

THE UNIVERSITY OF TAMPERE

EUEREK case study report

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EUEREK Project

European Universities for Entrepreneurship: their role in the Europe of Knowledge

<http://thoughtsmart/euerek>

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1. Baseline data

Development and changes of mission

The University of Tampere (UTA) is a multidisciplinary university and committed to scientific research and advanced teaching. It has about 15 400 degree students. Measured by the amount of students the UTA is fourth biggest university in Finland (after the University of Helsinki the universities of Turku, Oulu and Tampere are about the same size). In 2005 the total expenditure of the university was €128 million. The university was founded in Helsinki in 1925 and called Civic College. In 1930 the name was officially changed to School of Social Sciences. In 1960 the university moved to Tampere and in 1966 the institution was named University of Tampere. In 1974 it became a state university.

The University of Tampere has a central location in southern Finland. Tampere region is the country's second largest regional centre after the Greater Helsinki Area. The City of Tampere is the fourth biggest town in Finland with some 180 000 inhabitants. Tampere has been a traditional (smokestack) industrial town and it has been called "the Manchester of Finland". Nowadays majority of the posts are in a service sector. Information technology, health technology, mechanical engineering and industrial automation are increasing industry areas. (The Strategy of the University of Tampere 2001.)

The UTA has six faculties. The Faculty of Social Sciences was established in 1940s, the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Economics and Administration in 1960s and the Faculties of Medicine and Education in 1970s. The newest one, the Faculty of Information Sciences was established in 2001. The separate units are ten: the Institute of Medical Technology, the Institute for Regenerative Medicine (Regea), the School of Public Health, the Institute for Extension Studies, the Finnish Social Science Data Archive, the Research Institute for Social Sciences, the Language Centre, the Centre for Technical Services, the Computer Centre and the library.

The historical heritage of the University of Tampere arises from its predecessor the School of Social Sciences. It has created a base for strong bias to social sciences and humanities. Anyway, the amount of medicine and natural science education and especially research has increased since the turn of the millennium. This has been seen also as a strategic difficulty to have two focus areas which are apart. In 1996 some focus areas were nominated: information technology or research and teaching of information society, European studies as well as medical and biosciences. In the 2001

strategy there were mentioned no concrete focus areas. The general “focus areas” were the research and teaching of society, health and well-being as well as successful and rapidly developing fields in which the university has special expertise.

That [the university profile] has shifted towards the Kauppi campus, towards medicine, health care and industries related to these. So it has clearly changed and in a way this poses a sort of strategic challenge for the university. The university has two focus areas and they're even quite far apart. (H8)

According to its mission statement, the University of Tampere is a multidisciplinary science community whose activity is based on scientific research and wide-ranged freedom of studying. The university serves the society and culture by high level research and teaching. It has a special task as an analytical and critical reviewer of societal phenomena and as a constructor of the civic society. The culture of the University of Tampere has not stressed the research task as much as cultures in some other research universities. The history of the university was heavily orientated to vocational education and teaching. So the main development in the last fifteen years has been strengthening of the research task of the university. In 1996 the university in its first strategy started to search more broad orientation to the research task. At the second strategy document the main strategic task of the university is said to be strengthening the research task (the Strategy of the University of Tampere 2001). According to one interviewee another and newer focus is internationalisation.

This wasn't really known for research, but for teaching. This is because we had these units – which were a relic of the School of Social Sciences – which provided education that led to a Bachelor's degree, they produced for example Bachelors of Social Services. And this is the reason why our history is so much focused on vocational training. But then we started focusing more on research about 15 years ago, we wanted to make the university a genuine and a credible research institution and to provide the people within the university with the chance to focus on research. (H9)

The new strategy process has been going on in 2005. There are challenges at the process because the university like all the universities in Finland are still learning the strategy-making culture. At the department level the strategy documents may have been perceived as papers which do not affect departments. At the mid of the 1990s the strategy was the view of the administration and the work was done almost secretly. Now the departments and the administration discuss the strategy together and it has been noticed also at the department level that the administration has a genuine bid to create bottom-up dynamic.

I guess you could say that the strategy has not had any real significance except maybe in terms of the actions of the university's management and administration, they've worked out for themselves what they want, what they emphasize and they've always referred to this strategy whenever appropriate... (H8)

I think that the previous strategy process or the previous strategy processes we've gone through in the past have suffered from the fact that they've been too centralized. They've had a top-down approach. However, I think the current management of the university does really sincerely try to adopt this more of a bottom-up type of an approach. (H6)

Another change is that strategy is tried to do more purposefully. In 1996 the administration did not actually know how they should use the strategy and what it should be. The 2001 strategy was still quite general. Now the intention is that the strategy would include clear and more concrete goals and that it would function as a tool. One interviewee saw that there have been significant changes at the goals of the university in the last year and that the new strategy discussion “*clearly reflects the general discourse about the competitiveness and the status of Finland and stuff like that*” (H5).

Data on finance, students and staff numbers

The number of degree students has grown by one third from 1991 to 2004. The number of overseas students has grown faster but it is still minor. As the trend has been in Finland, the number of postgraduate students has increased faster than the number of undergraduate students.

Table 1. The degree student numbers in 1990 – 2004 (* Specialist, specialized dentist, specialized vet) (KOTA-database)

	Undergraduate		Postgraduate		Other students*		Students total	Index
	home	overseas	home	overseas	home	overseas		
1990	9579	n.a.	826	n.a.	550	n.a.	10955	
1991	9725	110	1011	18	578	6	11448	100
1992	10171	140	1111	26	469	6	11923	104
1993	10162	128	1214	38	472	12	12026	105
1994	10478	144	1314	45	461	9	12451	109
1995	10810	169	1409	51	466	10	12915	113
1996	10894	185	1539	65	497	11	13191	115
1997	11058	193	1606	71	629	11	13568	118
1998	11100	183	1665	65	783	15	13811	121
1999	11440	186	1626	76	830	20	14178	124
2000	11643	178	1559	78	753	15	14226	124
2001	11921	194	1634	94	803	21	14667	128
2002	12163	188	1796	88	854	16	15105	132
2003	12440	196	1914	105	819	16	15490	135
2004	12601	218	1779	101	676	19	15394	134

The amount of staff has increased a little bit more than students at the same period. The number of researchers has grown most considerably; it is now over four-fold compared to the situation in 1990.

