# Reforming Political Universities: An Organizational Analysis of University of Peshawar 

This Thesis is submitted as partial fulfillment for the award of degree of Master of Philosophy in Public Administration

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June 2006

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## Introduction

"A society which holds higher education in considerable esteem will give rise to a very different morale within academia from that generated by a society which denies its academic institutions any significance in the scheme of things. More specifically, institutions whose graduates do well on the job market will tend to have more confidence than those whose record in this respect is poor; the fortunes of particular basic units will was and wane with the extent to which their particular areas of coverage match or fail to match the prevailing social mood; and the individual academics' self esteem will to some extent be affected by the comparability of their salary scales with those of other professionals, including fellow academics in other countries." (Kogan \&Becher 1992:21)

### 1.1 Background

In Pakistan, major source of provision of higher education are public sector universities. They are controlled by the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Science and Technology and Higher Education Commission (previously University Grants Commission). The governance and managerial structures of the universities is a legacy of the colonial past. The governance structures and positions are modelled on public sector British universities. The positions of the Chancellor, the Vice Chancellor, the Registrar and decision making bodies like the Syndicate and the Senate are some of the examples of this replication.

In 2001, the Government of Pakistan initiated a process of reforms in the higher education sector. The President of Pakistan formed a task force with a mandate to analyze the current condition of the higher education sector and to recommend necessary changes. Objectives assigned to the task force were, "to review higher education in Pakistan and recommend ways of improving qualities." (The Task Force Report on Higher Education 2002) It submitted its recommendations in March 2002. Based on these recommendations, the Ministry of Education enacted the University Model Act. This act proposed radical changes in different areas of the universities. This included changes to the University Grants Commission, the Senate and the Syndicate. The Act
also proposed changes to the rules governing personnel matters and working conditions of teachers and functional responsibilities of various administrative positions.

These reforms faced a lot of opposition from various stake holders. Major resistance came from the teachers of public universities. Because of the uproar in the teachers’ community, the government restrained from implementing the whole package of reforms. They only implemented those sections, which were less controversial. For instance the establishment of the Higher Education Commission replacing University Grants Commission. It was decided to implement the rest of the package in different phases.

### 1.2 Research Problem

This study has explored the reasons of rejection of the reforms by the teachers' community. The reasons are explored from the organizational perspective. This implies that I analyzed the organizational aspects of public universities like structure, actors and power. These aspects helped in finding out the sources of influence within the universities.

The study analyzed the organization of in Pakistan. It explored the actors who are involved in the higher education sector and their influence on the university. The reforms package was also analyzed to explore the areas of change. The analysis of these changes helped me in finding out the affect of these changes on the power holders. From the analysis of present structure and proposed changes I drew conclusions that why these changes are not accepted by the teachers of the universities.

### 1.3 Research Question

Research Question is defined by Creswell as, "interrogative statements or questions that the investigator seeks to answer." (Creswell 2002)

This study is conducted to find answers to the following questions.

- What are the reasons for the negative reaction of the teachers towards reforms?
- What are the organizational characteristics of public sector universities in Pakistan?
- What are the effects of higher education reforms on these characteristics?

Organizational characteristics will be operationalized in following ways:
> Who are the stake holders?
$>$ What is the organizational structure?
$>$ How is the power distributed?

### 1.2 Executive Summary

This report consists of six sections. The first section is Introduction. In this section, I discussed the background of the research problem. The background is followed by the definition of the research problem. The research problem is explained within the context of this study.

The second section is the Theoretical Perspective. In this section, the discussion is regarding the theories used for this study. The theories which I used for this research will be discussed and explained. I will elaborate the variables which I am going to study in this research. These variables like organizational structure, actors, power and change are explained from the perspective of the theory. Their relationships with each other are also discussed.

The third section is the Methodology. In Methodology, I will present the data collection methods which I used to gather the data for this study. The section also includes the sources and tools used for gathering data. It also contains discussion and arguments regarding the rationale for using each source of data.

In this report, I am going to present and analyze data simultaneously. For this I have placed data presentation and analysis in the same section. The data presentation and analysis section is divided into two parts. They are the Data Presentation and Analysis I and II.

In the Data Presentation and Analysis I, I will discuss the education sector in Pakistan. The data obtained from various secondary sources will be presented in this section. Afterwards, I will describe the University of Peshawar. Different organizational aspects of the university will be presented. The discussion will include the presentation of organizational structure of the university. This data will be analyzed with the help of the power theory by Mintzberg. I will analyze various actors within the university. Their power within the university and the sources of power will be explored by using the theoretical perspective.

In the Data Presentation and Analysis II section, the university reforms will be presented. In this section, I will analyze various changes which these reforms are proposing. From this analysis, I will try to explore the change in the influence of various actors.

In the end of the report there is a Summary and Conclusion section. This section summarizes all the analysis with the help of the theory. In the end I will give conclusions regarding the possible reasons which can be the cause of the negative reaction of teachers.

## 2 Theoretical Perspective

Universities are complex organizations. The boundary between the authority of academia and administration is quite blur. Universities consist of diverse groups of stake holders with complex relationships to each others. These include students, their parents and general political and social players like political parties, state authorities, NGO's, community groups and multinational donor agencies. Unlike decision making in other forms of organizations, chain of command is not simply top down and explicitly defined. Their influence is not purely by virtue of their position in hierarchy but numerous other informal powers which are derived from sources within social and political value system also plays a critical role.

The decision making in universities is a very contentious issue where give and take or political maneuvering and bargaining reigns.

The internal actors include teachers, administrators and students. In addition, there are external actors who are not directly involved in day to day affairs of universities. They are also of importance in determining objectives, policies and procedures for universities. These include state authorities, society, donor agencies and pressure groups within society, political parties, civil associations, non governmental organizations, multinational donors. These actors have their own interests, aspirations, and objectives. In Pakistan, this may make the decision making environment of universities contentious.

### 2.1 Theories, Models and Conceptual Frameworks

Theory is "a set of interrelated constructs (variables), definitions, and propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomenon by specifying relations among variables, with the purpose of explaining natural phenomenon." (Creswell 2003: 120) According to this definition, theory is used as a tool or instrument which helps in analyzing the relationships between different variables. Furthermore, from the perspective of social sciences, it is used to "provide an explanations of behavior and attitudes, and it may be complete with variables, constructs, and hypotheses". (Creswell 2003: 131) Theory is helpful in pointing out dependent variable(s) and establishing their relationship with the
independent variable(s). The variables are, "the characteristics or attribute of an individual or an organization that can be measured or observed and that varies among the people or organization being studied". (Creswell 2003: 93) The variables which I am going to explore in this study are organizational structures, actors and power.
For this analysis I will be using the organization theory. Among various strands of organization theory, I am using open system perspective. This perspective identifies organizations as systems having various processes and open to the interactions of external influences. It explains organization as an embedded entity within a broader external environment. This theory will be used to analyze actors, structures, power and processes from the perspective of universities.

The organizational structures of universities will be further studied in relation to their internal and external environments. This will be done with the help of model for higher education given by Maurice Kogan and Tony Becher. This model was developed to help in analyzing the structure and processes within higher education system. With the help of this model, I am going to analyze the processes and structures prevalent in the present university set up. This will be done by going through the organizational and decision making structures, power configuration and actors in the present set up. In addition to this, the external factors influencing the structure and actors will be studied.

For the analysis of power distribution among various actors within universities, I will be using Henry Mintzberg's perspective of organizational power. This perspective defines the power configuration within an organizational setup. It gives a comprehensive description of power associated with various external and internal organizational actors. It also explains sources of power which these actors use to gain influence.

In the last phase of the analysis, the reform process and its different aspects will be analyzed. This will be done to find out its influence on the processes and structure of universities.

All these theories and conceptual frameworks with their links to each other and arguments about their usefulness in the context of this study are given in the following discussion.

### 2.3 Open Systems Perspective

In universities there are many interrelated groups and individuals, contested goals and objectives, non routine decision making situations and dispersed power structures. This puts them closer to that of open system's perspective of organizations.

According to this perspective, organizations are the combination of interdependent components which always functions in a combine way. It is not possible to bring changes in one part of the organization without changing the others. "Organizations are congeries of interdependent flows and activities linking shifting coalitions of participants embedded in wider material-resource and institutional environments". (Scott 2003: 29)

Open system paradigm put emphasize the links and influences of environment on the internal functioning of organizations. Organizations work within a broader environment consisting of social, political and economic forces. They are "open to and dependent on flow of personnel, resources and information from outside". (Scott 2003: 28). This is not a one-way relationship. Organizations also effect their environments through the output. For instance, the level and amount of graduates produced by universities in a country has an impact on economic conditions, political processes and social well being of the society.

Organizations seem to grow through the process of evolution. They try to bring balance between different components and to maintain equilibrium. The basic goal of any organization is survival.
Organizations are "loosely coupled systems". (Scott 2003:88). Although there is interdependence between various components of organizations within and outside the system, this does not make them a rigid structure. These elements maintain their relevant independent identities in the form of "self-functioning subsystems". (http://faculty.babson.edu/krollag/org_site/org_theory/Scott_articles/weick_lcs.html.) This gives flexibility to the organization. Even if one component is "damaged" the rest of the subsystems keep on working without any ado. It makes it adjustable according to changing environmental conditions. However such systems are difficult to be manipulated by planned change processes as in my topic of study. Burns and Stalker (1961) termed system model as organic system of administration. They proposed this system to be used in circumstances, where environment is "unstable and varying".

Another presupposition of open systems perspective is that it is self maintaining. They are capable of taking decision and corrective measures in response to environmental stimulus. This "is essential to the system's viability". (Scott 2003: 89)
Abrahmson (1993) discussed different components of open system's perspective. These include organizational goals, stake holders, processes of balance and exchange and institutionalization. Organizational goals are not stable and sometimes deceptive. Goals keep adapting to environmental pressures. Abrahamson disagree with the concept of "super ordinate or dominating goals", and term them something related to different levels of organization like individuals, departments etc. He further elaborated this point by saying that in systems' perspective, "goals and structure are responses to functional needs within the organization and in the surrounding super system and, because of this, are dependent variable" (Abrahamson 1993: 95).

Open system's perspective argues that goals of an organization are not permanent. Organizational participants and groups try to influence them in accordance with their own interest. This influence depends on the power of these members. Goals are also shaped by external environmental factors. Organizations, "change their purpose and domains to accommodate new interests, sloughing off parts of themselves to avoid some interests, and when necessary become involved in activities far a field from their stated purposes". (Pfeffer and Salanick 1978:24) As discussed earlier, if there is any long term or enduring goal which organization is trying to achieve, it is that of its survival. In some cases to attain this goal of survival, organizations may compromise or put aside their original goal hierarchy.
"Stakeholders of the organization are those individuals or groups who are dependent on the enterprise for the implementation of their own personal needs and on whom the enterprise is dependent for its continued existence" (Abrahamson 1993: 90). In the context of this study of the universities, there are diverse stake holders involved.

### 2.3 Power and Politics

Power is always there in one form or another. It ranges from formal to informal, from legal in terms of authority to one based on personal charisma. In many cases different types of power exists simultaneously within an organization. In "Power in and around Organizations", Mintzberg gives a comprehensive account of what power means in organizational context and how that is operationalized. Power can be explained in terms
of a characteristic, quality, an ability or generally an asset possessed by people or group of people, sometimes to forward their interests or to achieve their desired objectives or yet in some other cases just to deny other people achieving theirs. It is used as a tool in decision making. According to Mintzberg, "Power is the capacity to effect (or affect) organizational outcomes". (Mintzberg 1983:4)

Mintzberg acknowledged the fact that there are different types of organizations having different designs and structures. All of these designs and structures can be useful in their own right and can be able to perform well depending upon the context in which they are operating. Instead of taking a biased approach of concentrating a specific school of thought he analyzed all of these different perspectives. Therefore he was able to give an explicit and comprehensive account of different types of power configurations prevalent in various organizational structures.

As discussed earlier, organizations consist of various actors having different interests and objectives to fulfill. They belong to different areas within and outside organization and have different levels of power. Mintzberg termed these actors as influencers. According to him, "influencers seek to control the organization's decisions and actions". (Mintzberg 1983:22) He divided them into two categories, internal and external influencers. The, "internal influencers are the full-time employees who use voice, those people charged with making decision and taking the actions on a permanent, regular basis; it is they who determine the outcomes, which express the goals pursued by the organization". (Mintzberg 1983:26) On the other hand "external influencers are non employees who use their bases of influence to try to affect the behavior of the employees". (Mintzberg 1983:26)

According to this theory, internal influencers are directly involved in decision making while external influencers are directly involved. In some cases external influencers can be the real power holder while internal influencers are having only subdued roles to play. Stake holder or influencers consists of different people depending upon organization and its environment. They play different roles, occupy different positions, carry diverse ambitions and possess different amount of influence. Their sources of power differ depending upon the roles which they perform and the position they occupy. Mintzberg argued that these internal and external influencers constitute internal and external power coalitions respectively.

