Wandering scholars, graveyards and pearly gates

Steve Hunter
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"Wandering Scholars, Graveyards and Pearly Gates"

Professor Steve Hunter
Dean of International and Community Affairs
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Professor Stephen Hunter, AIT WA, MS PhD Wisc, FACE FAIM.

Professor Stephen Hunter is Dean, International and Community Affairs at Edith Cowan University and is a graduate of Curtin University and the University of Wisconsin. He has been involved in tertiary education since 1971. He has been Lecturer, Head of Department and Head of Academic Planning at Curtin University and from 1986 was Dean of Academic Affairs at Edith Cowan. He was appointed to his present position in 1991. Professor Hunter has had wide experience in all levels of education. In 1988 he was invited by the Western Australian State Government to lead the Executive Staff of the Beazley Committee of Inquiry into Education in Western Australia. He is a fellow of the Australian College of Education and a past president of the Western Australian Chapter. He is also a fellow of the Australian Institute of Management.
Over the past 25 years or so there has been a staggering array of developments in Australian higher education. Those years have seen:

- the emergence of colleges of advanced education in the 1960s, 70s and 80s and their eventual re-designation as universities;
- an enormous growth in enrolments to the point where some 550,000 students are now enrolled in Australia's universities;
- the growing involvement of employers and professional bodies in the nature of the university curriculum, not only in its structure, but also in its recognition as a basis for employment; and
- an increase in government influence over universities, and the manipulation of their activities through the allocation of funds for teaching and research.

There has been creeping credentialism and a trend toward underemployment, or overqualification, of some sectors of the workforce.

The past 25 years also have seen:

- rapidly growing pressures for Australia, and its universities, to take a truly international perspective in both their off-shore and on-shore activities;
- an increasing need for universities to acquire greater proportions of their income from non-government sources;
- considerable expansion in the number of courses on offer; and
- an emphasis on the economic importance of a skilled workforce.

And finally there has been:

- pressure from a rapidly expanding Year 12 population for entry to university, and associated increases in the level of unmet demand for places;
- and a continued interest from various professional and semi-professional groups, other than from the traditional areas of law, medicine, engineering and so on, in having their occupational training needs met within universities.

Having experienced these forces, as have many of you, and having considered them in a necessarily selective way for the purposes of this address, I am led to three interrelated points of view.

- First, universities in Australia have reached what may be the most important crossroads they are likely to encounter for the rest of this century. Of central importance for the future role of universities will be the decisions they take with regard to their curricula, especially at the undergraduate level.

- Second, universities in Australia must develop a truly international perspective in both their off-shore and on-shore activities, if they are to remain relevant to life in the global village of the 21st Century.

and

- Third, universities in Australia need to reside in the community, and the community in them, if they are to retain public support and be acknowledged as essential contributors to the intellectual life of the community.

All three of these matters have special relevance for Australia's newer universities and, therefore, for Edith Cowan University.

To illustrate my first point regarding the centrality of the university curriculum, especially at undergraduate level, imagine if you will a cattle station, somewhere in Australia. You are approaching the station boundary along a dusty, pot-holed road with the odd crow cawing from a tree branch, the occasional kangaroo bounding through the spinifex, and a flock of parrots screeching from on high. Eventually you come to the station gate. There, proudly chiselled into the wooden archway are the words the Twin Peaks Triple X Snake Gully Eagle Heights Blue Hills One Tree Station. The origin of the name, as you find out later, is due to the inability of the several parties with an interest in the station to reach agreement on it, so they simply included everybody’s suggestions.

You drive through the gate and in the miles leading up to the homestead you notice, among other things, that there are no cattle. None, as far as the eye can see.

You pull up outside the homestead where you are greeted warmly by the station manager, and you remark, “It seems rather surprising that this is called a cattle station when I don’t see any cattle anywhere”. To which the station manager replies, “Well, it’s not really surprising. None of ‘em survive the flamin’ branding”.

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There are, of course, many people who have noted the demise of this historical tradition and yet others who have bemoaned its loss.