Although the number of students has grown fast, the number of teachers has increased only at the group of non-core teachers, i.e. teachers hired with external resources. It may be that the grouping principles have changed over years and some employees who earlier were grouped as teachers are nowadays researchers. Anyway, many of the employees who come under the research staff actually do teaching work.

Table 2. The numbers of academic staff and other staff 1990 - 2004 by financing source (research students in national research schools included in researchers) (KOTA-database)

	Teachers		Researchers		Other staff		Total	Index
	core	non-core	core	non-core	core	non-core		
1990	605	.	17	73	514	237	1446	100
1991	607	.	22	81	521	244	1475	102
1992	621	.	15	86	516	254	1492	103
1993	625	.	19	74	512	302	1532	106
1994	612	28	14	76	526	380	1636	113
1995	591	17	59	94	512	395	1658	115
1996	580	22	93	93	506	405	1699	117
1997	577	38	93	128	510	385	1731	120
1998	528	39	104	177	537	391	1776	123
1999	523	40	89	219	554	367	1792	124
2000	543	51	96	239	582	282	1793	124
2001	573	42	72	296	608	316	1907	132
2002	595	69	127	293	626	344	2054	142
2003	608	87	144	317	645	328	2129	147
2004	605	93	145	315	671	324	2152	149

The total budget of the university has increased from 44,5 million euros in 1990 to almost 126 million euros in 2004 (Chart 1). The share of external funding in universities has increased heavily in Finland in the last fifteen years. At the University of Tampere the growth has been quite regular from 11 % in 1990 to 34 % in 2004 (Chart 2). The university sees that its orientedness to “vocational education” and teaching (relatively smaller research activity) has diminished its share in the resource allocation both from the state and from external sources (the Strategy of the University of Tampere 2001, 6). In 2004 65 % of external funding was research funding.

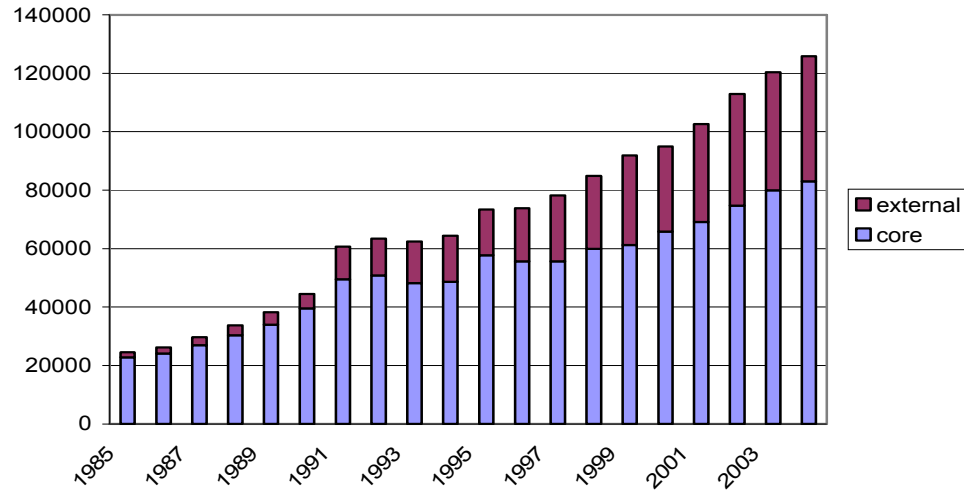


Chart 1. State core and external funding in 1985 - 2004 (1000€) (KOTA-database)

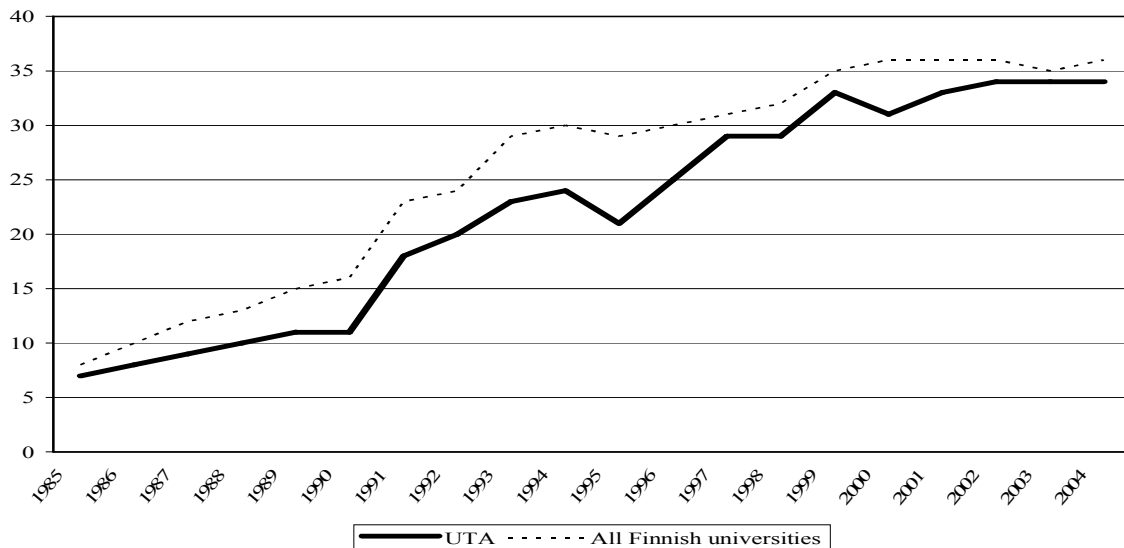


Chart 2. The share of external funding in the universities in 1985 – 2004 (%) (KOTA-database)

Some interviewees think that 34 % external funding is already quite a lot especially as the UTA is to a great extent a university of humanities and social sciences. The interviewees at the central administration think that the amount of external funding can not be increased very much any more. The contribution margins are so low and departments do not have resources to rent working facilities for widening functions. Secondly the fields of the UTA do not get that much external funding.

