

Gabriella Pusztai / Klára Kovács (eds.)

Well-Being of Academic Staff in Rapidly Changing Higher Education

**A Focus on Central
and Eastern Europe**

Changes in higher education in recent decades – such as expansion, the Bologna reform, internationalization, competition for students, managerialism, and the emergence of a service-oriented approach – have fundamentally transformed the work of academics. The aim of our research, which forms the basis of this volume and is particularly relevant to the region, was to examine the well-being, working conditions, and performance of academics in five Central and Eastern European countries: Hungary, Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, and Serbia. This volume consists of two main chapters that present empirical findings based on qualitative and quantitative survey data, as well as national and international statistical databases. The first chapter analyses key higher education indicators from the five countries studied and describes the educational policy environment shaping academic work. The second chapter explores the background factors and effectiveness of academics' work.

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1. Challenges and Well-Being of Academics on the Eastern Border of the European Union. The Background and Rationale for the Book

Gabriella Pusztai & Klára Kovács

1. The World of Academics: Research Foundations and Insights

There is a long and distinguished tradition of international research on the academic professions in higher education. The literature draws attention to its changing character over time and space (Altbach, 2005; de Wert et al., 2006; Höhle & Teichler, 2013). Our research takes as a model the excellent analyses and summaries of the Carnegie Study on the Academic Profession from the 1990s (Enders & Teichler, 1995; Altbach, 2005; Teichler, 1999). We also take as an inescapable predecessor the study “The Changing Academic Profession” conducted in the 2000s (Teichler et al., 2013) and its follow-up, the 2009–2012 study “The Academic Profession in Europe: Responses to Societal Challenges” (EUROAC), which has provided insights into the marked changes in this professional group. Among the most important of these are the composition of academics, the diversity and inequality of careers, their working conditions, their job satisfaction, the internationalization of the academic career, and issues of hierarchization and competition within this vocation (Kehm & Teichler, 2013; Höhle & Teichler, 2013; Fumasoli, et al., 2015; Kwiek, 2022).

These analyses have attempted to capture external challenges and the responses to them. These, in the form of structural changes in higher education systems, have contributed to changes in the emphasis on academic professionals and to changes in the everyday life of the profession. Researchers have also raised the question of the extent to which changes in external circumstances affect the socialization of academics and influence their academic identity, their values and their identity (Teichler & Kehm, 2013). This latter question was also of interest to our research team, and, continuing the line of thought of our predecessors, we sought to answer how these processes influence the working and living styles and well-being of academics in a region on the periphery of the European Union.

A quick review of the main trends identified by the above-mentioned large-scale international research is important here because they have also emerged in the region we are studying and have had an impact on the lives of academics. There is no doubt that the changing role of higher education in society, in particular the expansion and increasing diversity of the student population, has had a direct

effect on the everyday life of academics worldwide. At first sight, this seemed to be an expansion of the tasks of higher education pedagogy, teaching methods, mentoring and catching up, but, already during the first wave of expansion, researchers noticed the widening cultural gap between the world of students and that of academics. Later on, keeping those at risk of dropping out engaged became one of their tasks (Jencks & Riesman, 2002; Tinto, 1993; Pusztai, 2015; Bocsi et al., 2022; Pusztai et al., 2022). As an indirect effect, early research recorded that academics were affected by scarce resources and dissatisfaction with the quality of their own teaching work as a result of the increase in student numbers (Höhle & Teichler, 2013). Research has also revealed a number of indirect effects of the systemic and institutional transformation triggered by the expansion on the living and working conditions of academics. One of these is the increase in the functional diversity of higher education as a result of the expansion of student numbers, which has led to an increase in the size and diversification of academics themselves. In addition to institutions with a mixed profile, institutions with a purely educational profile have emerged, with only an ostensible research function or no whatsoever (Höhle & Teichler, 2013; Kwiek, 2022). The role and tasks of academics in these institutions have begun to resemble more closely the role of a teacher in public education. The shift in the division of roles between institutions has also had significant ramifications on professional identity and working conditions. The unity of teaching and research was broken, and serious fault lines emerged between types of institutions and types of teachers in terms of the nature of work, working conditions and working hours (Höhle & Teichler, 2013). A major development was the recognition of the lack of career prospects and the dissatisfaction of academics who were only concerned with teaching (Höhle & Teichler, 2013). At the same time, at the other pole, it was a completely different world to belong to the top ten who produce half of the most successful academic outputs (Kwiek, 2016). Kwiek points out that although the careers and expectations of academics seem to be very similar internationally, the stratification within the profession has become so great that it is increasingly difficult to speak of a single profession (Kehm & Teichler, 2013; Kwiek, 2022). While academic careers require a very long-term investment and persistent work, the high institutional context-dependence makes the returns very uncertain, and there are significant inequalities in terms of gender, age, national and ethnic origin, disciplinary and territorial differences (Enders & Teichler, 1995; Goastellec et al., 2013; Kwiek & Roszka, 2022a; Kwiek & Roszka, 2022b). Another empirical finding relevant to our research is the suggestion that academics may be internally stratified in terms of working habits, lifestyles, rules, norms, and values and social networks (Enders & Teichler, 1995; Kwiek & Antonovics, 2015; Kwiek, 2015; Teichler & Höhle, 2013).

