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**AN ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTS OF GLOBALIZATION
ON THE RESTRUCTURING OF HIGHER EDUCATION
IN THAILAND**

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IN THAILAND**

by

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To Sharon, whose love and faith in me
are the greatest gifts of my life.

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This study is an ethnographic multiple case study analysis of restructuring in Thailand's public higher education system. The analysis uses a global political economy approach to determine the extent to which globalization plays a part in the restructuring process. The literature covering the role of globalization in the restructuring of national higher education systems contains few site-based studies of colleges and universities in non-western countries. Using a multiple site case study design, the research examined the Thai Ministry of University Affairs and three universities in Thailand that had undergone restructuring or were in the process of restructuring.

The study found that although globalization did play a role in the restructuring of the three institutions, it was not the irresistible force that many claim it to be. The study confirms the theory that globalization is vulnerable to cultural and social factors. This does not mean that globalization is not a force to be reckoned with. Globalization continues to play an important role in the restructuring of Thailand's higher education system albeit at a pace and in a direction that is culturally determined. The aspect of market/economic ideology is still present, but in the context of how the market/economy

operates within the local culture. It is perhaps erroneous, then, to suggest that globalization is the evangelistic outreach of western ideology around the world. It is possible to theorize that globalization is concerned with understanding how a given society/culture uses and manipulates indigenous market/economy strategies in order to accomplish political and economic goals in that society.

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CHAPTER ONE: STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

When we talk about restructuring of higher education, we mean substantive organizational change and associated changes in internal resource allocation (reductions or closure of departments, expansion or creation of other departments, establishing interdisciplinary units); substantive change in the division of academic labor with regard to research and teaching; the establishment of new organizational forms (such as arm's-length companies and research parks); and the organization of new administrative structures or the streamlining or redesign of old ones. (Slaughter and Leslie 1997, 11)

Slaughter and Leslie (1997) studied how two decades of globalization has influenced the restructuring of higher education in four technically and industrially advanced countries, the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia. They noted that modern society “is in the throes of change as great as that which characterized the industrial revolution” (Slaughter and Leslie 1997, 25). The great change spoken of here is western society’s change from an industrial to a post-industrial society

Western society, however, is not the only society undergoing political economic changes. Nor is industrial to post-industrial the only social shift occurring. While western nations have been moving towards a post-industrial society, non-western nations have been rapidly following in their footsteps. During the same time span that the West was becoming post-industrial, the East was becoming newly industrial. Unlike the West, however, these newly industrialized countries (NICs) did not (do not?) have the luxury of maturing into fully industrialized countries before

making the change to post-industrialization. Drucker has noted that in earlier societies “major change occurred perhaps every 80 years.... Today...it is probably every 60 days” (Drucker 1992, 339). As the center of global economic growth shifted towards the Pacific Rim, Asian economies in Japan, Singapore, Taiwan, Malaysia, South Korea and Thailand began to undergo rapid shifts from agro-industrial to newly industrial, and from newly industrial to post-industrial status (Castells 1993). The predominant orthodoxy is that globalization is causing these rapid changes by forcing less developed countries to adopt the market ideology of the West.

The predominance of globalization is based on several propositions. The first is that the free market ideology of the West is the prescription for economic growth and well being. The second proposition is that globalization cannot be resisted or stopped (Currie 1998). The third is that national economies are being “subsumed into a global economy and that the discipline of international markets and money markets...should determine public policy” (Dudley 1998, 25). These three propositions have made globalization the concept of the 1990s that western and non-western nations have adopted as the “regime of truth that guides policy formation ” (Dudley 1998, 29; Waters 1995; Currie 1998).

Globalization has been associated with the higher education restructuring that has occurred over the last two decades. This association can be seen in national and state education policies that reflect the ideology of globalization at all levels of society. These policies have encouraged the restructuring of higher education by

mandating enrollment increases coupled with changes in budget allocations. The goal has been to increase efficiency and accountability, as defined by the market, in higher education.

A second goal has been to encourage higher education to be more responsive to national economic interests. Government and industry leaders have encouraged closer ties to industry and the market sector. Restructuring has become higher education's response to globalization and national education policies and has often been presented as the globalization of higher education. Compliance with national policies, the need to expand, the mandate to contribute to the economy, and budget cutbacks have forced higher education to adopt market strategies as part of the restructuring process.

The impact of globalization on higher education has not been limited to the Western countries. Non-western countries, hoping to emulate the west, are embracing globalization ideology and strategies in their national development plans including higher education. Others are being encouraged, cajoled, and sometimes forced by economic crises or international financial organizations to implement globalization policies.

Critiques of Globalization

The current political and economic mantra is that globalization is not just the best way to develop; it is the only way (World Bank 1993). This belief has made its way into various academic circles calling for a restructuring of higher education

based on globalization principles. Not all academics are enamored with globalization. These academics reject the notion that globalization is the neutral, objective, force that proponents claim it to be. They also accuse globalization as being a destructive force, forcing cultures to replace their traditions, customs, and languages with English and western ideas.

Dudley makes the argument that globalization is a construction that favors free trade unrestricted by national policies and is not an irresistible force (Dudley 1998). Dudley questions the idea that market economy should be the primary concern of society. She calls for a social economy where community and human needs have as much priority, if not more, as the market.

Slaughter and Leslie (1997) and Slaughter (1998) question the claim that globalization results in the greatest gain for higher education. They point out how globalization can result in inequalities as some academic units are able to forge close ties with the market while others are not. They also point out how globalization has resulted in a loss of autonomy for higher education, higher teaching loads for faculty, and the abandonment of basic research.

DeAngelis (1998) rejects the notion that globalization is an irresistible force. He argues that there are local cultural, political, and economic factors that play a role in national development. Globalization has its limits and each society has at its disposal the power to resist or moderate the influences of globalization.

Chitnis (1999) speaks against the exploitation of national interest by global

forces in India. She questions whether globalization will contribute to the nation's economy or result in a new colonization by the developed nations. She calls for higher education to acknowledge the importance of cultural and indigenous knowledge in local systems of education.

Not all critics of globalization are negative. Llosa (2000) argues that globalization is a culture of liberty that will allow individual freedoms and indigenous cultures to flourish. Llosa states that the dynamic nature of culture allows it to change and adapt to new situations as it comes into contact with other cultures and engages in exchanges of ideas and traditions. Cultures will eventually place less emphasis on "festivals, attire, customs, ceremonies, rites, and beliefs that in the past gave humanity its folklore and ethnological variety" and place greater emphasis on "new ideas and traditions that are better suited for the current time" (Llosa 2000). Llosa states, however, that this change is really a result of "modernization of which globalization is an effect, not a cause."

Globalization, according to Llosa, forces nations to open up to global trends and mores that undermine the concept of a "cultural identity." Cultural identity, as used by Llosa, refers to nationalism where a certain group imposes a certain cultural identity on all members of a society regardless of their minority/indigenous culture. When the concept of a single cultural identity is weakened, then other minority/indigenous cultures are more likely to flourish. Llosa also states that globalization encourages individual freedoms by allowing all citizens to construct

their own individual cultural identities through voluntary action according to their personal preferences.

Llosa argues that while English may be the language of international trade and technology, people still need to learn to communicate in other languages if they are to compete in the global market. He cites the worldwide increase in language/culture learning in Spanish, Japanese, the various Chinese languages, and other languages/cultures as evidence that globalization is in fact promoting and preserving languages and cultures.

Purpose

The purpose of this research is to study the extent to which globalization is shaping the restructuring of higher education in Thailand. This study is important because, as Currie states, recent studies on higher education restructuring in the western industrialized countries have focused on how “globalization has affected the way universities are governed and how the daily lives of academics have been altered by globalization practices” (Currie 1998, 1). Currie continues by noting that each country contributes its own economic, cultural, and political worldview to globalization as it occurs locally. This research is a study of how, as Dudley (1998) states, the global and the local are interacting in the restructuring process in Thailand. More specifically, it focuses on how many of the changes taking place in the governance of higher education and the daily lives of academics in Thailand can be attributed to globalization of economy.

Society and Culture

It is important that the differences between the concepts 'society' and 'culture' be understood. The two concepts, while interrelated, are not necessarily interchangeable. The researcher involved in cross-cultural scientific research must first come to some level of understanding of the source and target culture(s). It is the understanding of culture that directs the transmission and reception of data. This 'transmission-reception' can be defined in layman's terms as "communicating a message". Filbeck lists at least five steps in communicating a message cross-culturally:

- 1) Deciding on what message to transmit.
- 2) Encoding the message into appropriate form.
- 3) Transmitting the form.
- 4) Decoding, more properly interpreting the transmission.
- 5) Receiving the message. (1985,7)

This study defines and explains 'society' and 'culture' from a social anthropological perspective. Society, as used in this study, refers to social organization. The focus of society/social organization is on large groups of people and how these large groups are internally organized. Filbeck breaks the definition of society into three components:

*...a large group of people...*Size is important to a definition of society. For a group of people to qualify as a society there must be a large number in the group.

*...internally organized...*A society is formed only when a group of people become organized to form various structures performing certain functions for the maintenance of the group; without such internal organization a group remains only a mass of people.

...to live in an environment... Exploitation of the earth's environment (farming, fishing, mining, manufacturing, etc.) requires cooperation. Since a person cannot survive alone for long, society provides the organizational stratagem for cooperating with others. (1985,7)

Culture is defined as the plan for living that the group has established for successfully living in an environment. In other words, if society is how a group organizes to live in an environment, then culture is the result of that organization (Filbeck 1985, 7). Firth provides the following explanation:

If...society is taken to be an organized set of individuals with a given way of life, culture is that way of life. If society is taken to be an aggregate of social relations, then culture is the content of those relations. Society emphasizes the human component, the aggregate of people and the relations between them. Culture emphasizes the component of accumulated resources, immaterial as well as material, which the people inherit, employ, add to and transmit...culture is all learned behavior which has been socially acquired. (1971, 27)

This study is, at one level, an exercise in cross-cultural communication. It is encoding data from one culture/society for transmission into a second culture/society that in turn decodes the data received from the transmission. Understanding culture is important to the encoding and decoding process because, if culture consists of all accumulated resources of society that are transmitted and learned, then culture is what is ultimately communicated (Filbeck 1985; Avruch and Black 1993).

Historical Background

Higher education, as a government function, is relatively new to Thailand. The country's first higher education centers patterned after western education systems were established in the late 1800s. In 1889 a medical school was established

followed in 1897 by a law school under the support of the Ministry of Justice. A civil service college and engineering school followed in 1902 and 1913 respectively (Ministry of University Affairs 2000). In 1917 the civil service college was elevated to full university status by incorporating the medical and engineering schools with newly created faculties of Arts and Sciences (Prangpatanpon 1996; Ministry of University Affairs 2000).

The University of Moral and Political Science (Thammasat University) was established in 1933 following the establishment of parliamentary democracy in 1932. The purpose was to educate civil servants and political leaders in the principles of democracy. Three more universities were established by 1943 for medicine, agriculture, and fine arts. All of these institutions were located in the capital city of Bangkok and were established primarily for the training of civil servants (Prangpatanpon 1996).

In the 1960s three more public universities were established outside of the capital, one each in the north, northeast, and southern regions. Private colleges were also beginning to flourish, and in 1969 the government passed a bill that governed the establishment and operation of private institutes of higher learning.

The 1970s and 1980s were decades of phenomenal growth for the higher education system. In 1971 and 1979 two open universities were established to help meet public demand for higher education. Ramkhamhaeng University (est. 1971) reports over three hundred thousand enrolled students while Sukhothai Thammathirat

Open University (est. 1979) reports just over two hundred thousand. Sukhothai uses distance learning incorporating radio and television broadcasts to instruct students in all regions of Thailand. Together Ramkhamhaeng and Sukhothai Universities account for about 60 percent of all tertiary enrollments (Ministry of University Affairs 2000). Today there are twenty-four public universities and forty-three privates (Ministry of University Affairs 2000). In addition to the four-year universities there are approximately 150 other post-secondary institutions offering various vocational degrees. It must be noted, however, that this figure is pre 1997 and it is unknown how many of these schools were forced to close or merge because of the economic crisis (Prangpatanpon 1996).

The Ministry of University Affairs oversees all institutions of higher learning. Other ministries are also involved in overseeing different programs of study (see Figure 1). At a national level the Office of the National Education Commission under the Office of Prime Minister coordinates long-term policy formation and formulation for development of all levels of education in Thailand (Prangpatanpon 1996; Ministry of University Affairs 2000).

The university system is a mix of British and U. S. styles. Scholars educated in the United Kingdom established the early universities. The later universities, however, were influenced by U. S. trained academics. Academically and administratively universities are based on a system of faculties each under a separate dean patterned after the United Kingdom (Prangpatanpon 1996) A university council

Figure 1. Thailand Higher Education Administration by Ministry/Agency

1. Ministry of Education	Certificate	Undergraduate	Graduate
1.1 Office of Rajabhat Institutes Council		.X	X
1.2 Office of the Private Education Commission	.X		
1.3 Department of Physical Education	.X	.X	
1.4 Department of Fine Arts	.X	.X	
1.5 Department of Vocational Education	.X	.X	
1.6 Department of Religious Affairs		.X	.X
1.7 Rajamanagala Institute of Technology	.X	.X	.
2. Ministry of University Affairs			
2.1 Public Institutions of Higher Education	.X	.X	.X
2.2 Private Institutions of Higher Education		.X	.X
3. Ministry of Interior			
3.1 Bangkok Metropolitan Administration	.X	.X	
3.2 Police Cadet Academy		.X	
3.3 Police School	.X		
4. Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives			
4.1 Irrigation college	.X	.X	
4.2 Veterinary School	.X	.X	
4.3 Cooperatives School	.X		
5. Ministry of Transport and Communications			
5.1 Merchant Marine Training Center	.X	.X	
5.2 Meteorological School	.X		
5.3 Postal School	.X		
5.4 Civil Aviation Training Center	.X		
6. Ministry of Defense			
6.1 Military, Naval, Air Forces Academies		.X	
6.2 Medical Colleges		.X	
6.3 Nursing Colleges		.X	
6.4 Technical Training School	.X		
6.5 Survey School	.X		
7. Ministry of Public Health			
7.1 Nursing colleges	.X	.X	
7.2 Public Health Colleges	.X		
7.3 College of Medical Technology and Public Health	.X		
8. Ministry of Science, Technology and Environment			
- Chemical Practice Institute	.X		
9. Ministry of Justice: Law Training Institute			X
10. Thai Red Cross Society: Nursing College	X	X	

(Source: Ministry of University Affairs Web-site <http://www.inter.mua.go.th>)

comprised of a chairperson, president, deans, directors of institutes, and other non-salaried experts make policy for each university. These policies, however, are heavily regulated by the civil service code that governs all aspects of the civil service. The federal funding mechanism controls expenditures at each public university through a line item budget and has an impact on the policy making process. The Dean's Council and Faculty Senate are advisory boards that have influence in university governance (Ministry of University Affairs 2000). Teaching and course organization follows the U. S. credit system (Prangpatanpon 1996).

Although based on western systems, the internal workings of universities have been profoundly influenced by cultural attitudes towards higher education and faculty. Teachers at all levels of education are highly regarded in Thai society. Prangpatanpon states that historically teachers taught for free "out of kindness" (Prangpatanpon 1996, 1). Students would hold a ไ้้้้ (wai' khruu: respect the teacher) ceremony each year to express their gratitude. Teachers are now paid, but students still participate in the ไ้้้้ (wai' khruu) to show their great respect for the teachers. The wai' khruu ceremony is practiced at all levels of education, including higher education.

Cultural emphasis on conformity also influences teaching and learning in the university. Students at the primary, secondary, and undergraduate levels are required to wear uniforms. Graduate students are not required to wear uniforms but many do so anyway. Professors and staff have civil servant uniforms as well but are not

required to wear them outside of special functions. They are, however, proud to have their picture taken in full uniform and will display the photograph in their office and home.

Teaching and learning are also influenced by cultural attitudes that stem from the relationship between the monarchy and the people. The government operates under a constitutional monarchy system with a democratically elected parliament. Although the power to govern lies with the parliament, it is still referred to as the Royal Thai Government. Government service is still considered to be serving in the “Royal Affairs” (Prangpatanpon 1996) and is a very honorable and prestigious act. The Thai word for civil servant is ข้าราชการ (khaa[^] raj[^] ja kan). A literal translation of this phrase is ข้า= I (diminutive) ราช= king การ= service. University faculty and staff, by virtue of their being ข้าราชการ (khaa[^] raj[^] ja kan), are considered the “King’s men” (and women) and receive royal decorations for certain levels and years of service. A member of the Royal family will also preside over the graduation ceremony for each public university and personally bestow degrees on all public university graduates.

Cultural attitudes influence the curriculum and programs of study. The purpose of higher education, for many Thai, is job training (Prangpatanpon 1996). Society at large sees university education as a means towards getting either a high paying job in the private sector or a prestigious position in the civil service. A degree from certain prestigious public universities almost guarantees professional and

material advancement. Admission to the public universities is difficult and requires passing national entrance exams. This system favors the wealthy and professional elite who can afford to pay for tutors and to send their children to the best high schools. Once admitted, however, students are interested in graduating as soon as possible and will conform to the status quo of the hierarchical system (Prangpatanpon 1996). Because higher education is seen as a way to a good job most university programs have been vocational in emphasis. Students are trained for specific professions as opposed to learning for knowledge sake. Students are only interested in taking courses in their major disciplines that will give them the specific skills needed to enter the marketplace.

These cultural attitudes reinforce an aristocratic mentality in higher education (Prangpatanpon 1996). Students, by virtue of their admission to the privileged environment of the university, become elitist in their attitudes. Professors, regarded as the authority, are expected to use the lecture method of instruction with students submissively and passively accepting instruction. The primary and secondary education systems do not encourage student participation in the classroom and this carries over into the post-secondary system as well. Students rarely argue or challenge the professor in class. As a result creative thinking and intellectual development are stymied.

The aforementioned cultural factors when combined with the relative magnitude and criticality of government funding have made reform attempts

difficult. In the late 1980s, however, reform minded educators began pushing for a move towards autonomy. A prominent banker, Khun Bantoon Lamsam of the Thai Farmers' Bank, formed a group of respected educators and politicians that included Dr. Wichit Srisa-an, Dr. Sippanon Ketudat, and Dr. Amornwich Nakornthap to discuss education in the globalization era. Several publications and newsletters were disseminated to the general public. This process centered on asking people from various sectors of society to comment on what should be included in education restructuring to ensure the system produces graduates that will help develop the country's competitiveness.

In 1990 the Ministry of University Affairs published a report on Thailand's long-term plan for higher education (Ministry of University Affairs 1990). The report contained the findings and recommendations of a policy study financed by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The findings and recommendations were formulated into a fifteen-year plan for Thai higher education. The study looked at projected changes in ten key areas of Thai society and concluded with seven major recommendations for changes in the higher education system.

Recommendation Two reads:

The government should encourage a change in the relationship between institutions of higher learning and the government. State universities, which are predominately bureaucratic in administration and staffing, should become gradually less so. Eventually, according to readiness and potential, administrations of these universities can be taken over by non-bureaucrats. Newly established state universities should be non-bureaucratic right from the start, stressing development of excellence and self-reliance (Ministry of University Affairs 1990, 8)

The last section of the report consisted of implementation goals for meeting the seven major recommendations by year 2006. The implementation goals included having most state universities becoming “non-bureaucratic” and “students in all state institution should be sharing the burden of at least 50 percent of their tuition fees and other expenses.” (Ministry of University Affairs 1990, 10). Although the Ministry of University Affairs encouraged a greater degree of autonomy the universities were satisfied to maintain the status quo (Atagi 1998). The only recommendation that has actually been implemented is that all new state universities should be established outside of the bureaucratic (civil service) system. Three new experimental universities were established during the 1990s. These were the first public universities to operate outside the control of the civil service bureaucracy. The universities have their own autonomous administrative systems with full powers to make decisions and policy concerning academics, staff, salary scales, curricula, and endowments. Although the universities can receive up to 70 percent of their funding from the government in the form of block grants, the faculty and staff are not considered civil servants. They are hired as they would be in the business sector with periodic performance reviews determining promotions (Atagi 1998; Gillotte 1997).

The first of these new universities has, for all practical purposes, been a success. In 1997 it graduated its first graduating class of 250 students. Enrollment had reached five thousand students. In 1996 masters and doctoral programs were added. The success of this university encouraged the establishment of two other new

autonomous universities. Walailak University was founded in 1992 and began operation in 1998. There are over one thousand four hundred students enrolled (Ministry of University Affairs 2000; Gillotte 1997). A third, Mae Fa Luang University, opened its doors in 1999.

Reform minded educators have hoped that the successes of these three universities would pave the way for other public universities to consider becoming more autonomous. The bureaucratic system, however, has made reforming the older universities difficult. Older universities have been content to let new universities organize using the autonomous system, but the general attitude has been the educational bureaucracy is so large that nobody can change the older system. All this was to change in June 1997.

Current Political-Economic Context

Thailand has been one of the “high performing Asian economies referred to by McCleary as the “East Asian 7” (McCleary 1999, 2). According to World Bank (1999) data Thailand experienced growth in GNP per capita of 5.1 percent per year from 1965 to 1997. Growth in GNP per capita during the 1980s averaged 6.1 percent and 5.9 percent from 1990-1997 (World Bank). There are many factors that help explain why the East Asian 7 prospered while developing countries in Africa and South America languished. The prevailing orthodoxy is that these countries used “export oriented” strategies of development. McCleary (1999, 7) summarizes these strategies as follows:

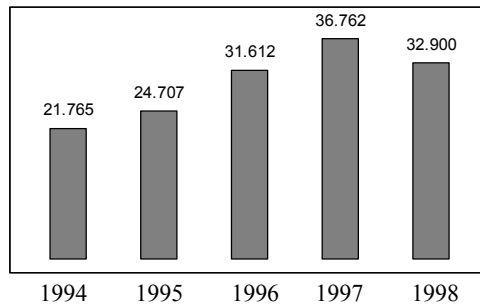
1. Conservative monetary and fiscal policies.
2. Increased reliance on market signals and removal of price distortions, especially lowering protection, which discourages exports.
3. Greater commitment to increasing exports, especially non-traditional manufacturers
4. Encouragement of private investment, especially foreign direct investment.
5. Privatization of most public enterprises
6. A minimalist role for government.

These strategies, sometimes called the “Washington Consensus” (McCleary 1999, 7) form the foundation for the free-market ideology that characterizes global political economy and are, according to the World Bank, the reasons for the “East Asian Economic Miracle” (World Bank 1993).

Thailand’s strong economic growth was reflected in higher education finance. Atagi (1998) states that prior to 1998 the government budget for higher education never decreased. As new universities were planned, budget statistics for the period 1994-1997 show an increase of close to fifteen billion baht (see Figure 2).

In June 1997, however, Thailand started the economic crisis when the central government was forced to devalue the baht (Thai currency). There are many causes leading up to the crisis. Dollar and Hallward-Driemeier (2000) conclude that the crisis resulted from a combination of exogenous shocks in the international market,

Figure 2. Thailand Higher Education Budget Fiscal Years 1994-1998 (in billions of baht).



Source: Ministry of University Affairs online available <http://www.mua.go.th>.

economic mismanagement, and instability in international market flows. In addition to these causes they cite the Thai government's insistence on pegging the value of the Thai baht to the U. S. dollar. When the dollar appreciated against the Japanese yen in the mid 1990s the Thai currency also appreciated. This resulted in a loss of international competitiveness, as exports became more expensive on the world market especially to Japan. Foreign investment, again especially from Japan, declined. The government attempted to artificially keep the baht's value strong but eventually had to deregulate the exchange rate and international currency transactions. Deregulation of this type transfers part of the control over fiscal policy from the national government to the control systems of the global economy (Marginson 1997).

The consequences of this decision were immediate, regional in scope, and dramatic. Thailand's economic growth dropped to -9.4 percent in 1998 (Vargo 2000b). Virtually bankrupt, the country had to take a sixteen billion dollar loan from the International Monetary Fund. One of the conditions set for the loan was a restructuring of the higher education system (Atagi 1998). This condition follows the

ideology of privatization that both the World Bank and the IMF have been proposing for some time (Currie 1998). The rationale behind this ideology is that privatization increases efficiency, accountability, flexibility, quality, and responsiveness to society (Ministry of University Affairs 1998).

Although the government attempted to spare education from drastic cuts the focus was on maintaining and developing primary and secondary education (Vargo 2000b). Whereas the overall education budget may have remained the same Vargo (1998) estimates that public universities suffered budget cuts of between 20 and 30 percent for 1998 (See Figure 2) as funds were shifted to primary and secondary school development. In addition the Ministry of University Affairs instructed the universities to admit 20 percent of students who failed to meet minimum scores on the national qualifying exam to keep those students off the unemployment lines (Vargo 1998).

Faced with diminishing financial support from the government, public universities are being forced to restructure not just their administrative organization, but their financial organization as well. Although government support will most likely continue, it will not be at pre-1997 levels. Universities are expected to make up budget shortfalls through competitive strategies.

Significance of the Study

“The significance of the study, for some, will be in the story of restructuring itself. For others it will reside in the possibilities for replication and experimentation”

(Ladson-Billings 1994). The study of higher education restructuring is not new and there is an abundance of literature covering the subject. Most of the literature describes restructuring as it took place during the 1980s and 1990s in mostly western, post-industrialized countries. This study differs from previous studies in the cultural, social, economic, and geo-political contexts in which it takes place.

The western countries described in previous studies are from the economically developed block of nations that have a well-established industrial and technological framework already in place to support higher education restructuring. These countries also have large and relatively prosperous populations that are willing and able to finance some or all of their education. Furthermore the western nations like the United States, and to lesser degrees Australia and, the United Kingdom are global, or at least regional, economic powers with far reaching influences.

A second characteristic of western studies is that restructuring did not take place in the midst of severe economic crisis. In fact restructuring does not necessarily have to be a product of economic crisis as it is a product of free market ideology (Currie 1998).

A third characteristic of western studies is that the ideology behind the restructuring of higher education in the 1980s is a product of the west. Governments that held to free market ideas were elected and created fiscal policies that were in line with this ideology. When universities were required to take cuts in government revenues, increase enrollment, and raise funds externally, the cultural, economic, and

political frameworks were already in place to support restructuring.

The context of this study, however, is the opposite of western studies. The country in question is, at best, a newly industrialized country, if not still in the agro-industrial phase of development. The population, though large, is not academically or financially developed to support higher education. Roughly 54 percent of primary students continue into secondary school and high school graduation rates are even lower (Vargo 2000a). The ability of families and students to contribute their own resources to higher education is just as dismal. Before the 1997 crisis, at the height of economic prosperity, 70 percent of the population could not afford university education even if they did meet admission standards (Vargo 1998).

A second characteristic is that the ideology behind restructuring is perceived by many Thai as being a foreign concept. While it is true that free market ideology was behind economic policy, unlike the west, it was not necessarily extended to education policy. Whereas prior to 1997 restructuring was an open topic, and there were experimental steps in that direction, it was not until IMF, World Bank and Asian Development Bank imposed certain loan conditions (Loan No. 1611-THA: Social Sector Programme Loan, approved on March 12, 1998 for five hundred million dollars) that government-mandated reform was implemented. As a result there is an underlying anger in some sectors of Thai society and academia based on the perception that the decision to restructure was not made internally. The popular

perception is that external financially powerful forces that hold a certain ideology are requiring other nations to adopt their ideology as a condition for economic aid

This study is significant because it applies theory that up to now, has been primarily used to describe higher education restructuring in a western post-industrial context to a totally different contextual situation. The conclusions and recommendations of this study will provide insight for practitioners and theoretical insights for research on higher education restructuring across diverse cultural political and economic contexts.

Research Questions

This research focuses on the restructuring of higher education at the institutional level. It begins with the pre-supposition that national policies mandating restructuring reflect the influences of globalization at the national level. This is based on the perception that the national government was already biased towards free market liberalism in other sectors of national interest. It also includes the free market bias of international financial organizations. The actual restructuring process, however, is far from accomplished. The primary research questions this study will attempt to answer are:

1. What role has globalization played in the restructuring of higher education at the institutional level?
2. How strong a role has globalization played in the restructuring of higher education at the institutional level?

3. How are social, economic, and political forces contributing to restructuring of higher education at the institutional level?

These questions form the foundation of this study. Questions one and two are concerned with explaining the relationship between globalization and restructuring of higher education at the institutional level. Question one examines whether globalization is in fact present in the restructuring and if so how it is influencing the process. Question two looks at how strong a presence globalization actually is. Question three addresses Currie and Newson's (1998) argument that globalization is not an irresistible force, but is influenced, in positive or negative ways, by local cultural and social factors. Question three, then, attempts to identify these factors and determine how these factors influence the restructuring process in positive or negative ways.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Many authors regard the relationship between global economy and higher education as critical to understanding the restructuring of higher education around the world (Altbach and Davis 1999; Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Weifang 1999).

Researchers are beginning to recognize the role of the university in the global knowledge economy (Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff 1997). Studies have been made that show how changes in economy work to bring the university and faculty in line with economic production and the organizational changes taking place as a global economy develops (Gibbons et al. 1994).

This chapter begins with an introduction to global political economy and resource dependent theories that form the foundation for this research. It looks at how these theories have influenced the experiences of Western higher education systems that have had to compensate for decreasing government resources. The underlying assumption of this section is that global political economy is destabilizing the university work patterns that have been established over the past century. As Slaughter and Leslie argue “globalization is creating new structures, incentives, and rewards for some aspects of academic careers and is simultaneously instituting constraints and disincentives for other aspects of careers (Slaughter and Leslie 1997, 1). The chapter concludes with a discussion of the pre-suppositions that are inherent in global political economy and resource dependent theories.

Economic Theories of Globalization.

Global Political Economy Theory

The general economic theoretical perspective for this analysis is political economy theory. Political economy theory is an approach that looks at how political, economic, and social pressures interact in the market and political processes (Meltzer, Cukerman, and Scott 1991). It is the study of the interdependence between the economy and polity of a country or countries (Frey 1978). The strength of the political economy approach is that it is interdisciplinary in nature. The political economist recognizes that economics and politics do not exist in vacuums. They are part of a dynamic social process in which each influences and reacts to the other within the framework of societal change. The political economist, then, is concerned with analyzing the relationship between economy, politics, and society. The analysis, however, is not restricted to a description of what this relationship is. Political economy is also concerned with what this relationship should be (Jones 1983).

The political economy perspective can be divided into several sub-theories of global economics. The neo-liberal school of political economy (Friedman 1981; Friedman and Leube 1987) stresses the role of the market while de-emphasizing the role of politics. The nation/state must cut back on social entitlements in order to be globally competitive. Taxes and regulations must be reduced so that the market is free to act on its own volition. Government acts as a policeman and judge, patrolling the edges of the playing field to make sure it remains level. The real engine driving

growth is the private sector. (Slaughter and Leslie 1997).

A second global economic theory is the liberal, or post-Keynesian, school (Thurrow 1985; Kuttner 1991; Reich 1991). This school holds that the government does play an important role in stimulating the economy. Government is a player in promoting technological innovation and in creating a climate favorable to investment at home (Porter 1990; Carnoy 1993). While the state is important in stimulating research and development, the liberal school still emphasizes free trade as the main engine driving growth.

A third view is the Marxist school of global economy (Jessop 1993; Barnett and Cavanaugh 1994; Chomsky 1994). According to this school of thought the private sector works through the State and international trade organizations to level the playing field so that stateless multinational corporations can dominate the global economy.

Globalization

Robertson defines globalization as “the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole” (Robertson 1992, 8). Bawa and Ali state that “globalization represents the structural making of the world...by the free flow of technology and human resources across national boundaries...as well as the spread of information technology (IT) and mass media presenting an ever changing and competitive business environment” (Bawa and Ali 1999, 1).

Globalization, however, is not simply an economic system or a process by which

communication is made instantaneous. Currie states that globalization “combines a market ideology with a corresponding set of practices drawn from the world of business” (Currie 1998, 1). It is a worldview where the political and cultural implications are just as great as the economic. It is an ideology that uses global terminology but is distinctly Western in origin. Globalization, in the words of Dudley, “constitutes the domination of the world by...the worldview of Western capitalism” (Dudley 1999, 25). The globalization of economy, then, is the compression of world economies by forcing individual nation/state economies to adopt a global post-industrial market ideology that draws on the practices of the business world (Currie 1998). The concept of globalization as an ideology is a central theme of this study.

Hirst and Thompson define this ideology as “the ideals of mid-nineteenth century free-trade liberals...that is, a demilitarized world in which business activity is primary and political power has no other tasks than the protection of the world free trading system” (Hirst and Thompson 1996, 176). Currie adds that economic globalism is “economic fundamentalism” (Currie 1998, 23) where the market is valorized and government regulation demonized. The foundation, then, of economic globalization is free market enterprise in which commercialism and for-profit behavior is the rule rather than the exception.

This ideology of global economy is not restricted to economics. An underlying principle of globalization is that market forces cannot be controlled.

Therefore the “logic of the market necessarily and inevitably must become the logic of all other domains: the political, social, educational, and environmental (Currie 1998, 27). The logic of the market has made significant inroads into the culture of higher education. Gumport states that a “macro-trend is in essence a historical proposition that the dominant legitimating idea of public higher education has been moving away from the idea of higher education as a social institution, and moving toward the idea of higher education as an industry” (Gumport 2000, 70). Slaughter and Leslie have used the term “academic capitalism” (Slaughter and Leslie 1997, 8) to describe market-like behaviors in higher education. Others (Soares and Amaral 1999; Shattock 1994) have written about a new enterprise culture and the entrepreneurial university. Gumport states that universities are more and more perceived as “quasi-corporate entities producing a wide range of goods and services in a competitive market place” (Gumport 2000, 71).

According to this new market logic students become consumers and higher education becomes a commodity to be sold. This consumer-commodity perspective is present in the literature. NAFSA (1999) describes U. S. higher education as the nation’s “fifth-largest service sector export”. Laurie contends that during the mid 1980s Australian higher education was seen as a “commodity item” (Laurie 1992, 42). A consequence of this perspective is the introduction of the market as a new actor that has “replaced public administration as the driving force behind the development of higher education, as well as the main employer of its products”

(Neave and Van Vught 1994, 269-271). Historically universities, as providers of education, had great autonomy in determining what products or commodities would be offered. The new actor, however, caters to the demands of the consumer instead of the provider. This shift to consumer-oriented commodity emphasizes “competitiveness of society and the need to keep up...with the rapid changes in science and technology” (Soares and Amaral 1999, 13). Higher education restructuring policies in several western post-industrial countries have reflected the influence the market has had in higher education.

The restructuring of Australian higher education during the mid-1980s was made in part as a response to a globalization of economic capital and labor (Pusey 1991). Prior to 1987 the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission (CTEC) coordinated higher education policy. The function of the CTEC was to aggregate the “demands and requirements of higher education and shape them into coherent proposals for the minister” (Marshall 1995, 275). The CTEC accomplished this by facilitating the network of the policy community comprised of the minister, government agencies, and private interest groups (Richardson and Jordan 1979, Rhodes and Marsh 1990). The CTEC had regulatory and administrative authority to coordinate the development of colleges and universities, to make institutional budgetary recommendations, and to distribute allocated funds to individual institutions.