Well, it's quite a big deal if one third our university's funding is external, it's especially a big deal when we think about the fields we have in our university, the humanities and the social sciences take up quite a chunk of our budget. And these fields haven't traditionally been that eager to sell services. All of this is of course affected by the fact that I mentioned, by the fact that within the medical school there are some quite big projects that then in turn influence the whole. (H2)

The views vary between units. For example the School of Economics will strive for the situation that 50 % of its funding is external. Anyway, there is still work to do because there are also units and departments which think that they are more “academic” and it is not their task to seek external funding. But the attitude towards external funding and cooperation with external stakeholders is much more positive compared to the late 1980s.

There are different cultures and views within the faculties. There are these sort of more academic fields. And then there are also fields that in way have a certain purpose – for example training teachers or linguists – and that feel that it is not a part of their duties to seek external funding. So there's a lot of work to be done in this regard. But we haven't had these discussions about whether or not it's wrong to co-operate with external parties for decades now. We used to have them even in the late 80's. (H4)

Table 3 describes the external funding of the UTA by financing source. The most substantial source, “other domestic funding” includes the funding of the other ministries than the Ministry of Education, The Finnish National Fund for Research and Development (Sitra), private foundations and funds, the County Administrative Boards, municipalities, the federations of municipalities, and the national shares of ESF and ERDF. The amount of private funding from abroad is surprisingly extensive at the first sight compared to other case universities but it turns out to be mainly vaccine research of the Faculty of Medicine which “*is not that significant science as such but making tests in Finland*” (H8). This leads to the situation that the UTA is at the head of the statistics when comparing the private funding of universities. Although they are satisfied with the great proportion of firm funding it is seen that the proportion of scientific research funding, especially the funding of Academy of Finland should be raised.

We have these big vaccine research projects and others – and they are very important projects – but the funding for these from the Academy of Finland is not sufficient, or the funding from Tekes or the EU for that matter, but especially the funding from the Academy of Finland. That's the funding that really reflects whether or not we are doing well in the competition for funding for academic research. It'd be good if that funding were to increase. (H4)

Table 3. The external funding of the University of Tampere 1990 - 2004 (KOTA-database)

	Total	Acad. of Finland	Tekes	Dom firms	Dom other	EU	Foreign firms	Foreign other
1990	5022	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
1991	11243	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
1992	12705	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
1993	14262	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
1994	15772	2301	.	.	12330	.	.	1140
1995	15617	2156	.	.	12228	.	.	1232
1996	18177	2903	.	.	13879	.	.	1395
1997	22611	2778	.	.	17943	.	.	1890
1998	24944	4246	.	.	18107	.	.	2590
1999	30744	5211	1894	1814	18314	1679	1375	455
2000	29096	5552	1174	2066	15502	2035	2133	632
2001	33547	6350	1956	1865	16510	1985	4298	583
2002	38114	7404	2230	2729	16646	2860	5663	582
2003	40379	8116	1821	2823	17550	3382	6147	540
2004	42750	9302	2391	4390	17056	3967	5362	282

The University of Tampere is also at the head of the statistics when comparing the amount of donated professorships and especially when taking account its fields. They are mainly professorships for the Faculty of Medicine. A great part of the donated professorships are donated by the towns in which the university operates.

The city of Seinäjoki was very willing to invest in the basic facilities and requirements of the unit when we were establishing the unit there, in other words, they invested into a few professorships. Pori is also an example of this. The city of Tampere wants to take care of us and their principle has been to provide funding for these new disciplines and fields. They give us a sort of start-up allowance for five years for some professorship, like for example for the professorship in stem cell research. That'll probably kick off in the beginning of next year. (H9)

There are also donations from private quarters but "there aren't that many quarters who could donate 500 000 euros or so" (H9). One of the latest donated professorship in 2005 was an Erkkö Chair which is seen to enable the development of North American Studies to an attractive Masters' Programme and directing research projects to comparative studies. What is special with this donation is that the professorship will bear the name of the donator foundation. Regea is also kind of plan which has been financed externally for a great part but Regea, as well as other externally financed projects are such that first the university has noticed a need for some kind of action and has made the plans and after that the financiers have come in.

It's actually quite often the case that they want to support already existing fields and to strengthen them. And in some cases, like now with this Regea that we discussed earlier, the city clearly wants provide this sort of a start-up allowance for a new discipline. This is of course extremely beneficial for us; these first years are the most critical in terms of funding.(H9)

Often the agreement is that the university continues to finance the professorship but the donation can also be permanent. This practice has also created some new subjects to the university.

We have the most of these donated professorships in Finland, even in absolute terms, which is quite amazing. So they do have some kind of an effect. And quite often there's some kind of an agreement about consolidating, I mean in the sense that after the donation the university has quite often agreed to continue the professorship.(H8)

2. The balance between external and internal drivers of change

There are contradictory views whether the strategy and goals of the university are state driven. There is a view at the central administration level that the changes of the goals have been done independently and that the management by results system did not influence the focus areas but the university lived its own life. One opinion at the department level was that the definition of the strategy and the task of the university have at least until now been responding to the steering of the state and the demands of the Ministry of Education.

I don't think that the fact that this management by objectives approach was adopted has had a very significant effect on these strategies. I think that in terms of strategies and policy definitions the university has lead a life of its own and these government actions a life of their own. I don't really see a direct connection between the two. (H2)

I'd say that until now, as I see it, this is a sort of a response to government steering and demands. – But now when we're trying to adopt this bottom-up approach I'm sure it is and it'll also mean that we'll operating more on our own terms and we'll try to define the strengths of the University of Tampere and also new leadership and operations models. (H6)

Other interviewees saw that on one hand the university has possibilities to define its strategies autonomously but on the other the Ministry of Education has significant influence. When talking about development generally, the interviewees were unanimous. The view is that the steering of the Ministry of Education has not loosened although the administrative autonomy of the university may have increased. The lump sum budgeting has increased autonomy only in theory.

In a way it's a bit freer. I mean that in this model of lump sum budgeting the universities get to keep their own employee structure and they also get to appoint professors autonomously and other things like this. But steering through funding has tightened all long. The ministry's view is that sure universities are autonomous, but unless they have some sort of a moneymaker they are actually quite strictly controlled through funding. (H4)

The Ministry of Education is criticised because of its short-term target orientation and degree target orientation. But some interviewees see that universities should also take stronger role.