To start with I will first elaborate the internal coalition and the players who constitute this.

### 2.31 Internal Coalition

According to Mintzberg's theoretical perspective, internal coalition consists of five categories of influencers whose sources and intensity of power differs depending upon the organization and its context. These five categories are chief executive officers, line managers, operators, analysts and support staff. Their domains of actions are termed strategic apex, middle line, operating core techno structure and support departments respectively. (Mintzberg 1983:115)
Each one of these categories has different extent of power associated with them. Their modes and sources of power and the way they influence organizational decisions varies. To elaborate these factors, first I will be describing the "systems of influence" as specified by Mintzberg. According to the theoretical framework, actors can derive power from various systems of influences. These are personal control system, bureaucratic control system, system of politics, system of expertise and system of ideology.

Organizations have different role specifications for different positions. Each one of them has specific authority and responsibility. The foremost source of power in any organization is its legal and formal statutes, rules and regulations and standards. All these come under the broad category of "System of Authority". This has been subdivided into personal control system and bureaucratic system.

Personal control system constitutes "those means of influence by which the Chief Executive Officer and the managers of middle line intervene directly in the work of their employees to control their behavior". (Mintzberg 1983:117) Personal control system includes all the powers vested into the positions of authority to implement decisions. The management uses this power for interpretation of rules, to operationalize them in the form of practical or workable standards, to ensure their proper implementation and consequently to take corrective actions.

The personal control system is backed by bureaucratic control systems. This "includes those means of influence by which the organization imposes standards on its employees". (Mintzberg 1983:117) All the rules and procedures given in the statutes and rule books of organization regarding different aspects of work conditions, standards and operating procedures comes under this classification. Managers draw on bureaucratic controls
while making use of personal control system. This gives the legitimacy to the decisions made by different "competent authorities".

Another source of influence is system of ideology. It is "based on traditions, beliefs, myths or stories of the organization that the different insiders share, as members." (Mintzberg 1983:117) These include values which are institutionalized by the internal socialization process of organization when new employees are inducted. These values are passed on from one generation of employees to the other. This system of influence helps create belongingness within employees towards organization. This influence is used to create motivation and to bring harmony and sense of comradeship among different participants by using the stories of heroics by previous employees.
Then there is a system of influence which contrary to system of ideology "can be used to resist cohesion or integration, fractioning the power of the Internal Coalition". (Mintzberg 1983:117) This source of power is the system of expertise. This type of power is based on specific skill, training or expertise which individual possess because their educational or vocational backgrounds. Possession of such expertise and skill makes them somewhat "irreplaceable" or their "substitutability" decreases which makes them quite influential in organizational power structure. These individuals, which are also called "experts", derive their power not from bureaucratic control system, but from standards and procedures defined by professional bodies and institutes which are responsible for imparting those knowledge and skills. This creates atmosphere of confrontation and conflicts among these specialists and the remaining staff. Such tensions are usually seen in those organizations where experts play a very important role in the overall functionality of organization as doctors in hospitals and teacher in universities.
Lastly there is a system of politics. According to Mintzberg, it is "one of illegitimate power, in the technical sense, typically coupled with conflict". (Mintzberg 1983:118) Organizational culture is not always like the one given by bureaucratic school of thought where there is machine like rigidity in rule following and a unidirectional behavior for the pursuit of goals coordinated by rules, regulations and procedures. This approach fails to explain the human element within organizations. There are many actors involved in decision making. These actors come with their own interests, preferences and objectives. They do not always follow rules in letter and spirit. With this flexibility and scope of manipulation, organizations seem more like a political arena than some kind of a machine bureaucracy.

There are conflicts of interest, political coalitions and bargaining mechanisms playing an important role in decision making and power determination. In such a situation, players instead of deriving their powers from "official" sources like rules and regulations gain influence from "unofficial" sources like the pressure groups. In the political arena, different "like minded" people having similar interests develop coalitions to have power in the system. They try to include influential persons from society within their groups. They try to use their position to exert pressure on decision making bodies. Individuals derive power from the systems of politics by belonging to any one of the power groups. Organizational actors "use this system to circumvent, resist or even disrupt the other systems of influence in order to accomplish ends they personally believe to be important". (Mintzberg 1983:118)

## The Chief Executive Officer

The chief executive officer "is inevitably the single most powerful individual in the whole system of power in and around the organization". (Mintzberg 1983:119) He/She is the top most person in administrative hierarchy of organization. Chief executive officer not only plays an important role in implementation of policy decision but is also one of the persons involved in policy development. He/She is directly involve in decision making with the external coalition.

The chief executive officer derives his/her power from all the five systems discussed earlier but in varying degrees. The key source is the system of authority or legitimate power attained through system of personal and bureaucratic controls. $\mathrm{He} /$ she is a member of all important decision making bodies and is also authorized to make final decisions in all important matters according to organizational rules and procedures. $\mathrm{He} /$ she is responsible to evaluate the performance of internal influencers. This gives him/her power within the organization.
$\mathrm{He} /$ she also attains power from normative sources. The system of ideology and values are usually inculcated and endorsed by the leaders. This is used to achieve organizational objectives like those of coordination, motivation and efficiency.

Chief executive officer also uses informal means, to influence internal coalition. As discussed earlier, system of politics plays a critical role in determining power sources within organization. The skills and ability to maneuver the political situation of organization makes the Chief Executive powerful. These traits help in consolidating
his/her power at the top. Because of his/her strategic position in hierarchy, chief executive officers have information regarding all the other actors. This gives him/her a complete picture of the political affiliations of various actors. It also helps him understand goals and interest of various interest groups and their strengths and weaknesses. Chief executive officer can use his/her position and authority to influence actors. This is done in different ways, sometimes by offering fringe benefits and some other times by using normative rewards.
The only system of influence which is not really the forte of the Chief executive is the system of expertise. There are different departments working under chief executive. Each of them is constituted by employees who possess technical know how of their respective fields. It is not possible for the chief executive to acquire expertise in all the fields. This makes him/her dependent on the knowledge of other employees. For instance, in the case of hospitals, administrators depend on the advice of other staff members like doctors and paramedics.

## Middle line Managers

In the organizational hierarchy, after the chief executive officer there are various other positions performing different managerial functions. Their authority and responsibilities varies depending upon their position in the hierarchy. This group of managers is categorized under the nomenclature of middle line managers.
Upper level managers or senior executives are second in command to the chief executive officer, looking after specific departments within organization. Their position in the hierarchy makes them quite powerful second only to chief executive officer. They do not have the same powers as that of the Chief executive. However they are part of the decisions taken inside organization.

In addition to these senior executives, middle line managers' category also includes other levels of hierarchy, which are middle and lower management. Powers of incumbents' decreases as they move down the hierarchy. In fact lower management is only given the responsibility to execute decision in terms of following rigid procedures with very less room for making independent decision.

As far as sources of influence are concerned, senior executive positions gain power from the same sources as those of the Chief executive officer, but in lesser degree. Like the Chief executive officer, senior executive's also enjoys a lot of powers through the
authority assigned via rules and regulations. They are in a position to exert personal controls because of the backing to rules. They can also use power of ideology by using the same normative procedures as done by chief executive. As far as systems of politics is concerned, like all other inhabitants of organization, incumbents of senior executive positions also tries to be a part of powerful groups. They associate themselves with informal groups existing in the organization and use their position to form alliances with other groups to influence decision making. However, because of relatively less resources of information and authority than chief executive officer, they do not gain the same amount of influence over others. The only source of power where senior executives have an edge over the chief executive officer is the system of expertise. They are functional heads of specific departments. They possess a specific type of expertise.

The middle managers in the line management are mostly concerned with the execution of orders. They are not involved in policy making. They are responsible for executing policy decisions. The middle line managers give input to the upper management.

They are the ones who are suppose to upheld organizational values by following them. They are influenced by systems of ideology instead of getting power from it. Their powers are based on system of politics and expertise. As they are greater in number than senior management, they play a crucial role on the political arena. They are in a position to exert their force by making groups and associations. The middle line managers are usually technicians with specialized training and expertise. This gives them edge over their superiors on the technical matters. Senior executives depend on them over matters pertaining to technical inputs

Lower management or first line supervisor are suppose to follow orders. They implement policy decision within specific guidelines demarcated by upper management. However this doesn't mean that they are altogether powerless. First line supervisor have enough power to safe guard their own interest by accessing means of politics and expertise. They do not have enough resources to manipulate or gain power in the bargaining process, but they have enough knowledge and expertise to influence decisions. These people are technicians having know how, expertise and experience of work related processes. They can interpret rules in the way beneficial to them. They are also responsible for guiding middle management about different decision, as they are the "experts" on rules and procedures.

### 2.32 External Coalition

Discussion of power is not complete without bringing in to the analysis, the external elements that influence organizations. Organizations are a part of a broader environment consisting of various actors having diverse interests. As far as their power is concerned, it varies from organization to organization. Mintzberg presented an explicit framework describing broad categories of influencers and their sources of influence. To start with, he gave "five dimensions of external influence" in the form of pairs. The first pair is regular or episodic; where influencers' either keep a regular check on routine activities or put pressure on specific issue. Secondly, general or focused, where influence is directed towards the whole industry or to one specific organization respectively. The external coalition sometimes influence only a specific organization like a particular hospital or all the organizations providing similar services like the whole health sector. Third one is detached or personal. This dimension deals with influence exerted by the members of external coalition either on the organization or on its personnel. They can influence the personnel when they are the main source of power like the owner of a company. Then the fourth dimension is initiative or obtrusive; "to provoke organization to do something new" as compared to the one where organizations are stopped to perform a particular activity. Finally, there are formal or informal dimensions of influence. Former includes those means of influence which are attained through official sources i.e. those which are provided under the law and statutes "based on legal prerogative", while later are achieved through unofficial sources like societal values, norms and culture. (Mintzberg 1983: 47) Based on these dimensions of external influences, Mintzberg proposed a categorization of means of influences. They are social norms, formal constraints, pressure campaigns, direct controls and membership on boards of directors. (Mintzberg 1983: 49)

Social norms may not be formally implemented through legal obligations but "are reinforced through social sanctions such as ostracism". (Mintzberg 1983: 49) This mean of influence is based on "general and regular" dimensions of external influence. In addition, they are employed to prohibit or promote certain kinds of behavior.

Formal constraints are based on legal obligations on organizations in the form of law, rules and regulations. They are usually applied for a long term basis and are regular rather than focused. Similarly they target the overall organization rather than its personnel. Lastly, they can be both general and focused. It is so because these formal impositions can be directed to the whole industry or they can also be organization specific.

Another tool used for exerting influence by external coalition is pressure campaigns. Various political or social movements come under this category. These campaigns are usually operationalized by putting pressure through media or by gathering support from different quarters and are informal in nature. They are issue based and can be categorized as episodic. These are usually focused on a specific type organization(s). However they can be either detached or personal and can either be used to push an initiative or to obstruct an ongoing process/activity.
Another mean used by external actors for influencing organizations is direct controls. As the name illustrate, direct control is used by influencers by interacting with the decision making bodies of the organizations. This is done by gaining access to them through personal position and contacts. Another form of direct access can be through formal membership of decision making body or by "planting a representative in the internal coalition". (Mintzberg 1983: 62) In yet other instances, this is done by either gaining the status to authorize decisions or to be able to impose decisions. In both these cases external coalition becomes quite dominant and internal coalitions are left just as rubber stamps to verify whatever has been decided by external influencers.

This brings the issue of the relationship between external and internal coalitions. According to the author dominance is determined by the number of members within the external coalition. When there is a single member all the power will be concentrated to him/her and external coalition will be dominant. On the other hand, in case of few members it becomes a divided external coalition. Furthermore, in case of many members it becomes a passive external coalition. The argument given for this classification is that in case of single member, all the powers of external coalition are concentrated with the dominant influencer who can "control management directly". While in case of few or many influencers the power of external coalition gets dispersed which make internal coalition more strong.
The overall power of an organization can be assessed by looking at the composition of its internal and external coalition and their sources of power. According to Mintzberg "influencers in external and internal coalitions, means of influences they use, the type of external and internal coalitions they form and the goal system that result" when combined together forms "power configurations". (Mintzberg 1983: 291) Mintzberg described six types of power configurations; those are the instrument, the closed system, the autocracy, the missionary, the meritocracy and the political arena.

Among these classifications, I found "the political arena" type of power configuration most resembling to the power structure existing in universities in Pakistan. It is important in the context of this study to elaborate further the concepts of politics within organizations and the conflicts which results due to this politics.