The CTEC, however, did not have sole authority to make higher education

policy. The individual states were constitutionally responsible for institutions located within their boundaries. Marshall also notes that the universities “enjoyed a high degree of autonomy” (Marshall 1995, 275) and were therefore active participants in policy formation. The CTEC also required the support of various organizations that wielded considerable influence in the academic arena. The result being that higher education policy was “a joint responsibility” (Marshall 1995, 275) that required the cooperation of the CTEC, state authorities, institutional administration, and public organizations.

This style of governance was complex and cumbersome. Policymaking was a slow process with changes in policy being marginal. The system, however, was perceived as one that worked “remarkably well” (Harman 1984, 514) by providing a measure of stability within which policy could be developed and implemented (Marshall 1990).

The policy community style of governance ended in 1987 when John Dawkins, the newly appointed Minister for Employment, Education and Training, restructured the university system and brought it under direct control of the commonwealth government. During the two years preceding this restructuring the governing Labor Party had been deregulating the national economy in hopes of fostering an industrial base that could compete in the Southeast Asian market (Slaughter and Leslie 1997). The 1987 higher education reforms were implemented to bring the activities of the universities closer to economic policies that had just

recently been implemented (Dawkins 1987, 1988).

Dawkins (1987, 1988), looking to align higher education with national economic policies, replaced the CTEC with the Department of Employment, Education, and Training (DEET). The DEET was then given full authority to make policy. This gave the commonwealth government the direct authority it needed to keep the higher education system on the economic track by bringing higher education under direct control of the government. All universities were required to work with the DEET to establish institutional missions and goals.

Another important change in higher education structure was the abolition of the binary system. Prior to 1987 Australia's higher education system was divided into two tiers. The lower tier included eighty-five colleges of advanced education (CAEs) that focused on preparing students for entry-level jobs in the applied professions. The higher tier was made up of thirteen universities that concentrated on research and preparing students to enter the established professions (Slaughter and Leslie 1997). The re-organization of higher education combined the CAEs and the universities creating a unified higher education system that resulted in thirty-five national universities (Williams 1992; Miller 1995).

Restructuring in Europe also reflected the influence of the entrepreneurial spirit. The earliest restructuring movement occurred in the United Kingdom under the Thatcher government. Pratt implies that during the 1980s the government worked with industry to establish an entrepreneurial culture in higher education with the aim

to “encourage industry and higher education to work together” (Pratt 1992, 38). This attitude was reinforced in a 1987 white paper and subsequent 1988 Education Act that called for changes in higher education that would “serve the economy, forge closer ties with industry and commerce, and promote enterprise” (Slaughter and Leslie 1997, 42) and “serve the economy more efficiently, by achieving greater commercial and industrial relevance in higher education activity” (Department of Education and Science 1987). Universities and colleges were being pushed into forging closer relationships with the market sector.

British higher education, like Australia, received funding from a buffer agency. The University Grants Committee had been established in 1919 to act as a buffer between the state and the university. The UGC had the authority to make funding decisions and to draw funds directly from the Treasury Department (Berdahl 1959; Shattock and Berdahl 1984). In the late 1980s the UGC was replaced with the University Funding Council. The responsibility of the new council was not to determine the amount of funding institutions received, but rather to determine the allocation of funds between institutions. This was a matter that the government decided it was better qualified to handle (Shattock 1994). An important aspect of the UFC was the makeup of the council members. Only seven of the fifteen members were to be from the academic community. The remaining eight members were to be from outside academic circles so as to be representative of society. That the majority of non-academics were from business the sector was no accident (Slaughter and

Leslie 1997). The organization of the council followed market practices in that a chairperson and a chief executive officer were appointed to oversee the council (Shattock 1994).

The UK higher education system was, like that of Australia, binary. In 1992 the lower tier polytechnics were upgraded to university status (Shattock 1994; Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Williams and Light 1999). The government mandated the unification to force universities and polytechnics to come up with “competitive bidding schemes...to increase institutional cost effectiveness” (Slaughter and Leslie 1997, 42).

Other European countries were slower in implementing restructuring programs in the higher education system. Scandinavian higher education began to undergo a restructuring in the 1990s as governments began to ask universities to give greater emphasis to service. Sweden and Finland were the first to begin their restructuring as a response to economic instability. Higher education was seen as one tool the state could use in economic and industrial development (Tjeldvoll 1996). The structural changes were made to increase competitiveness, accountability and efficiency. Universities were given greater responsibility in finding revenue sources outside of the normal government appropriations. The Scandinavian states used a three-pronged approach to restructuring. First, laws were changed to give greater autonomy to the universities. Second, the traditional research universities have been opened up making them less exclusive. This opened the market for higher education

promoting competition between existing institutions and incentives for establishing new institutions. Third, states began to reduce support given to higher education. Tjeldvoll (1996), for example, reports that between 1991 and 1996 Finland decreased higher education funding by 16 percent.

Economic problems are not the only force behind higher education restructuring. Whereas changes in Australia, Britain, and Scandinavia may have been in part a result of economic difficulties, one cannot discount the influence of macro-political changes. Austrian higher education is a function of the state. Admission is given to all who hold a high school diploma. Support for the universities is 97 percent state funded. During the 1990s enrollment at the twelve federal universities outgrew the country's ability or willingness to fund. By 1996 some universities had a student faculty ratio of 200:1. Dropouts were high, teaching loads were heavy, and research was ignored (Sporn 1998). In 1994 Austria became a member of the European Union forcing the higher education system to become more competitive internationally. The state was also pressed by the European Union to make budget reductions in keeping with EU policies. This resulted in the University Organization Act of 1993 that called for major restructuring of university governance. Sporn (1998) states that the major goals of the University Organization Act were to:

- increase institutional autonomy by deregulation and decentralization of responsibilities--especially in the area of budget, personnel, and organization at individual universities;

- increase management capacity of universities by strengthening the role of top management positions such as rectors, vice rectors, or deans;

increase efficiency of governance structures by making decision-making bodies leaner and decentralizing decision-making power to an appropriate level;

increase the external focus of universities by establishing a board of trustees for each university consisting of alumni, business managers, and members of institutions of public interest; and

increase involvement of non-university constituencies by establishing a National University Board, consisting of experts from inside and outside universities to advise the ministry on new program development, and planning, resource allocation, and evaluation procedures for the university sector at large. (Sporn 1998)

The result of these reforms has been increased decentralization and deregulation of the federal universities as the state changed from a controlling authority to a supervisory role in the higher education system.

A second major political change in several European higher education systems was the demise of the Soviet Union. Structural reform in the post Soviet Eastern and Central European countries has been largely driven by the conviction that Soviet era higher education was “both economically inefficient and out of touch with society’s needs” (Tymowski 1998, 1). This conviction was strongest in Poland where the finance minister made a 1994 proposal to allow the market to be the “instrument of change and the standard by which innovation ought to be judged” (Tymowski 1998, 1). The minister called for a system in which supply and demand played a key role. In other words demands by students would dictate the supply. Students would also be expected to “pay for goods” (Tymowski 1998, 1) received.

Whereas not all East European countries have been as progressive as Poland, many have either implemented or attempted to implement higher education restructuring programs. Many countries attempted, with varying degrees of success,

to legislate the restructuring of public universities. Most of these new laws attempted to emphasize the decentralization of higher education (Tucker 2000) and greater autonomy (Spaho 2000; Malova and Lastic 2000). A roadblock faced by many of these countries, however, has been power wielded by communist era faculty, administrators and politicians (Tucker 2000a, 88). In some cases decentralization was implemented as a stopgap measure (Tucker 2000b, 95) while the government dealt with other critical issues. In the Czech Republic this resulted in an entrenchment of communist era personnel in the system. When the state finally got around to restructuring higher education it was met with resistance from faculty and administrators who “protected the status quo, their own jobs, and incompetence within the faculty” (Tucker 2000b, 95). The answer to this problem has been restructuring of a different type: allowing private higher education.

Poland, again, is perhaps the leader in private higher education in Eastern post-Soviet Europe. Tymowski (1998) reports seventy-two private universities with 100 more having their approval pending. The Ukraine also has a number of private universities along with the Czech Republic and Hungary. The rationale behind accredited private universities was that private higher education would be better able to satisfy public demand and more importantly provide competition for the “staid public sector” (Tucker 2000b, 97).

Lithuania embraced transnational education (Mockiene 2001) to meet supply demands and the changing needs of new market economy. Transnational education,

as defined by UNESCO/Council of Europe Working Party, includes franchises, branch campuses, twinning degrees, international institutions, large corporations, offshore institutions, distance and virtual universities (Mockiene 2001, 2). Lithuania has implemented various types of transnational education co-operation/agreements with foreign universities as a means to quickly provide room for a growing student demand and new programs of study required by the market economy.

The changes made in Australian, the United Kingdom, and to lesser degrees continental European higher education have been the result of an entrepreneurial rationale that was born of the free market liberalism that peaked during the 1980s (Marginson 1993). This rationale saw competition between universities as a way of reducing the high cost of higher education, increasing efficiency, and providing accountability (Slaughter and Leslie 1997).

The intensifying of the relationship between universities and the market, however, alters the social perception of the university's function in society. Cowen (1995) and Soares and Amaral (1999) identify three new social perceptions that are challenging the traditional role of higher education. The first perception is that higher education should contribute to local and national economies. (Marginson 1993, 1997; Gibbons et al. 1994). The driving force of global economy in the post-industrial age is the production and transfer of information and knowledge in techno science (Badsha 1999). Nations that desire to be competitive in global economics must have a highly educated workforce that can participate in research and the development of

new technology. Higher education has been called upon to contribute to the new economy by “stimulating preparation of students in high technology fields contributing to economic growth” (Slaughter and Leslie 1997, 49).

Not only is a specific type of training required, but higher education is also expected to contribute to national economies through research. In Australia, for example, the Dawkins administration stated that government should take an active role in determining “areas of research that it considers of national economic and social importance” (Dawkins 1987, 68). Universities were being asked to shift their focus from basic research to short-term applied research that was immediately marketable so as to improve the nation’s international market competitiveness.

The second perception is that students are merely looking for jobs at the end of their education. Students know that higher paying jobs in technology require education and training that is provided primarily through the higher education system. Higher education, then, becomes the means by which students are able to improve their economic status (Alexander 2000). Students become consumers who invest in higher education with the goal of future advances in the market place. Students are therefore a primary beneficiary of higher education and should be more involved in financing their education.

The third perception is that the traditional disciplinary base of higher education is irrelevant to meeting economic and student demands. The new economy requires a workforce trained in specific areas of science and technology. Students

hoping to be employed in technology fields demand a narrowly focused education. The traditional liberal arts education is insufficient in providing the specific type of education demanded by the high tech industry. Higher education institutions are faced with the need to restructure programs to meet the demands of the industry and the demands of the students or face the possibility of being disregarded as out of date and out of touch.

These three perceptions result in a new cultural attitude that sees higher education as an entrepreneurial enterprise. This new entrepreneurial attitude is responsible for the belief that higher education should become more efficient in producing commodities for the market. In both Australia and the United Kingdom this has been a rationale behind decreases in government funding for higher education. The reforms of the 1980s were attempts to force higher education to increase efficiency in terms of students served and funds received. Both countries moved to abolish the binary system of universities and colleges by combining them into a unified national system that could be coordinated and encouraged to respond to national economic needs (Coaldrake 1999; Shattock 1994; Williams 1992; Miller 1995). Unification was viewed as a strategy that would increase efficiency by allowing colleges to compete directly with the universities for students.

The unification and competition of higher education in Australia and the UK had, as one of its goals, the 'massification' of higher education (Alexander 2000). Both governments, looking to direct the economic path of higher education, began to

allocate funds based on contractual agreements with individual universities to produce graduates trained in specified areas. The unification process, however, increased the number of universities competing for students from a limited elite class. Universities were forced to recruit students from the masses in order to fulfill contractual obligations (Gumport, Iannozzi, Shaman, and Zemsky 1997; Trow 1974).

The governments expected universities to increase enrollments but did not guarantee an increase in funding to match enrollment increases (Shattock 1989; Marginson 1997; Dill and Sporn 1995; Eicher 1998). In fact, while in some cases funding was increased, when inflation and increased enrollments were factored in there was a net decrease. In other instances government announced cuts in funding. These reductions meant that universities and colleges would face greater competition for funding. Government funding would no longer be a given right. Dawkins summarized this in his paper stating "...funding from government should not be a right. It must be earned through demonstrated achievements" (Dawkins 1987, 67).

Resource Dependence Theory

Resource dependence theory provides understanding into how global political economy is realized in higher education policies and practices (Slaughter and Leslie 1997). Resource dependence theory is used in this research because of two key concepts that are central to the theory. First, resource dependence theory holds that organizational behavior is understood only in relation to the environmental context (Pfeffer and Salancik 198). The environmental context is the political, economic,

and social factors with which organizations must come to terms in order to survive.

The second key concept is that “organizations themselves are the interlocking of the behaviors of the various participants that comprise the organization”(Pfeffer and Salancik 1978, 258). Resource dependence theory is interested in activity and behavior and how they are controlled by the organization. Control is maintained by regulating the use, access, and allocation of resources. When organizational control over resources is weak, then organizational control over behavior is weakened.

The primary issue in this context is resource exchange. Few, if any, organizations are capable of providing all the resources needed for survival. They are therefore compelled to enter into cooperative relationships with external agents that control resources. These external agents can have great power over organizations that rely on those resources. The consequence is that organizations that are dependent on external agents for needed resources risk losing autonomy as the resource provider exercises its power to grant or deny resources.

Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) identify two dimensions of resource exchange. The first is the relative magnitude of the exchange. Relative magnitude refers to the amount of resources provided. Organizations that rely heavily on one agent for needed resources find themselves highly dependent on the provider. In higher education the external agent providing resources has been government. Higher education, while highly dependent on government for funding, can enjoy relative autonomy when governments provide funding in unrestricted block grants.

The second dimension is criticality (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978). Criticality addresses the question of how critical resources from any one provider are. At issue is the “degree to which the organization may continue to function in the absence of the resource” (Slaughter and Leslie 1997, 68-69). The key element here is not the amount of resource, but its importance to the overall function of the organization. As Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) state, most offices cannot function without electricity even though the electric bill may be a small part of total expenditures.

Organizations seek stability in obtaining needed resources (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978, 47). Environmental changes, however, can cause instability in resource availability. Economic crisis or shifts in social and political attitudes can change the supply of needed resources. When instability in respect to needed resources occurs the organization’s survival is threatened. Slaughter and Leslie call this “organizational turbulence” (Slaughter and Leslie 1997, 69). When resource instability occurs organizations will work to stabilize the situation. One way of restoring stability is to reduce dependence on one provider by entering into cooperative relationships with other external agents.

In addition to stability organizations also seek to “avoid being controlled” (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978, 261). The desire for full autonomy, however, is often incompatible with the need for resources. Because organizations do not control their own resources, they must engage in “inter- organizational structures of coordinated

behaviors” (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978, 261) in order to secure resource stability.

Inter-organizational coordination, however, requires the organization to give up some measure of autonomy. Organizations find themselves engaging in contradictory activities. On the one hand they strive to maintain autonomy. On the other the need for resource stability forces them to give up autonomy. It is this dichotomy between the demand for autonomy and the need for resource stability that resource dependence theory attempts to explain.

Resource dependent theory states that as resource acquisition becomes unstable organizations will change their activities accordingly. According to Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) these activities include merger, joint venture, co-optation, growth, and political involvement. In higher education the primary resource is financial. As mentioned earlier higher education funding has relied on government as the primary resource provider. As such government revenues were both high in relative magnitude and criticality. In countries like Australia and United Kingdom higher education was regarded as a social institution and therefore worthy of government funding. Universities enjoyed unrestricted grants from government and the autonomy to use the grants as they saw fit.

The social and political changes of the 1980s, however, brought a weakening of this perspective. Higher education became viewed as an industry and was required to behave as such. Block grants that were unrestricted became conditional grants.

More universities were added to the system without substantial increases in

Universities were encouraged to increase enrollments to meet market demands while undergoing cuts in funding. The result of all this was resource instability and organizational turbulence as autonomy became threatened (Slaughter and Leslie 1997).

Resource dependent theory, when applied to higher education, predicts that instead of passively waiting for government subsidies universities will, by necessity, learn and use market strategies and behaviors in order to compete for and accumulate the resources needed to maintain functional stability. If higher education institutions do not learn or use market like behaviors then “they do without” (Slaughter and Leslie 1997, 11). It is the necessity of learning and using market like behaviors that bring about the restructuring, or the organizational change, of higher education.

One important market strategy for acquiring new sources of revenue has been tuition and fees. In the United Kingdom and Australia tuition and fees were initially restricted to foreign students. Australia’s promotion of higher education as an export commodity resulted in the recruitment of Asian students as full fee paying customers (Laurie 1992). By 1988, however, the government began to incorporate domestic students into a fee paying system through the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS) and the Higher Education Administration Charge (HEAC) under which domestic graduate students would be paying deferred fees through an indexed tax system (Marginson 1997; Vanstone 1996). By 1996 universities were allowed to

charge certain undergraduates full fees for education (Coaldrake 1999). Over the past decade the government has made adjustments to the HECS so that 25 percent of higher education revenues come from student paid tuition and fees (Coaldrake 1999). The HECS and HEAC reflected the economic based attitudes of the government. The theory behind these policies was that through a mixture of public and private funding higher education could expand as social demands and economic requirements allowed (Marginson 1997). The government was allowing the market to dictate the rate and direction of growth.

Tuition policies in the United Kingdom followed similar patterns. In 1979 the Thatcher government announced that 100 million pounds would be cut from universities' budgets (Shattock 1989). A large part of this cut was to be replaced by charging foreign students higher fees (Williams 1992). The charging of domestic undergraduate for full fees and tuition, however, was longer in coming. With government revenues expected to decrease through the year 2000 many universities and colleges threatened to introduce student fees as a means to supplement lost income (Williams 1998). In 1996 the Dearing Committee was established to investigate the state of higher education finance. In response to the Dearing Committee's recommendations the government announced the initiation of undergraduate student fees beginning in 1999-2000 (Williams 1998; Williams and Light 1999). In 1997 the government announced that domestic students would be required to pay approximately US\$ 1,600 tuition and fees (Altbach 1997). This

funding plan was to be means-tested so that those in the lower economic range would not be overly burdened. The plan included student fees of one thousand pounds per year. In addition to direct student fees the plan called for eliminating grants and replacing them with privatized loans with an income contingent repayment schedule. be factored into the mix with higher income families being expected to contribute more. It must be stressed that this plan was indexed to the student's socio-economic status and after-education income. As SES or after-education income increased the student was required to make greater personal contributions to his or her education (Dearing 1997). Indexed or not the plan meant that universities and colleges would no longer enjoy non-designated block grants. They would have to compete for students and their fees.

Another related strategy is the practice of offering evening or weekend courses for which universities can charge tuition (Tymowski 1998). Free or low tuition public education is usually offered to day students admitted on the basis of entrance exams. Evening and weekend courses, however, are not included in the free education system. Universities are free to charge tuition rates for these programs.

The idea of loans and income contingent repayment (ICR) is one that is being considered in other countries as well. McDonough and Wright (1998) proposed an ICR plan for Canada in which the loans would not be from government but from the private sector. A private sector ICR is "clearly a market oriented mechanism"

(McDonough and Wright 1998, 69) that not only increases access and financing but also gives incentives to both students and universities to be more cost efficient.

Tuition and fees as a viable resource still do not provide the level of resource stability that is desired. Social and political factors limit universities as to whom they may charge and how much they can charge. This has forced higher education to look for other resource providers. A second important trend in resource acquisition has been research. Research has long been an important aspect of university culture as a prestige ‘maximizer’ (Weiner 1986; Fairweather 1988; Winston 1994). The desire for prestige drives universities and faculty to pursue and engage in activities that build prestige among peers and in society. Research has become, for western higher education, the activity of prestige and funding is the key to research. In order to maintain prestige through research, faculty and universities will engage in activities that will result in funding.

Prior to the 1980s higher education research was predominately focused on basic research. Using NSF criteria this paper defines basic research as original investigation for the advancement of knowledge that does not have immediate commercial value (National Science Foundation). There was a distinct boundary between basic and applied research with universities engaged in the former and industry the later. Both sides encouraged this arrangement. Industry leaders favored this distinction as it gave them ownership of government funding and intellectual property. Academics were just as happy to maintain the division because it was

easier to maintain control over basic research with little accountability (Kleinman 1995).

In Australia and the UK funding for basic research was, for the most part, in the form of block grants from the government. These block grants were administered through the respective buffer agencies—the UGC in England and the CETC in Australia. The demise of these buffer agencies, however, placed the allocation of block grants directly in the hands of the government. Both governments, in keeping with their market ideology, shifted funding policies away from curiosity driven research towards research that met government goals of building economic competitiveness (Wood 1992). In the UK university research was forced to focus on the research and development of science and technology for economic development (Pratt 1992). These funding policies encouraged, if not forced, universities to engage in applied research in order to compete and qualify for government research grants.

In addition to a shift in government emphasis towards applied research, the unification process that took place in both Australia and the United Kingdom also had an impact on funding. When the lower tier CAEs and polytechnics were upgraded to full university status they were allowed to compete with the upper tier universities for research funding. The emphasis that the CAEs and polytechnics placed on science and technology gave them an advantage in the competition for funding.

The addition of the CAEs and polytechnics meant that there were more universities competing for research grants. Government funding, however, was not

sufficient to finance all the research that universities were engaged in. By 1993 only 20 percent of Australia's research grants were being supported by federal funds (Wood, Meek, and Harman 1992). The combination of increased competition for limited funds drove universities to seek external (non-government) research funding sources. This search resulted in universities collaborating with industry and government in establishing special technology focused education units and technology parks and engaging in money making activities with the business sector (Hill and Turpin 1993; Slaughter and Leslie 1997). The official policy was "diversification of funding sources" (Department of Employment, Education and Training 1993, xxvii; Marginson 1997) and universities were encouraged to increase "revenues in whatever way they can [could]" (Slaughter and Leslie 1997, 105).

Marginson (1993, 1997) describes how Australian universities responded to growing demands for accountability, enrollment increases, and marketable research in the face of limited government allocations. Researchers have been compelled to "seek as much funding as possible from commercial sources, prompting universities to take up research that should be fulfilled directly by industry or by cooperation between industry and higher education" (Marginson 1993, 140). The consequence being universities began to abandon basic research in favor of more lucrative, short-term, and predictable applied research (Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development 1990).

The influence of globalization on the higher education system in the United

States merits special consideration for a variety of reasons. First is the unique status U.S. higher education enjoys on the world stage. The U.S. system has become the model after which most restructuring programs are patterned. Tjeldvoll (1996) refers to this international trend as the “American development of higher education”.

Second, U.S. public universities enjoy a greater degree of autonomy compared to European or Asian counterparts. Public higher education in the United States is governed at the State level as opposed to the federal level. Instead of one national higher education system, there are fifty higher education systems. The degree of autonomy varies from state to state as each state legislates how it will govern its higher education system. In general, however, each university or university system will have its own governing board that is under the supervision of some type of state supervisory board. The power of university governing boards and state supervisory boards, however, differs from state to state. The U.S. system then is one that already provides a buffer between universities and government. As such higher education reform in the U.S. has not focused on decentralizing the system as it has in other countries.

Third, because there are fifty state higher education systems, it is difficult to give a general description of higher education that adequately covers the entire United States. Each state has its own political, economic and social agendas that influence all aspects of higher education for that state. A study of how globalization influences U.S. higher education requires a study of all fifty states.

There are, however, some general observations that can be made about how globalization has impacted U.S. higher education that are important to this study. The first major impact was increased enrollment. Froomkin reports that the number of degree-credit student quadrupled between 1946 and 1970 (Froomkin 1990, 189). Lynton (1989) estimated enrollment in higher education increased from 10 percent of high school graduates to 50 percent. This trend was to continue through the 1990s. At the same time state appropriations to higher education increased from 2.6 percent of total revenue in 1946 to 6.7 percent in 1976 (Froomkin 1990, 194). The increases, however, did not match the increase in expenditures. As inflation rose by 127 percent between 1972-1983, and college enrollment increased by 33 percent, Magazine and Usdan (1985, 47) state that to keep even expenditures would have had to increase by over 200 percent. The actual increase, however, was about 165 percent, leaving a shortfall of twelve billion dollars. The result was, for many states, a net loss in state support for higher education. U.S. Department of Education statistics for fiscal year 1994-1995 show state support of public higher education to average only 36 percent of total revenue for public higher education nation wide. Hawaii had the highest with over 61 percent of total revenue coming from state appropriations, grants, and contracts. Pennsylvania had the lowest with 25 percent coming from the state.

Enrollment increases went hand in hand with faculty and administrative increases. Lewis (1998) quotes statistics to show “that between 1975 and 1990, college and university enrollments rose 10 percent, the number of full-time faculty

members increased 21 percent, and administrative positions grew 42 percent” (Lewis 1998, 1). The increase in faculty and administration included increases in support staff. Increased faculty, administration and support staff meant increased salary related expenses. Lewis continues to note “between 1975 and 1985 faculty salaries in public institutions grew by about 82 percent, while those of administrators (from presidents to financial aid directors) grew by about 89 percent”. (Lewis 1998, 1)

The phenomenal growth of higher education was not always accompanied by a corresponding growth in revenue. A number of political, economic, and social factors account for the changes in revenue for public higher education in the United States. Economic recessions in the 1970s and early 1990s were a factor in terms of available tax dollars and full-pay student enrollment. At the same time a social shift was taking place as the role of higher education in society was debated. The debate has focused on the question of why society should invest in higher education (Merisotis 1998). Society began to question the social economic benefits of higher education. Higher education began to be perceived as providing greater private economic benefits such as higher salaries for college graduates.

The impact these economic and social changes had on the political front cannot be discounted. Politicians have been pressured to reduce tax revenues and increase other social services such as health care and prisons. This has resulted in greater competition for fewer public dollars (Ashworth 1997).

During the mid 1990s the U.S. economy enjoyed the longest economic

expansion in history. The decade ended, however, with economic downturn resulting in budget shortfalls for state coffers. This in turn has sent many state higher education institutions scrambling to make up for anticipated cuts in state appropriations (McPherson and Schapiro 2001; Hebel and Selingo 2001; Hebel 2002).

These social, political and economic changes cause organizational turbulence and instability in higher education. As predicted by resource dependence theory U.S. higher education has attempted to reduce turbulence and instability by reducing the relative magnitude and criticality of state appropriations through locating new revenue sources. These attempts, by and large, have been market driven in design and implementation. Perhaps the most obvious revenue source is the student. Statistics indicate that tuition as a revenue source doubled between 1987 and 1995. In 1997 tuition accounted for 19 percent of current fund revenue for public higher education up from 14 percent in 1985 (IPEDS Finance Survey 1987-1995). McPherson and Shapiro (2001) state that public universities currently receive 25 to 30 percent of revenues from tuition.

In addition to increasing tuition, universities are looking at increasing fees for services as a revenue source. Hebel (2002) reports that many land-grant universities are considering or have implemented fees for various extension programs that had previously been offered at no cost.

Raising tuition and fees for services are not without political costs. In some

cases tuition increases are limited by state legislative policy. The result is that universities can go only so far in increasing revenues from tuition and services. They must look to other sources as well. These include, but are not limited to, grants from private and federal agencies and inter-institutional collaboration.

Inter-institutional collaboration refers to efforts in higher education to forge cooperation with business and industry to offset the impact of budgetary retrenchment. Such partnerships are occurring in all fifty states and include small and large business, public and private universities. The interactions have focused on corporate financial support of higher education, cooperative research, and joint education and training efforts (Magazine and Usdan 1985). Industry support of higher education has risen steadily from about forty million dollars in the mid-1950s to over one billion dollars in the mid 1980s. In addition to direct support business and industry provides additional education aid in the form of scholarships, fellowships, grants, and support of various periphery activities. In 1985 corporate funds made up about 1 percent of total revenue for colleges and universities (Magazine and Usdan 1985, 49). By 1995 that percentage had risen to close to 5 percent.

Matthews and Norgaard identify six types of partnerships between industry and higher education: contributions (philanthropy); procurements (purchases); linkages (networks); exchanges; cooperatives; and joint ventures (Matthews and Norgaard 1984, 142). Unrestricted contributions are the most valued type of revenue. The University of Colorado at Boulder, for example, was able to use unrestricted

contributions to hire new faculty who otherwise could not have been hired out of restricted funds. In many cases, however, the contributions that corporations make to higher education come in the way of restricted funds. Restricted funds are sources of revenue that are contingent upon or earmarked for specific areas that are relevant to the corporate interest.

Procurement involves industry's purchase of higher education services and vice versa. Consultation, product testing, special education, training courses and the use of special equipment and facilities can be purchased and are examples of such exchanges. In addition to providing a revenue source, these exchanges help build closer ties between higher education and industry as each side becomes attuned to the other's needs.

Linkages are means to promote communication and problem solving between business and higher education. They include both formal and informal networks. University/industry research and development offices provide a good example of such network links. These offices help match the needs and capabilities of the industrial sector with those of the education sector. The University of Wisconsin at Madison has a program to encourage local industry to use emerging technologies more fully and serves as a connection between the university's research programs and interested corporate parties.

Exchanges are defined as "formal relationships involving the trade of tangible assets" (Magazine and Usdan 1985, 147) and can range from highly sophisticated

programs to ad hoc bartering arrangements. Assets not fully used by one party may be applied to meet the needs of the other. Many campuses have established technology transfer programs to facilitate and manage the diffusion of new discoveries to industry for commercialization and to return value to the university in the form of royalties. Industrial liaison programs provide industry with efficient and timely access to research expertise and return financial value to the university as participating companies are charged a fee for access.

Cooperative research relationships include peer collaborations, research agreement, research consortia, university-based research centers, industry-based research laboratories, research collectives and industrial parks.

Joint ventures are restricted, financial partnerships that can be classified into two types: research and business. A research venture focuses on industrial support of research in a particular field. The company will have access to the research for business and industry purposes. A joint business venture is one in which the university actually establishes a for-profit enterprise such as selling technology, consultation, and other services needed by industry and business.

The attempts by higher education to seek revenue sources in the industrial sector have had mixed reports. Industrial support of higher education was over four billion dollars in 2000 and accounted for 18 percent of current fund revenue, an increase of 62 percent over five years (Chronicle of Higher Education 2001 Almanac). Over half this amount, however, was restricted to research ventures

(Basinger 2001). The question then is to what extent should universities pursue corporate funding. State legislatures, looking for ways to cut state budgets, have encouraged state institutions to actively seek out revenue sources in the corporate world (Basinger 2001; Schmidt 2000). There are others, however, who fear higher education would lose too much autonomy by becoming too dependent on industry (Wheeler 2001; Schmidt 2000).

Another trend in higher education has been the establishment of distance learning programs using the Internet. During the 1990s universities began to explore the possibility of using the World Wide Web to offer online courses to students. The rationales for offering distance education are varied. Some institutions have started online courses to meet institutional missions or student needs. Many, however, have started online programs out of a fear of losing competition to peer institutions, to make up for dropping enrollments or as a means to reap some profit from the enterprise (Carnevale 2001b; Blumenstyk 1999). Online programs have been promoted as “cheaper to produce and cheaper to deliver than face-to-face curricula” (Carr 2001, A41) and thus seen as a means to cut costs while increasing services. In addition to being perceived as a cost-cutting measure, online programs are considered new sources of revenue through tuition, marketing fees, books and charging distance students for campus-based services that many of them rarely use (Arnone 2001; Carnevale 2001c). Carnevale (2001a) estimates that 85 to 90 percent of U.S. colleges and universities have established online courses.

For-profit online programs have been established at the University of Nebraska (Carnevale 2001a; McCollum 1999), Cornell University (Arnone 2001), and Columbia University (Carlson 2001). The University of Nebraska offers both college courses and high school courses as for-profit online programs (McCollum 1999).

Many online programs are collaborations between universities and for-profit businesses. The University of Phoenix Online is a collaboration between the University of Phoenix and the Apollo Group. In September 2000 the Apollo Group sold seventy million dollars in stock tied to the online university (Blumenstyk 2001b). Traditional universities are also collaborating with for-profit business as well. The Connecticut State University System contracted with Real Education and San Jose State University with Convene to run or manage their on-line programs. Many of these companies sell themselves as full-service providers offering to convert courses to electronic formats, train professors, maintain servers and operate help desks (Blumenstyk 1999).

A few universities have opted to establish their own for-profit distance learning companies. Columbia University makes online courses available through Fathom, UNext and Columbia Digital Knowledge Ventures, all of which are university owned enterprises (Carlson 2001). The online high-school course offered by the University of Nebraska is provided through the university sponsored Class.com (McCollum 1999) The University of North Texas has taken a different

approach by offering royalties to professors who design and write their own online course programs (Young 2001).

A third strategy for offering online courses is the controversial Western Governors University. Blumenstyk (1998) describes W.G.U. as:

An electronic clearinghouse through which established colleges or companies can market their distance-learning courses and students can connect to them; a vehicle for delivering training to corporate employees; and an institution that will award degrees and certificates to students who master specified competencies in academic or technical fields. (Blumenstyk 1998, A24-A25)

Participating states and universities have signed on with W.G.U. for a variety of financial reasons. New Mexico looks to W.G.U. to offset pressure to build new campuses. Utah, facing an estimated twenty million dollar shortfall in building funds hopes W.G.U. will be an option to costly building programs. W.G.U. will use faculty and courses offered by participating institutions with each education provider determining the tuition for each course provided.

It is interesting to note that online education may not be the pot of gold that many hope it to be. Carr (2001) notes that the costs of establishing and maintaining online courses have been ignored or overlooked by many universities. Various reports have revealed that, on average, universities are at the “break even point with their distance-learning program” (Carr 2001, A42). Maryland University has estimated that small differences in class size can impact “profitability: a class of fifteen would result in a loss of US\$22,399, while a class of twenty would mean a profit of US\$61,838” (Carr 2001, A43). Temple University, which established an

online program in 1999, decided it was not a profitable venture and closed the program after two years (Blumenstyk 2001a).

Pre-Suppositions

The literature suggests that the presence of globalization can be identified through shifts in attitudes and behaviors. The implications for this research is that if it can be shown that these shifts are occurring in higher education then it can be argued that globalization is at work. The following are initial lists of attitudinal and behavioral shifts that one could expect to find if globalization is indeed at work in higher education restructuring.

Attitude Shifts

1. Higher education is increasingly viewed as industry or part of the economy as opposed to a social institution.
2. Higher education is increasingly viewed as contributing more to economic development than to knowledge.
3. Students are viewed as consumers and education as a commodity.
4. The rise of an entrepreneurial culture within higher education.
5. Efficiency and accountability can only be measured using market standards.

Behavioral Shifts

1. A change in resource seeking patterns to compete for funds.
2. A blurring of the boundaries between basic research and applied research with emphasis on applied.

3. Institution of tuition and fees.
4. Unrestricted funds change to restricted funds.
5. Increase in administration to manage funds and fund raising.
6. Closer ties to business and the market through contracts, grants, and cooperation.
7. The development of strategies and organizational forms that generate the most funds.
8. Development of a hierarchy of prestige based on ability to compete for funds.
9. A shift from an emphasis on teaching to an emphasis on applied research.
10. Grants and scholarships are replaced with public and private loans.