Of course the Ministry of Education strongly influences the universities' actions through its policies. I think that especially during the past few years we've been quite strongly influenced by these so-called degree quotas. It's been discussed a lot too. It's sort of an embodiment of this quarter-based thinking. In the university world this quarter-based thinking is realized by increasing our degree quotas. (H4)

I'm a bit concerned that this still in a way too ministry-focused. I don't mean to criticize the ministry, just to say that the universities aren't powerful enough yet. (H6)

But people in different units see the situation differently. Two interviewees in the "most entrepreneurial units", where the share of external funding is remarkable see that university after all has quite high autonomy but they also admit that Ministry of Education with its management by results and resource allocation criteria has influence.

Various financiers also have influence over the university. For example the importance of the Academy of Finland and the National Technology Agency of Finland has increased because more public funding is allocated through these institutions. Also the influence of other external actors has increased. The University of Tampere is trying to react to the needs of the changing region, country and the world. Initiatives for focus areas for example come sometimes from the environment of the UTA but mainly the new moves demand commitment and knowledge which arise within the university.

Well, the new disciplines have taken a rather commanding role here. The University of Tampere is in way trying to respond to the needs of this region and to the needs of the whole country. Maybe that's the explanation. This does require some initiative and commitment on our part, without that you can't start-up new fields or disciplines such as these. You can't really just buy all of that with money from the outside. (H9)

3. Organisational change

Management structures and processes

At the University of Tampere as in all the Finnish universities the Board has the highest authority. The Board is elected for three years at the time. The decision to appoint one external member in the Board was made in 2004. The Board invites an external member and a deputy. The external member is supposed to bring in his own experiences and views about business life and to make questions but after all he is not expected to have very great influence to the university partly because the Board meetings handle internal issues which probably not are interesting to the external member.

To be totally honest I must say that this was probably done just because many others did it too. We just went with flow and took in some external members into the board. But it's really hard to get these external members motivated to really do something in the board. After all, they aren't really that well in touch with our everyday life. They are on the outside, actually quite far on the outside.
(H9)

The UTA has also a chancellor whose tasks are to appoint the professors and docents as well as to confirm the guiding principle and other general regulations of the university. The Rector is responsible for the general management and planning of the university, strategic issues of finance, marketing and communication, official communication as well as international cooperation. Vice-Rectors are two: the 1st Vice Rector is in charge of research issues and postgraduate education and the 2nd Vice Rector is in charge of teaching issues. Rectors are elected by a collegial body for five years at a time. A vice-rector can be freed from the tasks of his regular position by rector. There has been discussion about the need to have also third vice rector who would be in charge of recruiting and salary negotiations over the internal interests of faculties.

The role of the rector is changing although there was no fully clear conception of that. It was stated that the power of the rector has increased in the last five to ten years and that *"the rector has heavy power over the budget, really heavy power at least at the system of Tampere University"* (H8). At the same time the Board has lost its significance. It is seen that the Board handles too much routine issues; its work could be more strategic. It was noticed also at the report of Kuoppala (2004) that at the University of Tampere people feel that the Board has fallen background at the development of decision-making which stresses individual leadership. On the other hand one interviewee sees that

because the leadership system at the university is based on assent and the rector is chosen inside of the university and he has as much authority as the faculties allow, his authority can not be that strong. Secondly he sees that despite of the rector's power over budget, the power is not used to force the faculties to anything.

All of this has developed towards a more rector-led way during the past five to ten years, the board has lost a lot of its authority. - - The University Board is just one of these things, for example we haven't had any meetings since June. There haven't really been any issues that the board could have made decisions on. I guess the board could deal with some lesser issues just as well, but I guess the view has been not to bother the board with these kinds of issues that can easily be dealt with by the rector. The issues that the board deals with are of a different nature; the next board meeting for example is in October. (H2)

The Consultative Committee of the university was established in 1999. At the background of establishment were changes in attitudes, willingness to cooperate with surrounding society and business life, as well as the general trend at the higher education policy that regional impact is required. It should promote the cooperation between the university and its salient interest groups. The members of the Consultative Committee are the top brass of the university and a dozen local influential persons: representatives of municipalities, firms and local public organisations. They assemble twice a year to discuss current cooperation schemes and developing plans. The interviewees do not think that it would have major influence on the action of the university.

We don't really make these decisions in the meetings of the Consultative Committee, but there are these people there, so the connections are there. The connection and co-operation is much closer nowadays and I think that the biggest change is in the fact that universities value these interest groups, think that they're important and value the interaction with them. And the interest groups value the universities, value the fact that they tell them about these trends and tendencies. (H4)

At the middle of the 1990s UTA made a decision to have departments as profit units and moved to lump sum budgeting. Central administration delegated authority to the departments so that they would have a clear, independent financial authority to decide what they do with their resources. The point was that development of the departments would happen more spontaneously and that the departments would recognise the cost effects. This was related also to the belt-tightening at that time. As a consequence the operating of the departments is more systematic and the role of the faculties more strategic.

It has provided a lot of chances and the departments in general are happy with the situation. With this system they control their own financial situation. This promotes continuity and allows the departments to save money. All of this has made the departments' actions much more systematic. It also provides a lot of possibilities, which haven't fully been utilized, but the possibilities are

nonetheless there. And it'll also give the faculties the chance to develop their strategies; they do not have to fight over money. (H4)

The negative side is that the boundaries between the departments are tight which is a problem especially at research because creating multidisciplinary units is difficult. This has been said also to cause problems because the university has no overall view above those autonomous units. *However, there's no overall strategy above these several separate departments, there's no steering there. (H7)*

The problem is that boundaries between different departments have grown. In the research level this is a problem, departmental funding does not exist on the department level since research is not divided according to departments. So it's been hard for us to create broader and more extensive projects because of these small intra-departmental projects are easier to do, in other words: cross-departmental co-operation is difficult. This is one of these major strategic issues. How can we promote and create these multidisciplinary research centers that act as virtual co-operation organizations. (H4)

Maybe this is partly a reason for the description of one interviewee that the University of Tampere has a fragmented structure compared to some other universities and that the staff at the departmental level is not so aware what is happening at the administration level.

This is sort of like trying to shepherd a herd of wild animals, not very thankful. - - I think that this is very typical here. People in the departments here aren't that aware of what's going on the more central level. (H6)

The Teaching Council and the Research Council were established in 2001 for organisations which go over the faculties and try to forge the university as a whole. The task of the Teaching Council is to discuss and prepare issues which are connected to the preconditions, development and guidelines of university teaching and learning. Respectively the Research Council discusses issues concerning research.

