgets that it is only a cog in a big machine, all of whose parts must work in concert. It becomes isolated, cloistered, aware only of the line of authority. (Fayol, 1916/2005, p. 57)

The size and nature of higher education institutions, except for the smallest of colleges, drive these organizations to a more decentralized form. It is a rare dean or department chair who takes orders in the way envisioned by the original bureaucracy theorists.

**Table 10.4** Strengths and Weaknesses of the Bureaucratic Perspective

| Strengths | Weaknesses |
|---|---|
| Seeks to minimize patronage, favoritism, and nepotism through standardization and objectivity. | Breeds alienation among employees who may feel infantilized and misused in a system that does not recognize their full potential. |
| Provides a means to organize complex tasks. | Routinization and standardization can quickly lead to red tape, which interferes with responsiveness and adaptability. |
| Works well in settings where routinization of task is needed to produce a standard outcome or product. | Cannot quickly adapt to the changing environments typical of higher education institutions. |
| Pursues the goal of fairness through objectivity and impartiality. | Fails to take into account the human element within organizations. |

## STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE BUREAUCRATIC MODEL

The bureaucratic model is perhaps one of the most highly criticized organizational approaches (Briskin, 1996; Ferguson, 1985). As with all organizational perspectives, this perspective contains strengths and weaknesses (see Table 10.4).

## NEXT STEPS: BRINGING THE BUREAUCRATIC PERSPECTIVE INTO CURRENT USE

Bureaucracy is an older perspective that warrants consideration of the ways that its original premises remain relevant to today's higher education. A contemporary application of the bureaucratic perspective is strategic management as articulated by Toma (2010, 2012). Strategic management follows the tradition established by George Keller (1983) in his classic book, *Academic Strategy*.

> Keller (1983) argues that strategy is grounded in an institution shaping its own destiny, focused on keeping pace with the current environment, influenced by markets and competition, oriented toward action, both rational and tolerant of ambiguity, and obsessed. With the fate of the institution, it considers the traditions and values of an institution, as well as its aspirations and priorities, while taking into account strengths and weaknesses, both academic and financial, and the external environment. (Toma, 2012, p. 121)

In bureaucracies, a long-standing tension has existed between the goals of efficiency and effectiveness. Strategic management addresses this tension by emphasizing capacity building as a means to achieve the vision and purposes of higher education institutions.

> Strategy is not only a plan toward attaining missions and achieving aspirations but is also a pattern and thus consistent over time; a position, locating particular products in particular markets; a perspective, or the fundamental ways an organization does things; and a ploy, a specific maneuver intended to outwit an opponent or competitor. (Toma, 2012, p. 121)

Stating that building organizational capacity is an administrative foundation of any institution, Toma (2010) discusses the ways that capacity building is essential if an organization is to achieve its vision. Systems thinking, particularly understanding how parts of an organization are interrelated with and affected by all other parts is a significant element of strategic management. This approach considers the integration and synchronization of different elements of the organization: purposes, structure, governance, policies, processes, information, infrastructure, and culture (Toma, 2010). The integration of organizational elements using systems thinking enables college or university leadership to identify gaps, disconnects, and areas lacking the resources necessary to achieve the purposes being undertaken. For example, if a university wants to establish a new doctoral program in electrical engineering, strategic management using systems thinking can assist the leadership to determine existing faculty resources, market availability, extramural funding, and other components that must be in place for the program to be successful. Without adequate resources, the institution may not have the capacity to meet its goals. Lacking this capacity, the program may fail to meet enrollment, quality, or revenue generating goals.

Structure, particularly as expressed in hierarchy, power dynamics, and reporting lines, is a particular feature of the bureaucratic perspective. Strategic management expands ideas built into the early bureaucracy literature in its shifted perspective about the ways organizations function. Rather than a simple hierarchy, strategic management theorists imagine organizations as webs (Toma, 2010). A web conveys the interrelationships among the parts and the important ways that one part can positively and negatively affect other parts. In this way, alignment and coordination are considerations in strategic management.