The academic profession has perhaps been even more significantly moved by the transformation of higher education governance, the decline in state funding and the emergence of an evaluative role for the state (Enders, 2004). Despite national differences, there has been a unidirectional change in the way governments approach mass higher education (Boer et al., 2008). In the 1990s, governments began to view higher education as a knowledge economy, expecting a return on budgetary expenditure and interpreting higher education as a productive sector. This led to the proliferation of market-oriented institutional practices, which the literature calls entrepreneurialism (Clark, 1988; Kwiek, 2012). The functional transformation of higher education also weighed on expectations about the content of the knowledge produced and transmitted, with managers demanding applied research and the transfer of knowledge almost exclusively for practical application, rather than disciplinary knowledge based on academic interest (Höhle & Teichler, 2013). This required academics to re-learn what they had known about research and education, to revise their research designs, in which development and innovation, and even impact assessment of innovations, became really emphasized, and to expect the involvement of economic and industrial resources (van der Kaap & Weert 2016). The introduction of practice-oriented training has meant that they have had to adapt the content and methodology of their courses, develop their links with the labor market and develop ways of working with them. In addition, new tasks and roles such as organizing, planning, networking, quality management, student recruitment, writing applications, and finding funding have emerged anew or have been strengthened (Musselin, 2007; Hyde et al., 2013)

In higher education institutions with an entrepreneurial attitude, not only the activities and funding have changed, but also the governance, which has led to the rise of managerialism (Enders, 2004). If we focus only on the phenomena that have the most important impact on academics, we must mention the increasing bureaucratization, the growing number and power of the administration. A recurrent experience in research is that the process of administrative staff taking up space in academic buildings and having a decisive voice in academics' deliberations has created a sense of loss of control and power over academics' academic work (Clarke et al., 2013).

After organizational and planning issues, the assessment and promotion of individual performance moved from the hands of the collegiate bodies of the academic profession to the hands of management, and this fundamentally changed the nature of teaching and research, as academics now focused on meeting measurable and measured performance indicators (Hyde et al., 2013; Enders, 2013). Researchers have drawn attention to the fact that the state does not directly

control higher education, but through complex referrals (Neave, 1998). Research has observed that academics have gradually internalized the new value system of higher education through the mediation of intermediary organizations and institutional leadership. Often still contesting the validity of the new values, they have become involved in peer reviews based on the new ideology, and as a result they themselves are beginning to strive to improve performance and acquire new competences (Musselin, 2013). Traditional, collegial values were replaced by the new values when members of the academics profession themselves began to identify with these managerial values and to adopt the corporate way of speaking (Clarke et al., 2013; Hyde et al., 2013). Hyde et al. 2013 have done an excellent job of summarizing the further points at which the internalization of the audit approach impacts on the everyday work of academics, right down to the choice of teaching and research methods, such as the preference for standardized tests and randomized controlled trials. This process has also affected an important element of academic identity, the understanding of the professional community, which is divided on how it relates to managerial values.

Professional community recognition seems to have been devalued, and individualized career paths have been framed by competition according to external assessment criteria (Clarke et al., 2013; Kwiek & Antonowicz, 2015). Examples of the classic incubators around the professor are few and far between, from which a regular and predictable career can be launched. Professional socialization is therefore not straightforward and goal-oriented. Rather it is fragmented, and under the influence of changing institutional environments, multiple, fluid reinterpretations and the rebuilding of academic identity become commonplace (Drennan et al., 2020). The struggle for limited research resources intensifies growing fierce due to the influence of financial resources on research productivity (Daizen, 2015; Kwiek, 2022). Moreover, the reinterpretation of the community is the emergence of grant, publication and peer review networks. It is unclear whether the access to research funding through invisible networks makes someone successful, or the groundbreaking results are responsible.

One of the trends affecting academics is the internationalization of education and research. This is reflected in the massive mobility of students and academics. However, a new element is that, instead of the previous mainly individualized collegiate internationalization, internationalization is also an indicator of excellence of countries and institutions and is therefore also an area of institutional governance. In education, the comparability of training content means that it is necessary to ensure that it is internationally valid and in line with standards. Nor does it depend on the individual excellence of academics to produce internationally renowned publications; institutions themselves are beginning to organize and

encourage this, and to sanction progress. Academics have thus found themselves in an internationalized arena, where institutions compete with each other for students and research performance for funding (Probst & Goastellec, 2013). This means that the field of competition and network building within the occupational group has expanded for academics. What is more, the opportunities for them have increased, along with the workload. The result: stratification within the academic society becomes even more significant (Kwiek, 2022).

Research on the academic profession clearly demonstrates that academics have responded to systemic changes in higher education by essentially adapting, despite grumblings (Teichler, 2013; Hyde et al., 2013). Research on academics reports changing working conditions, job dissatisfaction, overwork, deteriorating opportunities and job insecurity, but has not shown strong criticism (Kogan & Teichler, 2007). In addition to a reduced sense of teaching effectiveness, a reduction in researcher autonomy and rights to make research decisions tends to result in a sense of malaise (van der Kaap & Weert, 2016). While an important facet of professional identity is the traditionally high social prestige of the profession, research reports perceptions of declining social and material esteem alongside decreasing power within the institution (Höhle & Teichler, 2013). Increasing control and loss of a sense of autonomy have been reported to affect an important element of academic identity (Moraru et al., 2013). According to several researchers, a sense of well-being has emerged that can be described as the proletarianization of academics, their becoming knowledge workers and commodities (Gould, 2006; Musselin, 2007; Hyde et al., 2013; Goastellec et al., 2013). This sense of well-being affects their performance in the workplace and ultimately gives a competitive advantage to those higher education systems and institutions that, according to their capabilities, are best able to support academics' well-being.