The meaning of leadership has been discussed and the training of leaders has been stressed in UTA partly because the heads of departments should have more management capacity. But the leadership problem is same as before: it is not easy to direct academics and it is not easy to get professors to be leaders.

Many of these department heads are of course, most against their will, but anyway, under a lot of pressure as our departments are after all profit units. Department heads are responsible for maintaining budget discipline so they have to be a bit economic... And that's why personnel training has emphasized the training of management. So in this sense this management-type of thinking has been visible, or this sort of a common trend in leadership culture. (H2)

There was a clear contradiction between two interviewees, both at the central administration level. One said that when it has been tried to downsize the central administration, authority has been delegated to the departments and to managers like rector and especially to the heads of departments, it is easier in this kind of “personal management system” to follow through decisions and the central administration can better steer the university. Another one said that the central administration of the university has no instruments to steer the university and following through issues is very slow.

We've genuinely tried to cut down the size of the central administration. In the mid-90's we made the decision to really delegate authority to our profit units. - - And this has led to the fact that they clearly have authority over their resources. - - This new system clearly has an influence in the sense that now the university is internally much more easily manageable. (H9)

It was quite dramatic to see that we didn't have any tools for steering the university, especially so as the faculties are autonomous and reluctant. In fact, in many important issues you have to wait for a proposition from the faculty before anything can be done. This is partly due to the management culture here, but it's also due to these rules. – But this strong management system is largely based on mutual consent. And the power of the rector is largely based on the fact that the rector is elected from within, in this way the rector will have the co-operation of the faculties. (H8)

The administration and management culture were criticised at all the levels but mostly at the “most entrepreneurial units”. These units themselves have more flexible and clear management systems. One unit has a full-time manager and at the other the manager has a clear responsibility for operation.

It's totally justified to say that this [institute] represents this kind of a new model of university management. We're a separate unit and we have our own board in which the university and other relevant parties have representation and then we have...so this is a very streamlined model of management and based on what I've heard in these first strategy meetings, the university management would like to see this model of ours utilized elsewhere too. (H5)

It was criticised that there have been made some structural changes at the administration but the idea of administration has not changed. All in all, it is seen that the administration system and culture at the University of Tampere as a whole is too heavy, bureaucratic and controlling of formal processes. But it was also noticed that the administration system is from an era of teaching university and there are plans and intentions to create a more flexible system also for the research task.

There has been management... In a way there have been formal changes and it seems to me that these different kinds of services and such have been created, but in a way the management...if I'd say... or how would I say this, well, in a way the whole idea and purpose behind the management

has not changed at all. It's old, bureaucratic and controlling management that's focused on formal processes. (H6)

Organisation structures

Changes in organisational structures stem from both external and internal reasons. There have been external pressures for example to change the organisation of medical sciences at the middle of 1990s and to establish a School of Economics inside the university. Regional needs were at the background when the unit in Pori was established. But many interviewees see that establishing new institutes, research units and services is reacting to the changes and needs of the society. Solving problems demands multidisciplinary perspectives and multidisciplinary units. But the new units are also seen to be still living “wild period”, there are no settled strategies or models.

The idea at the bottom of these changes has been that the university could better react to the demands of the environment. - - For example the Institute of Medical Technology is clearly an effort to bring in wider viewpoints for research or transdisciplinarity, so that this university could better respond to the new challenges. (H6)

It is also thought that “it is normal evolution that university widens its supply” (H3) or that “the endless interest of the university is widening” (H8). Fourth, there have been changes in department divisions because of internal development of disciplines, financial reasons and synergy advantages.

The Institute of Medical Technology was established in 1995. The establishment was linked to the national situation. At the recessionary period the government saw that the public sector and the need for doctors would diminish. It was seen that compared to the need of doctors in the future there was one faculty of medicine overmuch. The Ministry of Education decided that the Faculty of Medicine at the UTA would be abolished. The University of Tampere of course battled fiercely against those plans. Finally it was compromised that the number of new medical students would be halved. At the same time bioscience was seen as a national focus area. As compensation to the cuts of medical science the Ministry of Education underwrote to mark separate project funding to the research of medical biotechnology. At the Faculty of Medicine the departments of biomedicine, national health and clinical medicine were abolished and one large Department of Medicine was established as well as the separate units, the Institute of Medical Technology and the School of Public Health. All in all, the Faculty of Medicine developed its activities and reformed its education. At the same time when medical education was downsized, the field of medicine orientated more and more to research. (Visakorpi, Seppälä, Pasternack & Ylitalo 2003.)

The institute has been very successful and this has been seen also at the central administration level. The unit is seen also as a good example for the other units.

“It has given a good impulse to a new applied research area, practical applications of medical science and industrial applications. And it has also produced some spin-offs.” (H9)

“IMT has from the beginning managed to follow the recruitment policy that they know what they want. And they have shown us that you can recruit [certain kind of] people to the community to do this work. -- And it is both internationally and regionally important.” (H4)

Another separate unit at the field of medical technology, the Institute for Regenerative Medicine (Regea) was founded in 2004. Its targets are to enable top-level research in the field of tissue engineering, support spin-off companies and commercialisation of research results. The Regea is financed by the University of Tampere, Tampere University of Technology, University Hospital in Tampere, Pirkanmaa Polytechnic and Coxa Hospital for Joint Replacement.

We’re sort of jointly risk-financing it. We’ve agreed that if the operation isn’t self-sufficient, we’ll cover the losses between the five of us. For now it has been quite successful and it’s been a credible player in its own field. (H9)

The units like IMT and Regea are seen to be responses to the challenges of the society. They *“describe a new way of action. - - At the field of biotechnology the environment is such that innovations arise which should be commercialised.” (H4).*

The unit of Pori under the Faculty of Social Sciences and the School of Economics under the Faculty of Economics and Administration were established in 2004 mainly for regional reasons. With relation to the unit of Pori the Ministry of Education was advocating university centres at the time and UTA had good relationship with the City of Pori. There already existed a university consortium where Tampere University of Technology, Turku School of Economics and Business Administration, University of Turku and University of Art and Design Helsinki operated. The City of Pori wished that there would be also university level education of social sciences.

