A CASE STUDY OF GOVERNANCE AT A PRIVATE TAIWANESE UNIVERSITY BEFORE AND AFTER THE 1994 UNIVERSITY ACT

by

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ABSTRACT

Adopting a 'centralist' model for many years, the Taiwan Government revised the University Act in 1994. The 1994 version of the University Act governing the higher education sector has granted institutions of higher education more autonomy over curriculum, personnel and finance. Meanwhile, the role of the Ministry of Education became that of an administrator instead of an inspector of colleges and universities’ affairs.

The purpose of this qualitative study was to investigate the governance models that describe a Taiwanese private university and the relationship between the university and the Ministry of Education. Bureaucratic, collegial, political, and organized anarchy are the models used as conceptual frameworks to examine governance patterns in educational programs, personnel, financial affairs, and the relationship between the university and the Ministry of Education before and after the 1994 University Act. Data were collected through documentation, participant observation, and in-depth interviews with 18 interviewees, including seven administrators, ten faculty members, and an official of the Ministry of Education.

The impact of the 1994 University Act can be seen in changes in the types of governance exercised at the university. Except for the organized anarchy model, the bureaucratic, political, and collegial models shed some light on understanding the governance patterns of the university. The governance of educational programs at the university operated under the collegial model while the governance of personnel at the university closely resembles...
both the collegial and bureaucratic models. Both the bureaucratic and political models reflect the governance patterns regarding financial affairs and external relationships at the university. Generally, the governance operations of the university resemble a hybrid model of mainly bureaucratic, with increasing political characteristics and some collegial.

**Keywords:** Taiwan, University, Governance, Bureaucratic Model, Collegial Model
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated with love to my parents:

Yau-Kun and Chau-Hui who have been wonderful parents

for all my life.

28 July 2006
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This project has been a humble quest for knowledge. On the often arduous but bountifully fulfilling journey of completing this work, I have been blessed with a network of support and friendship. There are many people who have helped sustain me along this path of scholarship and community advocacy and to who I am indebted.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background

The tremendous political, economic, and technological changes that have occurred throughout the world since World War II have radically transformed the role and nature of higher education globally. Drawing from 10 publications concerning the crisis of higher education in Britain and 20 publications referring to the US since World War II, Tight (1994) points out that though the nature of the crisis has varied over time, it "has been associated with the university's moral purpose, financial problems and economic relevance, as well as with student rebellions, academic freedom, industrial links and government interference." (p. 365).

Husén's (1991) article, "The Idea of the Universities: Changing Roles, Current Crisis and Future Challenges", provides an overview of the major issues that occurred over the past three decades in a variety of counties, to demonstrate that these problems have not been confined to the US and Britain. He discusses topics such as the enrolment explosion, goal conflicts, academic freedom and autonomy, partnership between universities and private sectors, and partnerships between universities and government. In addition, Altbach (1991), in his article "Patterns in Higher Education Development: Towards the Year 2000," addresses the major issues of higher education that have taken place since World War II, including expansion, curricular vocationalism, academic freedom and autonomy,
and accountability. MacTaggart and Crist (1996) have drawn on restructuring higher education in five American states. In most cases, accountability and efficiency are the reasons for the restructuring. These issues have all had impacts on university governance, and in shaping the present universities. Some of the issues for western universities are historical, such as expansion, while others such as accountability, are still hot topics in higher education.

The pressure for change in higher education has not been confined to the West, however, and has occurred in Taiwan as well, where similar external pressures on the universities have been mounting since the 1980's. After the Taiwan government ended Martial Law in 1987, democratization and liberalization became important issues for both the government and the people. Under the impact of social change and the emergence of an ideological shift, the system of higher education in Taiwan is being transformed (Huang, 1997; Law, 1995; Lin, 1995; Lo & Tai, 2004; Mok, 2002; Weng, 2004; Yang, 2000). In 1994, the Taiwanese government promulgated the revision of the University Act and accelerated its pace to reform higher education. The first version of the University Act was promulgated in 1948, though the Act has only undergone minor revisions in the past four decades.¹ The 1994 University Act redefines the relationship between the government and institutions of higher education through decentralization, that increases university autonomy and allows faculty to participate in governance. This has implications and makes way comprehensive changes in all aspects of higher education, including the constitution of higher education, president selection, faculty promotion, curriculum, and students’ affairs. All of these

¹ Before the 1994, the Act has been revised in 1972 and 1982. http://www.ly.gov.tw/
dramatic changes have affected the structure and governance of the higher education system.

While the Ministry of Education (hereafter, referred to as the MOE) adopted a policy of expanding higher education, it did not increase its budget for higher education. Therefore, the policy has resulted in too many institutions competing for limited subsidies. This financial urgency not only draws attention to issues of accountability and efficiency in higher education, but also affects the process and structure of governance. For example, to measure the effectiveness of resource allocation at the total institutional level and at the level of individual programs the structure of governance needs to be adjusted.

According to Philip Altbach (1991), higher education reform is a change that results from a conscious process of planning and decision-making. The Taiwanese universities and colleges have been significantly shaped by the above developments. The 1994 University Act is a milestone in the shaping of Taiwanese universities and colleges over the past decade.

**Rationale for the Proposed Study**

In Taiwan, in the last decade, much has been written about the changes and reforms of higher education in general (Chen, 1991; Chen, 1993; Chen, 1997; Huang, 1994; Huang, 1997; Lo&Tai, 2004; Mok, 2000; Wang, 1996; Weng, 2004; Yang, 2001), but little empirical work has been done on university governance. Nevertheless, it has generally been observed that each individual college and university was forced to revise its organizational structure and regulations since the 1994 University Act was enacted. It has
also been assumed that, when a university or college reorganizes its organizational structure the governance pattern will be changed.

In 1982, Chang conducted a quantitative study on models (bureaucratic, collegial and political) of governance that were adopted by six comprehensive universities in Taiwan. His study indicated that the bureaucratic model (81.25%) dominated most situations; and the collegial model (12.5%) and political model (6.25%) were much less significant. However, the political climate and social environment has changed and several educational reforms has been implemented since Chang’s work was published. In addition, after the MOE’s ban on establishing new institutions in the mid 1980’s was lifted, many new institutions were created. A need is thus present for information and an in-depth understanding of the new university governance.

Mok (2001, 2002, 2004) and other scholars (Law, 1995; Lo & Tai, 2004; Weng, 2004) have done research in Taiwan on centralization and decentralization, with a focus on governmental, but not on internal institutional governance. Weng (2004) argues that the outcomes of educational decentralization are not always what were intended, thus, the government must be careful when these strategies of decentralization are adopted (p. 10). Both Chang (1998) and Lin (2004) examined the effects of decentralization on the finance and management of Taiwanese public institutions of higher education. Chang concludes that the shift of greater increased conditional revenues from outside of the institutions might threaten institutional autonomy, while Lin remarks that educational quality between and within public institutions is expected to deteriorate in the process of decentralization. Except for these scholars, little academic work is available in English on Taiwanese
universities and their recent reforms and innovations. Further, Western theories and models of governance, that many assume to have global relevance, should be evaluated for their application to universities in Taiwan. Therefore, a study that provides actual empirical data on how the changes, with respect to governance, are being implemented in a single university in Taiwan would contribute to our understanding of university governance and to its development under changing conditions, as well as provide evidence about possible global changes.

**Definition of Governance**

Before describing in detail the purpose and objectives of this study, a definition of "governance" is needed. The concept of governance in higher education often refers to authority and decision-making as well as to policy-making. According to the "Governance of higher education" (Millett, 1985), governance in higher education:

...involves the authority to make decisions about fundamental policies and practices in several critical areas concerning colleges and universities: their number and location, their mission, their enrollment size, the access of students to their instructional program and the access of citizens to other educational services, degree requirements, the quality standards expected of student performance, the quality of research and public service activities, the freedom available to individual faculty members in their instructional and research activities, the appointment of staff, internal organizational structure, the allocation of available resources to operating and support. The first problem of governance is the location of authority to resolve these issues, internal or external. (p. 2061)
Thus, the notion of governance, as it is applied to higher education, is predicated on two closely related concepts: decision-making within the institution, and the institution's own authority to make decisions within the legal and political framework of higher education.

Regarding governance in higher education, many dimensions are involved, such as academic programs, managerial activities, faculty affairs, student affairs, resource allocation, personnel, and external relationships, etc. This study focuses on three dimensions: educational programs, financial affairs, and the participation of personnel, in exploring the governance pattern at a private university in Taiwan. In addition, the interaction between the university and the MOE is discussed to determine its relationship as an external body.

**Purpose of the Study**

The main purpose of this study is to examine whether or not any existing models, or combined forms of models for university governance can adequately describe a single private university in Taiwan. Moreover, as noted earlier, the previous University Act from 1948 has only been revised in minor ways. The 1994 University Act, therefore, serves as a watershed in Taiwan higher education. Thus, three subsidiary questions are also investigated: 1) What, if any, impact of the 1994 University Act of Taiwan has affected the governance structure of a private university, hereafter, referred to as Metropolitan University? 2) Are the patterns of governance at Metropolitan University different before and after the 1994 University Act? 3) How have these changes been accepted by members of the university, and how have they affected the major areas of university activities?
In view of the above purpose, various models of academic governance and organizational theory were used as a framework to examine the governance patterns of Metropolitan University. These models determine include: the bureaucratic model, the collegial model, the political model, and the organized anarchy model. Thus, this case study includes a description and analysis to:

Describe and analyze the bureaucratic, collegial, political, and other governance patterns at Metropolitan University, since the introduction of the new University Act in 1994, as reflected through major decisions on the functions of educational programs, financial affairs, personnel, external relationships in terms of the relationships between the University and MOE and the implications of the new reforms for those patterns.

A limitation of this study is that it does not investigate cultural factors that influence organizational practices. While these factors are important, such as cultural history and pluralism, they are beyond the scope of this project.

**Significance of the Study**

An important aspect of this research project is the examination of the impact of the 1994 University Act on the university governance. Thus, the findings from this research project will provide a better understanding of the relationships between policy change (the implementation of the 1994 University Act) and university governance. This research project may also reveal what governance models are useful to the administrator and faculty members in colleges and universities governance and decision-making. Further, the finding from this research project may result in suggestions for university administrator
and faculty members to develop policies and practices that may help to govern their institutions.

**Overview of the Study**

The history of education must also be a history of culture. Education reform and restructuring are linked tightly to cultural transformation. Taiwan has been confronted with problems that are not only caused by the global trends of internationalization, but also by its specific historical fate. Thus, to draw out the theme of this study, Chapter 2 provides background information on the context of Taiwan’s higher education, the status of private higher education, some major higher educational reforms, as well as the significance of the 1994 University Act. Chapter 3 presents a review of the literature most often referenced for organizational models used to describe higher education institutions. In addition, the researcher briefly reviews leadership theories relevant to governance. The research design and methodology are presented in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 presents the findings and discussion. The findings are organized to illustrate the governance patterns regarding educational programs, personnel, financial affairs of Metropolitan University. Since the granting of institutional autonomy is a focal point of the 1994 University Act, the relationships between the Metropolitan University and the MOE before and after the Act are also characterized. Chapter 6 is a summary of this research project and offers suggestions for further research.
CHAPTER 2

HIGHER EDUCATION IN TAIWAN

The history of education must also be the history of culture. Education reform, as a restructuring of education, is thus tightly linked to cultural transformation. Taiwan has been confronted with problems that are the result of a global trend towards internationalization, and by its specific historical fate. This chapter provides background information necessary to understanding the governance issues examined in this study. The first two sections: the profile of Taiwan, and the contemporary history of Taiwan, as related to higher education, describe important aspects of Taiwanese history and society that have influenced the shaping of its universities. The third section introduces the types of higher educational institutions, and the following section presents how and why higher educational institutions have expanded within the past five decades. Because the research subject of this research project is a private university, therefore private higher education are presented in the fifth section. The sixth section discusses implications of the 1994 University Act with regards to the patterns of university governance. Finally, the seventh section presents the major Taiwanese higher education reforms have implemented over the past two decades, and have had impacted on the higher educational system.
Profile of Taiwan

Shaped like a tobacco leaf, the island of Taiwan (known to the West as Formosa) is located off the eastern coast of Asia in the Western Pacific, about 100 miles from mainland China with a total area of nearly 36,000 square km. Two-thirds of Taiwan is mountainous, and about one-third is arable land, so that about one-third of the total area being cultivated or urbanized. The heavily populated urban areas have grown in size outside of the official limits of major cities, forming large metropolitan areas, which are now home to 69.4 percent of Taiwan's total population. In 2004, the population of Taiwan was over 22.7 million. According to the Directorate General of Budget Accounting and Statistics Executive Yuan (hereafter referred to as DGBAS), in 2005 Taiwan's population density was 629 persons per square km, making it the second highest in the world after Bangladesh.

Taiwan's population structure has undergone great changes over the last few decades. As those born during the baby boom have grown up, the economically productive 15-64 age group comprised 71.2 percent of the total population in 2004. Meanwhile, the proportion of dependents dropped from 64 percent in 1975 to 41.7 percent in 2002. The natural population growth rate fell from 31.6 percent in 1961 to 3.4 percent in 2004 due to a decrease in the birth rate. Meanwhile, the rough death rate rose slightly from 5.3 percent in 1993 to 5.7 percent in 2002. The statistics from the DGBAS showed that the 65 and older age group rose from 5.5 percent in 1987 to 9.0 percent in 2002, whereas the 0 to 14 year-old group decreased from 28.4 percent to 20.4. Thus Taiwan's population structure has clearly undergone great changes over the last few decades and qualifies as an aging society.
Contemporary History of Taiwan

Given its peripheral geographic location, Taiwan has been a disputed territory since the 17th century, when colonial rule of the country briefly flip-flopped between the occupying forces of Spain, the Netherlands, and France, before it became part of China in 1662. Following the Sino-Japanese War, Taiwan was colonized by Japan between 1895 and 1945. During its 50-year rule of Taiwan, Japan developed programs designed to supply the Japanese empire with agricultural products, create demand for Japanese industrial products, and provide living space for emigrants from an increasingly overpopulated home country. The colonial government eventually introduced an industrialization program to build Taiwan as a base for its “South Forward Policy” of colonial expansion into Southeast Asia. Meanwhile, railroads, public health, and banking were introduced to this island (Hsu, 2004). These policies provided Taiwan with a good preparatory foundation for its development in agriculture and industrialization, leading to its rapid economic growth after the Second World War. Before Japanese occupation, no modern education system was present in Taiwan. A western style system of education, which consisted of one university, one higher school, and a few junior colleges, was established for the first time under Japanese occupation (Chen, 1991).

In 1945 at the end of World War II, the sovereignty of Taiwan was transferred from Japan to China, which had become “the Republic of China” in 1912. The then political party Kuomintang (hereafter referred to as KMT) that was led by Chiang Kai-shek retreated to Taiwan and rebuilt its government of “the Republic of China” incorporating Taiwan. In the years that followed, the Chiang Kai-shek government successfully formed a strong party-state in Taiwan that was based on personal loyalty from the military and from the
KMT. Further, the government proclaimed martial law and suspended the constitution to solidify its regime.

Beginning in 1953, the government implemented a series of economic development plans. Land reform, US aid, manpower plans, the establishment of export processing zones, government industrial policies, and more equitable income distribution played a central role in shifting the economy from its agricultural base toward industry and services. According to the DGBAS, between 1962 and 1985, Taiwan's economy experienced an average annual growth rate of nearly 10 percent, one of the highest in the world.

Taiwan's educational system in this period was influenced by both the US and the Chinese systems. The American template (6-3-3) was adopted for the Taiwanese school system (Chen, 1991), while a policy of "Chinization," which consistently emphasized nationalism and Chinese culture education, was specifically used and launched (Yang, 2001). Following the death of Chiang Kai-shek in 1975, Yan Jia-gan briefly served as president until Chiang's son, Chiang Ching-kuo, was elected in 1978. In the mid-1980s, the demands of liberalization and democratization were intensified by foreign pressure and the growing support for an "illegal" political party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). In response, in the 1987 the KMT government ended its 37 years of Martial Law and lifted the ban on new political parties. Meanwhile, permission for private travel to China was also granted.

2 The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), was formally established in 1986, a year before lifting the ban on new political parties. Thus, in 1986 the DDP was an illegal political party.
With the end of Martial Law, the Taiwan government began to establish a more representative government. Since then, a far more democratic political structure has been institutionalized, as seen by the open election of representatives to the legislature and the direct election of the president by the people (Gold, 1986). From 1988 to 2000, Lee Teng-hui served as president, continuing to reform the rigid political system that had experienced decades of civil war and martial law. Under his administration, press freedoms were guaranteed, opposition political parties developed, visits to the mainland continued, and revisions to the constitution were completed. In 2000, the second direct presidential election was held. Chen Shui-bian, one of the leaders of the DPP, ended the KMT’s five-decade hold on the presidency, and was elected to a second presidential term in 2004. The Taiwanese were proud and enjoyed Taiwan’s peaceful transition from an authoritarian system to a constitutional democracy, over the past few decades. This political climate change, of course, had a remarkable influence on the development of Taiwan’s education system. In fact, it led to the development of Taiwan’s education system that had a more decentralized approach (Weng, 2004).

**Types of Educational Institutions**

The term “higher education” in Taiwan usually refers to education provided by junior colleges, independent colleges, and universities. Universities consist of at least three colleges. Institutions with only one or two colleges are called independent colleges. Both independent colleges and universities offer four-year programs with the exception of

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3 [http://www.gio.gov.tw/taiwan-website/5-gp/yearbook/chapt03/htm#1](http://www.gio.gov.tw/taiwan-website/5-gp/yearbook/chapt03/htm#1)
teacher training and architecture engineering, which require five years, and undergraduate law and medical programs, which last from five to seven years, and lead to a bachelor’s degree. Many of them also offer master-level programs and some of them offer doctoral-level programs, depending on the academic performance of the departments concerned.

Junior colleges are categorized according to their specialization, and include industry and business, paraprofessional, commerce, industrial and business management, maritime affairs, pharmacy, medical care, foreign languages, and food and catering. These provide two-, three-, or five-year programs leading to diplomas. Two-year programs are designed for vocational and high school graduates, three-year programs are for academic high school graduates, and five-year programs are for junior high school graduates. Many junior colleges have been upgraded to technology institutes in the past few years, though some still offer junior college programs. According to the MOE, only 19 junior colleges were listed in the 2001-2002 academic year, and 16 of Taiwan's 19 junior colleges are private. Most of the three-year junior colleges are also being upgraded to independent colleges. In 2000-2001, only four students were still in the previous category. After they graduated in 2001, no more three-year junior colleges were in operation.

Generally speaking, universities and colleges are more prestigious than junior colleges because they recruit high-quality students and provide better future employment opportunities for graduates. Public higher education institutions usually enjoy a better reputation than do private institutions due to the better quality of education they offer and the lower tuition fees.
Higher Education Expansion in Taiwan

The first higher education institution, the Taihoko Imperial University, was established during the Japanese colonization of Taiwan. The university was renamed National Taiwan University after the restoration of Taiwan to China in 1945. Besides the National Taiwan University, three other colleges (equivalent to today's junior colleges) were also founded during the Japanese occupation. Not until a decade later, after the restoration, did the number of universities and colleges grow rapidly. An earlier, notable study on the expansion of Taiwanese higher education, Post-war Policies on the Establishment of Higher Educational Institutions in Taiwan was published by Chen in 1993. Chen divided the expansion of higher education in Taiwan after World War II into four phases: stagnation (1945-1953), growth (1954-1972), stability (1973-1985), and reform (1986-1993) (See Table 1). Although her analysis of the expansion of higher educational institutions ended in 1993, the number of universities and colleges has continued to grow since then.