The theoretical thesis of our research is based on the assumption gathered from previous research findings, that the changed institutional context of higher education determines professional identity. This is due to the fact that the institutional environment has such a significant impact on career models, employment and working conditions, division of labor and cooperation that it can eventually influence individual values, attitudes, lifestyle and well-being at work and in life. This thesis is best explored in a higher education region where global, general challenges are intertwined with additional regional and local challenges. These specific challenges arise from the post-socialist existence, the political legacy of the party-state that has eroded the traditional ideal of academic excellence, and the often-dead-end path of recovery from the economic crisis. The underfunding of higher education institutions is a major determinant (Moraru et al., 2013), but in this area it has emerged in combination with other factors. Our research

focuses on how the academic profession perceives and interprets its situation in institutions in a specific region.

2. Why Are Academics in the Post-Socialist Region Special?

The region is linked by common historical roots. For centuries they were part of a more or less united political entity, more or less unified in terms of government, but also very diverse in terms of culture and religion. This formation reached its heyday in the early twentieth century, when the Austro-Hungarian Empire was established. The region is characterized by internal migration for historical reasons, and therefore cultures have learned to live side by side, to which many attribute the flow of international academic excellence (Hargittai, 2008; Janik & Toulmin, 2023). What binds this region together is its critical geopolitical location in the twentieth century and today, the border between East and West. It was this geopolitical situation that led to its being condemned to belong to the Soviet sphere of interest during the negotiations that ended the Second World War. The shared experience of the post-communist transition, the attraction of Western welfare capitalism in the same period, and the experience of not attaining the latter, is also a common heritage. After the political regime change, while striving to integrate with the West, the region became a hunting ground for the market expansion of the Western European economy. The successive economic difficulties that followed the political regime change, the debt crisis inherited from state socialism and the austerity-laden ups and downs of the search for economic paths have led to greater social disparities than in the West. Though there is a constant drive to unite with Western ways of life and institutions, the region's nations still lag behind. Traditional values such as respect for family ties, religious diversity (Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant) and a stronger social presence thereof are other common features. Furthermore, territorial and developmental differences within the region and between countries, and greater urban-rural inequalities are found more here than in the West. Civil society, which was abolished under state socialism, is relatively weak and the level of trust in public institutions is below that of Western Europe. Education is state-supported, access to primary and secondary education is free, and higher education is predominantly free or at low cost. There is also a decades-long struggle for educational integration of marginalized groups. The region under our study is in the eastern part of the Central European area. It is distinct from the parts of the post-socialist countries that started from a less disadvantaged position, that had been more successful in correcting their socio-economic backwardness and that are generally more prosperous today.

Another common feature is the significant number of Hungarian minorities living in the countries under study, who have institutions of higher education with Hungarian as the language of instruction. The Czech Republic and Slovenia are not included in the study because of the aforementioned factors, though other and previously mentioned features of the historical past would place them in this category.

The specialty of higher education in the examined region is that two major strands of change have over the last three decades simultaneously influenced this level of education. One of the major processes of change is the impact of the political regime changes in the post-socialist region, and the other is the trends of change that have affected higher education throughout the modern world. The two major waves of transformation have influenced changes in higher education, partly by following each other in rapid succession and partly by modifying one another's impact.

The evolution of education systems is characterized by *path dependency*, and the regional emergence of global trends affecting higher education is also fundamentally determined by historically evolved structures and norms (Trow, 2007; Teichler, 2004). The higher education of the region today cannot be understood without understanding the profile of higher education before the political regime changes. One of the most significant socio-economic changes in the CEE region in the last half century, even by global standards, has taken place following the collapse of the state socialist political experiment. This is also seen as the starting point of a three-decade process of transformation in higher education.

Some of the main features of the socialist system that influenced higher education can be highlighted. The most important is the centralized control of the CEE region, which ignored the educational history, traditions, social development, educational indicators and the development of the higher education network in each country. In the CEE countries, the educational and cultural policy guidelines issued by the Moscow headquarters were applied for almost half a century after the Second World War. At the beginning of the period, this Soviet model was copied slavishly, later, especially after the revolutions in some countries, local authorities imitated the center somewhat more cautiously, but it was not possible to deviate substantially from the educational policies issued from the center (Gyuris, 2014). The communist parties in power everywhere were responsible for the disciplined copying. Their functionaries controlled the work of government. Higher education policy was guided by a few priorities, listed below:

On the one hand, higher education was subordinated to the socialist planned economy, which saw education as a supply factory for socialist large-scale production. This planned economy sought to calculate precisely how many higher

education specialists were needed, afterwards giving higher education institutions the set target number of graduates to produce. Individual interest and social demand did not override these calculations.

On the other hand, strict ideological and socio-political considerations demanded that the new class structure that had emerged as a result of the communist takeover be preserved. To this end, higher education was subject to strict ideological control, and complex bureaucratic management and control was built into higher education. The selection of lecturers was based on the control and approval of the Communist parties. Undercover informers among the lecturers reported on their colleagues and on the mood of the students, while trying to recruit agents. In the higher education institutions of the Central and Eastern European countries, the communist secret police were active in observing, controlling and manipulating teachers and students. Ideological education was included in the curricula of the courses, in the teaching materials and in the textbooks and notes. Every student had to pass an examination in scientific socialism and Marxist political economy. Applicants to higher education were screened to ensure that only children of trustworthy parents were admitted to university, and students and graduates were required to write a “development” profile of their beliefs and worldview for prospective employers. They also did not allow the graduate class to grow in numbers, with a maximum of one-tenth of each age group allowed to continue their studies, because the creation of a graduate mass was identified as a quantitative threat.