With relation to the School of Economics the question was about the profile of Tampere region. Local business life and the local Chamber of Commerce were worried about the lack of a school of economics. Establishing the school of economics was not without difficulties. The Chamber of

Commerce wanted a separate school but the university stipulated a unit that functions at the university community.

I think was just a question of profile, a question of what it seems like, is the Tampere region a region that has a school of economics or not. Eventually we ended up with this compromise based on which we have an institution that qualifies as a school of economics. We've made some minor investments into it, but nothing major. (H8)

The changes in the department and faculty structure have been made mainly for internal reasons. There were contradictions within the faculties which had very old structures because the subjects had developed very much. The Faculty of Information Sciences was established in 2001. New subjects were not started up but the faculty gathered together subjects earlier at three separate faculties. It was maybe an effort to strengthen that area and to respond to the changes in society.

Maybe the faculty of Information Sciences was an indication of this willingness to strengthen this aspect, sort of gather under that title actors that were spread out in the Faculty of Social Sciences and in the Faculty of Economic and Administration Sciences and elsewhere. So I think this was an indication of this, it was sort of a response to the society's needs and changes, and that's why the faculty was established. (H1)

In 2004 reorganising took place in relation to the development of the focus areas: the department structure of the Faculty of Economics and Administration was reorganised. Instead of the former six departments the subjects are now divided into four departments. This is said to better connect economic and administrative sciences as well as the areas of public and private administration which are getting closer at the society. The intention was also to start to produce new kind of thinking which would better fit the development of the society. By reorganisations the university is seen to strengthen its role as a research university.

Administration sciences were involved with the public sector, whereas economics were involved with the private sector. But now we've combined the two as the convergence between the private and the public sector is quite obvious nowadays. This also should now produce new kind of thinking that is in line with the developments within the society. (H4)

4. Financial management

The interviewees at the University of Tampere think that the reasons for increased share of external funding are both that the state funding has decreased and that the university is more active and willing to seek funding. When the budget funding decreased and the demands for universities increased, it was the only way to make extra resources to “go out”. On the other hand there was an

opinion that the units have spontaneously sought funding they have wanted to strengthen their research profile. There are also more demands outside of the university for the services of some departments and these departments can increase their external funding by responding to the demands.

With external funding we can employ people. These new people of course provide the department with some latitude, so I think there's something like this going on. But I think that demand has also grown quite substantially. Some departments have even sometimes complained that there's too much demand, more than they can handle. (H2)

I think that it's been a conscious choice to increase the proportion of external funding. Since the budget funding has decreased and since the requirements on universities have grown, this has been the only way to get additional funding, you have had to go out and get external funding. (H4)

At the Hypermedia Laboratory and the IMT the functioning has from the beginning based on great share of external funding. At the IMT the prerequisite for growth have been competent people who have been able to seek funding. Of the current 150 employees at the institute, 120 work on external funding. The Hypermedia Laboratory on its part has funded basic education with external funding already at the middle of the 1990s.

From the very beginning our actions have been based on the fact that we can't run our operations solely on basic funding. In the past we've for example funded our basic education with external funding. We covered our teaching expense with profits left over from our research projects at a time when we had a lot of students doing our basic courses. We felt that this just one part of our sort of national duty. (H1)

The UTA encourages departments to seek more external funding but does not give orders. It is written in the strategy that the university makes service research but that it should be easily related to academic research. The university can not participate in any action just to make money. Still this happens. The departments “*may also have to take in so called second-class projects which are not in accordance with the strategy, only to keep the jobs*” (H1).

In practice universities accept too much external funding. They accept funding with unreasonable terms and by doing this they're chipping away at their basic resources as they're basically accepting unreasonable research contracts. I think this the reality in all Finnish universities. In order to get postgraduate students and doctoral degrees – which are currently the only profitable product of Finnish universities – universities accept under priced projects that then even partly support these doctoral candidates. (H8)

One interviewee saw that the contentual change of social sciences has been enormous as a result of increased external funding and that it is not so critical anymore. “*Professors are very guarded*

because every member of elite you meet is a potential financier” (H8). Money has the power at the other fields, too:

For example in medicine there’s obvious internal criticism over the fact that bioscientific research is too strong and clinical research too weak – and it’s clinical research that the patients need. However, there’s no funding for it. This criticism is always present, but it’s not usually public, it’s just what’s said within the university. (H8)

But as a whole the interviewees did not see that external funding would affect the functioning significantly and they saw that the researcher still has the final word at the projects. Because they did not see that the external funding would limit the work of them, some interviewees estimated that the financial autonomy may have increased because of external funding. Departments have more “own money” which they can use as they want. Still, as a whole the financial autonomy has not increased because of tightened state controlling.

The way I still see it is that in certain details questions may be asked as to which direction we’re heading in. But the current trend nonetheless is that our latitude is going to increase. So is autonomy, I mean economic autonomy. (H6)

A big problem is that external funding and the administration of research projects are not well organised. The university is a teaching institution by nature and “*amateur professors*” are responsible for the research projects. The university and departments do not have systematic strategies how to link external funding with budget funding and what kind of products they could market.

The university doesn’t function like a professional research institute that accepts research funding; it actually functions quite poorly. (H8)

Well, all in all it could be said that the strategic point of view and planning are to a large extent lacking in this university. External funding does come in, but there isn’t – at least in our faculty – enough discussion about what to do with it, how to properly acquire it and how to connect it to our basic tasks. (H6)

The cost awareness and pricing skills are also quite weak. Universities in Finland are seen to accept resources with unfair terms and because of that they eat away their basic resources.

To be honest it is a bloody bad business for universities nowadays. The overheads are, they are... And this is because competition is so fierce, universities compete with each other, with research institutions and other institutions and then there are also the polytechnics to compete with in some fields. The universities’ contribution margins are so small that it effects the universities’ budgets.

I'd even go as far as to say that in some projects, at least within the university budget, man-hours are put in to external research. That's just the way is. Contribution margins are so small. (H2)

One interviewee anyway wanted to emphasise that commercial services are clearly profitable at the University of Tampere. This of course varies between departments and units.