Table 1. Number of Higher Education in Taiwan 1945-1992

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>year</th>
<th>no. of students</th>
<th>no. of institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stagnation</td>
<td>1945-1953</td>
<td>11,943</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth</td>
<td>1954-1972</td>
<td>251,058</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stability</td>
<td>1973-1985</td>
<td>428,576</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform</td>
<td>1986-1992</td>
<td>653,162</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: adapted from 'collection of research papers on studies of higher education' (p. 46), by S.F. Chen, 1993, Taipei: Taiwan Normal University Press.
The figures in the last two columns represent the numbers of enrolment at the end of the stage, including the first 3 years of 5-year junior colleges.
From the statistics, few newly-established higher education institutions were operating before 1953 (Table 1). This may be explained by the political and economic instability on the island after World War II, and the KMT government's policy to "recover" mainland China instead of developing Taiwan (Song, 2001). Four years after the withdrawal from mainland China, the state revised the Private School Regulations statute to simplify the procedures for private investment in education (MOE, 1957). Generally speaking, the number of universities and junior colleges has grown equally and stably, except from 1963 to 1972 (Table 1), when the junior colleges underwent a notable expansion. Chen (1993) found that the rapid growth of the five-year junior colleges from 1963 until the early-1970s could be attributed to the MOE's "Long-Term Educational Plan," which was based on the 1962 "Stanford Report." (pp. 25-26)

The report suggested that the establishing of 10 to 20, five-year junior colleges between 1965 and 1982 was to meet the future needs for economic development of the country (Chen, 1993). Thus, for the first time, Taiwan's government initiated the expansion of higher education institutions.

The pace of expansion of the four-year colleges and universities, however, slowed down in the second period. The number of junior colleges, mainly private, five-year junior colleges that were focused on industrial education, more than quadrupled in their number, increasing from 15 in 1962 to 76 in 1972. The phenomenal expansion of junior colleges, especially five-year institutions, apparently was neither well-planned nor well-regulated by the MOE (Chen, 1993). The proposed number of junior colleges, as suggested by the Stanford Report was 10 to 20, but the actual growth was 62.

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4 The Stanford Report was made by experts from Stanford University who evaluated the educational
Consequently, serious problems arose, with higher unemployment rates for junior college graduates and inferior instruction given by unqualified faculty who were hired because the junior colleges could not keep up with the rate of expansion in such a short time (Chen, 1993). After 1973, the state began to ban the establishment of any private schools due to the concerns about the quality of junior colleges, though the ban seemed too late, since an excessive number of junior colleges had been created, and the enrolment was insufficient. In 1993, the government implemented a long-term policy “Asia Pacific Operational Center” to promote its economic agenda. Thus, since the end of the 1990s, most of these junior colleges were upgraded to independent colleges due to the state wanting to promote Taiwan as an “Asia Pacific Operational Center”, which requires an upgrade of the country’s human resources. Consequently, the number of higher education institutions has increased to more than 150. Now, as private institutions they [independent colleges] contribute to increased competition for students in the college and university sector in Taiwan.

The political reforms of 1987 put an end to 38 years of Martial Law, and democratization, pluralism, and liberalization have since been sought in every socio-cultural sphere (Yang, 2001). Liberalizing the establishment of higher education institutions through diversifying institutions was implemented by the government as a sign of respect for the new democratization ethos. In terms of diversifying, the government allowed private sectors to establish many kinds of colleges, such as arts colleges, polytechnic institutions. Besides the

structure of the country and found that semi-technicians and technicians were in short supply while there were too many engineers, school teachers, and economic professionals.

The MOE advocated “song-bang” as the aims of the 1996 Education Reform. Since in Chinese the term “song-bang” implies releasing strings or liberalization (Lo & Tai, 2004).
political influence, three factors could explain the government's lifting of the ban for establishing new institutions, though these may not have been clearly stated by the MOE. First, along with Taiwan's economic growth, the major function of higher education changed from "an investment for employment" to "a consumption good" (Song, 2001). In other words, with the economic growth, more and more students are able to pay for higher education. According to Hanson, "economic development is another influential factor in educational decentralization" (1998, p. 113; 2000, p. 407, cited in Weng, 2004, p. 45). Second, the growing global trends of "marketization" and "privatization" in the higher education sphere had an impact on the state's philosophy of governance. According to Mok (2004), "closely related to decentralization are privatization and marketization" (p. 8). By adopting privatization and marketization, the government may not only transfer its responsibility and resources from public to private sectors, but the government may also become oriented toward new management strategies that would be in-line with market principles and mechanisms, which are not necessarily incompatible with decentralization. Finally, the new openness was strongly influenced by a spectacular growth in enrolments in higher education, perhaps reflecting the long-term suppression of this sector (Song, 2001).

Between 1988 and 2001 the number of higher education institutions has been dramatically growing to over 150 (see Table 2). In 1988, there were 109 higher educational institutions. Thirteen years later, there were 154 of them. The number of private institutions increased fast since the ban on private schools was partially removed 1985. As Table 2 indicates, from 1988 to 2004, the number of undergraduate students expanded fourfold, and most of the growth (70% of the current undergraduate enrolment) was absorbed by private
institutions. Thus, according to Huang (1990), Taiwan's tertiary education can be categorized as a “mass private sector” because it has such a large percentage of private institutions, compared to many other countries. As well, the number of graduate schools increased, as did the enrolment of graduate students. In 1950, only five MA candidates graduated in Taiwan, and its first PhD student graduated in 1956. In 1988, the number of MA students and PhD students was 14,119 and 3,222, respectively. According to Table 2, in 2004, 894,528 undergraduate students, 135,992 masters students and 24,409 PhD students were enrolled in 960 PhD programs. From 1950 to 2004, the number of university students, including those at private colleges and universities, increased by more than 100 times. (Table 1 and 2). The number of higher education institutions has been dramatically growing to over 150 in 2004 (Table 2). In response to the administrative challenges of expansion, a new group of personnel—high-level fulltime management bureaucrats—has emerged in universities and colleges, with significant implications for the evolving culture of these institutions.

In terms of mass private sectors, most of the tertiary educational institutions were established by private sectors.

http://www.edu.tw/EDU_WEB/EDU_MGT/STATISTICS/EDU7220001/data/serial/seriesdata.htm
Table 2. Growth in Higher Education Institutional in Taiwan SY1988-2004

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no. of institutions</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. of graduate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>classes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master</td>
<td>710</td>
<td>1,295</td>
<td>3,250</td>
<td>5,314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>960</td>
<td>1,239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. of students</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergraduate</td>
<td>207,479</td>
<td>302,093</td>
<td>677,171</td>
<td>894,528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior college</td>
<td>271,710</td>
<td>378,860</td>
<td>4068,41</td>
<td>230,938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no. of graduate</td>
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<tr>
<td>students</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters</td>
<td>14,119</td>
<td>30,832</td>
<td>87,251</td>
<td>135,992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>3,222</td>
<td>8,395</td>
<td>15,962</td>
<td>24,409</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Education
The number of institutions includes university, college, and junior college.

Even though a larger proportion of the population now receives higher education (48.8 per 1,000 persons in 2001), the education system in general has been criticized for its inflexibility and failure to address the needs of Taiwan's rapidly changing society. It is mostly owing to the tight control by the MOE. On the other hand, the MOE again found the growth of higher education to be proceeding at an extremely fast pace. As a result, it began to ban the establishment of higher education institutions as well as reform the higher education system, a topic that is discussed in more detail in the following section. Chen (1993) criticized the MOE for not being conscientious and following a consistent plan for developing higher education over the past five decades.

Private Higher Education

The general public in Taiwan has perceived the status of private universities and colleges subordinate to the public variety. Private universities and colleges have been traditionally, though informally, on the lower tier of the university prestige hierarchy, a situation that can
be traced to when student recruitment involving a joint entrance examination. The students with higher scores in the exam tended to enrol in public universities because of their cheaper tuition and more abundant resources. Although the joint entrance examination was abolished in 2002, and most private universities and colleges have attempted to recruit distinguished students by providing abundant scholarships, the general perception remains.

Besides the stereotype of the lower tier of the university prestige hierarchy, private universities and colleges in Taiwan are in a disadvantageous position relative to their public counterparts. Private universities and colleges receive far fewer financial subsidies than their public counterparts but have no fewer restrictions from the government (Gai, 2005). For instance, the MOE determines the number of students admitted for each academic program every year, sanctions the addition or deletion of departments, and holds the final authority to approve the candidates for president, chosen by the boards of directors of the private institutions (Law, 1995; Lo & Tai, 2004). The MOE has also been widely criticized by scholars for setting a ceiling for tuition fees. The MOE offers little financial support for private institutions, and the subsidies are less than 20% of the income of private universities and colleges (Lo & Tai, 2004).

Besides the tuition cap and low level of subsidies, the MOE regulates how private universities and colleges spend their money. Such regulations are aimed at preventing the boards of trustees of the universities from turning their universities into for-profit organizations (Chen, 1991). When the stereotype of lower prestige is compounded with insufficient subsidies and a considerable number of restrictions from the government,
private universities and colleges in Taiwan have had a hard time competing with the public universities and colleges.

The 1994 University Act

Before discussing the contents of the University Act of 1994, the background should be discussed to explain the rational for the new Act. As noted earlier, the period after the mid of 1980s was a period of rapid transition in Taiwan. Political, economic and cultural aspects of Taiwan changes dramatically and these changes all had contributed to the reform of higher education. Changes in the political structure had a great impact on the higher education reform as well as the amendment of University Act. After the mid of 1980s the number of new and young legislators increased, they gradually took control of the Legislative Yuan and they took more initiative to influence policymaking (Wang, 1998. p. 102). Therefore, the power distribution between the Executive Yuan and the Legislative Yuan changed. Educational policymaking was subjected more to the will of the new legislators.

Meanwhile, along with political reforms, many professors and students were urging more academic freedom and institutional autonomy. In early 1993, the academics from two national universities objected to the formation of president selection committees by the MOE. These academics insisted that the president selection committees must be university-based, that the committee members must be from the administrative and teaching staff of the universities concerned, and representatives from the MOE should not
be accepted. In response to the academics requests, and the students' support, Professor Guo Weifan, the former Minister of Education, openly announced that the government would gradually devolve powers to higher education organizations in four major aspects: personnel management, academic freedom, finance, and curriculum. Thus, the university academics successfully gained an opportunity to select president candidates for the MOE to consider, and at the same time, could limit the Ministry's involvement. Since Legislative Yuan was amending the University Act at that time, the academics also forced the Legislative Yuan to stipulate the formation of university-based president selection committees as educational policy in the University Act. Thus, the government, legislators, and the MOE in a coordinated manner reviewed and revised the University Act. This formed the prologue to the 1994 University Act.

The revised University Act is particularly significant in restructuring higher education in Taiwan. As far as the revision of the University Act is concerned, it launched an accelerated process of educational liberalization and deregulation. The Act reduced the centralized power of the MOE over universities and colleges, and consequently, the campus operations became more flexible (Yang, 2001). Lin notes that while the Act was revised into 32 articles, which was fewer than the old version, it significantly empowers universities and colleges with institutional autonomy, while weakening the power of the MOE (Lin, 1997, p. 3).

Lin characterized the significance of the 1994 University Act as having a number of consequences. Thus, it broadened the scope of the university goals, by defining their

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8 Central Daily News 1993/03/05.
multifunctional character and the university is no longer to be viewed as an ivory tower. It also secured academic freedom and institutional autonomy, to empower individual organizations to establish their plans for development, which allows them to be more diversified. It replaced the old system in which Deans and department Chairpersons were appointed by the University President, and the University President was appointed by the MOE, by a new system of selection or election of academic chiefs, University President, Deans, and Department Chairpersons. As well, it established the new position of Vice-President. The University President is now able to appoint one or two professors to serve as Vice-Presidents for academic affairs or administrative affairs to assist with responsibilities.

Structurally, the Act now regulates nine administrative offices (Office of Academic Affairs, Office of Student Affairs, Office of Personnel, Office of Accounting, Office of Physical Education, Office of Military Education, Office of Secretariat, Office of General Affairs, and Library) as essential organs for the operation of individual organizations. In addition, the nine necessary organs, universities, or colleges are able to set all kinds of research centers or education extension centers. It also promotes each organization’s University Council as the highest organ for decision-making related to school affairs. Unlike the old version, the 1994 University Act not only empowers the University Council with authority but also specifies the composition of the Council, including students as representatives. With regards to students, their rights are now secured, which is in contrast to the old Act, which did not recognize student rights. A system of student appeal was enacted in the 1994 Act. The new Act excludes teaching assistants as faculty, and re-ranks
the faculty as Professors, Associate Professors, Assistant Professors, and Lecturers. The system of promotion (three-level evaluation) was declared.

According to the Act, the rights for faculty promotion and dismissal are secured, and the right to recruit new faculty is authorized by the Selection and Screening Committee (Faculty Evaluation Committee) of each Faculty. In addition, if the rights of the faculty members are encroached upon, they can appeal to the Committee of Appeal and Arbitration for Faculty to ask for redress (Lin, 1997, pp. 4-10).

Obviously, with the enactment of the Act, not only is academic freedom guaranteed, but the organizational structure of the university and college is changed. Specifically, the Act has a substantial impact on university governance. For example, to conform to the article of setting nine essential organs, and to the article regarding a new system for the faculty promotion, universities and colleges have to make efforts to review and reorganize their existing organizational structures, and regulations. In addition, since the University Council has been defined and institutionalized as the highest organ for decision-making, shared decision-making and wide-scale participation are viewed as components needed to improve university governance.

Higher Educational Reform

In addition to the revision of the University Act, the Taiwan government initiated a series of higher education reform. The two main groups assuming the tasks of educational reform are the Council on Education Reform and the Commission for Promoting Education Reform. In response to the drastic action from the public pressure calling for
democratization and liberalization in the educational sphere, a special council, the Council on Education Reform, led by Dr. Y.T. Lee, a Nobel Laureate and the President of the Academic Sinica, was established by the state in 1994 (Lo & Tai, 2004). The tasks for the ad interim council were to study the feasible strategies for restructuring the educational system to meet the new demand of the coming century. After a two-year study in 1996, the Council proposed its major idea as the “song-bang” (liberalization) (Lo & Tai, 2004). In line with the conclusions and directions for education reform by the Council, the MOE began working actively in the area of education reform, thus, an inter-ministerial division, the Commission for Promoting Education Reform, was established in 1997 to implement the reform proposals9 (Yang, 2001).

Some of the major reforms in higher education include: expansion of higher educational institutions, launching the University Funds for national universities, diversifying channels of admission to undergraduate and graduate schools, creating multiple channels for cultivation and training of teachers, and facilitating life-long learning and continuing education (Chang, 2000; Yang, 2001). These reforms were based on the idea of liberalization (liberalizing the systems), in general. Except for the Setting University Funds policy, all reforms were related to, and had an effect on, both public and private universities and colleges. National universities formerly relied on the government for their total budget, however, the Setting University Funds called for public universities to lessen their reliance on the government, and to implement measures to fund part of their programs independently (Chang, 2000; Lo & Tai, 2004).

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9 The reform proposal related to all educational system.
Since the rapid expansion of higher education institutions might lead to the problem of lowering academic standards, the MOE recently started institutional visits and quality assurance exercises to monitor the performance of teaching and research in higher education institutions (Mok, 2002). Besides the reforms discussed above, the 1994 University Act was enacted before the so-called education reforms began, and was thought to be particularly significant to higher educational institutions (Mok, 2000). The MOE’s initiative in university quality assurance, starting in 2004, is an example of some contribution of centralized bureaucratic practices, and is one limitation on university autonomy and self-governance. Even though none of the study participants referred to the MOE’s activities in this respect, this researcher has noted the potential importance for the reform of university governance.
CHAPTER 3
LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this case study is to investigate the governance patterns of a private university before and after the 1994 University Act. A theoretical framework is, therefore, needed in order to analyze of the models of governance at the university. Over the years, the study of governance in higher education has inspired many to articulate various organizational models that may be applied particularly to the higher education. This study reviewed the models most often described in the literature for higher education governance. In addition, because organizational activities and processes are carried out by individuals, and the literature on governance and leadership share common themes, leadership theories, as they are necessary to effective governance, were briefly reviewed as well.

Governance in Higher Education

Changes in society and on campuses are causing the re-examination of patterns of university governance. In institutions of higher education, the decision-making processes and organizational forms constitute the system of governance (Birnbaum, 1981). Who has the authority and responsibility for university decision-making? Where and how are decisions made in universities; where does the authority and responsibility reside? The responses to these questions are diverse, and based on a variety of perspectives. In order to understand the complex decision making process that characterizes college or university,
one must organize his or her perceptions toward a mode. Several conceptual models of governance in higher education have been developed in the education literature over the years. Among these models of governance, four were considered in this research effort, including models of bureaucracy, collegium, political system, and organized anarchy. Each model implies a different process of decision-making, and their differences and characteristics are discussed below.

Colleges and universities resemble other organizations in that they have goals, hierarchical systems and structures, officials, decision-making processes, and a bureaucratic administration. Yet, they are also unique organizations, as reflected in their style of decision-making (Baldridge, Curtis, Ecker & Riley, 1977, p. 3). According to Baldridge, et al. (1977), at least five major characteristics distinguish academic organizations, the chief one being that they rarely have a single mission. The goals of a college or university are ambiguous, and when attempts are made to concretely specify the goals, they quickly become contested. Another characteristic of higher education organizations is that they serve clients instead of seeking to make a profit, their technologies are unclear and problematic and professionals dominate the work force and decision-making. The final characteristic that distinguishes colleges and universities from government agencies or business firms is their environmental vulnerability (p. 5). Baldridge, et al. note “the degree of autonomy an organization has vis-à-vis its environment is one of the critical determinants of how it will be managed...Colleges and universities are somewhere in the middle on a continuum from ‘independent’ to ‘captured’” (p. 6). The character of such a complex organizational system is not satisfactorily conveyed by only one standard term.
Baldridge, et al. identify three models of governance that are frequently mentioned in the literature and that dominate the thinking of those who study academic governance: 1) the bureaucratic model, 2) the collegial model, and 3) the political model (p. 9). A fourth model, described by Cohen and March (1974), "organized anarchy," has also received widespread attention in the literature (Bess, 1988, p. 4). These four models of governance correspond to long-standing and competing theories of organization (Bess, 1988). Moreover, the models allow higher education researchers to examine the complexities of the decision-making processes that occur within an academic organization. Thus, in this study, the researcher employs these models as conceptual lens to examine the complexities of the decision-making process that occurs within a private Taiwanese university.