As Clark Kerr, the distinguished American university administrator, noted:

_If there can be said ever to have been intellectual utopias then these (universities) are among the possibilities. Scholars and students were drawn from within the entire orbit of the civilization of the time and place without reference to nationality and they studied what they wanted to study without external guidance or constraints by nation states. (This was) the world of the wandering scholar and student, now here, now there, fully autonomous from governments in the intellectual arena. (Kerr, p 6)_

Kerr added that in medieval times, "institutions of higher learning were similar in their structure and ambience, and the wandering scholar could feel at home in any of them".  (Kerr, p 7)

There are, of course, many people who have noted the demise of this historical tradition and yet others who have bemoaned its loss.
For example, an OECD study entitled *Universities Under Scrutiny* reported on the “disappearance in the Western world of a satisfactory overall concept of what it means to be educated” and traced from this phenomenon the “incoherency” and “apparent anarchy” of today’s undergraduate curriculum. (OECD, p 44)

As far back as 1979, Musgrove argued that the stress on the direct usefulness of skills and knowledge which now pervades the university curriculum (has served) to domesticate the university. In contrast, the great tradition has been about personal growth and about breaking the stranglehold of the present on the mind. For Musgrove, domestication simply intensified the stranglehold. (OECD, p 15)

In 1984, Eide commented that:

There exists very little real knowledge about the usefulness of the training given today, and even less on what qualifications will be needed in a future characterized by rapid changes in products, technology and forms of organization. The assumption that a stronger influence by representatives of the economy upon university curricula will make these more relevant from an economic point of view is based on the pious hope that adding ignorance to ignorance produces wisdom — an assumption hardly substantiated by experience. (OECD, p 15)

Also in 1984, yet another commentator, Goldschmidt, noted somewhat disparagingly:

Universities no longer make even a pretence of being what has been expected of them since the Enlightenment, that is, institutions that, by their research and teaching, would pursue truth and foster the progress of mankind ..... neither “liberal education”, ... nor political activities are dominant goals today, only rational intellectual training, vocational preparation and value free research ...

(OECD, p 25)

And finally, even Education Insight’s David Vaughan chipped in recently, in his A-Z guide to life at university. His guide defined universities as “places where people study accumulated knowledge, ponder it deeply, discuss it in great detail and preserve it for future generations”. As Vaughan said, “Both of you take a bow”. I presume he meant Oxford and Cambridge. Light-hearted perhaps, but perceptive nevertheless.

In introducing my first point of view, I claimed that universities have reached a most important crossroad, implying that we must now decide which direction to take from here. Do we continue on the current path of increasing specialization and domestication of learning, do we as Whitehead put it (in sexist terms by today’s standards) “aim at producing ... men who possess both culture and expert knowledge in some special direction” (in Adler, et al., p 528), or do we seek to restore that educational utopia provided by the studium generale of medieval times, but in modern form?

It is refreshing to note that the presence of this crossroad and these most important questions have not escaped the attention of the Australian Vice-Chancellors’ Committee — a body not noted in the Dawkins’ years for its pronouncements on truly educational matters, preoccupied as it has been with surviving what Professor Brian Hill, from Murdoch University, has called “Life in the Dawk Ages”. (Hill, 1991)

In a recent paper the AVCC called for a national debate on university education and recommended that funding be provided for the initiation by a university of a two to three year project on undergraduate curricula in Australian universities (AVCC, 1991). This recommendation arises from AVCC interest in, and apparent concern about, the directions being taken by the undergraduate curriculum, and in recognition of the importance of striking the right balance of specialized versus generalized education and training.

While this is a welcome move by the AVCC, there are, in my view, compelling reasons for this University to undertake its own debate. These reasons include:

First: This University’s undergraduate curriculum is very heavily driven by workplace requirements, is highly specialized in nature, and therefore is highly domesticated. This is not surprising considering this University’s vocationally-oriented CAE past, but as a university we must ask ourselves whether or not we have the right brand, whether or not our present students are surviving its application and, most importantly, whether or not our future students will survive it if it remains unchanged.

Second: This University’s current curriculum has a relatively short history and seems capable of real change. This University has an opportunity to fashion a brand of education which capitalizes on the present, but is not strangled by it, and which addresses the probabilities and possibilities of the 21st Century.

Third: This University, as a new university, has a special responsibility to make its educational philosophy and intentions known to the community.
Fourth: The culture and values of commuter universities, such as this one, are very largely the products of what is taught and researched. The curriculum at Edith Cowan University is by far the dominant force in the university experience for its students, and is likely to remain so, and the fundamental principles underlying its structure must be examined periodically in light of its influence.