The departments that have good projects do get something out of them. These departments are mostly at the campus of Kauppi, departments of the medical school for example. But in general the university's pricing principles are so poor that no research institute director outside the university would ever accept them, they wouldn't think that it'd be possible to finance research profitably under these principles. They say that they wouldn't take on projects under those terms and conditions because they have to include all the expenses in their budgets. So the notion that universities chip away at their teaching resources with their projects is very common. (H8)

After all, some interviewees saw that it is more important that research work is continuous and meaningful than to make money. Because at the university it can not be profitable in the sense that one could for example freely buy shares but the profits go to the basic work.

I think that nowadays people feel that all the hard work and effort that has been put into establishing some group and continuing its work is much more important. - - And not the fact that they'd try to select only such projects that are easy to manage and make money. Because in a sense this can't be profitable in universities. I mean in the sense that you can't use the profits for whatever purpose you want to, the profits go back to the basic work of the university. So, money for other purposes has to come from external sources. Here you can't invest your profits in shares or such as they can in companies. (H3)

Risks, new openings and incentives

At the administration of the university it is seen that external funding has not increased risk-taking because it is usually research service agreements and they are not so risky. The risk may be that the university invests in a new promising unit which after all does not succeed. But in any case financial risks are not very significant.

I don't know if they're so risky as such, they're usually these research service agreements. The risks are usually only such that the university may decide to invest in some sort of a unit that has good prospects for success, but then it might not succeed after all. The risks usually have to do with these kinds of shutdowns or integration with other units. But the risks are such that, or should say that... For example with this Regea that was founded as a special unit of the university... It was established in a way that the university was able to cover for all the risks and losses, even if it wouldn't have succeeded. It was done in a way that even in the worst case scenario the university would be able to cope with the situation. So I think this is the basic ideology. (H4)

It seems that the university and the departments are not expected to take financial risks. It is not even possible, because the university economy is such that one has to have the money before he can do anything. This means also that making any new moves is not possible because the departments can not separate seed corn for new openings. At this kind of system there is also little prospect to take risks for example to use resources for earning possible future incomes.

Usually entrepreneurial activity includes some risk-taking, the idea that you can use your assets for future profit prospects. But this system doesn't really allow this kind of activity. The university's economic thinking is such that you're supposed to have the money before you start doing anything. This is of course very problematic in terms of any new undertakings. The situation isn't of course this simple, but it can quite easily lead to type of situation in which any new undertakings are very difficult to start as there's no start-up capital available for them. (H3)

As an academic risk it is seen that the accumulation of knowledge may be endangered because of short projects and because of high turnover of the personnel. Also the possibility to make basic research and to create "long-term knowledge" may narrow. Another academic risk is that when the budget economy is tightening, making new and innovative openings may be cut off. One example is the Further Education Centre which has been thrown into a situation that it produces only programmes which are likely to get solvent clients. This means that there is no boldness to make new moves and to plan future further. At the bottom of this is the decision that further education centres do not receive state funding but they should function on a market basis.

The University of Tampere has since the beginning of the 1990s moved towards management by results system. The steering by results model was introduced in 1993 - 1994. In 1998 the university at the first time in Finland used evaluation as a base for allocation of result funding. There was an intention to consolidate the financial consequences of evaluation and therefore a separate result reward was abolished and the evaluation contributed directly to the basic funding. It was thought that in the long-term this kind of system would have a significant effect on the funding of units. In 2000 the university still wanted to strengthen the management by results system. The university changed its model of budgeting in the way that the evaluation of results should have more positive impact on the operational preconditions of the units. The result reward was again brought into play to be allocated yearly and it is not transferred to the basic funding. The Faculty of Arts wanted to repeal the cumulative model because it changed too fast the relative strength of units.

One interviewee sees that steering by targets and results system is functioning well. Even remote financial incentives have influence because people have learned to value money. Another one

instead sees that result funding has minor influence because academics fight about glory and merits as well as about money.

We've started these negotiations and discussions over dealing with the results of people's activities and performance, or however you want to call them, and negotiations dealing with the facts how have these objectives and performance been influenced by the available resources. This has made the steering and development of the university much more easily manageable. We have these incentive elements in use. The incentive element that's used is money. That's what makes this university world work and as a result people have clearly started to value money much more. (H9)

It's not very significant. But it doesn't seem to matter in the sense that people in the university are just as willing to fight over glory and points as they are over money. It works. (H8)

The personal financial reward systems at the Finnish universities are limited to additional commissions for supervising doctoral students and leading projects. This applies also for the University of Tampere. The explanation was that there are no concrete financial possibilities to reward for successful activity. The attitude towards reward systems generally and towards the new wage system especially was quite positive among the persons represented in the interviewees although it is a well-known fact that the new system has encountered strong resistance in all the Finnish universities. The old wage system is seen very rigid. But the interviewees are quite pessimistic about how quickly and easily the new wage system can be introduced.

Well, not really here. If you think about for example the idea that the new salary system is trying to get across. The idea is that with the new payroll system people will be rewarded for their good work and performances. But to a large extent rewarding is just based on good performance in managerial duties. There are no real financial possibilities here. The salaries are miserable to be honest. (H3)

5. Commercial and intellectual exploitation of knowledge

The UTA is a participant in the activities of four companies operating at the area of research exploitation. The university is a partner at the developing company Professia (established in 2000) which vends the products of the university. Media Tampere Ltd was also established in 2000. Media Tampere is a digital media development company that focuses on the development of content provider competencies through company development and other measures. The UTA is also a minor partner at this company and these two companies will merge in 2006. Finn-Medi Research was established in 1995 and it operates as a link between research and business. Tampere Science Parks on its part offers solutions for premises. The higher education institutions in Tampere (UTA, The Technological University of Tampere and two polytechnics) cooperate through these

companies and otherwise. All these cooperation models are planned also to enhance regional impact. These kinds of activities have been growing since the middle of the 1990s.

Well, then we also have these different organizations that have been established to provide the business world with information. We establish these development companies that then further develop these ideas, for example in medicine and in other fields. They're of course very useful channels. They're professionally managed and they can co-operate not only with the researchers, but also with the business world. They're very experienced in this, they know how that world operates. (H9)

The university is a partner at the developing companies through its foundation. The foundation is formally private actor so it is easy for it to go to business world. Anyway, the Board of the Foundation consists of the Rector, the Vice-Rectors and the Director of Administration of the UTA so it is almost same as the university administration.

One interviewee states that the policy of UTA has been that they do not keep the patents because it is not believed that the university would be a good commercialiser.