Research in higher education was also subject to ideological and political control, with disciplines and research topics arranged in a hierarchy according to their ability to serve the political goals set by the party.

Like the Communist Party’s takeover in the second half of the 1940s, the collapse of state socialist regimes in the CEE region occurred almost simultaneously between 1989 and 1991. In the first period after the political regime changes that took place, the first breakthroughs were freedom of political expression, the public emergence of previously illegal civil society organizations, the emergence of a multi-party system and the organization of democratic elections. Even before that, it had become apparent in higher education institutions that dissent and dissenting opinions could no longer be banned. In several countries, discontent and criticism of the system also emerged within the ruling party elites. Intellectuals opposed to the regime, whether they emigrated or stayed at home, were more visible in academic societies than spokespersons for the ideology and policies of the state party. Secret, samizdat studies were circulated among lecturers and students, radio broadcasts from abroad were listened to, and where possible, critical thinkers were invited to give lectures in a restricted circle. So, it can be

said that although the socialist regimes guarded the universities jealously against reformist and anti-establishment thinking, these institutions became catalysts for political change. In Romania, during the revolution of December 1989, students and faculty at the universities of Timișoara played a key role in organizing the resistance, the 1989 ‘Velvet Revolution’ began with a student demonstration and faculty played a major role in the political transformation. In the regions of the former Yugoslavia, university youth supported both autonomy efforts and reforms. In Hungary, the faculty and students of the voluntary extracurricular study groups that were being set up at universities were the leaders of the new political formations. The moment of political regime change found academics in the countries studied as a relatively prestigious and influential occupational group.

The first governments that came to power after the change of government were the first to face the dilemma in higher education policy of whether removing controls on the number of applicants and graduates would be the right thing to do. Would it not lead to an overproduction of labor and a dilution of the intellectual elite? And, above all, the question was whether the bankrupt CEE economies would be able to cope with the additional costs of increased public higher education. Whether to open the doors of higher education to the masses of students was widely debated by political parties, governments and the general public (Kozma 1990, Kozma 1998). After some hesitation, the increased social demand for higher education in each country was finally met, and enrollment and completion rates increased. The dilemma of whether all this growth should be financed by the state or whether students should cover their costs has been with us for the last three decades. Various solutions have been sought and found in the region and there have been several changes of direction in this respect. Each of these attempts has placed a heavy burden on academics, as widening participation implies a pedagogical challenge and extra work, narrowing participation and strengthening selection rather a greater evaluation administration and the mental burden of whether the selection decision is indeed made on a fair and meritocratic basis.

Many of the manifest institutions of ideological control in higher education were abolished in the first stage of the political transformation (party leadership, Marxist departments and political indoctrination courses). Several university professors with a history of agents were exposed, but there was no consistent public screening in the region under study as in East Germany or even in Poland and the Czech Republic (David, 2011). Political and public debates led to the decision not to publish the names of agents on the grounds that many had been recruited by force or blackmail. On the other hand, the mechanisms of state socialism made it almost impossible to unravel the role played by unethical service and political

connections to the ruling party in the development of individual academic careers. Thus, in these countries, the last representatives of academics/academics with a history of agency or who have been brought in through ideological selection will only be out of the system in the generational transitions in the 2020s.

In addition to struggling with the legacy of the past, higher education in the region was very quickly confronted with global challenges that also had a significant impact on the world of CEE academics (Kozma, 2008). One of the main trends was global expansion. This expansion was not only caused by the release of social demands that had been suppressed in the CEE region, but it coincided with the second wave of expansion in the modern world, the challenges of which were already being addressed by the Bologna Process. As social participation rates in the region under study were very low, the mass of people wishing to continue their studies suddenly came upon the higher education systems with great force in the mid-1990s. In the space of a few years, this fundamentally changed the internal world of the institutions, the teaching methods and the workload. Neither the institutional capacities (buildings, classrooms, teaching equipment) nor the pedagogical competences of the higher education staff were ready to cater for them. The composition of the student body is highly diversified. Despite the large social differences that characterize the region, in the past, teachers encountered a relatively homogeneous student population and found it difficult to cope with students from diverse cultural backgrounds and with a wide range of motivations. The typical response to this diversity in the countries of the region has been the expansion of supply, the diversification of courses, privatization and the emergence of new providers (Levy, 2014). These phenomena have been accompanied by a moderate increase in the number of academics, but also by an internal stratification of the student population, as those working in different segments of higher education have found themselves with very different student populations, workloads, development and career prospects. The increase in the number of young people and women in academics was significant.

The challenges facing higher education in the western half of Europe had become common in the eastern part of the CEE region by the end of the 1990s. Despite demographic stagnation, enrollment rates increased, and graduates were not only a labor market asset but also a symbolic social asset. The introduction of multi-cycle education as a result of the Bologna Process was a response to both expansionary pressures and the labor market redeemability of diplomas. In the Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) region, the transition to multi-cycle education has generally been rapid (Pusztai & Szabó, 2008; Kozma et al., 2014). Academics have been given the task of revising the structure and curricula of education and research, a task that requires expertise, thoughtful decision-making and a

very time-consuming process. From then on, training design became an almost permanent task, as demand for training and the constantly changing needs of the labor market meant that courses had to be adapted to frequent closures and new courses that were added. For academics, this was an unexpected and demanding task.