These pre-suppositions form a basis for gathering and interpreting data. The two lists are not extensive and are subject to subtractions, additions as the study progresses.

Research Questions Revisited

The literature review and subsequent pre-suppositions outlined above allow for further refining of the three primary research questions addressed in the previous chapter. This refinement is not inconsistent with qualitative research in which research questions are stated in broad terms and then “becomes progressively narrowed and more focused during the research process” (Straus and Corbin 1990, 37-38). The three primary questions are here narrowed, focused and further defined by a set of sub-questions suggested by the pre-suppositions listed above:

1. What role has globalization played in the restructuring of higher education at the institutional level?

- a. How do administrators and faculty understand or define globalization?
 - b. How do administrators and faculty understand or define autonomy?
 - c. How do administrators and faculty describe the advantages of restructuring?
 - d. Which attitudes, associated with globalization, are present in Thailand's higher education system?
2. How strong a role has globalization played in the restructuring of higher education at the institutional level?
 - a. Which behavioral shifts associated with globalization are occurring in Thailand's higher education system?
 - b. How is restructuring in three public universities being organized and carried out?
 - c. What free market mechanisms are present in the restructuring process?
3. How are the societal, economic, and political forces contributing to restructuring of higher education at the institutional level?
 - a. How are administrators and faculty responding to restructuring efforts?
 - b. How do administrators and faculty describe the disadvantages of restructuring?
 - c. What attitudes do administrators and faculty have towards the civil service system?

The set of sub-questions under Question One aim at identifying attitudes, beliefs or worldviews that may indicate the presence of globalization ideology. The underlying assumption here is that the presence of globalization can be identified through attitudes held by those involved in restructuring. This study then, hoped to gain a greater understanding of the role globalization has played and is playing in Thailand's higher education system.

The sub-questions for Question Two aim at identifying any manifestation of globalization ideology through various behaviors, actions and activities associated with globalization. The underlying assumption for these sub-questions is that the strength of globalization can be measured in terms of actions and activities. The greater number or types of behavior indicate greater strength.

Finally, the sub-set questions for Question Three aim at identifying attitudes or behaviors that indicate opposition to globalization and restructuring efforts. This study assumes that there are cultural or societal forces that are inherently opposed to globalization and that these forces can be identified through attitudes and behaviors that resist restructuring. In addition to identifying these forces, this question aims to provide some measure or indication of the strength of these forces in resisting globalization.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This study is based on an ethnographic study using four components: institution selection, faculty selection, on-site interviews, and interpretation and analysis.

Ethnography is broadly defined for purposes of this research as “a shorthand rubric for investigations described variously as qualitative research, case study research, field research, anthropological research, or ethnography (Smith 1979; LeCompte and Goetz 1982). The methodology is important because it involves the types of observations that allow the researcher to look for cultural influences in the restructuring process.

The ethnographic approach is not new to the social sciences. Up until the 1950s the social sciences were, in many western universities, linked with anthropology under a single administrative head (Van Maanen 1988; Haskell 1977) and the ethnographic approach was the primary method of research championed by such notables as Malinowski and Boaz. Anthropology and sociology eventually became separate fields of study and developed their own distinct research methods. The anthropological approach continued, for the most part, with classical ethnography. Social scientists turned towards quantitative methods to achieve broad, generalizable sets of findings. In recent years, however, new generations of researchers (Van Maanen 1988; Ladson-Billings 1994; Wolcott 1994; Proweller 1998) have been bringing qualitative methods back into the social sciences.

It must be noted that the ethnography is not the method of research; it is the product. Van Maanen (1998) defines ethnography as “the written representation of a

culture (or selected aspects of a culture)” (Van Maanen 1988, 1). It is an interpretive act that decodes one culture while recoding it for another (Barthes 1972). Ethnography involves the study of culture as much as the analysis of statistical data. It is the exploration of the “particulars of human experience across varied educational sites and settings” and the “role that ideology and power play” in that experience (Proweller 1998, 209).

The methodology of this study is qualitative in nature. Wolcott (1992, 1994) and Van Maanen (1988) describe three main methods by which qualitative data is gathered: participant observation, interviewing, and document analysis. Whereas the interview was the primary method used in this study, data gathered from observation and the analysis of official documents were used, when possible, to clarify and substantiate the interview data and its analysis.

Methods and Procedures

The study used a multiple site, interview based case study approach to examine the restructuring process in Thai public universities. In addition to universities, interviews were conducted at the Ministry of University Affairs. The information obtained from interviews was clarified and verified through analysis of secondary data such as official records. One must note, however, that the universities being studied published most of the official records obtained. This leads one to at least consider the possibility that records could be skewed in order to defend, or present, the university in a favorable light. The reliability of these records remains strong in that these records are

included in reports made to the government. Thailand also enjoys a free press and vibrant academic community that are not shy about questioning the reliability and validity of university reports.

On-site interviews were conducted at each campus. The researcher spent five days (Monday through Friday) on each campus. During each five day visit interviews were conducted with as many of the following individuals as possible: the President or Rector, the chief academic officer, the chief financial officer, other vice presidents or vice rectors, deans, department heads, and faculty representatives. Two directors from the Ministry of University Affairs were also interviewed. A pilot case study was used to test the research instrumentation and analysis.

The research studied a few cases in detail in order to determine how restructuring is taking place. It is therefore qualitative, descriptive and exploratory in nature. Whereas qualitative research has been criticized in the social sciences, Cohen (1980) states that such criticism does not take into account the relationship between method and theory. The researcher should not choose quantitative or qualitative methods because one is inherently superior. Rather, as Cohen (1980) states, the superiority of a research method should be determined by the research question being studied.

The case study has been defined as an observation based study using different sources of evidence that examine phenomena in context when the division between phenomena and context is not easily seen (Yin, 1984). The case study was appropriate for this study in that an understanding of context was important to understanding how the

restructuring process is taking place at various institutions. The context in which restructuring takes place has been defined in the literature as critical to the process. It is also noted that context, specifically social and cultural context, plays an important role in how globalization operates in a society and influences a society. It would therefore be inappropriate to study the restructuring process apart from its context. For these reasons the case study was chosen over a quantitative or experimental research method.

The decision to study a small number of cases was also determined by the lack of campus based empirical studies of higher education restructuring in Southeast Asia. This is due in part to the high percentage of Southeast Asian nations that are, because of political motivations, closed to the west and the western influences found in political global economy (Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam). Not only have these countries resisted western influences, they have also been unable to develop national higher education systems on par with the rest of Asia. This leaves Thailand and Malaysia as the two mainland Southeast Asian nations with developed, large scale higher education systems. In addition to regional political reasons, Thailand has only in the last 10 years begun to experiment with restructuring, and only seriously began to pursue national restructuring within the last four years. For these reasons it was decided that the case study method would provide the most comprehensive treatment of the restructuring process.

The study was guided by the questions outlined in Chapter One:

1. What role has globalization played in the restructuring of higher education at the institutional level?
2. How strong a role has globalization played in the restructuring of higher education at the institutional level?
3. How are social, economic, and political forces contributing to restructuring of higher education at the institutional level?

The data collection process was guided by the list of pre-suppositions developed at the end of Chapter Two. When combined with the research questions, these pre-suppositions focused the research and guided the data analysis.

Sample

The case study design does not attempt to generalize to an entire population of institutions undergoing a restructuring process. The purpose of the case study was to generalize to theory. Yin (1984, 21) states that the case study “does not represent a sample, and the investigator’s goal is to expand and generalize theories (analytic generalization) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalization).” This research seeks to improve practice and enrich research in the area of higher education restructuring.

This research relied on mixed purposeful sampling to select information rich cases for in-depth study (Patton 1990). Mixed purposeful sampling is a strategy that combines two or more sampling selection strategies in order to increase flexibility, create

triangulation, and meet multiple interests. The strategies used in selecting the samples for this research was variation sampling, chain sampling and theory-based sampling.

Variation sampling aims at capturing and describing “central themes or outcomes that cut across participant variation” (Patton 1990, 172). This strategy is especially useful when the sampling size is expected to be small. Patton (1990) also states that, when working with a small diverse sample, variation sampling can yield two types of findings:

1. High quality, detailed descriptions of each case that are useful for documenting uniqueness.
2. Important shared patterns that cut across cases and derive their significance from having emerged from heterogeneity.

The choice of variation sample was driven by the research questions. Question two, for example, was concerned with differentiating between restructuring strategies that are unique to the institution and those that are found across institutions

Chain sampling (Patton 1990) or sequential sampling (Miles and Huberman 1994) is a strategy for locating information rich or critical cases. This type of sampling makes use of connections or networking to find new data sources. The researcher basically asks informants if there are other individuals who might have knowledge or information on the topic being discussed (Patton 1990; Ladson-Billings 1994). The Ladson-Billings study demonstrates how this strategy works. Initially a long list of possible sources is gathered. The key, however, is to narrow the list down by excluding those sources that

are mentioned a minimal number of times. The final sample, in theory, is a list of sources that have been recommended over and over again in the process (Patton 1990).

Theory based sampling (Miles and Huberman 1994; Patton 1990) emphasizes the potential representation of important theoretical constructs. The theoretical construct of this research was global political economy. This research looked for examples of global political economy in the higher education restructuring for examination and elaboration.

Institutional Selection

A purposive sample of four institutions was used for this research. Three institutions were public universities and the fourth was the Ministry of University Affairs. The three universities were unique in that two were not under the civil service system, and the third had submitted its new charter to the government to for approval to leave the civil service system.

The sample selection for this study involved two successive steps: the selection of universities from which the interviewees was sought, and the selection of administrators and faculty to be interviewed.

The first step, institutional selection, was directed by three criteria:

1. The universities selected must be public institutions.
2. There must be variation in the selection of the universities.
3. Permission to conduct on-site interviews must be obtained.

The first criterion was based on the assumption that public universities, in responding to policy and financial changes, face the greatest amount of organizational

change. The government policies concerning autonomy are intended for the public institutions. Budget cuts imposed by the government are aimed at the public institutions. Finally the social concern for higher education is focused on the public university system. This does not mean that private universities are not immune to the economic situation. Vargo (2000b) notes that shifts in student enrollments are impacting private institutions as students are gravitating to cheaper state run universities. What differentiates private universities from public ones in this study is the autonomy issue. Private universities already operate as autonomous institutions whereas public universities are being told to emulate the privates.

The second criterion addressed the issue of variation within the university system. The Ministry of University Affairs places public higher education institutions into four categories:

1. Those under the Civil Service System.
2. Autonomous universities.
3. Open universities.
4. Certificate institutions.

(A source within the MUA stated that the MUA does not recognize certificate institutions. This paper, however, will follow the information provided on-line by the MUA as represented in Figure 1.)

Knowledge of the higher education system, however, allowed for further categorization of the system into six categories:

1. Bangkok Universities: Institutions established prior to 1950 and located in or near the capital city of Bangkok.
2. Regional Universities: Three institutions established after 1960 to serve the North, South, and North East regions.
3. New Universities: Non-regional institutions established in Bangkok and various provinces subsequent to 1970.
4. Open Universities: Ramkhamhaeng and Sukhothai Universities.
5. Autonomous Universities: Suranaree University of Technology, Walailak University, and Mae Fa Luang University. Certificate Institutions: Teachers colleges, technical institutes that do not offer bachelors' degrees.

These six categories represented different eras, purposes, policies, and social needs in the development of higher education. The universities are accorded different levels of prestige with highest prestige belonging to the Bangkok universities, followed by Regional Universities. There is a prestige hierarchy that exists within each category as well based on historical factors, location, programs offered, and degrees offered. It was assumed that institutional responses to restructuring were influenced by these historical factors. In order to identify as much as possible those responses that were common to higher education in general, this study attempted to select institutions that provided variation for the project.

The third criterion speaks to issues of access. Although criteria one and two were primary to the selection process, this study recognized that access to conduct on-site interviews on selected campuses could be denied. In the event access was denied the following strategies were used:

1. Replace the institution with a secondary choice from within the same category.
2. Replace the institution with a secondary choice from another category.
3. Conduct off-site interviews with individual faculty.
4. Do not replace the institution or conduct off-site interviews.

Interviewee Selection

Individuals to be interviewed were selected from the following groups:

1. Administration: President or Rector, the chief academic officer, the chief financial officer, other vice presidents or vice rectors.
2. Department heads and Deans.
3. Faculty.

It was important for this study to include the perspectives of different units within the university. Administrators, for example, may have attitudes and responses that are different from faculty. The political interplay between different organizational groups was critical to understanding how the restructuring process was being carried out.

The study also attempted to account for differences between academic units as well. The literature suggests that there are academic units that tend to have greater access

to external funds in the form of marketable research. These units include engineering, biotechnology, and computer sciences. Other units that are highly valued may have greater access to tuition. In Thailand medicine, law, and business are fields that are highly valued and may be able to charge higher tuition than less desirable fields. The literature also shows that units that are able to access external funds, be it in research or tuition, tend to keep those funds within the department. The nature of this study dictated that a cross section of different academic programs be included in order to compare how globalization impacts restructuring across academic boundaries. The literature (Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Fairweather 1988; Levin, Klevorick, Nelson, and Winter 1987) suggests the following categorizations of academic units based on ability to generate external funds:

1. High Ability.
 - a. Engineering.
 - b. Applied Natural Sciences.
 - c. Agriculture.
 - d. Biotechnology.
 - e. Law, Medicine, or economics.
2. Medium Ability.
 - a. Chemistry.
 - b. Physics.
 - c. Botany and Zoology.

3. Low Ability.
 - a. Humanities.
 - b. Social Sciences.

This study attempted to select interviewees who were representative of the three categorizations listed above.

Procedure

The study used the list of public universities provided online by the Ministry of University Affairs to confirm the following:

1. Those universities that were public.
2. Categorization of universities.
3. Location of universities.
4. Links to Email or websites for universities.

Once universities were identified, categorized, and Internet links obtained, a list of universities to be contacted was made. This list was rank-ordered by first, second, and third priorities. Priority was determined by the following criteria:

1. Known contacts at the University.
2. Location of the University.
3. Variety.

Ten public universities were selected and contacted by email to ascertain accessibility (see Appendix p. 206-207). One of the lessons learned from the pilot study was that changes take place within administrative hierarchies and that university web site listings

may not be up to date. Therefore email inquiries were sent to multiple administrative personnel listed by each university. A single email inquiry was sent to the information desk at the Ministry of University Affairs. Positive responses were received from three universities and the Ministry of University Affairs. There were no responses from the other seven institutions.

Once email contact was established and positive responses received a follow up letter was drafted and sent by surface mail to the contact (see Appendix). This letter contained:

1. A formal request to visit the campus and conduct interviews.
2. A summary of the methodology.
3. The purpose of the research.
4. An acknowledgment of participation.
5. The researcher's vita.

Email contact was used to coordinate travel and visitation schedules. Once in country, contact was established by telephone to confirm schedules.

All three contacts at each university offered to set up interview schedules with desired personnel. A list of administrative and faculty positions was emailed to each contact. At two universities the contacts used the list to set up an itinerary in advance. The third contact opted to wait until the researcher was on campus. A meeting was called of all administrative heads and interested faculty. The researcher was given the

opportunity to present the study to the group after which those interested in participating were invited to sign up on a list the day and time they would be free for an interview.

Instrumentation

The primary instrumentation for this research was the interview. Patton (1990) identifies three types of interviews that can be used in data gathering: informal conversational, interview guide, and the standardized open-ended interview. This research used a combination of the interview guide and standardized open-ended interview approaches during formal interview times. There were two occasions when the informal conversational approach was used. One occasion took place during lunch and the second while riding in a car. This allowed the researcher to maximize the strengths of all three approaches.

The interview guide is a list of issues that are to be explored in the course of an interview. Instead of precisely worded questions, the interview guide provides topics and subject areas that the interviewer is free to investigate in a more flexible interview style. Forcese and Richer describe the interview guide as “literally a guide outlining the kind of information required and perhaps suggesting means of wording the queries” (Forcese and Richer 1973, 169). The interview guide is also described as “a simple reminder of the topics and subtopics that the respondent should cover during the interview...Or it may be as specific as a list of questions” (Jones 1985, 146). Flexibility is the key advantage of the interview guide. The researcher is able to keep the interview focused on the topic while allowing individual perspectives and experiences to emerge.

The standardized open-ended interview uses carefully worded questions that are asked each interviewee in the same sequence. The advantage of this approach is the gathering of the same data from each person interviewed. This is important when time is limited or when participants can only be interviewed one time. This type of interview also lessens the danger of interviewer bias by asking the same questions of each respondent. Data analysis is made easier as answers to questions can be quickly found and organized. This method also enhances the credibility of the study.

Patton (1990) states that it is possible to combine different aspects of these two interview approaches. The interviewer is able to prepare a predetermined number of basic questions while having flexibility to probe or explore new information that might emerge during the course of the interview.

An important aspect of the interview is the use of probes. Probes are used to deepen a response to questions and otherwise elicit more information on a topic. Patton (1990) notes that probes are used to gather more detail, for clarification, and to provide contrast and comparison. The interviewer, in using probes, needs to be aware of how the probes are influencing the person being interviewed. In seeking clarification the interviewer should convey that misunderstandings are the fault of the interviewer, not the fault of the one being interviewed.

Patton (1990) notes that probes are seldom written out in the interview. Probing is a skill that is developed through experience, carefully listening, and sensitivity. Others (Jones 1985) suggest that it is possible to carefully plan or construct probes prior to the

interview. This research will use probe guides to aid in developing and using probes in the interview. Probe guides are defined here as a compromise between carefully structured probe questions and spontaneous response driven questions. The probe guide, like the interview guide, provides the interviewer with a list of general questions that could be used to elicit details, clarifications, and comparisons.

The interview guides and open-ended interview questions were part of a larger case study protocol. The protocol (see Appendices) contains the procedures and rules that should be applied when using the instrument (Yin 1984). It includes the procedures used for obtaining access, site and interview selection, conducting the interviews, data coding, instruments used, list of supporting documents, and the format for the case study reports.

The choice of interview style was determined by the responses given by interview subjects. Each interview subject was asked to describe, in his or her own words, the history or background of the restructuring process. The interviewer then made a decision to use the interview guide or standardized interview. If the respondent gave a lengthy, detailed answer to the first question, perhaps even venturing into areas not covered by the question but covered elsewhere, the interview guide was used to maintain the flow of the conversation. If the respondent gave short precise answers without volunteering more than the question asked for, the standardized open-ended interview was used.

Data Analysis

The challenge of ethnographic research is to “make sense of massive amounts of data, reduce the volume of information, identify significant patterns, and construct a framework for communicating the essence of what the data reveal” (Patton 1990, 371-372). Miles and Huberman state that there are no “shared ground rules” (Miles and Huberman 1994, 16) for interpretation. Instead there are strategies and guidelines that help guide the researcher in the analytical process.

The first guideline is that analysis of qualitative data begins with the evaluation of the research questions made at the beginning of the research process (Patton 1990) and continues through each stage of the process. One of the strengths of qualitative research is the emergence of analytical insights during data collection. These insights are combined with the primary questions formulated during the conceptual phase to become the primary source in organizing the analysis.

Miles and Huberman (1994) divide the analysis process into three activities: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. These three activities are not necessarily sequential. Miles and Huberman (1994) state that these activities occur early in the process, take place simultaneously, and are revised throughout the course of the study.

Data Reduction

Data reduction is the process of identifying, coding, and categorizing the primary patterns of the data that appear in field notes and transcriptions (Patton 1990, 381; Miles

and Huberman 1994). The first step is transcribing the interviews. Once the transcription is complete the interviews can be coded.

The coding process for this study relied on the hyperRESEARCH computer program. The first step in the coding process used an inductive method whereby the researcher read through the transcripts and assigned units of meaning to data thus generating a list of over two hundred very specific, yet provisional codes. The codes and corresponding data pieces then went through multiple rounds of analysis that identified codes and data pieces as coherent units dealing with similar topics. This process followed a modified scheme devised by Bogdan and Biklen (1992) that provided comprehensive categories into which codes could be inductively developed. Topics and subtopics that appeared with regularity were then marked and recoded. This process reduced the large number of original highly specific codes to about eighty codes that identified important themes (see Appendix pp. 220-225).

Data Display

Data display is the “organized, compressed assembly of information that permits conclusion drawing and action” (Miles and Huberman 1994, 11). There are many ways to display data: text, matrices, graphs, charts, and networks. The primary display for this study was text form augmented by other forms when possible.

The text form of display was the case analysis. Case analysis was the organization of data by specific cases for in-depth study. The unit of analysis was the institution. The purpose of the case study was to provide systematic in-depth information

about each case in the study. Each case was written following a thematic format for comparison and evaluation.

Drawing and Verifying Conclusions

The process of drawing conclusions from the case analysis used a cross-case analysis to determine commonalities and differences across institutional boundaries (Patton 1990). Interviews were conducted at three state universities and the Ministry of University Affairs. A total of twenty-eight interviews were conducted. The data presented in this study was drawn from seventeen interviews: five from each campus and two from the ministry. The remaining interviews contained similar data and were thus excluded as redundant. The remaining interviews were transcribed and read during the course of the analysis and used as comparison material. Miles and Huberman (1994, 245-246) provide thirteen tactics that can be used for generating meaning:

1. Noting patterns or themes.
2. Seeing plausibility.
3. Clustering.
4. Making metaphors.
5. Counting.
6. Making contrasts and comparisons.
7. Partitioning variables.
8. Subsuming particulars into the general.
9. Factoring.

10. Noting relations between variables.
11. Finding intervening variables.
12. Building a logical chain of evidence.
13. Making conceptual and theoretical coherence.

The first seven tactics are concerned with concrete and descriptive analysis of data. Tactics eight through eleven are more abstract and look at relationships. The final two are the most conceptual and are used to “systematically assemble a coherent understanding of data” (Miles and Huberman 1994, 246).

A logical chain of evidence indicates causal links. It is a string of if-then statements that indicate relationships. Miles and Huberman (1994) provide minimal conditions for building logical chains of evidence:

1. Different informants must emphasize factors independently.
2. Countervailing evidence must be accounted for.
3. Verification must take place at each step.
4. The relationships must make sense.
5. The chain must be complete.

Building the chain is a gradual process where factors are added, subtracted, tested, and modified. This is a continual process that occurs repeatedly as the analysis is refined. Building the chain involves using “two interlocking cycles” (Miles and Huberman 1994, 261). The first cycle is enumerative induction and involves collecting a variety of instances that point in the same direction. The second cycle, eliminative induction,

involves testing the research hypothesis against alternative hypotheses and checking for qualifications that limit the generality of the conclusion.

Verification or confirmation takes place as conclusions are being made. A weakness of qualitative research is that human judgments are perceived as being less accurate than statistical or actuarial ones (Dawes 1971). At stake here is the confidence of the researcher and the reader in the conclusions that have been made. Researcher bias is perhaps the main culprit in poor conclusion making. Miles and Huberman (1994) identify three types of bias that the researcher needs to be aware of when analyzing the data:

1. Holistic fallacy: Interpreting events as more patterned than they really are.
2. Elite bias: Relying too heavily on data from elite members of society and ignoring data provided by low status members.
3. Going native: Losing one's neutral perspective by being co-opted into the beliefs and understandings of the local culture.

Miles and Huberman (1994, 263-277) describe thirteen tactics that the researcher can use to increase confidence levels:

1. Checking for representativeness.
2. Checking for researcher effects.
3. Triangulation.
4. Weighting the evidence.
5. Checking the meaning of outliers.

6. Using extreme cases.
7. Following up surprises.
8. Looking for negative evidence.
9. Making if-then tests.
10. Ruling out spurious relations.
11. Replicating a finding.
12. Checking out rival explanations.
13. Getting feedback from informants.

Tactics one through four are aimed at maintaining the integrity of the data that is being collected. Tactics five through eight are aimed at testing or confirming conclusions about patterns by describing them in terms of what they are not like. Tactics nine through thirteen test conclusions by comparing the researchers' theory with other theories and by asking the informants to comment on the conclusions that are made. The purpose of these tactics is to guard against biases that the researcher and the informant bring to the study.

Time constraints made it difficult to apply all twenty-six tactics in the conclusion drawing and verification process. Getting informant feedback was problematic given the expense and time in travel. In the conclusion drawing process this research noted patterns and themes and built logical chains of evidence to confirm the findings. At the same time triangulation, looking for negative evidence, and replicating findings were used as primary verification tactics.

Pilot Study

A pilot study at a single public university was built into this research to test the instrumentation, access procedures, data collection procedures, data coding, write-up format, and the analysis procedures. A pilot study is important given the complexity inherent in qualitative research and was doubly important to this study given the cross-cultural nature of the research. The pilot study proved to be useful in testing access and instrumentation. Access was obtained using the aforementioned procedures. Whereas access was obtained, by the time the researcher arrived on campus the university contact had been terminated. The newly hired administrator was not interested in participating in the study. This prompted adjusting the access procedure to include back-up persons at each institution who could continue the study in the event the main contact became unavailable.

A back-up institution was hastily lined up to participate in the pilot study. This institution provided insights into weaknesses in the instrumentation. Whereas most Thai academics have some proficiency in English, it became apparent that many were uncomfortable in using English. Once the interviewee learned the researcher was fluent in Thai, they immediately switched languages. It was imperative that the English language interview questions be translated into Thai in the event that the interviewees wanted to conduct the interview in Thai.

Validity and Reliability

The issue of validity and reliability in qualitative research is problematic. For some researchers (Schwandt 1990) qualitative research should not be constrained or limited by issues of validity. Others (Miles and Huberman 1994; Wolcott 1990b; Howe and Eisenhart 1990) hold that qualitative research can benefit from standards that enhance the legitimacy of a study. The issue of validity is defined by the epistemology of the researcher. This researcher's epistemology falls within the realist camp.

The realist holds that social phenomenon does exist in the objective world and that lawful and reasonably stable relationships can be found among them. As Miles and Huberman have observed, "Social phenomena, such as language, decisions, conflicts, and hierarchies, exist objectively in the world and exert strong influences over human activities because people construe them in common ways" (Miles and Huberman 1994, 4). The realist, then, looks for regularities and sequences from which the constructs that underlie social behavior can be derived.

This researcher agrees with Miles and Huberman (1994) that knowledge and meaning is socially and historically produced and laden with theory. To quote Miles and Huberman:

We affirm the existence and importance of the subjectivity, the phenomenological, the meaning making at the center of social life. Our aim is to register and "transcend" these processes by building theories to account for a real world that is both bounded and perceptually laden, and to test these theories in our various disciplines. (Miles and Huberman 1994, 4)

This orientation, then, attempts to not only document events but to account for

them as well. The realist looks for causal descriptions and reasonable explanations of the events that are observed.

This epistemology compelled the researcher to address issues of validity and reliability in ways that were responsive to the contingent, contextual, and interpretive nature of qualitative study. Miles and Huberman (1994) discuss five overlapping issues that qualitative research should address in assessing trustworthiness and authenticity:

1. Objectivity.
2. Reliability.
3. Internal validity.
4. External validity.
5. Utilization.

Objectivity or confirmability addresses the issue of replicability of a study by others. It is framed in the context of neutrality and freedom from unacknowledged researcher bias. In other words, are the conclusions dependent on the subjects and context of the study or on the biases of the researcher? The underlying principle here is that unacknowledged bias influences the “external reliability” or replicability of a study (Guba and Lincoln 1989; LeCompte and Goetz 1982). Objectivity can be enhanced by thoroughly describing methods and procedures, by being open and self-aware about personal biases, and by carefully considering opposing ideas and conclusions.

Reliability (dependability, auditability) looks at whether the process of the research is consistent and reasonably stable over time and across researchers and methods

(Miles and Huberman 1994, 278). This is an issue of ensuring quality control throughout the research. Miles and Huberman (1994) identify several strategies that can help improve reliability:

1. Clearly stated research questions.
2. Clearly described researcher role and status within the overall context.
3. Collecting data across the full range of settings and respondents.
4. Using peer review.
5. Detailed documentation.

Internal validity (credibility, authenticity) in this framework has a broad application. Miles and Huberman (1994) reference several scholars who define internal validity as:

1. Distinguishing between different types of understanding.
2. Verisimilitude (Van Maanen 1988).
3. Processes of checking, questioning, and theorizing (Kvale 1989b).

The primary question for Miles and Huberman (1994) is truth-value. This follows Van Maanen's (1988) verisimilitude—are the findings sensible, credible or plausible to the people studied and to the readers?

External validity asks whether the conclusions of a study are applicable to other contexts. This speaks to the generalizability of the study. Case study research (of which this study is a type) does not generalize from sample to population. It focuses on analytical (theory) or case-to-case generalizations (Miles and Huberman 1994; Patton

1990). The qualitative study seeks the presence of a “more abstract explanation of described actions and interpreted meanings (Miles and Huberman 1994, 279). The qualitative study gains external validity when it can be connected to theoretical networks that are not a part of the study.

Utilization (application, action orientation) speaks to how pragmatic the study is for all concerned. Patton states “the ultimate test of the credibility of an evaluation report is the response of decision-makers and information users to that report” (Patton 1990, 469). At question is the extent to which the study influences policy, empowers participants, and enables stakeholders to take action.

The protocol documents the significant methodological decisions to make it easier for other researchers to duplicate the same procedures as much as possible. Most interviews in this study were conducted using the interview guides. The protocol indicated those cases where the interviewee had his or her own story to tell. The researcher maintained interviews in the original language as well as English translations. The researcher also maintained all documents although English translations have not been provided for all documents. The Case studies show much of the evidence and summaries of evidence that support the conclusions in Chapter Five.

Cross-Cultural Communication/Research Experience

It has been noted earlier in this chapter that the issue of validity and reliability in qualitative research is problematic. These issues are amplified when applied to the cross-cultural communication/research experience. It is not the purpose of this study to provide

an in-depth discussion of cross-cultural communication/research. It is, however, important for the researcher to understand the inherent complications in cross-cultural communication/research studies. This section gives a brief overview of these complications and their implications for qualitative and quantitative research.

The first complication the researcher must overcome is data gathering, reduction, and display. The data gathering process is complicated in that the instrumentation (in this case the interview questions) must be translated. Translation, however, is not simply finding word for word correlations. Translation includes communicating concepts and ideas between cultures (Simon 1996). The medium of communication is words. Words, however, can take on different meanings in other cultures (Patton 1990; Bassnet 1994). Translators add a new dimension to research. They must “constantly make decisions about the cultural meanings which language carries, and evaluate the degree to which the two different worlds they inhabit are ‘the same’ (Simon 1996, 138).”

The researcher must take extra care in formulating interview questions for cross-cultural interviews. In short-term evaluation site visits the researcher must often rely on a translator. Relying on a third person to provide precise translation of interview questions adds an extra element of difficulty (Temple and Edwards 2002). In this study, however, the researcher was able to use personal knowledge of language and culture learned over many years of living in the culture being studied.

Data reduction was complicated by the extra step of translating interview data. Of the seventeen interviews used for this study, only three were conducted in English. The

remaining fourteen were in Thai. This necessitated the two-step reduction process of transcribing the interviews first in Thai, then translating the Thai interviews into English. This process is further complicated when the researcher must rely on translators to transcribe and translate interviews. Interpreters often want to help out by providing commentary and summaries of responses. This contaminates the data to the point that the researcher is no longer certain whose perspective is being presented, the interpreter or the interviewee (Patton 1990; Edwards 1995; 1998). In this study the researcher transcribed ten of the Thai language interviews and contracted with college students to transcribe four.

The researcher did all the translation of data from Thai into English. Although this eliminated the danger of third party perspective contamination, it did not eliminate the possibility of researcher bias. The researcher as translator still brings a personal cultural perspective to the translation process (Avruch and Black 1993; Overing 1987). This suggests that there may not be a single correct translation or interpretation of data (Bassnet 1994). The definitive question then is can the researcher provide a translation of data that is not contaminated by personal cultural perspectives? This study does not intend to provide the definitive answer to these questions. The intent is to enhance objectivity by describing methods and procedures, by being open and self-aware about personal biases, and by carefully considering opposing ideas and conclusions (Guba and Lincoln 1989; LeCompte and Goetz 1982).

The complications in data display centered on the extent to which supporting data

in the final study should be presented in the original language. In any study where more than one language is used, the researcher must carefully consider how to display data given in a language different from the text of the study. The researcher must consider that translation involves communicating ideas and concepts that may not be easily translated using a word-for-word format. Ideally the data would be displayed in the original language in order to preserve the meanings unique to the language culture. Unfortunately the researcher must take into consideration the limitations of the target audience in reading and understanding data displayed in foreign languages. There are numerous methods for reconciling this complication. The method used by this study reconciled these problems by displaying data in the translated format. Key words and phrases, however, are displayed using the Thai script followed by a transliteration of the script and a translation into English of the word or phrase.

What, then, are the implications of cross-cultural research for reliability, validity, analysis and interpretation? If, at the most basic level, communication is communication of culture, then understanding and knowledge of a culture plays an important role in the communication process. The problem is that individuals have personal histories and life experiences in social positions that cause them to see the world from a particular perspective (Young 1977). The implication here is that, taken to the extreme, validity, reliability, even truth-value, become relative. One researcher's translation and interpretation of data will invariably differ from another's. Relative truth-value allows for a type of 'epistemological relativism' (Black and Avruch 1999), that makes any

version of reality as valid as any other. One can therefore argue that validity and reliability are impossible. This form of ‘cultural relativism’ is one of the reasons some qualitative researchers have abandoned attempts to include validity and reliability in their research. This research, however, rejected such extreme versions of cultural and epistemological relativism. It attempted to resolve these difficult issues through ‘methodological relativism,’ the suspension of individual ethnocentrism in order to understand another culture (Black and Avruch 1999). Methodological relativism allowed the researcher to cultivate the special sensitivity to and respect for cultural differences that were important to the process of obtaining meaningful data in a cross-cultural communication/research experience (Patton 1990).

Assumptions

The primary assumption of this study was that globalization lied at the root of higher education restructuring in Thailand. There was risk in this assumption in that, if Currie and Newson (1998) are correct, there were local cultural and societal factors influencing the restructuring process. It is important to note here that the researcher was a trained linguist in the anthropological tradition and had lived the better part of twenty-five years in Thailand. He was fluent in speaking, reading, and writing the standard Thai dialect. He also believed that the restructuring of Thailand’s higher education system was a positive step in the development of higher education. This background gave the researcher a certain level of confidence in his ability to recognize some of these cultural factors. At the same time, however, the researcher was aware of the pitfall of “going

native” and losing his objectivity. It was therefore important to the research that careful checking and rechecking of data be carried out.

Conclusion

This study was a qualitative multiple case study analysis of restructuring in Thailand’s public higher education system. The analysis used a global political economy approach to determine the extent to which globalization played a part in the restructuring process. The study relied on a combination of interview guide and standardized open-ended interviews with university personnel and on the analysis of documents.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

Four institutions were chosen for this study: three public universities and the Ministry of University Affairs. The universities shared a number of similarities but were diverse in a number of important ways. Two universities were not under total civil service regulations. Of these two, one was one of the experimental universities established completely autonomous from the civil service. The other had been under the civil service until 1998 when it was allowed to become an autonomous institution. The third university had just submitted its charter to the Senate for approval to become an autonomous institution. Two of the universities were technology universities while the third was more comprehensive in its curriculum although with a heavy emphasis on engineering and medicine. The oldest institution traced its origins to 1960 and was located in the capital city of Bangkok. A second was originally a branch campus of another university until 1990 when it became a university in its own right. The third, also a branch college, was upgraded to university status in 1990 as an autonomous institution. Both the later institutions were located in provinces outside Bangkok.