The Bureaucratic Model

Max Weber (1947) presented a theory of bureaucracy as one of three ideal types of authority organization that were developed as analytical tools in studying empirical cases. According to Weber, the bureaucratic model is characterized by such features as a hierarchy of authority, rules and regulations, a career orientation, an impersonal orientation, and a division of labour and specialization. Bureaucracies are closed systems pursuing explicit goals. The essence of a bureaucratic view of organizations is legal-rationality (Bensimon ed., 1989, p. 28). According to Bess (1988), the guiding principles are:
human beings can be programmed in the same way as machines, through a careful analysis and planning of job design and organizational structure

workers will be content in positions as expertise

the processes of decision-making are decentralized to persons who are in appropriate to the type of decision

conflict is presumed to be temporary and resolvable through the acknowledged, legitimate hierarchy (p. 3)

Therefore, according to the bureaucratic model, universities and colleges have well-defined objectives specified by some formal leading body (i.e., the board of trustees). Further, the colleges and universities are organized into a hierarchy of tasks and authority relations to achieve their objectives efficiently. Individuals within the institution agree to pursue the objectives of the universities and colleges in return for various kinds of payments (i.e., salaries, prestige, degrees) provided by the university. Individuals receive their position within the university (i.e., tenure) on the basis of universalistic, well-defined criteria of contribution to the objectives of the institution (Cohen & March, 1974, p. 31). Governance, in this model, is top-down authority and the responsibility rests with the central administration. The model also emphasizes the execution of tasks, by implementing the trustee-established goals (Cleary, 1978, p. 90).

Stroup (1966) and Blau (1973), among others, have suggested that university governance may be more fully understood by applying the bureaucratic model. Although Blau acknowledged that colleges and universities tend to be different from other bureaucracies in that no detailed operating rules are used to govern and supervise the performance of faculty work, Blau still insists that “striking parallels” are seen in the organization of government bureaus and academic institutions. He postulates that the distribution of
decision-making influence among faculty members and administrators determines the extent to which professional authority or bureaucratic authority dominates the university (cited from Millett, 1978, p. 18).

If bureaucratic forms of university organization prevail, decisions will be made in bureaucratic terms – by the administrative hierarchy. Efficiency and other measures of output will be controlling. Goals will be explicitly set in the measuring of outputs. Persons skilled in the technologies of management and organizational evaluation will dominate the system. Governing standards will reflect how many public lectures are held, and how many pages of scholarly publication are generated by the faculty. Little will be reported about quality and order and efficiency will be the controlling concepts (Anderson, 1976).

The strength of the bureaucratic model lies in its formal structure and authority, division of labour, and standard operating procedures to produce optimum efficiency through rational choice. Since goals are presumed to be clear, unambiguous, and uncontested, bureaucrats are capable of determining the most efficient and effective means to achieve those objectives.

Nevertheless, Baldridge, et al. (1977) argue that the bureaucratic model does not adequately describe the decision-making processes that occur within academic organizations. The authors give the following five reasons: 1) the model tells much about authority but not much about informal types of power and influence; 2) it explains much about the organization's formal structure but little about the critical process by which policy is established; 3) it describes the formal structure at one particular time, but it does not explain changes over time; 4) it explains how policies may be carried out most
efficiently, but it says little about policy formulation; and 5) it ignores the struggle of various interest groups within and without the university (p. 7). For Baldridge et al., the limitations of the bureaucratic model reduce its applicability to university organizations.

The Collegial Model of Governance

Goodman (1962), Millett (1978), and Anderson (1976) are the foremost proponents of the collegial model. According to Millett, the academic community is subject to the authority of a governing board that does not in fact govern, and that is led by a president who exercises management authority over support services, an institutional budget, and an institutional plan that lacks management authority over the essential output programs of instruction, research, and public service. The essential or productive outputs of the academic community are determined on a higher decentralized basis and the student "customers" of higher education constitute a clientele that insists upon a role in the operation of the academic community (Millett, 1978, p. 38). The collegial model emphasizes that the community of scholars administer its own affairs (Goodman, 1962). If the community of scholars or collegial forms of organization are permitted to dominate the system, decisions will be made in collegial terms. Efficiency thus will be an incidental criterion of worth. Values without quantitative counterparts will be held in high esteem. Governing standards will reflect the amount of freedom present on the campus (Anderson, 1976). Birnbaum (1981) labels the collegial model as having a low control and a higher consensus. He notes that in the collegial model no elaborate administrative structure is present, and the training, values, and experiences of the administrators are not clearly separable from the teaching faculty. The primary function of the administration, he
adds, is to carry out the wishes of the collective body, and to protect it from external interference.

In addition, Bess notes that the collegial model of governance is grounded in the "human relations" or "human resources" theory, which places the individual above the organization in terms of priority of attention (Bess, 1988, p. 3). The emphasis on the professors' professional freedom, the need for consensus and democratic consultation, and the call for more humane education are the three themes tied into the collegial model (Baldridge, 1971b). Mortimer et al. (1978) describe the ideal of the collegial model as a shared authority and Middlehurst and Elton (1992) state that the collegial model entails the flattening of management hierarchies. Additionally, Bess (1988) notes that

a perfectly designed collegial system would permit members of the institutions to participate in all matters that they felt were relevant to their personal needs, regardless of the organizational legitimacy. (Bess, 1988, p. 3)

In other words, organizations are viewed as collectives with organizational members as their primary resources, and governance is a shared responsibility. Moreover, Bensimon notes that "the emphasis is on human needs and how organizations can be tailored to meet them" (Beasimon, 1989, p. 109).

Although the collegial model is welcomed by scholars, in the relevant literature, it is often difficult to recognize whether an author is saying that the university is a collegium, or that it should be a collegium (Baldridge, 1971a). Moreover, Baldridge (1971a) argues that the
collegial model fails to deal adequately with the problem of conflict. Goals of the university and faculty members are often in conflict. As Ladd writes,

> the traditional view of academic governance that the university is a self-governing community of scholars is a myth. The fact is there are a number of groups, both inside and outside the institution, involved in governance, each with their own interests and in conflict with one another. (Ladd, 1975, p. 97)

Thus, Baldridge, et al. (1977) criticize the collegial model of academic governance as being more utopian than realistic. Bess (1988) argues that the structures of decision-making, under the collegial model, appear to be rather cumbersome, redundant, and inefficient, and the decision-making processes also tend to be more discursive (p. 3).

In her article, “The Four ‘I’s’ of School Reform: How Interests, Ideology, Information, and Institution Affect Teachers and Principals”, Weiss (1995) concludes that it is difficult to run the collegial model efficiently for two key reasons: 1) because people bring different interests, different ideologies, and different information to the decision-making task; and 2) because the surrounding institution influences how individuals interpret their interests, ideology, and information.

**The Political Model**

The political model of governance was proposed by Baldridge (1971a). The underlying organizational theory for the political model of academic governance is conflict theory, which is based on the notion of inevitable and irreconcilable differences among organizational participants. The political model of governance is described as accepting
conflict as a natural phenomenon. Since conflict is both inevitable and universal, it must be managed rather than suppressed. According to Bess (1988),

the resolution of those conflicts, in turn, will take the form of bargaining and politics, in contrast to organizationally rational decision-making under the collegial. Decision-making structures in the political model can be either bureaucratic or collegial, or both, with politics as a process impinging on both. (p. 4)

With respect to the problem of conflict in educational administration, Blau (1973) pointed out a basic question of how academic institutions can cope with the dilemma resulting from the incompatibility of bureaucracy and scholarship. A political analysis provided by Baldridge, et al. (1977) offer a description of university governance:

First, it is concerned primarily with problems of goal setting and conflicts over values, rather with efficiency in achieving goals. Second, analysis of the organization's change processes and adaptation to its environment is critically important. The political dynamics of a university are constantly changing, pressuring the university in many directions, and forcing change throughout the academic system. Third, the analysis of conflict is an essential component. Fourth, there is the role of interest groups in pressuring decision makers to formulate policy. Finally, much attention is given to the legislative and decision-making phases- the processes by which pressures and power are transformed into policy. (p. 18)

Further, Baldridge (1971a) notes that policy-making is usually left to the administrator because most people are usually uninterested in establishing policy. Thus, decisions are made by those who persist, usually by small groups of political elite who govern most major decision-making. Baldridge (1971a) sums up the elements of the political model of decision-making as follows:
- Powerful political forces cause a given issue to emerge
- A struggle over locating the decision with a particular person or group
- Decisions are usually "preformed"
- More political struggle in reference to "critical" decisions than to "routine" decisions
- Need to develop a complex decision network to gather information
- Conflict is natural and compromises, deals and plain head-cracking are necessary to arrive at a decision
- External interest groups exert a strong influence over the policy-making process
- Formal authority as prescribed by bureaucratic systems is severely limited
- Controversy will continue even after the decision has been made (p. 191-192)

Several weaknesses in the political model can be identified. Millett (1978) argues that the model underestimates the impact of routine bureaucratic processes and of leadership within the university because many decisions are made not in the heat of political controversy, but according to standard operating procedures. Furthermore, he criticizes the model for not giving enough emphasis to long-term decision-making and failing to consider the way institutional structure may shape and channel political efforts. The model neglects to mention that the university, as a producing organization, is concerned with providing particular outputs. The political model does not provide any clearly defined structure or process by which political compromise could be effected. Finally, the model does not resolve the dilemma of acting on internal political process vs. satisfying external agencies providing subsidy (p. 15). Richardson (1974) also notes that the political model may be too ambitious for institutions not caught up in a crisis, because making a political process function effectively demands a great deal of time and energy from those involved.
The Organized Anarchy Model

Cohen and March (1974) in their book Leadership and Ambiguity proposed organized anarchy as a model of academic governance. In this book, universities are described as prototypical organized anarchies, a term coined to identify organizations with three characteristics: problematic goals, unclear technology, and fluid participation in decision-making. They note that, under this model of governance, the college or university system has little central coordination or control in its decision-making:

In a university anarchy each individual in the university is seen as making autonomous decisions. Teachers decide if, when, and what to teach. Students decide if, when, and what to learn. Legislators and donors decide if, when, and what to support. Neither coordination... nor control are practiced. Resources are allocated by whatever process emerges but without explicit accommodation and without explicit reference to some superordinate goal. The “decisions” of the system are a consequence produced by the system. But intended by no one and decisively controlled by no one. (p. 33)

Further, Cohen and March note that the anarchy model assumes a loosely connected world, and leaders in this model have relatively modest status demands. The organization has generous resources to allow people to go in different directions without coordination by a central authority (Baldridge, et al., 1977, p. 8). In addition, Cohen, March and Olsen (1972) developed the garbage can model of decision-making, which they believe is particularly appropriate to organized anarchies. Cohen and March (1974) conclude that:

A key to understanding the processes within organizations is to view a choice opportunity as a garbage can into which various problems and solutions are dumped by the participants. (p. 81)
The authors believe that the garbage can model of decision-making is particularly relevant to colleges and universities. Because decisions are made in three different ways: by oversight, by flight, and by resolution (Cohen & March, 1974). Decisions are often unplanned and unintended, for instance, they happen, rather than being made (Baldrige, et al., 1978). Anarchy, as a system of governance in a university, requires only two major things: the acceptance of an ideology of anarchy and an effective information system for all participants regarding the current "state" of the university (Cohen & March, 1974, pp. 36-37).

Bess (1988), however, argues that the organized anarchy model is perhaps inappropriate, as universities are more a "loosely connected set of propositions". Further, he states that the development of organized anarchy as a model of governance was more a reaction among the organizational behaviorists who were "unable to establish with any certainty cause and effect relationships among key structural or procedural variables".

**Concluding Thoughts**

Over the years, several governance models have been developed and used for both theoretical and practical purposes (e.g. the bureaucratic model developed by Weber was intended to be a critical tool of analysis, but has also been used extensively for practical guidance by bureaucrats even though it was not intended such by Weber). Most of these models were developed in the corporate world. Some researchers (McLan, 1993; Keller, 1983, cited in Corak, 1991) believe that the administrative functions of higher education are similar to business functions and that the theories learned from the business world may be adapted, revised, and used in higher education. In contrast,
Blake, Mouton, and Williams (1981, cited in Berquist, 1992) state that, in order to attain excellence, a college must develop an organizational model for itself and cannot be managed or led like a business. This research project examines whether or not these existing models of university governance can adequately describe the case of Metropolitan University in Taiwan. Considering Bess's suggestion that "these existent alternative views of the organization of colleges and universities can be reconciled" (p. 7), it is possible that not one model can adequately be applied to the case, but instead that some combination of two (or more) models would need to be applied in order to describe and explain the governance changes that are observed. In short, the various models of academic governance and organizational theory will be used as a framework to examine the governance patterns at Metropolitan University before and after the 1994 University Act. That is, due to a variety of pressures and government changes, is university governance shifting from one or more models to others? One would expect that, with the recent changes, elements of the bureaucratic and collegial would be more in evidence than the political or anarchic. Table 3 summarizes the major features of decision-making process of the four models.
Table 3  Models and the Decision-Making Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Models</th>
<th>Decision-making process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bureaucracy</td>
<td>Rational, formal, maximizing, standard operating procedures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collegial</td>
<td>Consensus, community participation, shared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Negotiated compromise, influence, bargain, may be maximizing or satisfying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organized Anarchy</td>
<td>Garbage can process, often satisfying</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Leadership Theory

The study of governance concerns the organization’s decision-making process and issues. In contrast, the study of leadership has generally focused on individuals, their actions, beliefs, and characteristics. In any case, in studying the governance of an organization, one must examine the members of the organization. The members’ behaviors and expectations, in part, can be explained by leadership theory. Therefore, we must briefly consider the contribution of leadership theories to higher education as they relate to governance dynamics.

Several schools of thought have prevailed, many simultaneously, since leadership was first studied. Fleishman, et al. (1991) stated that, in the past 50 years, as many as 65 different classification systems were developed to define the dimensions of leadership (cited in Northouse, 2000, p. 2). For example, Bass, in laying the foundation for his book on leadership research (Bass & Stogdill’s Handbook of Leadership, 1990), notes that earlier definitions of the concept identified leadership as a focus of group process or movement.
and personality in action. Burns (1978) provides a definition of leadership that articulates the leader-follower reciprocity inherent in leadership:

the reciprocal process of mobilizing, by persons with certain motives and values, various economic, political, and other resources, in a context of competition and conflict, in order to realize goals independently or mutually held by both leaders and followers. (p. 425)

In addition, Northouse (2001) offers the following definition: “leadership is a process where an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal.” (p. 3). These are all important features of governance, particularly in a reform process as that which occurred in Taiwan's higher educational system.

Despite the multitude of ways that leadership has been conceptualized, the study of an individual's behavior in a leadership position, as opposed to the organizational governance structure, has been explained by several distinct theories: a) great-man, b) trait, c) behavioral, d) situational, and e) followership (Northouse, 2001). Moreover, Fincher (1996) notes that leadership is a function of a combination of the theories (i.e., situational demands, personal characteristics and traits, and interpersonal skills). In examining a governance structure or body, some combination of these theories could be applied.

Early theorists believed that leaders were born and not made. They believed that great men “initiated movement and prevented others from leading society in another direction” (Bass, 1981, p. 26). Another approach to the study of leadership relied on measures of leader attitude, performance, and behavioral styles. This approach suggests that leaders are endowed with specific traits related to their effectiveness, which differentiates them from
followers (Bensimon, 1989). Traits may include physical characteristics, personality, social background, and ability. In his classic survey of leadership literature, Stogdill (1948) identified a group of important leadership traits: a) intelligence, b) alertness, c) insight, d) responsibility, e) initiative, f) persistence, g) self-confidence, and h) sociability (cited from Northouse, 2001, p.16). Mann (1959) found that leaders are strong in the following traits: intelligence, masculinity, adjustment, dominance, extroversion, and conservatism (cited in Northouse, 2001, p. 17). More recently, Gardner (1990) described over 18 characteristics and traits of the leader. These traits are referred to by the participants of this study.

In the 1950s and 1960s, extensive research on leadership behavior took place at Ohio State University and at the University of Michigan. The main theme was that a leader must perform certain behaviors well to be effective. The Ohio State leadership studies identified two essential aspects of leadership behavior: initiating structure (task-oriented) and consideration (relationship-oriented) (Stogdill, 1974, as cited in Northouse, 2001, p.35-38). The initiating structure behaviors were essentially task behaviours, and included such acts as organizing work, providing direction, solving problems, coordinating, and defining the role of the leader and subordinates in the group, and the group’s goals. On the other hand, consideration behaviors were essentially relationship behaviors that included: friendly, open-minded, trusting, and supportive in dealing with subordinates. A third category of a leader’s behavior that was described by the University of Michigan researchers was allowing participation by subordinates in decisions that affect the group (Bowers & Seashore, 1966, as cited in Northouse, 2001, p. 37-38). In addition, Bass (1990), in his review of the research on the behavioral approach, determined that leaders
who were more highly rated by superiors and peers, who were most satisfying to subordinates, and whose approach resulted in good group performance, were likely to demonstrate both high task-orientation and a high relations-orientation.

The fourth perspective on leadership is the situational approach, which emphasizes the importance of situational factors (Bensimon ed., 1989). According to Northouse (2001), situational leadership theory requires a leader to diagnose the followers' maturity and vary relationship- and task-oriented behavior for different followers at different times:

Situational leadership stresses that leadership is composed of both a directive and a supportive dimension, and each has to be applied appropriately in a given situation. (p. 55)

Situational leadership classifies leadership styles into four styles: S1 is “directing” (high directive-low supportive), S2 is “coaching” (high directive-high supportive), S3 is “supporting” (low directive-high supportive), and S4 is “delegating” (low directive-low supportive) (Northouse, 2001, pp. 57-58).

The next phase of research on leadership was focused on the followers. These theories argued that leaders are only as good as their followers. According to Rost (1991), leaders and followers are in the leadership relationship together – two sides of the same coin (cited in Northouse, 2001, p.4). Kouzes and Posner (1987), in their book, The Leadership Challenges: How to Get Extraordinary Things Done in Organizations, wrote that followers must take responsibility for the goals of the group and realize they have the authority to influence decisions. Within the followers’ approach, transformational leadership has received the greatest attention. According to Northouse (2001), the term transformational
leadership was first used by Burns (1978) as being an important approach to leadership, and he attempted to link the roles of leadership and followership. Transformational leadership is not only concerned with the performance of followers, but it also involves assessing followers' motives, satisfying their needs, and treating them as full human beings (Northouse, 2001).

Trow (1987) notes that leadership in higher education is the taking of effective action to shape the character and defection of a college or university, presumably for the better. As noted earlier, leadership is an important aspect in examining governance patterns in a higher education institution. The leadership theories described above focus on the behaviors, traits, and personalities of leaders and member of organizations and can facilitate the study of governance models of higher education institutions. Table 4 summarized the major features of leadership for the four models.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>The Leader and Leadership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bureaucracy</td>
<td>Leader has a functional/structural emphasis. Relies on scientific management. Rational, a delegator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collegial</td>
<td>Leader is &quot;first among equals.&quot; Facilitates group process. Leadership depends on professional expertise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Leader must be persuader, negotiator, compromiser, coalition builder. Must have influence. Leader is concerned with people and their needs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organized Anarchy</td>
<td>Leader must be a tactician. Effective leaders spend time, persist, manipulate symbols and interpret history, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER 4
RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter describes the rationale for, and the design of the methodology used in gathering and analyzing data for this study. Subsequently, the selection of the participants in this particular case study is described. Three common means of collecting qualitative data were employed: interview, observation, and documents.