Another aspect of the global transformation of higher education was internationalization, which the region's higher education sector encountered as an important initiative as regarded European integration, pointing toward the creation of a European Higher Education Area. This was achieved through the promotion of student and teacher mobility, the introduction of a credit system to ensure comparability and interoperability, quality assurance and the introduction of the diploma supplement. Academics have found themselves in an increasingly competitive situation as academics and researchers in the wake of internationalization. As students progressed through the multi-cycle training pathway, it became easy for them to switch to a transfer route, and the fight to retain them began. In CEE countries, this has led to a huge Western brain drain. Young people from these countries were looking for a richer, more modern environment, Western European universities, and in many cases were not content with semester-long mobility but left their home countries after secondary school. The internationalization of the higher education arena has therefore posed a greater challenge to this region (Dabney-Fekete, 2020).

After the political transition, funding autonomy, maintenance pluralism and entrepreneurship have emerged in higher education in the context of the drive toward more decentralized models. For various reasons, private and foundation-based institutions are of great importance in higher education in the countries under study, most notably in Romania, where privatization was very intense during the expansionary wave and later curtailed. Minority Hungarian language institutions are maintained by foundations, and the share of non-state-maintained institutions has increased in Hungary after 2020. Regardless of the sponsor, institutions everywhere were looking for professionals who could steer higher education with a business approach. Kwiek's studies have shown how higher education in CEE countries adopted entrepreneurial practices in the post-communist transitions in response to globalization, Europeanization and reduced state funding (Kwiek, 2013). In the region under study, entrepreneurialism and managerialism arrived in the region under study not on the theoretical arguments of 'value state' ideologies, not with a focus on rewarding quality work, but with a reference to decreasing state funding (Kwiek, 2013). The positive returns of the entrepreneurial approach were a greater emphasis on development and innovation in higher education research, and closer cooperation with economic

actors, whether in research or training. However, managerial leadership in these countries has also brought an increase in the proportion of administrative staff. Soon after the shackles of state socialist bureaucracy were removed, this new type of bureaucracy began to emerge. Moreover, it was often created by those who had been running the old state socialist bureaucracy (Kozma & Polónyi, 2022).

The democratization and liberation from ideological control for those working in higher education has clearly led to a boom in research activity. In different ways and rates, institutional structures for research funding, mediating between governments and the scientific community, have begun to emerge in the countries of the region. As the level of national income available for research funding in these countries is very low compared to Western European countries. Thus, the competition for these resources is very intense. What is new, however, is that it is no longer only the government that decides who gets the funds, but academics judge each other's proposals, and the public funder decides on the basis of this. Non-governmental, but also foundation and international research grants have become available, but these are very limited. On a positive note, the role of scientific excellence in the career prospects of academics has slowly started to increase as a result of the policy change, but the limited resources available have created inequalities in access to research funding and scientific excellence and innovation are not fully reflected.

For the vast majority of academics working in the region, there was no well-trodden path to international academia, as under socialism there was a strict bureaucratic process before crossing national borders, and not everyone had a world passport. From this point of view, participation in the European mobility programs, which symbolized the examined countries' rapprochement with and symbolic acceptance of European integration, was a major turning point. Although mobility once a year was generally modestly subsidized by European funds, the ever-increasing cost of attending international conferences and publishing in refereed journals in prestigious databases remained beyond the reach of many for financial reasons. They found themselves in the vicious circle of internationalization drop-outs. This explains why the proportion of academics involved in internationalization is relatively low in the countries of the region. In the 2020 decade, the broad swathes of academics who dropped out of internationalization at a young age were no longer able to win grants and therefore could not finance publications and conferences, leaving them at a severe cumulative disadvantage. Science and medicine academics were able to develop international research links somewhat sooner. They were able to study abroad even before the political regime change, because their field was not ideologically risky and the development of these disciplines was already a

priority under state socialism because of industrial links. At the same time, it is precisely in these fields that a significant migration of academics has occurred. The increased value of individual achievement, limited research funding and local shortcomings in underdeveloped research infrastructure, as well as the opening up of mobility opportunities after the fall of the Iron Curtain and European Union (EU) accession, have allowed a significant brain drain from the countries of the region. This has also made the question of going or staying in certain disciplines a commonplace one for cutting-edge academics.

A recent development in higher education in the region is that governments have moved toward performance-based funding, which emphasizes productivity in research, publications and winning proposals. This has increased the pressure on academics to perform, and the changes have also led to job insecurity, especially for academics who do not belong to a narrow group of elite researchers. Regional differences in the composition of students in higher education institutions also create serious inequalities in the internally stratified academic occupational group but also create new inequalities in performance-based funding, which affect life and job satisfaction (Kovács et al., 2024).

In summary, the examined region's recovery of academic freedom after state socialism was followed so quickly by waves of expansion, managerialism and internationalization that it missed out on the golden age of abundant resources and high social prestige in the western world. The golden age described by Altbach and Enders (Altbach, 2005; Enders, 2007) ended before it had even begun in this region. Higher education in the region moved from a strictly state-controlled, centrally planned, socialist higher education policy, first to a fleeting moment of freer, more autonomous educational governance, and then to a market-oriented and performance-based model, which resulted in a radical transformation of governance, funding and accountability mechanisms within higher education institutions.