Strategic management considers the structural elements articulated in the bureaucratic perspective as leadership assesses the ways that a structural aspect does or does not support the goals of the organization or initiative undertaken. Strategic management expands the bureaucratic perspective as the method considers the interrelationships among the parts. Knowledge of these interrelationships can assist leaders to better align the parts in ways that build capacity. Using systems thinking, administrators can evaluate where weakness or breakdown in one area will potentially affect other areas, even areas at a distance from the breakdown. Although the bureaucratic perspective addresses interrelationships, these are largely one way (e.g., horizontal communication, scalar chain) with inadequate discussion about the ways that structural elements at a distance from one another, communication patterns outside rigid bureaucratic prescriptions, and inadequate performance by organizational officers can affect the organization's capacity to achieve its goals. Strategic management addresses these organizational elements in ways that provide additional insights and facility to lead. Finally, strategic management expands the bureaucratic perspective in its use as an analytic tool. The approach can help leaders determine future goals, actions, and initiatives because they are guided by knowledge about the capacity of the organization to undertake those plans (Toma, 2010).

## CONCLUSIONS

Bureaucratically organized institutions are more effective in stable, unchanging environments than in volatile, constantly changing ones. Unfortunately, the former do not exist in higher education. Despite this fundamental conflict, effective work in higher education institutions warrants an understanding of bureaucracy and how this type of organization operates. Even the most skeptical of critics concerning this organizational form will find elements of it everywhere, even in the most loosely organized college or university. But proponents of bureaucracies might take heed of an observation by Stephenson (2010) concerning the efficacy of this form. She claims that bureaucracies "demand constant tending and feeding to be sustained; awe arises because they are mercurial, magically summoning power from unknowable depths to kill an innovation or destroy a career with aplomb" (p. 1). If higher education is to achieve its current purposes and rise up to meet future challenges, the energy expended to maintain the bureaucratic form may be better invested in other places.

### *Questions for Discussion*

- Are the ideas and techniques of classical bureaucracy relevant to contemporary higher education?
- How can higher education leaders use the concepts of strategic management to effect change within their institution?
- How do bureaucratic principles enable higher education effectiveness? How do they constrain effectiveness?
- Why do bureaucratic ways of organizing persist in contemporary higher education institutions?
- How do bureaucratic ways of organizing enhance higher education leaders' ability to transform society? Constrain their ability?

### *Recommended Readings in the Bureaucracy Perspective*

Blau, P. M. (1956). *Bureaucracy in modern society.* New York: Crown.

Butler, B., Joyce, E., & Pike, J. (2008). Don't look now, but we've created a bureaucracy: The nature and roles of policies and rules in Wikipedia. *Proceedings of the 26th Annual SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems.*

du Gay, P. (2005). *The values of bureaucracy.* Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

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Olsen, J. P. (2005). Maybe it is time to rediscover bureaucracy. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, 16,* 1–24.

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# 11

## CASE

## *Executive Leadership and the Corporatization of Higher Education*

The corporatization of higher education has been a topic of noteworthy interest in recent years. Higher education has been pushed toward corporate-inspired ways of operating by the rise in tuition, decreased levels of public funding, increased emergence of higher education as a private good, and demands for accountability, among other trends (Andrews, 2006). The common use of the term chief executive officer (CEO), applied to higher education presidents, points to the current practice of applying corporate ideas to higher education. The corporatization of higher education, as argued by Aronowitz (2000), Bok (2003), Giroux (2002), and Levine (2000a), among others, is a deleterious development in higher education; one that is shifting the very foundation and values of these long standing institutions.

For opponents of higher education corporatization, business practices such as branding, cost savings through decreased employee benefits, and use of nonacademic amenities to recruit students are viewed as negative higher education management trends. Andrews (2006) provided a checklist against which faculty, the focus of that author's attention, can compare their institution (see Table 11.1). Answering affirmatively to these questions can provide information about the extent to which an institution is adopting corporate practices.