All three universities, however, had several common characteristics. All three had administrations that were committed to restructuring. All three had become or were trying to become autonomous institutions, that is, free from civil service control. All offered degrees at the doctoral level and were actively pursuing the addition of doctoral programs in selected fields. All offered masters' level programs in various fields and a broad range of undergraduate degrees in the sciences, professional fields, and some liberal arts. All were public universities accredited by the state and therefore subject to

rules and regulations established by the state for the governance of autonomous public universities. A brief description of each institution and its restructuring process is given below to provide a context in which the detailed analysis may be better understood.

Confidentiality was maintained at all four institutions studied. The names of respondents were changed in accordance with the protocol established for this research. The respondents are referenced in the study by names made up by the researcher. The names used are common first names found in Thai culture. (Thai family names are generally multiple syllabic and difficult to pronounce. Thai culture dictates that shorter, easier to pronounce first names be used when addressing an individual or referring to said individual.) The names of the three universities have also been changed. The Ministry of University Affairs, being a government office, is referred to by its official name.

The Ministry of University Affairs

In 1972 the Thai government, wanting to bring all public universities under the jurisdiction of one administrative office, created the Office of Public Universities under the Office of the Prime Minister. Private universities were, by the same decree, brought under the jurisdiction of the Office of Private Education. In 1974 the Office of Private Education was merged with the Office of Public Universities. This office was upgraded to ministerial status in 1977 and became the Ministry of University Affairs (MUA).

At the time of this study the major role of the MUA was to supervise and coordinate Thailand's public and private universities. The exceptions were a few specialized professional training institutes that remained under the jurisdiction of other

ministries. The MUA formulated higher education policy within the framework provided by the National Educational Development Plan. The MUA was also responsible for curricula standardization, personnel management, and budget allocation.

The power structure of the MUA resided in the Office of the Secretary to the Minister and the Office of the Permanent Secretary. These two offices oversaw the majority of Thailand's universities. The Office of the Secretary to the Minister provided general administrative support and coordinated political affairs for the Minister. It was responsible for the administration of the Minister's directives and for monitoring their implementation. It was also the liaison office for administrative and political matters.

The Office of the Permanent Secretary was the main administrative body of the MUA. It was responsible for coordinating and overseeing the activity of public and private higher education institutions. A major function was to formulate higher education policy. A second function was to check individual institutional development plans to ensure legality and "harmony with the national development policy" (Ministry of University Affairs 2000, 22). This office also supervised the establishment of any new university and expansion, merger, or termination of existing universities. This control included approving the establishment, merger, termination, and any other changes to faculties or academic departments within a university.

The Office also appraised and endorsed curricula and syllabi. It gathered statistical data, conducted research to support policy planning and implementation. It was responsible for budget allocation, personnel management, and coordinating with

national and international agencies. All degrees granted by public and private universities were monitored and accredited by the Office.

According to the 1999 National Education Act the MUA was to be merged with the Ministry of Education and the office of the National Education Commission to create a new “super” ministry called the Ministry of Education, Religion and Culture. The Education Act called for the merger to be completed by August 2002. This new ministry was to have oversight of all levels and types of education, religion, art and culture. The new ministry was to be made up of four organizations: 1. The National Council for Education, Religion, and Culture; 2. The Commission for Basic Education; 3. The Commission for Higher Education; and 4. The Commission for Religion and Culture.

The National Council for Education Religion and Culture was to be responsible for proposing national education policies, plans, and standards as well as evaluating education. The Commission for Basic Education was to be responsible for policy, development, standards, and curricula for basic education. The Commission for Higher Education was to do the same for higher education.

The change in government that took place in early 2001, however, also brought changes to the organizational structure outlined by the 1999 National Education Act. The Commission for religion and culture was to be replaced with a Ministry of Culture. The commission on religion would be under the Office of Prime Minister. This had little or no bearing on the Commission for Higher Education as it was to remain within the Ministry of Education.

Big City Technological University

Big City Technological University (BCT) was a public technology oriented institution located in the capital city. Big City Tech can trace its origins to 1960 when it was established as a technical institute. In 1971 it was combined with two other technical institutes to make a three-campus institute offering a single degree. In 1986 the three campuses became three separate institutions with university status although at the time they were still referred to as Institutes. In 1998, as announced in the Royal Gazette, Bangkok Technological Institute became Bangkok Technological University and became the first public university to leave the civil service system.

Restructuring at BCT was a long process. Following the publication of the Ministry of University Affairs' long-term plan for higher education, university officials made several attempts to obtain government approval for restructuring. In the early 1990s a new university charter was submitted to the government for approval. Opponents to the plan, however, were able to table the proposal until the end of the parliamentary session when there was not enough time to allow debate. Three years later the charter was again submitted to parliament only to have parliament dissolved before a resolution could be made. The proposal languished in parliamentary limbo. University officials, however, were undeterred. Recognizing that restructuring was not politically viable at that time, they continued to make plans and prepare to restructure in the event political and social changes would allow them to do so. Those changes occurred in 1997 – 1998 when the Asian Development Bank, World Bank, and IMF made restructuring of

Thailand's higher education system a condition for obtaining needed loans. The condition stipulated that at least one university had to become autonomous in one or two years. The government, needing to meet this first condition expeditiously, noticed that BCT had a charter that met the condition ready for approval. In 1998 BCT was granted its new charter and became the first state university to leave the civil service system.

Although BCT was considered an autonomous state institution, it still had ties to the civil service. Not all at BCT were satisfied with leaving the civil service system. Many of the faculty had been civil servants for many years and were close to retirement with full benefits. Others were just a few years shy of being a civil servant for 10 years, which allowed for retirement with partial benefits. As a compromise BCT operated under a dual system. All new faculty members would come in under the new system as employees of the university. Current faculty at the time of restructuring were given the option of either staying under civil service administration or changing to the new university administration. Any faculty member that accepted an administrative position was required to give up civil service status for the term of the position. Given that new faculty were not be allowed civil service status, BCT would eventually become totally autonomous as current civil service faculty retired or left the university.

BCT was a growing university. 1997 projections estimated that enrollment would increase from five thousand to seven thousand students by year 2001. Faculty and teaching staff numbered over 450 in 1999 with the student-teacher ratio at 16.5:1. To meet growing demands BCT sought to establish two branch campuses. The original plan

called for both branch campuses to be operational by 2001 with enrollments to exceed three thousand students. One of the campuses was to be an international campus using English as the medium of instruction. The 1997 economic crisis, however, caused some delay in completing the construction of the new campuses the result being that both new campuses had to scale back their original goals.

Big City Tech offered bachelors', masters', and doctoral degrees through the schools of engineering, energy and materials, industrial education, science, information technology, bio-resources and technology, architecture, and liberal arts. The school of liberal arts was a graduate program in applied linguistics with emphasis on ESL/EFL for science and technology.

Northeastern A&M University

Northeastern A&M University (A&M) was established as a public autonomous university outside of the civil service system under the supervision of the Thai government. During the early 1980s the government announced plans to make higher education more accessible to rural areas and other regions where there were few, if any, colleges or universities. In 1984 the Ministry of University Affairs proposed that five new regional universities be established, one each in the northern, southern, and eastern regions and two in the northeastern region. The regional university for the northeast that had been established in the 1960s had just opened colleges in two northeastern cities. Those two colleges were semi-autonomous institutions under the jurisdiction of the regional university. One of these colleges eventually became Northeastern A&M

University. In 1988 the government decided it needed to speed up the establishment of the new regional universities. As fate would have it, the prime minister was the parliamentary representative for the city in which Northeastern College was located. Looking to bring a university to his hometown, the prime minister was able to convince the cabinet to appoint a committee to establish Northeastern A&M University. The Permanent Secretary for the Ministry of University Affairs was the chair of the committee.

The Permanent Secretary for the Ministry of University Affairs had long advocated for an autonomous public university system. Using his influence as permanent secretary and committee chair, and with the support of the prime minister, he was able to guide the committee in this direction. In 1990, when the committee submitted the new charter to parliament, the charter mandated that Northeastern A&M University be an autonomous public institution. The charter was approved that year and construction began shortly thereafter. The first students were admitted in 1993 into nine engineering and agricultural technology programs. The Permanent Secretary was the first rector of the university.

The graduate program was opened in 1996 offering masters programs in Remote Sensing and Applied Mathematics and a doctoral program in Applied Mathematics. A&M also graduated its first class of 244 graduates. In 1998 student enrollment reached five thousand undergraduate and one hundred and fifty graduate students. At the end of the 1999 academic year over nine hundred students received an

undergraduate or graduate degree. By 1999 A&M had twenty undergraduate, nineteen masters, and sixteen doctoral programs. Undergraduate degrees were offered in informational technology (IT), agricultural technology, engineering, and public health. A Master of Arts degree could be earned in English, science, agricultural technology, and engineering. The sixteen doctoral programs were in science, agricultural technology, and engineering.

Unlike BCT, A&M operated completely under the new autonomous system. There were no civil servants working at the university in any capacity. All were employed by the university under the rules for personnel management established by the university.

A&M was also the first public university to admit students without requiring an entrance exam. Admissions criteria was based on secondary school grades. A&M reserved 80 percent of admissions for “quota students” with 25 percent allocated for graduates of all secondary schools located within the eight northeastern provinces and 55 percent allocated to the remaining provinces.

A&M’s general education curriculum for undergraduates was unique among public universities. Interdisciplinary in nature, the curriculum integrated science, applied science, sociology, and anthropology. These courses were not considered pre-requisites for specialization courses, but were required of all students. Unlike other public universities where students only study within their own field or college, students from all fields at A&M studied the general education courses together.

Central University

Central University was a comprehensive university serving nine lower northern provinces. Like A&M it started as a branch campus of a Bangkok-based public university. Following the government's 1988 policy of providing more regional universities in outlying provinces, the branch campus was upgraded to a university in its own right in 1990.

In 1998 the Thai government, in accordance with international loan conditions, stipulated that all public universities become autonomous by year 2002. The government outlined its plan stipulating which universities were to be autonomous by what year (five in 1999, six in 2000, six in 2001, and two in 2002). Central University was listed among the five that were to submit a new charter by the end of 1999. Central University's ability to submit a new charter could only be attributed to the strong leadership of its president. Leadership so strong, in fact, that some called his methods dictatorial. Whereas the process of writing the new charter included representation from different components of the university and the community, there was never any doubt but that the president would have his way. Dissent was tolerated to a level, after which the president took action to make sure the dissent did not carry too much sway. One incident made the *Bangkok Post* and other national newspapers when the president decided the head of the faculty senate had dissented too much. The president called a meeting to give the individual a chance to make his point to the planning committee. The individual did not attend the meeting at which point the president publicly announced that the chair of the

faculty senate “สวมกระโปรง” (suam^v =wore, kraprong= a skirt), a Thai euphemism for cowardice. The president then proceeded to close the faculty senate office. The office was eventually relocated to a small room in the sports stadium far from the other administrative offices.

The charter was eventually finished and presented to the government for approval. The charter had one major difference from Big City Tech in that there would be only one system. All university personnel who were civil servants would have to leave the civil service once the Thai government approved the charter. This was in keeping with the guidelines set forth by the Ministry of University Affairs prohibiting a dual system.

Shortly after submitting the new charter the prime minister dissolved parliament and called for new elections. At the time the interviews for this research took place, a new prime minister had just been elected and there was some question as to whether the new government would be as interested in having universities leave the central bureaucracy. As this report was being written, almost a year later, the government had not approved any new university charters. The Ministry of University Affairs had backed off from its previous position conceding, “all state universities are not ready to be freed from state control within the next year as planned” (*Nation* [Bangkok], 12 February 2002). The ministry was still committed to giving “autonomy to the first group of eight universities: Chulalongkorn, Central, Srinakharinwirot, Thaksin, Mahidol, Chiang Mai, Mahasarakham, and Khon Kaen” but would “seek Cabinet approval to push back the deadline for university autonomy” (*Nation* [Bangkok], 12 February 2002).

Although Central was still within the civil service system when this report was written, it still provided a valid case study in that it did go through the process of planning for autonomy. Those who were interviewed had just gone through the process and were either in favor of or against the new charter that had been submitted.

Some may question whether those who responded favorably might have been afraid of the president. This was a valid question that needs to be considered. It was true that interviewees might have been apprehensive to voice any dissent given the power of the president. However, the president and a vice president who was the president's chief ally had just reached mandatory retirement age (by civil service rules) and were no longer officials at the university. This did not mean, however, that they still did not have some influence. One of the interviewees for this project was the recently retired vice president who was referred to and treated with great deference by other university faculty.

Central University was by far the largest of the three universities with an enrollment of fourteen thousand students and one thousand three hundred faculty and staff. The university offered over forty undergraduate and eighteen graduate degrees in agriculture, natural resources, health science, medicine, dentistry, education, engineering, humanities and social sciences, pharmaceutical sciences, and science. All were separate colleges within the university, although the new charter provides for restructuring the different colleges into three academic divisions under a vice president.

Question One

What role has globalization played in the restructuring of higher education at the institutional level?

Understanding Globalization

Understanding the various definitions and implications of globalization is not required for globalization to be present in society. Globalization can be involved in any process regardless of whether those being influenced understand it or are even cognizant of it. How one understands a phenomenon or simply being aware of its presence, however, can influence the attitude and behavior of individuals and groups.

Globalization was defined in this study as “a market ideology with a corresponding set of practices drawn from the world of business” (Currie 1998, 1); an ideology that has its origins in the liberal free market systems of western post-industrial nations (Currie 1998); and an ideology that western post-industrial nations are actively and aggressively propagating around the world (Dudley 1999). Whereas there are other understandings of what globalization can be, it was the understanding outlined above that seems to provoke the strongest response as witnessed by demonstrations at recent WTO meetings. Understanding how Thai administrators and faculty understood globalization was important in understanding their attitudes and behaviors.

The data indicated that, at a surface level, interviewees did not define or understand globalization in terms of an invading, western, free-market based ideology.

Big City Tech officials credited globalization for helping point out deficiencies in the system without really providing any answers. As one respondent stated:

Dr. Amnat (BCT): “It exposed the weaknesses of our higher education system quicker. Because when globalization comes, you can see things a lot easier. You can see how it is in America, how it is in Europe, you can see them and compare them to us and you see our weaknesses easily. You can see that we are in trouble already. Really, if you ask if globalization has helped us ease or trouble, it is not all that clear. But it has helped us see that we are in trouble. So it has helped us see the true condition of our higher education system.”

Another respondent emphasized the role globalization played in establishing standards from an international perspective:

Dr. Kaset (BCT): “I think globalization had a large role if you look at the role APEC [Asia-Pacific Economic Countries] plays. APEC has a policy of bringing all APEC member universities up to international standards, methods, and practices in our teaching. For example, I am a civil engineer. If I were to go look for a job in Singapore, or Australia, I have to know the code of practice for these countries. And countries in APEC, the Pacific Rim countries like America, Canada, Japan, Australia, must all be able to transfer among each other within seven years. So that engineers can work from country to country. They must have same standards. Because I am a dean, and because I am an official of the Thailand Board of Engineering, I am one of twenty, we must look at the engineering schools across the nation to see if they are following standards, and we accredit engineering departments using the standards set forth by APEC engineers.”

Interviewees at Northeastern A & M considered the role globalization played in promoting international standards, information technology, and competition.

Dr. Tavee (A&M): “Globalization, in the beginning, was not much of a factor. But where it is a factor is in the area of educational standards. We want to have standards comparable to the international community. We should perhaps speak in this context, that we want to upgrade the quality of higher education.”

Khun Porntip (A&M): “And in information technologies, we are trying to always update our systems. And everyone must be able to use the new technologies. They have to use computers for information, email, or whatever source. In the area of documentation, we are trying to make it all electronic file keeping. All these things are coming in. In this area, I think this is good, a lot of good results for the university.”

Dr. Jandara (A&M): “Globalization, in this is the age of information. If you speak about the university system, Thai society, we have to restructure the university system first. We are in the stage of our society entering the information age, we are developing towards this age through learning and teaching about everything. We are changing from the old, from the old way we used to learn in the university, which was chalk and talk. Now we have changed allowing new methods of teaching to enter in. That is change according to, is change that allows us to catch up. This is changing for sure, for example now we have the Internet, that we use during teaching. We have to teach and learn from this in order to establish fundamentals in information technology. Regardless of whether it is a Thai institution or a foreign institution. We are using distance learning in our teaching. You can be at different institutions, as we are receiving, there is greater cooperation in various curriculums, using the same professor, a professor teaches here, students over there can study through distance learning using the satellite. Or the professor teaches over there, our kids can still study. Globalization has played a part in this area. And this has given more opportunity for people to get an education.”

Dr. Tawat (A&M): “Globalization is playing a role for sure. We are exposed. Previously we could do what we wanted, whatever we were interested in. And whether it was clear or not clear, we protected that. For example, it used to be very difficult for foreign universities to come establish programs in this country. We spent a lot of time protecting our interests even if we didn’t know ourselves what these interests were. But now, the competition between public and private is greater. It used to be state universities received a lot of protection. For example, private universities could be established, but there were so many conditions that private universities had to meet. And the complaint was this was not fair because the same conditions were not applied to state universities. So if a private was being established, the publics would check every condition to see if they are met, and if not, they would not allow the private to be established. So previously the state universities had it very comfortable. No competition.”

Respondents at both Big City Tech and Northeastern A & M recognized that globalization did have a role in higher education. This role, however, was limited to simply providing insights into areas in which the system needed improvement.

Respondents at Central University limited this role even further.

Dr. Simrang (CU): “Language plays a big part as well. Therefore there is a great effect on higher education.... If our language skills are not good, how can we communicate with other nations? Because it is the norm now that you need to communicate in at least a second language, maybe a third. So English is essential for Thai children.”

Khun Malii (CU): “I don’t know the terminology of globalization. People may understand, or don’t understand. Some Thai people think it is a word of fashion, if something spreads throughout the world, and people will act the same. But some people say that globalization has a good impact, or sometimes a bad impact, so, I don’t know. For me I don’t feel that globalization will have an impact on autonomy.”

Dean (CU): “I think in this aspect, they talk about how we need to be more involved with other nations, have more networks with people from other countries. So we try to add something like computer skills, and also English into the curriculum so people can communicate with people from other countries.”

Educators, when asked about globalization, tended to downplay its role in the actual restructuring process. It was described by interviewees as serving to increase awareness of the internal condition of the higher education system in comparison to international standards. When asked to describe any direct involvement globalization may have had in either government or institutional decisions regarding restructuring, the comment made by one MUA official summarized the prevailing attitude among those interviewed:

Khun Pornthii (MUA): “We have the new constitution, we have the new National Education Act, there is the agreement that the government made with the ADB, these are all factors. But I have not considered globalization.”

“But I have not considered globalization.” This phrase can be understood to mean Khun Pornthii did not consider globalization to be a factor, or that she had not thought about whether it was a factor. Whichever way one looks at it, however, this statement shows that globalization was not considered to be a major factor.

Understanding Autonomy

All interviewees were asked to define the meaning of autonomy as it relates to the higher education system. The use of the English word “autonomy” was perhaps inappropriate in that it was often misunderstood by the public, and misused by opponents, to mean privatization. The Thai phrase used to refer to an autonomous higher education system was ในกำกับของรัฐ (nai kum kab khong^v rat^l) translated as “under the supervision of the state.” This still posed problems of understanding how being under the supervision of the state differed from the current system. It became clear early on in the research that this confusion was not limited to problems of translation. Several administrators expressed frustration at public misconceptions. These misconceptions were the result of either unclear policy or the inability of the government to adequately explain the policy to the public.

Question: “So one of the problems is that the government and everyone is saying ‘Let's become autonomous’, but no one has clearly defined it?”

Dr. Kaset (BCT): “You know, I listen to the cabinet member, even the prime minister, it made me feel doubtful how clear this concept is to those people.

And even among the university themselves, not so sure whether we are clear.”

Dr. Tawat (A&M): “There is probably a group of dissenters. Because, I speak from very personal experience, the government never really gave a very clear picture of what a university outside the system would look like.”

Dr. Simrang (CU): “The last government Prime Minister Chuan said he supported. He said this but in the end things were not said clearly. The government has said they like the proposal, but that they need to examine how to appropriate funds among us. This is not good. We don't have to buy it in that it is not clear. When the government puts out unclear words like this, it causes problems to arise.”

The feeling among those interviewed was that the government put out this policy requiring public universities to become *ในกำกับ* (nai kum kab) by 2002 without adequately explaining how this was going to impact the higher education system.

Interviewees identified three areas in which they felt government policy lacked clarity: Government appropriations, tuition, and job security.

Khun Porntip (A&M): “One reason was that the government did not put out a clear policy on how it was going to support higher education under a new system. If universities left the system, in what manner was the government going to support them? Because, as far as I know, universities were afraid that if they left the system, the government would cease to support the budget.”

Dr. Kamrai (BCT): “Right now Thai people in general are asking how the universities are doing. The hardest thing is that both outsiders and university professors at other universities that have not restructured are saying that universities that have restructured will have to go out and hunt for their own resources. And if we have to look for resources on our own, for sure, if we must take care of ourselves along this line, it will be something that will cause the university to deteriorate.”

Dr. Makroot (CU): “The confusion of the people in the last three years because they don't see the security, they are quite concerned about where the money

comes from, they are quite concerned that the government did not pay any attention for their budget, things like that.”

Dr. Kamrai (BCT): “So students, when they come to enroll, they think about this. So we have to move in stages in order to build understanding. Things have gotten better this year. Last year was not so good, it caused the number of applications to drop a little.”

Question: “They were afraid tuition would increase?”

Dr. Kamrai (BCT): “That might have been one reason.”

Dr. Kamnaan (BCT): “That there will be increased tuition. All this is really misleading.”

Dr. Tawat (A&M): “People in the university felt very secure in the civil service system. Then to ask them to leave that system for a new system that is unknown, is psychologically difficult. Every one was very comfortable. Why did they have to change? So yes, there is dissent. They ask, ‘What will it be like after leaving the civil service system?’ ‘How is leaving the civil service system a better deal for us?’ Everyone has their own self-interests to look out for, so these questions are asked. But here at the autonomous university the status of being a professor is not all that clear. People say that we are a state enterprise, not civil service, so job security is uncertain.”

It was evident, then, that changing from ข้าราชการ (civil service system) to ในกำกับ (under the supervision) was not clearly understood at any level of society be it government, academia, or public. It was generally understood that being under the supervision of the state was equal to being under the civil service. This was largely a cultural attitude in that this had been the only system. It was difficult for people to understand state supervision in terms other than civil service control. An important part of this study, then, was to discover an understanding of what was meant or understood when speaking of ในกำกับ (under the supervision of).

How then did administrators, who have gone through one or more levels of restructuring, define the meaning of the supervised university? Administrators were first of all adamant that ในกำกับ (under the supervision of) was not privatization. At no time did anyone indicate a desire to become a private institution. To the contrary all respondents emphasized the need for continued government involvement in the higher education system, especially in regards to government support.

Dr. Kaset (BCT): “At the moment, you see, there's some misunderstanding. I think the government thinks that by letting the university become autonomous, then the university will depend less on the government. Which I think is incorrect. As long as you are a state university, as long as you are a state university, the main income should be from the state.”

Dr. Simrang (CU): “The burden of the budget continues to be the responsibility of the government. It is possible that it will be reduced but probably not.”

The level of desired government support varied from as low 60 percent to a high of 80 percent. The consensus, however, was the same: the government must continue substantial financial support of public universities regardless of which system they were under. Most respondents indicated that the level of support should not be less than the current level. When asked to define “level of support” respondents clarified their answers to mean that the actual amount received from government should not be reduced. If an institution received two hundred million baht a year from the government, then it should continue to receive two hundred million baht a year. Any references to cuts in government appropriations were couched in terms of no increases in government appropriations to meet growing expenditures. In other words there would be reductions in the proportion, or percentage, of overall budget but not in actual baht amounts.

Khun Porntrii (MUA): “The government has already said it will not reduce everything, except proportionately. Eventually there might be reductions, because when the university has flexibility (คล่องตัว) they will have opportunity to do contracts or whatever, where they will have cost sharing with the private sector. So we want to increase flexibility. When flexibility is increased, they can make their own system, make a system that is more flexible (คล่องตัว) in choosing what is good for the institution.”

Question: “And if universities are able to find new sources, will the government reduce appropriations?”

Khun Porntrii (MUA): “It will not reduce, but will reduce proportionately. And it will be gradual, a little bit at a time. The money will be the same amount, no reductions, but proportion wise, it will be reduced.”

Several respondents made distinctions between the operations budget and investment:

Dr. Simrang (CU): “If we look at the budget as being divided into two types: operating cost and investment. In building, in durable items, it is the responsibility of the government to allocate. But for operating costs, the government is responsible for finding part of the funds and the university must also find funds. But as I look to the long term, it is possible it might be lowered to about sixty-forty.”

Becoming a supervised university then did not mean privatization, or cutting off all ties with government. What it did mean was a change in the relationship between government and universities. This change of relationship focused on issues of control and power.

Dr. Amnat (BCT): “It means we have the power to manage ourselves internally. All the internal workings, rules, policies, we are able to establish ourselves. And if there is something that is not working, we can change it ourselves. We don't have to ask permission, we can do it ourselves.”

Dr. Simrang (CU): “ในกำกับ (nai kam kab) means, actually we ought to use ในกำกับ (nai kam kab) or ในกำกับของรัฐ (nai kam kab khong^y rat) to mean to regulate or supervise, not control so that all university decisions are finished at the university board of regent's level. The method of administration, rules and regulations, all made by the university board of regents, administration,

management, are finished at this level. Therefore the government is not very involved in the process.”

Khun Porntrii (MUA): “According to our (MUA) definition it means that we allow independence for universities in making decision in areas of the internal management system. This refers back to administration matters, refers to areas of staff development. And curriculum. Everything ends with the university council/board. But we (MUA) will look into issues of policy, resource allocation, long-term evaluation, and support activities. We (MUA) will be the policy and budget coordinator.”

What was at issue here was the release of universities from bureaucratic control by shifting power and control over the decision making process from government to the individual university. Administrators repeatedly described the civil service system as slow and cumbersome, inhibited by the many rules and regulations that governed the civil service from budget to personnel management.

Dr. Amnat (BCT): “Also when the government budget office sends a budget, it is a line item budget. So many tables, so many chairs, and we have to use the funds to buy tables, or chairs. If we had a need to buy computers, it was difficult to do so. We had to go ask permission to change the budget from tables and chairs to computers. And the budget office could grant or not grant the request. That is freedom in funds, freedom in personnel, these are the two biggest differences. Money and personnel.”

Dr. Kamrai (BCT): “But in the budget, that is the same, the government controlled every item, every item. What item you want to buy, materials, you have to buy according to the budget. You cannot spend the budget different from the line item.”

Khun Porntip (A&M): “If you are in the civil service system, the budget you receive, is controlled by the civil service. For example, if it is budgeted to buy one item, such as a computer, in the civil service system they will tell you to buy one computer for three hundred thousand baht. They had very detailed spending.”

Dr. Amnat (BCT): “The disadvantage is job security. If you are a civil servant, if you do not do anything terribly wrong, you keep your job until retirement.”

Dean (CU): “ In the civil service system, if you can pass the six-month and one-year evaluations, you can stay in until retirement, as long as you don't do anything wrong.”

Associate Dean (CU): “And many people would say that in the university we could not do anything.”

Dean (CU): “Because it is very hard to remove people in the old system.”

Dr. Makroot (CU): “But in the system it's very difficult to kick him out, very difficult. But in under the supervision (ในกำกับ) we can get good persons for the system.”

The rules and regulations imposed by the civil service system made the decision making process inflexible. Even if there were more flexibility in the system, the multiple bureaucratic offices involved in the higher education system ensure that 1: decisions were slow in coming and 2: decisions were diluted by the numerous compromises that were needed for each office to sign off on the decision.

Dr. Kamnaan at Big City Tech provided a chart (Figure 3) and explanation of the civil service decision making structure at work in the higher education system.

Dr. Kamnaan (BCT): “If we look at this chart, we see much more clearly the structure of the civil service university. Here we have the university council, but the university council doesn't do very much at all, it has no power, it has no rights at all. The budget does not go to the university council, it goes over there, to the budget bureau at the ministry. And the budget passes the budget bureau, which then forces the council to accept it. But, the procurement system needs to be approved by the ministry of finance; it goes over here at this office. The budget goes over here to Finance Ministry, any change to compensation levels, changes to teaching load, has to go for approval and the civil service (points to different boxes on the chart, each box represent a govt. office or bureau) So the university, when it tries to function, Oh, it is very troublesome.”

Limitations of Present Public Universities in Thailand

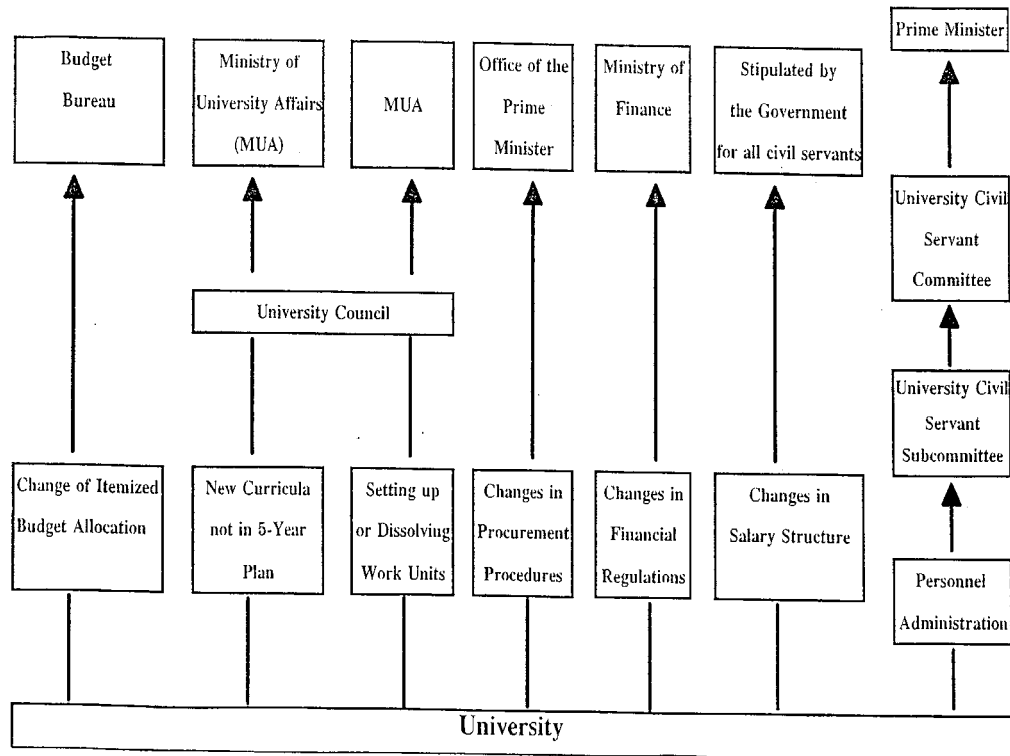
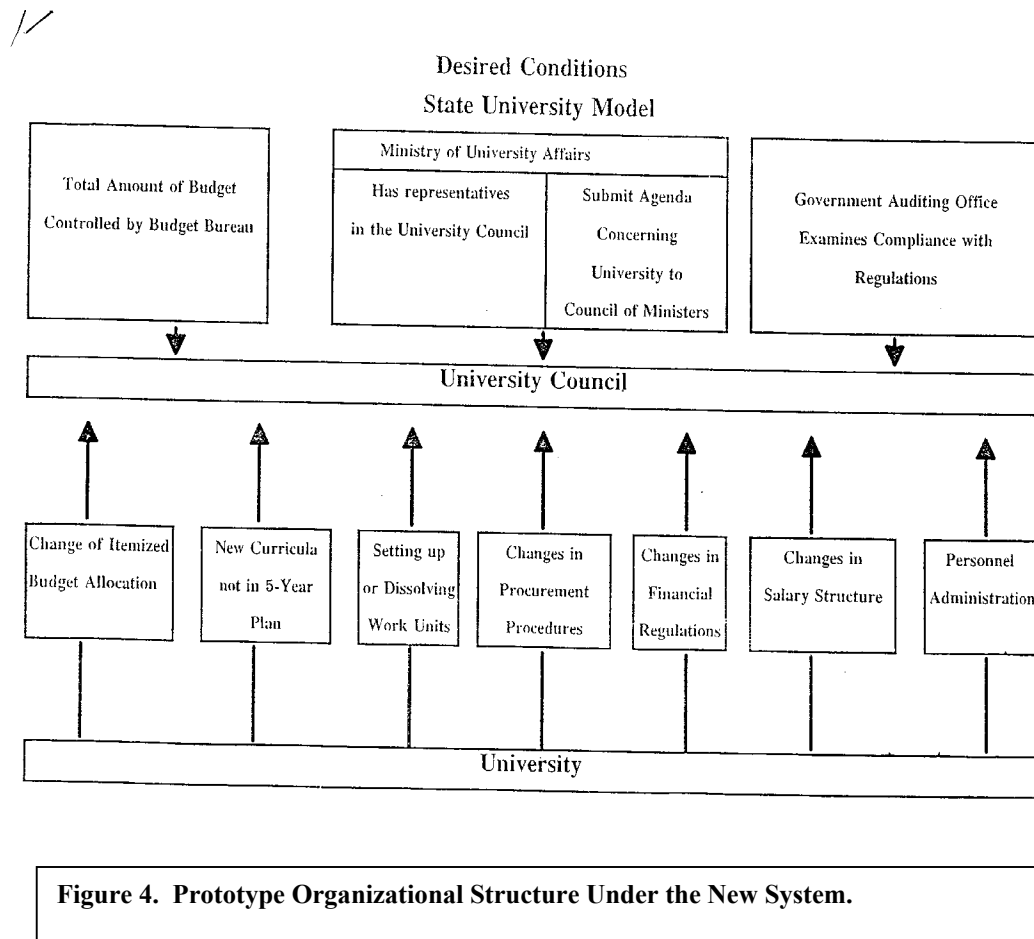


Figure 3. Organizational Structure Under the Civil Service System

The type of centralized control represented in the above chart was one that could be described as multiple bureaucratic centralization. It was centralized in the sense that decisions were made by the government bureaucracy. It was a multiple bureaucracy in that different offices within the government had decision control over their own territory. As the chart shows many of these offices controlled their territory completely bypassing the university council.

Dr. Kamnaan also provided a chart (Figure 4) showing a prototype organization structure in which seven government offices were reduced to three. Under this structure all divisions within a university were accountable to the University Council. All decisions were therefore made by the University Council and then passed on to the government offices for review and approval.