From the academics' point of view, after the political transition, the hope was that academics here could achieve a similar status to academic professionals in Western Europe, becoming an occupational group with full research, policy and time-allocation freedom, generously supported by the welfare state. Their hopes of this were soon dashed, and they became employees of an impoverished and plundered state instead of the welfare state, facing increased workloads, fierce competition and job insecurity caused by the extremely rapid, overlapping changes in expansion and education policy. The age stratification of academics in this region is a special segmentation, as the age gap is further blurred by the fact that some of today's professors were socialized under socialism, the middle generation remained in the financially miserable but hopeful circumstances after the

change of regime, while for the 30-year-old generation, being a university teacher is no longer prestigious, the career then needing to offer some substitute value.

Our research is one of those studies focusing on a post-socialist region that in recent decades has faced two interrelated challenges. On the one hand, it dealt with the serious legacy of the past and, on the other hand, with building newly developed systems that had to be adapted to more advanced European higher education systems. This was done while they themselves were in a state of searching for a new path (Kwiek, 2012; Höhle & Teichler, 2013; Brankovicz et al., 2014; Pavlin & Sušanj, 2020).

3. New Challenge: The Well-Being of Academics

The novelty and significance of our research is that we are at a critical moment, facing new challenges, unlike before. With the emergence of managerialism, the audit approach has exploded and become dominant in higher education in the region over the last half decade. The bureaucratic management that higher education in the region had under state socialism it was accustomed to, and the power of administrators was not an unknown phenomenon. But in the 2020s, serious performance evaluation, with implications for pay, was introduced in the region's institutions. This has caught most academics in the region off guard. The direct consequence of applying performance measures to teaching and academia is acceleration. Of course, flexibility and the capacity to evolve are almost a fundamental requirement in this occupational group, but the persistence of time pressures and the acceleration of work can fundamentally disrupt the 'peace of human life and work' (Vostal, 2015, p. 296).

Even the more gradual transformation of the academic profession has in some respects made academics the victims of their own careers, as early studies have indicated (Enders & Teichler, 1995). However, coming in congested waves, this rapid transformation is likely to create entirely new selection breakpoints among academics. Our research is timely in observing the impact of the incursion of managerial values and practices on organizational commitment and various dimensions of employee well-being. The effects have been widely studied elsewhere (Bryson, 2004; Findlow, 2008; Hyde et al., 2013; Loveday, 2018), but little research has addressed this area. We hypothesize that our research with a regional focus is also necessary because research shows that there is no uniform response from academics to the growing managerialism. The differences are first felt in the area of well-being.

The issue of public perception is also interesting because the changes in higher education in the region under study were not gradual, but rather a very rapid

process, which is difficult to work through. In the post-socialist countries, the academic community, freed and reorganized after ideological pressure, became proletarianized again only a few years after gaining freedom. Therefore, a large part of academics see themselves as victims of the worst decisions made by their governments, rather than as participants in a process that is following international trends everywhere.

Mood is a subjective perception of the current physical, mental and spiritual state of an individual and his or her general well-being. In the case of academics, well-being is also a diffuse concept, involving specific dimensions, the most important of which we have tried to examine in our research. These sub-domains are the perception of workplace culture, the evaluation of academic development, two key areas of professional self-actualization, international mobility and publication productivity, work-life conflicts, physical activity in support of physical and mental health, and cultural involvement as a source of intellectual pleasure and recreation. Of course, there are many other dimensions of well-being in academia, but in this paper we have only addressed the most fundamental ones.

The precursors of scientific research on the well-being of academics date back to the period following the first big wave of mass enrollment in higher education. In the 1980s, the problem of burnout and career dropout among academics due to long-term stress was already a fact (Melendez & De Guzman, 1983). In the 1990s, systematic research on workload, job security and anxiety due to increasing demands began (Allen, 1996). It has become apparent that for this occupational group, a workplace environment that supports mental and emotional well-being is of paramount importance, with the potential to reduce the significant work challenges, increased workload and feelings of insecurity. On the other hand, physical fitness and the perception of opportunities for physical activity were also considered to be included, as well as intellectual satisfaction, meaningful intellectual activities related to career and leisure, and work-life balance. We believe that the well-being of academics is not a private matter, but a prerequisite for creative, efficient, productive higher education that is able to retain and develop human resources. Since the 2000s it has integrated aspects such as mental, emotional and social well-being (Seligman & Csíkszentmihályi, 2000). The study of some dimensions of well-being has become increasingly common in higher education. Some are associated with higher-than-average job risks, others directly deal with crises, and there is ever-growing discussion of the related responsibilities of higher education institutions leaders and administrators (Jayman et al., 2022; Nicholls et al., 2022; Hammoudi Halat et al., 2023). Research has highlighted the impact of a supportive work environment and the need for institutional policies to improve work-life balance and reduce workplace

stress. More recently, research has begun to examine the well-being of academics and has found that the most important dimensions are the culture of the work environment, career and development opportunities, work-life balance, workload and personal leisure balance (Gibbs & Miller, 2014; Pace et al., 2021; Buda & Kovács, 2024). Qualitative and mainly psychological studies exist but rarely interpret the phenomenon embedded in the changes in higher education, and no large-scale, multi-country study has been conducted in our region.