In presenting this issue of curriculum review for debate I am conscious of the fact that necessarily brief expositions of polar opposites almost by definition lead to oversimplification — a syndrome illustrated by the story of the Bishop and the scientist (not the actress) who were sitting next to each other on a transcontinental flight. When asked by the Bishop what was his religion, the scientist replied, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you". When asked by the scientist what was his science, the Bishop replied, "Twinkle, twinkle little star, how I wonder what you are".

I am also conscious of the words of a George Johnson, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Nigeria in the early 1960s, who observed that moving a university’s curriculum was like moving a graveyard. (In Ross, p 103)

Bearing these cautionary tales in mind, it is perhaps difficult to argue with Whitehead’s balanced point of view or with the OECD’s conclusions on curriculum reform. "The challenge", as the OECD put it, "is to combine continuity with change, and to expand and to enrich the roles and functions of universities while maintaining their contribution to traditional objectives. In particular, universities need to retain their uniqueness in terms of their commitment to the disinterested pursuit of knowledge, the spirit of free inquiry and the preservation and transmission of a society’s cultural heritage." (OECD, p 98)

The question to be asked here regarding the newer universities, which have never been encouraged to address traditional objectives, let alone attempt to pursue them is, of course, should they now embrace them or, at the very least, should they debate the desirability of doing so?

In reply to George Johnson and his graveyard, and in reference to Edith Cowan University’s current point in its history, I say: “To the shovels, let the digging begin”.

I turn now to my second point on the topic of internationalization which, along with curriculum reform, has been acknowledged by many commentators to be one of the most important issues facing universities in the 1990s.

One such commentator was Ernest Boyer, President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Development of Teaching:

Our world (Boyer said) has undergone immense transformations. It has become a more crowded, more interconnected, more unstable place. A new generation ... must be educated for life in this increasingly complex world. If the undergraduate (university) cannot help students see beyond themselves and better understand the interdependent nature of our world, each new generation will remain ignorant, and its capacity to live confidently and responsibly will be dangerously diminished. (In Parnell, p 75)

Another was Kenneth Thompson who, in Universities and the Developing World, stated that:

The development of universities today is inescapably an international question. The transportation and communication revolutions have decreed a world drastically shrunken in size, (and) space has become relative. The key issue for any given country (and by implication, its universities) is its particular set of relationships with the outside world. (In Kertesz, p 155)

Some countries, such as the United States of America, have long recognized the importance of internationalization and have done much to inform the debate, especially in regard to the responsibilities of universities. In 1988, for example, a United States National Commission on the Role and Future of State Colleges and Universities recommended three major areas of international education focus. These were:

First, university students must be provided with an international perspective that reflects the world in realistic social, political, cultural, and economic terms. Second, university students must develop international communication skills that will enable them to think, behave, and work effectively in a world of rapid change, and third, universities must assist — through research, technical assistance, study, and international service programs — in the resolution of international problems with the same commitment that education institutions now address domestic issues. (In Parnell p 82)

Others in the United States have identified key questions that every university should ask itself regarding internationalization. Robert Gale, in a paper entitled Navigating the Global Village, provided a 15 question checklist for use by universities in assessing their commitment to internationalization.
These questions were:

1. Are there any requirements in international studies for all students?
2. Do you have any foreign language admission requirement and/or graduation requirement?
3. What requirements exist for majors or those concentrating in foreign language or international studies?
4. Is there any systematic linkage of foreign language, international studies, and professional fields in your curriculum?
5. Do you have any co-operative or consortial arrangements in foreign language or international studies?
6. Do you have special provisions for visiting foreign professors or resident overseas guests on your campuses?
7. What provisions do you have for faculty exchanges, or visits with institutions overseas?
8. Does your institution arrange international-exchange or study-abroad programs for students? If not, do you participate in programs organized by others?
9. Have outside speakers or guests visited your campus in the last year or two to discuss international affairs or foreign cultures?
10. What extracurricular or curriculum-related activities in international or foreign cultures exist at your institution?
11. Are any special facilities provided for learning languages or enhancing international understanding?
12. What language laboratory facilities are available to your undergraduates?
13. Are there special collections or significant parts of the general collections of your libraries for foreign language or international or global studies?
14. Do you have special means of disseminating foreign language and international materials to faculty and students?

and finally

15. What is the international student enrolment on your campus? What are the students' home countries? Are the individuals integrated into the overall student body? (Gale, pp 22-23)

Other commentators have gone further and forecast university responses to these types of questions. Such forecasts included:

1. Universities will develop clear policy statements about the purposes of international and intercultural education programs.
2. The 1990s will see universities strengthening the structure, quality, coverage, and utilization of their undergraduate offerings in the field of international and intercultural studies, and relate these offerings more directly to career as well as cultural and intellectual goals.
3. A new interest will develop in ethnic and intercultural studies, but for quite different reasons than those espoused in the 1960s. Ethnic studies will be combined with language studies and closely related to various career programs.
4. Conversational foreign language studies will be added to the curriculum as a legitimate part of the collegiate program. The time-honoured, traditional, formal study of a foreign language will not meet the time commitments and needs of some students.
5. Universities will be reaching out to work with high schools to develop new kinds of four-year education programs (years eleven through fourteen) to allow the time for students to develop some proficiency in one or more foreign languages.
6. Universities will encourage and help faculty members to acquire, improve, and maintain international-intercultural knowledge, skills, and experiences that will enable them to incorporate international studies into various aspects of the curriculum.
7. Students from other countries attending local universities will be utilized to teach and tutor local students in foreign language instruction.

and finally

8. An increasing number of universities will operate branch campuses or partnership programs in countries around the world. (Parnell, pp 103-104)
Within these 15 questions and 8 forecasts lie formulae crucial to Australian universities, and in particular the newer universities, as they face this need to internationalize. This is not to say, of course, that such matters have not been of concern to Australian universities to date, or that there is a lack of activity in the international arena. They have been of concern and there is no lack of activity.

Once again it is refreshing to note that the Australian Vice-Chancellor's Committee has recognized the need to further internationalize higher education and it is working within its own ranks, with Government, and with various overseas agencies to achieve this objective. As one example, the AVCC is working rapidly toward the development of a major student mobility scheme between Australian universities and their counterparts in Asia and the Pacific. This proposed scheme, labelled UMAPS (for University Mobility in the Asia and Pacific Scheme) is similar in concept to the ERASMUS scheme already in operation in Europe, which has an aim of assisting up to ten percent of all university students in EEC countries to undertake part of their studies in a different university, within the EEC framework. The AVCC also is working toward a student mobility scheme with U.S. universities.

On a parenthetic note, and while not directly on the theme of internationalization, I ask myself "Why not a similar AVCC/government sponsored mobility scheme between Australian universities themselves?" Perhaps such a scheme could be called the AUSSIE scheme, for Australian Universities Student Swap in Education scheme. Not a very academic acronym, but descriptive nevertheless.

Returning to the international arena, the need for a scheme such as UMAPS is brought into sharp focus when one reads that worldwide over 1.2 million university students studied outside their home countries in 1990 but that only 2,600 of these students were Australian. In terms of the current university enrolment in Australia of about 550,000 students, this represents just less than one half of one percent. In its attempts to significantly increase this proportion, the AVCC has not lost sight of other important aspects of internationalization, such as encouraging joint ventures and research collaboration with universities elsewhere, and encouraging the introduction of an international dimension to the university curriculum. For all of these things, it deserves credit.

But in the end, it will not be governments, or Committees of Vice-Chancellors who will be the real driving forces behind internationalization — it will be the universities themselves.

In this regard, Edith Cowan University has made a good start, albeit a modest one in some ways. We have approximately 700 international students from 32 different countries within our ranks, and plan to increase this number. We have an Australian Studies Institute in a South Korean university, strongly supported by Government and by the Australian Embassy there. Just recently, teaching programmes in that Institute were complemented by a joint research project in computer virus detection and eradication, attracting strong interest from Korean industry. We also have made a good start with student exchange, a pilot programme with the University of Missouri going from strength to strength and paving the way for similar programmes with other universities in the United States and elsewhere.

We teach business studies off-shore in Malaysia, we are examining the off-shore provision of teacher education and English languages in Malaysia and China respectively, and we have Memoranda of Understanding with universities in some other Asian countries as a basis for future co-operation. And we have a strong link with the University of Calgary, in the area of educational policy and administrative studies.

In closing this second of my three points, I refer again to Clark Kerr. In considering the growing importance of internationalization, Kerr observed that:

*the international flow of information, scholars and students is (being) aided by what seems to be a convergence in the structures and policies of systems of higher education around the world ...*

(Kerr, p 14)

He calls this, somewhat predictably, "the convergence model of systems of higher education", perhaps last seen in medieval times. I think his observation is correct and it seems possible that as these trends towards internationalization and convergence continue then the wandering scholar of medieval times may yet re-emerge, in modern form, as an obvious feature of Australian university life in the 21st Century. And there is no doubt that if, at the same time, universities are prepared to seriously address the internationalization of their curricula, along the lines outlined earlier, then a follow-up trip to George Johnson's graveyard, shovels at the ready, is inevitable.