Changing the system from civil service to supervision was an attempt at decentralization. It was shifting control and power over decision making from multiple bureaucratic offices to a single university council. Decentralization of power is an important theme in neo-liberal and post-Keynesian global economic theory. The role of the government or state is reduced to that of policeman and judge, patrolling the edges of the playing field to make sure it remains level (Slaughter and Leslie 1997). At best government plays a role in promoting technological innovation and in creating a climate favorable to investment at home (Porter 1990; Carnoy 1993). Otherwise the market, in this case the university, is left to its own volition. It would seem that the forces of globalization influenced the restructuring of the three Thai universities researched for this study.

Advantages of Restructuring

Interviewees were asked a series of questions designed to elicit comments on what were the advantages of leaving the civil service system for the new decentralized system. The purpose was not to make a list of advantages, but rather to examine the language that was used to describe them. The assumption being made here was that if globalization was playing a role in restructuring, then language associated with global economy theory would be used. So even though a list of advantages could be constructed, it was the language used in making the list that was of greater importance.

Advantages to restructuring could be grouped into four main categories:

flexibility, efficiency, accountability, and competition. The largest category was คล่องตัว (khlong^ tua) meaning to be flexible. Respondents agreed that the decentralized system allowed for greater flexibility in budget, personnel, and operation management. On greater flexibility in budget management:

Dr. Amnat (BCT): “That is freedom in funds, freedom in personnel, these are the two biggest differences. Money and personnel. When the government gives us our appropriations, we can rearrange the budget internally. If they give us funds to buy a vehicle, but we see that we can wait on buying a vehicle, we can take the funds and do something else. But at year-end we have to report how we used the funds. And we have to be able to defend the change. Because maybe next year we might ask to buy a vehicle and they will say, Hey, we gave you funds for that last year. But if we can show good reason they might say, OK, here are funds to buy a new vehicle.”

Khun Supatra (CU): “But within the university we can allocate the funds according to our own policy. The government grant is the most important. The government has said it will not reduce the amount of the block grant. The changes will be in how the university can allocate and use the funds.”

Khun Porntip (A&M) “The budget that is given to A&M is like this. We still use the MUA, that they look at the budget they give to all state enterprises. It's the same process. But when we receive the funding, then it is different from other enterprises in that when we receive our funds, in one block sum, we are allowed to manage how we spend the funds ourselves without being tied to any stipulations that those over there might tell us, they might tell us we have to spend the funds in this or that area only. But we don't have to do so. If there is a change, a result of something else that is newer or better, and that we can purchase for three hundred baht, then we can change without having to ask permission from the budget office again.”

On greater flexibility in personnel management:

Dr. Kaset (BCT): “Other good reasons for being autonomous are that the university has to examine itself in the area of hiring personnel. Personnel must be productive. Since we are hiring and paying salaries out of that fixed budget. If there is a special need that required a lot of special attention, we don't need to hire permanent position. We could contract a specialist to come in and do the job until it is done. This would lower the burden on budgets.”

Dr. Kamnan (BCT): “If we need someone who is an expert to come work here, we have to give him or her the same salary as everyone else; the pay scale was the same. So if you have graduated with a doctorate in science, you get the same salary as someone without a doctorate. In the past if you finished your doctorate, no matter what you did, your salary would not even be 10,000. Because of this reason, this university, skilled people, after restructuring, the more developed they are, we can hire them with a higher salary.”

Khun Porntip (A&M): “And in the area of personnel management. It is management following the rules and procedures established by the university. Including the personnel budget. Suppose you give a personnel budget of two hundred million, with that two hundred million the decision on how many personnel to hire is made by the university. Those over there (ทางโน้น meaning government) are not allowed to control the number of personnel we hire. In this way they don't come and bother us.”

On greater flexibility in operations (general) management:

Dr. Simrang (CU): “The purpose/reasons are to develop flexibility (คล่องตัว) in management and administration.... We don't have to be under the regulations and rules of the civil service. But to have a condition where the university is the highest administrative organization to establish a flexible (คล่องตัว) management style. Other issues are at the decision level of the university board of regents. The board of regents can make changes whenever. And announce the changes in a royal decree because the board is flexible (คล่องตัว) in making organizational changes.”

Dr. Kamrai (BCT): “Our principle point was autonomy for the university. A second point was the university should be able to operate in such a way as to be able to find other sources of funding through an academic standard, by developing our mental strength to work for the university. And we need the power to update/modernize our academics/curriculum. In America, Europe, they are able to develop and change quickly. We are always following behind them. And we do not have the ability to keep up with change like that.”

Khun Porntrii (MUA): “Secondly, it is imperative that universities have independence to make changes on their own.”

The second largest category of advantages was ประสิทธิภาพ (phra/ sit ti/ phaap^) or productivity. Efficiency, like flexibility, was usually paired with financial and personnel

concerns. The new system was presented as being more efficient in financial management. The thought process was that administrators knew the financial needs of their university better than a bureaucrat located in the capital. Under the new system universities received government funds in the form of block grants and the university administration had the power to make its own budget. The university administration also had the power to make legitimate changes to the budget. Another budget efficiency measure was the ability to “roll over” left over funds from one fiscal year to the next. Under the civil service system any left over funds had to be returned to the budget bureau. Left over funds were then taken into consideration by the budget bureau when making the next fiscal year’s budget. The result was described by one respondent as:

Dr. Kamrai (BCT): “Because in the civil service, in general, in the government, when you come to the end of the fiscal year, if the budget has not all been spent, if you just let it go, they (government) will call for it to be returned. When the funds have been returned, how can we then go and ask for an increase in the budget? So in the government we try and spend all of it. One way is to have conferences. Conferences at hotels, get together, to talk about that, about this together. Which we see as, sometimes, it has profit, but sometimes is worthless. It becomes a way to accelerate the budget.”

The power to determine how funds were used combined with keeping left over funds was credited with helping to increase efficiency in financial management.

Efficiency in personnel was usually talked about in conjunction with accountability and increased workload. A phrase that was mentioned more than once at more than one university was *เข้าขามเย็นขาม* (chao/ cham yen cham). Professors who were civil servants were described as working *เข้าขามเย็นขาม* (chao/ cham yen cham) or

doing just enough to get by. Administrators expressed frustration at being powerless to do anything about the situation as civil service rules made termination a difficult process.

Dr. Simrang (CU): “We won't have people who just muddle through their work
เข้าขามเย็นขาม (chao/ cham yen cham) I don't know if you understand this
Thai phrase or not. Everyone will have to work. If they don't work, then
there will be a mechanism in following up on their work, in warning them.”

Dr. Jandara (A&M): “And many have been in the civil service.....they are just
perfunctory, muddle through their work. เข้าขามเย็นขาม” (chao/ cham yen
cham)

Dean (CU): “In the civil service system, if you can pass the six-month and one-year
evaluations, you can stay in until retirement, as long as you don't do anything
wrong.

Associate Dean (CU): “And many people would say that in the university we could
not do anything

Dean (CU): Because it is very hard to remove people in the old system.

Dr. Makroot (CU): “In the system it's very difficult to kick him out, very difficult.”

In addition to เข้าขามเย็นขาม (chao/ cham yen cham) administrators felt the civil
service system allowed for more faculty and staff than was necessary. Many expressed
their desire to see faculty take on a larger workload.

Khun Porntip (A&M): “When they come here they are not able to adjust
themselves to our system, and this makes them have objections. Why was it
when they were in the civil service there was not reason to rush to work
themselves? More than that, they had lots of assistants to do the work for
them. But when they come here they have to do all the work with their own
body. That is something that a lot of people do not like.”

Dr. Tawat (A&M): “But then we have to show effectiveness. For example in
student-staff ratios. In the old system it is about 1:12. In our system it might
be 1:15 or even 1:20. So we tell people that we take the salary of two people,
hire only one, and increase effectiveness and efficiency of the staff. This way
we are able to recruit the people we would like to recruit.”

Dr. Kamon (BCT): “As I say, instead of you employ one lecturer, you employ three with very minimum load, that can not be taken as efficient management I think that is a very good thing I can think of becoming autonomous to improve universities in Thailand.”

Dr. Kamnan (BCT): “Because we said that we needed to increase faculty salaries, but we also needed them to do more work.”

Dr. Amnat (BCT): “Efficiency is the relationship between the outputs we have committed to and the input it takes to create the output. Little input, a lot of output. And we also have to compare this institution with other institutions. How different are we from others in terms of input and output?”

Dr. Kaset (BCT): “It is good because it allows us to reduce personnel, by cutting off the fat. Leaving only personnel that, I think, are the hardest workers. And university will be able to increase the reputation of the university and the faculty much more.”

Issues of accountability were raised in conjunction with efficiency. Respondents felt that new evaluation or performance review systems would force personnel to be more productive and efficient in their job performance.

Question: “How do you hire employees?”

Dr. Amnat (BCT): “A three-year contract. And we have yearly performance reviews. But at the end of three years there is a review to see if the contract should be renewed or not.”

Dr. Simrang (CU): “But everyone must work, there must be a good evaluation system in order for efficiency to increase. If we are able to accept this, there would be not a problem. Because there is a strategy in the evaluation. If you look at yourself, you might think it is not fair. But in reality, in the system that has been laid out, it has to be fair, there can be no way to frame or persecute. There has to be an appeals process like the civil service. All this is the system, the plan that CU has submitted.”

Khun Malii (A&M): “Another problem is in evaluation. Because here we have evaluations three times a year. And you have to perform your best for the university. If not, we talk about it and if you don't improve, you can be let go.”

Accountability was not just for faculty performance. Administrators also spoke of accountability for themselves.

Dr. Amnat (BCT): “But we have to have accountability. We have to be transparent so that people can come and see what we are doing internally. To see that we are doing correctly and appropriately. The government has committed to fund us a certain amount. And we have to show that we are using that amount in an appropriate manner. So if we can do this, it is good.”

Question: “Does autonomy enhance accountability?”

Dr. Amnat (BCT): “There has to be accountability. Accountability means that we have data or whatever that lets government and others see that we have used the funds in the appropriate way. And to show that our productivity is according to what we committed to when we asked for government appropriations. If our expenditures are in line with what we committed then OK. We also are transparent in the internal management to show that we manage in an appropriate manner. They don't have to come and count the number of professors, because our productivity is what we committed to.”

Although accountability and performance reviews did exist in the civil service system, they were viewed as weak and ineffectual. As one respondent put it, “don’t do anything criminal and you can stay a civil servant indefinitely.” A common disciplinary method used by the civil service was “transfer to an inactive post”. The individual could not be terminated, but could be placed in a position where he or she could do no harm. The inactive post was also a dead end street for one’s civil service career as it closed the door on promotion or advancement. The individual in question, however, was still on the payroll and eligible for all benefits.

Administrators were hoping that changing to a non civil service system would allow the university to set up stronger accountability procedures that had some teeth in

them. The main goal of accountability was to increase efficiency and productivity. A second, but less important goal, was to increase transparency within the university.

Being more competitive was a fourth advantage of being autonomous.

Administrators felt that increased flexibility, efficiency, and accountability allowed the autonomous university to be more competitive in three key areas: personnel recruitment, student recruitment, and academics. In personnel recruitment, administrators saw their main competition as industry. Many complained of university ‘brain drain’ as qualified personnel chose higher paying jobs in industry over lower paying civil service jobs in higher education.

Dr. Kamnan (BCT): “But the university is still like the old way of doing things and skilled people are going out finding jobs elsewhere, and not coming into the system. When people are not willing to come into the system, the university must go out and hire people who are second class—[class?] that is something we will have to wait and see about. In order to compete the university must hire skilled people to come in. But when the skilled people do not come in, in many areas we are deficient. Those who worked in industry made greater salaries. So they did not want to come to universities where the salaries are low. They were not here.”

Dr. Tawat (A&M): “Secondly, we are able to have a personnel administrative system and a salary scale that we can adjust according, in order to compete with the private sector.”

A second source of competition in personnel recruitment was other universities.

Universities had to compete with the top four or five prestigious universities for the best personnel. Whereas these top institutions might not be able to offer higher salaries (being tied to the civil service scale) the prestige one receives from being a faculty member was a large obstacle for lesser universities to overcome. Prestige aside, however, it was

location that posed the greatest problem. Universities located in the larger cities like Bangkok and Chiang Mai had more to offer in terms of quality of life. Everyone wanted to live in the big city where modern technological conveniences were readily available. Cities also offered greater opportunities for personnel to moonlight. Engineers could open up a private business on the side, doctors a private clinic, there was more industry to do consultancy work and so on. Universities located in smaller provincial towns were hard pressed to compete with these extra benefits. The only way these smaller universities felt they could compete in personnel recruitment was to offer higher salaries to prospective personnel. The only way to offer higher salaries was to leave the civil service system.

Khun Porntip (A&M): “There are limitations to people wanting to come here. We are a provincial university. They do not want to come here even if it is a good salary, good benefits, the university is trying to give all this. Even more than the civil service.”

Dr. Jandara (A&M): “No matter if we have a good reputation, or if they know about us or not, those who are in the civil service, and then come to work here, it might be easier because we tell people our salary scale, which is higher than the civil service scale.”

In student recruitment competition was enhanced in two key areas. First was in using a quota system in accepting students. Public universities had traditionally accepted students based on national entrance exam scores with the major prestigious universities taking those with the highest scores. Those who did not score high in the exam had to choose between the two open universities and the private universities. The quota system was a mechanism by which smaller public universities could recruit qualified students

without needing to take into account the national entrance exam. A typical quota system stipulated that a certain percentage of new students would be from a certain sector of society. In some cases this referred to accepting top students from high schools located in the service region of the university. In specialty areas like technology this might refer to accepting a percentage of the top students at two-year technical schools.

Dr. Amnat (BCT): “By quotas we mean, if there are students from far away, for example the high schools from our immediate area, we tell them the top three from your school will be admitted to BCT without having to take the entrance exam. We want students to see that we are fair, and that the top students will be admitted. We also are able to go into the high schools and help them with teaching and instruction development so that students get a better high school education. And this is what we mean by quota.”

Dr. Kamrai (BCT): “And we accept students in four, five departments. Electrical technicians, industrial works, and technology. But we only accept for PWS certificate. So that in an extra two, two and half years they can finish their bachelor degree. We accept two groups of kids. The first group we accept 40 percent from all the technical colleges nationwide we choose from the top students.”

Question: “Choose from the technical colleges?”

Dr. Kamrai (BCT): “Yes, we choose from them. It has happened that these groups of kids have a good learning attitude. Even though they may not be able to compete with kids from Bangkok, for example, in testing, Bangkok kids just eat them up. For a long time. You only get a few from outside. Korat, Sonkhla has some, the Bangkok kids just eat them all up. So in this area we have expanded the opportunity. This year we will accept from the quota 60 percent.”

Dr. Makroot (CU): “We accept about six hundred students, and we, six hundred that did not pass instead of going to the private university, the parents now prefer to send their students to Central University, it's close to Bangkok. We interview them, so after May when the result of the entrance exam is revealed, some students will make application for this university and before June it will be processed.”

Khun Malii (A&M): “So we are like the market, we are in competition with other types of institutions. The student is the goal of the university. And we are looking for the top students of each high school, and there is competition between universities to grab the best students, for example we have quotas that allow students to enroll without taking the entrance exam. This is a good thing, competition.”

The second key area in student recruitment was tied to academic competitiveness.

This meant being able to open programs that would attract students to the university.

Universities in both civil service and non civil service systems were opening new programs at the bachelors', masters', and doctoral levels. It was no coincidence that these new programs were often in business and technology related fields. The trick was to open up these new programs quickly to meet market demand and to get a leg up on the competition. Interviewees felt that being an autonomous university gave them the competitive edge over civil service universities.

Dr. Kamrai (BCT): “We changed our university to be a university under the supervision of the state by having a university regulation. By having a university regulation means that we had our own idea. Our principle point was autonomy for the university. A second point was the university should be able to operate in such a way as to be able to find other sources of funding through an academic standard, by developing our mental strength to work for the university. And we need the power to update/modernize our academics/curriculum. In America, Europe, they are able to develop and change quickly. We are always following behind them. And we do not have the ability to keep with change like that. So a law was passed. So we have to affirm with the government that in personnel administration, in recruiting teachers and professors, that once you have come out to be a supervised university, we are able to develop and move forward better then before. It is a work standard for developing our academics. We are able to change our curriculum without having to go through a lot of steps.”

Competitiveness was not limited to Thai universities. Several administrators expressed a more regional if not global outlook in wanting to maintain competitiveness

with international universities. They were concerned that events taking place in higher education in Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines would cause the Thai system to fall behind. At least one expanded this beyond the South East Asia region to include competing with western universities.

Dr. Kamrai (BCT): “Apart from that there has already been some change in Singapore, Indonesia, Philippines. So we have those reasons for building a new university, a university under the supervision.”

Dr. Kamnan (BCT): “If we do not quickly change the system, we will not develop further. How can we compete with Malaysia, or whoever, we can't compete. The university will be out of date.”

Increased flexibility, increased efficiency, increased competitiveness, these are phrases and concepts associated with the higher education restructuring that took place in Australia and Europe. As noted earlier Australian and European restructuring was the result of an entrepreneurial rationale that was born of the free market liberalism that peaked during the 1980s (Marginson 1993). It was not unreasonable to suggest that this entrepreneurial rationale was a factor in higher education restructuring in Thailand.

Attitude Shifts

The preceding discussions on understanding globalization, autonomy, and advantages, have been building up to this discussion identifying attitudes associated with globalization that were present in Thailand's higher education system. The pre-suppositions referenced earlier would dictate that certain attitudes or attitude shifts be present in the system if globalization was indeed a factor. These attitudes are:

1. The rise of an entrepreneurial culture within higher education.

2. Higher education is increasingly viewed as industry or part of the economy as opposed to a social institution.
3. Higher education is increasingly viewed as contributing more to economic development than to knowledge.
4. Students are viewed as consumers and education as a commodity.
5. Efficiency and accountability can only be measured using market standards.

The first attitude shift, the rise of an entrepreneurial culture within higher education, was the result of attitudes two through five. In other words, if attitudes two through five could be detected in the data, then one could assume the rise of an entrepreneurial culture.

The extent to which higher education was viewed as a social institution is questionable. Earlier sections noted that higher education was originally established to help train those entering the civil service. Even when higher education expanded beyond the civil service it was, and in many ways still is, inaccessible to the masses. One must therefore consider the possibility that, in society at large, higher education was viewed more as a government/elitist institution rather than a social or society wide institution. This attitude shift could have been worded to read higher education was increasingly viewed as industry or part of the economy as opposed to a government institution. At a surface level it seemed that respondents did not view higher education as part of the economic sector. Many emphasized their institution's on-going status as a state

enterprise and being non-profit. Their desire, however, was to replace the civil service management system with a new system; a new system based on industry and economy.

Dr. Kamnan: (BCT): “But in the new system here we manage like the private sector.”

Dr. Kaset (BCT): “But universities that have left the civil service system have been able to implement these policies faster if the administrator can administrate like in the private sector.”

Dr. Tawat (A&M): “Some people say when we have left the civil service system there will be greater flexibility and we will be able to set compensation that is comparable to industry and the private sector. Secondly, we are able to have a personnel administrative system and a salary scale that we can adjust accordingly, in order to compete with the private sector.”

Although administrators looked to industrial and economic sectors for management models, they stopped short of suggesting that public higher education should be a profit making enterprise:

Dr. Jandara (A&M): “But if you talk about making profit like a private enterprise, I cannot say I agree. Because our work is education. The government does not look at education making a profit like say, the electric authority or some private company. We cannot look at profit because we are in the work of education.”

Dr. Supatra (CU): “For example providing seminars for the business community. We can do this for a small profit. Not a big profit because we are a government service. But we can provide seminars at a reasonable price. Under the old system we had to do this for free, or at a loss. But we provide the space, the materials, our faculty provides the expertise, so under the new system we can do this for a small profit. And get money from these enterprises and not from graduate or undergraduate students.”

Dr. Supratra’s statement about making a small profit from services provided to the community was more a statement about being able to cover the costs involved, breaking even, instead of profit in the economic sense of the term. In other words these services

needed to be self-supporting and not funded by student tuition and fees. This attitude, however, was one that was found in the economic sector: no service is free and had to least break-even or it would be terminated.

This attitude of higher education being viewed as part of industry or economy was further bolstered by another attitude shift: higher education was increasingly viewed as contributing more to economic development as opposed to knowledge. Several administrators and faculty were concerned about Thailand's standing in the world economy, especially in the technology sciences. Their concern was that Thailand was a consumer of world technology and not a producer. Their goal was for Thailand to become more self-sufficient in producing home grown technological advances. Higher education played an important role in technology through education, training, and research. The role of the university, especially in technical fields, was to help develop technology for the economic advancement of the country. They also saw their role as providing education and training specifically designed for industrial development, and finally as providing education and training for those who wanted to start their own businesses.

Dr. Kamnan (BCT): "But there was another purpose, we saw one good reason, but we had set our minds to say that Thailand we have not developed technology. We buy technology all the time, but we only teach to produce more manpower. We are not able to make technology ourselves. Therefore if we are able to make our own technology, we need to develop better-applied research skills. We need to invest more money and energy. To be more serious about it. The government needs to provide great support. But if we are in the civil service system, it will be like before. There will be many obstacles. So we recognize that we needed to leave."

Dr. Simrang (CU): “Language plays a big part as well. Therefore there is a great influence on higher education, on education management. In technology, if we are not able to keep up with the rest of the world in IQ, in Network, we will not be able to keep up with current events and our professors will not be able to do research. Language is the same. If our language skills are not good, how can we communicate with other nations? Because it is the norm now that you need to communicate in at least a second language, maybe a third. So English is essential for Thai children. Because when they have finished and left and gone out to work, to conduct business, what ever they are trying to sell. So I say this is something the university must consider a big issue.”

Dr. Kamnan (BCT): “And right now we are providing as much service as we can to technical colleges, high schools, outside personnel that are asking for help. For example Swiss Thai Tech, a watch/clock manufacturer, has sent people to us for training for six months, and then sent them on for further studies in Paris and then they returned to work. We helped them in that. And there is the center for technician training and development that has been added because we have not limited our curriculum for out of program studies in our university. This curriculum we offer at all levels to teach people who will build work, not look for work. So that when they finish, and go out and start a business, employment, small scale business, fifty employees and up, right? They have to build themselves up first, and slowly grow larger, those from our center. That is our hope. And when they have gone to be business starters, and have problems, the center will be here to help provide support. A middle man that helps coordinate things.”

It was evident, then, that within the fields of science and technology there was a growing viewpoint that universities needed to be doing more to help the economic and technical advancement of the country. It was not certain, however, if this sentiment was necessarily held by non-technical/science academics.

Dr. Kamnan (BCT): “It was mostly administrative personnel who saw the need, especially those in the technology fields who recognized problems in the old system. But the social sciences were different (chuckle). They are better off at the university. Because they might think that they can find work outside as I mentioned, but no. One might think they could find work outside, to make a living, but no. If they go off, they will starve.”

In other words non-technology academics were, by Dr. Kamnan's estimation, the least likely to benefit from the economic sector and would not necessarily be moving towards a "higher education should contribute more to industry/economy" point of view. The validity of this statement was questionable when considering statements made by a member of the Humanities and Social Sciences department at Central University. The interviewee mentioned several new programs being opened in the department in areas of business management, hotel and tourism management, and English as a Second/Foreign (ESL/EFL) Language (especially English for business). These programs were mentioned in the context of international cooperation with a number of Australian Universities. It was interesting to note, however, that these new programs were all applied sciences. Although the primary reason for these programs was that they would attract the most students and bring in more revenue, a secondary or maybe even tertiary reason was they were providing education and training that would help the economic development of the country.

There was evidence that, at some level, education was viewed as a commodity with students being consumers. References were made about students needing to pay a higher share of their education.

Khun Wanna (BCT): "Up to now tuition has not increased. But we are thinking about it a lot. Because we have only been out of the old system for a year or two. And also the government wants students to take more responsibility for their tuition."

Dr. Tawat (A&M): "First, tuition and fees. The government has long had a policy that state university students need to take greater responsibility in paying tuition and fees."

Dr Thiang (CU): “Another thing, right now the government supports students 80 percent of tuition. The students have to come up with the other 20 percent, which for many was hard enough. But under the government's policy, they want to slowly reduce the amount of tuition that is subsidized, 70 percent, then 60 percent, with a final goal of 50 percent, and students have to find the other 50 percent.”

Respondents were quick to implicate the government in any tuition increases.

“The government wants students to take more responsibility for their tuition.”

Universities came off looking clean when they stated that they raised tuition as a last resort when government appropriations did not cover all the costs. As will be pointed out in greater detail later, however, there was a growing attitude among university personnel that students were consumers and education was the product being sold.

There were two major types of tuition in the Thai higher education system at the time of the study: tuition charged for traditional programs and tuition charged for non-traditional programs. Traditional programs, in this context, referred to programs and courses taught during the traditional school hours: Monday through Friday during the normal morning and afternoon hours. Students enrolled in these programs were the traditional Thai university students who had passed a national entrance exam. It was very difficult, from a cultural perspective, to increase tuition for these programs.

Non-traditional programs referred to programs and courses taught outside normal teaching hours or courses taught in English. These courses could be evening/night courses, weekend courses, or special courses offered off campus. Because these courses and programs were taught outside of what society considered the traditional system, there

were no restrictions on tuition. Universities could charge whatever the market would pay for these courses without much negative feedback from society.

Dr. Makroot (CU): “Of course we have the special program in the evening from five o'clock until nine o'clock in the evening. So we have the parallel program, the regular program includes the students from the entrance examination. But in the meantime we have accepted students who did not pass the entrance exam. So that in my faculty Humanities and Social Science, we accept about six hundred students, and we have six hundred that did not pass instead of going to the private university, the parents now prefer to send their students to Central University, it's close to Bangkok. We interview them, so after May when the result of the entrance exam is revealed, some students will make application for this university and before June it will be processed. And today is the first day of the summer session for the special program from five to nine. And the evening classes are a higher tuition rate, so this is income that comes back to assist us in terms of overtime for clerks, honorarium for faculty members, they are happy because they get double pay, they are quite happy.”

Non-traditional programs were for those, who for whatever reason, could not study in traditional programs and who were willing to pay higher tuition. It was no surprise then that non-traditional programs were market driven: only programs that students were willing to pay for would be offered. The higher tuition charged for non-traditional programs was a factor that caused an attitudinal shift in seeing students as consumers of education. This attitude shift was found in administration and in students. The higher the fees paid, the more demands students felt they could make of the institution. It was no surprise that universities felt they must be highly responsive to market demands in order to be self-supporting.

The final attitude shift speaks to using economic and market standards to measure efficiency and accountability in the higher education system. As noted earlier, the new

system that was being established was one that used economic and market management models. It was not surprising to find that efficiency and accountability were often referred to in connection to how things were done in the market sector.

Dr. Kamol (A&M): “Yeah, well, well, ahh, This is a thing, that uhh, a thing that I think, uhh, among the Thai still not very clear. But that's certainly, in fact, uhh, we try to run this university as uhh, people running business. We not talking about profit. But effectiveness, efficiency, is the thing that we are talking about. Meeting with the staff saying ‘Now when you request a budget, you should, from the previous year, what we call the result based, you know, budget. So you get a certain amount of budget and you perform.’ So it's about efficiency.”

Dr. Amnat (BCT): “Efficiency is the relationship between the outputs we have committed to and the input it takes to create the output. Little input, a lot of output. And we also have to compare this institution with other institutions. How different are we from others in terms of input and output?”

Khun Pornsawan (BCT): “This university, in the past, the importance of providing knowledge for business was minimal. But now we are trying to correct this. A lot of groups are using TQM, or emphasizing ISO, and team work. They are doing things like this continually.”

Dr. Kaset (BCT): “I work with a lot of business people. And business people ask me, ‘If the university is going to be autonomous, do administrators have to invest money in the university?’” And I tell them no, and they tell me this is a disadvantage. Because if an administrator gets too big headed, he might abuse his power, punish and fire at will. But if CEOs invest, they will be motivated to be good administrators.”

These comments both pointed to efficiency and accountability from a market/economic point of view. Dr. Kamol spoke of running the university like a business. Dr. Amnat talked of measuring efficiency in terms of inputs and outputs. Khun Pornsawan referred to TQM (Total Quality Management) and ISO (International Standards Organization). The comment by Dr. Kaset referred to a Thai accountability method in which top business managers were expected to “invest” or put up a security

deposit as guarantee or a sign of confidence in one's ability to administrate properly.

Also note the use of CEO in referring to university administrators.

The data suggest that, at some level, an entrepreneurial culture existed or was evolving in the three institutions being studied. Big City Tech and Central University seemed to have stronger entrepreneurial cultures compared to Northeastern A&M.

At first glance this was surprising because Northeastern A&M was established as a public university outside of the civil service system and one would expect there to be a strong entrepreneurial culture. Upon further reflection, however, the strong entrepreneurial showing at BCT and CU could be attributed to the newness of the situation for both these institutions. Big City Tech had just recently become a supervised university while Central University was still in the process of leaving the civil service system. The newness and excitement of the situation could be an important factor in the strong entrepreneurial culture. Administrators could also have been showing a strong entrepreneurial attitude as a means of bolstering constituency confidence and support for the new system. Northeastern A&M, on the other hand, was from the very beginning a supervised university. As one respondent noted "Faculty who come here to teach know from the very beginning what we are like. They could choose to come or not. Those who choose to come, are here because they want to be here." Northeastern A&M had also been operating as a supervised university for almost ten years and in some ways was an old story. This combination of history and passage of time could cause administrators

to take a “business as usual” attitude towards entrepreneurial activity. This would account for the seemingly low-key attitude towards market like behavior

Question Two

How strong a role has globalization played in the restructuring of higher education at the institutional level?

Behavioral Shifts

Resource dependence theory states that “organizations themselves are the interlocking of the behaviors of the various participants that comprise the organization”(Pfeffer and Salancik 1978, 258). As stated earlier, resource dependence theory is interested in activity and behavior and how they are controlled by the organization. Behavior, or activity, was an important measure of the truth of attitude. The underlying premise here was that attitude was truth only so far as it influenced behavior or activity. If attitude was not reflected or seen in behavior, then one must question the truth-value of the attitude. If globalization was playing a role in these three institutions, and if administrators and faculty had an entrepreneurial or market/economy attitude towards higher education, then one would expect to see certain types of activity that were congruent with that attitude. A list of ten possible behavioral shifts was provided in Chapter Two:

1. A change in resource seeking patterns to compete for funds.
2. A blurring of the boundaries between basic research and applied research with emphasis on applied.

3. Institution of tuition and fees.
4. Unrestricted funds change to restricted funds.
5. Increase in administration to manage funds and fund raising.
6. Closer ties to business and the market through contracts, grants, and cooperation.
7. The development of strategies and organizational forms that generate the most funds.
8. Development of a hierarchy of prestige based on ability to compete for funds.
9. A shift of emphasis on teaching to an emphasis on applied research.
10. Grants and scholarships are replaced with public and private loans.

Resource dependence theory predicts that organizational turbulence occurs when instability in respect to resources occurs (Slaughter and Leslie 1997, 69). The organization will attempt to restore stability by reducing its dependence on one provider in order to stabilize the situation. According to resource dependence theory universities will try to reduce their dependence on government appropriations by changing resource-seeking patterns and by developing new strategies and organizational forms that will generate new sources of revenue.

University personnel were adamant that the government must be the primary supporter of higher education. They were, however, very aware of the current economic and political situation and had low expectations that the government would be able to continue its former level of support. The best-case scenario presented by most respondents was that the government would not make cuts in appropriations but would

not increase funding to keep pace with rising costs. The worst-case scenario was that the economic situation would not improve and the government would be forced to make across the board budget cuts in its national budget. Regardless of what happened university personnel understood that they, by necessity, had to look for new sources of revenue.

The most obvious source of revenue was tuition and fees. Several interviewees were quite straightforward in this assessment.

Dr. Kamol (A&M): “So there are only two main incomes of the university. One is the government subsidy, and second is tuition fee.”

Dr. Amnat (BCT): “Currently we have funds that have not come directly from the state, about 30 percent. A large percentage comes from tuition fee.”

Dr. Thiang (A&M): “The university and government say the new system will allow for salary increases. Where will the money for increases come from? Not from government. They have frozen money for universities. If they are to come through on this promise they will have to raise tuition. There is no other way. We cannot raise that kind of money through research.”

Increasing tuition for traditional programs was considered the primary source of revenue outside of standard government appropriations. The only university that had made substantial movement in this direction, however, was Northeastern A&M.

Khun Porntip (A&M): “In the beginning, when we first started, government support was 100 percent, and it was slowly reduced. When we first opened, we had not enrolled any students, so we did not get any funds from tuitions. Therefore the government had to support the university 100 percent. When the university began to enroll students in about 1993, then we began to get our more funds on our own. At this point our own funds account for 30 percent of the budget.”

The other two institutions had not been as successful in raising tuition rates. Big City Tech had been slow to raise tuition rates because of public resentment.

Dr. Kamrai (BCT): “So from a public relations perspective we have to keep our tuition lower. We cannot announce a tuition hike. We have to increase tuition in increments.”

Central University personnel were not ready to increase tuition for traditional programs citing the economic condition of the region.

Dr. Simrang (CU): “The university is not going to insist that it can only find replacement funds in this way. The university will have to think of different ways. Because tuition, we have to look at the state of society. We have to look at the state of our surroundings. We are located geographically in an outer province. We are not like Chula. Chula is able to increase tuition whenever it wants. But we usually have poor students. I think that if we increase our tuition, it must be the last resort.”

Khun Supatra (CU): “We need to maintain our current tuition level. But we need to do some other things to bring in extra money.”

Universities had the freedom to raise tuition for traditional programs as they saw fit. The politics involved, however, made tuition increases a political and cultural bombshell. This did not apply to tuition for non-traditional programs. As noted earlier universities were able to establish tuition rates for these programs at whatever level they felt the market would pay. The Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at Central University had been very active in establishing non-traditional programs in Hotel and Tourist Management, the MBA, and the DBA. These programs were two-year international programs taught in English. The programs were taught in Bangkok as opposed to Central University’s main campus. Tuition for these programs ranged from 450,000 to 550,000 baht (US\$10,000-US\$12,000 based on 45:1 exchange rate) per

student. Several of these programs were offered in cooperation with foreign universities in part to take advantage of expertise not available in Thailand. A second benefit from international cooperation was added prestige from being associated with a recognized western university.

Dr. Kamon (A&M): "Well, it's strange, you know, we seem to pay more attention now to cooperation with universities outside, but there is also a tendency to promote cooperation between the university within the country. They try to set up, set up center of excellence, set up center of excellence to share resource within the country as well. But at the moment I think it's done to a lesser extent then with university from abroad. Maybe because the Thai tend to give more credit, attach prestige to university abroad. You know, the famous university abroad then to university within Thailand."

That there was market support for such ventures was evident in the following discussion.

Dr. Makroot (CU): "We have the agreement with the university of Queensland in Australia to start in this coming June. But we offer the course in Bangkok."

Question: "Now will this be an international program, can international students enroll?"

Dr. Makroot (CU): "Can come, also students in Thailand who do not want to go overseas. It is taught in English. This program, because the faculty member has to fly from Australia, we going to get airplane, and their lodging, so about 540,000 baht for two years, the whole program. They can pay on installment. This is the same for Thai and international students. We share with Queensland, 15 percent is ours, 15 percent is theirs. The other 70 percent covers operating cost. We give our 15 percent to the university and that goes for staff development. But our faculty, we have spent a lot for staff development. I have looked up the budget for this year I think for seven hundred thousand baht. Next year we are going to put it for one million. Because we get the profit from this profit."