This raises several research questions. The question is whether the academics of the region under study, located on the eastern periphery of the European Higher Education Area, are close to the types described in international research or show new characteristics in comparison to them. As previous research has mainly focused on the conflict within the role of academics (Fukudome, 2015) rather than its compatibility with private life and well-being, it is questionable how the examination of academics from new perspectives nuances the picture of academics in the early twenty-first century. The question that remains to be answered is: will there be significant differences between countries or between academic strata according to the aspects studied, or will European developments have different effects in different countries?

The study of this region is also of political importance, as it has historically been a region struggling to balance between East and West under constant external influence. Our research can provide information, through the various higher education policy initiatives, on the state of the academic staff, without whose involvement the vision of a new model of higher education could not be realized. Education policy actors and institutional leaders can build on research findings to develop better practices, training, supportive policies and services. Our research is also of great importance beyond the region under study, as the aspects examined bring new approaches and perspectives to the international discourse from the already rich body of academic research. Although some of the issues examined are not unprecedented, and the members of the research team are following in the footsteps of renowned researchers, together we gain a complex picture of higher education in several countries from a new dimension. In this approach, there is no empirical evidence base for policy development at national or regional level. Our research also aims to initiate the development of an academics well-being evidence-based knowledge base.

From a theoretical point of view, the examined countries constitute a natural laboratory for comparative studies, allowing us to examine how developments in managerialism may affect the well-being of academics. The book is intended to provide a reliable contribution of higher education research to ongoing reform processes in the policy area.

4. The Research Design of the Studies

Changes in higher education in recent decades—such as expansion, the Bologna reform, internationalization, competition for students, managerialism and the emergence of a service-oriented approach—have fundamentally changed the work of academics. Whereas research and teaching used to be the backbone of their work, academics now have a much wider range of responsibilities: they are expected to act as tutors, researchers, mentors and sometimes counselors. The expectations (or demands) associated with these roles and activities place great pressure on them and are a major source of stress, which negatively affects health and well-being, as well as determines their job satisfaction and performance. Thus, it has important implications for institutional effectiveness. The aim of our research, which forms the basis of this volume and is essential in the region, was to examine the well-being, working conditions and performance of academics in five Central and Eastern European countries (Hungary, Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania and Serbia).

In the first part of our research, we conducted focus group interviews with academics from Hungary and in Hungarian minority higher education institutions in Romania, Slovakia, Serbia and Ukraine. Seven focus group interviews were conducted online with academics from nine higher education institutions in the five countries (N=41). The interviews covered a wide range of topics, including the work and situation of academics. After analyzing and processing the interviews, the questionnaire on which this volume is based was compiled. Our detailed questionnaire survey examined the factors that characterize academics' teaching and research work, working conditions, workplace outcomes, health, lifestyle, institutional, family, and social backgrounds (over 300 items).

The questionnaire being translated into Serbian, Slovakian, Ukrainian and Romanian, and being sent, with the permission of the head of the institution, 2 or 3 times over the internet to all academics of the institutions surveyed in the spring of 2023, ensured a probability sample (all academics had a chance to be included in the sample). We examined the higher education establishments of two disadvantaged regions in Hungary, the Northern Great Plains Region (the University of Debrecen, the Debrecen Reformed Theological University, and the University of Nyíregyháza), and the Southern Transdanubia Region (the University of Pécs). When scrutinizing institutions in the other countries, we targeted minority Hungarian institutions. The examined universities were as follows: the University of Novi Sad in Serbia, the J. Selye University, the University of Prešov and the University of Trnava in Slovakia, the Partium Christian University, the Oradea State University, the Emanuel University, the Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, and the Babeş-Bolyai University and their satellite

branches in Romania, the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College and Uzhhorod National University in Ukraine.

Though we looked into Hungarian minority institutions, we still sent out the survey in the language of the majority population. Academics from these regions filled out the survey, those working in institutions from inner Ukraine (non-Transcarpathian Region) did as well ($n=62$). Regarding academics in Ukraine, most of the respondents in the Ukrainian subsample live and work in the Transcarpathian region, though several academics from the other regions of the country moved there because of the war. Based on their answers, we could collect a lot of valuable information about the special situation of academic work during the war. It has a significant impact on their working conditions and well-being, which is the most important question in our research. We therefore decided to keep the respondents from inside Ukraine for further analysis.

To reach representativity we strove for a 10 percent sample for each institution devoid of faculties, and for each faculty in larger universities. We reached much larger samples with the smaller universities and colleges, where fewer than 100 were employed. In the interest of reaching probability sample, we sent the survey on two or three occasions to all academics who work in the institution via the registrar or correspondence offices. From there, where the number of teachers per department and the total number of academics on campus were known, we compared the data with the ratio of respondents from the given institutions and faculties. Following this, we sent the letter of request only to the places where the level of academics was less than 10 percent. Thus, the Hungarian sample is representative per faculty, while the sub-samples from other countries are mainly representative of Hungarian minorities and the majority academics working with them, mostly in the same institution. In total, 853 filled out the survey and following data cleansing, that number dwindled to 821. We gave the database the name, Central and Eastern European Teachers in Higher Education (CEETHE 2023).