Rationale for the Methodology

A qualitative tradition was chosen to explore the governance model at the Metropolitan University. As Denzin and Lincoln (2000) write:

The word qualitative implies an emphasis on the qualities of entities and on processes and meaning. Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied… (p. 8)

To do this, qualitative inquiry typically focuses in-depth on relatively small purposefully selected samples, at times, even a single case. As this researcher’s interest was to capture what had happened in the process and consequences of decision-making in terms of governance at a university before and after the 1994 University Act, the research problem was to describe and interpret the participants’ understanding of governance change. This study thus was based on the participants’ accounts of their experience, rather than on
questionnaires and statistical analyses. Consequently, qualitative methods were used to obtain the required data, since they allow for a deeper analysis and understanding.

In examining the various qualitative methods, it seemed that a case study approach would offer the most appropriate vehicle for analysis. Merriam defines case study as:

> an examination of a specific phenomenon such as a program, an event, a person, a process, an institution, or a social group. The bounded system, or case, might be selected because it is an instance of some concern, issue, or hypothesis. (1988, pp. 9-10)

A qualitative case study has the following four characteristics: particularistic, descriptive, heuristic, and inductive (Merriam, 1988). Yin (1989) asserts that case study, as a method of research, is an appropriate method of investigation when a detailed examination within a natural setting is required. Creswell (1998) notes that:

> through the use of a variety of sources and techniques of data collecting, the case study approach permits an in-depth study of organizational phenomena. (p. 40)

Moreover, the particular strength of the case study approach is that it allows “an investigator to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events” (Yin, 1989, p. 14), whereby, the historical specificity and distinctiveness of a case is best understood.

Therefore, a case study is an intensive investigation of one organization in a field setting. The purpose of this researcher is to paint a portrait of changing governance patterns before
and after the University Act. Thus, the in-depth case study approach allowed this researcher for examine this complexity in a more holistic way, yielding a richer analysis.

Research Methods

Case Selection

The case is a private comprehensive university in Taiwan. A private university was chosen, rather than a public university, for several reasons. First, private higher education institutions outsize public higher education institutions both in the number of institutions and in the student enrolment. According to the MOE, in the 2003-2004 academic year, 158 higher education institutions existed. Of these, 104 were private, and 54 were public (MOE, 2005). Over 70% of all Taiwanese university students attend private schools. A second reason for selecting a private university was because in this researcher's experience as a faculty member at a Taiwanese private university, that private universities appear to be more actively engaged in enacting change, possibly of their financial situation. Thus, a focus on a private university would provide more opportunities to observe authority in action and reflect on the degree to which national policy influences affect this change. Finally, and possibly most importantly, this researcher has more access to the private university that allowed this researcher greater access to conduct the research. As a faculty member of the Metropolitan University, this researcher received support and approval from senior administration and colleagues in conducting this project.
The Metropolitan University was established in 1990 as a polytechnic institution, with the goal of educating technological and managerial professionals. The rapid addition of new departments resulted in its renaming to reflect a much expanded educational scope. In 2004, Metropolitan University had 350 faculty members and enrolled approximately 14,800 students. The University consists of five colleges: the College of Electrical Engineering and Information Science, the College of Science and Engineering, the College of Management, the College of Medical Sciences, and the College of Languages and Communication. Under these colleges, 28 departments are stipulated with 11 full-time master’s programs, 7 specialized master’s programs for students in full-time jobs, and 5 doctoral programs. Graduate students make up 8.1% of the total student enrollment.

**Participant Selection**

Since generalization in a statistical sense is not a goal of qualitative research, probabilistic sampling is not necessary, therefore, the most appropriate sampling strategy is non probabilistic, with the most common form being called purposive or purposeful (Patton, 1990). Purposive sampling is based on the assumption that the researcher wants to discover, understand, and gain insight; therefore, the researcher needs to select a sample from which the most can be learned (Merriam, 1988, pp. 47-48). This researcher’s intent was to focus on providing useful information that would illuminate the actual decision-making processes related to governance activities at Metropolitan University.

This researcher adopted a “snowballing” strategy to select the participants. According to Patton:
This is an approach for locating information-rich key informants or critical cases. The process begins by asking well-situated people: 'Who knows a lot about ___? Who should I talk to?' By asking a number of people who else to talk with, the snowball becomes increasing larger as one accumulates new information-rich cases.” (Patton, 1990, p. 176)

To achieve this, this researcher collected the campus phone directories of Metropolitan University from 1993 to 2004, as the first step in selecting participants. These telephone lists not only indicate the names of all faculty and staff members, but their positions, as well. Thus, this researcher was able to identify some key names of senior faculty and staff with at least ten years of working experience at Metropolitan University, and who also held governance positions or involve in governance affairs for more than five years. Second, this researcher contacted six of these key persons by phone, and conducted interviews with them. Through recommendations of these six participants, this researcher was able to interview another eleven informants who had detailed knowledge of the developing history of Metropolitan University and were experienced administrators or chairpersons of departments.

Following the sampling strategy described above, the sample included four females and thirteen males. They were distributed in the following: seven senior administrative officers, ten senior faculty members. All seventeen selected participants had been serving at Metropolitan University at least nine years. Their experiences in participating in governance activities range from five years to fourteen years. Regarding the status of ten senior faculty members, four were full professors and others were associate professors. Two were from General Education Center, one was from College of Medicine and
Health Science, two from College of Science and Engineering, two from College of Management, and three from College of Electrical Engineering and Information Science.

In addition, with regards to the range of data collection techniques for the case study approach, Creswell (1998) notes that: “we looked for multiple forms of evidence to support each” and “we found evidence that portrayed multiple perspectives about each category” (1998, p. 144). This implies that case studies are multi-perspective analyses, and researchers must consider not just the voice and perspective of the actors, but also the relevant groups of actors and the interactions between them. Therefore, besides the selected participants discussed above, this researcher conducted one more interview, with an official from the MOE, as part of the triangulation of this study.

**Data Collection**

The data, collected through a variety of methods, is characteristic of case study research. Since this research project involved a single case, a variety of methods were needed to understand the case from many different angles in order to achieve greater understanding. Thus, the descriptive data for this study included relevant documentation, (including archival records), interviews, and a participant observation. Diverse data sources also enabled the cross-checking of facts and claims to ensure maximum reliability of the findings.
Interviews

In-depth interviews with selected participants were conducted using a semi-structured interview guide consisting of questions related to organizational changes influencing governance patterns. The focus was on major decisions in the past for the functions of academic affairs (educational programs), personnel affairs (hiring and promotion), budget allocation, and external relationships with the key regulatory body, the MOE, and the implications of the 1994 University Act for governance patterns at Metropolitan University. In addition, the attitudes of participants toward governance patterns were investigated. The interview guide was initially pilot-tested on two faculty members of the Metropolitan University, including one associate professor who also held an administrative position and had served on various committees. The purpose of the pilot testing was to modify the language of the instrument to ensure its comprehensibility. The interview guide was subsequently refined to eliminate any ambiguities in the language.

The interviews were conducted from the fall of 2003 to the spring of 2004. Most interviews were conducted in the participant's offices, though a couple of interviews were conducted in this researcher's office. Each interview lasted approximately one hour, though some were longer. The participants were told in advance that their participation was voluntary and that they did not have to respond to every question. For the interviews, the participants were asked to choose pseudonyms. Additionally, interviews were tape-recorded with the consent of participants, and this researcher took interpretive notes as the interview was being conducted. According to Kvale (1996), "taping is considered to be an important part of data collection because it provides a source for analyzing the participant's exact words,"
and not the paraphrases made by the researcher." (p. 162). The participants were told that their responses would remain anonymous and that confidentiality would be maintained.

To elicit the governance models that describe the Metropolitan University and the relationship between the University and the MOE, two types of semi-structured interview questions (Appendix 1) were developed. The first set of questions was the background of participants. The second set of questions included: What types of governance models (defined as: bureaucratic, collegial, political, and organized anarchy) would best describe the educational programs, personnel, and financial affairs at the University as a higher education institution before and after the 1994 University Act? In what way has the model changed? And what types of governance models (defined as: bureaucratic, collegial, political, and organized anarchy) would best describe the interaction with the MOE. After each interview, the tapes were labeled as to administrators or faculty members, and numbered in the order in which the interview took place. The dates of the interviews were also recorded. After all interviews were completed the tapes were transcribed. The procedure for analyzing the transcriptions is discussed in the following.

According to Wolcott (2001) reducing the data is the first step in allowing the researchers to present their material and then to analyze and interpret it. Following Wolcott's suggestion, this researcher used Yin’s (1994) “relying on theoretical propositions” as analytic strategies to analyze the transcriptions. According to Yin,
the original objective and design on the case study presumably were based on such propositions, which in turn reflected a set of research questions, reviews of the literature, and new insights. The propositions would have shaped the data collection plan and therefore would have given priorities to the relevant analytic strategies (p. 103-104).

The first phase analysis involved “thorough reading” of the typed transcripts, checking for accuracy and omission between the transcriptions and the voice recordings. In the second phase, this researcher based on pre-set categories (for example the basis of the decision maker’s power, communication style, resolution by, and the criterion used in evaluating a decision etc.) drawn out from the literature of governance models went through every page of the transcriptions with four colored highlighters: green for bureaucratic model, orange for collegial model, yellow for political model, and pink for organized anarchy. Then, this researcher pulled out these colored highlights and clustered them into academic affairs, personnel, financial affairs, and the relationship with the MOE. By these phases, this researcher constructed the governance patterns at Metropolitan University.

**Documentation**

Baldridge (1971a) notes that it is difficult to appreciate what happens within an organization if one does not have a sense of its history as provided by the institutional record. Moreover, because interviewees often remember only the most emotional moments, upon reflection, documentary analysis can help in constructing a more complete and detailed picture. Documents that were collected in this case study data include the following:
2. Constitution and Bylaws of Metropolitan University
3. Various university brochures
4. Documentation and minutes from the researcher's participation in a School Affairs Meeting and three faculty meetings
5. Newspaper, magazine and journal articles that address various higher education issues (including the 1994 University Act) in Taiwan, and news or articles that related to Metropolitan University
7. A variety of statistics of the Metropolitan University, such as number of faculty per college and department, faculty's rank, number of staff members, enrollment statistics, and budget information, and so on
8. The President's speech (February 2003)
9. A CD of Metropolitan University's introduction
10. Campus-wide weekly newsletters
11. Past administrative reports
12. Past Faculty Bulletins
13. Newspapers and magazines that reported on the founder or on the President of Metropolitan University
14. 10th Anniversary of Metropolitan University Book, which includes historical notes
16. Policies for faculty and staff members, such as regulations for hiring and promotion, and policy for research aid
17. The 1994 University Act
18. The Private School Act
Observation

Observation is an effective way of finding out what people do in particular contexts (Darlington & Scott, 2002). Techniques which maximize the possibility of coming across unexpected data include participant observation and the focused interview (Becker & Geer, 1960). In this study, this researcher acted as a participant observer by participating in the process of University Council meeting in Metropolitan University, as a faculty member of Metropolitan University.

Three strategies were followed for organizing and analyzing the observations, as recommended by Patton (1990): issues, processes and various settings (p. 377). Thus, as researcher, this researcher observed how agendas were proposed for meetings, what process was followed at meetings, how faculty members (or administrators) interacted in the meetings, what decision-making processes were used. In addition, this researcher observed the places for meetings and their facilities (see Appendix 2 observation guide).

This researcher’s observational notes recorded events, principally through watching and listening. Schatzman and Strauss (1973) suggested that observations should “contain as little interpretation as possible and will be as reliable as the observer can construct them” (p. 146). Hence, this researcher recorded as little interpretation as possible, and the data from observations helped to complement the information collected from the interviews.

The Researcher’s Position

The data for this study was collected from this researcher’s place of employment. Thus, this researcher knew all of the participants, except for the official, but this researcher
cannot say that she knew them well before the study began. This kind of a situation could be problematic, possibly leading to a degree of writer bias, therefore, by remaining aware of the potential pitfalls, this researcher deliberately distanced herself from the participants to keep the results as fair and accurate as possible. As a faculty member at Metropolitan University, this researcher’s access to conducting interviews, and gaining a common understanding of the educational issues, was facilitated. All of the interviews were conducted by this researcher to ensure that reliability of the understandings which emerged.

**Limitations of the Study**

No study is without its limitations, as the focus and methods chosen by this researcher entail certain assumptions or compromises. One of the common concerns about qualitative approach is the small size that is usually involved and the difficulty in generalizing. While a case study is an excellent way to study an event or a process with some complexity, it is particular and does not tell the whole story, but only the story that is most apparent to the researcher (Stake, 1995). Because this study investigated a single case, it is limited in its generalizability. Social phenomena are variable and context-bound (Cronbach, 1975, cited in Pattton, 1990, p. 487), so that the only generalizations that can be made are in situations where other private universities share the same characteristic profile. Additionally, this research project was limited to the narrow breadth of its sample populations, interviewing participants only once, and observations were restricted to a small part of the ten years in question. Only interviewing a fraction of the individuals involved in key administrative decisions was another limitation of this study.
CHAPTER 5
RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter mainly focuses on presenting the findings obtained from the analyses of interviews, various documentation and observations, according to the four research questions on governance. The chapter begins with a brief description of the history, mission, the constitution and the organizational chart of the Metropolitan University to determine how governance has changed since the 1994 University Act. Following that, the findings from interviews, observations, and documentary analysis are presented, discussed and organized under the research questions. This discussion paves the way for the recommendations in Chapter 6.

History and Mission of the Metropolitan University

The Metropolitan University, formerly a polytechnic institute, was founded in 1990 in a metropolitan region of Taiwan. According to the various documents that describe the history of the university, the founder of the Metropolitan University, out of gratitude to his mother for raising and educating him, as well as because of the hardships he endured during his childhood, decided to establish a quality university after succeeding in business so that all promising youth could be trained to become technical professionals. Consequently, he established the Metropolitan University in the place where his business began its early development, to serve as a reminder to himself and to others of his modest beginnings, and to reward the area with employment. The founder invited a notable scholar
as well as educator to be the president of the university. The founder continued to govern
the school as Chairman of the Board of Trustees.

Over the past 15 years, the Metropolitan University has expanded from seven departments
to five colleges that include twenty-eight departments and two centers. The Metropolitan
University also includes three graduate schools that currently cover 12 master programs
and six doctoral programs. The number of students has grown from 267 in the 1990-2000
academic year to approximately 15,000 in the 2004-2005 academic year. While the
number of students has increased, the number of full time faculty has also grown from 34
in the 1990-2000 academic year to 369 in the 2004-05 academic year. The number of staff
members is over 200. In its present stage of construction and growth, a second campus for
the medical college has been under construction since 1999. A complete list of the colleges
and departments at the Metropolitan University is provided in Appendix 3.

Regarding the mission of the Metropolitan University, the university wants not only to
educate its students to become professionals and citizens of integrity, but also to create
knowledge that will contribute to society. “Practical as well as innovative” is the motto of
the Metropolitan University.

The Constitution and the Organizational Chart

In Taiwan, the primary legislative authority for private institutions of higher education and
the institute system is derived from the University Act and the Private School Act. The
Enforcement Rules of the University Act and the Enforcement Rules of the Private School
Act were issued in order to implement the Acts. These acts were passed by the Legislative
Yuan under the proposal of the MOE. In contrast to the acts, the bylaws are administrative commands that are promulgated by the MOE.

The overall purpose of the acts and the bylaws is to describe functions and duties of the private institutions of higher education, and to provide guidance to the institutions regarding academic and institutional governance. Additionally, the roles and responsibilities of key participants in the delivery of private higher education are outlined in the acts. The key participants include the MOE, board members, administrators, faculty, staff and students of the various institutions. Consequently, the constitutions and regulations for each individual private institution of higher education are derived from these two acts and the bylaws. The constitution and regulations of the Metropolitan University were also clearly formulated under the two acts and the bylaws.

In order to explore the governance functions of the Metropolitan University, the institutional constitution and the organizational chart must first be understood. According to the available documents, the Constitution of the Metropolitan University has been amended 17 times since the university was established in 1990. What were the reasons for these frequent amendments? According to Administrator J, the Constitution was amended more or less annually because new disciplines and sections were established (in-person interview, March 6, 2004). Administrator J also noted “The Constitution had to be really ‘fixed’ in 1994, 1997 and 2003 [because of external circumstances]. In 1994, it [the Constitution] was amended for the University Act; in 1997 we [the Metropolitan University] were upgraded from a polytechnic institute to a university; and in 2003 we were empowered by the MOE to review our faculty promotion independently. 1994 was a
turning point.” (in-person interview, March 6, 2004). Since the primary purpose of this research study is to explore the governance patterns at the Metropolitan University before and after the 1994 University Act, the year 1994 serves as a watershed for examining the constitution and the organizational chart of the Metropolitan University.

Before the 1994 University Act was passed, the Constitution of the Metropolitan University was a relatively short document. It was organized as 23 articles without sections. Four main features were included: the basis for its legislative authority; name and mission; definitions of organizational power and function; and definitions of duties and rights for organizational members. In contrast to the Constitution of the Metropolitan University before 1994, the constitution after 1994 was organized into seven chapters with 39 articles. The seven chapters are:

1. General principles
2. Organization
3. Various committees and meetings
4. Selections for various administrators, deans and chairpersons
5. Appointment for teaching staffs and administrative staffs
6. Student affairs
7. Appendix

In contrast with the Constitution of the Metropolitan University before 1994, the Constitution after 1994 was well organized. Further, with its 39 articles, it elaborated on the function, power, system, and roles of the institution. It also defined the institutional autonomy of the university by establishing various rules, meetings, and committees. Since the primary purpose of this project is to explore the governance patterns related to educational programs, personnel, budgetary system, and external relations at the
Metropolitan University, the 39 articles are described in more detail in the following section, as they pertain to the research questions.

From a review of the various phases of the organizational charts of the Metropolitan University, the overall structure has not changed dramatically compared to the university development. According to the organizational charts, the Board of Trustees is the final decision-making organ of governance. The President is in the second rank and reports to the Board of Trustees. Under the Board of Trustees and the President is the Vice President whose position was established after 1997 when the University was being expanded and upgraded. The University Council and The Meeting of Administration are ranked horizontally under the Vice President. The various committees, such as the Faculty Evaluation Committee, and the Budget Inspection Committee, are organized below the University Council and the Meeting of Administration. Then, at the sixth rank, two groups comprise the bottom level of the organization. One is academic and the other is the administrative system. Notably, the organizational chart of the 2004 edition, the newest one, has only three ranks. Under the Board of Trustees and the President, the various committees were ranked horizontally with the two systems, academic and administrative. In both representations, however, the organizational chart reveals the structure of the university as a hierarchy, with specific levels of responsibilities assigned to facilitate certain organizational processes. The organizational chart also suggests that the governance pattern at the Metropolitan University is tightly coupled as it is managed

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10 Several editions of organizational charts were used for the comparisons, including those from 1990, 1992, 1997, 2000, and 2004.