### 2.4 Politics and Conflict

Organizational actors and their sources of power give rise to different types of power configurations. Sometimes power is concentrated with technical experts. In some other scenarios it is based on an ideology which acts as a driving force. There are cases where it is distributed among different actors with varied interests and affiliations, which make organizations, resemble a political arena.
In case of universities, various authors discussed different types of power configurations. There is a debate in the literature on whether academia should be autonomous in making decisions and be more influential than the administrators, or should it be the other way round. John Millet presented a model of the university as a collegiums and a community the coordinate within organization. (Baldridge 1971:12) There should be a "dynamic of consensus" instead of a subordinate and a super ordinate type of structure (Baldridge 1971:12).

In this study, I want to analyze what is done rather than what ought to be done. The power configuration which I found quite relevant to the situation within universities of Pakistan is that of political arena.

While elaborating this configuration, Victor J Baldridge wrote in his book titled, "Power and Conflict in the University",
"When we look at the complex and dynamic processes that explode on the modern campus today, we see neither the rigid, formal aspects of bureaucracy nor the calm, consensus-directed elements of an academic collegium. On the contrary, if student riots cripple the campus, if professors form unions and strike, if administrators defend their traditional positions, and if external groups and irate governors invade the academic halls, all these acts must be seen as political. They emerge from the complex fragmented social structure of the university and its "publics", drawing on the divergent concerns and lifestyles of hundreds of miniature subcultures. These groups articulate their interests in many different
ways, bringing pressure on the decision making process from any number of angles and using power and force whenever it is available and necessary. Power and influence, once articulated, go through a complex process until policies are shaped, reshaped, and forged out of the competing claims of multiple groups. All this is a dynamic process, a process clearly indicating that the university is best understood as a politicized institution- above all the else the Political University". (Baldridge 1971: 20)
In the political university, interest groups are many and power divided. Decisions are debated. Power is fluid. This means that power is function of circumstances. Different actors possess power in different intensity at different points of time. Alliances are formed on different issues between interest groups so that mutual benefits can be obtained.

With such a diversity of interests, the "system is captured in conflict". (Mintzberg 1983: 421) Politics can emerge from both external and internal coalitions. It is a "temporary configuration, sometimes a necessary way station in the transition from one stable power configuration to another". (Mintzberg 1983: 421)

In so far as the elements of power are concerned, in case of political arena, external coalition is divided, internal coalition is politicized, the flow of power between them complex and reciprocal and the goal system is fluid and unstable. (Mintzberg 1983)

Organizational politics gives rise to various conflicts. In some instances political systems are originated to solve conflicts. Whether political system produces conflicts or it is created to solve one, conflicts are related to it in one way or another. Conflicts can arise "within the internal coalition, external coalition, or between the two of them". (Mintzberg 1983: 430) In some cases conflicts arises on issues which are not very important and thus may be resolved easily. But in some cases the issues pertaining to be resolved matter a lot and all the parties party within the political arena wants to safeguard their interests. Such conflicts results in intense confrontation which, if not resolved quickly, can even "kill" the organization. No organization can remain in intense conflict for a very long time, "in order to sustain itself, the state of conflict must be moderated in its intensity". (Mintzberg 1983: 430)

### 2.5 Higher Education Model

This model was given by Maurice Kogan and Tony Becher in their book titled "Process and Structure in Higher Education System". They analyzed different internal and external components affecting higher education system. They studied the links between them, processes which are carried out to run this system and subsequently its structure. They proposed a model to study this very complex system having different stake holders and contentious objectives.

This model has been divided into two dimensions for the purpose of analysis. These dimensions are levels and modes. Higher education system is divided into four levels. These are individual, basic unit, institutions and central authority. Further more, these levels are analyzed in terms of two modes i.e. normative and operational. These modes are further discussed with internal and external aspects.

|  |  | Individual | Basic Unit | Institution |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | External | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Normative |  |  |  | Central Authority |
| Internal | 5 | 6 | 7 | 4 |
| Internal | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| Operational |  | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| External | 13 |  |  |  |

Source: Tony Becher and Maurice Kogan

### 2.51 Normative Mode

a) Individuals in normative mode

According to this model, norms and values which individuals in the system follow are of two types. These norms can be internal to the system, i.e. those which are pursued because of a specific role which individuals are performing within the organizational
context. These include "realizing role expectations and personal goals" (Becher \& Kogan 1992:13). These values and norms are either developed within institutional environment where certain values take the shape of unwritten rules. However internal norms of an institution may not only be the reason for a specific patron of behaviors by its individuals. Sometimes individual preferences and "personal goals" are also the reason for some normative practices.

Then there are a few external norms. These includes professional norms such as to "conducting original and non-trivial research, engaging in a disinterested pursuit of truth, or teaching with an altruistic regard for students' development" (Becher \& Kogan 1992:13).

## b) Basic units in normative mode

The second level is called basic unit. This classification consists of either a single department or a faculty containing a few departments imparting similar kind of subjects. An example of this could be faculty of social sciences in some universities, where departments of public administration, sociology, and political science are grouped together. They have their own organizational structure headed by chairman/chairperson. These organizational units have some degree of autonomy in decision making and also specific operating budgets. Degree and extent of these characteristics vary from institution to institution. In addition to this, basic units are also guided and influenced by their professional associations or other related bodies having specific subject interest with them. This influence varies but most commonly can be seen in curricula development, teachers' remuneration and mode of teaching.
Basic units have norms and values which are both internal and external to them. Its internal norms are steered by its corresponding institutional values and also by those prevalent in its members or peer group. There are several units within an institution competing for resources. They have to remain competitive by showing their professional worth, by "maintaining and promoting, its own distinctive disciplinary or subject value". Basic units are also influenced by external mechanisms. These mechanisms are professional norms and societal values. Professional norms are pursued in order to be recognized in the "wider peer group of national and international community". While societal values include social, economic and cultural values which plays a crucial role in developing the core value system.

## c) Institution in normative mode

Institutional level lies at a very important level in the hierarchy. On one hand it acquires a role of a subordinate with respect to central authorities, to whom it is answerable. It acts as an implementation body with power and authority to execute institutional policies and keep necessary checks.

Higher education institutions are expected to provide services to the society. This wider environmental expectations and value systems are penetrated into institutional normative core which helps legitimizing its existence.

## d) Central Authority in normative mode

Central Authorities includes "various authorities who are between them charged with overall planning, resource allocation and the monitoring of standards" (Becher \& Kogan 1992:9). The state authorities, governing boards and other agencies which are authorized to govern and administer the universities come within the scope of this classification.

Their position within the setup of higher education system makes them major power holder. In the era of "globalization", these authorities are not only influenced by the societal requirements, but are also under continuous pressures from international community. As education is linked to economic development and politics, international community and specially donor agencies are pursuing a specific agenda. This requires state authorities to make sure that all the policies, norms and practices adhere to the general specifications of standard, quality, efficiency and effectiveness, as defined by international bodies. The extent and degree of importance related to each factor depends upon the political, economic and social condition of that country.
As far as the internal norms are concerned, they are more authoritative rather than accommodative. This means to keep a check on the institutional performance and to make sure that expectations of society are being met by these institutions. The internal norms are for, "overseeing and maintaining standards of quality, relevance and effectiveness".

This description of normative mode of the higher education model helps us in analyzing key players within higher education system. This model provides a framework for exploring the relationships between them.

A brief sketch of this description is given by Becher and Kogan.

| Individual | Basic Unit | Institution | Central Authority |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1) | 2) | 3) | 4) |
| External: reflecting | External: reflecting | External: | External: |
| a) professional norms; | a) professional norms; | matching social/ | meeting economic, |
| b) social/economic/ | b) social/economic/ | economic/ | political and |
| cultural values | cultural values | cultural values | social expectations |


| Internal: | Internal: | Internal: | Internal: |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Realizing role expectations | maintaining peer | maintaining | overseeing and |
| and personal goals | group norms and values | academic regulations | maintaining standards |
|  |  |  | of quality, relevance |
|  |  | and effectiveness |  |
| $5)$ | $6)$ | $8)$ |  |

Source: (Becher and Kogan 1992)

### 2.52 Operational Mode

This is the second variable used in this model to analyze the higher education system with respect to its different levels. The emphasis is on analyzing how in practice the tasks are performed within the university. The operational mode is about exploring the ways different jobs are performed by different levels.

## a) Individuals in operational mode

Here in operational mode, individuals in higher education system like academicians and researchers are examined in terms of their performance in their professional fields including teaching and research. Academicians are suppose to produce knowledge by doing research and to disseminate that knowledge through teaching. In addition to these roles, they are also required to contribute to the society by performing the roles of professional and experts for organizations other than their own institutions. Their
performance is judged on the basis of their contribution, internally, towards academia and also on how they practically use that knowledge for the betterment of their external environment i.e. social, economic and cultural needs.

## b) Basic Unit in operational mode

Basic unit's operations include matters pertaining to teachers and students of their respective faculties/departments. This includes specifying benchmarks for their teachers which can help evaluating their performance in terms of teaching and research. Student evaluation, provision of curricula and taking care of the needs of students also comes under their operational functionality.
These units are also responsible for taking care of their external environment. While deciding upon what courses to teach, their contents, how students should be trained, consideration of the external environment needs to be taken.

## c) Institutions in operational mode

Institutions have to carry out internal operational requirements of "maintenance and development of its constituent elements and its range of established activities, mainly through the differential allocation of money and personnel between basic units" (Becher Kogan 1992:14).
Institutions link external environment consisting of societal forces and central authority with that of its internal environment. They are acting as a governing body, where they draft policies, rules and procedures but also a steering body where they ensure their smooth implementation. All the decisions ranging from strategic planning to execution of plans are taken with the consideration of external environment. The needs and demands of external environment are considered in decision making.

## d) Central Authority in operational mode

Central Authorities are responsible for allocating funds to different institutions and setting criterions for their evaluation. They take into consideration public demands in developing policies. They also make sure that the institutions perform according to the wishes of tax payers and donors.

In our era of international influences on policies from economically powerful nations, central authorities are not only answerable to general public and society but also to
international regimes. This put a lot of pressure on the organizational competence of central authorities. Developing countries are not capable enough to adapt international policies according to local contexts, which sometimes results in confrontation.

This discussion of operational mode is summarized in the following table.

| Individual | Basic Unit | Institution | Central Authority |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 9) | 10) | 11) | 12) |
| Internal: | Internal: | Internal: | Internal: |
| Performance of | a) professional norms; | matching social/ <br> teaching/research <br> service roles | meeting economic, <br> bocial/economic/ <br> cultural values |
| Extural values | political and |  |  |
| External: reflecting | External: reflecting expectations |  |  |

Source: (Becher and Kogan 1992)

Up until now, the dependent variables were described, elaborated and linked to each other by putting them in a theoretical framework. Now I am going to shred some light on the independent variable of this study which is the reforms or organizational changes.

### 2.6 Organizational Change

An organization goes through changes during its life cycle. In some cases organizations easily adapt itself to the change, while in other cases change face stiff resistance. Change can be required because of various reasons depending upon nature of the organization and its internal as well as external environments. Some changes are easily adapted into the system. They do not require big divergence from the existing norms and practices. These changes are quite nominal and do not require huge structural changes or behavioral alterations on part of employees.

On the other hand, some changes require radical transformation in the basic fiber of organization. Such changes are difficult to implement and opposition to them are quite stiff from stakeholders.

While writing on changes in higher education in the context of changing environment, John Brennan, classified organizational change in relation to social changes into three types. "i) change in higher education has essentially been evolutionary and driven largely from within higher education; ii) change in higher education has been imposed upon it through various policy mechanisms driven by the political process; and iii) change in higher education has been largely driven by changing social demand, itself a reflection of the transformed contexts in which higher education finds itself." (Brennan John 2006: 49) The first type is where it is usually little resistance. This is because, they are not very revolutionary rather evolutionary. Existing norms and structures are not been changed abruptly. This makes it easier for changes to be implemented. People do not feel disturb and the effect is not immediate. Another aspect of such changes is that they are driven from within the system. This brings the feeling of ownership among the employees. They see this change as something "organic" and not "imposed". (Kogan and Hanney 2000: 243)

The second type of change faces a lot of resistance. This is mainly because as Brennan noted, they are "imposed" by some external forces and the inner core of the organization is not taken along in the process of their development. They are usually quite radical in a way that they want to bring alterations in the existing norms and structure of organization. This brings a sense of loss in employees with a feeling of being alienated from the process in itself a major source of resistance.
The third type is context specific, where external environment is considered the driving force in initiating the change. These changes are necessitated by the environment like when a political regime is changed it affects all the organizations within society. In such cases changes affects generally all organizations of society. These changes are initiated and given legitimacy by the people from the society so there is less resistance from the internal actors. This is because employees feel part of this change process.
According to Kogan and Becher (2000), organizational change takes the form of a process. This process is initiated by some change agent whom they termed as "driving force". This result in developing cracks within the system which is filled by the flow of impulses from the environment causing the system to "unfreeze". (Kogan and Becher

1992:137) All this can result in bringing change either in normative or operative mode. However according to the authors in order to make the change "complete and effective", changes should be brought in both these modes.