Question: "So this is a new program?"

Dr. Makroot (CU): "Yes, yes, we also have the hotel and tourist management, and we are going to add two more programs, MBA and DBA."

Question: “How many students are in these programs?”

Dr. Makroot (CU): “We expect only for forty-five students.”

Question: “Have you received applications, or have you chosen the students?”

Dr. Makroot (CU): “Right now we are still open for applications. We sell for five hundred baht the application for...”

Question: “So have you received more than forty?”

Dr. Makroot (CU): “We have received more than forty applications, but we will only accept forty, forty-five. So we will have the examination, a test, and interview.”

Question: “So there is a strong market for this?”

Dr. Makroot (CU): “Yes, we have more applications than spaces. I think more than forty-five.”

The Faculty of Industrial Education at Big City Tech had a slightly different approach to non-traditional education programs. Instead of opening new programs to the public, the faculty was seeking closer ties to industry by offering custom made technical and management training courses to private industry on a case by case basis. The university had provided special training courses for Swiss-Thai and Toyota. These programs could be short term (six months) or long term. These were not degree programs although a certificate of completion was usually given to the students.

Universities were also trying to forge closer ties to business through consultation, research, and services. Both Northeastern A&M and Big City were attempting to establish science parks that would provide various services to the business sector. These services included product evaluation and testing, research, and consultation. Industry

was also invited to come and rent space at the industrial parks to conduct research using university supplied equipment. The goal of the universities was for the science parks to eventually become commercially competitive enterprises with any profit belonging to the university.

Universities were also seeking closer ties to industry through research. Pre-supposition two states that a blurring of the boundaries between basic research and applied research with emphasis on applied would occur. In the universities studied there were no blurring of boundaries because there were no boundaries to blur. The development of research had gone from little or no research directly to applied research, bypassing completely the development of basic research. Basic research was conducted by graduate students as part of their education and training.

Khun Pornsawan (BCT): “ We have, as you know, masters’ and PhD students here. And a lot of the research that they do is in basic research. This research is over seen by the professors in charge. So there is a budget for our students to do basic research, or graduate students.”

Faculty members, on the other hand, were not interested in conducting basic research. One reason was that emphasis had historically been placed on teaching. A second reason had been the low percentage of faculty members with doctorates that were in the system.

Khun Porntip (A&M): “For that we will have to allow time to tell. And will have to clearly stipulate the workload. At this time the teaching workload of each professor is full. Therefore time for research is little. And this is something the professors are trying to demand. The university has not limited any of that. We are trying to find the time. But we are not able to hire enough personnel to come work here.”

Dr. Kamon (A&M): “We have bachelor degree never as staff. So our staff at least has a master degree, good potential, to be PhD candidate. So the ratio at the moment, between PhD and master is between 65, 70 percent PhD to 30 percent or 35 percent master degree. Which is the highest in the country.”

Dr. Amnat (BCT): “As years passed things just got worse and worse until the economy failed. A lot of faculty left higher education. This weakened the universities. We did not have top-notch faculty. When they finished their PhD they were not willing to become teachers. They want to join the private sector because the salaries are higher.”

A third reason faculty had not been interested in basic research was financial.

Basic research had little or no potential for making profit or prestige. Applied research, on the other hand, could make a profit for the researcher and the university in terms of financial reward and prestige.

Dr. Kamrai (BCT): “A lot of them have left basic research. Maybe they have conducted one basic research for a year, year and a half. They take some time. But those who hire them are tired. They spend two years for one thing. So if they can get some outside source, or if the government will give direct support, then they will go in that direction.”

Khun Pornsawan (BCT): “But we also have research contracts with Siam Cement, Siam Kraft, and we have a relationship with these companies. So a lot of our research is in the areas that these companies need. So although I cannot say that we have reduced an emphasis on basic research, I can say that we have increased an emphasis on applied research, because we cannot rely on government appropriations alone.”

The comment by Khun Pornsawan emphasized the shift from little or no basic research to applied and contract research. Whereas financial considerations were an important factor in this shift, one could not discount the prestige factor. As mentioned earlier several faculty expressed concern over the lack of ‘home-grown’ technology. These concerns were often given in the context of needing to develop applied research as

a revenue source for the university. At the same time, however, they noted that revenue from applied research would be minimal. An underlying reason for developing applied research was prestige.

Dr. Amnat (BCT): “We contract research based on what the market pays. Academic service earns some funds as well, but the university does not receive a large benefit from research. Outside of the good reputation the university gets.”

Dr. Jandara (A&M): “In doing this, for sure, we are doing it all over the country, because this is what the government wants, research and development. Which in the university, it is work that originates in the university, and then we publish, which gives us face all over the country.”

Dr. Kamon (A&M): “Prestige, also learn more from the experience. Because I think in terms of research, uhh, we still have a lot to learn.”

Regardless of whether the emphasis was on new revenue or prestige, all respondents agreed that applied research was still in its infancy and needed continued development at all levels. This development included increasing the number of doctorates of philosophy in the higher education system doing research and more involvement from the government and private sector. They stressed that Thailand was not developed enough to support very much applied research. The majority of contracts for research were with various government ministries. With the current economic crisis, however, government ministries did not have the funds to contract for research and industry had been slow to support university research. Smaller industries were financially unable to do so and larger industries had established their own in-house research and development programs. Several interviewees called for more government support in developing university research. This support could be in the form of offering

incentives such as tax breaks to industries that invest in university research. The government, however, needed to be convinced that this was a good long term plan in that more applied research would eventually result in more tax revenue for the government as more jobs were created and local, or home-grown technology was developed and sold on the local and international market.

Replacing grants and scholarships was a behavioral shift that was slowly gaining acceptance within society. Tuition for students who were in university based on the national entrance exam continued to be heavily subsidized by the government. The subsidy, however, did not usually cover all the non-academic expenses incurred by students such as room and board, transportation, and their personal mobile phones. Students in non-traditional programs, quota students, and graduate students were less fortunate and had to seek support elsewhere. A large number of these students took advantage of government loans made available for education that could be paid back at little or zero interest. The loans were administered by individual universities. Repayment, however, was made directly to the government. There was some concern that, given the economic crisis, loans for education may be reduced.

Dr. Amnat (BCT): “We have a lot, we have two kinds of aid. We have loans, that have to be repaid after graduation. The second is scholarships, we give them and they do not have to be repaid. Now for the loans, we have money that the government sets aside for loans, and we also set aside some of our own appropriations for student loans. Scholarships are, for the most part, given by the university. And there are people who donate funds for scholarships as well. About 25 percent of our students receive this kind of financial aid. And our graduate students, we give them financial aid by hiring them as T.A.s and such. We have offered financial aid for a long time and we increase it year to year.”

Dr. Simrang (CU): “Because tuition, we have to look at the state of society. We have to look at the state of our surroundings. We are located geographically in an outer province. We are not like Chula. Chula is able to increase tuition whenever it wants. But we usually have poor students. They have to take out loans. At this time we are fortunate in that we still have loans available.”

Dr. Jandara (A&M): “At this university we have underprivileged kids. Because we accept student applications based on a quota system, which generally is poor kids. When they have applied here, we look for ways to help them afford to enroll and study here. We look for funding for them. We cannot do this 100 percent. But another way is for students to take out government loans for education. The government loan passes through the university, and the university is responsible for giving it to qualified students. But in repaying the loan, it is repaid directly to the government, after they have graduated and have a job. The kids repay it directly to the government, and if I remember correctly with very low interest. When they have graduated, there is a waiting period to give them time to find a job. I don't know myself, but from what I observe the collecting agencies are not in a hurry.”

It was difficult to determine whether an increase in administration to manage funds had occurred or was occurring. In fact it seemed as if the opposite was occurring. One of the goals of the three universities studied was efficiency in management. The feeling among administrators was that the civil service system was bloated. Administrators were allowed to hire a large number of staff personnel to carry out various duties. Universities in the new system, however, would have liked to be able to cut back on the number of staff hoping to create greater efficiency in the system.

Dr. Kaset (BCT): “Because, in my opinion, each administrator, I think, will try and hire as much staff support as he/she can to help them in their responsibilities. They hire, hire, hire. And so I have to ask the question is all this hiring good use of funds or not? If you can hire a lot of people to come do the work, then the administrator has it very comfortable. They look for excuses to tell the government the reason for hiring so many people. But now the government does not have a lot of funds. And funds are decreasing. But instead of using funds in important areas like teaching or research, administrators use it to hire

a whole lot of support staff. If you average that out, it is spending twelve million baht per person over the course of a normal life span, until retirement. In the civil service it averages out to twelve million baht. That's a lot, about 70 percent of budget goes to salaries.”

Two universities, however, had established specific units within the organization dedicated to coordinating research between university faculty and industry. It was not clear as to whether these offices were established prior to restructuring or were a part of the restructuring process. It was apparent, however, that expectations were higher after that restructuring had taken place.

Dr. Kamnan (BCT): “We let our professors go out and seek funding for research from various resources. And we have an office that helps link industrial resources. The research and technology management institutions are able to find funding from different organizations. Regardless if it is simply labor to do research and development, we help them establish it themselves. We give them funding to help get them started.”

The data did not support the pre-supposition that unrestricted funds would become more restricted. In fact it was the very restricted nature of the civil service line item budget that many wanted to see eliminated. Administrators were calling for changing the budget from a restricted line item to unrestricted block grants. The university would decide how to best use the block grant under the supervision of the state as long as expenditures did not go against education policies and could be justified by the university. This idea went hand in hand with the cry for more flexibility (คล่องตัว) within the system. Restricted funds, in the minds of many, did not promote flexibility.

Restructuring Process

The most interesting aspect of how restructuring was being carried out was in the restructuring of the university council or board of regents. University boards or councils were becoming more diversified in their makeup.

Dr. Simrang (CU): “The first point is the organizational structure of the university board of regents. In the old system the organizational structure of the board of regents had three groups, outside personnel, a faculty representative, and the administrative group. These three groups were equal. Afterwards, there was the thinking that the board should be made up of almost all outside people. Inside people would only be two or three, three from health science, one from the social science faculty. These three people, and then board members to encourage from outside the university the same way. And there would be administrators, the chancellor who would be the secretary general, apart from that there would be the office of the president. Apart from that are another twenty-one people, fourteen would be our people. But we have not reached our full quota because the prime minister, outside board member, there must be sixteen outside board members. These were the first five things we did.”

Question: “That the university board of regents did?”

Dr. Simrang (CU): “Yes, the board of university regents, the highest organization overseeing the university. This had two changes. There was the issue of health insurance that had to be included in the draft. In the old charter we did not have this included. Another issue was changing the internal structure of the university organization in that we changed the office of the chancellor was changed to the office of the university...we changed the name, but in reality it stayed the same. Second, certainly we established three institutions under a VP. And the current thinking is under this VP would be various faculties, three groups, social science, technology, health. And apart from that there will be different knowledge centers, outside campuses. This is a general principle already. Other issues are at the decision level of the university board of regents. The board of regents can make changes whenever. And announce the changes in a royal decree because the board is flexible (คล่องตัว) in making organizational changes. Currently, whatever you want to do, you must first send it to the MUA for corrections, then on to the next stage very time consuming. Here we changed the most important area, namely we stipulated that all civil servants will have to enter into the system as university employees. We don't have to make an assessment. Other places

may allow you to choose and if you leave you have to be re-assessed. But for us we don't, we make everyone a full employee. This is another major principle we put in the draft.”

Question: “I want to go back to the question about the university board of regents. You said there were three groups that were the same, but afterwards it was changed to include outsiders as well as insiders. Why was this change made?”

Dr. Simrang (CU): “We saw that, outsiders, we needed to find high quality individuals who have practical knowledge, expertise, and ability come into the university. Because if have just the people in the three groups, it uses a lot of time, they meet but cannot decide anything because each group protects its own interest. But outsiders can look at the broader picture to see what is in the best interest of the university. Because there are two important groups in being a university outside of the system. The first is the board of regents, if we have a good board that is strong, it can help the university. Second, the administrator, if we are able to get a good president, who is strong, if we choose carefully, it will go good, the university will develop. Because if we have the three groups choose the president, all three groups will only choose someone from within their group instead of going outside their group to find a qualified, experienced person. This is the major reason for making the changes.”

Free Market Mechanisms

The previous discussions highlight the presence of free market mechanisms in the restructuring process. Performance and production of outputs were two free market mechanisms that were gaining strength in the new system. Respondents spoke about performance reviews and evaluations as being a new and novel idea. Not because these were lacking under the civil service, but because performance reviews were a formality with no real purpose. Performance reviews and evaluations under the new system were used in renewing contracts, promotions, and salary increases. Northeastern A&M conducted up to three performance reviews per year. Although each university set up its

own review system, they all seemed to have one main purpose: to increase personnel performance/production and to provide a legitimate basis for not renewing a contract.

A second market mechanism that might have influenced the restructuring processes was the International Organization for Standardization. The ISO was an organization that set international industry standards and maintained a relationship with the World Trade Organization. The ISO was the sponsor for the Forum on Standards Action in the Global Market. Various technology units within the universities took ISO standards into account when developing their programs. Auxiliary enterprises, such as science parks, convention centers and campus hotels, while not necessarily applying for or receiving ISO recognition, still looked to ISO standards in order to provide the appropriate level of education and service required by the global economy.

A third, and perhaps strongest, free market mechanism was being consumer oriented in establishing new academic programs and research.

Question: “How do you determine what new programs to add?”

Dr. Amnat (BCT): “Mostly we look at what the market wants. We look to see what students want to study, which are the current popular programs. We try to look at market systems. Our students that leave here must be students that the market will hire. Our research needs to look at those who are paying. What they want researched, we need to research that.”

Using the market to determine academic programs and research required the university to have a quick response time to market demands. Civil service universities were free to offer non-traditional programs at higher tuition rates as well. Some of the larger prestigious institutions, like Mahidol University, had already done so. Smaller universities, however, noted that the large prestigious universities had certain advantages

because of their status in society. Smaller, less known, universities felt that one way to compete with the big universities was to have rapid responses to market demands. The ability to make quick changes to meet market demand was one of the advantages the new system had over the civil service.

Khun Malii (A&M): “Therefore these things make A&M able to develop things quicker.”

Dr. Kamrai (BCT): “And we need the power to update/modernize our academics/curriculum. In America, Europe, they are able to develop and change quickly. We are always following behind them. And we do not have the ability to keep with change like that.”

The fourth free market mechanism was profit orientation. Respondents were not willing to say the university should be a profit making organization. And yet there were indications that certain aspects of the university should make some small profit for the institution. New programs were established not just because they were popular, but also because the university could charge higher tuition.

Dr. Amnat (BCT): “We also look for programs that we can charge high tuition for. Like night courses. We can charge higher tuition for night courses. So a lot of programs are added like that. Because day classes, the government might subsidize to keep tuition cost low. But the government does not subsidize evening classes. So we can charge what the market will pay. We can charge tuition rates that will actually cover costs.”

Respondents stated that profit margins should be kept to a minimum. They were, after all, state universities. There was nothing wrong, however, with a small profit that, in addition to covering the cost of the program, could be added to the university coffers.

A final mechanism was the concept of determining a unit cost for financing education. Several administrators noted that a standard unit cost should be determined

for each field of study and that tuition, government subsidy, and budget, should be based on that unit cost. There were some differences of opinion as to whether the unit cost per field should be nation wide or regional specific.

Dr. Kamon (A&M): “I try and tell people that you become autonomous, state university, it depends, if you know the actual cost, the unit cost I mean, so if it's one hundred baht, one thousand baht, one hundred thousand baht, per head of budget in a certain area. To give, to get the block grant, you should have the method how, you know, say unit cost? What is the appropriate unit cost? The unit cost is producing a graduate in certain, in social science maybe, at one cost, engineering one cost, medical, medicine, maybe another one. But this should be the unit cost that covers all operating cost of the university. In fact at first I thought that even the other universities stay in the civil service, but the way the government give money should be on the unit cost. How to prove the cost is still the same.”

Question: “So, whether you are at a prestigious university like Mahidol, or less prestigious, you still get the same unit cost?”

Dr. Kamon (A&M): “That's right, that's right.”

Khun Malii (A&M): “But now there is beginning to be comparisons. The government wants to see what actual costs per student are. They want to make fair cost assessments across the board. Cost per course. They want courses to cost the same regardless of where they are taught.”

Dr. Kamnan (BCT): “Just give us the funding without coming and bothering us. Let there be policy about what is against the law. And must call for or demand that, if possible, it would be better to give based on unit cost. We calculate the number of students, what department they are in, cost per head, and we can manage it.”

Question Three

How are the societal, economic, and political forces contributing to restructuring of higher education at the institutional level?

Social, Cultural and Political Responses to Restructuring

The previous discussions have focused on globalization's contribution to the restructuring process. The following discussions will focus on how culture, society and politics contribute to restructuring. This section specifically focuses on identifying those aspects of culture, society and politics that act as either opposing or mitigating forces of globalization. This was based on the assumption made by Currie and Newson (1998) that globalization is influenced in positive and negative ways by society and culture. How administrators and faculty at the three institutions responded to restructuring efforts provide valuable insight into cultural, societal, and political forces that were at play.

Response types could be grouped into three categories: support, opposition, and resignation. The majority of interviewees voiced their support of restructuring efforts. When asked to compare the new system with the civil service system, respondents replied that in the new system things were better. Administrators at Big City Tech had been trying for several years to get government approval to leave the civil service system. Northeastern A&M was never in the civil service system to begin with. Administrators and faculty involved in the establishment of A&M were enthusiastic about the new system from the very beginning.

One must question, however, the extent to which respondents actually believed things were better, or whether this response was given out of resignation. For Northeastern A&M and Big City Tech there was no turning back. As one respondent at Big City Tech stated:

Khun Pornsawan (BCT): “On this Φ (phi^ elder sister) am not sure because we have just changed governments, and we don't know if the new government will change the policy. Yesterday Φ (phi^ elder sister) had a conversation with Dr. Apichit. He said even if they do not leave, we have already left. We have to continue on in this path. There is no looking back at what could be.”

One must therefore consider the possibility that these types of responses might, in part, be a case where respondents were putting a particular spin on the situation.

Central University offered perhaps the truest picture of how administrators and faculty members responded to restructuring. While most of the interviewees gave positive responses, there were non-verbal signs that pointed to dissatisfaction among university personnel. In one instance there was outright opposition.

One interview was with the dean of one of the faculties and the assistant dean. The dean was an elderly individual with many years in the civil service and close to retirement. The assistant dean, while having served in the civil service for some time, was younger and a long way from retirement. The interview was interesting not for what was said, but for the demeanor in which things were said. Whereas no one said anything that could be construed as opposition to restructuring, it was evident from expression and tone of voice that the dean was far from happy. The assistant dean, however, was just the opposite.

Question: “Are you satisfied with the way the new system is being developed?”

assistant dean (CU): “Personally, I like it, but I don’t know about the other.”
(nodding head towards the dean)

dean (CU): “For me I don’t know yet. I don’t think we have to have one system. I think there should be some diversity, it depends on the readiness, and the characteristic of the institution.”

The dean was often sarcastic in tone with a slight frown or scowl when talking about the changes being proposed. When talking about advantages, the tone of voice was one that communicated skepticism. The dean was especially agitated that the former president who oversaw the writing of the new charter would not allow a dual system where faculty could choose between being employees and civil servants. The dean noted that Big City Tech opted to go in this direction as did Chulalongkorn University.

The most outspoken opponent was Dr. Thiang, the president of the university faculty senate. Dr. Thiang started off very animated and from the start it was apparent he was not happy with the changes. He began with a short acknowledgment of the need for education reform stating that in principle he agreed with all the things that were being said about the advantages of leaving the civil service system, namely: flexibility (กลองตัว), greater freedom in local administration, ability to hire better faculty by offering higher salaries, ability to have performance reviews with real consequences for failure. All of these acknowledgements, however, were followed with a resounding BUT! The opposition mounted by Dr. Thiang was described in his own words as ขัดแย้ง (khat yaeng^ to be in conflict, contradict, incompatible) and ต่อสู้ (taw suu^ to fight) the changes. Dr. Thiang was careful to emphasize that his arguments were in accordance

with the ระเบียบ (ra biab, established order) developed for such proceedings. The conflict became quite ugly and became national news. It ended with Dr. Thiang's office being exiled to the sports stadium far from other administrative offices. According to Dr. Thiang, the Central University Faculty Senate had three hundred members. In a public showing of hands only twenty voted to leave the civil service system.

The question then was why did Dr. Thiang, and others, oppose restructuring if they believed that restructuring was beneficial to the system? The answer to this question could be found in the answers provided by those who openly opposed restructuring and in the insights offered by those who did not oppose restructuring. Central University, being in the midst of restructuring, offered the richest data on the former. Big City Tech and Northeastern A&M, having completed an irreversible process, contained rich data on the latter.

At a surface level, opponents to restructuring agreed that restructuring was a good thing. Their opposition was over how the process was being carried out. The voiced complaint was that the process was neither transparent nor fair.

The government, for example, was not transparent in agreeing to the ADB loan conditions. The first problem mentioned was the condition made by the ADB for loans, namely that Thailand's system needed to change, and that at least one university had to be autonomous by 1998, and the rest by 2002. There was unhappiness with how this was worked out. There seemed to be a feeling that the government and ADB were not on the up and up on this loan condition. To what extent did the government work with the ADB

to make this a condition so that certain policies could be pushed through without the government taking the blame? Another issue was the timing of the signing of the loan agreement: did the government sign the agreement in secret and then make it public so that it was too late for any opposition voice to be heard? If so what were the motives?

The government was also accused of not being clear in its objectives, especially in financial areas.

Dr. Thiag (CU): “Another thing, right now the government supports students 80 percent of tuition. The students have to come up with the other 20 percent, which for many was hard enough. But under the government’s policy, they want to slowly reduce the amount of tuition that is subsidized, 70 percent then 60 percent with a final goal of 50 percent, and students have to find the other 50 percent. We are a poor country. Maybe students from Bangkok can afford this, but most of our students come from the region here, poor, very poor. How will they find 50 percent of the tuition? Borrow the money from the government? Ok, but then how will they repay it, especially if the economy is still bad and they cannot get a good paying job? The university and government say the new system will allow for salary increases. Where will the money for increases come from? Not from government. They have frozen money for universities. If they are to come through on this promise they will have to raise tuition. There is no other way. We cannot raise that kind of money through research. Where will the money come from? This is not clear. Other universities have come out of the system, Suranaree, Mae Fa Luang, Wa Lai Lak, KMUTT. We look at all their charters. They are still having problems of their own. We have not seen a clear picture of the benefits of leaving the system (ยังไม่เห็นภาพชัดเจนว่า ดีอย่างไร). The government has not been clear in its objectives and motives. It promised to keep giving us appropriations at sufficient levels. What are sufficient levels? Who decided sufficient levels? There is no written promise to keep supporting universities. How can we be secure in that? The universities should rely on the state for support (น่าเป็นที่พึ่งของรัฐ). But how can we rely on the state?”

The main point of disagreement, however, was how the process was carried out at Central University. According to Dr. Thiag faculty was never fully allowed to have a part in the planning process. The administration, President Sujin in particular, forcefully

pushed things through. Faculty may have been asked opinions, but never listened to, and plans were made and decided upon before opinions were asked anyway. The faculty senate had no participation (ไม่มีส่วนร่วม mai[^] mii suan[\] ruam[^] to have no part in) in the restructuring planning process. And those who were brave enough to ask questions were admonished and scolded (ถูกว่า ถูกด่า thuuk waa[^] thuuk daa[\]). Although Dr. Thiang made the main argument, Dr. Supatra echoed his sentiments, albeit in gentler tones.

Dr. Supatra (CU): “I started here fifteen years ago as a lecturer. Then as head of a department. But the new charter did not go directly to me. But when I got to the meeting we were told about the decision, but we did not go into details because the former president had set up groups that worked on the charter. So we did not go into detail. But I heard, I know the process of how it was done. I was not personally involved in any of the committees that worked on the new charter. And the only time we heard about it was when general reports were given in faculty/staff meetings. Maybe in the meetings they would tell us the goal, or the aim of the decisions made. So from this information I got an idea of what was taking place. But not detailed ideas.”

A second point of contention was over the performance review system. Opponents stated that it was not specific enough in how it was to be carried out, and was therefore open to being used as a vindictive tool to unfairly terminate faculty members.

Dr. Thiang (CU): “We are also not มั่นใจ (man[^] jai: confident) in the evaluation system. We don’t know how it will be carried out. We don’t trust the university council because a majority of the members are chosen by the administration—the president. The President is a member of the council. He shouldn’t be. Faculty representation on the council is limited to one or two places. How can we have a voice among twenty or more people if most are selected by the president? They will want to get their relatives into the university as students or workers, so will they go against the president? I don’t know. We need to change how the University Council will be set up. It is not righteous because the administration has too much power in selecting the university council. I have no problem with evaluations and cutting out the dead wood. If you are a faculty and you don’t do your job, you should be let go. What we are not sure about is how the evaluation process will be

handled, who will handle it, and the fairness with which it will be handled. We don't trust the system. For one thing, this is Thailand and decisions are not always made fairly, you know what I mean. All these things need to be spelled out in detail before a decision is made, and everybody needs to have a part, and opportunity to discuss it."

Big City Tech had its share of opposition and like Central University it came from the faculty. Faculty members, concerned about the evaluation system being set in place, were hesitant to vote in favor of restructuring. The administration decided to compromise by letting faculty choose to stay as civil servants or leave to become employees.

Dr. Kamnan (BCT): "There was division because university faculty did not rush to excitement, they did not agree with university administration that wanted to leave in order to manage themselves. But those who were professors, the older ones, were comfortable. They said to stay as they were was better. Because we said that we needed to increase faculty salaries, but we also needed them to do more work. There needed to be performance evaluations. The things that we need, many faculty were afraid of."

These arguments, as good as they sound, were really a mask that hid deep seated cultural and societal attitudes regarding issues of control, self-preservation/interest, prestige and the civil service system. Comments made by those who supported restructuring offered some interesting insights into these attitudes.

Disadvantages of leaving the civil service

The civil service system was so ingrained and so dominant in society that to leave the system was to give up control of one's life. The civil service was a safe system to be in. Termination only occurred when criminal conduct was made public. Negligence or dereliction of duty usually resulted in being transferred to some remote provincial

office. A civil servant had to pass a six month or one year evaluation and was then set for life.

Khun Soi (MUA): “Disadvantages, I am not sure about how it is now at Suranaree, but some people say there are still some concerns. And some universities have been in the civil service system for a long time, like Chula, eighty or a hundred years. Therefore because they have been in the civil service system for so long, they are apprehensive about changing to a new system. All the universities feel this way.”

Dr. Makroot (CU): “But during that time there were a lot of controversial, some of the, we have three systems, we have track A (สาย ก) is Professor (อาจารย์) technical officer, then we have track B (สาย ค). Track B (สาย ค) is the support officer. The supportive officer feels secure to go out of the traditional system. And also some of the track A (สาย ก) or the technical officer. So there are some control issues that they don't want to give up.”

Many spoke about these risks not as disadvantages to the higher education system but as individual or personal disadvantages. The primary disadvantage to the individual in the new system was the performance review.

Khun Soi (MUA): “And faculty are anxious about the new evaluation process. Because in the Thai system we are not familiar with the new evaluation process. Actually this should be seen as a good thing. But it has become a disadvantage because there is anxiety about it.”

Dr. Supatra (CU): “I think the disadvantages are for those who are lazy. In this way you could say disadvantages are at a personal, individual level then say at the institutional level. Because sometimes I think we need rules to follow, otherwise we won't do anything. I can say, because I was in the middle, I counseled a lot of the young staff, and I can say in general that they were in favor of the changes. But for the older staff, who are used to the older system, I would say that they were afraid of some of the new rules. Afraid, or not sure, or not confident. For example the evaluation process, it sounded like the university would have too much power to fire people.”

Dr. Makroot (CU): “In Thailand we are yet to be used to that, to be evaluated and then sometime if you are not good enough you have to find a different job.

This is the thing that people, I think I have mentioned, feel insecure to be evaluated by the system.”

This fear of the evaluation process stemmed from issues of self-preservation and interest. Self-preservation was threatened under the new evaluation system being implemented by the restructured universities. Faculty would no longer be able to work *เข้าขามเย็นขาม* (chao/ cham yen cham) doing just enough to get by. They would instead have to take on heavier workloads and greater responsibility. Those who did not measure up could be terminated. Diminished job security, then, was a big disadvantage from a civil servant point of view.

Dr. Kamrai (BCT): “We have to rethink how much in order to determine how much is possible. If you reach retirement, or when your contract expires...do you know that employees of the university must sign a contract every three years? They are afraid that if after three years the university decided to not renew the contract because they are not good enough, if they are not rehired, what will they do? They are afraid of this. But others do not think about this because they think regardless they will not get anything anyway.”

Dr. Makroot (CU): “If we have very good faculty member, they are not quite as afraid of, to be evaluated. Only people that is not good enough very scared of the system.”

Dr. Kamom (A&M): “There are many reasons. There are many reasons. I have to say it's unclear, unclear, very uncertain. You see, with the civil service at least in terms of job security, it's very, very secure. But become autonomous, is not, no one knows. No one knows. Many become doubtful of the fairness of the university administrators as well. And you see, in the civil service, that's the central body for looking after, not the university administrator alone. But when you become autonomous, it becomes each university administrator, and there are some doubtful of the fairness that they may get may not get from the university administrator.”

Self-interest issues were concerns about benefits that civil servants received.

Civil servants enjoyed guaranteed health and retirement benefits. Health benefits were

particularly generous in that they were extended to parents as well as spouse and children. Health benefits in restructured universities were not extended to parents. There were also feelings of insecurity in the health benefit system in restructured universities because the university had to establish its own health care system using the private sector. The government would not provide government subsidized health care for non civil servants.

Civil servants could also begin collecting a pension after ten years in service. If the civil servant left before the ten years, he or she forfeited all health and pension benefits. The restructured universities were responsible for setting up their own retirement programs. Like the health care benefits, the pension plans had to be set up with the private sector. There seems to be a lack of confidence in the ability of the university and the private sector to set up adequate health and retirement benefits.

Dr. Thiang (CU): "For one thing, nothing is clear. The charter that has been prepared is too broad and general. The details like security, health benefits, salaries, are spoken of in broad terms such as 'The university will provided these at not less then the provision under the civil service system.' But no one knows how this will be carried out. It's just up in the air, to be addressed after the charter is approved and goes into force."

Dr. Supatra (CU): "I think this we need to talk. I don't know, the benefits issue is not clear. We still have to talk, it is not resolved yet. I think the university has a plan but I don't know what it is yet. And I don't know about retirement either."

Dr. Kamrai (BCT): "There are still some changes being made because we will give, when time comes to retire, we will have to provide some type of support so that they can live. And there needs to be a support fund within the university. And we need to have an outside company manage that fund. Right now we are using Bangkok Bank to help us decide which type of fund management we should use. We have promised our personnel that when they reach

retirement age, the benefits we give will not be less than those given by the state. This is a general principle. It has to be like that.”

The statement made by Dr. Kamrai above was revealing. Big City Tech had been outside the civil service system for two years and the administration was still trying to set up a pension plan. Promises had been made by the government and university. There were no guarantees, however, the promises would materialize. This was perhaps one big reason why many of Big City Tech faculty members opted to remain in the civil service for the time being.

Another factor was prestige. Civil service salaries were lower compared to the market standard. At the time of this study, civil service health benefits prohibited the civil servant from using private hospitals, forcing them to rely on low quality government hospitals. The prestige that society placed on the civil service, however, was worth it all.

Question: “What are the disadvantages of not being in the civil service system?”

Dr. Tawat (A&M): “One thing! We are not civil servants. In Thailand being a civil servant carries a lot of meaning. There are a lot of privileges that come with being a civil servant, for example the royal decorations. Some people say they don't give this much importance, but a lot of people do.”

Khun Malii (A&M): “They have pride in being a civil servant. As you are promoted you get decorations for your uniform and this is a source of pride for some people. It's been like this for a long time now.”

Dr. Simrang (CU): “Changing from one status to another status. We Thais have been deeply rooted (ปลูกฝัง) in the civil service for a long enough time. In the old days parents wanted them to be civil servants. They had special privileges and security, their privileges were better than other situations. So this was one point that kept us from leaving then.”

Dr. Kamrai (BCT): “This is one point that is not good. Because the Thai social system is still being like that. This is one area of disadvantage. There are

only a few people who have it in their heart for us to use the civil service system. There are different activities, from ancient times, like decorations, royal decorations, there are many of these in a row. These are still popular.”

Prestige was not limited to royal decorations. Civil servants enjoyed what one respondent referred to as special ‘fringe benefits’.

Dr. Kamrai (BCT): “Before, in the civil service, there are things that are received as fringe benefits. If you are a civil servant, if you have a relative, or a student, that has a case at the jail, you are able to guarantee them by using your rank of civil servant. So if you leave the civil service, it cannot be like this any more. This is one point that is not good. Because the Thai social system is still being like that. This is one area of disadvantage.”

The bottom line was that civil servants who had been in the system for some time had a lot of investment in the system.

Dr. Kaset (BCT): “But to be civil servants. They have a lot of investment in being civil servants. So to force them out now would discourage them. So we let them choose what they want to do.”

Opposing restructuring, then, was protecting one’s investment in the system. Many were approaching the ten-year mark when the investment began to pay dividends in terms of pension, benefits, prestige, and influence. It was little wonder then that so many faculty were resistant to restructuring if it meant immediate loss of civil service status.

The Civil Service System

The civil service may enjoy a prestige status in society and for those who were in the system. University administrators, however, expressed deep feelings of frustration with working in the system. This frustration stemmed from the rigid and inflexible control that the civil service system exerted over the higher education system. Administrators described the civil service system as overly bureaucratic, slow, and

cumbersome. Civil servants were described as lazy, doing as little as possible under the protective umbrella of the civil service.

Dr. Kamnan (BCT): “The university occasionally is not very efficient. For one, people who come to work here, when they are civil servants, have a lot of security. Second, the rules and procedures, salaries are the same nationwide. The purchasing procedure is the same throughout the nation. All the procedures are the same throughout the nation. This university had to operate according to this procedure, that procedure. So it was not very efficient, as we know it.”

Khun Soi (MUA): “They will have to be responsible for their own governance. Right now there is someone else who is responsible for governance, because the civil service system is set. The civil service bureau checks to make sure universities follow set policies and guidelines. So there is no confusion, they are used to this type of governance.”

Dr. Supatra (CU): “I think to make things simpler, you understand in Thai? Because in ราชการ (raj^ cha kaan: civil service) things are very complicated and difficult to manage. Like the rules, or the code of conduct, the rules, like a memorandum, are very difficult to handle.”

Dr. Simrang (CU): “Currently, whatever you want to do, you must first send it to the MUA for corrections, then on to the next stage very time consuming.”

Dr. Makroot (CU): “If there is somebody to monitor my work plan, I am not happy about that. I am prepared to work in a perfunctory manner (เข้าขามเย็นขาม chao/ cham yen cham) and then maybe I will moonlight at home. So people like that are against that.”