11 The position of Vice President was unfilled after the Vice President resigned his commission for his mayoral election campaign in 2002. The position was filled in August 2004.
through a top-down approach. The academic and the administrative groups, however, are more loosely coupled. The diagram of the University Chart is presented in Appendix 4 and Appendix 5.

According to Article 13 of the 1994 University Act, each institution of higher education has to establish its own University Council to act as the highest decision-making unit to deal with campus-wide affairs. Such a regulation not only complies with the idea of decentralization by the government, but also promotes the idea that faculty members should be in charge of school governance. However the organizational chart of the Metropolitan University indicates that the University Council, under the Board of Trustees and the President, does not fully meet the requirements of the 1994 University Act. This aspect of the operations of the University Council will be further elaborated in the following section.

In fact, the University Council is not a new idea in the governance of colleges and universities, as it was mentioned in Article 22 of the old University Act, though the power and role of the Council was not defined. Nevertheless, many controversies about the Council, such as its role, power, and function, have evolved since the implementation of the 1994 University Act. In particular, its structure, including composition and size, and has other issues regarding the Council have attracted widespread criticism. Shen, Jiun-San, the former President of National Tsing–Hua University, published an article in a newspaper arguing for the importance of re-positioning the University Council, to make it more effective and efficient in higher education institutions:
In most colleges and universities, you can see the operation of the University Council with several hundred participants. With the huge number of participants, it is not easy for the meeting to be effective. In addition, as the University Council serves as the highest decision-making body, what is the responsibility for the president? Who should chair the Council? ... It would be questioned if the president chairs the University Council (China Times, July 4, 1996).

For this study, this researcher observed the operation of the University Council at the Metropolitan University while conducting field research in 2003. Because the setting of the meeting room would likely affect the decision-making processes, it was examined first. The Council at the Metropolitan University was chaired by the President and a large number of members were present (around 100), who were seated within a big hall. The hall was large and impersonal, lending itself little to collaborative processes in its physical layout. It had a podium, writing tablets and lecture tables, and in the theatre style of seating could accommodate up to a capacity of 200 participants. This certainly set the stage for someone to take charge at the head. In addition to the President, senior administrators were ex officio members of the Council and they also reported to the Council. Although in the process of the Council this researcher observed some Council members occasionally modifying a provision or recommending some matter for further committee deliberation, the Council proceeded from point to point of the agenda in a smooth procedure within two hours, without much participation. Most members kept quiet during the meeting. Each item on the agenda was "solved" (decisions made) through a vote.
In speaking of the University Council at the Metropolitan University, the Secretariat Office\textsuperscript{12} cannot be left out. The Secretariat Office is mainly responsible for managing meeting affairs (university affairs meetings and executive meetings), official document processing, drafting mid-term university plans, weekly publishing on campus, general administrative duties, and official ceremonies and activities, etc. It also supports the office of the President and that of the Vice President by coordinating the various colleges, divisions and administrative campus-wide meetings. In managing the campus-wide meetings, the office looks after meetings, agendas, and the drafting of bylaws for University Council and the Executive Meeting. As a consequence, the agendas that are proposed at the University Council must be reviewed and discussed by senior administrators. In other words, before a meeting is held, some alternatives are usually discussed.

From these observations, this researcher can conclude that the governance system of the University Council at Metropolitan University is efficient in character, efficiency being defined by this researcher as getting things done within a limited time. An interview with Administrator R further confirmed this conclusion. R gave the reason for the efficiency of the University Council:

\textsuperscript{12} The Secretariat Office consists of a General Administrative Affairs Section, an International Cooperation Section and a Publications Section.
Because of the size of the Council, the executive committee and we [administrative staff] do the most important work of the Council – setting the agenda, often determining committee assignments (both members and issues), framing issues for presentation to the body, and cutting deals with administration...Besides, in fact, most agendas before they are presented to the body have been discussed by various standing committees. .. For some Council members, those agendas are familiar to them (in-person interview, January 5, 2004).

Faculty member Y reflected a similar perspective on efficiency but somehow related differently to the attitudes of Council members:

[In our university] the decision-making was viewed as relatively efficient compared to others, because there was a routinized relationship between the chairperson and administrators, I think... Further, too many Council members are elected who aren’t wholly committed to the work of the Council and the institution – who will be present and prompt. Since they are present themselves at the Council but do not join in the Council, they keep quiet in the Council. Without much deliberation and discussion, the Council proceeded smoothly from point to point in the agenda (in-person interview, March 5, 2004).

Moreover, Administrator L described the function of the University Council as like a Legislative Yuan:

Because the size of the university increased, it is not feasible for the entire faculty to meet as a collegial whole. Then the University Council acts as a deliberative body for representing the various college faculties and deciding the policy of the university. ...But the size of the University Council is still too big for discussion – “real discussion”, which means understanding the agendas well and being able to make deliberation. For a hundred people... it’s not only impractical but also impossible. In spite of the fact that we (university) need a legislative body to “make” rules as guidelines to operate our institution, the Council is not really a body that makes the rules or policies. But as the bills are related to the institutional level, then the bills must be passed by the Council... it is similar to endorsement (in-person interview, April 16, 2004).
To summarize, the 1994 University Act gives the University Council the legal authority to function as the principal overseers and policy makers of the academy. The governance system of the University Council at Metropolitan University appears to be efficiently based on the preliminary operations that are carried out by various groups, including the standing committees. The Executive Meeting is one of the most significant groups in the University Council. Moreover, most of the actual achievements are the result of consensus between the standing committees and the Executive Meeting before the University Council is actually held, and the result of the fact that some faculty members have overlapping memberships in different Meetings or Committees. Thus, the University Council at Metropolitan University is pro forma, resembling a legislative chamber in its workings.

The Governance Pattern of Educational Programs

In this study, the terms “educational programs” refers to two dimensions. The first is at a departmental level, that is, setting or changing its course curricula. The second is at an institutional level, that is setting interdepartmental interdisciplinary programs.

For decades, scholars have devoted themselves to articulating goals for higher education (e.g. Burgen, 1996; Goodlad, 1976; Weingartner, R., 1991). According to Goodlad (1976), four types of goals are commonly proposed for higher education. First, a socially-defined goal is to provide individuals with the knowledge and skills suitable for a successful occupation. Second, social goals of the ‘consumer’ of higher education (i.e., the student) are to achieve a social status that will result from having a degree validated by an institution of higher education. Third, personal goals of some students are to achieve
independence from criticism and to acquire a philosophy of life. Fourth, academic goals involving careful elaboration of theory are to be supported by minutely detailed observation within the context of a discipline and to gain the support and respect of fellow scholars. Therefore, curriculum, by definition, is the organizing or grouping of various courses to contribute to the achievement and realization of these central goals of higher education.

For this research project the first research question that was investigated was the following.

**Research Question #1**

*What are the governance patterns of educational programs? How, if any, do the four models, bureaucratic, collegial, political, and organized anarchy, help explain the governance patterns in respect to educational programs at Metropolitan University? What are the differences before and after the 1994 University Act?*

**Prior to the 1994 University Act**

Prior to implementing the 1994 University Act, the governance of higher education in Taiwan had long had a reputation of being heavily centralized, with numerous rules and procedures applied to the institutions of higher education. For example, centralization was reflected in decisions on fields of study and the required credit hours for graduation (Mok, 2004). Thus, curricula and course requirements within and among institutions had a high degree of similarity because the individual institutions of higher education had to comply with national policies. Although it was regarded as enforcing centralization, the MOE did not take all autonomy in structuring curricula away from colleges and universities.
Historically, the basic components of the curricula in the colleges and universities in Taiwan are courses in general education, in areas of concentration, and electives. The requirement that a student’s program include a group of courses in general education, a concentration, and an elective, was a way to illustrate the commitment towards values of the liberal arts, professional training, and freedom in the pursuit of learning. In light of the MOE’s policy of credit hours, the ratio of courses in a concentration to elective courses was 50 credit hours to 50 credit hours, and a minimum of 128 hours was needed for graduation. Individual academic departments could control the number of credit hours under the policy of maximum required credit hours for graduation (Huang, 1973). This document review provided evidence that individual academic departments and institutions had some power in formulating their curricula. Furthermore, an interview with the MOE official C confirmed that individual academic departments had partial power for designing the courses and the sequence of courses for major areas. The MOE official C stated

...People gave an exaggerated view of the degree of centralization, the fact that certain parts of the college and university curricula were increasingly under the control of individual academic departments through elective courses. The MOE encouraged academic departments to establish their own characteristics beyond the nationally standardized curricula (in-person interview, March 19, 2004).

From this interview and the documentation prior to the 1994 University Act, this researcher concluded that individual academic departments and institutions had some degree of control in formulating their curricula. This curriculum structure was also observed in the Metropolitan University. According to the university’s mid-term school plan, published in 1993, “in addition to the courses in accordance with the MOE’s policies,
each individual department has formulated its curricula based on its own characteristics
and developmental direction.” (p. 26). In other words, prior to the 1994 University Act,
faculty members at Metropolitan University had the authority to design their programs
based on their own interests and competences. According to a faculty member identified as
S:

Within the limits of the policies as defined by the MOE, we
[faculty members] were expected to develop curricula, to establish
and maintain standards of academic performance, to propose and
carry out educational innovation, and to assume responsibility for
instructional and research activities. Within the campus, we [faculty
members], in my opinion, had “ownership” and were in charge of the
educational program (in-person interview, February 26, 2004).

The determination of appropriate curricula and programs is made by the individual faculty
or faculty members through routine reviews in departmental meetings. With regard to the
meetings concerning curricula or educational programs within departments or colleges,
most faculty members interviewed responded that they consider each other equals, all of
whom have the same rights and opportunities to discuss any issues. Faculty H stated that:

as chairman of the meetings [colleges meetings or department
meetings], the Dean or the Chairperson is presumed to exercise no
particular control beyond such guidance as the superior experience of
the senior member may be presumed to afford his /her colleagues”
(in-person interview, January 13, 2004).

Furthermore, curricula or educational programs are decisions to be made by academic
specialists, and almost never have they become matters for campus-wide determination.
After the 1994 University Act

With the implementation of the 1994 University Act, the MOE delegated authority to colleges and universities to determine the required graduation units for bachelor’s, master’s, or doctorate programs, and to design their curriculum by autonomous decisions. Thus, when the Act was passed, the institutions of higher education in Taiwan were freed from control by the MOE in forming curriculum structures. With the empowerment of curricular autonomy, faculty members at the Metropolitan University enthusiastically developed and diversified their curriculum design, especially in areas of general education. But, a concern was expressed that some faculty members might not make good use of this autonomy for improving the educational quality in curriculum design. Administrator L pointed out that,

... some faculties offer classes mainly based on their own likes and dislikes. Some courses even sounded like skill-learning not gaining knowledge. They didn’t seriously take into account what kind of products [outcomes] they would produce and how their students would face the job market after graduation. As a result, it [curricular autonomy] doesn’t make an improvement in the quality of higher education (in-person interview, April 16, 2004).

In ordinary circumstances, a faculty member is recruited by a department to teach a specialized discipline, profession or subdivision. Within the framework of the courses offered by his or her department, the faculty member determines the course content and scope, instructional procedure, and expectations of student achievement. The selection of textbooks and other reading materials is a matter left to the discretion of the individual faculty member. Traditionally, departmental and college meetings are assumed to serve as gatekeepers for reviewing the curricula as proposed by faculty members. Nevertheless,
department and college meetings at the University do not want to deny the requests of faculty members for new programs. As Faculty member Z noted,

A department ordinarily determines both what courses it should provide its students and what sequence and number of courses should be required for a “major.” These decisions are subject to further review a college meeting and academic affairs meeting at the university level, but they are generally accepted without much questioning. The department is only expected to keep its demand upon the total time allowance of the university within the limits of a general scheme of distribution and concentration of courses (in-person interview, March 12, 2004).

Since there was no serious system for reviewing curricular proposals at the institutional level within the Metropolitan University, a committee was needed to oversee the curriculum. Under the University Council of the Metropolitan University, the Curriculum Planning Committee was established in the 1997 academic year. The Curriculum Planning Committee is the preeminent body for reviewing all curricular proposals of the major specialized degree program, but not general and liberal education programs, curricular changes, credits and course hours. In addition, the Committee also coordinates all major specialized curricula for the institution. The Curriculum Planning Committee consists of the Dean of Academic Affairs, who chairs the Committee, and representative faculty members from each department. No two faculty members on this committee may be from the same department.

Furthermore, the Committee for General Education was established in 1998, in accordance with the organizational regulations of the university. Its purpose is to promote and administer general and liberal education. The committee, chaired by the Dean of Academic Affairs, is comprised of eight faculty members appointed by the University President. The
Committee designed a new curriculum that covered four major areas: humanities, social sciences, nature and applied sciences and life sciences, launched in the 1998 academic year. The instructors of the general and liberal education courses are required to submit course outlines that must include course descriptions, schedules, texts and reference materials, assignments, and evaluation methods, to be approved by the Committee.

The establishment of these two committees at the Metropolitan University has seen the most significant changes in the governance of educational programs since the University was established. Although the idea of improving the design of the curricula triggered the formation of the committees, the external factor of gaining curricular autonomy from the MOE also contributed. According to Administrator A, even though it was the President and the executive administrators who initiated the setting of the two committees, faculty members at the university welcomed the idea and voiced support for both committees. Faculty member C recalled that,

> Before that time, curricula designs were much less standardized and were more dependent on who taught the courses, rather than what was being taught. In addition, many similar courses were offered especially in the areas of general ...thus, most faculty members did sense that there was a need for a system at the institutional level for integrating and overseeing courses (in-person interview, December 16, 2003).

Communication is a crucial component of shared decision-making. From the interviews with Administrator A and Faculty member C, it has been identified that although the

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13 In the 2004 academic year, the general education and the liberal education departments were integrated and upgraded into a center that was equivalent to a college. The center consists of two sections: one is in charge of core courses, the other is in charge of elective courses.
change of governance pattern in educational affairs was initiated by the "top", the change was understood and supported by the overwhelming majority because they had been involved in discussion and input into related issues before the change was made. In other words, the Curriculum Planning Committee and the Committee for General Education were the results of a consensus of opinion from faculty. Also, the formation of the Curriculum Planning Committee was approved by the University Council so that the change of governance pattern in the educational affairs at Metropolitan University demonstrated aspects of a collegial model.

Moreover, an attempt to change the curriculum towards a more integrated form of knowledge was initiated in 1998. Three interdisciplinary programs, including electronic commerce, were launched in the following year, which were large innovations for the Metropolitan University, with its entrenched traditions of disciplines. Collaboration was first discussed in the departmental meetings. Further, the Deans chaired meetings of their colleges and reviewed the projects at another level of meetings. Finally, the projects were passed to the Curriculum Planning Committee for approval. Although the Curriculum Planning Committee has the authority to examine any new interdisciplinary programs and to make changes, it usually grants its approval in most cases. Not only do the committee members have a sense of respect for the professions of each discipline, but most of the committee members, who are also members of faculty, have previously deliberated on the new projects at their departmental meetings. Thus, the decision-making pattern for developing collaboration and interdisciplinary projects at the Metropolitan University is collegial in its character (a bottom-up approach, from the faculty). Administrator A remarked:
With response to Taiwan's economic and social development needs, we [the Metropolitan University] collaborate across disciplinary boundaries to produce interdisciplinary programs. All these programs were initiated by teachers... Although these kinds of programs [interdisciplinary curriculum] complicated administrative works in many aspects, they [faculties] are professional; they know what curriculum would benefit students. ...Most important is that they have professional authority regarding academic affairs. We [administrators] have no position on the issues (in-person interview, January 6, 2004).

Dialogue that is characteristic of the collegial model is most often found in areas of goal-setting and communication. In setting goals, all members of the organization must "buy into the idea" and show an invested interest in the goals, for the latter to be successful. Faculty members C and W recalled how they, as members of the faculty, undertook the interdisciplinary approach. It was expressed by Faculty member C:

In an information and knowledge-based economy and in globalization, a department is necessarily involved in a variety of relations with other departments. ...this is what we teachers often discussed in our departmental meeting. Sometimes we talked and shared ideas in the hallway, and then we agreed on the idea to collaborate with another department. And this idea was encouraged by the Dean and approved by the Curriculum Planning Committee. That's it. We all have similar ideas on curriculum (in-person interview, December 10, 2003).

Faculty W noted that educational changes [interdisciplinary curriculum] here has come about in part not because anybody's a power broker but because we have a good team approach and because we have a strong mission (in-person interview, November 5, 2003).
In an interview with Administrator S, the decision-making process, with respect to the educational programs, was carried out by faculty members through deliberation and discussion. Administrator S (both an administrator and a faculty member) stated:

Of course it was not easy reconciling opposing principles for any collaboration or construction of curriculum. ... We [faculty] did lots of informal discussions in addition to formal meetings. ... We [faculty] also spent lots of time in collegial meetings in order to reach consensus. ... Most of the faculties hold beliefs that education should be student-centered and respond to the changing forms of knowledge in a world of technological and cultural change (in-person interview, January 15, 2004).

Faculty member Z also stated that:

The collaborative process involving faculty and administrators working together provides a shared strength through their many diverse perspectives. A wide range of information and input should lead to better decision-making (in-person interview, March 12, 2004).

In summary, with respect to the governance patterns of educational programs, the collegial model serves as the primary pattern of governance at the Metropolitan University.

**The Governance Pattern of Personnel Affairs**

In keeping with Chinese traditions and culture, which include respect for intellectuals, institutions of higher education enjoy a high social position and perform a variety of services in the society of Taiwan. In particular, they conserve accumulated knowledge and transmit it to succeeding generations; they create new knowledge and interpret and criticize knowledge. It takes a great many people in many roles to ensure that all of these
services are performed. Of the multitude of functions, the one under scrutiny here is the academic faculty of the institutions of higher education. Because the quality of teaching staff is essential to the quality of higher education, the selection, appointment, and promotion of the faculty members in higher education institutions is discussed and analyzed.

**Research Question #2**

*What are the governance patterns of personnel affairs at Metropolitan University? How, if any, do the four models, bureaucratic, collegial, political, and organized anarchy, help explain the governance patterns with respect to academic staff personnel at Metropolitan University? What are the differences before and after the 1994 University Act?*

**Appointment and Promotion of Academic Staff**

It is widely believed that the quality of education is determined by the ability, skill, and devotion of teachers. Nevertheless, the identity of the most significant characteristics of a faculty is not clear. To ask what kind of faculty make a good institution, numerous and divergent answers could be offered, including intellectual ability, experience in teaching, scholarship, etc. Thus, the criteria and process for selecting individuals for teaching posts at an institution of higher education become crucial for determining the quality of education.