They further explained change in terms of its nature as either planned or unplanned change. In case of unplanned change which they also termed as "inexorable" change, different levels of organizations, adjust themselves according to the demands. These demands, similar to the one discussed by Brennan in the context of environment, are obligatory because of broader environmental change and are considered change for "survival" and are not resisted.

However the planned changes are the ones which bring resistance. They can be implemented at any organizational level and mode. They are usually the cause of conflict and instability within organizations. To resist these changes employees applies different modus operandi which range from categorical refusal to just going through motions and not implementing the way it is required. Employees feel alienated because in most of the cases they are not involved in the process of reforms by the external coalition. In such circumstances the role of leadership is quite important. According to the authors, "one significant leadership skill, indeed, lies in the ability not only to understand the values of the relevant constituency, and to identify the values inherent in a proposed innovation, but also to mediate successfully between the two."

### 2.7 Combining the perspectives

This analysis of different theoretical perspectives and their preposition is used in this study as an analytical tool. These frameworks are used as guidelines for data collection and then to analyze that data. The use of theories in this research is as an analytical tool and not the one to test the theory itself.

The dependent variables are identified with the use of open systems perspectives. Within this perspective, organizations are considered a system consisting of actors and environments with interrelationships and links. These interrelationships and links are studied with the help of the framework provided by open system paradigm.

Another dependent variable which I used in analyzing university is that of power. Mintzberg's theory elaborates power configurations existing within and outside organizations. This theoretical perspective also explained in detail specific nature of
actors existing inside as well as outside the organizations. Similarly it helped me understand the flow of power between different areas of organization.

Lastly, to put these variables in the context of higher education and to understand their linkages to each other, I used higher education model by Kogan and Becher. This model is used as a framework in understanding how actors at different levels of higher education system perform different normative and operative tasks with respect to their environments. This model is useful in gauging effects of reforms on the higher education system and to analyze their affect on different areas of the organization.

Methodology is "strategy or plan of action that links methods to outcomes", while the term method according to him refers to the "techniques and procedure", used to collect data. (Creswell 2002: 5)
Initially there will be a description of the methodological approach used for this study. I will give arguments relating to the issues of relevance of paradigm to the research question and theory. Afterwards, I will describe data collection methods.

### 3.1 Methodological Approach

This study is performed to explore the affect of organizational change on the universities. The methodological approach which I found suitable for such a study is qualitative. Qualitative approach is the one in which a particular social or human problem is studied and the data is based on the views of informants, while the research is done in natural setting. (Creswell 1994) This framework is used for exploratory studies, where the variables and there relations are not very clear. Similarly, "qualitative researcher seeks to elicit what is important to individuals as well as their interpretations of the environments in which they work through in-depth investigations of individuals and their milieux". (Bryman Alan 2000: 25) Qualitative research is beneficial when unquantifiable data like opinions, values and norms are being looked for.

Firstly I will perform the organizational analysis to see what are the current practices followed within the university. In the second phase I will analyze the reforms package and will try to demarcate those organizational functions and practices which are going to be affected by them.
I first performed an exploratory study to find out structures, actors, and structures within universities. The research is conducted in natural settings instead of following a "tightly prefigured" orientation. According to Creswell (2003), the natural settings are those, where the data can be gathered through "emergent" way. The "emergent" way is where new variables can be accommodated as they are explored during the study. This is because the phenomenon which is studied is not clearly defined and needs to be explored
like for instance informal power within the organization. All these traits i.e. flexibility, involvement of participants and their interpretations are characteristics of qualitative research design.

### 3.2 Strategy of inquiry

The strategy of inquiry is the plan of action or the blue print which we develop to link the Research Question to the Data Collection. It guides the researcher in deciding, how to go about in the pursuit of collecting data and answer the research questions. Strategy is basically a scientific plan of action which tells about the direction to be followed to reach the objective of the research i.e. to answer the research question. (Creswell 2002: 13) The strategy which I have selected is the Case Study. According to Creswell, in Case Study "the researcher explores in depth a program, an event, an activity, a process or one or more individuals. The case(s) are bound by time and activity, and researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time." (Creswell 2003:15)

Another explanation of case study is given by Robert K. Yin. According to him Case study is not just the name of the strategy of inquiry but it is a complete Research Design in its own self, which answers a specific type of research question(s), follow a specific methodology and has its own specific data collection methods. Yin defined case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly defined." (Yin K. Robert 2003: 7).

The reason I selected this strategy of inquiry is the flexibility which it offers in accommodating varied aspects of the phenomenon under study. In comparison to other strategies for instance survey, where only predefined constructs and their interrelationships can be measured, case study gave me flexibility to have "an in-depth, longitudinal examination" of the case.
(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Case_study\#Exploratory_case_studies)
This is a study of universities and the impact of reforms. The case is "organizational reforms". I wanted to study organizational aspects affected by reforms and particularly to try to understand the reasons for resistance from teacher's community.

### 3.3 Unit of Analysis

"The unit of analysis is the major entity which you are analyzing in your study". (http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/unitanal.htm)

In this research the unit of analysis is University of Peshawar. It is a state university with fields of studies ranging from natural to social sciences and from humanities to medical sciences. It is one of the oldest and largest public sector education institution of Pakistan. The reason for choosing this university is the active role which its members are performing in the reforms process. There is a good representation of teachers belonging to both the camps i.e. both those for and those against reforms exist on its campus. Some of them were even considered pioneers in developing the reforms package. University of Peshawar is relatively an old university with deep rooted institutional values and structures. Another reason for selecting it as unit of analysis is my association with this university. I have been related with this university in different capacities.

### 3.4 Data Sources and Data Collection Methods

Data was collected in the period of June to August 2005 mostly in University of Peshawar. However I visited other cities especially the capital, Islamabad, where some of the concerned officials were based. Data collection was done from both primary and secondary sources.

The primary source used for the data collection is the interviews. The reason for using interviews is because they help in exploring data regarding various issues. It was not possible to explore some of the variables like the informal power and the actors holding influence in the system. The data regarding these and other variables was possible through interviews. I conducted 13 interviews with various people. Those whom I interviewed included, ex- vice chancellor of the university, sitting vice chancellor of a public university, teachers belonging to various political affiliations, ex president of teachers association, present and ex members of syndicate and senate, principal of a female constituent college and members of university administration.

I attended various meetings of decision making bodies and committees as a non participating observer. This gave me an idea about how different pressure groups influence the decisions and it helped me understand the power configurations. The
instrument of data collection which I employed was unstructured questionnaire containing open ended questions. This type of questionnaire served two purposes. It gave me a broad frame work which I used as a guideline, and secondly it, provided the flexibility needed for exploratory research. An advantage of using open ended questions was that it helped me to explore various aspects of the higher education system and reforms.

I used various secondary sources of data. These included university Act 1974, university rule book, higher education reform plan, written material for and against reforms, newspaper articles and reports of various seminars held in this connection. These sources helped me in understanding the issues pertaining to higher education and how different actors perceive them based on their affiliations and interests.

## Data Presentation \& Analysis I

The data is gathered by conducting interviews of teachers of University of Peshawar, educationists, former Vice Chancellors and administrative staff. The members of Syndicate, Senate and the reform committee were also interviewed. In addition, I also studied the official documents of the university concerning its rules and procedures and the University Model Act. The papers written in connection with reforms by teachers of different universities were also studied. Some other documents regarding the details of meetings of reforms committee, their agenda and discussions were also studied.

### 4.1 Education Sector in Pakistan

In Pakistan, education has always been given low priority by the government. The budget allocated to this sector is quite low as compared to other countries. According to a report, Pakistan spends just 2 percent of its GDP on education (HRCP 2004: 8). Since its inception in 1947, the number of school, colleges and universities has increased many a fold, but this growth in numbers has not improved the quality of education.

Education sector in Pakistan has been divided into four levels. These are Primary, Secondary, Higher Secondary and Higher Education. Higher education is imparted mostly by universities. However, there are institutes and colleges which are also providing higher education. These institutes and colleges are either affiliated with some university or are given the status by the government of degree granting institutions.

The higher education institutions are working under both public and private sector. There are 50 public and 34 private sector universities. In addition, there are 9 public and 19 private degree granting institutions (http://www.hec.gov.pk/htmls/hei/details_uni.htm). In addition to these government recognized institutions, there are many more running under private ownership. Some of these institutions claim to be affiliated with foreign universities. However their degrees are not recognized by the government.
Presently, majority of the students are attending the public institutions. There are many reasons for this high influx towards public sector institutions. The major reason is the degree granted by many public universities is given preference by the employers in the
country. The degrees of many private universities are not recognized by the government. The graduates from these institutions faces problem at the time of recruitment. Another reason is that other than a few private institutions / universities, the rest lacks availability of qualified teaching faculty and infrastructure like library and proper classrooms. Another factor for this high turn over towards public universities is the financial aspect. Private sector institutions/universities charge high tuition fee which most of the people can not afford to pay.

### 4.2 Public and Private Universities; Drawing parallels between two different types of organizations

In Pakistan, universities are working under both public and private sectors. The standard and quality of education varies within and among these sectors. There are some private sector institutions which are maintaining very high standard of education but at the same time there are others which are literally selling the degrees. Similarly among public sector too this variation exists.

Both public and private sector universities are catering the needs of different kinds of people. Those universities which are working under private ownership and are keeping very high standards of education are charging a very high tuition fee. Their students have more job prospects because of the reputation of their institution.

In Pakistan, majority of the population can not afford to pay the expenses incurred on education in these institutions. Thus these universities are serving the needs of mostly the upper middle class or upper class families. Pakistan is an elitist society, where power is concentrated among a few groups. It is based on the family background, political affiliations, and professional associations or on control of sources of production. For the elite class education is a source of maintaining their supremacy. This social class used to send their siblings to foreign institutions for education. With the introduction of these new private sector institutions some of the elites are now sending their children to them rather than sending them abroad.

The subjects taught in these universities are those which have a demand in the market. These are MBA, Medicine, Engineering, Economics and Computer Sciences. But subjects like sociology, anthropology, public administration, biology, which are less demanded by the market, are usually ignored.

This issue of teaching "what market demands" can be further elaborated by the following extract taken from a paper of Dr. Tahir Hijazi, who is an ardent supporter of public sector involvement in higher education. While addressing an international symposium he said:
"It is important to note that most of the private sector educational institutions are providing degrees in professional fields which are greater in demand, where as number of enrolment in professional programs in public sector is less than half of total. In this sense private sector is meeting more human resource needs of the economy. Focusing on major fields like business administration and computer science, MBA`s produced in India per annum are one hundred thousands in a population of 1000 million. In United states MBA produced are 95,000 in a population of 290 million. In Pakistan MBA produced annually are around 7,000. Based on estimates of population of developing economy like India, in Pakistan number of MBA's should have been 15,000 and compared to developed country like USA it should have been 47,000. Thus there is immense shortage of MBA produced in Pakistan. This is interesting to note that in 1988 when private sector was not active there was only 300 MBA's produced in Pakistan annually. In the of field computer sciences there are only 3000 computer software developers in Pakistan compared to India where there are 300,000. This has come up by active consideration of government to develop computer skills through private and public sector in India." (Leaping Forward; A Report on higher education in Pakistan: 2006: 65)

While emphasizing the importance of MBA's and computer scientists to the society he forgot to mention the need of sociologists, economists, philosophers and people related to other disciplines. This is a common approach found in the ideology of most private sector institutions.

They are governed by governing board. The board consists of educationists, philanthropists, people related to industry, notables from society and the donors. These institutions are not dependent upon the government for funds. They are independent and autonomous in their governance and management. They can make their own decisions
regarding teachers' appointments, their packages, evaluation, criterion for student admission, rules and regulations. Teachers working in these universities are highly qualified and highly paid. Their academic system is dynamic. It adapts promptly to the changing needs and market requirements. Their have well equipped libraries and other infrastructural facilities. They have academic linkages to educational institutions in the west.

There is another kind of private institutions which are targeting those individuals who are looking for some cheap alternatives. These institutions are charging relatively less amount of tuition fee and are providing sub standard education. There is a mushroom growth of such institutions in the last decade. Some of them claim to be affiliated with foreign universities. They mostly target middle class youth who are low on resources and in some cases not academically good enough to be admitted to high profile private or public institutions. Most of the teachers working in such institutions are temporary or visiting faculty. In some cases, teachers from public universities also visit these institutions to take classes in order to earn some money. These institutions lack basic infrastructural facilities like libraries and proper classroom.

On the other hand, the public funded universities are targeting different type of an audience with altogether different objectives than private universities. Most of the students coming to public universities are from middle or lower income class background. Their goal is to acquire a degree to get a job which could help them and their families to survive. They throng these universities as the amount of tuition fee is quite low. There are two categories of students in public universities, regular and private. Regular students are enrolled at the start of an academic year through a selection process and complete the program to get a degree. The private students have to enroll themselves only for the examination which they can do before commencement of the examination. These students do not take classes. They prepare themselves for the examination according to the syllabus given by the university.
Their goal is to obtain either a Bachelors or Masters Degree in Arts (as private candidates are not admitted in natural science subjects) which can help them in getting either some job or to get them promoted in their ranks. These institutions impart education in a variety of disciplines ranging from social to natural sciences and also professional education.