I now come to my third point of view regarding the need for universities to be in the community, and the community in them, if they are to retain their essential place in Australian intellectual life.
And to reduce what is a very multifaceted and complex relationship to just a few minutes, I am
confining my remarks solely to access to universities by the ageing and the aged, defined by me as
anyone who is at least the same age as the Deputy Vice-Chancellor.

As background, there are two stories which I would like to relate.

The first story is about three people who, on the same day, but for different reasons, committed suicide.
The first was a middle-aged American businessman who, upon reaching the pearly gates was asked by
St Peter why he had ended his own life. "It was the stress", said the businessman. "Constant stress
and pressure of the business world, which in the end became unbearable, so I decided to end it all."
"Well", said St Peter, "there is no stress in Heaven, my son, none whatsoever." "Good", said the
businessman. "What do I have to do to get in?"

"Simple", said St Peter. "Just spell GOD." The middle-aged businessman did so and passed through
the pearly gates.

The second person to appear at the pearly gates was a young Irish girl who similarly was asked by St
Peter why she had committed suicide. "It was the bombs and violence", she said. "Day after day,
bombs and violence, which ultimately became unbearable so I took my own life." "Well, my child",
said St Peter, "there are no bombs or violence in Heaven. None whatsoever." "Great", said the young
girl. "What do I need to do to get in?" "Simple", said St Peter. "Just spell GOD." The girl did so and
was admitted.

The third person to appear at the pearly gates was an elderly Australian lady with no formal education.
When asked by St Peter why she had committed suicide, she replied, "Discrimination. All my life I have
been discriminated against", she said, "and as I got older the greater the discrimination became. It grew
to be intolerable so I committed suicide." "Well, dear lady", said St Peter, "there is no discrimination
in Heaven, none whatsoever." "Wonderful", said the elderly lady. "What do I need to do to get in?"
"Simple", said St Peter, "just spell CHRYSANTEMUM".

The second story concerns another ageing person — British, in this case.

A highly-qualified and dignified solicitor-widower had long dreamed of playing one of Britain's most
exclusive golf courses. One day he made up his mind to chance it. Entering the clubhouse, he asked
the secretary if he might play the course. "Member?", inquired the Secretary. "No, sir." "Guest of a
member?" "No, sir." "Sorry", said the Secretary.

Turning to leave, the lawyer spotted a familiar figure seated in the lounge, reading the London Times.

It was Lord Ponsonby. Bowing low, he said, "I beg your pardon, your Lordship, but my name is
Higinbotham of the London solicitors Higinbotham, Higinbotham and Scott. I should crave your
Lordship's indulgence. Might I play this beautiful course of yours as a guest?"

His Lordship gave Higinbotham a long look, put down his paper and asked, "Church?" "Church of
4 on the crew that beat Cambridge." "Service?" "Brigadier, sir. Coldstream Guards, Victoria Cross and
Knight of the Garter." "Campaigns?" "Dunkirk, El Alamein and Normandy, sir." "Languages?"
"Private tutor in French, fluent German and a bit of Greek."

His Lordship considered briefly, nodded to the Secretary and said dismissively, "Nine holes".

The Pearly Gates story illustrates a concern that I have. This concern is that our universities are so
preoccupied at present with meeting the demands of governments and others to produce a qualified
workforce through formal awards that they are rapidly losing the vision and the ability to cater for the
intellectual needs of less vocationally- motivated sectors of the community and particularly the ageing
and the aged. As it is, our society all too often, and all too quickly, dismisses the ageing and the aged,
and especially those with little or no formal education, to the social and intellectual scrap-heap. In my
view, universities should play no part in such a dismissal, and wherever discriminatory obstacles exist
to participation by the ageing and the aged in the life of universities, they should be removed. Special
attention should be given to those without a formal education and emphasis should be placed upon
non-award activity.