### *Questions to Consider*

- What are several internal and external pressures on today's higher education that are driving corporatization?
- What long-standing values and traditions of higher education must change when an institution adopts a corporate approach?
- What value is attained when colleges and universities are operated "like a business"?
- What is gained with a corporate approach to higher education management?

Income generation through auxiliary services, online and distance learning, and fee-for-service programs has become a required means to keep institutions solvent.

**Table 11.1 A Corporatization Checklist**

- Is your college or university hiring low-paid, non-tenured contingent faculty to replace departing tenured and tenure-track faculty?
- Has your institution decreased need-based financial aid? Has there been a corresponding increase in merit-based scholarships?
- Are high corporate-level salaries (especially when compared with faculty salaries) being paid to administrators?
- Is there an increasing reliance on search firms—expensive and inadequate substitutes for an appropriately constituted, well directed, and faculty-dominated search committee?
- Are faculty members' teaching and service contributions being devalued while pressure to obtain external funding for research is increasing?
- Have health and retirement benefits for faculty decreased in an environment in which the costs of health care and retirement are rising rapidly?
- Have courses and curricular programs formerly regarded as essential to a college education been eliminated? Are for-profit courses being established without regard to their long-term educational value?
- Is there an increasing emphasis on intercollegiate athletics as a selling point for admissions and fund raising? Is this trend complemented by increased spending on teams that is not matched by increased spending on teaching, research, or financial aid?

Adapted from Andrews (2006).

Outsourcing as a way to economize and develop new services, including residence halls, is common. Multimillion dollar and complex financial models require additional staff to undertake cost-benefit analyses, responsibility centered budgeting, and other financial processes borrowed from the corporate world. College and university presidents, responsible to a wide array of intra- and extra-institutional stakeholders, must juggle the medieval academic structure of the collegium and the corporate structure of a modern bureaucracy. The rapid rate of change that exists on today's college and university campus is congruent with a corporate approach to management but incongruent with traditional models of higher education organization. See

Bergquist and Phillips (as cited in Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008) suggested structure, process, and attitude as three organizational development domains related to change within higher education institutions. Organizational change, a frequently sought goal, can be affected by influencing structure, process, and attitude. Changes in organizational charts, reward systems, and institutional policies and procedures result in structural changes. When communication configurations, decision-making approaches, conflict management methods, or management styles change, process adaptation follows. Attitude, the third domain of organizational development, entails "how people feel about working" in the structures and processes of the organization (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008, p. 82). All three domains work together; attitude is affected by structure and process. Process is influenced by attitude and structure.

A search for a new president, or chief executive officer (CEO) in corporate parlance, is a particularly salient opportunity for change. A new president can bring change in all three domains of process, structure, and attitude. Particularly during the honeymoon period of a president's new administration, changes are possible that are difficult if not impossible to institute in later stages of the presidency. Existing senior administrators often tender their resignations; new administrators are hired. Departments and divisions shift into new configurations. Programs are eliminated. New communication, management, and decision-making styles are brought into institutional practice.

*Questions to Consider*

- What structural changes might a new president make to solidify a base of support for new initiatives?
- What process changes might be necessary to garner support for a new vision for an institution?
- How does loyalty among staff members impact the success of a new president?
- How does objectivity and distance by presidents inform the principles of bureaucracies?

The bureaucratic principle of unity of command (Morgan, 2006), stating that each person should receive orders from one source, is most evident during presidential searches. With the chair of the Board of Trustees as the titular or actual chair of the search committee, the reporting line between the president and Board becomes abundantly clear. With all deference to stakeholders notwithstanding, the president's definitive "boss" is the Board of Trustees. While members of the Board of Trustees normally use closed executive sessions to issue presidential evaluations and directives, presidential searches are regularly conducted using the democratic processes of representation, open forums, and abundant feedback. See

Boards of trustees, regents, or visitors, as they are sometimes called, have four primary purposes on college campuses: hire and fire the president, review programs for introduction or termination, exercise fiduciary responsibility for the institution by reviewing the budget, and assure the mission and direction of the institution (Chaitt, Holland, & Taylor, 1996; Kezar, 2006; Tierney, 2004). This case discusses bureaucratic principles involved in a presidential search. Particularly illustrated are the concepts of line and staff, division of labor, stability of personnel, responsibility as endowed in the office, and scalar chain.