This illustrates two significantly different approaches and philosophies towards education. Their goals, strategies, standards and variables to evaluate performance and their structure of governance differ significantly. This makes them two different kinds of organizations.
The focus of this research is the public sector universities. Major portion of primary data is obtained from sources in a public sector university known as University of Peshawar. From this point onwards I will be analyzing public universities from organizational perspectives where I will try to elaborate the organizational issues and how these are addressed by the reforms committee of the government.

### 4.3 Public Sector Universities in Pakistan

Public sector universities are the major contributors in the higher education sector in Pakistan. Almost 75 \% of graduates produced in the country are from public universities. (http://www.pepfoundation.org/symposium_index.html)
As education lies on the lowest ebb of the priorities of government, hence minimal resources are devoted to this sector. According to the report of commonwealth education fund, Pakistan is among those twelve countries which spend less than 2 percent of GDP on education. (The Education Budget in Pakistan, HRCP:2004: 8)
As a result, from public schools till public universities general education level in terms of quality and standard is quite poor. Because of the scarcity of resources even the basic requirements of public universities are unfulfilled. Ranging from quality teachers to library, from conditions of laboratories to those of class rooms all the areas needs a lot of improvement. While responding to my question about the general infrastructure availability, one professor of University of Peshawar replied, "Infrastructure e.g. class rooms of universities are inferior in standard to that of class rooms of schools in developed world."

This results in the production of graduates who lacks the capacity of critically thinking in an intellectual way. They do not have the capacity and vision of critically analyzing and questioning different issues. In his column, Dr. Pervez Hoodbhoy, a renowned Professor of Physics in one of the public sector university in Pakistan, quoted, "Most students have not learned how to think; they cannot speak or write any language well, rarely read
newspapers, and cannot formulate a coherent argument or manage any significant creative expression" (http://www.dawn.com/2005/01/03/op.htm)

There are 50 public universities in Pakistan. Three of them are female only universities where only female students are allowed to take admission. In addition to these universities, there are 9 other professional colleges and institutions which are given the degree granting status by the government.
(http://www.hec.gov.pk/htmls/hei/details_uni.htm)
These professional institutions offer education in specific fields like Medicine, Engineering, Agriculture, Business and Law. All universities are working under either Federal or Provincial governments. Federal universities are headed by the President of Pakistan, while the head of Provincial universities are the Governor of the respective province.

### 4.4 University of Peshawar

### 4.41 Brief History and General Information

Peshawar is the capital city of North-West Frontier Province (N-W.F.P) of Pakistan. In 1947, when Pakistan came into being, there was no university in the whole province. There were two ${ }^{1}$ universities in the whole country.
But in October 1950 University of Peshawar was inaugurated. At present it has over $30^{2}$ Post Graduate Departments, including Center of Excellences, Colleges and Academies in different faculties. There are six faculties namely, Arts and Humanities, Life and Environmental Sciences, Numerical and Physical Sciences, Social Sciences, Management and Information Sciences and Islamic and Oriental Studies.

The university has students from the entire province. Students come from varied economic background. It is a public sector university. The tuition fee charged is quite nominal. In addition, it is a coeducation university. Both boys and girls are allowed to study. In some of its constituent colleges, for instance, College of Home Economics, Jinnah College for Women only girls and in Islamia College, only boys are allowed to take admission. The staff members are also only females and males respectively. This gender segregation is because of the cultural values and norms prevailing in the society.

The recruitment of teachers is a three step process. First they have to undergo a preliminary screening test. Then they have to appear before a committee for a
presentation. And in the third step they have to appear before a selection board. Selection board consists of the Vice Chancellor, Registrar, subject expert, head of the department, two nominees of Governor, one nominee of provincial government, and the Dean of concerned faculty.

To be eligible to become a university teacher in Pakistan you need to have a Masters' degree from a government recognized university and a good academic background. When teachers' posts are advertised, people from varied backgrounds apply. As the job does not offer high remuneration, upper class usually refrain from applying. This makes it a competition among applicants from upper middle, lower middle and in some cases lower class. As discussed earlier, selection is very much dependent upon the choice of the Vice Chancellor, the head of the department and the Dean. Usually a candidate with good academic background is given the post, but if the head of the department have some reservations, sometimes even academic background is "overlooked". Similarly preference is generally given by the head of the departments to their own former students.

### 4.42 Organizational Structure

## Administrative Hierarchy

In the administrative hierarchy, Chancellor is followed by a chief executive officer with the title of Vice Chancellor. This position is responsible for looking after the administrative as well as the academic matters of university. The criterions of selection for the post of Vice Chancellor are vague and interpreted in different ways. There are different practices followed currently, like Chancellor selects one of the three most senior professors. In other instances, this practice is being replaced by the one where Chancellor selecting a Professor who is not among the senior most slot but have some political backing. In yet other instances, even Army Generals have been chosen to be the Vice Chancellors.

## Chancellor



Figure 4.1 Administrative hierarchy of Universities in Pakistan

Vice Chancellor is assisted in his administrative duties by the Registrar. $\mathrm{He} / \mathrm{she}$ is responsible for implementation of rules regarding different academic and administrative aspects. As is the case for the Vice Chancellor, the criterion for selection of Registrar is not very clearly defined. The most common practice is that a change of Vice Chancellor also leads to a change of Registrar. He/she usually has affiliations with Vice Chancellor. From the perspective of power and prestige, Registrar is considered to be second to Vice Chancellor in administrative powers. The source of influence of his power is from rules, regulations and authority provided to him/her under the statutes. In the words of Mintzberg, he is a "nerve center" of all the information from all the sections of university. (Mintzberg Henry 1983: 126) This helps him/her to influence and exert power in two ways. Firstly, as many teachers are not familiar with the rules since they either do not have access to all the rules and regulations or they do not know how to interpret them. This lack of knowledge of rules makes them dependent on the establishment division. Secondly, all the information comes to his office from where it is channeled to other parts of the organization. He/she can play a vital role in influencing employees which gives him/her powers to even manipulate the political system of the university.

As the head of the establishment division, he/she is the custodian of rule book of university. All the matters related to service of employees, including salary, promotion, leave, and other related issues comes to the establishment section. There they are being dealt with according to the prescribed procedures. This makes Registrar a very powerful position, the source of which is the formal authority.

Then there is another administrative position which is called Treasurer. This person is the head of accounts division. Tasks of this division are to look after the financial matters of
university. All the budgetary issues are dealt by them. These include allocation of funds to different departments, salary issues of employees, developmental expenses and so on. Like Registrar, the post of treasurer is also backed by formal rules and regulations which gives him/her a great deal of authority. But the power and authority assigned to Treasurer differs significantly to that of Registrar.

## Comparison between the positions

The Registrar belongs to the strategic apex of university while Treasurer belongs to its techno structure. The Registrar has wide ranging powers. This is because of his/her position in the hierarchy. Registrar is responsible for overall governance of university. $\mathrm{He} /$ she has a control over other officers like the Treasurer. Although all the final decision are made by the Vice Chancellor and decision making bodies, the Registrar can influence those decisions as he possess all formal and informal information. Because of this wide array of powers, there are many aspirants among teachers for this job. The pressure groups within university try to bring a person from their own folds to this position. This occupation of position of authority by their group member makes a pressure group influential in decision making situations.
On the other hand, Treasurer is not privileged with the same kind of authority as the Registrar. All those rules and regulations, objectives and goals relating to matters of finance and budget, as determined by the upper echelon of power like Vice Chancellor, Registrar and the decision making bodies, the Treasurer has to execute them. On paper it seems quite a simple case of rules execution, but in practice it is not so. The job of treasurer is ought to be routinized with bureaucratic control system guiding it in its operations. (Mintzberg 1983:128) This leaves the Treasurer with very little influence in the whole setup. To overcome this problem of limited control, Treasurer uses other kinds of controls which are less bureaucratic but are related with his professional expertise. These controls which Mintzberg termed as System of Expertise are based on Treasurer's professional training and experience. (Mintzberg 1983:128) $\mathrm{He} /$ she banks on this expertise to exert control and gain power within the setup. This is usually done in different ways, a very common among which is delaying even the routine matters. The source of this "professional power" is his understanding of different technical procedures and techniques which makes him equipped with a tool while all others are dependent upon him. This power is usually exercised by causing unnecessary delays, making things
complicated for others to understand, and not letting people understand what to do and how to do.

## Other positions in the hierarchy

## Controller of Examination

Another position of influence in the administrative hierarchy is controller of examination. This position is usually occupied by senior professor of the university. The appointment to this post is at the discretion of the Vice Chancellor. Controller of examination is in charge of conducting all the examinations, at bachelors’ and masters’ levels. $\mathrm{He} /$ she is responsible for assigning duties of teachers to conduct examination, maintaining secrecy of question papers and answer sheets, distribution of question papers, declaration of results, conducting inquiries against miscreants and award of degrees.

Controller of examination belongs to the strategic apex of university. However his/her influence is limited because of the scope of his/her jurisdiction. This position is responsible only for the examination related issues. It is not authorized to be involved in the matters of other departments. This limits the influence of this position as compared to the Registrar. However it involves money, whereas those teachers who are assigned more duties on examination earn more.

The sources of influence used by this position are mainly bureaucratic control system, personal control system and system of ideology. The bureaucratic and personal control systems are based on the authority assigned to him/her within the rules while system of ideology can be used because of his association with the strategic apex. This association makes him/her a part of governing structure which makes him/her custodian of desirable norms, values and principals.

## The Provost

The Provost is responsible for looking after matters relating to students affairs. This includes looking after the student related activities. For example issues related to their boarding, issuance of student cards and maintenance of student data, their needs of extra curricular activities including debates, games and other competitions. He/she is also responsible for maintaining discipline on the campus. For that he/she works in collaboration with staff proctor and police. The authority and responsibilities assigned to the Provost relates to the governance issues related to students' affairs.

The Power and influence of this position is mainly due to three sources. These are bureaucratic control system, personal control system and system of politics. The rules and procedures give authority to make decisions regarding students who are very important stakeholders of university. The Provost can also use his/her personal influence to control the behavior of subordinates. This personal influence can be the result of many factors like his/her access to the Vice Chancellor, power of evaluation of subordinates assigned to him/her under the rules and his/her position in seniority cadre.
The influence of the Provost is further consolidated through his/her association with pressure group. As noted earlier, all pressure groups within universities try to fill the positions in the strategic apex with their own members. Provost is also a part of this strategic apex. He/she also gains strength from the backing of the system of politics. In addition to the strategic apex, university administration is also constituted by the middle line managers. These are all those people working under the departmental heads. These include deputy and assistant registrars in establishment divisions, deputy controller of examination in examination section and deputy provost working under Provost. Their authorities and responsibilities are limited as compared to the head of their respective sections; however they are still able to exercise influence within their sections. This is because of their knowledge and expertise in dealing with rules, regulations, practices and other bureaucratic matters pertaining to their sections. This expertise gives them influence which sometimes even teachers finds difficult to overcome. It is observed that teachers try to develop cordial relations with them in order to avoid any confrontation.

In addition to the formal authority given to all these administrative positions, there also exist informal norms, values and myths associated with them. The University of Peshawar is an organization with a life of almost 55 years. It has inculcated many values and norms. These values and norms make some positions more powerful than others. The post of registrar is considered to be the most powerful post after that of the vice chancellor. It was also mentioned by some head of the departments that the Registrar interferes in departmental matters like hiring and promotion of faculty. This is done by using his/her powers of

## Academic Hierarchy

The structure of university consists of two parallel hierarchies. In addition to administrative hierarchy there is also an academic hierarchy.

## Chancellor <br> 



Deans


Chairmen/Chairpersons


Teachers

Figure 4.2 Academic hierarchy of Universities in Pakistan

In this arrangement, the Dean is the authority who looks after their respective faculties. Responsibilities of the Deans are purely academic in nature. Their selection criterion is quite clearly mentioned and is usually followed in their appointments. He / she have to be the most senior Professor in the faculty. In case a Professor is not available, an Associate Professor can be appointed. Deans conduct the meetings of Academic Councils, evaluate their colleagues by writing their Annual Confidential Reports (ACR) ${ }^{1}$, and look after other academic matters.

Deans are followed in the hierarchy by Chairmen/Chairpersons who are the academic and administrative heads of their respective departments. In case of Institutes, the name of the position changes from Chairmen/Chairperson to that of Director. Again the rule for selection of the head of the department is grade ${ }^{2}$ and number of years in service. Names of three senior most Professors (in case of non availability of Professor, an Associate Professor can also be considered) of the department are sent to the Vice Chancellor who

[^0]makes the final decision. Usually the post of Chairman is being rotated among the three most senior Professors with the maximum term of three years.