The golf story illustrates another concern that I have about discrimination, but in this case about a
particularly insidious form of it. That insidious form is the protection of privilege by those who possess
it, even when such people are faced by others with qualifications or experiences far exceeding their own.
Of particular concern to me are ageing and aged people in either the qualifications or experience
category, or in both such categories, who are not encouraged by universities either to enhance their own
intellectual lives or to enhance the intellectual life of the university. Such groups are increasingly being
joined by early retirees and redundant persons, for many of whom full-time work has vanished from
their future or from their intentions.
It was with great interest then, that I read in a recent issue of the "West's" Education Insight section about the development of a University of the Third Age, and a University for the Over Fifty, in Perth. The first organization conducts self-funding classes in history, biological science, languages, literature, drawing, economics and the environment. The second organization focuses more on the needs of migrant groups and on the enhancement of their language skills. These are wonderful developments but the questions I ask myself are: "As legitimate and welcome as these activities are, is it not an indictment of our universities that such opportunities are not offered by them? Why is not the concept of a University of the Third Age built into the very fabric of existing universities, and especially into the fabric of the newer universities which are held to have a special community orientation?" Some might say that the concept is in-built, offering as we do community education and training courses and opportunities for people to audit courses without the complications of assignments, tutorials and examinations. As useful as these programmes may be, but because of their limited nature, I say that the concept is not in-built. In view of the fact that, over the long term, the distribution of our population is going to become more and more skewed towards the older age groups, it is essential that we address this issue now and put in place frameworks, and especially non-award frameworks, allowing for a fuller participation by the ageing, and the aged in all that our universities have to offer.

With TAFE set to be the growth sector of the 1990s for vocational education, the time is right for universities not only to re-examine their curricula and to internationalize, but also to re-examine their responsibilities to those in the older age groups. To do less, in my opinion, will lead to a much poorer community and much poorer universities, in the intellectual rather than the economic sense. This is a view shared by the Senate Standing Committee on Employment, Education and Training which, in its report Come In Cinderella recommended that universities give consideration to such matters. (Commonwealth of Australia, p 9)

Based upon this necessarily broad exposition of the need to periodically re-think their undergraduate curricula, to internationalize, and to enhance intellectual opportunities for the ageing and aged, I bring my address today to a close by outlining what I would like to see happen from here, and specifically within this University. I would like to see:

First: Consideration by the Academic Board of this University of the fundamental principles underlying its undergraduate curriculum. Specifically, for the Board to determine its position with regard to the future balance of traditional (or intellectual) and contemporary (or vocational) objectives for the curriculum, and to make appropriate recommendations to University Council.

Second: As part of this determination, consideration by the Academic Board of this University of the international character of its curriculum. Specifically, to consider provisions for:

- international studies for all students;
- conversational foreign language studies, especially in languages such as Indonesian, Japanese, Chinese and Korean, for students in courses judged to have special relevance to the overseas arena, and
- to undertake these initiatives in association with TAFE and the secondary school system.

Third: The provision by this University of significantly enhanced opportunities for students to undertake part of their courses in overseas universities, by full participation in the proposed University Mobility in the Asia and Pacific Scheme, in similar schemes, and in exchange programmes arranged by the University itself. Specifically, to have at least ten percent of our undergraduates taking at least one semester of their courses off-shore, by the year 2000.

I also would like to see:

Fourth: A significant increase in the number of foreign students undertaking their courses, or parts of them, at this University.

Fifth: This University invite the AVCC to develop a formal “in-Australia” university student exchange scheme, to complement off-shore schemes.

Sixth: In addition to such schemes, the vigorous development by this University of its own student exchange arrangements, with targetted institutions in Australia and overseas.

Seventh: The development by this University of enhanced staff exchange and joint research programmes with both overseas and Australian universities.
Eighth: The further diversification by this University of its academic interests with overseas universities with whom it has already established links, and the development of new links as appropriate; and

Ninth: Consideration by the Academic Board of this University of the incorporation of the concept of a University of the Third Age into its fabric, and the development of appropriate courses and activities.

As Professor Ian Malcolm commented in his professorial address late last year, “Universities have been empowered by society to produce the clever country ... (but) that in itself is a superficial goal. We need not to abandon it, but to transcend it”. As he said, “To borrow a metaphor from linguistics, we need to attend to the deep structures and effect some transformations”.

I feel privileged to have had the opportunity this afternoon to raise the matters of curriculum reform, internationalization and community access as just three deep structures for transformation. I close with the following words, with apologies to a Mr John Gardner:

A university is never finished. You can't build it and then leave it standing as the pharaohs did the pyramids. It must be re-created for each generation by believing, caring men and women. If we don't care, nothing can save the university. If we do believe and care, nothing can stop us.

Thank you very much.

References


The West Australian, Education Insight, February 18, 1992.