In Taiwan, the criteria and qualifications for being a teaching staff member in the institutions of higher education have been strictly defined by the government. According to Article 13 of the old University Act (pre-1994), the teaching staff in the institutions of
higher education could have the following ranks: Assistant, Instructor, Associate Professor and Professor. The qualifications for each rank were outlined as follows:

**Assistant:** must either hold a bachelors degree from a university or independent four-year college and receive a good rating in academic work; or be a graduate of a three-year senior college with at least two years experience in research work in an academic organization; or hold a professional position related to the major field of study for three years. Candidates must also establish meritorious records in relation to their working experience.[=demonstrate a satisfactory history of employment]

**Instructor** may qualify in one of four ways:
1) Being a graduate of a domestic or foreign institution of higher education or of a research institution with a master’s degree or its equivalent and a good academic performance
2) Having served more than four years as an assistant with good work performance and having produced writings or research paper(s) in the specialized field
3) Having served for more than five years as a senior high school teacher with extensive research records in the specialized teaching field and having produced writings in the specialized field
4) Holding a bachelor’s degree and working in a research-oriented organization or holding a professional position related to the major field for six years with meritorious records and writings or research publication(s) in the specialized field

**Associate Professor** may qualify in one of the following three ways:
1) Obtaining a doctoral degree or its equivalent from a domestic or foreign institution of higher education or a research institution with good academic performance and specialized writings
2) Having served for more than three years as an instructor with good work performance and having produced writings or research publication(s) in the specialized field
3) Holding a master’s degree or its equivalent and working within a research-oriented organization related to the major field for four years, with meritorious records and having produced writings or research publication(s) in the specialized field

**Professor:** may qualify in one of the following two ways:
1) Holding served as an Associate Professor for more than three years with a good work performance and outstanding writings or research publication(s) Having a doctoral degree and having done continuous research in a research-oriented organization or holding a professional position related to the specialized field for four years while contributing creative writings or inventions of importance contribution to the academic field

(Ministry of Education, 1982, pp. 2-3)
Following the implementation of the 1994 University Act, the position of Assistant was excluded from the list of teaching staff in the institutions of higher education, and a new position - Assistant Professor- was added in a rank between the Lecturer and Associate Professor (Article 18). According to the MOE\textsuperscript{14}, the qualifications for Assistant Professor may include one of three features: 1) graduate of a domestic or foreign institution of higher education or of a research institution with a doctoral degree or its equivalent with outstanding academic performance; 2) holding a master's degree with a good work performance and having served for more than four years in the specialized field and having published specialized publications; 3) being a graduate of Medicine, Chinese Medicine or Dentistry of a university or independent college, and having practiced clinically for over nine years, during which acted as a doctor in charge of the medical center for four years with outstanding performance and having published specialized publications; 4) having served for more than three years as a Lecturer with outstanding performance in the specialized teaching field and having published in the specialized field.

As a consequence of these changes to the Act, the institutions of higher education amended their appointment policies, so that most institutions now set a doctoral degree as a threshold for recruiting teaching staff.

In addition, the Council of Academic Reviewal and Evaluation\textsuperscript{15}, a division within the MOE that is in charge of reviewing qualifications of the teaching staff for higher education

\textsuperscript{14} Statute Governing the Appointment of Educator \url{http://law.moj.gov.tw}

\textsuperscript{15} The term in English should be Council of Academic Review and Evaluation, but the researcher follows the MOE's English version in the original.
institutions, regulates the requirements for approving new appointments and promoting university teachers.

The requirements are as follows:

1. Institutions for higher education must submit the credentials of new appointees who do not hold the teaching certificates issued by the Ministry of Education to the Council of Academic Reviewal and Evaluation for approval.

2. The following credentials should accompany the above submission:
   a) Biographical sketch
   b) Certificate of educational background
   c) Writings:
      • Writings are limited to published works. Poetry, musical compositions, painting and novels with literary value should be accompanied with other special writings or theses for review.
      • Textbooks, reference books, lecture notes, reports, diaries, autobiographies, translated materials and other non-academic writings are not qualified for a review.
      • Footnotes/bibliographies should be accompanied with the theses, dissertations or published writings.
      • Abstracts in the Chinese language should be submitted with any theses, dissertations or published writings, if they are written in foreign languages.
      • Any writings submitted for review and approval of qualification should be published within three years from the date of application for review and approval.
      • If any writings are co-authored, a statement indicating the parts of the applicant’s contribution should be submitted with a confirmation of the co-author.
      • The nature of the writings submitted for review must be related to the applicant’s area of specialty in teaching.
3. Letters of appointment issued by the associated institutions of higher education.

4. Other supportive credentials of qualification.

5. With the recommendation of promotion from the associated institutions of higher education, faculty members having completed their terms of service at the ranks of Assistant, Instructor or Associate Professor are entitled to be reviewed for their promotion to a higher rank by meeting the requirements according to Procedure 2, 3 and 4 (MOE, 1982, pp. 4-6).

Additionally, Article 28 of the old University Act regulated that "colleges and universities could establish a Faculty Evaluation Committee to handle the review and evaluation of appointments, promotions, and terminations of appointment of their teachers...The organization of the committee was to be defined by each individual institution and submitted to the MOE for official approval." (Chang, 1982, p. 45) In parallel with Article 28, Article 13 of the old University Act also required that teaching staff appointments be made by the Presidents of the colleges and universities, upon the recommendations of their Faculty Evaluation Committee that would review the collective decisions of faculty appointments and promotions by the Deans of the graduate institutes and Chairmen of the academic departments (Chang, 1982). Consequently, applicants for promotion must be passed by their institution's evaluation committee, and then submit all documents, including representative work, to the MOE for review. The MOE would invite three scholars as external reviewers to evaluate the submitted work.

To summarize, it has been found that even though the higher education institutions had the authority to initiate new appointments and to grant promotions, the Council of Academic Reviewal and Evaluation acted as a superior agency to verify the quality of the decisions being made by the institutions. In other words, prior to the 1994 University Act the MOE
had the final authority to approve appointments and promotions of faculty in the institutions of higher education. The MOE official C viewed this system to be necessary, stating:

There has always been the question... many of the colleges and universities have set up their own standards and procedures of review and evaluation in the hiring and promotion of teaching staff which are considered far superior than the criteria set by the MOE. Is it necessary to conduct another round of review on the central level? From my own experiences and also from the record shown in MOE, the re-reviewing made by the Council of Reviewal and Evaluation served an important function of preventing the higher education institutions from granting hirings and promotions under the influence of favoritism...The pro forma approval of the MOE was still required, I think. (in-person interview, May 14, 2004).

When the Metropolitan University was founded in 1990, it established the Faculty Evaluation Committee under the old University Act, which continues to the present, since it was not required to change under the 1994 University Act. The authority of the committee extended campus-wide. In addition, the University formulated criteria for faculty appointments and promotions in consultation with the general rules set out by the MOE and according to the opinions of the academic units within the institution. According to the Rules and Regulations of the Faculty Evaluation Committee of the Metropolitan University (1993), the President, the Dean of Academic Affairs, and the Chairmen of all departments were ex officio members. Other committee members were elected based on the ratio of 20 full-time faculty for an elected committee member. No two faculty members of this committee could be from the same academic discipline and only professors or associate professors could be candidates. The number of the elected committee members could not be less than one-third of the ex-officio members and all committee members
serve for a one-year term. Moreover, the Director of Secretariat and the Director of Personnel were non-voting members.

The procedures and criteria for promotions are summarized as follows:

1. Faculty members of the institute can request for promotion when his/her years of service and rank reaches the requirements set by the Ministry of Education.

2. As faculty members put in requests for promotion, individuals who are at the Assistant or Instructor rank should submit their writings that would meet the standards of a master's thesis or a doctoral dissertation. Individuals at the Associate Professor rank should have demonstrated their ability in independent research in at least one piece of research work or writings published in a notable academic journal or conference.

3. The review and evaluation of faculty promotion is first handled by the departmental evaluation committee, and the Faculty of Evaluation Committee then conducts another level review. The Dean of Academic Affairs submits the results to the President of the institution for external review. The Faculty of Evaluation Committee conducts the second round review based on the comments of the external review of writings and publications.

4. The writings and publications are sent to three external examiners. Promotion is considered acceptable as long as two of the three external examiners issue their approval.

5. Both the departmental review committee and the Faculty Evaluation Committee rate the candidate's performance in three categories: teaching 40%, research 30%-40%, and services 20%-30%.

6. The number of promotions for each individual department is limited. At most, one-fifth of the faculty of each rank within a department can be promoted annually.

Notably, the limited number of promotions for each individual department was amended to two-fifths in the 2003 academic year. The amendment was made to reflect the increasing number of faculty members at the University, and their increasing faculty members as an influence in the Faculty of Evaluation Committee. The right to appeal or issue a "grievance" for promotion was also possible for faculty members at the Metropolitan
University before the 1994 University Act. The deliberating body for appeals for promotion at the Metropolitan University was an ad hoc committee that consisted of five members from the Committee of Faculty Evaluation. The ad hoc committee members, including the Dean of Academic Affairs, were appointed by the President from the Faculty Evaluation Committee. The special committee was called only to hear appeals. In 1999 the Metropolitan University established its Faculty Appeal Committee as a permanent committee to process faculty appeals in compliance with the Teacher Law and the MOE’s regulation. The committee members, including faculty members, external scholars, and lawyers are appointed by the President for a two-year term. This system of dealing with faculty’s appeals for promotion exists now. In fact, according to the interviewees, most of them had never heard of any appeal occurring.

Like other universities in Taiwan, in Metropolitan University the initial recruitment and review of the credentials of candidates for new appointments is the responsibility of the departmental meeting in the academic department both before and after the 1994 University Act. Prior to the 1994 University Act, the President chaired the Faculty Evaluation Committee and conducted another level of reviews before a potential candidate was interviewed by the Dean of the Academic Affairs or the President. After the interview with the candidate, the second round review was processed by the Faculty of Evaluation Committee upon the recommendation of the Dean of Academic Affairs or the President who interviews the candidates. New appointments must be agreed upon by two-thirds of the vote of those present in the Committee. Finally, the President of the university issued the final approval.
In light of these documents, it has been found that the Metropolitan University, under guidance from the old University Act and the MOE, made its procedure for screening and reviewing academic staff, for selections, appointments, and promotions, both cautiously and strictly. The university established the Faculty of Evaluation Committee to manifest the components, functions, and operations of the committee. From this point of observation, the governance patterns with respect to the hiring and promotion of academic staff at the Metropolitan University resembled the characteristics of the bureaucratic model: clear job definition arranged in a hierarchy, authority defined by position, regulated communicated patterns, and decisions made on the basis of analytical review of available information. This analysis of documents is consistent with the views expressed by Faculty member P:

Nevertheless, we formulated most of our regulations, rules, bylaws and constitution by consulting with a couple of public and private universities as we started up [in 1990], which might have been somewhat different from those universities with respect to the system of hiring and promotion. In our university the system [teaching staff hiring and promotion] was deliberated cautiously... It was because they [hiring and promotion] were significant to all teaching staff. Hiring and promotion at our university are based on qualifications so that the most qualified rise to the top... You pass the first examination, and then there is the second examination ahead. (in-person interview, November 14, 2003).

Comments made by Faculty member S reflected a similar perspective of the bureaucratic patterns in selecting new teaching staff but are also somewhat related to the power structure. Faculty member S noted that:
You know that the scale of our university was small before 1994. Therefore, the selection of new teaching staff was not done rigorously, though all procedures for review and evaluation must be followed. Let me explain why... It is without question that we should operate all school affairs in accordance with the constitutions and bylaws. But what happened in the Faculty Evaluation Committee... At that time the chairperson of the Faculty Evaluation Committee was the President. It was unclear how the President and the Committee shared authority. For example, the committee would usually list at least two candidates to the president... One was chosen by the president. The decision was made at the top (in-person interview, January 15, 2004)

**Appointment of Chairpersons and Deans**

In addition, two systems are traditionally in operation for selecting the department Chairpersons at the Metropolitan University. In one, Chairpersons are appointed by the President because of the small number of faculty members in a department. The President's decision is mainly based on the qualifications of the candidates. The other is that Chairpersons may be elected by the members of the department, and appointed after careful consultation with faculty members of the department. A comment made by Faculty member W:

"Each selection process has its faults and its virtues. Appointment after careful consultation with members of the department seems the preferable practice... Some rotation seems desirable in most circumstances. Even so, the faculty collectively and through meetings are heavily involved in the decision-making." (in-person interview, November 5, 2003).

With regard to the selection of Deans, all college Deans are appointed by the President. Faculty member G, who served as a member of the Faculty Evaluation Committee, indicated that a collegial pattern was present in the selection process for new faculty:
Who decides [to appoint new faculty]? I think in addition to the president, the faculty members in the department have the power to select candidates, from my experience...Because before listing candidates, we [faculty] are able to discuss the hiring adequately. The committee only screens qualification of candidates rather than choosing one of them (in-person interview, April 9, 2004).

Regarding the promotion of faculty members, besides the rules and regulations for their qualifications, as published by the MOE, every institution of higher education has some flexibility for developing its own requirements for promotion to different academic ranks and its own procedures for reviewing and evaluating the faculty. The Metropolitan University also has clear codes for these requirements16 leading to the final decision about promotions. The codes and requirements are to help in the review and evaluation process, so that they are performed rationally and effectively. According to Faculty member H:

To evaluate colleagues [for promotion] sometimes is difficult...You know we Taiwanese view relationships as important. If the candidate for promotion is close to me on campus, at least to me, it is a delicate issue. I think, the evaluation of him/her would proceed without codification. (in-person interview, January 13, 2004).

**Three-Level Process for Faculty Evaluation**

With the implementation of the 1994 University Act, the MOE has gradually delegated the authority to certain universities for evaluating the promotions of their teaching staff. Because of its good reputation of taking a cautious approach in making faculty promotions, the Metropolitan University has been accredited by the MOE to evaluate its faculty

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16 40% for teaching performance, 30%-40% for research, and 20%-30% for service.
promotions from the 2002 academic year\textsuperscript{17}. Thus, the university amended its Regulations for Faculty Promotion and began to follow new regulations starting in the 2004 academic year. The significant differences between the old regulations and amended regulations are a three-level evaluation and external peer review. The new evaluation procedure is summarized as follows:

1. After a faculty member who is being considered for promotion, has assembled all the applicable material, the department’s Faculty Evaluation Committee will hold a discussion about the research, teaching, and service materials. If accepted, the promotion will be referred to the Dean of the college, who will propose it to the College Faculty Evaluation Committee for discussion. Both teaching and service achievements should be more than 70 points out of a maximum of 100, and research performance must meet the criteria of research performance of the department. The percentages of research, teaching and service are: 70\%, 15\% and 15\%.

2. The College Faculty Evaluation Committee should deliver the faculty member’s research achievements to three scholars or professionals of equivalent rank outside of the university for evaluation. If two of these three external examiners assign grades of above 70, the proposal will be referred to the committee for discussion. The College Faculty Evaluation Committee then discusses the credibility and accuracy of these evaluation results, and considers them along with the teaching and service materials after they are verified. If accepted, the promotion will be referred to the Vice President, who will propose it to the University Faculty Evaluation Committee for discussion.

3. The University Faculty Evaluation Committee should deliver the research achievements to three scholars or professionals of equivalent rank, who are outside the university for evaluation. These external examiners must not be the same as those appointed by the College Faculty Examination Committee. If two of these three external examiners assign grades of above 70, the proposal will be sent to the committee for discussion. The University Faculty Evaluation Committee then discusses the

\textsuperscript{17} According to the MOE, out of 159 institutions of higher education, only 34 had been accredited in the 2004 academic year.
credibility and accuracy of these examination results, and considers them along with the teaching and service materials after they are verified. If accepted, the promotion is recommended to the President for re-appointment.

From an analysis of the amendments to the Regulations for Faculty Promotion at the Metropolitan University, the university appears to want to emphasize the importance of external peer review in deciding promotions. As Administrator A said:

I think it is a great honor to our university to be accredited to evaluate our faculty promotion. You know we have over 150 colleges and universities in Taiwan, but only about 30 institutions are accredited by the MOE... Faculty quality is generally accepted as the most important determinant of the overall quality of an institution of higher education. Nepotism, cronyism, and inbreeding are powerful enemies of faculty quality. Thus, evaluation of faculty research by qualified outsiders allows its quality to be judged on proper technical grounds. Assessments are also more likely to be free of conflicts of interest (in-person interview, April 8, 2004).

In summary, from the documents and interviews, while appointments and promotions of the faculty in the institutions of higher education were governed by the MOE before the 1994 University Act, several additional features of the governance patterns relating to hiring and promotion at the Metropolitan University were identified both before and after the 1994 University Act. These include: 1) institution-wide committees with centralized decision-making roles, serving to provide “checks and balances.”; 2) faculty members systematically evaluated for their ability to teach or impart vocational skills; 3) re-examination of recommendations from initial internal reviewers and comments of external reviewers to ensure that the most qualified candidates receive promotion in competition with others for the limited number of positions in each rank; and 4) the President having the authority for final decisions on appointments. These characteristics
are connected with the bureaucratic model, for instance: they have clearly defined roles, regulations and tasks; an underlying assumption of rationality; and decisions are made at the top. However, a collegial pattern also has been identified with respect to the selection of new faculty and chairpersons at the departmental level. That is, faculty refer candidates to the Faculty Evaluation Committee on the basis of democratic discussion and the exercise of reason and consensus. Additionally, given that its decisions are made through consensus by the faculty as a group utilizing deliberative process, the Three-Level Process for Faculty Evaluation is presumed to be the way the collegial model works. Yet, because the operations of the Three-Level Process Evaluation are governed by clearly stipulated rules and criteria and the stricter system of external evaluation, the evaluating faculty for promotion at the University resembles more a bureaucratic model. Thus, the two models are interwoven in the governance patterns of personnel at Metropolitan University. There is not yet evidence of political activity as described by the political model, possibly because this promotion process does not have a long history at the Metropolitan University.

The Governance Pattern of Financial Affairs

Like other organizations, institutions of higher education require sufficient financial stability to permit orderly development. Thus, for most colleges and universities, the management and stability of finances is essential to good governance because financial uncertainty and sharp budgetary fluctuations make rational planning a near impossibility – especially in times of fiscal constraint and limited resources. In addition to this, transparency is at the heart of both budgeting and financial management, especially in
situations where corruption is undermining the higher education sector. Therefore, in order to explore the financial governance patterns of institutions of higher education, it is useful to examine the issue of budgeting processes, as well as those of internal and external auditing.

Research Question #3:
What are the governance patterns of budget/resource allocation? How do the four governance models – bureaucratic, collegial, political, and organized anarchy – help explain the governance patterns in respect to budgeting at Metropolitan University, if they help at all? What are the differences before and after the 1994 University Act?

Budgeting Processes and Budget Approval Systems

The complexity of an institution and the constraints on its resources require well-defined policies and procedures for setting priorities, planning programs, and allocating resources. The Metropolitan University has been characterized as taking a cautious approach in dealing with budgeting systems from the time the university was first established – largely because the institution is funded by an entrepreneur (the founder) and its budget is heavily dependent on tuition fees. This is not unlike many of Taiwan’s private colleges and universities. In most cases a private institution is founded by several entrepreneurs or groups in Taiwan. According to the Apple Daily News, currently gross tuition fees account for 60% of the total revenue of private higher education institutions (July 13, 2003). The Metropolitan University’s numbers are similar in this regard, although they have been steadily rising: gross tuition fee revenues accounted for 50.12% of its total revenues in academic year 1993-1994; in 1997-1998, tuition accounted for 68.70%; and in 2003-2004, 73.01% (see Table 5). The increasing percentages are largely attributable to a
corresponding growth in enrollment – which, not surprisingly, is part of the university’s strategy for increasing revenue. The government also contributes to the University’s total revenues. The government’s subsides (including grants) accounted for 7.24% in 1994-1995, 18.26% in 1999-2000, and 13% in 2003.