## Influence of the two posts

Deans have their say in the academic matters. He/she chairs the meetings of academic committees, where curricula and other subject related matters are discussed. There, they can influence the decisions as the chairman of these committees. In addition, all the applications of teachers' promotion, leave and other service related matters goes through the Dean office. The Dean is also a member of Senate, Syndicate and Selection Board. These are the most important decision making bodies of the university. His/her consent in the appointments and promotions of teaching staff is deemed quite necessary.

They belong to the strategic apex of the university. They have the knowledge and expertise concerning their own fields of study. They are in a better position to influence decisions relating to their faculties as they are considered experts and it is not easy for other members to neglect their opinion. In addition to system of expertise, they also make use of bureaucratic and personal controls.

On the other hand, chairman/director is the head of an academic department. He/she looks after the administrative and academic matters of the department. This includes financial allocations for various tasks, like departmental purchases and paying salaries to the contractual staff. He/she is responsible for writing ACR's of his/her colleagues. This is a very powerful tool in the hands of chairman/director. The contents of ACR are kept confidential and are not even shared with the concerned employee. With the help of this, the head of the department indirectly manipulates even the political affiliations of the teachers. Every teacher knows that a negative ACR can affect the future prospects of his/her service including promotion opportunities, remuneration, leave and other service related issues.

The head of the department and the dean can play a useful role in encouraging and facilitating other teachers to indulge in research and other academic activities. They have the authority to recommend faculty members for study leave. They are authorized to spent money for arranging seminars and to purchase books and other reading material. In most of the cases they are not very supportive.

According to one respondent, the reasons that act as deterrents to academic activities are:
"Lack of understanding and encouragement from the people at the top. People sitting at the top from head of the department and senior teachers, administrative officers like treasurer or bursars to the ministry level. They don't encourage as they feel their own position in jeopardy. Only those with "connections" can pass on this hurdle. Thus people get frustrated and stop going for it because there is no motivation."

### 4.43 Decision Making Bodies

There are different decision making bodies within public universities. These are the Syndicate, the Senate, the Academic Council and different Committees.

The Syndicate has to approve all decisions both academic and administrative, which are initiated by other bodies. Without Syndicate's approval the decision made by other bodies like the Selection board, the Academic Council and the Committees can-not come into force. The domain of the Syndicate is broad and includes decision regarding appointments and promotions of teachers, approval of recommendations from the Academic Council about changes in curricula, changes in university rules and so on. Syndicate is chaired by Vice Chancellor, and constituted by elected teachers of University, representative of Provincial Assembly while one third is ex officio members and nominees of Governor. (The Report of Task Force on Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan 2002: 32) The Syndicate can be called in any number of times during a year depending upon the cases to decide and on the availability of members.

In addition to Syndicate, public universities in Pakistan also have another governing body called the Senate. The primary job of the Senate is to decide on the university budget. The Senate is also chaired by the Vice Chancellor and has more than 100 members. These include all the members of the Syndicate, Deans, Directors of Programs, Departmental Heads, representatives of faculty and alumni, representative of provincial assembly and an appointee of the Chancellor. (The Report of Task Force on Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan 2002: 32)
In addition to these administrative bodies there is the Academic Council. The Academic Council is also chaired by Vice Chancellor and consist of Deans of all Faculties, Head of the Departments, Directors of Institutes and senior Professors. The function of the

Academic Council is to review the curricula and either to accept or to reject proposed changes in curricula by different departments. The Academic Council meets once a year.

## Comparison of Authority and decision making between decision making bodies

The apex decision making bodies of universities are syndicate and senate. Their domain includes service structure of employees, curriculum, budgetary allocations, changes of policies, rectification of different appointments and all decisions taken by other bodies. As far as the power and decisions within these bodies are concerned, it is done usually on the basis of bargaining among different groups. Just like any other political arena, members of these bodies also have their affiliations to different groups. These groups or camps have their own priorities and are pursuing objectives which are in there interest.

In the opinion of one of the respondents:
"Syndicate is a factional body representing the interests of pressure groups, bureaucrats, political figures"
Various stake holders are represented in Syndicate. The list includes teachers belonging to various groups, members of provincial bureaucracy and university administration. They form alliances on the basis of their political, ideological, or in some cases professional affiliations. Every group is pursuing its own agenda. They have links to political figures, bureaucrats and political parties. This makes them influential and places them in a better bargaining position. The vice chancellor holds a lot of formal and informal power. $\mathrm{He} /$ she is the chairman of the Syndicate and the chief executive of the university.

In syndicate, decisions are not always based on mutual consensus. It is more like a political arena, where from agenda setting to final decision making, all steps are contested. The decisions are made through negotiations. This makes the university a "political university". (Baldridge 1971:16)
In addition to Senate, university also has other decision making bodies including the Academic Council and the Selection Board. These are special purpose bodies. The task of the Academic council is to discuss curriculum related matters. The Selection Board is responsible for appointments and promotions of teachers. Both of these committees are chaired by the Vice chancellor. In case of the Academic Council, the agenda is quite technical and requires the opinions of the teachers. So the debate is usually on the various
aspects of the subjects. The decisions are made on the judgment of the "experts", who in this case are the senior teachers.

The Selection Board consists of seven members. They are the Vice Chancellor, the Dean, head of the department, two representatives of the provincial government and subject expert. The main influencers are the Vice Chancellor and the head of the department. The Dean also holds significant power in the process of selection. It is very rare, (according to some respondents, impossible), that a candidate got selected as a teacher while the head of the department is opposing the selection. In case of promotions, the ACR of the employee has also taken into consideration while making decisions.

The Vice Chancellor is involved in all the major decisions whether administrative or academic. He has a special privilege under the University rules. This privilege is termed as rule 13(3). According to this rule, the Vice Chancellor can take decisions ranging from appointments to other administrative and academic changes without taking prior approval from any decision making body. The rule states, "The Vice Chancellor may, in an emergency which in his opinion requires immediate action, take such action as he may consider necessary and shall, as soon thereafter as possible, report his action to the officer, authority or other body which in the ordinary course, would have dealt with the matter" (The Calendar of the University of Peshawar 1995: 118).

## Other Actors of the university

In addition to the above mentioned groups, there are some other formal and informal actors involved. These groups are Teachers Associations, administrative staff unions and student bodies.

## Teachers

Teachers are the most important group of people for a university. They are like nerve center to any university, without whom its operations come to a halt. According to Mintzberg's classification, they can be categorized as the operators. Teachers are categorized in four cadres according to their years of service and educational qualifications. These are Professor, Associate Professor, Assistant Professor and Lecturer. These cadres are also denoted in the form of grades which are assigned to government servants in Pakistan. The perks and privileges are increased as one move up in the grade. They are arranged in ascending order where 1 is the lowest and 21 is the
highest grade. According to grade system, Professor is in grade 20 while Associate Professor, Assistant Professor and Lecturer belong to 19, 18 and 17 grades respectively.

The main source of power of the teachers is system of expertise. They also use system of politics to gain influence. For this, they form groups. These groups are informal but teachers use them to gain access to formal bodies like teachers associations, senate and syndicate. This is done by nominating a candidate on behalf of a group to contest elections of the decision making bodies. This gives them representation on the formal structure.

These groups are formed by people with some common traits like political, ethnic or sectarian similarities. Some of them are supported by the national and regional political and religio-political organizations. These groups which are known as pressure groups play a very important role in determining the composition of power within the university. The nature of the pressure groups is explained by one of the teacher as, "they are basically a combination of like minded people who come together to see their common interests".

## Teachers Associations

In almost all public universities there are teachers associations, which are regulated and registered with the government and are working as legitimate bodies representing teachers. Each university has its own association of teachers. The foremost task assigned to these associations is to look after the interests of teachers and to act as their representative in different decision making bodies. The elected representatives of these associations represent teachers on different forums and takes up issues with the administration on their behalf.

These teachers' associations are part of a broader national association of teachers. This national university teachers' association conducts its meeting annually in which it discusses the issues pertaining to higher education. The representatives of this association are elected from the local teachers’ associations.

## Student Associations

Students are one of the most important stake holders in university. There is no single body within the universities in Pakistan which can claim to be representative of all students. There are different student unions and associations working within universities. Although it is prohibited under the law to have political student associations on campus, still there presence is very much observable. These political associations are working as the student wings of different political parties. All mainstream and regional political as well as religio-political parties have their student wings working in universities. The student leaders who represent these political wings influence the administration and also teachers in decision making. Student leaders have a backing and support of political elites at national level. They instigate students to create awkward situations for administration to pressurize them by holding rallies. It is done to press for their demands. This results in a culture of harassment where they can achieve their goals by harassing teachers, students and administration. It gives them influence in the university.

In some public universities they even dictate the administration on administrative issues. For instance, who to allot room to in student hostel, who should get admission, when should the examination commence and end, what activities can be performed on the campus and what is prohibited. Similarly these student representatives keep prolonging their stay at the university. They take admissions in different departments to keep associated with student politics. This is done by pressurizing university administration, using their political resources and nuisance value. They also pressurize teachers. If someone tries to stop them, they start campaigns against them. In some instances, administration also uses the student unions for damaging the image of their opponents. These student groups have quite a significant power which gives them hold on university politics.

## Employees Associations

Universities also have workers unions of their administrative employees. These associations safeguard the interests of their employees. Those employees which are called "class VI", like bursars, clerks, office superintendent, or lower level staff in the hierarchy like drivers, security personnel's, peons etc. forms their associations. These associations take up the issues related to job conditions, remunerations, bonuses and other domestic issues pertaining to the employees with administration.

### 4.44 External Stake-Holders

"External influencers are non employees who use their bases of influence to try to affect the behavior of the employees". (Mintzberg 1983:26)

State, society and international community have expectations from universities which sometimes contradict with its internal actor's interests. External actors can pressurize the internal stake holders to adapt policies and procedures. This is because of the dependence of internal actors on inputs from external actors.

## International donor agencies and Think Tanks ${ }^{1}$

Pakistan is facing problems, like corruption, low literacy rate, less resources, low employment rate, large economic social divisions among people, high debts from foreign sources and many others. This makes them dependent on the foreign donor agencies and financial institutions like World Bank, Asian Development Bank, USAID and IMF. According to USAID, the three biggest bilateral donors to Pakistan are United States, United Kingdom and Japan, while the multilateral donors include Asian development Bank, World Bank and UNDP.

## (http://www.usaid.gov/policy/budget/cbj2006/ane/pk.html)

These donor agencies quite actively participate in guiding the government in developing policies relating to various sectors. Many World Bank and Asian Development Bank funded projects are going own in developmental sectors like health, education and community development. In addition to them, USAID is also providing funds for various sectors namely education, health, governance and economic growth.
(http://www.usaid.gov/pk/governance/index.htm).
These donor agencies play an important role in bringing issues on the policy agendas of the government. As they lend money for a specific sector they also specify the way that money should be spent. For that they guide the government for necessary changes, as was the case when World Bank provided money for the good governance program, they asked Pakistan to change the local government structure of the country. These multinational donors have their own objectives. The policy shift in them results in a similar shift on the policy agenda of the government.

[^1]While speaking in a conference in New York, former finance minister of Pakistan and ex vice President of World Bank, Javaid Burki, discussed the policy shift by World Bank and its influence on the government of Pakistan.
"the previous strategy of focusing primary education - a strategy advocated by the World Bank and pursued by Pakistan in the 1990s - was misplaced. In that period Pakistan as well as the donor community poured large sums of money into primary education but there is little to show from that endeavor in terms of human development. For the development of human resource, it is essential for the state to focus on education at higher levels". (Burki 2006: 96)

In 2000, World Bank and UNESCO conveyed the task force on higher education and society. This task force submitted its recommendation in the form of a report called "Perils and Promise". The objective of the task force was "to explore the future of higher education in the developing world" (http://www.tfhe.net/report/overview.htm). These regimes emphasized the role of education in development and asked developing countries to make it a priority area. The task force put an emphasis on developing countries to improve the quality of their higher education and "that each developing country make it a national priority to debate and determine what it can realistically expect its higher education system to deliver". (http://www.tfhe.net/report/overview.htm)
In 2001, Pakistan started the reform process of its higher education system. President of Pakistan constituted task force on improvement of higher education. This task force was headed by those two individuals who were representing Pakistan on the task force of World Bank and UNESCO. Most of the recommendations given by this task force were quite similar to the one presented in the report by the World Bank and UNESCO, "Perils and Promise".

In addition to multinational donors there are think tanks which also influence the university. Think tanks are groups, formed by people from various backgrounds with the purpose of advising governments on various policy matters. In case of university reforms in Pakistan, the Boston Group was the major influencer which gave its inputs to the task force on different issues. This group has been formed by Pakistani diaspora settled in Boston, United States. They prepared a report which was used quite extensively by the task force.