## THE CASE

### *Institutional Context*

Prize University is a very high research activity institution as designated by the Carnegie Classification (Carnegie Foundation, 2010). The flagship institution located in a state of approximately 25 million people; Prize University is part of a complex system of higher education institutions. Of the 25 institutions in the state, Prize University has the highest admissions standards, attracts extremely qualified faculty, and boasts the highest rate of research funding of all universities in the state. After 9 years of uninterrupted presidential leadership, Prize University is searching for a new chief executive. Citing health concerns, the former president resigned a year ahead of schedule; the vice president for administration and finance stepped in as interim president.

### *Characters*

*Frank Harrison:* Mr. Harrison, a retired CEO of a local Fortune 500 firm, served as the chair of the Board of Regents of Prize University for 5 years. A veteran of university politics, Mr. Harrison felt that the president of this institution with its $3 billion budget needed to have an executive leader with business experience. As a member of the board for 7 years prior to becoming chair (12 years total), he was consistently puzzled by the University faculty's insistence that the president be an academic. In Harrison's mind, the provost could manage the academics. The president needed to be a CEO, someone familiar with the intricacies of financial planning, personnel management, and leadership. Leaders from the corporate world or government sector could manage the substantial budget. The job was unsuited for someone with a career spent in academia.

In addition to serving as board chair, Harrison led the presidential search committee, a position he took seriously. While past search committee chairs allowed the president's executive assistant staff to manage the committee, he was extremely involved in the process. While some administrators and faculty complained that his approach was micromanaging, he felt that he was exercising his legal and fiduciary responsibility as board chair.

*Interim President John Creamer:* Creamer had served as a vice president of the institution for 25 years. He had filled a variety of roles including associate vice president for finance, director of human resources, and, most recently, senior vice president for administration and finance. An alumnus of the institution, Creamer had spent his adult life at Prize University. He was extremely loyal to the institution and enjoyed his role as interim president. He had served under the most recent president, Dr. William Hunter, a strong academic leader who had minimal understanding of the intricacies of the budget. Dr. Hunter had made it clear from the start that he delegated the financial matters to Creamer. As such, the vice president had a free hand with how money was allocated throughout the institution. This approach resulted in a disconnection between the academic, research, and administrative functions of the institution. When he assumed the interim president position, Creamer had promised not to apply for the job. On the urging of numerous administrators in the institution and government officials outside the university, however, he was regretting that decision. His plan was to talk to Chair Harrison and see if he could become a candidate, even at this late stage of the search.

*Dr. Gary Kegan:* A veteran of three presidents, Kegan was the executive assistant to the president. A veteran of university administration, Dr. Kegan was on the committee or had staffed three presidential searches. In addition to his experience with these essential university search functions, he had also staffed a number of provost and vice presidential searches. He was familiar with Mr. Harrison's desire to be an active search committee chair and he welcomed his involvement, but in his experience, trustee chairs were usually figureheads. They were chair in name but left it to the staff to manage. This search promised to be very different. Kegan was looking forward to the change.

*Dr. Mary Glazer:* Glazer was a relatively new faculty member at the university. She was recruited from her old institution because of the substantial research dollars she brought with her. Her work in molecular biology was cutting edge and left her little time for university service. When she was invited by interim president John Creamer to be on the committee, she reluctantly agreed. She knew that Creamer was using her international reputation as a way to recruit top candidates. Despite her misgivings about serving on the committee, she agreed because she feared that the corporatization of the university was eroding the research mission. While she understood that research dollars were viewed as a substantial revenue source for the university, Glazer had a purist view of the research enterprise. Her academic career was dedicated to the pursuit of new knowledge. She felt strongly that the next president needed to fully understand the research mission of an institution like Prize.