For each fiscal year (July 1 – June 30), the Metropolitan University’s chairpersons – along with the department faculty – propose, and then develop, the annual plans and budgets for each department. Typically, these plans and budgets are devised based on the number of students within the department, as well as the activities – such as seminars or conferences – that will occur in the fiscal year. On a more detailed level, there are two major aspects to the budgets: the departmental operations budgets (the basic budgets) that are based on the size of the corresponding department; and the budgets for proposed plans that are based on a department’s performance. For example, if the university’s reputation considerably improves in the international scientific community, the university will reward the appropriate departments by holding an international conference.

When the proposed plan and budget for a department has been completed, the chairpersons forward it to the Accounting Office. The Director of the Accounting Office is the university’s chief financial officer and he or she reports directly to the President of the university. The Accounting Office consists of three divisions – the accounting division, the auditing division, and the statistics division – and it both coordinates and leads the budget-building process for the campus-wide budget. The Accounting Office also collects all proposed plans and budgets from every department, and then forwards these proposals to the President for higher-level review. The President then consults with the
Vice President and all the chief executive administrators – including the Director of Accounting Office and all the college deans – for reviewing the fiscal year’s proposed plans and budgets. After this consultation, the President may modify the proposed plan and budget on his or her own. Also, the President integrates the proposals into the university’s performance, personnel, capital, and financial plans and budgets to form a comprehensive proposed university plan and budget. The President then presents this final comprehensive plan – along with the operating and capital budgets – to the Board of Trustees for approval. Then lastly, the entire plan is submitted to the University Council for final approval.

Table 5 Percentage of Gross Tuition and Fees in Total Revenue

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<td>1993</td>
<td>50.12</td>
<td>44.35</td>
<td>58.51</td>
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<td>68.7</td>
<td>63.14</td>
<td>65.69</td>
<td>66.62</td>
<td>67.91</td>
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Source: Self-Generated from Annual Report of the Metropolitan University

It should be noted that the proposed plans and budgets for the departments are submitted to the Accounting Office directly rather than to the college deans. In most cases as an institution grows in size, more authorities are delegated by the President to other executives, such as deans. Yet, the deans at the University have no authorities related to budgets. As Faculty member P said:
College Deans at the Metropolitan University are the members of the Chief Executive Meeting and assist the President with academic governance; however, they rarely participate in the decision-making related to financial affairs. Money [in the operational budgets] is allotted to each department directly from the Accounting Office (in-person interview, November 14, 2003).

Further to this, Administrator M made the observation that the budgeting system at the university is highly centralized, and he suggested that:

allowing the flexibility, for example, for institutions to transfer funds from one budgetary category to another, may counter the use-it-or-lose-it attitude and lead to a better planned allocation of limited funds (in-person interview, March 24, 2004).

Interestingly, Faculty member Y also views the budgeting system as being centralized, but his comments are somewhat different from Administrator M’s: “Since each department doesn’t have to worry about planning and managing its own finances independently, they end up not having to waste educational resources in some circumstances” (in-person interview, March 5, 2004). Consistent with this view of a centralized budgeting system is Chang’s research of budgetary decisions at public institutions in Taiwan (1998): he revealed that the President is the most powerful person when making institutional budgetary decisions in all case surveyed. Metropolitan University may be a private institution, but Chang’s findings hold true there as well. The opinions of Administrator J, also a faculty member, on the responsibilities of faculty and administrators, may provide an explanation of why the Presidents, both at public and private institutions, are the most powerful persons at budgetary affairs. J said that:
I agree with the idea of shared governance or cooperative governance, and I think it [shared governance] is a necessity in contemporary Taiwan's universities. To me, the aim of shared governance is to ensure that decisions are devolved to those who are best qualified to make them. Thus, faculty members are best qualified to give a meaningful voice in such matters as educational policy, curriculum development and academic appointment. On the other hand, administrators are best qualified to handle institutional-level affairs, particularly budgetary affairs (in-person interview, March 3, 2004).

Because the President has the authority to modify the budgets for proposed plans, a budgeting system was designed so that every department can acquire central resources, in the form of a “President’s allocation” – which gives the President the ability to add funds to the budgets of departments that make extraordinary contributions to the achievement of the university’s mission, or to its excellence or reputation. Administrator L views the budgeting system for proposed plans as important to the allocation of the University’s budgets:

In any case, it is essential to the university that the budgeting systems allow flexible resources to support valuable activities. If the allocation of budgets or resources were only based on the size of the departments, then faculty members would have little incentive to encourage innovation ... Because the President has the ultimate responsibility for the management and welfare of the university, it is understandable that he exercises his authority on the budgeting system (in-person interview, April 16, 2004).

On a side note, an interview with Administrator M demonstrated how budgeting can be related to politics:
Budgeting systems are not themselves academic policy, I think. There are areas that require deliberation and even politics in the service of wise choices and good management. For example, when good ideas require changes in the distribution of teaching activity across schools and colleges, we will undertake to move resources around to follow the ideas (in-person interview, March 9, 2004).

**Expenditure Control**

The Accounting Office and the General Affairs Office act as the guardians of the interests of the university as a whole; one of these interests is expenditure control. The Accounting Office not only manages and distributes annual budgets, but also oversees expenditure invoices in accordance with relevant regulations and internal examination procedures. It also carefully follows each line item breakdown (from the final budget) and reports any anticipated variations to the President. In addition, the Accounting Office monitors all budget units (for example, departments and centers) and provides reports to both the President and the Board about the expenditures of each department.

The General Affairs Office, on the other hand, reviews all requests for purchases (5,000 NT dollars or more), and if it approves of them, issues the purchase orders. If a purchase of over 100,000 NT dollars is requested, the purchase will be assessed by the Board of Trustees for approval. On the level of bureaucracy involved in this system, Faculty Member S said, “Although some faculties have complained about the school’s excessive reliance on regulations in respect to budget expenditures, to me, I think it is OK... they [the General Affairs Office and the Accounting Office] just want procedural accountability, I think” (in-person interview, February 25, 2004).
In 2003, the university began to standardize its administration system by implementing "ISO 9001". This certification was to be accredited in 2004. Under this new management system, information will be more readily accessible to the faculty: faculty members will not have to rely on the administrative staff for financial information once the new system is fully in place. However, while the new system is largely supported throughout the university, there are some who do not welcome the changes. As Faculty Member Y said:

Obviously, by implementing ISO 9001, many aspects of administrative affairs, including the budgeting process and requisition for purchases, at our school have been improved; however, on the other hand, a lot of rules accompany this standardization, e.g., more forms to be filled and more "computer work" to be done. In my opinion, standardization is similar to bureaucratization (in-person interview, March 5, 2004).

**Budget Auditing**

Creating a transparent, logical and well-understood set of rules for budgeting and accounting can have an enormous influence on the operation and performance of institutions of higher education. In accordance with Article 29 of the old University Act, institutions of higher education in Taiwan should each establish their own Budget Auditing Committee.

The Metropolitan University, in keeping with this article, established its Budget Inspection Committee when the university was first founded. This committee, chaired by the

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18 ISO9001 (International Organization for Standardization) is a series of documents that define requirements for the quality management system standard. ISO9001 is one of the documents in this set.

19 The researcher follows the university’s English brochure, which uses the term “inspection” instead of “auditing”.

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President, has three members, who are each appointed by the President. These three members must be chosen from the University Council. Their term of office is a year and they cannot be reappointed. Besides these three, the Dean of General Affairs and the Director of the Accounting Division are ex officio members of the committee. Furthermore, the committee may invite other concerned parties to attend their meetings, and they may also request related data from the Accounting Office. The main functions of the committee are to monitor, audit and advise the budget implementation, the campus buildings and construction projects. The committee also audits the addition, extension and improvement of assets. The committee meets bimonthly and they may call special meetings if necessary.

The 1994 University Act eliminated the provision that institutions of higher education should specifically create a Budget Inspection Committee. Rather, the Act declares that these institutions should instead create a variety of committees to oversee their affairs. Consequently, the Metropolitan University established its Committee of Financial Planning, in accordance with Article 22 of its constitution. This committee differs from the Budget Inspection Committee in two ways: in its membership and its responsibilities.20 The Financial Planning Committee consists of five chief executive members and three ex officio members. These five chief executive members are elected from the Chief Executive Committee, and three of them must have a background related to management or finance. The three ex officio members are the Dean of General Affairs, the Director of Accounting Office and the Director of Personnel. The committee, chaired by the President, has a

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20 The 1993 and 1997 versions of the Regulations of the Metropolitan University help to examine the differences before and after the 1994 University Act.
one-year term, and meets two to three times in a semester. Unlike the Budget Inspection Committee – whose members can be faculty members – all the members of the Financial Planning Committee must hold administrative positions.

As for the committee’s responsibilities, the 1997 Regulations of the Metropolitan University says that they are not only to function as the Budget Inspection Committee does, but they are also to formulate budget parameters and policies, and to make recommendations concerning campus-wide financial affairs. Moreover, the committee analyzes and proposes the university’s financial affairs on issues of long-term financial planning, including multi-year projections of income and expenditures, special needs, and projects of the university.

Additionally, two other policies have been put in place in order for the committee to be transparent. First, financial records are externally audited by certified accountants. These external audits include an opinion of the financial state of the records, and an appropriate (further) audit in compliance with the government financial aid regulations. Second, the final budget for Board approval and adoption, as well as the annual financial reports, has been opened to the scrutiny of various campus constituencies since the academic year 1999-2000.21

Although faculty members in the campus community are represented in the governance of the university – either through the Budget Inspection Committee and/or the School Affairs

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21 The financial reports can be accessed online via the homepage of the Accounting Office.
Meeting – it is the President who has the ultimate responsibility for the management and welfare of the Metropolitan University. Faculty Member Y stated:

While the conventional building blocks for governance within a private university are its trustees – the President, the executive administration and the faculty – apart from the Committee of Faculty Evaluation, most committees have a limited decision-making capacity and are mostly advisory in nature (in-person interview, March 5, 2004).

In summary, the governance pattern of financial affairs at the Metropolitan University has the following characteristics:

1) the governing boards and the President jointly hold authority on financial affairs, and function as the principal overseers and policy makers of the institutions;

2) the faculty members do not play a central role in budgetary governance;

3) the major control of budgetary affairs in university governance continues to reside with the board of trustees and the President;

4) the college deans assist the President with essential activities with respect to educational affairs, excluding the budget;

Thus, we can see that the governance pattern regarding financial affairs at the Metropolitan University is a centralized one. Moreover, the university’s governance model also demonstrates political patterns because it makes use of “performance budgets” that trigger competition between the departments for a share of the available budget. The existence of this competition means that the departments need to be compared to each other in some meaningful way so that resources can be allocated to those that seem most deserving (by whatever standard). Consequently, power and compromise, both characteristics of the political model, may function in the competition process.
Any useful study of higher education today must consider the environmental factors (Baldrige, Curtis, Ecker & Riley, 1977). Baldridge et al. stated that, in addition to the internal stakeholders such as the Presidents, deans, and faculty, external clusters such as the legislators, the government, and parents, etc. must also wield some power in governing the colleges and universities. In Taiwan, the higher education system has been dominated by a single ruling party for more than four decades. Therefore, in light of Taiwan's recent background, this study focuses on the Ministry of Education (MOE) which is part of the external cluster.

**Question #4**

*What are the governance patterns of external relationships, focusing on the interaction with the Ministry of Education, at Metropolitan University? How, if at all, do the four models, bureaucratic, collegial, political, and organized anarchy help explain the governance patterns at Metropolitan University? What are the differences before and after the 1994 University Act?*

**Prior to the 1994 University Act**

According to the Constitution of the Republic of China, the government has the responsibility and position to deliver education in the country. Moreover, the MOE is the primary mechanism in the country for implementing the educational responsibilities established for the state government. Prior to the adoption and implementation of the 1994
University Act, all colleges and universities in Taiwan were said to be standardized as they were required to follow all regulations of the MOE. The old University Act only served as an "act for organization and structure" since it rigidly regulated the organizational structure of higher education institutions. Under such circumstances, in Taiwan, it was joked about that only one university existed in the country, namely the MOE University. This view revealed the darker side of Taiwan's higher education system and the MOE's strict control.

According to MOE official C:

...higher education [in Taiwan] used to be very centralized no matter the system, administration, or curriculum...Before the mid-1980s, higher education policies were based mainly on the state's interests. At that time, higher education was used as an instrument for developing national power (in-person interview, March 19, 2004).

Education, especially higher education, is widely acknowledged to be perceived and employed by the state as a means to achieve specific political purposes. This phenomenon was once true in Taiwan, where higher education, being an important means of social and ideological control, was tightly monitored by the government (Law, 1998). According to Skolnik the basic rationale behind the state control included efficiency, distribution, and the stimulation or protection of social and cultural objectives (1987, p. 60 cited in Neve and van Vuht, 1994, p. 4). This idea was evident from the interview with MOE official C, who said,
For example, before the mid-1980s, the government could refuse to establish a university in the rural area of Taiwan because [in the government's view] the national resources would not be used effectively... Another example was how the government limited its spending on public higher education. It was true that the average income per person was low in the 1970s. As industries developed, it [the average income per person] had jumped to ten thousand since the late 1970s...The government finally had a balanced budget...But the government still controlled its budget allocation to education...The government discouraged spending due to the shock of inflation it experienced before withdrawing from Mainland China. Thus, saving was considered better than spending...Excessive investment was not welcomed. This attitude influenced the expansion of public higher education. (in-person interview, March 19, 2004).

In light of Article 3 of the old University Act, the development direction and key points for all colleges and universities should be well-planned, concerned with the current situation of each individual institution, and should be implemented under the supervision of the MOE, according to the needs of national construction and development (Lin, 1997). From this document, it is obvious that higher education, before the promulgation of the 1994 University Act, mainly functioned to cultivate high-level professional human resources to satisfy the needs of national development.

Moreover, an article (Chen, 1993) has noted that to ensure that higher education institutions performed their functions adequately; the MOE exerted further control over their managerial affairs. This control was applied to all colleges and universities, including private ones, and was maintained by strict regulations and financial support from the MOE. For example, the MOE not only sanctioned the establishment, change, or abolition of higher education institutions and departments, but also had the authority to determine student quotas for individual institutions, standards for tuition fees, individual department course requirements, and minimum graduation units.
In the past, it [MOE] regulated general required courses, individual department required courses, and minimum graduation units. I think the MOE didn't trust us [university teachers]. It behaved just like a strict boss who doesn't trust their employees' ability, so they set up many rules, regulations, and guiding principles for "helping" their employees. (Faculty W, in-person interview, November 5, 2003)

In administration affairs, the MOE also controlled the appointment of university executives and academics, the allocation of finances, and the procedures for student admission (Law, 1996). During this period, the government had a monopoly on higher education, and institutions of higher education were subject to the MOE.

**After the 1994 University Act**

Beginning in the early-1990s, the government initiated a series of reforms to make its education system more open and innovative. Central to the reform was liberalization and decentralization (Lo & Tai, 2004, p. 144). Furthermore, a revised University Act was passed in 1994. According to Mok and Lo (2001), the 1994 University Act as well as lifting of the administrative procedures are the proofs showing the government was attempting to facilitate non-state involvement in higher education (Lo & Tai, 2004, p. 144). Thus, prior to 1994 University Act, the MOE held central administrative authority in the postsecondary system, while after the 1994 University Act the MOE would become that of an administrator, instead of an inspector of individual universities' affairs (MOE, 1993 as cite in Mok, 2000, p.644).
Subsidies and Tuition Fees

"Fiscal decentralization" was another strategy adopted by the MOE to decentralize power to the national universities and encourage competition between the public institutions of higher education and the private institutions (Lo & Tai, 2004, p. 145). At first, the MOE delegated public institutions of higher education to set up a “University Fund” system to diversify their resources. In the 1999 academic year, the MOE began to reduce funding to about 20-25 percent of the state’s financial resources for public institutions of higher education, and to subsidize the regular incomes of those in private higher education by 20 percent. According to the MOE, by the 1999-2000 academic year, the financing of private institutions by the MOE had already reached 20 percent of the total annual budget (Lo & Tai, 2004).

Nonetheless, the MOE did not subsidize private institutions of higher education for “free”. “Reward, subsidies, and assistance” was the form by which the MOE subsidized private institutions of higher education, according to inspections of their “mid-term school plan” and their effectiveness in executing administration fees.

While institutions of higher education were given more authority, they were also expected to assume more financial and administrative responsibilities. As a consequence, issues began to emerge about quality, during the decentralization process. From the interview between Lo and Tai (2004, p. 147) and the Former Vice-Director of the MOE that was concerned with enhancing the competitiveness of private institutions of higher education, they [universities] were now held accountable to the state and to the public because public
money was involved. Thus, the trend towards greater political and governmental interest in the institutions of higher education and the MOE emerged.

From the above discussion, an “interest articulation,” can be seen, which was one of the features of the political model described by Baldridge (1971a). Baldridge noted that “groups with conflicting values and goals must somehow translate these into effective influence if they are to obtain favorable action by decision-making bodies.”

The MOE has been criticized for establishing too many criteria for rewarding colleges and universities and for using an accounting process that placed large burdens on the institutions of higher education. Most of the interviewees mentioned that they are performing more observation performance measures to win the approval and the subsidies of the MOE. As faculty member G complained, “[Education] quality is hard to define and even harder to measure.” (in-person interview, April, 9 2004).

Additionally, the levels of tuition fees were once stipulated by the MOE. To further promote the competitiveness of the private colleges and universities, however, the restrictions on tuition fees of both private and public colleges have been lessened (Lo & Tai, 2004, p. 147). The annual tuition fees of both public and private institutions of higher education have been permitted to increase by no more than 5 and 5.5 percent, respectively (MOE, 1999). Most institutions of higher education are not satisfied by the policy of having a ceiling for increases in tuition fees. According to Administrator R:
...the cost keeps increasing every year. So if the institutions don't have the capacity or have an authoritative role in the economic side [of that increasing tuition or fees], they [colleges and universities] don't benefit in terms of one of the principal goals of deregulation, decentralization, or autonomy... It might be a joke. If you ask presidents and trustees what the biggest problems in the institutions are, number one is that the MOE sets the ceiling of rising tuition that it [the MOE] doesn't fund. (in-person interview, January 5, 2003).

Increasing tuition has invited protest by parents and students. To appease the irritation of parents and students, the MOE recently made a great effort to persuade colleges and universities to avoid increasing their tuition fees by using moral arguments. Lui Yuan-Tsun, a former president of Soochow University, argued that the MOE should take a cautious approach in dealing with this issue. He maintained that since private universities and colleges are not funded by the government, the MOE should make suggestions rather than issue restrictions. The decisions about tuition and other fees are within the authority of the private colleges and universities and their board of trustees, thus, the issue should be decided by the private institutions (Soochow University, 1998).