## Political Parties

Another important external stake holder in case of universities in Pakistan is the political parties. Almost all the national and regional political parties have their student wings operating on campus. In spite of the ban imposed on all on campus political activities these student wings exist and influence university administration to meet their demands. These student wings get funding and political support from their respective national or regional parties. For political parties, this presence of student wings helps mobilizing their political agendas. Whenever any agitation against government is started, it starts with the involvement of these student organizations. On the other hand parties which are in government use their respective student wings to counter the opposition's activities. For the students, who are active in such organizations, advantage of being involved in such activities is to get all kinds of support during their stay on campus. These support includes free accommodation in different student hostels, by force and with the support of their respective political elites, help in getting a let off when found cheating and being disciplined by university administration and other perks. The student leaders often remain on campus for a very long time. This is done by taking admission in different departments from time to time. In some cases university administration and teachers also gets favors from these students by instigating them against rival groups. All this makes these student wings and political parties a very important part in the highly political environment of universities.

## Data Presentation and Analysis II

Universities in Pakistan are the battlegrounds of government and political parties for a very long time. They are used by political parties to forward their agendas by using students' politics while government controls them with the help of bureaucracy. Universities are controlled by civil bureaucracy. They used to get their annual budget through a "money transferring" body called University Grants commission.

Universities are institutions with a multitude of interests. People involved in them ranges from teachers who have the knowledge and expertise in their respective fields, to administrators who knows how to run the administrative matters having information and knowledge of rules, regulation, procedures and routines. Besides, there are other stake holders like students, parents, society, political forces, and above all the state. All these different actors with diverse interests and level of influence make universities an arena where actors indulge in bargaining to gain maximum benefits.

The broad theoretical perspective which I will be using for analyzing universities will be that of organization theory. This will include the actors' perspective, their interests, goals, conflict, and their influence on the organization.

### 5.1 The Power Structure of University of Peshawar

The Administrative hierarchy of University of Peshawar is similar to the other state universities. The Vice Chancellor is the administrative and academic head, who functions under the Governor of the province. Under Vice Chancellor there is an Establishment Division headed by the Registrar.

In addition to the formal administrative bodies, there are also informal groups of teachers which play an important role in determining power configuration within the university. These groups are known within the university as pressure groups. They draw their power from the relationships which they maintain with mainstream political parties, bureaucracy and in some cases Army Generals. The leaders of these pressure groups have strong family backgrounds with links to the influential of the society.

There are three pressure groups of teachers in University of Peshawar. They are important for safeguarding teachers’ interests. However, their differences and conflicts also have negative impacts on the university. Sometimes the teachers involve students into their politics. This is done by instigating them against the teachers of rival groups. Students who belong to rival groups are punished by giving fewer marks in examination. These conflicts can sometime affect the careers of employees. My data showed cases where the appointment and promotion of teachers is affected because the head of the department belongs to the rival group.

### 5.2 Academic Culture of the University

The primary objective of university teachers is to do research and to pass on knowledge to the students. This knowledge creation and dissemination should be the core purpose of any university. The performance of a university should be judged on the basis on these criterions. According to two teachers of the University of Peshawar:

1. "Quality of education can be judged by our graduates, by their ability to critically analyze."
2. "Quality of education is determined on the basis of four variables. One the teachers, their qualification, motivation, research, satisfied, properly compensated. And students as seen by employers and placement. Then infrastructure available with the institution. And how the institution is being looked upon by the general public."

In University of Peshawar, research is not a priority of the teachers. I interviewed few head of the departments of social and natural science faculties. Except for a few departments there is dearth of research activities like research projects, seminars, writing papers or even the discussion among the peer group. Most of the teachers are using very old editions of books as text books. They use just one or at the most two books for a subject. This practice develops an academic culture where the emphasis is on memorization of concepts rather than their critical evaluation. Students lack analytical skills. Neither students nor teachers feel any benefit in doing extensive study as they consider it useless. According to one of the respondent, it was due to "lack of understanding and encouragement from the people at the top".

Another pointed out "there is no culture of research within the universities. Just pockets of teachers involved in research. Reasons for this tendency are lack of motivation, pressure and that it's not mandatory. In addition no facilities and funding. But above all motivation."

Dr. Pervez Hoodbhoy, a renowned Professor of Physics in one of the public sector university in Pakistan, wrote, "Most students have not learned how to think; they cannot speak or write any language well, rarely read newspapers, and cannot formulate a coherent argument or manage any significant creative expression."
(http://www.dawn.com/2005/01/03/op.htm)

### 5.3 Performance and Accountability

Once a person is appointed as Lecturer, or for that matter a government employee, he/she remains there till retirement. The procedures and legal requirements of expelling a government employee from service are quite difficult to meet. Head of the department or Vice Chancellor can keep an employee in the existing grade but it is very difficult for them to expel any employee. This gives the employee job security which in a sense is good for the employee in psychological terms but also has its negative effects. There is no specific evaluation criterion of teachers. Even if some departments perform evaluations like peer evaluation or student evaluation, it does not have any impact on the teacher. It is because these measures do not have the backing of rules or laws. In the present system, there is no appreciation for putting efforts in the job.

There are different eligibility requirements for promotion depending upon the post. For the promotion from Lecturer to Assistant Professor the requirement is a specific number of Research Papers published in a journal of "international or national repute." This phrase of "international or national repute" is being taken in different meanings and its interpretation has been done in different ways. When a candidate belongs to a pressure group which is in power, has good relationships with the head of the department and is favored by the Vice Chancellor, this condition is relaxed. Wherever he / she have published and whatever material is published takes a secondary status. When a post is advertised, the candidate writes some sub standard paper and publishes it in some local journal.

At present the only mode of evaluation available for university teacher is the Annual Confidential Report (ACR). The evaluation criterion in this report is divided into five categories, including Outstanding, Excellent, Good, Satisfactory and Poor. There are certain parameters given to award these ranks but they are quite vague. Another issue regarding ACR is that the head of the department is the person who is going to write it without consulting any other colleague. The contents of an ACR are supposed to be confidential. The concerned teacher whose ACR is written will never know the objections labeled against him / her. This makes the whole process of evaluation quite opaque. The only objective of this evaluation seems to be to punish a teacher without giving him / her chance to improve. Such evaluation methods develop tendencies of nepotism. It makes teachers insecure and the teachers associate themselves with the pressure groups to safeguard their interests.

In spite of all this, there are some teachers who are active in research both at local and international level. Although few in number, the expertise and know how of these teachers can be compared to their contemporaries in the western world. Many of them visit various universities in Western Europe and United States for different teaching assignments. Some of them are running joint ventures and are associated with different projects with universities from developed countries, donor agencies, governments and non governmental organizations. There contributions are acknowledged at the highest level.

This significant difference of attitude and approach towards career and professional development are result of many factors. They are:
$\checkmark$ personal attitude towards learning which also acts as a source of inspiration
$\checkmark$ exposure to environments abroad where they develop the attitude towards research related activities
$\checkmark$ pressure and influence from peer group where there is a group of people doing research and are involved in learning.

Such teachers are offered high salary in private sector universities, or they go abroad where they get associated with some universities in various capacities. In some cases they opt to pursue some projects initiated by non governmental organizations where the amount of salary is relatively high compared to the public universities.

### 5.4 Institutional Autonomy

Public sector universities in Pakistan are under the direct control of either Federal Government or Provincial Government. The decisions related to appointments, promotion and other policies related to teachers and administrative staff needs to be rectified by the Governor of the province or the President of Pakistan. As mentioned above, the appointment of vice chancellor of a university is a prerogative of the Governor of the province. Similarly all the decision making bodies of the university have at least one permanent representative from the bureaucracy. In addition to this, the financial matters of the university are also being controlled by the Government. All this makes the functionaries of universities specially the establishment including vice chancellor under direct control of government bureaucracy and different government departments like education department and finance division.

The policies related to administration and academia can not be termed as independently developed by the teaching staff and it points a big question mark on the autonomous status of university.

In addition to government bureaucracy, other actors like political parties and their on campus representatives also interfere in the activities of academia. If some policies regarding examination, teachers appointments and promotions or student discipline is developed which is not "liked or understood" by these so called social elements, they start protests and propaganda which sometimes turns ugly in the form of threats to faculty.

As far as the freedom of choice to the research topic is concerned, in case of University of Peshawar, it has been observed that there is usually no restriction on the research areas. Similarly development of curricula at university level is also not been interfered by government. Usually the academic council, which is solely constituted by the teachers, decides about the curricula.

### 5.5 Higher Education Reforms in Pakistan

"Public sector universities are at the cross roads. They have to change. It can be done by annual performance review, evaluation by students and peer review" (by an interviewee)

In 2001, Government of Pakistan formed a Task Force on Improvement of Higher Education to look into the problems relating to the higher education and to suggest measures to improve the quality of higher education in Pakistan. This Task Force submitted its recommendations to the Government in the form of a report in March 2002. This report proposed a lot of changes in the present structure of universities. These proposed changes ranged from the structure of governing bodies to the overall change in the service structure of teachers.

According to Ivar Bleiklie, policy reforms can either be the "cause" of change or they can be "part" of change. (Bleiklie 1994:27) He further argued that higher education policy change belongs to the second category. It is more of a part of ongoing political and institutional change. In case of higher education reforms in Pakistan, it seems more like a series of institutional reforms carried out by the government in different sectors. This includes the local bodies’ reforms, civil service reforms and now higher education reforms. All these reforms are a part of a larger agenda, pursued by multilateral and bilateral financial donors, involving to developing countries.

### 5.51 Composition of the Task Force

The Task force on higher education had two persons as its co chairmen. One was a businessman cum educationist who is running a successful private university in Pakistan, Syed Babar Ali, of Lahore University of Management Sciences. The second person was the President of a leading private sector medical university in Pakistan, Dr. Shams Kasim Lakha, of The Aga Khan University Karachi, Pakistan. In addition, there were 15 members of this task force out of which seven were vice chancellors of public universities, among which only three were Ph.D. and were involved in university teaching while one was a non Ph.D. university professor. The rest of the vice chancellors were retired Army officers. Other than these public sector representatives, rest of the
members of the task force included people from bureaucracy and some teachers from private sector universities.

As obvious from the composition of the task force, private sector institutions, specially those which are having expertise in applying modern managerial techniques, who are running in profits and who are suppose to be having an efficient and effective administrative set up were given priority in the task force.

### 5.52 Recommendations of the Task Force

Task force recommended wholesome changes in different areas of governance, management and structure of universities. These changes are described below:
$\checkmark$ In its foremost recommendation, task force proposed to separate the function of governance and management which was "the most glaring structural problem in public sector universities in Pakistan" (Higher Education Reform, Implementation Plan 2002: 4). They suggested that the Board of Governors should look after the governance of public universities, while the chief executive officer of the university and his/her secretariat should take care of the management function. According to the proposal, management should be accountable to the board of governors for its actions. Further more, there is a proposal of having a "pyramidal academic governance structure". This structure will have a broader hierarchy than the present structure consisting of more people at various levels. There are various reasons given for this change in the report. This change is intended to bring decentralization and to make all the faculty members part of the decision making system. The decisions will not be based on the judgment of single individual like the head of the department, vice chancellor or chancellor.

The governance structure will consist of several levels, including departmental councils, faculty councils and academic council. Each department in a university will be having a departmental council consisting of all its permanent faculty members. Tasks of this council includes review and up gradation of syllabi, allocation of subjects to teachers, to keep an eye on the academic progress of teachers and to allocate them different assignments and the preparation and disbursement of department budget. This council will be authorized to put up a
proposal for hiring and/or promoting faculty members on need basis. The next level in this hierarchy will be faculty council. Each faculty in a university will be having an individual faculty council. This body will be chaired by the dean of faculty and the members will include all the head of those departments which comes under the faculty. All the decisions taken by the departmental councils will be discussed at this level and once approved will be forwarded to the academic council.

Academic council is suggested to be "the primary body involved in the management of academic function of the university." (Higher Education Reform, Implementation Plan 2002: 4) This body will be chaired by the vice chancellor and constituted by the deans of all faculties, head of the departments and head of the constituent colleges and institutions. It is proposed to be the supreme policy making body responsible for the governance of academics in university. All the suggestions and approvals from lower levels of the pyramid is to be discussed in this body, and after the approval they were suppose to implemented as policies. In addition to the matters pertaining to budget, curricula and teachers evaluation, this body is also suppose to be taking care of examination, research activities by teachers i.e. evaluation of their research proposal for grants and also progress of teachers engaged in research.
$\checkmark$ Another important recommendation of task force was to bring a new structure of service for university teachers'. This should replace the existing permanent tenure appointments' system. This new structure will be semi permanent with different checks and balance systems and was called tenure track system. The reason given for this change was that the present system is not dynamic enough to keep track of the academic progress of teachers. The permanent appointment system gives the latitude of academic freedom, but it lacks proper checks and balances. It neither appreciates hard work, nor punishes lack of it. Present method of evaluation i.e. ACR is also criticized by the task force and suggested that teacher evaluation should be done by standardized rules and procedures which must be known and categorically stated. The whole process should be transparent and conducted by institutionalized body rather than a single individual.