### *Authority and Power*

Dr. Kegan was a traditionalist regarding presidential leadership. A student of bureaucracy and advocate of its use, Kegan believed in separating the person from the office. As a first hand observer of several Prize University presidents, Kegan had seen the good results when an administrator's personal and public personas were unconnected, as much as that was possible. His first president, Steven Curtis, a man of considerable talent, had gotten himself into trouble when he let his personal beliefs interfere with professional business. An unenlightened administrator regarding diversity, Curtis had based his hiring on the racial and gender identities with which he was comfortable. The consistent practice of hiring White men was met by challenges from students and faculty and became a primary reason for Curtis's early retirement.

Similar to Kegan, Chair of the Board Harrison also adhered to bureaucratic principles. He believed that legitimate power was the most effective way to achieve change within an institution. Harrison struggled with faculty claims about expert power and believed that true power came from the authority endowed in a position or office. University presidents, like corporate CEOs, were at the pinnacle of power and, therefore, were most able to effect organizational change. As Board chair, Harrison took his authority role regarding the president seriously. He and the other Board of Trustee members were the boss. They were invested in the success of the institution and used the means at their disposal to exercise power and communicate their vision. Budget approval and vision, mission, and strategic plan authorization were their major means to keep the institution on track. They delegated the day-to-day operation and other responsibilities to the president and his staff and then held him responsible for assuring that their identified course of action was followed.

In conversations during the presidential search committee retreat, it became clear that Harrison and Kegan were like-minded concerning presidential leadership. Both felt that leadership and management acumen needed to take precedence over academic credentials. At the urging of the Board, substantial progress on financial reform had been achieved under Interim President Creamer's leadership. This was accomplished without the need to explain financial management details to the president. They had had years of financially inexperienced presidents who lacked the necessary knowledge and background for fiscal management. On-the-job training and nationally sponsored professional development helped but did not alleviate the need for trustee intervention when the president did not have all the skills necessary to lead a multibillion dollar operation.

*Questions to Consider*

- What conflicts can you envision between the academic-related qualities of the president and the bureaucratic responsibilities and expectations of that executive position?
- What qualities and skills gained from a president's experience as an academic and scholar enhance that person's ability to undertake the presidential role?
- What qualities and skills necessary for presidential leadership are not gained through experience as an academic and scholar?
- What do you envision as the skills necessary for a president over the next 20 years in higher education? How can those skills be taught to today's academic leaders?

### *Traditional Views of the Office of the President*

The search committee was deep into conversation during their off-campus retreat. The group was evenly split between people who believed that traditional bureaucratic principles were the best means of leadership and those who believed that a more academically oriented, collegial approach was necessary. The collegial group, led informally by Dr. Glazer, felt the institution would benefit from a president who was socially and personally more accessible to administrators and faculty. Glazer felt strongly that interim president Creamer lacked knowledge of the importance of knowledge generation and research as central to the university's mission. From her perspective, he understood how research dollars through indirect costs flowed into the institution, but lacked an understanding of how basic research, even the most arcane, advanced knowledge in today's society.

Board Chair Harrison led the bureaucratically inclined group that felt it was necessary for the chief executive officer to exercise authority and strong management. This approach involved a decisive leadership style, distance from employees to convey authority, and logistical use of the presidential accoutrements to convey power and leadership. Harrison knew that vision flows from the president's office, often in consultation with others, but ultimately directly from the chief executive officer.

*Questions to Consider*

- How do power and privilege intersect in bureaucracies? How are both expressed through the presidential role?
- What is the relationship between the trappings of the president's office and presidential authority?
- How are the symbols of the president's office viewed from a bureaucratic perspective? From a collegial perspective? From a cultural perspective?
- How does presidential authority from a bureaucratic perspective create the opportunity for change? How can this authority create barriers to change?