*Administration*

As mentioned, institutions of higher education were empowered by the MOE after the implementation of the 1994 University Act. Nevertheless, many argue that the MOE still exercises its authority over institutions by laying down rules and regulations. The MOE should further simplify the administration and powers of delegation to the colleges and universities. For example, Lui Victor W., a former president of National Su Yat-Sen University, argued that too many laws (such as those for accounting, auditing, and budgeting) were connected to the “University Funds”, and hinder their effectiveness.
Since public institutions of higher education are funded by the government, the MOE would be expected to employ administrative procedures for avoiding any mismanagement. What about the private institutions of higher education? Administrator L pondered the question and responded:

Well, it is true that we [the University] have enjoyed some autonomy since implementing the law [1994 University Act]...But, I maintain reservations about whether both administrative affairs and official documents [contact with the MOE] were decreasing...because [sometimes] things become troublesome when there has been no direction or there hasn't been stated specifically (in-person interview, April 16, 2004).

Administrator J agreed that the MOE has empowered the colleges and universities in some administrative duties. Nonetheless, it is not enough. J explained:

...the MOE used to ask colleges and universities to report or to submit all official documents for inspection and approval. But now not all [official documents] need to be inspected by the MOE though we submit to... Currently, the MOE delivers its statements sometimes by using terms 'cha-ho' which means it [the MOE] knows, receives, and files it [the case]. This is different from inspecting, examining, or reviewing. (in person interview, March 3, 2004).

Another interview with Administrator A identifies the MOE as a supervisor, steering from a distance and using broad terms of regulation. Administrator A notes that even though the MOE has shifted to indirect measures in guiding colleges and universities, it continues to issue direct administrative orders from time to time. He takes the “five-year NT$50 billion (US$1.49 billion) subsidy program” as an example to support his view. The five-year NT$50 billion subsidy program is a state plan issued in 2005, in which the MOE subsidizes
a couple of universities to facilitate their improvement so that they might be ranked among the top 100 institutions in the world within the next 5 years.

With respect to the administration, the two groups – the MOE and the Metropolitan University – are structured as a hierarchy through formal chains of command and systems of communication after the 1994 University Act was implemented.

Setting a New Academic Program

After the 1994 University Act was implemented, colleges and universities were given autonomy to plan curricula, but the decisions for setting up new academic programs were still made within the jurisdiction of the MOE. When a college or university applies to the MOE to establish a new academic program, the MOE inspects the application after consulting with the Council for Economic Planning and Development for the consideration of state human power. Although at this time the MOE did not empower colleges and universities to set new programs as they immediately wish, while the 1994 University Act was implemented, the MOE was aware of the fact that according to the Act the MOE should empower colleges and universities to design their programs.

In the 2002 academic year, the MOE issued a policy - Total Quality Control—that empowered colleges and universities to design their programs and enrollment levels, based on their school development plans, and a measure of total campus area and ratio of faculty and students\textsuperscript{22}.

\textsuperscript{22} At a ratio of 25—one faculty member to 25 students.
Nevertheless, the applications for setting special programs such as medical programs and teacher education programs are still controlled by the MOE. As the purpose of this study (for question #4) is on the governance pattern between the Metropolitan University and the MOE, the researcher will discuss the issue of setting new programs by looking at a significant event which occurred in the Metropolitan University.

The establishment of a medical school became a goal of the Metropolitan University when the University upgraded in 1997. In 1998, the University established the Department of Healthcare Administration as its first step towards a medical school. Currently, there are nine departments within the medical school. Additionally, in 2000, a hospital with 1,111 beds was founded on the second campus by the founder of the University and was associated with the University. In most cases, when one mentions a medical school, people will make a connection with a medical program. However, a medical program is currently excluded from the University’s medical school currently. Has the University not applied to set up a medical program? Or is the University not qualified to set up a medical program? In fact, the Metropolitan University wanted to establish medical program but was thwarted in its attempts. A request by the University to establish a medical program was turned down by the MOE. Earlier, it was mentioned that the MOE exercises its jurisdiction over the inspection of setting up a medical program. In addition to the inspection of the qualifications of university’s hardware and software, the MOE consults with other experts, such as the Department of Health Executive Yuan, and groups as well. According to the MOE, the number of new enrollments for a medical program should be under 1,300 per year in order to control the number of doctors being licensed each year.
(MOE, 2002). Therefore, The Metropolitan University was turned down by the MOE for setting up a medical program.

According to the interview with official C, C acknowledged that the task of inspecting the application of establishing a medical program is not as easy as other programs. In addition to the suggestion made by the Department of Health Executive Yuan, there were interested groups such as the Medical Association involved in the decision making. Each has its own interests and strives to attain sufficient power to accomplish its ends.

Since setting a medical program is an institutional goal set up by the Board of Trustees of the University, in order to succeed in its second round of application, both the Board of Trustee members and the President spent enormous amounts of time on establishing liaisons with legislators and government agencies after the application was withdrawn by the MOE. There are those, however, who would remind us that promoting the development of one individual’s institution may compete with or be contrary to another’s development in the same environment. Competing interests give rise to conflict. It is Administrator R’s impression that “the MOE’s decision-making was influenced by comments passed by others to the MOE...Whether other interest groups are actually influencing the final decisions of the medical program application may well be known only to the MOE” (in-person interview, January 5, 2004).

From the above, it is evident that regarding the setting up of a program that was supposed to be scrutinized and considered on merit, it was the power structure in the decision making process, rather than rules, that brought about decision outcomes in accordance with political models.
In this study, the terms of governance patterns of external affairs at the Metropolitan University has been previously defined as its relationship with the MOE. From the documents and interviews, prior to 1994 the MOE is regarded as controlled and centralized. A feature of the relationship between the Metropolitan University and the MOE are identified both before and after the 1994 University Act is: a formal hierarchical structure held together by formal chains of command and systems of communication. This feature is the most prominent feature of the bureaucratic model. Additionally, after the implementation of the 1994 University Act, a political model also has been identified, as evidenced by the examples of subsidies provided by the MOE and interest groups exerting a strong influence over the setting up of the medical program. Thus, the two models are interwoven in the governance patterns of external affairs at Metropolitan University.
CHAPTER 6  
CONCLUSION

Based on the findings and discussion in Chapter 5, this chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations. After summarizing the findings, and describing the characteristics of governance at Metropolitan University, a number of recommendations are made for further research.

Summary

The study of governance and decision-making in higher education has inspired many scholars to develop various organizational models that may be applied to the higher education setting. Bureaucratic, collegial, political, and organized anarchy are the governance models that are often applied to higher education (Baldrige, 1971a; Baldrige, Curtis, Ecker, & Riley, 1977; Scott, 1978; Cohen & March, 1974). This study used these four models as conceptual frameworks to examine governance patterns in educational programs, personnel affairs, financial affairs, and external relationships (focusing on the Ministry of Education) for a Taiwanese private university (Metropolitan University), before and after the 1994 University Act. This was followed by an analysis of the documents, observations, and interviews.

Based upon empirical evidence in investigating educational programs, personnel affairs, financial affairs, and the relationship with the MOE of the Metropolitan University, this
study concludes that the governance model of Metropolitan University cannot be described as being just one of the above-mentioned models. One model predominates within the Metropolitan University, while aspects of other models are also present. Except for the organized anarchy, the bureaucratic, political, and collegial models shed some light on understanding the governance patterns of the Metropolitan University. The governance of educational programs at Metropolitan University looked remarkably like a collegial model while the governance of personnel affairs at the University closely resembles both the collegial and bureaucratic models. Additionally, both the bureaucratic and political models reflect the governance patterns regarding financial affairs and external relationships at the University. Generally, the governance operations of Metropolitan University more commonly resemble a hybrid model of one mainly bureaucratic, with increasing political characteristics and some collegial. This conclusion was drawn according to the argument presented below.

**Hybrid Characteristics of Governance at Metropolitan University**

After the 1994 University Act, Metropolitan University moved into an “organizational dualism,” which means faculty members attended to academic affairs while administrators and the President resolved administrative affairs. This attempt to function as “organizational dualism” can be observed in the University’s organizational chart. Yet, this research project found that the governance patterns at Metropolitan University are more complicated than its organizational chart presented.
Bureaucratic Model

As described in Chapter 3, the major characteristics of the bureaucratic model are: formal hierarchy, formal policies and rules, and formal channels of communication (Baldridge, Curtis, Ecker, & Riley, 1977). Because the bureaucratic model relies heavily on rules, precedent, and standard operating procedures, it was employed in this analysis with few difficulties. College catalogs, rules for budgets, policy manuals, and syllabi for classes clearly demonstrate how policy is supposed to be formulated at Metropolitan University as a bureaucratic pattern. Additionally, the Metropolitan University uses the administration's control system ISO9001 to standardize and improve its administration, as another example of the bureaucratic pattern.

As to decision-making, in the bureaucratic model, the decision makers are primarily top level (administrators, president, professors), power is by position, approval is through an administrative review, and decisions are made through institutional guidelines. The system of a "Three-Level Process" for faculty promotion and evaluations of the Metropolitan University resembles the characteristics of the bureaucratic decision-making.

Collegial Model

In sharp contrast to the bureaucratic top-down authority, collegial decision-making emphasizes participation, professional expertise, and competency, to be achieved through the dynamics of consensus (Baldridge, Curtis, Ecker, & Riley, 1977; Millett, 1962). The collegial model is reflected in developing interdepartmental programs and the selection of new faculty members at the Metropolitan University. Decision-making in curricula and
recruiting a pool of faculty candidates are reached through deliberation and consent by faculty.

The Political Model

The political model has its basis in conflict theory and theories about power as outlined in Chapter 3. In this model, conflict is the normal state of affairs, and that conflict resolution through bargaining and negotiation. Decision-making is influenced by different interest groups, including internal and external actors (Baldrige, 1971a; Baldrige, Curtis, Ecker, & Riley, 1977). The political model is seen in the use of a “performance budget” by the Metropolitan University to trigger competition between departments for grants.

The political model is also reflected in the Metropolitan University’s external relationships, namely the relationship with the MOE. The MOE’s policies with respect to subsides and tuition are evidently aligned with a political model. These are based on governmental interests and agenda to enhance the competitiveness of private colleges and universities. Additionally, the political model is reflected in the MOS’s handing of the request from the Metropolitan University to set up a medical program.

Organized Anarchy

Within the four governance models used in this study, organized anarchy is the one that is least visible and present within the governance of the Metropolitan University. As Chapter 3 notes, an institution with an organized anarchy can be described as having unclear technology where decision-making is fluid in the sense that participants in the process change frequently and where the organization acts from a variety of inconsistent and ill-defined preferences. In other words, in organized anarchy, action is emergent, almost
random, and dependent on process and social construction. Trial and error are basic aspects of the operating procedures, while efficiency and goal achievement are not the aims for people to meet. None of these features of organized anarchy were seen at the Metropolitan University with regard to governance affairs. In fact, the organized anarchy model and the Metropolitan University could be considered as polar opposites. The following examples serve to confirm this conclusion. For example, the establishment of a medical program at Metropolitan University was an institutional goal created by the decision-making of the Board of Trustees. Yet, in an organized anarchy organization “there are no overall organizational goals being maximized through choice, and no powerful actors with defined preferences.” (Pfeiffer, 1981, p. 25)

Another example is the decision-making style of the University Council, which differs from that of the typical “garbage can” decision-making style in an organized anarchy. In the Metropolitan University, the processes and technologies for the University Council meetings are clear: issues have been studied and alternatives been prepared for the Council members to make decisions as they attend the University Council.

**Impact of the 1994 University Act**

The aim of the 1994 University Act was to enhance the autonomy of the institutions of higher education and allow university executives and academics to manage themselves. The results of this study reveal that the return of autonomy to colleges and universities in areas of internal administration and curriculum has already been implemented at the Metropolitan University. Two decision-making organs and the Curriculum Planning Committee, the Committee for General Education, and the faculty evaluation system
(three-Level Process for Faculty Evaluation) at the Metropolitan University are the evidence of how the Metropolitan University integrated and actualized this autonomy. In keeping to the 1994 University Act, the Metropolitan University, on one hand, wrote down the University Council as its highest decision-making organ in its Constitution. On other hand, the University ranked the University Council to be beneath the President in its university organizational chart. Such a contradiction would obviously lead to some confusion, even among the faculty members and staff themselves, about the organization of administrative authority at Metropolitan University.

In fact, the blurring of authority for final decision-making has direct implications not only for Metropolitan University but for most public and private colleges and universities in Taiwan.\footnote{Following the huge controversy over the article for highest decision-making organ, the function of the University Council has been amended to deciding important issues for institutions in the 2006 version of the University Act.} The governance process at Metropolitan University, as revealed through the interviews, is consistent with descriptions of governance seen in the university's organizational chart. This system, currently in place at Metropolitan University, has the President presiding over the University Council meetings as a facilitator, without showing approval or disapproval, but steering the meeting. On the other hand, the Council members would make decisions based on the various alternatives proposed by various standing committees.

One can see from the analysis of the Metropolitan University's governance activities since 1994, through the lenses of the four governance models, that the major impact of legislation has been the shift from a bureaucratic system towards a hybrid that has
increasing political characteristics related to financing and increasing collegial control over curricula and recruiting new faculty. Compared to Chang's findings in 1982, it is clear that the 1994 University Act has been successful in creating a transition from the dominant bureaucratic style of governance at that time towards one that has become significantly more collegial and political.

**Recommendations for Future Research**

This research project provides a glimpse into the reality of governance patterns of Taiwanese colleges and universities. The findings will also provide ideas for current educational administrators about their leadership strategies and administrative behaviors. Based on the findings of this research project, the following recommendations are made for further study:

1. Various types of institutions of higher education in Taiwan should be further studied comparatively in order to determine the different types of governance that are being developed in response to legislative change. For example, public colleges and universities may differ from private ones, and a research university and a junior college may reflect different models.

2. Further studies should include a greater range of participants, such as students, to determine if different governance patterns affect them differently.

3. Further studies should examine whether or not important cultural factors such as the traditions of personal authority of those who hold senior positions interfere with the development of the governance system of Taiwanese higher educational institutions, particularly collegial practices.

4. More detailed studies of the impact of external financial and accountability pressures on the evolving governance style.

5. Following studies on the impact of the most recent legislative
It appears in this study that transition from the bureaucratic was first towards a significant collegial form of governance in educational programs and personnel. This was followed by politicization, particularly in the financial and ministry’s relations. It is speculated here that because of the conflict and factionalization associate with the political, especially if it starts having a negative impact on the institution that centralized bureaucratic control could be reasserted. It is possible that there is a natural cycle in governance transition process. It would require comparative and long term studies to determine if this is true.

Postscript

After the enactment of the 1994 University Act, the institutions of higher education in Taiwan have enjoyed more autonomy and flexibility in running their educational institutions than before. Still, the Act is still criticized for its excessive regulation of university administration and academic freedom. For example, the Article stipulates the “University Council as the highest decision-making organ”, and that invites the controversy over the authority of final decision-making organ for colleges and universities. Thus, in 1997, the MOE formed a “University Act Amending Group” to study how to amend the Act. The University Act has been amended three times and expanded from its 32 articles to 42 articles since 1994. The newly amended version was issued on December 28, 2005, defining public colleges and universities as independent legal entities increasing their autonomy. The defining of governance boundaries between colleges and universities and the government was also a main issue in the new version. Although the 1994 University Act is now more than ten years old, it has a significant position in the history of Taiwan’s higher education, with its aim to liberalize higher education away from the government’s control.
REFERENCES


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APPENDICES

Appendix 1
Interview Guides

Background

1. How long have you been employed at Metropolitan University? Since when?
2. What is your position as a full-time member of the faculty (staff)?
3. How would you describe your position as (name of position) in terms of major responsibilities (Your involvement in the governance)?
4. Have you had any prior experience in administrative positions? What were those positions? What were your major responsibilities in the positions?
5. Do you (Have you been) involved on any university-wide committees? What are (were) you major responsibilities in the committees?

Educational Program

1. How would you describe the processes usually held in deciding the important academic programs (e.g. setting, deleting, and cutting back) before and after the 1994 University Act? Who (which group) was (were) a key person(s) of making final decisions? How would you describe the interactions between the members?
2. How would you describe the processes usually held in deciding the curricular changes (e.g. setting, deleting, and cutting back curricular) before and after the 1994 University Act? Who (which group) was (were) a key person(s) of making final decisions? How would you describe the interactions between the members?
3. How would you describe the processes usually held in deciding the task assignments of the faculty in the department?
**Personnel Affairs**

1. How would you describe the processes usually held in deciding (selecting) department chairpersons and deans before and after the 1994 University Act? Who (which group) was (were) a key person(s) of making final decisions? How would you describe the interactions between the members?

2. How would you describe the processes usually held in deciding (selecting) new faculty member before and after the 1994 University Act? Who (which group) was (were) a key person(s) of making final decisions? How would you describe the interactions between the members?

3. How would you describe the processes usually held in deciding (evaluating) the merits and demerits of the faculty members deans before and after the 1994 University Act? Who (which group) was (were) a key person(s) of making final decisions?

4. How would you describe the processes usually held in deciding the promotion of the faculty members before and after the 1994 University Act? Who (which group) was (were) a key person(s) of making final decisions? How would you describe the interactions between the members?

**Financial Affairs**

1. How would you describe the process usually held in deciding the departmental budgets allocation before and after the 1994 University Act? Who (which group) was (were) a key person(s) to make final decisions? How would you describe the interactions between the members?

2. Except for annual departmental budget, is (was) there any other special funds (such as grants or subsidies) can be obtained? If there is (was), how would you describe the process usually held in distributing the funds?

**External Relationship**

1. How would you describe the relationship (referring to academic programs, financial affairs, and personnel) between the Ministry of Education and the university before and after the 1994 University?
Appendix 2
Observation Guide

**Design of Facility**
1. Kind of room selected
2. Seating arrangements
3. Aesthetic features (quality of furniture, artwork, etc.)
4. Beverages or food

**Procedures of the Meeting**
1. Formal agenda (printed out)
2. Time setting
3. Who is chairing meeting
4. Who attend the meeting
5. How many members attend
6. Who are absent (why?)

**Communication Style**
1. Style of languages (formal or informal)
2. Movement (body languages, leaving)
3. Humor
4. One way (two way) communication

**Governance Content**
1. Different opinion
2. How to get consent (voting?)
3. Another agenda can be proposed
4. All issues are discussed OR important issues are more likely to be discussed
5. Personal authority (position?)
Appendix 3
Colleges and Department of the Metropolitan University

**College of Electric Engineering & Information Science**
Electrical Engineering / Electronic Engineering / Communication Engineering
Information Engineering / Information Management

**College of Science & Engineering**
Graduate School of Biotechnology & Chemical Engineering
Mechanical & Automation Engineering / Applied Mathematics
Civil & Ecologic Engineering / Materials Science & Engineering
Chemical Engineering

**College of Management**
Graduate School of Management / Business Administration
International Business & Trade / Accounting / Finance
Public Policy & Management / Industrial Engineering & Management

**College of Medicine & Health Science**
Radiation Technology / Healthcare Administration / Nutrition
Physical Therapy / Health Management / Nursing
Occupational Therapy

**College of Language & Communication**
Applied English / Applied Japanese / Mass Communication

**Teacher Education Center**

**General Education Center**
Appendix 4
Organizational Chart of the Metropolitan University 2000

Board of Trustees

President

Vice President

Meeting of Administration

University Council

Committees

University Plan Committee

Administrative System

Academic System