It was suggested to appoint teachers on an initial contract of six years. They are supposed to undergo evaluation twice. In the middle of the contract, that is after three years an internal tenure review committee of departmental council should conduct an evaluation. Then after the completion of six year an external committee should conduct an evaluation. External committee will consist of three members who will be subject experts. The committee will comprise of one person who will be selected from the panel as suggested by the faculty member, one member of the departmental council and the third a nominee of the head of the department. On the basis of these two evaluations, the contract of the employee should either be converted into full time permanent tenure or will be terminated. The decision of the internal committee will be final and can not be challenged, whereas the decision of the external committee can be challenged in the specially formed committee of the faculty council. The teachers should be evaluated in teaching, research and other services to the university.
The steering committee, on the recommendations of the task force gave comprehensive details of how to evaluate these areas and suggested a number of tools which can be used to measure performance. Some of these include annual objective statement form, self evaluation by filing another specified form, student evaluation, preparation of teaching portfolio and course file, and peer review.
$\checkmark$ According to the task force, the existing statutory bodies are failed to deliver the desired results. They neither have enough autonomy to develop policies nor the capability to act as a force to keep a check on administration. According to the report, the representation of teachers on these bodies is nominal. They are elected on the basis of their association with one of the pressure groups and not on the basis of their academic qualification. According to the report, teachers "often contest elections with the support of the surrogates of one or the other of the political parties." (Higher Education Reform, Implementation Plan 2002:82) In addition to this, the report also criticized the size of the two main decision making bodies, the Syndicate and the Senate. According to the committee the size of these bodies is too large to be effective and efficient. This makes the Vice chancellor a very powerful position which is not accountable to the teachers and sometimes not even calls the sessions of these bodies.

To distribute the power among the entire teaching faculty and to make administration and teachers accountable to stakeholders and to give autonomy to university, it was suggested to revamp these institutions. According to the proposal, which is called university model act, there will be three premium decision making bodies, the Senate, the Syndicate and the Academic council.
Unlike the existing senate the "new" senate will consist of 15 members. These includes "the chancellor, the vice chancellor, a member of government not below the rank of deputy secretary, a nominee of the higher education commission, an alumnus of the university and four persons of reputable background in academics, management or other areas of expertise from society, six academics, four elected university faculty, two faculty members of the rank of professor or principal of constituent college from outside the university" (Higher Education Reform, Implementation Plan: 2002:84). Among these members the four from the society and two faculty members from outside the university will be chosen by the chancellor from the list and recommendation of the representative committee of Senate.

Tasks assigned to this "new" senate includes policy making, keeping control over the functions of other committees, and to be custodian or rules. In addition this body is also supposed to be an accountability bureau for all officers including the Vice chancellor. Rationale given for this change in structure and functions of Senate is to make university more autonomous. Instead of chancellor performing these functions; they are performed by the internal members of the university. According to the reforms committee, this change will distribute power and bring a sense of democracy in the overall culture of university.
The syndicate is proposed to function "as a management team-able to respond quickly, efficiently and effectively to the academic needs, administrative challenges, and socio-economic demands placed upon the higher education system." (Higher Education Reform, Implementation Plan: 2002: 85) The Syndicate will be constituted by the vice chancellor, the deans of the faculties, three elected professors from different departments, who are not member of senate, principals of the constituent colleges, the registrar, the treasurer and the controller of examination. Syndicate will be responsible for looking after the management of university. All the decisions regarding the administration and
execution of plans will be discussed in the Syndicate. The management of the university should be related exclusively to the internal members of the organization. There is no need to include external people in Syndicate as is the case in the present structure.
Another decision making body as proposed in the report is the Academic council. Compared to the present Academic council, the proposed body will be having more decision making authority. Like the "new" senate, Academic council will also be a policy making body which will develop academic policies. Academic council does not need to rectify its decisions from the Syndicate or the Senate. In some special cases which fall under the jurisdiction of academic as well as administrative policies, academic council will consult senate. Academic council will be composed of the university faculty with three administrative officers, namely the Registrar, the controller of examination and the librarian.
$\checkmark$ Task force also proposed changes in the responsibility and authority of the Chancellor and the Vice chancellor. According to the report, "primary responsibility for policy guidance and overall governance of the University has been shifted from the Chancellor to a restructured university senate." (Higher Education Reform, Implementation Plan: 2002: 83) Functions which were previously the domain of the Chancellor are shifted either to the Senate or the Syndicate. These include policy formulation, appointments on the key posts including that of the Vice chancellor and to keep a check on overall management of the university.

The authority and responsibilities of the Vice chancellor are also altered by the task force. The Vice chancellor is made accountable to the Senate for all its actions. Senate is given authority to device a search committee to appoint the Vice chancellor. In case of unsatisfactory performance senate can even move a no confidence motion against the Vice chancellor which can result into his/her ouster from the office. Even if the Chancellor is not happy with the performance of the Vice chancellor he/she has to move the Senate to make a decision.

The emergency powers constituted to the Vice chancellor are also being curtailed. According to the report, actions taken by the Vice chancellor under the provision
of emergency powers must be rectified by an emergency committee of the Senate within seventy two hours.

According to the task force, these changes are proposed to bring institutional autonomy, distribution of power and developing a proper system of check and balance. Furthermore, teachers are authorized to appeal against any decision taken by the Vice chancellor in the Senate. The salary structure of teachers is proposed to be discontinued from that of public sector basic pay scale system which is offered to all the government employees and is connected to the market principles. (Higher Education Reform, Implementation Plan: 2002: 89)
$\checkmark$ Another major change advised by the task force is regarding the years of study. They proposed to change present two years Bachelors to four years. The present system of course selection, in which a student has to choose two compulsory and two optional courses is also changed. It is proposed in the report to offer three different types of courses to the students. They are:

1. "General education courses, comprising roughly 40 percent of the total number of credit hours and including:
a. compulsory courses, which everyone has to take: for instance, general mathematics, expository writing, economics, computer literacy, civic studies; and
b. a menu of general education courses from which each student has to select a few. These may include alternative courses in history, ethics, philosophy, science, or political science.
2. Departmental course requirements, comprising roughly 45 percent of the total credit hours required for obtaining a degree in particular subject. These may include:
a. Compulsory courses, mandatory for all students in that department.
b. Optional courses selected from a menu of options including:
c. Courses within the department
d. Courses from a list of offerings from other departments. In some cases, these could be combined to form a "minor" area of specialization.
3. Elective subjects, comprising roughly 15 percent of the total credit hours, which every student would have, complete freedom in choosing. For example a student,.................. may wish to take courses in philosophy, even if they are specializing in, say, physics." (Higher Education Reform, Implementation Plan: 2002: 44)

Students who complete the full program of four years will be eligible for admission into the Masters program. Here it is also mentioned that all this will require a lot of coordination, development of infrastructure and provision of adequate resources to carry on this comprehensive program as universities may lack in these areas and expertise.

## Summary and Conclusions

The universities are embedded in a broad external environment. In case of Pakistan, the external environment consists of the Chancellor, public bureaucracy, the society and donor agencies. The external environment has an impact on the internal structures and actors of the universities. The reforms are initiated by the actors belonging mostly to the external environment of the universities. The universities are open systems as they interact with the external environment.

The report of task force on improvement of higher education of Pakistan has proposed a number of changes in the universities. The major change is that of the structure of the university. This change is going to alter the responsibilities and authorities of various actors. This includes the Chancellor, the Vice chancellor, university administration, the Dean, the head of the departments and the faculty. The report also proposed changes in the structures, functions and authorities of the decision making bodies the Senate, the Syndicate and the Academic Council. The report proposed new governing bodies like higher education commission and board of directors.
In addition to the formal structure, the internal environment of the university also has some informal groups. Different stake holders like teachers, students, and workers within the internal environment create groups. The most influential of these groups are of teachers. There are mainly three groups of teachers within University of Peshawar. These groups are termed pressure groups. The administrators also have their affiliations with these pressure groups. Through these administrators, the pressure groups influence the decision making within the university administration. They also gain influence within decision making bodies like the Senate, the Syndicate and the Teachers’ Association by voting their members to them.
The existence of the pressure groups within the university makes its power configuration highly politicized. The power configuration in the university is like the political arena with various actors having power because of their affiliations with a specific group. In addition to the formal bureaucratic powers existing with the university administration, there are also political influences existing within the university. The informal political power affects the formal structures. The result is that the decisions are made within the
formal structures on the basis of political affiliations and like and dislikes. The decisions are contested among the pressure groups.

The changes proposed in the higher education system in Pakistan are radical changes. Referring to the theoretical perspective of change by Maurice Kogan and Tony Becher, radical changes require a significant shift in the existing norms and practices. They are difficult to implement. The reforms have proposed changes in both the normative and operational mode of the model of higher education. According to this model, the change can affect all the levels of the university.
The distributed nature of power within the university and the radical nature of proposed change make it difficult for getting easily accepted. For its acceptance the requirement is to involve all the actors into the process. However, an important group of actors belonging to the internal coalition of the universities are not involved in the process. This group is the teachers of the universities. The Vice Chancellor and some of his/her appointed senior professors and administrators were involved in the process. The decision making bodies like Teachers Association who represents teachers of the university, are not involved in the reform process. From University of Peshawar, the teachers and administrators belonging to the group of the Vice Chancellor were involved in the process. The lack of representation of teachers resulted in the resistance from them to the reform process. They considered the reform an imposed change.

The pressure groups have a significant influence within the university. They can sometimes affect the official powers of the internal and external coalition. This is observed in the case of reforms where these informal groups are resisting the official powers of the internal and external coalition. They were not taken into confidence while this package has been formulated. As discussed in the data analysis, many teachers do not even know the exact contents of these reforms. They are resisting the reform process following other group members.
The negative reaction of teachers towards the reforms is also because of its proposed changes in the power structures. The reforms suggest changes in the authority of many influencers. The powers are to be shared among various influencers. According to the proposed reforms package, The Chancellor is to consult various decision making bodies before making decision. The major power of the Chancellor of selecting the Vice Chancellor has been shifted to the Senate. At present the Chancellor can appoint anybody from any where to the post of Vice Chancellor. The new arrangement will transfer this
power to the board of governors and the Senate. The Chancellor will not be authorized to expel the Vice chancellor from his/her position. This authority has also been given to the Senate.

The powers of the Vice chancellor are also curtailed. He/she will not have the emergency powers to make any decision without approval of the decision making bodies. It is proposed that he/she has to ask for the consent of committee of the Senate within seventy two hours of any such action.

In addition to these changes another change which is going to affect teachers is modification to their service structure. The proposal is to change the job of teachers from permanent to contract. This change is termed as track and tenure basis of teacher's appointment. The track and tenure system is going to change the influence of teachers a great deal. This system was one of the major issues which prompted up during the agitations of the various groups of teachers. The pressure groups of the teachers were of the view that this change will make the teachers dependent on the head of the department and the administration. The negative response to this change is also related to the non representation of teachers in the reform process. This change could have resulted in less conflict if the pressure groups were taken into confidence during reforms and their reservations were accommodated.

The reforms are mainly resisted by group of teachers. However there is also no effort on the part of the Chancellor and the Vice Chancellor to implement them. After the passage of almost three years, these authorities have not tried to implement even those sections relating to the issues pertaining to their jurisdiction. An example of this is the appointment of the committee to choose the Vice Chancellor. This can be because of the reason that their powers are going to be affected. In addition to this, another proposal of the reform of changing the Bachelors degree program to four years, which was implemented in University of Peshawar, was also stopped. This is done on the directives of the Chancellor, who acted on behalf of the parents of the students.
According to the theory of change, in case of negative reaction to change the leadership can play an important role. However up till now even the leadership like the Chancellor and the Vice chancellor has not shown interest in implementation of the reforms. They did not conduct regular meetings or seminars to convince and clarify the teachers' community.

Another point objected is that of transference of powers to the external body called governing board and also to involve more members from the external environment in the decisions bodies like the Senate and the Syndicate. This transference of power will limit the powers of the Senate and the Syndicate. The composition of the governing board consists of people from outside the university. The concern among the teachers community is that this change will make them dependent on the external coalition.

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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ These are the evaluative reports prepared by the head of each department concerning its employees. The remarks made in this are considered very important for future promotions and other service related matters. ${ }^{2}$ The term Grade is used in government service to represent the position of an employee in the cadre of hierarchy. It ranges from $1-21$ where Grade 21 is the highest.

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ An organization or group of experts researching and advising on issues of society, science, technology, industry, or business (http://www.google.no/search?hl=no\&lr=\&defl=en\&q=define:think+tank\&sa=X\&oi=glossary_definition\& ct=title)