### *Presidential Qualifications*

Administrative and staff hiring in bureaucracies, including higher education institutions, is based on qualifications and criteria. Whether a presidential search is managed externally through an executive search firm or internally via committee, qualifications are determined as a first step in the recruitment process. Often symbolized in the job description, the qualifications only tell part of the story about the qualities sought in a president.

At their retreat, the presidential search committee at Prize University determined a list of requirements for the position. Using presidential job descriptions from competing institutions, materials from past searches, and information from the higher education literature, the following qualifications were included in the job description.

1. Experience as an academic of high (e.g., full professor) rank with impeccable teaching and scholarly experience;
2. Proficiency in fund raising;
3. Understanding of strategic planning, problem solving, financial management, and executive administration processes;
4. Possession of a vision with the capability to communicate this to the university community;
5. Prior experience managing a multimillion or multibillion dollar institution;
6. Understanding of internal and external institutional politics in a state university environment;
7. Knowledge of how to work with internal and external stakeholders including state legislators, elected city officials, alumni/ae, parents, and local businesspeople; and
8. A change-oriented approach matched with an understanding of institutional administrative practices.

A recent posting for a presidential search at the University of Utah had summarized the herculean qualities desired of a president. The search committee agreed that the presidency of Prize University demanded similar heroic attributes:

> Ideal candidates must have broad administrative and management experience, a proven record of administrative and scholarly achievement in higher education, experience and success in fundraising, and leadership qualities essential for the administration of a large, culturally diverse, and complex academic and research institution. (*The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 2011)

This paragraph exemplifies the tension existing for today's college and university presidents: they must have spent significant time honing their academic credentials and scholarship while simultaneously gaining the requisite management skills to oversee a multimillion or billion dollar institution. Few other contemporary organizations require such a wide array of qualities for its chief executive officer.

### *Questions to Consider*

- If you were to write a job description for the presidential search at this institution, what qualifications would you include?
- How can strong academic credentials be balanced with the need for executive management skills?
- In what ways can structure and administrative personnel be used to balance the skills needed within an administration of a university?
- What are the necessary skills for the next generation of presidents?

*Interviews, Open Forums, and Community Input*

The presidential search committee spent weeks reviewing applications, informally checking references, and determining the pool of candidates for in-person interviews. After interviewing 10 candidates in airport conversations (i.e., a process whereby the search committee travels to a central location and interviews multiple candidates in short meetings), the on-campus interview pool was whittled down to four candidates. Because the search was entering a more public phase, candidate materials (e.g., vitas) were posted on a presidential search website. The committee knew that conflicting opinions being played out on the committee would be amplified through campus community input.

Dr. Glazer was looking forward to the open forums. Through numerous conversations with faculty and staff on campus, she knew that people wanted a change from the traditional bureaucratic approach to presidential leadership. Her colleagues were interested in a president who was less bureaucratic and more collaborative. She believed you could be an effective administrator while being open, participative, and exercising first among equals leadership. While several committee members agreed with her, others, most notably Board Chair Harrison, believed that a top-down, decisive, and commanding style of leadership was needed at this point in the institution's history. In his mind, leaders who portrayed vision from the top, who set the tone, were strong, and decisive had served the institution well in the past. Glazer believed that these traditionalists could be swayed if campus community members shared their alternative point of views about leadership and administration. She encouraged many to attend the open forums and express a more up-to-date way to lead; one that was collaborative, participative, and empowering.

The existence of two different approaches to presidential leadership, bureaucratic and collegial, was well represented on the search committee and among the candidates, who were split evenly into two groups by leadership style: two candidates exemplified "command and control" leadership and two exhibited a collaborative approach.

***Questions to Consider***

- What campus practices dictate the inclusion of community input in presidential appointments?
- In what ways does campus-wide inclusion reflect (or not reflect) a bureaucratic approach to administration?
- In what ways does campus-wide inclusion reflect (or not reflect) a collegial approach to administration?
- Which style of leadership and administration most resonates with your approach to higher education management and organization?