Dr. Jandara (A&M): “And many have been in the civil service a long time and are very comfortable with it. If they don't leave they will be secure. They are just perfunctory, muddle through their work. (เข้าขามเย็นขาม chao/ cham yen cham).”

Dr. Supatra (CU): “I think the disadvantages are for those who are lazy. In this way you could say disadvantages are at a personal, individual level then say at the institutional level. Because sometimes I think we need rules to follow, otherwise we won't do anything.”

There were some who questioned the possibility of using a dual system at either the institutional level or higher. The majority, however, felt that a dual system defeated the purpose of restructuring by making institutional management a logistical nightmare. A dual system would require operating under a dual budget, dual salaries scales, dual personnel management systems, dual evaluation systems and dual health and pensions systems. This would make the university less efficient and less responsive to market demands. There would be little flexibility as all decisions would have to be coordinated with, and wait upon, approval from the civil service bureaucracy.

Big City Tech was allowed to operate under a dual system in order to comply with ADB loan conditions as quickly as possible. Administrators were not happy, but were able to justify the decision as being the most expedient course of action. They also noted that, by law, no new faculty members could be hired as civil servants. In time the dual system would become a single system as current civil servants retired.

Dr. Kamnan (BCT): “Therefore there are various reasons why we are not forcing people to leave. But, those coming in new have to be in the new system. We will have to endure for ten years and more until the civil servants have been reduced and leave.”

Given the high level of frustration it was not surprising that many administrators felt that the civil service system was not suitable for a higher education system struggling to survive in the global economy. The civil service meant control, rules, regulations, and following the established order. In the minds of administrators this inhibited the growth and development of the university. The only way to compete academically and financially was to leave the civil service system.

Dr. Amnat (BCT): “For many years there has been a group in the universities that have seen that the civil service system is not appropriate for higher education. They wanted the universities to become free quickly. To administrate a university like it is a unit of government is not the appropriate method. As years passed things just got worse and worse until the economy failed. The administration saw that the university was being run as a unit of the civil service. And we saw this was not good, and would cause problems for us in the future. So we had to look for a way to correct the situation. Some thought the best way was to have the government change the system. But we decided it was best to change from the civil service system to being an autonomous university.”

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this research was to study the extent to which globalization was shaping the restructuring of higher education in Thailand. Globalization was broadly defined in this research as a free market ideology of the West that is the prescription for economic growth and well being; as an ideology that cannot be resisted or stopped (Currie 1998); and that national economies are being “subsumed into a global economy and that the discipline of international markets and money markets...should determine public policy” (Dudley 1998, 25). These three propositions have made globalization the concept of the 1990s that western and non-western nations have adopted as the “regime of truth that guides policy formation ” (Dudley 1998, 29; Waters 1995; Currie 1998).

Important concepts within the framework of globalization are political economy theory and resource dependence theory. Political economy theory is an approach that looks at how political, economic, and social pressures interact in the market and political processes (Meltzer, Cukerman, and Scott 1991). It is the study of the interdependence between the economy and polity of a country or countries (Frey 1978).

Resource dependence theory was used in this research because of two key concepts that are central to the theory. First, resource dependence theory holds that organizational behavior is understood only in relation to the environmental context (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978). The environmental context is the political, economic, and social factors with which organizations must come to terms in order to survive. The second key concept is that “organizations themselves are the interlocking of the behaviors of the various

participants that comprise the organization” (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978, 258).

Having studied the restructuring process at three universities, the question of how globalization has influenced this process needs to be examined. In Chapter One three questions were asked about globalization and restructuring. A return to those questions allows some conclusions to be drawn.

Research Questions

The Role of Globalization

The answer to the first question, “What role has globalization played in the restructuring of higher education at the institutional level,” indicates that globalization functions as a ‘change agent’ by introducing a standard of efficiency and accountability, as defined by the market, into the higher education system. The development of the global market, information, and technology has allowed Thai society to be more global in its outlook. Administrators and faculty at all three universities were aware of their institution’s lack of competitiveness on both the national and international playing field. At the national level all three universities were, at best, second tier universities. It was difficult for them to compete with the first tier universities like Chulalongkorn, Mahidol, Thammasat, and to lesser degrees Chiang Mai and Khon Kaen. The civil service system, with its emphasis on rank and promotion, favored the prestigious first tier universities. The smaller less prestigious universities had nothing to lose and everything to gain by restructuring. They were in effect changing the “leveling the playing field” by changing the rules of the game.

The rules were based on the assumption that the market rewarded those organizations that were efficient, accountable, and responsive irrespective of status or prestige. It was ironic that one of the rewards was prestige and status within the international higher education community.

The rules were also based on the market in direct contrast to the rigid, centralized, civil service bureaucracy. Having endured the civil service system of management for so long, administrators were turning to market strategies to provide freedom or autonomy in management.

Administrators at all three universities were also aware of their place on the international stage. A recent publication by the Swiss-based International Institute for Management and Development (IMD) ranked Thailand near the end of a list of forty-nine countries (*The Nation* July 29, 2001). A large number of Thai students had traveled abroad for graduate and post-graduate education. As long as the economy was strong this was an acceptable solution for graduate studies. The economic collapse, however, brought the country's weakness in this area to the forefront. Smaller universities saw the opportunity to capitalize on the situation and began to establish masters and doctoral programs almost overnight.

Northeastern A&M and Big City Tech had plans to promote themselves as regional international universities by recruiting students from neighboring Cambodia and Laos. Central University was also internationalizing some of its non-traditional programs hoping to recruit non-Thai students. This internationalization required the universities to

be up to international standards on par with at least Malaysia and the Philippines. The large prestigious universities were able to use their status within the civil service system to accomplish such change. Smaller universities like BCT, A&M, and CU believed that the only way to accomplish this type of change quickly and competitively was to leave the civil service system.

The three universities were also looking at national education trends. The National Education Act stated that free education through grade twelve had to be available to all citizens. The Ministry of University Affairs predicted that by year 2020 the percentage of age-group population gaining access to higher education would increase from the current 15 percent to 40 percent (Ministry of University Affairs 2000, 25). The universities were expected to increase enrollments as more and more students graduated from high school. This was especially true for the regional universities that had been established to meet enrollment needs for regional students who did not qualify for entrance into the larger universities. The current economic situation, however, meant that government appropriations would not increase to keep pace with rising education costs. The universities had to therefore exercise greater efficiency and flexibility in financial and personnel management. The bureaucratic system did not allow for the type of efficiency and flexibility that was needed.

Globalization had also caused the three universities to become more aware of the potential contribution to national economic interest. Big City Tech, Northeastern A&M were both emphasizing technology. Central University had a strong engineering and

health/medical emphasis. Administrators wanted Thailand to be a producer of technology, not just a consumer. They saw their institutions as playing a pivotal role in technology education, research and development. Administrators were turning to market strategies to help their universities expand and keep pace with the rapid rate of development and change in global technology and science.

This falls in line with what Badsha (1999) and Slaughter and Leslie (1997) predict in that the driving force of global economy in the post-industrial age was the production and transfer of information and knowledge in techno science. Academics realized that for Thailand to be competitive in global economics it had to have a highly educated workforce that could participate in research and the development of new technology. Higher education had been called upon to contribute to the new economy by “stimulating preparation of students in high technology fields contributing to economic growth” (Slaughter and Leslie 1997, 49). This global outlook was becoming a part of Thailand’s higher education culture.

Another aspect of the role globalization was played could be seen in the increase of organizational turbulence (Slaughter and Leslie 1997, 69). When the economy collapsed in 1997 universities were thrown into a state of financial instability. Big City Tech and Northeastern A&M had either begun large expansion programs or had received approval for funding for expansion. Big City Tech had started two large branch campuses and a science park when the economy collapsed and funding disappeared. A&M had plans to open a medical school and teaching hospital. State budget approval

had been obtained when the economy collapsed. Whereas A&M still had approval at the time of this study for the program, state funding was not there. Operational budgets for existing programs were frozen and hiring freezes mandated. This was especially difficult for understaffed A&M.

The situation underscored the relative magnitude and criticality of government appropriations at all three universities. Relative magnitude refers to the amount of funding received from the government. Criticality refers to how critical government funding was to the operation and even survival of a university. Government appropriations at all three universities scored high in both relative magnitude and criticality. Northeastern A&M was lowest in terms of relative magnitude with government appropriations accounting for approximately 70 percent of the budget. Criticality, however, may have been higher because 70 percent seemed to be the lower limit that universities thought the government should support higher education. Any more reductions in appropriations would have put A&M below this limit.

Universities were limited in how they could reduce relative magnitude and criticality of government appropriations. Increasing tuition was not politically viable. This, combined with the current economic situation, made it difficult to raise tuition. Finding new sources of revenue in research and providing service was not an immediate solution in light of the current level of development of the country.

Universities had not ruled these options out in the long term. In the short term, however, they were asking that government appropriations be given to each university in

the form of unrestricted block grants. Block grants serve two purposes. First, they give the university a greater degree of autonomy in management. Second, because of the autonomy, the university has control over how to spend the monies. It could direct funds into areas that were of immediate need to the university. Whereas block grants did not increase the amount of appropriations, they did serve to give administrators a psychological boost in that they felt they could manage funds more efficiently. In theory greater autonomy and block grants allowed for greater flexibility and efficiency in financial management.

The role of globalization in Thailand's higher education paralleled that of Austria. According to Sporn (1998) the goal of Austria's Universities Organization Act was to:

- increase institutional autonomy by deregulation and decentralization of responsibilities--especially in the area of budget, personnel, and organization at individual universities;

- increase management capacity of universities by strengthening the role of top management positions such as rectors, vice rectors, or deans;

- increase efficiency of governance structures by making decision-making bodies leaner and decentralizing decision-making power to an appropriate level;

- increase the external focus of universities by establishing a board of trustees for each university consisting of alumni, business managers, and members of institutions of public interest; and

- increase involvement of non-university constituencies by establishing a National University Board, consisting of experts from inside and outside universities to advise the ministry on new program development, and planning, resource allocation, and evaluation procedures for the university sector at large. (Sporn 1998)

These goals for Austria's higher education system were the same goals that administrators at all three universities and the MUA had for their universities.

The Power of Globalization

The second question “How strong a role has globalization played in the restructuring of higher education at the institutional level” was answered by looking at behavior and behavior changes. If the role of globalization was that of “change agent” then the power of globalization to bring about change was measured in behavior. What types of behavior were university personnel engaged in to reduce organizational turbulence and increase stability?

Stakeholders at all three universities and the Ministry of University Affairs had engaged in behavior and activities that were indications of strong globalization influences. The behaviors that were important to this study were those goals, policies, and activities that reflected or patterned market strategies for management and revenue seeking.

The first behavior was the extent to which the three universities attempted to accomplish the goals listed in the previous section. The success or failure of these attempts, while important to the institution, were not relevant to this discussion. The fact that any one institution attempted a course of action was the relevant factor. Big City Tech and Northeastern A&M had achieved all the goals to some degree. A&M had greater success in accomplishing these goals as it was a planned autonomous institution. Big City Tech has had less success in that it operates under a dual system. Central University, while still operating under the civil service system, had submitted a new

charter for approval that would make it completely autonomous. It would not operate under a dual system if the current draft charter was approved.

Market strategies were also reflected in goals and policies put out by the Ministry of University Affairs. The MUA had begun to emphasize the need for universities to produce graduates who were “capable of competing in the job market and in the globalization era” (Ministry of University Affairs 2000, 23). The MUA was promoting collaborative doctoral programs with international institutions and plans to open 150 new graduate programs in sixteen critical areas of acute shortages. These sixteen areas were in science, math, engineering, computer science, medical/health sciences including dentistry, pharmacy and nursing, agricultural science, industrial education, architecture, accounting, language, and gems and jewelry. Note that all these areas of study focused on fields that had economic development application.

The MUA was promoting greater collaboration between national and international universities and between industries. It had set up a special committee made up of representatives from the Ministries of Commerce and Industry, the Federation of Thai Industries, and the Thai Chamber of Commerce to ensure relevance of higher education provision to industrial needs.

The MUA was also promoting and establishing a student loan scheme totaling over ten billion baht (about 250 million dollars) to help economically disadvantaged students. The interest rate could be as low as 1 percent with a two-year grace period after graduation.

The MUA had taken out loans from the ADB for quality improvements in higher education. The economic focus of these loans was evident in the type of programs they funded: science and engineering projects to update laboratories of science and engineering at all universities. The goal was to help faculty and students develop their technical skills that in turn would be of economic benefit to the country.

The goals and policies of the MUA were implemented at the institutional level. All three universities had engaged in behaviors and activities that were predicted by the global economic theories that formed the foundation of this study. These behaviors and activities included transnational education, joint ventures, growth, and political involvement (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978).

Big City Tech was perhaps the most active in developing joint ventures and growth. The university had actively tried to establish joint ventures with industry and business on a large scale. Big City Tech had established, or attempted to establish, seven subsidiary enterprises to meet this goal:

1. The Pilot Plant Development and Training Institute established to help develop Thai capabilities to design and build pilot plants with emphasis on food and agro-based industries;
2. The Computer Center provides access to industrial data analysis as well as high-end computers for engineering and high level scientific analysis;
3. The Industrial Park to bring researchers, industrialists, and entrepreneurs into the production process;

4. The Institute for Scientific and Technological Research and Service established to promote cooperation between higher education and the private sector;
5. The Scientific Instrument Center for Standards and Industry established to promote basic and applied research through research and development of scientific instruments;
6. The Continuing Education Center to provide training courses, seminars, and conferences to industry;
7. Automotive Technology Training Center, a joint venture with Mercedes Benz to promote cooperation between higher education and the private sector to strengthen technology within the country.

Big City also had plans to build two branch campuses to meet growing enrollment and new program demands. One campus was to be the location for the schools of Information Technology, Architecture, Bio-resources, and Energy and Materials. Three of the seven subsidiary enterprises were also planned to be located here. The other campus was to be developed into the country's western education park/industrial park. It was to be an international campus using English as the medium of instruction. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology has had significant inputs into the design of this program.

Big City Tech was actively pursuing new collaborations with multi-national industries and international universities. Ford Motor Company, in cooperation with the University of North Carolina, was looking for a partner site in Bangkok to do research.

Big City Tech wanted to be that partner. Big City was also pursuing a cooperative effort with the University of Missouri to set up an electrical engineering program.

Big City was also adding to its academic programs at a phenomenal rate. The university had opened or had plans to open three new bachelors' programs, three masters' programs, and ten new doctoral programs in a four year time span (1997-2001).

These were the types of activities that were predicted by global political economy and resource dependence theories. The new programs and subsidiary enterprises were efforts to bring stability to a turbulent situation. Stability would be enhanced if these programs could be self-supporting and even bring in extra revenue through contracts and higher tuition. At the very least, successful programs would bring greater national and international prestige to the university. High prestige was something that the university could use to justify future increases in government funding. It was also an important factor in securing future contracts and cooperation with industry and international universities. The higher the prestige the easier it was to "sell" university services.

Northeastern A&M could be considered the first-born child of globalization in Thai higher education. Established in the early 1990s as the country's first fully autonomous university, A&M had grown at a phenomenal rate. Within seven years the university had grown to over five thousand students. In 1999 two undergraduate, eight masters', and seven doctoral programs were added.

Being the first autonomous university in the country A&M had felt great pressure to perform up to expectations. This had resulted in A&M overreaching its abilities in some areas of research and development. As one administrator admitted:

Dr. Kamon (A&M): “We try to bring the other partner, the private sector, we set up the science park, but we set up too soon. When you start the university with no one, and within five to ten years you try to be ready to be consultant, to do contract research the private industry, maybe that was too ambitious.”

A&M had been a leader in educational innovations including admission without testing, the trimester system, a general education system, cooperative education, and borderless education. Cooperative education involved cooperation between industry and the university. All students were required to work full-time for a term of at least sixteen weeks in the industrial sector. Students earned nine credit hours and received a certificate of completion from the Council for Industries of Thailand. In 1999 A&M placed 699 students at 516 sites nationwide in 991 positions.

Borderless education was a distance education program using informational, educational, and telecommunications technology. The program would allow distance learners to study by television and computer using CD-Rom and the Internet. A&M was also establishing branch campuses in two eastern provinces that did not have higher education institutes. These campuses would utilize the technology being developed for the borderless education program to provide teaching and instruction to students. This would allow A&M to open branch campuses and enroll students who otherwise would not have come to the main campus without needing significant increases in personnel. A lot of the instruction was to be carried out using telecommunications technology.

Professors would be located on the main campus with lectures televised to the branch campuses.

A&M had established research activities. In 1999-2000 the university reported 128 research programs in agriculture, science, social technology and engineering. The majority (111) of these programs were funded by the university (fifteen million baht or US\$ 348,000). The remaining seventeen were externally funded (twenty-two million baht or US\$ 512,000). The university received a percentage (10-25 percent) of any research funding to cover overhead and any time the researcher needed to spend away from the classroom. The goal of the university was to increase external funding for research to at least fifty or sixty million baht (US\$ 116,000-140,000) a year.

There were two large subsidiary enterprises associated with the university. The Technopolis coordinated the adaptation and transfer of technology from the university to outside state and private organizations and communities. It was also responsible for running the Small and Medium Enterprises Institute Training Center. Technopolis could also be used as a convention or conference center. It hosted the 1995 World Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition (WORLDTECH 95). Connected to Technopolis was a large four star hotel that campus visitors could stay in.

Technopolis was responsible for technology transfer. The second subsidiary enterprise, the university farm, provided the same services for agricultural research and resources. The Food and Drug Committee Office, for example, contracted with the farm to train personnel involved in milk production.

At the time of this study the university currently heavily supported both Technopolis and the University Farm. The university wanted these two enterprises to be self-supporting and even make some profit. The economic crisis had delayed the fulfillment of this goal.

Central University, still in the civil service system at the time of this study, had nevertheless been active in developing its research capabilities. The Faculty of Pharmaceutical Sciences had an active research program in pharmaceutical sciences and health systems. The main emphasis of most research was on natural products and folk health beliefs. The research projects covered wide areas from pharmaceutical product development, quality control, formulation, pharmacodynamics & pharmacokinetics, pharmacology & toxicology, therapeutic drug monitoring, drug utilization evaluation, and social & administrative aspects of pharmaceuticals to the society. The concept of pharmaceutical care had been another focus of studies. The Bio-equivalence Test Center had been in active service to assure the quality of generic drugs to their originals. Three other research centers, namely Outcome Research Center, Drug Information Center and Toxicology Center, were to be functioning by the year 2007.

In addition to applied research the university had worked to establish non-traditional programs through transnational education and international collaboration. These programs were offered through the International College Program. A Master of Arts degree in International Trade Law was a dual degree program offered in partnership with the University of Queensland, Australia. A second program, a Master of Arts

degree in International Tourism and Hotel Management, had been offered in partnership with Southern Cross University Australia.

One of the positive impacts globalization has had on the Thai higher education was the ‘massification’ of the system (Alexander 2000). All three universities studied had initiated programs to enroll high school graduates outside the traditional national exam method. The national entrance exam favored high school graduates from the capital city and a few other large cities who had funds and access to the best high schools. Northeastern A&M and Central University were established in the provinces primarily to provide higher education to ‘the masses.’ Opening the recruitment process to include students who had not passed the national entrance exam provided a larger base from which to find funds through tuition. It also fell in line with economic goals. It was not enough to produce technology to sell on the international market. Technology would be used in national development as well. A well-educated work force would be needed to use the new technology. If universities only accepted students who had passed an entrance exam, the number of students in higher education would not be enough to provide the number of skilled workers needed for national development.

This was congruent with Llosa’s argument that globalization actually benefits indigenous peoples and cultures. The Thai population is a heterogeneous group. Whereas the national language is the Central Thai dialect of Bangkok, each region of the country has its own Thai dialect and regional culture. In addition to the ethnic Thai there are various minority non-Thai language and culture groups. Prior to restructuring the

higher education system favored those who lived in or near Bangkok or one of the larger cities who, for reasons already mentioned, were able to score high on the national entrance exam. The quota system established at the three universities gave Thai citizens who were members of minority dialect/culture groups greater access to higher education. As high school education became available to the non-city Thai citizens, it was predicted that the representation of minority groups in higher education would increase.

The programs established and carried out at these universities indicated that globalization did have a strong influence in the universities being studied. Central University even mentioned the need to meet the challenges of globalization in its brochures. The question, however, was couldn't these programs and activities have been carried out within the civil service system? The answer was a qualified yes. Central University, after all, was still in the civil service system and was able to do a number of activities associated with global economy. Why then would one leave the civil service? The reason for leaving the civil service was to make the university more efficient and flexible in the operations of these programs. If the universities were seeking to reduce relative magnitude and criticality, then these programs needed to be run in a manner consistent with market values and practices. The feeling among administrators was that this could not be accomplished under the civil service.

Opposing Forces

The third question "How are societal, economic, and political forces contributing to the restructuring of higher education at the institutional level?" was based on the

assumption that globalization is not an irresistible force. It is conditioned by cultural and political factors. The specific focus of this question was to determine how these factors worked to oppose globalization in the restructuring process.

Thai social structure is based on determining and establishing client-patron relationships. The Thai expression is พี่น้อง (phii^ nong/). The literal translation of this term is “older sibling” (พี่ phii^) and “younger sibling (น้อง nong/) and is used to designate familial relationships between brothers, sisters, and cousins. The cultural meaning of พี่น้อง (phii^ nong/), however, has a broader application. Individuals, in establishing a relationship, will be either the พี่ (phii^ elder) or the น้อง (nong/ younger) of the relationship. The พี่น้อง (phii^ nong/) relationship is determined by the situational context of the relationship contact and role reversal occurs as situation contexts change. Factors that were considered in determining who is the พี่ (phii^) and who is the น้อง (nong/) include age, sex, and social economic status.

Understanding the พี่น้อง (phii^ nong/) relationship is crucial to understanding behavior in the Thai social structure. The role of the พี่ (phii^) is that of patron. As the “elder sibling”, the พี่ (phii^) is to behave in a benevolent and longsuffering manner towards the น้อง (nong/). The น้อง (nong/) responds in kind by deferring to the พี่ (phii^). The extent to which one carries out the role is determined by the closeness of the relationship. In very close relationships the พี่ (phii^) can become responsible for supporting the น้อง (nong/) and even responsible for the actions of the น้อง (nong/). In this type of relationship the น้อง (nong/) responds with respectful service. Failure to

adequately perform these roles could lead to a weakening and even dissolution of the relationship.

The พี่น้อง (phi[^] nong[/]) relationship forms the foundation for two other important core values of Thai social structure: consensus and conflict avoidance. Even though the น้อง may be socially obligated to defer to the พี่ (phii[^]), the พี่ (phii[^]) must still work to create consensus in order to promote peace (ความสุข) and harmony (ความสามัคคี) in the relationship. As a result conflict is usually frowned upon and consensus favored. Thai people do not like to stand out in a crowd. They tend to operate in groups and any kind of individual behavior is considered outside the norm. Failure to find consensus could result in conflict that in turn could weaken or destroy the พี่น้อง (phii[^] nong[/]) relationship.

A fourth important core value of Thai social structure is ระเบียบ (ra biab), the established order of action that governs behavior. The ระเบียบ (ra biab) can be a set of written rules or the internalized unwritten rules imposed by the culture. The important concept here is that there be a ระเบียบ (ra biab) and for the ระเบียบ (ra biab) to be followed. The function of ระเบียบ (ra biab) is to provide stability in society. Everyone knows, or should know, the ระเบียบ (ra biab) and behaves in accordance with it. Following the ระเบียบ (ra biab) assures that consensus can be reached in an orderly fashion without conflict.

A fifth cultural core value is resistance to change. Thai culture places great importance on ระเบียบ (ra biab orderliness). ระเบียบ (ra biab) is reached through slow

consensus building before implementing a change. If consensus is not immediately forthcoming, Thais will back off on making a decision until consensus can be reached. Rapid and radical change did not conform to the cultural standard of *ระเบียบ* (ra biab). From a cultural standpoint the restructuring of higher education might not have followed the *ระเบียบ* (ra biab).

Khun Soi (MUA): “Some people might like rapid change, but only a small minority. Therefore Thai people will compromise a lot, and slowly will come to a willingness to do something new. But we have to be more energetic about this than we are. We need to do whatever it takes to make people see the importance of this. And we need to be surer of ourselves.”

The political, economic, and social aspects of Thai society are governed by these five important core values. It could therefore be assumed that these were forces that determined how globalization influenced the restructuring of Thai higher education. The *พี่น้อง* (phii[^] nong[/]) relationship is a strong force to be reckoned with. In the social and political structure of higher education, the state, in the form of the civil service, played the role of the *พี่* (phii[^]). As such the state was responsible for the well being of the *น้อง* (nong[/]) who in this case was the civil servant professor. Forcing professors to leave the civil service system was forcing them to break the *พี่น้อง* (phii[^] nong[/]) relationship with the state and establish a new one with the university. This posed problems for many civil servants who did not trust the university to be a good *พี่* (phii[^]). Many academics were concerned that the university would not fulfill its obligations as the *พี่* (phii[^]) and were therefore reluctant to leave the civil service.

Consensus and conflict avoidance were also major factors influencing the restructuring of higher education. At Big City Tech consensus was reached and conflict

avoided when the administration agreed to implement a dual system, allowing professors the option of remaining in the civil service. The extent to which consensus was reached at Central University was difficult to determine. A new charter was written and submitted to the government for approval and most of the interviewees gave positive responses about the new charter. It must be noted, however, that most of those interviewed held administrative positions and could have been responding from an administrative perspective. It was difficult to determine from the data the level of support from non-administrative faculty and students. The data indicated that, as far as Central University was concerned, consensus was not entirely reached. This resulted in conflict between the university president and the president of the Faculty Senate.

There was some question as to how much consensus was built at the national political level. Administrators attempted to play down the loan conditions imposed by the ADB. There were, however, muted comments about whether the government was completely transparent in agreeing to any conditions. The question was whether the government asked for any input from different perspectives or if it made a unilateral decision in secret.

The level of consensus reached within the administrative community was another area that was problematic. The majority of individuals interviewed were in agreement that restructuring higher education was needed. One must take into account, however, that this study took place at universities that were far into the restructuring process. At two institutions there was no turning back. This leads one to consider whether there

really was wide spread consensus in the administrative community or if it was limited to a small group of visionaries.

The need for some level of consensus at the institutional level and the national level was important if there was to be continued restructuring of higher education. Without consensus there would be continued conflict mounted by unsatisfied academics at various universities.

The issue of រ៉ាប៊ីយ៉ាប (ra biab) was also playing a role in the restructuring process. That Northeastern A&M displayed the least amount of opposition could be explained from the aspect of រ៉ាប៊ីយ៉ាប. The university was established from the beginning as an institution that was outside of the រ៉ាប៊ីយ៉ាប (ra biab) established for public universities. As such it was establishing a new រ៉ាប៊ីយ៉ាប (ra biab) for a new type of university. This was accomplished following established and accepted political ground rules. As such there was no indication that people consider the establishment and administration of Northeastern A&M and other two new autonomous universities to be without រ៉ាប៊ីយ៉ាប (ra biab).

Central University and perhaps to a lesser extent Big City Tech posed a different side of the រ៉ាប៊ីយ៉ាប (ra biab) factor. Given the amount of controversy and confusion at national and institutional levels, one must question whether attempts at restructuring existing civil service universities adequately followed established political and social រ៉ាប៊ីយ៉ាប (ra biab). This did not necessarily mean that people were opposed to restructuring. Respondents who expressed criticism acknowledged the need to make

changes. Their criticisms were aimed at how the process was taking place. It was not according to របៀប (ra biab).

The opposition to globalization and restructuring could be defined in terms of the four factors above. One must acknowledge, however, that the economic situation caused widespread panic at all levels of society. Taking a loan from the ADB was seen as the only lifeboat available. As such the government may have felt that it did not have the luxury of taking the time needed to reach consensus and follow របៀប (ra biab).

Desperate times call for desperate measures.

One must also consider the possibility that government did take these four factors into account prior issuing the restructuring policies. Many administrators insisted that the need to restructure had been discussed for a long time prior to economic crisis. It was not that there was no attempt to build consensus. Instead it could be certain factions just did not want to restructure. Consensus might strengthen peace and harmony but it also stifles risk taking. It works against the concept of personal responsibility necessary for a culture of accountability. Consensus makes it difficult to cultivate leadership as the power to veto is given to one and all. When action cannot be taken until consensus is reached, then no action would be taken. When action is taken, the faction that holds out the longest would win.

The most visible forces opposing globalization were social attitudes towards the civil service. The prestige society placed on the civil service and enjoyed by civil servants was a major roadblock to restructuring. Big City Tech eventually had to

compromise with this force by allowing a dual system form of management.

Northeastern A&M did not have the option of a dual system but still needed to come to terms with the civil service in its recruitment of civil service faculty. A faculty member who was a civil servant at another public university would lose that status if he or she agreed to come teach at A&M. The opposition to restructuring at Central University was also mounted by those who did not want to leave the civil service system.

Central University was an interesting story in this regard as, by all accounts, the opposition was late in forthcoming. It seems that the opposition was fairly quiet, if not compliant, until the very end of the process. The draft of the new charter was in the final stages of completion before being sent off to the government. According to university sources, the opposition did not act until events at other prestigious universities occurred. The first event concerned the new charter submitted by the administration of Chulalongkorn University, the premier university in Thailand. For reasons that had not been clarified the administration either withdrew the charter or the government returned the charter for reconsideration. In any event Chula's Faculty Senate began to oppose any charter that forced them to leave the civil service system. Chiang Mai University followed suite. An important factor in all this was that Faculty Senates at Chula and Chiang Mai had national influence. The president of the Central University chapter of the Faculty Senate, emboldened by his Faculty Senate colleagues, mounted a late opposition to Central University's restructuring plans. The opposition was too little too late and the opposition suffered an embarrassing defeat. Although the charter was sent to

government as written, the opposition mounted by Faculty Senates nationwide had political implications for the restructuring of Central University and the nation.

The political opposition mounted by civil service faculties nationwide could be summarized in the Narok¹ Is Coming Soon campaign mounted at several universities. Narok¹ (นรก) is the Thai word for hell. The NICS campaign was in opposition to any plan to force university personnel to leave the civil service system by implying it would result in “hell on campus.” It was unclear as to how widespread this campaign was. It was, however, indicative of the resentment that many civil service faculty had towards the idea. It was also unclear how much influence this had on the political front. It was interesting to note, however, that during national elections in late 2000 the Thai Rak Thai party began to question the timing of restructuring. Shortly after winning a majority in the elections the new Thai Rak Thai administration began to back off from continuing higher education reforms. The government did not, at first, disagree with the concept or principle behind restructuring. It did, however, decide the process needed “more study” before continuing. A year later the government backed even further away from restructuring when the minister for University Affairs stated that universities were not ready to leave the civil service system and that he would ask parliament to postpone the 2002 deadline. At the time of this study a new government had taken over and no new universities had submitted charters. Central University was still waiting for approval of its charter. Faculties at several other universities had voted to reject any new charter that did not provide certain guarantees for civil service faculty.

Economic forces have also fueled opposition to restructuring. This was a dichotomy in that on the one hand global economics calls for restructuring but local economics makes it difficult to carry out. One of the selling points for leaving the civil service system was the prospect of university professors getting a higher salary. Prior to the economic crisis this promise of higher salaries had a ring of truth. When the economy collapsed, however, there were no funds to give the salary increases promised. Northeastern A&M had one of the higher salary scales but had to operate understaffed in order to meet salary commitments. Professors at Big City Tech were still waiting for any significant increase in salary. The one incentive universities were counting on to help convince civil service professors to change was no longer available.

Local economics and societal expectations made it difficult for universities to raise tuition. Northeastern A&M had a reputation for being an expensive public university. Central University was located in one of the poorer regions of the country. The general public thought that the universities were well-funded and that any move to increase tuition was just greed on the universities part. Even if people were willing to pay higher tuition, it was doubtful that they could afford to do so.

Summary of Conclusions

Although restructuring in Thailand was taking place, there were people who held strong social, political, and economic values fighting it. This did not mean that restructuring would cease or that globalization would not be a factor. It would probably continue, but at a much slower pace. Rather than force rapid and radical change,

politicians and academics would be inclined to allow the old system to continue until existing civil servants had retired. If the government continued the policy of no new civil servants in higher education, and if all new public universities had be outside the civil service system, then the end result would be a restructuring of the whole system at a slower pace.

A Theory of Indigenous Globalization

The situation in Thailand seems to confirm the theory that globalization was vulnerable to cultural and social factors. This did not mean that globalization was not a force to be reckoned with. Globalization continued to play an important role in the restructuring of Thailand's higher education system albeit at a pace and in a direction that was culturally determined. The aspect of market/economic ideology was still present, but in the context of how the market/economy operated within the local culture. It was perhaps erroneous, then, to suggest that globalization was the evangelistic outreach of western ideology around the world. It could instead be possible to theorize that globalization was concerned with understanding how a given society/culture used and manipulated indigenous market/economy strategies in order to accomplish political and economic goals in that society.

It follows, then, that cultural and societal factors were not necessarily diametrically opposed to globalization. The situation in Thailand indicated that the restructuring of higher education was not a conflict between globalization and culture, but a process whereby the forces of globalization adapted to cultural norms, expectations,

and core values to bring about restructuring that was within accepted cultural parameters. One could therefore conclude with Llosa (2001) that globalization, contrary to popular belief, actually strengthened those factors that were the core values of culture.

Indigenous Globalization and Restructuring

The principle of restructuring of Thailand's higher education system was sound. Thailand's public universities and national development stand to benefit from decentralization. Decentralization would allow universities to develop at their own pace in ways that they saw were best for their situation. Autonomy in budget and personnel management would free the universities from the constraints of the bureaucracy allowing flexibility and efficiency in program and research development. It would also allow for greater flexibility in looking for non-government resources. The advantages outweighed the disadvantages. The restructuring process was one that should be continued.

There needed to be a more concerted effort on the government's part to promote the continuation of restructuring the remaining twenty public universities. Without government support the restructuring would be delayed and further delay national educational development. Government support could not be limited to funding. There needed to be better communication of the advantages of restructuring, especially to civil servant professors. Without support of the powerful faculty senates, restructuring would eventually fail. There needed to be clear plans on how restructuring would take place and how it would impact those who were currently in the civil service. There needed to be concrete plans showing how the government and the universities would live up to the

promise that salaries and benefits would equal, if not exceed, current civil service levels. It was not enough to just make a promise; people needed to see how the promise would be kept. There needed to be clear cut rules on evaluations to allay fears of administrative abuse. In other words, how would academic freedom be protected?

Attention needed be given to quality assurance, especially for the many new non-traditional programs being offered in universities nation wide. There were fears that institutions of higher education would emphasize profit at the expense of quality. Critics pointed to a plan by Rajabhat Institute to run education related businesses to raise funds. The institute expected to raise annual income of two hundred million baht allowing the institute to break from the civil service system without raising tuition (*Bangkok Post* [Bangkok], November 9 2001).