Among the respondents, 514 were Hungarian (61.8%), 115 Ukrainian (14.1%), 113 Romanian (13.8%), 40 Serbian (4.9%) and 36 Slovakian (4.4%). For three of them, we could not identify their institutions of employment or countries of origin. A total of 43.7% were men and 56.3% were women, with an average age of 46 years ($SD=10.7$). The average number of years worked in higher education was 17 ($SD=11$ years). The fields of study in which they activate were medical (16.1%), teacher training (13.6%) and humanities and social sciences (12.9 and 8.2%, respectively). The smallest ratios were for theology (1.1%), art mediation (1.9%), and law (1.5%). The ratio of other areas is 2.6–6.7%. 21.1 of the respondents did not have any degree, 46.8% had a Ph.D./DLA, 17.1% were habilitated

doctors, and 9.2% had DSc degrees. Of the traditional academic positions, 29.6% were senior lecturers and 26.8% were associate professors. Additionally, 11.3% were college and university teachers and almost the same proportion (11.2%) were assistant lecturers. Smaller percentages worked as senior teachers (2.6%), language teachers, physical education teachers, or professional subjects (4%). Far less work as a research assistant (2.3%), 1.8% as a research fellow, 1% as a senior research fellow, and 1.2% as a research professor. 6% marked the “other” category. Of the respondents, 69.3% did not fulfill the leader’s function.

We listed academic jobs, based on the experiences received from the focus group interviews conducted before the quantitative research, asking respondents to rate on a 1 to 4 scale to what extent they hold the given tasks to be part of their jobs. Based on the answers, we did first factor, then cluster analysis, separating four different academic types: *teaching-focused academics* (33.4%), *academics with an administrative focus* (19.7%), *research-focused academics* (20.3%), and *academic leaders* (26.6%). The teaching-focused academics are those who boast the largest group in our database, they consider activities connected to teaching; course material development; formation and development of an online teaching environment; professional teaching of academics, specialty area and new results; cooperation with external partners while in the field / during practice; trial of new teaching methods, and also academic research all equally important.

Within the latter, publishing research is obligatory, academics must be the utmost effective to meet that requirement, what is more, publication must be in their mother tongue. The other types attempt to teach and do academic research at the highest possible quality. Among other things, those in this group must deal with international grant writing and publishing articles in high prestige journals in English.

The second group, the academics with an administrative focus, received the worst average value in the most examined dimensions. Teaching is less important to them than to the other groups, but it is more characteristic of their work than academic work, particularly belonging to a research group, publishing, and writing international grants. Meanwhile, they value cooperation with colleagues in teaching, and carrying out administrative tasks is more characteristic of them.

The third type, the research-focused academics gave similarly high values for academic research activities, especially international publishing and academic research as the teaching-focused academics, but the teaching activities were less important to them than the academic activities. Like the first group of academics, they considered leader-administrative tasks more characteristic of their jobs, which most likely refer to leading and doing the administration for grants won. Likewise, the academic researcher activities carry greater weight in their circle,

while publishing in their mother tongue is least important to their work, which might be explained by the fact that, in high-level researcher work and grants, success is measured by how many publications appear in Q-level English language journals registered in the international database. All the while, they still teach classes, considering it part of their job, putting great emphasis on increasing the academic re-supply. However, the professional teaching of new and specialty area results was of less interest to them, just like course material development.

The last group, academics leaders, gave high marks to teaching and academic researcher activities equally, but carrying out the tasks of a leader were of utmost importance (namely within the university), these tasks defining their work the most, and thus winning them their name.

Our volume consists of two main chapters, which present empirical findings using qualitative and quantitative survey data from our research and national and international statistical databases. The main comparative criteria used in the analyses were country, the types of academics described above, and their main job characteristics (title, discipline, academic degree, etc.).

In the first chapter, the authors analyzed the main higher education statistics of the five countries studied (Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, Serbia and Ukraine) and described the educational policy environment that determines the work of their academics. The second chapter examines the background and effectiveness of academics' work. It analyses data from our empirical studies to show the background factors of academics' well-being, productivity, work-life conflicts and the characteristics of their teaching methods, participation in international mobility and cultural consumption.

The first paper in this chapter, based on interview research, shows the types of institutions that have been distinguished in terms of the impact of the introduction of a performance appraisal system on the institutional climate. The next study examines the factors that encourage and discourage participation in international mobility, and moving on to the issue of workplace outcomes, the third study looks at two specific dimensions of this, namely the background factors of well-being and productivity of academics. The fourth study in the chapter presents the characteristics of work-life conflict among academics, while the fifth study compares teaching methods with the characteristics of academics. The last study examines the characteristics of academics' cultural consumption.

We recommend the studies of our volume to the leaders of all higher education institutions in the region, to policymakers responsible for higher education, and to researchers familiar with the topic. Moreover, it is for those who wish to understand the opinions, experiences, and underlying factors that shape the work, well-being, and effectiveness of the human resources within the institutions they

lead and coordinate. These insights are essential for improving organizational efficiency and development, and we have also formulated recommendations in our writings to support this process.

Primarily, however, we dedicate our work to our academics, who can gain a deeper understanding of the background factors behind the experiences and challenges they encounter daily—sometimes struggling with them—and possibly find suggestions for overcoming and resolving these difficulties.

Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to all institutional and department leaders who permitted data collection, participated in the process, and encouraged their colleagues to complete the survey. Most importantly, we thank the academics who sincerely shared their opinions and patiently answered every question in our detailed, rather lengthy questionnaire. Without their contributions, this research could not have been successfully conducted, and this volume would not have come to life.

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