Four presidential candidates visited the university for on-campus interviews. Much to the disappointment of search committee members, the open forums for each candidate were sparsely attended. Although committee members had encouraged involvement from the community, people voiced the opinion that the ultimate decision on who was hired was determined by the trustees. They felt that their opinion would not be heeded in the open forums or follow-up evaluation. With the burden of too much work to be completed, they told her, "What's the point? The trustees are going to appoint whomever they want. It's a waste of time for us to attend the meetings and provide input."

*Questions to Consider*

- In what ways do bureaucracies disempower the voice of those lower on the hierarchy?
- What communication patterns exist in bureaucracies that encourage the flow of communication between hierarchical layers?
- How do power, position, and privilege overlap in bureaucratic structures?
- Who is responsible for hiring the president in a bureaucratic organization?

The search committee met for their final meeting to determine an unranked list of candidates with narrative about each individual's strengths and weaknesses. This list was presented to, and a final decision made by the Board of Trustees. The committee's role was to give recommendations, not select the candidate. In this way, the lines of authority between the president and Board of Trustees were clear. The search committee was advisory; the ultimate decision rested with the Board.

The committee, as reflected in previous deliberations and discussions, was split in their opinions about the best candidate or candidates. Many felt strongly that the candidate with a strong research record and recent experience, as a provost at an institution similar to Prize University, was the most likely choice. This coalition of committee members, led by Dr. Glazer, lobbied hard for this candidate to be discussed in a manner that highlighted his obvious strengths as an academic and researcher. Board Chair Harrison and his contingent had other plans for the list. His choice for president was clear: the candidate who was a sitting president at an institution similar in size and scope, but not reputation, to Prize University. In this way, Prize would benefit from the administrative and managerial expertise of a seasoned professional and the candidate would be attracted to the academic excellence of Prize. Although the deliberations were lively, even heated, Harrison knew his perspective would prevail. It was his responsibility to carry the unranked candidate narratives to the Board. In a closed-door session, he would give his perspective on the strengths and weaknesses of each candidate and his opinion on what was best for the institution. His choice for the next chief executive officer would need to tackle the issues facing Prize: a complex budget situation, a marketing plan that portrayed the institution effectively, and an imperative to contain costs through salary savings and outsourcing. Harrison knew that his choice would command a high salary and an attractive contract, including a severance package at the end of his tenure, but the outcome would be worth the price.

The Board of Trustees met to determine the outcome of the presidential search with Harrison's candidate as the obvious choice. They felt that the process had maintained the integrity of the search process by creating opportunities for input and a democratically-oriented search committee. They were confident in their choice.

*Questions to Consider*

- Using a bureaucratic perspective, how might you influence the search as a member of the search committee?
- Using a political perspective? Using a collegial perspective?

- What are the strengths and weaknesses of the bureaucratic leadership perspective?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of a collaborative, participative approach to leadership and administration?

## DISCUSSION

Depending on the perspective of the viewer, a presidential search committee can be viewed as a fait accompli, the inevitable outcome of bureaucratic principles laid down in earlier decades. Or, the appointment of a new president can be an opportunity to transform leadership styles, institutional trajectory, and organizational practices. As with all perspectives, each has its positive and negative aspects. There is stability and constancy in bureaucratic procedures that offer continuity over time. In bureaucracies, the lines of authority and power are very clear. Each entity, from the boards of trustees to the lowest staff member on the hierarchy, has a job description and operating procedures that, at maximum, dictate or, at minimum, shape the rules of operation. Presidential searches are an opportunity to observe the written and unwritten rules of an organization at work. Assumptions become more evident, reporting lines are revealed, and power becomes visible. This case sought to illustrate some of the tensions within bureaucracies when a new executive is chosen. In the current world of higher education, a significant tension exists between the desire of the Board of Trustees to hire an experienced executive and the faculty (and others) who wish to hire an academic or researcher. This tension, played out for decades, promises to continue into the future.