Finally, all parties needed to ask the question “Is restructuring inevitable?” Llosa makes a convincing argument that modernization, of which globalization is a part, is irresistible. Modernization opens doors of opportunity and “constitutes an important step forward for a society as a whole” (Llosa 2001). The implications for Thailand were that, as the country continued to modernize, it would be influenced by globalization. Extending this to higher education one could make the argument that restructuring was indeed inevitable. If this was true, then it makes sense to be pro-active instead of passive/reactive. Instead of sitting back and taking whatever comes along, Thailand should continue the policies of planning and shaping the restructuring process in ways that are consistent with social and cultural norms.

Recommendations for Further Research

This study has pointed to several directions for on-going research. The data was both rich and broad and could form the basis for numerous study topics. The study raises several questions regarding students and their families, non-administrative faculty, and business and industry.

The research for this study focused on administration and faculty who also held administrative positions in the university. The attitudes and perceptions presented in the study were from an administrative point of view. There are, however, other participants in higher education that need to be heard. Students and parents stand to be as greatly impacted by restructuring as will civil servant faculty. Students and parents will perceive a set of priorities, advantages and disadvantages that are different from faculty and administrative personnel. Of immediate concern to students and family was tuition. If government appropriations remain at current levels while expenses rise, then tuition increases may be considered a valid remedy for budget shortfalls.

The attitudes and perceptions of non-administrative faculty also pose interesting questions. This study found that non-administrative faculty, with the exception of Northeastern A&M, were also civil servant faculty. This group of people could provide a different insight into the advantages and disadvantages of restructuring.

The business and industrial sector is a third major participant in the higher education system. This study focused on the attempts by universities to forge closer

relationships with industry through research and collaboration. The assumption was that industry welcomes these advances by higher education. There was also the assumption that the universities were offering the types of collaboration and research desired by industry. These two assumptions need to be studied.

Another area that needs further research involves the academic programs being started. The study found that new graduate and non-traditional programs were being opened in response to market demands. These programs are also assumed to be potential sources of revenue for the universities. There are questions about how these programs are being received by the public. How does the university determine what the market demands in graduate and non-traditional programs? What, if any, are the differences between non-traditional programs offered by universities in the civil service and those that had gone through some type of restructuring?

Another important question that needs further study is the issue of quality and standards for programs that are offered through collaboration with international universities. Universities look at international collaboration as a means to increase prestige and recruit tuition paying students. It was assumed by the paying public that the quality of education offered through these programs is equal to the quality of education offered by the international university. This would be an interesting study from the perspective of the Thai university and the foreign partner university.

The role of the university president in the restructuring process is a critical one. The president of Central University, for example, was a decidedly strong leader. The

chief executive's role in restructuring is complex. It includes facilitating institutional vision, leading the planning efforts, and allowing broad input by the university community. The CEO must be adept at compromise without weakening the purpose and goals of restructuring. This complex and difficult position is pivotal to the restructuring process and needs to be better understood by those involved in restructuring programs.

A final direction for research lies in the impact restructuring has on non-technical programs. Liberal arts programs have traditionally been seen as non-revenue generating programs. They are also considered to be of little value to national economic development. There is the assumption then that a hierarchy of prestige based on ability to compete for funds will develop with technical and science related programs positioned at the top and liberal arts programs near the bottom. There needs to be more research on how liberal arts programs adjust to meet the expectations of globalization.

Conclusion

Stakeholders in higher education in Thailand need to decide to either continue forward with decentralization and restructuring or to remain in the bureaucratic system. They face considerable challenges meeting national educational and economic development needs over the next ten years. Restructuring offers universities the flexibility to overcome these challenges in a timely and efficient manner. The public university can function properly outside the civil service and bureaucratic system as demonstrated by the two universities already out of the system. It is time for the academic community to stop arguing over restructuring and work together towards

developing Thai higher education into a system that is responsive to the educational and developmental needs of the nation.

APPENDIX

PROTOCOL AND INTERVIEW GUIDE

For

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTS OF GLOBALIZATION
ON THE RESTRUCTURING OF HIGHER EDUCATION
IN THAILAND**

David A. Filbeck

PROCEDURES

Gaining Access to an Institution

- A. Search Ministry of University Affairs website for listing and homepages for Thai public universities. Select five universities for first contact.
- B. Send emails to university officials with a preliminary request for participation in the project. Include a brief summary of the project and researcher information.
- C. If less than three universities send positive responses, repeat A and B until at least three institutions are open to participation.
- D. Send a letter containing a formal request for participation, a brief summary of the project, a memorandum of introduction, and a researcher vita to university official who send a positive response to the email send in B.
- E. Use email to maintain contact with university officials. Keep official updated on travel plans. Confirm a date to visit the campus and conduct interviews.
- F. Upon arrival in Thailand make a personal phone call to the university official to re-confirm arrangements.

Gaining Access to an Institution

Example – Initial Email Request for Participation to University Official

(Official's name and Address)

Dear Dr. (Official's Name),

I am a doctoral student in Education Administration at the University of Texas at Austin, USA. I am interested in studying the restructuring of public higher education that is taking place in Thailand. I am particularly interested in how globalization may or may not be affecting the restructuring process. There have been many studies over the past two decades that analyze globalization and higher education restructuring. These studies, however, have concentrated on higher education systems in the western postindustrial countries of Australia, North America, and Europe. I believe it is possible to come to a better understanding of how globalization affects higher education restructuring by examining the restructuring process as it takes place in non-western societies.

I would like to include (University Name) in a study of universities to analyze the extent restructuring is taking place and the extent to which globalization plays a role in the restructuring. Would (University Name) be interested in participating in such a study? If so, could you please direct me to the office or officer I need to contact to obtain permission and to make arrangements?

Thank you for taking time to consider my request.

Sincerely,

Researcher Name

Gaining Access to an Institution

Example-Official Request for Participation To University Official (To be sent by regular post)

(University Official's Name and Address)

Dear Dr. (Official's Name),

I am interested in studying the restructuring of public higher education that is taking place in Thailand. I am particularly interested in how globalization may or may not be affecting the restructuring process. There have been many studies over the past two decades that analyze globalization and higher education restructuring. These studies, however, have concentrated on higher education systems in the western postindustrial countries of Australia, North America, and Europe. I believe it is possible to come to a better understanding of how globalization affects higher education restructuring by examining the restructuring process as it takes place in non-western societies.

I would like to include (University Name) in a study of universities to analyze the extent restructuring is taking place and the extent to which globalization plays a role in the restructuring. As you can see from the brief description of the research in Attachment 1, the research uses an interview based case study approach to examine the restructuring process in three institutions. If you consent to participate, I will work with you to set up a time period for the interviews. I would also like to identify any documents that would be appropriate for review. All documents will be returned. No interview should take longer than 60 minutes. Interviews will be recorded only with the express written permission of those interviewed. All interviews and documents will be confidential and used only for the purpose of conducting the research. Neither (University Name) name, nor the name of any individual will be used in any document or publication without express written consent.

As a study participant you will be sent the results of the case study on (University Name) and a copy of the completed report that will synthesize the findings from all participating institutions. I hope you will find both documents to be of value to you.

The research project is the basis for my doctoral dissertation in Education Administration at the University of Texas at Austin, U. S. A. Dr. V. Ray Cardozier is my dissertation committee chair. He can be reached at:

University of Texas at Austin, SZB 310, Austin, TX 78712-1291, USA phone 512-475-8571, email vrayc@mail.utexas.edu. Other committee members are:

Dr. Brown, former vice-president of the University of Texas at Austin,
Dr. Lasher, vice-Provost of the University of Texas at Austin,
Dr. Reyes, associate dean of the graduate school,
Dr. Keating, associate professor of Anthropology and Linguistics.

If you need to contact any of these individuals I will be happy to provide you with email addresses.

In addition to a brief description of the study in Attachment 1, a Memorandum of Introduction is provided as Attachment 2. This form states that you have given me permission to conduct the study. It is used to reassure the interviewees that I have University permission to discuss restructuring with them. I have also included a resume as Attachment 3 to help you evaluate my ability to conduct the research.

Thank you for taking the time to consider (University Name)'s participation in this project. If at any time you need to contact me you can do so at: (researcher's email address) While I am in Thailand you can contact me at (researcher's local phone number and email address).

Sincerely,

Researcher Name

Attachment 1: Brief Description of the Research

Attachment 2: Memorandum of Introduction

Attachment 3: Resume

Attachment 1: Brief Description of the Research

Tentative Title: An Analysis of the Effects of Globalization on the Restructuring of Higher Education in Thailand.

Purpose: The purpose of the research is to study the extent to which globalization is influencing the restructuring of higher education in Thailand. Globalization is a theoretical concept based on economic and free market principles. According to globalization the logic of free market liberalism must become the logic of society as a whole. Recent studies on western higher education have focused on how globalization has affected the way universities are restructured and how the daily lives of academics have been altered by globalization practices. There are, however, local social and cultural factors that also contribute to restructuring. This research will study how globalization and local social and cultural factors are interacting in the restructuring process in Thailand's institutions. The study will be a descriptive analysis of the restructuring process as it is currently being carried out.

Research Questions:

1. How is restructuring in Thailand's public universities being organized and carried out?
2. What are administrator, faculty, and student perceptions of the restructuring process?
3. What are administrator, faculty, and student responses to the restructuring process?
4. How are free market mechanism manifested in the restructuring process and how do these mechanism impact institutions, administrators, faculty, and students?
5. Which academic units are changing, how are they changing, and why?

Methodology: The research uses a multiple-site, interview based case study approach. Interviews will be conducted at three public university campuses in Thailand. Prior to conducting the research a pilot study will be conducted at a Thai public university campus. Individuals interviewed will be administrators, faculty, and staff employed by the public university, and students enrolled in the university. Information obtained from the interview is clarified through the analysis of secondary data, primarily official records. The instrumentation will be an interview guide with probe questions. Interviews will be coded and analyzed using the HYPERRESEARCH program. Case studies will be written for each of the universities visited.

Significance of Study: This study is significant in that it applies theory that has been used to describe higher education restructuring in a western, post-industrial context, to a non-western, non-postindustrial context. The conclusions and recommendations of this study will provide insight for practitioners and theoretical insights for research that can be inferred to other Southeast Asian nations that are undergoing similar restructuring.

Attachment 2

Memorandum of Introduction

Mr. David A. Filbeck is conducting a study of the restructuring of public higher education in Thailand. I have approved (University Name)'s participation in the project.

Signature_____

(_____)

Attachment 3

Resume

Personal Information: David Ambros Filbeck was born March 16, 1961 in Bangkok, Thailand. He grew up in the Thung Chang and Pua districts of Nan Province in Northern Thailand. He has lived most of his adult life in Chiang Mai, Thailand. David Filbeck speaks, reads, and writes the Thai language. He is married and has four children. All four children were born in Chiang Mai, Thailand.

Academic Credentials:

1995-present: PhD program in Education Administration, The University of Texas at Austin, U.S.A.

1984-1987: The University of Texas at Arlington, M. A. Linguistics.

1983-1984: St. Louis Christian College, B. A. Ministry.

1979-1982: Lincoln Christian College, no degree.

Work Experience

2000: Academic Advisor, MBA program at St. Edwards University, Austin Texas. Responsibilities included advising 500 MBA students on their programs of studies, coordinating MBA activities with the Dean of the MBA School and the graduate school registrar.

1987-present: Vice President of the Center for Biblical Studies, San Sai, Chiang Mai Thailand. Responsibilities include recruitment and training of faculty

and staff, property purchase, building dorms and classrooms, coordinating with district education officials, and establishing foundation status.

1984-1987: Arlington Christian Church, part-time associate minister.

1984-1987: Wingtip Couriers, Dallas, Texas.

Making Campus Arrangements

- A. Upon being informed that the request for a site visit has been approved, follow-up emails will be sent to the official contact to coordinate a suitable time period for the visit. Emails should address issues such as transportation, lodging, and lists of desired offices, officers, or individuals to be interviewed. There must be confirmation of a telephone number for the official contact.
- B. All contact with university personnel will be conducted through the official contact. This is to maintain cultural sensitivity to appropriate 'chain of command'.
- C. Access to interviewees will be coordinated with the official contact person. A list of desired informants will be made available to the contact. The list may be comprised of individual names listed on websites, or if no names are available, then the name of the desired office. The list will include administrative officers (President, Vice-president, Financial Officer, Planning Officer, Deans, department heads). A minimum of five individuals will be interviewed. The contact may either make the arrangements, or supply the researcher with email addresses or phone numbers and allow the researcher to make arrangements.
- D. Upon arrival in Thailand make a phone call to the official contact to confirm arrival in country, and to re-confirm the time of the site visit as well as to update any vital information.

- E. Upon arrival on campus meet with official contact to confirm interview times and places.
- F. Accept all opportunities to interview additional individuals not listed on the original interview list.
- G. Interviewees will be contacted to confirm interview time. The contact procedure will be at the discretion of the official contact.
- H. The researcher makes all transportation arrangements. Lodging arrangements will be made in coordination with official contact. The researcher will be responsible for lodging fees charged by the university.

Conducting the Interviews

- A. All interviews will be conducted using the interview guide.
- B. Interviews will be recorded except where permission to record is denied or when the researcher feels the use of tape recorders is inappropriate.
- C. Since the researcher is interested in pursuing interview topic to their completion. Latitude to use probes not listed in the interview guide will be permitted. All probes will be noted in the transcribed interviews.
- D. Questions other than those listed on the interview guide may be asked if a particular line of inquiry appears to be promising. All such additional questions will be noted in the transcribed interviews.
- E. Skip questions that are not applicable to the institutions one their lack of relevance has been established. For instance do not ask about the process of changing from one system to another if the institution was never in the old system.
- F. Some respondents are intent on telling their own stories rather than answering set interview questions. Ask as many of the interview questions as possible, trying to fit them into the flow of the narrative.
- G. Keep the interview to less than 60 minutes. Ask the important questions first followed by common questions. Do not run an officer overtime into another important meeting.

THANK YOU NOTES

- A. Within one week after the campus visit, send thank you notes to all respondents and to the official university contact. The notes should indicate appreciation for their time and assistance.

TRANSCRIBING AND CODING

- A. Transcription, translation, and coding will begin within one week after the interview is concluded.
- B. Code all phrases, sentences, or paragraphs containing material other than pleasantries or other extraneous material.
- C. Use all codes relevant to a particular piece of material. Paragraphs, phrases, or sentences may contain material from various code selections.
- D. Use hyperRESEARCH program to record codes.

PARTICIPATING INSTITUTIONS RESEARCH PROJECT

DOCUMENTARY SOURCES*

General Institutional Information

Organizational Chart

University Fact book

University Map

Restructuring Information

Current university plan

Documents concerned with restructuring

Institutional policies concerned with restructuring

Presidential goal statements, white papers, reports, etc.

Financial documents

Other documents that explain, clarify, or describe the restructuring process.

* All materials will be used solely for the purpose of the research. Permission will be obtained to keep and dispose of all materials at the researcher's discretion.

CODE LIST DEFINITIONS

Accountability: Methods and procedures for evaluation of personnel performance and management performance. In a more specific use refers to faculty evaluations. In general use refers to any type of accountability system or procedure.

***Activity:** behavior occurring on a regular basis.

***Action-Process:** Events and activities that have occurred or are in the process of taking place. May be a single occurrence, a sequence of occurrences, or a process that takes place over an undetermined time frame.

Attitude: Ways of thinking about people events, and objects. Understanding of others, of objects, and of events in the world.

Autonomy: Administration that is not under government or civil service control.

Benefits: Health care, retirement, social security.

Bureaucratic: Administration through a system of government bureaus staffed with non-elected officials.

***Context Definition:** General information that allows the study to be put into context. How people perceive, define, or understand the setting and topics being discussed.

***Events:** Activities of a specific nature with infrequent occurrence.

Faculty Development: Strategies and activities to develop faculty in areas of advanced education.

HE: Higher Education.

HEI: Higher Education Institute.

IMF: International Monetary Fund. Also used as a catch all phrase for the World Bank, Asian Development Bank (ADB) and other large international financial organizations.

Internal: Events or activities that take place or are taking place within the country of the study.

Investment: Any type of investment an individual has in the civil service system. Includes financial, emotional, security, and prestige investments.

International Cooperation: Process or activity whereby a domestic HEI enters into a cooperative agreement with a non-domestic organization.

Market Performance and Standards: Measuring outputs and quality of product based on market, industry, or global economic expectations.

Market Standards: Using market, industry, or global economic expectations.

New Organizational Forms: Organizational forms established to facilitate the restructuring process, to facilitate resource-seeking patterns, and to facilitate management in the autonomous system.

***Process:** Event sequence, flow, transition, changes over time.

Ratified: Policies, activities, events that have been officially approved by government and codified into official policy or law.

Resignation: Attitudes, feelings, or activity that indicates inevitability.

Resource Seeking Patterns: Strategies, activities designed to seek and obtain financial resources outside of regularly budgeted government subsidies.

Restructuring: The process or event whereby a university changes administrative structure from being under the civil service system to an autonomous system.

***Strategies:** Methods and ways of accomplishing things, tactics, techniques.

*Terminology and definitions derived from Bogdan and Biklen (1992)

CODE LIST

CONTEXT DEFINITION	CT	1
CT: ADVANTAGES	CT-ADV	1.C
Accountability	CT-ADV-ACCT	1.C
Competition Academics	CT-ADV-COMP-ACD	1.C
Competition Personnel Recruitment	CT-ADV-COMP-PERS	1.C
Competition Student Recruitment	CT-ADV-COMP-STU	1.C
Efficiency in Management	CT-ADV-EFF	1
Efficiency Financial	CT-ADV-EFF-FIN	1.C
Efficiency Personnel	CT-ADV-EFF-PERS	1.C
Flexibility	CT-ADV-FLEX	1
Flexibility in Budget	CT-ADV-FLEX-BUD	1.C
Flexibility in Operation Management	CT-ADV-FLEX-MNG	1.C
Flexibility in Personnel	CT-ADV-FLEX-PERS	1.C
Flexibility in Salary	CT-ADV-FLEX-SAL	
CT: ATTITUDE SHIFTS	CT-ATT-S	1.A
Education a Commodity	CT-ATT-S-COMM	1.D
Economic Development	CT-ATT-S-ECON	1.D
Entrepreneurial Culture	CT-ATT-S-EC	1.D
Market Standards	CT-ATT-S-MKT	1.D
Viewed as Industry	CT-ATT-S-IND	1.D
CT: ECONOMIC EFFECTS	CT-ECON	1.D
CT: HISTORY OF RESTRUCTURING	CT-HIST	
CT: UNDERSTANDING AUTONOMY	CT-UND-AUTO	1.B
CT: UNDERSTANDING GLOBALIZATION	CT-UND-GLOB	1.A

ACTION-PROCESS	AP	2
AP: ACTIVITY		2.A
Budget Considerations	AP-ACT-BUD	2.A
Encouragement	AP-ACT-ENCOR	
Government Support of HE	AP-ACT-GOVSUPP	2.A
Policies	AP-ACT-POLICY	
Ratified	AP-ACT-RATIFIED	
AP: EVENTS		2.A
Budget Cuts	AP-EVENT-BUD	2.A
IMF Involvement	AP-EVENT-IMF	2
Increase in Administration	AP-EVNT-ADMIN	2.A
AP: PROCESS		2.A
Develop Applied Research	AP-PRO-APPRES	2.A
Develop Internal Graduate Programs	AP-PRO-GRAD	2.A
Develop Prestige Hierarchy	AP-PRO-PRES	2.A
Quality Assurance	AP-PRO-QLTY	2.A
Research Boundary Blurring	AP-PRO-RBB	2.A
Restricted funds to Unrestricted	AP-PRO-FUNDS	2.A
Teaching shifts to Research	AP-PRO-TEACH/RES	2.A
AP: STRATEGIES		2.A
Community Relations	AP-STR-COM/REL	
Contracts with Market	AP-STR-CONT	2.A
Faculty Development	AP-STR-FAC-DEV	
Grants and Loans	AP-STR-GRNT	2.A
International Cooperation	AP-STR-INT/COOP	2.A
New HEI	AP-STR-NEW-HEI	
New Organizational Forms	AP-STR-ORG	2.A

Resource Seeking Patterns	AP-STR-RES	2.A
Salaries	AP-STR-SAL	
Tuition & Fees	AP-STR-TUIT	2.A
AP: RESTRUCTURING PROCESS	AP-REST	2.B
Benefits	AP-REST-BENEFITS	
Governance	AP-REST-GOV	2.B
Government Support	AP-REST-GOV-SUP	
AP: MARKET MECHANISMS	AP-MKT	2.C
Compete with Market	AP-MT-COMPETE	
Performance & Standards	AP-MKT-PERFORM	2.C
Profit Orientation	AP-MKT-PROF	2.C
Response Time	AP-MKT-TIME	2.C
Unit Cost	AP-MKT-UNIT	2.C

SOCIETAL, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL FORCES	SCP	3
SCP: OPPOSE	SCP-OPP	3.A
Attitude	SCP-OPP-ATT	
Budget Uncertainties	SCP-OPP-BUDGET	
Fear Performance Review	SCP-OPP-FEAR	3.A
No Transparency	SCP-OPP-TRANS	3.A
Participation Denied	SCP-OPP-PART	3.A
Stall Tactics	SCP-OPP-STALL	3.A
SCP: RESIGNATION	SCP-RES	3.A
SCP: SUPPORT	SCP-SUP	3.A
Consensus	SCP-SUP-CON	3.A
Unsure	SCP-SUP-UNSURE	3.A

SCP: DISADVANTAGES OF RESTRUCTURING	SCP-DISAD	3.B
Accountability	SCP-DISAD-ACCT	
Benefits	SCP-DISAD-BENEFITS	3.B
Job Security	SCP-DISAD-JOB	3.B
Lost Investment	SCP-DISAD-LINVEST	3.B
Prestige	SCP-DISAD-PRES	3.B
Workload Increase	SCP-DISAD-WORK	3.B
SCP: ATTITUDE TOWARDS CIVIL SERVICE	SCP-CVS	3.C
Accountability Concerns	SCP-CVS-ACCT	3.C
Bureaucratic	SCP-CVS-BUR	3.C
Inefficient	SCP-CVS-INNEFF	3.C
Lazy	SCP-CVS-LZY	3.C
Low Salary Scale	SCP-CVS-LOWSAL	3
SCP: POLITICAL ISSUES	SCP-POL	3.A
Confusion	SCP-POL-CONF	

SATISFACTION	SAT	
SAT: NEEDS IMPROVEMENTS	SAT-IMPR	3.A
SAT: NEGATIVE	SAT-NEG	
SAT: PRESTIGE	SAT-PRESTIGE	
SAT: POSITIVE ATTITUDE	SAT-POS	3.A
SAT: UNSURE OF RESULTS	SAT-UNSURE	3.A

Interview Permission Form

Name/ชื่อ _____ Date/วันเดือนปี _____

Position/ตำแหน่ง _____

Institution/มหาวิทยาลัย _____ Telephone/โทร _____

ข้าพเจ้ามีความประสงค์ขอขออนุญาตสัมภาษณ์เรื่องการบริหารสถาบันอุดมศึกษาในประเทศไทย โดยเฉพาะการเปลี่ยนที่มหาวิทยาลัยของท่าน การสัมภาษณ์จะไม่เกิน 30 นาที

ข้อมูลที่ได้รับในการสัมภาษณ์ จะเอาไปใช้ในการเตรียมคำแถลงและวิทยานิพนธ์

เพื่อป้องกันความสับสนโดยของท่าน

ข้าพเจ้าจะไม่ใช้นามของท่านในการเขียนหนังสือโดยไม่ได้รับอนุญาตโดยเขียนจากท่าน

เพื่อช่วยข้าพเจ้าจำข้อมูล ข้าพเจ้าขออนุญาตต่อการสัมภาษณ์ ไม่มีใครนอกจากข้าพเจ้าจะมีสิทธิ์ฟังได้

และเมื่อเขียนวิทยานิพนธ์เสร็จ เทปจะถูกทำลาย

มีคำถามอะไรก่อนเริ่ม?

ข้าพเจ้า _____ อนุญาต ☐ ไม่อนุญาต ☐ ให้นายเดวิด เอ. ฟิลเบค อัดคำ

สัมภาษณ์ ข้าพเจ้ายอมรับว่า ไม่มีใครมีสิทธิ์ฟังเทปนี้ได้ ยกเว้นนายเดวิด เอ. ฟิลเบค

และเทปนี้จะถูกทำลายเมื่อเขียนวิทยานิพนธ์เสร็จ

(Translation of Permission Statement)

I would like to discuss the restructuring of the public higher education system with you. I am specifically interested in what is happening at your university. Our discussion should last about 30 minutes.

The information you provide will be used to assist in the preparation of a comprehensive report and doctoral dissertation. To protect the confidentiality of the information you will not be identified by name in either the case study report or in any other documents or publications without your express written consent.

To help me remember the details of our discussion I would like your permission to audio record our conversation. This audio recording will be accessible only to me and will be destroyed upon completion of the project. My I have your permission to record?

I _____ ☐ give ☐ do not give Mr. David Ambros Filbeck permission to record this discussion. I understand all recordings will be kept confidential and will be destroyed upon completion of this project.

INTERVIEW GUIDE
Public Institution, Faculty/Administration

1. Can you give a brief history of the development of the idea for restructuring the higher education system in Thailand?
อาจารย์สามารถช่วยเล่าเรื่องประวัติแนวคิดที่จะเปลี่ยนระบบอุดมศึกษาในประเทศไทยไหม
2. Is the move towards autonomy mandatory or voluntary?
การเปลี่ยนระบบบริหารเป็นระบบบริหารของเอกชน เป็นสิ่งที่มหาวิทยาลัยไทยเลือกทำหรือไม่
3. Is (university's name) moving to opt out of the bureaucratic system?
มหาวิทยาลัยของท่านจะเปลี่ยนระบบบริหารหรือไม่
4. What do academics here at (university's name) say are the advantages and disadvantages of universities becoming autonomous?
คณะอาจารย์และนักศึกษาที่มหาวิทยาลัยแห่งนี้คิดคิดอย่างไรว่า
การเปลี่ยนระบบบริหารจะมีผลประโยชน์หรือความเสียเปรียบอะไรบ้าง
7. How are academics here at (university's name) responding to the government's policy on autonomy? คณะอาจารย์ที่มหาวิทยาลัยของท่าน
ตอบสนองนโยบาย ของ แผนพัฒนาการศึกษาระดับอุดมศึกษา ฉบับที่ 9 (พ.ศ. 2545-2549)
อย่างไร
8. How will becoming autonomous affect the funding of (university's name)?
การเปลี่ยนระบบบริหารมหาวิทยาลัยเป็นระบบของเอกชน จะมีผลประโยชน์ หรือ
ผลกระทบต่องบการเงินของมหาวิทยาลัยอย่างไร
9. Does (university's name) receive funding from sources other than the government? If so, how much and from what types of sources?
มหาวิทยาลัยของท่านรับเงินนอกการผลเมืองหรือไม่ จากที่ไหนบ้าง
10. If (university's name) does not currently receive funding from outside the government, are there plans to look for non-government funding, and if so, from where? ถ้าไม่รับจากนอกราชการ มหาวิทยาลัยของท่านมีแผนการที่จะหาที่อื่นหรือไม่
และจะหาจากที่ไหนบ้าง
11. How is autonomy affecting individual academic units within (university's name)?
Probe: Changing? Adding-Subtracting?
การเปลี่ยนระบบบริหารมหาวิทยาลัย จะมีผลประโยชน์ หรือ
ผลกระทบต่องานอะไรบ้าง
12. Are there academics units that are able to locate funding from outside government allocations? มีแผนกบ้างที่สามารถหาเงินเอกชนหรือ และถ้ามีทำไมหาได้
13. Will the new government continue with the autonomy policy? รัฐบาลใหม่จะเปลี่ยน
หรือยกเลิก แผนพัฒนาการศึกษาระดับอุดมศึกษา ฉบับที่ 9 (พ.ศ. 2545-2549) หรือไม่

14. Can you suggest any names of individuals who might have information on this subject? มีคนอื่นที่สมควรสอบถามในเรื่องนี้

Thank you very much ขอขอบคุณที่ช่วย

STANDARDIZED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. ถาม ขอขอบคุณที่ยอมสัมภาษณ์กับผม คำถามแรกก็คือ พี่สามารถเล่าเรื่อง ประวัติ หรือที่มาของ มทส ได้ไหม (Thank you very much. My first question: Can you provide a brief history of how this institution was established?)
2. ถาม แล้วแนวคิดนี้ก็เกิดขึ้นที่ไหน (Probe: Where did this idea originate?)
3. ถาม แล้วทำไมรัฐบาลต้องกันให้ตั้งมหาวิทยาลัยเป็นระบบใหม่นี้ (Why did the government feel the need to establish a university under a new system?)
4. ถาม ทำไมต้องใช้สามสิบปีจึงสามารถทำได้ (Probe: Why did it take 30 years to accomplish this?)
5. ถาม คนที่ไม่อยากเปลี่ยนเป็นคนในรัฐบาลหรือในมหาวิทยาลัย (Probe: Those who did not want to see a change, were they in government or in the university?)
6. ถาม มหาวิทยาลัยแห่งนี้มหาวิทยาลัยอื่นๆอย่างไรบ้าง (How does this university differ from other universities?)
7. ถาม ภาษาอังกฤษก็ใช้คำว่า autonomous ภาษาไทยก็ใช้คำว่า ในกำกับ อันไหนถูกกว่า (The English word for the new system is 'autonomous' the Thai word is 'under the supervision of' which is the correct meaning/term?)
8. ถาม แล้วมหาวิทยาลัยอื่นที่ออกแล้ว ก็เหมือนกันไหม (Probe: And other universities that have left the old system are they like this institution?)
9. ถาม มีข้อเสีย หรือข้อด้อย ที่ออกจากระบบราชการ (What are the advantages or disadvantages of not being under the civil service system?)
10. ถาม เรื่อง globalization มีบทบาทอะไรบ้างในการปรับเปลี่ยนระบบมหาวิทยาลัย (What role has or is globalization playing in the restructuring of the university system?)
11. ถาม เมื่อ economy เสีย ในปี 97 มีผลกระทบหรือบทบาทอะไรบ้างต่อมหาวิทยาลัย (When the economy failed in 1997, what impact did this have on the university?)
12. ถาม ที่รัฐบาลทำให้งบลดลง เป็นทั้งประเทศ หรือเฉพาะที่นี่ (Probe: Did the government reduce the budget for the whole country, or just this institution?)

13. ถาม แล้วที่อยู่นอกกระบบราชการ เมื่อรัฐบาลลดงบอย่างนี้ ก็สามารถบริหารง่ายกว่าหรือไม่ (Probe: When you are not in the civil service system, is it easier to manage finances when the government reduces appropriations?)
14. ถาม มหาวิทยาลัยมีทางหาเงินนอกงบที่รับจากรัฐ (Does the university have the ability to find funds outside of government?)
15. ถาม ของฝ่ายวิชาการตอนนี้ที่งบลดลง มีผลกระทบต่อหน่วยของท่าน (How is the budget reduction impacting research?)
16. ถาม งานที่ทำที่นี่แตกต่างกันจากงานที่ทำมาก่อน (Probe: How does your job here differ from your previous job?)
17. ถาม ที่จะหาคนมาทำงานที่นี่ ไม่ว่าจะเป็นอาจารย์หรือ staff หาได้ง่ายหรือยาก (Probe: Is it easier to find staff under this new system?)
18. ถาม มหาวิทยาลัยกำลังทำอะไรเพื่อให้เกิดความมั่นใจในระบบ (Probe: What is the university doing to develop confidence in the system?)
19. ถาม ที่นี่มีการประเมิน (Does this institution have an evaluation process?)
20. ถาม การประเมินแบบที่มีที่นี่ดีไหมหรืออยากจะเปลี่ยน (Probe: In your opinion is the evaluation process here good, or should there be changes?)
21. ถาม การวิจัยในมหาวิทยาลัย ที่เน้นการวิจัย (What type of research does this institution emphasize?)
22. ถาม เป็นการวิจัยแบบ basic research หรือ applied research (Probe: Is it basic research or applied research?)
23. ถาม แล้วตอนนี้ applied research ก็เอาไปใช้ที่ไหนบ้าง (Probe: Where is this applied research being used?)
24. ถาม แล้วมีเอกชนมาจ้างมหาวิทยาลัยทำการวิจัย (Probe: Is there any private contracting of research?)
25. ถาม แล้วมหาวิทยาลัยอยากจะเพิ่มการวิจัยเพื่อได้เงินมากขึ้นหรือ (Probe: Does the university desire an increase in research as a revenue source?)

26. ถาม แล้วได้เงินเท่าไร (Probe: How much revenue is generated?)

27. ถาม มีระบบใหม่แล้ว แต่พึงพอใจในระบบใหม่นี้ หรือมีอะไรที่คิดว่า น่าจะเปลี่ยนหรือเพิ่ม (The new system has been established. Are you satisfied with the new system or are there any changes you think should be made to improve the new system?)

ขอบคุณ (Thank you)

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VITA

David Ambros Filbeck was born in Bangkok, Thailand on March 16, 1961. His parents, David Lee and Deloris Filbeck were missionaries working with the Mal language group. In 1974 his family returned to the United States where Mr. Filbeck attended Lincoln Community High School, Lincoln, Illinois. Mr. Filbeck graduated from Lincoln Community High School in 1979 and was awarded the Illinois State Scholar Award for outstanding academic achievement. He enrolled at Lincoln Christian College transferring to St. Louis Christian College where he graduated Magna Cum Laude with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Ministry in 1984. In the fall of 1984 Mr. Filbeck enrolled in the Linguistics Program at the University of Texas at Arlington. During his studies, he worked part time for a courier service. In 1985 he accepted a part time position as associate minister at Arlington Christian Church, Arlington Texas. He received his Master of Arts in Linguistics in 1987.

Following graduation Mr. Filbeck returned to Thailand to work at the Center for Biblical Studies in Chiang Mai. His responsibilities included teaching and administration. As administrator Mr. Filbeck was responsible for building a new campus, recruiting faculty and staff, and for developing the curriculum. Under his leadership the Center for Biblical Studies has finished the first two stages of its building project. Staff has been recruited to help in the administration and teaching, and the curriculum has been changed from a three year to a four-year certificate. Mr. Filbeck has also held the position of Adjunct Professor of Linguistics at Payap University, Chiang Mai Thailand.

Mr. Filbeck began the doctoral program in Education Administration at the University of Texas at Austin in 1995. During the summer of 1996 Mr. Filbeck interned at the International Office at the University of Texas at Austin. In 1997 he took a leave of absence from his studies to return to Thailand to fulfill work obligations. He re-enrolled in the program in 1999. During the spring and summer of 2000 Mr. Filbeck worked as interim academic advisor in the MBA program at St. Edwards University, Austin Texas. His responsibilities included advising 500 MBA students on their programs of studies and coordinating MBA activities with the Dean of the MBA School and the graduate school registrar.

Mr. Filbeck returned to Chiang Mai, Thailand in 2001. In 2002 Mr. Filbeck accepted the chairmanship of the Youth Development Foundation, a not-for-profit organization registered under the Thai Department of Social Welfare for the purpose of providing education assistance to underprivileged Thai youth.

Mr. Filbeck is married to Sharon Ruth (Kinsey) Filbeck. They have four children all born in Thailand.

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