Our policy has been to not hold these patents personally. We don't feel that the university is very good in product development or commercialization. That's why we've given them through contracts to external companies, to companies that have been nonetheless been established within the university. It's clearly been a good model. – After all, only a small percentage of these kinds of patents actually make a profit, they mostly just tie up resources without ever producing anything useful. This is the pattern with risk financing all over the world. Only a very small number of these projects are actually great lucrative innovations. (H9)

But it is seen that this kind of activity is not very wide-ranging: the university does not have that much products that they could devise for sale, taking account the fields of the UTA, excluding medical and natural sciences. The exploitation of knowledge and research results is considered important for example in the IMT but it is not their main purpose.

It's always been one goal of the IMT, to sort of be a part or a link in this utilization. I guess you could say that during the past few years this has even been emphasized by several instances and it is a part of our objectives. But our know-how and our real potential is in producing innovations, in producing expertise and these core structures, research structures that others can then utilize. - - You could say that it's an important part of our activities, but our main mission is not to be a product development center. (H5)

Interviewees also reminded that the research work at the university products results in the long term. We have to remember, that “*actually 'quarter' is not quarter of the year here but it is quarter of a century*” (H5). Research programmes are long processes and top skills and top results can not arise

at the drop of a hat. The problem is that in Finland there are few long-term partnerships and cooperation contracts between universities and companies. They are too short-term and maybe that is why they are expected to produce more results than is possible.

This productivity and usefulness aspect is very much emphasized by both sides, but mostly of course by the private sector and the business world. How much is actually utilized and used then varies. For example in single projects the utilization and usefulness can be very minimal. Sometimes there's nothing. But when you have long-term co-operation, you'll get much more results. The biggest problem we here in Finland have is that we don't have a lot of these long-term co-operation contracts or partnerships between universities and research institutes or with different companies. The co-operation is too short-term and the expectations are often too big in terms of the actual results and benefits. (H1)

If not so concerned about the commercial exploitation of research the interviewees were more worried about communication. The academics succeed well at the area of scientific publication but they have also tried to develop reporting beyond the university more systematic. The attitude towards publicity is more active than before. All the interviewees told that they try hard to develop knowledge dissemination but that they do not tell about their expertise and services enough yet.

This is discussed a lot, people feel that people from the university should be more visible in the media and in public and that research results should be publicized more and so on. This issue has been around for a long time and we've tried to develop our public relations and marketing and the way we provide the outside world with information towards a more systematic approach and I think we've done quite well in this regard. (H2)

Cooperation with interest groups is nowadays important and versatile public relations are common at many departments. Couple of interviewees for example told about their Studia Generalia -lecture series for general public, seminars, a programme with the City of Tampere (eTampere – knowledge society programme) and other partners, different thematic gatherings, participation in the Centre of Expertise Programme and PR-gatherings for media and business life.

6. Competition and marketing

Competition is not important driver of change at the University of Tampere. The first notion is that there is no competition for students because there are so many applicants. About one sixth of applicants are accepted every year (KOTA database). The interviewees also think that the university has a good imago. Because the attractiveness of the universities is very high the university does not

have to market itself otherwise than traditionally telling about its studying possibilities at senior high schools.

We haven't felt the need to do so [to market more]. Of course it depends on how you look at it. The first point of view is of course that if there are difficulties in recruiting students. But we get so many applicants that only one in seven or one in six get accepted, so the situation is pretty good. (H2)

At the area of research competition may have increased but almost all the interviewees stressed also cooperation between universities and between universities and polytechnics. Many interviewees mentioned the financing model when talking about competition between higher education institutions; universities compete for degree targets in the result negotiations with the Ministry of Education.

This resource allocation between universities, and the competition for resources, is pretty much based on these degree quotas and targets as so much of the universities' funding is based on them under this current model. The higher your degree quota, the more money you get. If you don't reach your quota, you still won't be punished, or the damage is much more insignificant than it would be if your quota were smaller. So in this sense there is of course competition between universities. (H2)

Marketing the university and its products is still at the conversational level. This is of course linked also to the products that the university would market; it is still unclear what kind of products they should market. One view was that it has been at the period of the last five years that the imago of the university has changed.

Well, this marketing and advertising has changed, as I recall, besides us nobody even did any marketing fifteen years ago. - - But I think there's been a clear change of image during the past five years within the university. (H7).

According to its strategy the University of Tampere is well-known but people often attach strong (sometimes negative) notions to it. In the past the university has been a symbol to the certain societal attitudes and it is still hoped to give opinions especially to the discussions concerning the civic society. The imago of "the red university" may still be at the background. There were suppositions that establishing the School of Economics inside the university was a trial to get rid of that imago and that the university has systematically tried to change the picture of the university that it is a high-level, cooperative and dynamic university without political agenda.

I think we've done work systematically to achieve this [to change the public image]. The University of Tampere has always had the burden of being labeled as a "red" university. This has caused some challenges for example in terms of co-operation with the business life. In this sense I'm sure

we've wanted to systematically change this image, we've wanted to create an image of a high quality and co-operative university that has no political agenda. (H1)

But there have not been any purposeful spectacular campaigns to change the imago. It was couple of times commented that the hyping of polytechnics is quite different from the small-scale marketing of universities.

If I may say this: you shouldn't do what the polytechnics have done and do TV and radio commercials. The universities don't have huge resources to spend on public image building. (H3)

7. To what extent can the university be described as entrepreneurial?

The 1980s was still the time of self-sufficiency at the University of Tampere. The 1990s was the time of opening to the society, starting new processes, embryonic internationality and building networks. Now the university is seeking for real international and national cooperation, strong profile, flexibility and agility. It has been realised that service tasks, cooperation with business life and regional impact are future. But different units are at different stages and have different attitudes in this respect.

There are over fifty different units within the University of Tampere. They of course lead their own lives and have their own situations in terms of the surrounding society. You could say that we have a lot of units, like the hyper lab for example, that live under constant change and uncertainty, but are proactive and establish national co-operation and networks. Then we also have these traditional departments that have strong established teaching and research traditions and quite clear paradigms. They haven't really had to think about these up until now. They've settled with this traditional idea of university as an institution of civilization and with the humboldtian identity and they've functioned under these principles. Now this is being a questioned and challenged. So I guess you could say that others have operated under these new trends for almost a decade now, whereas others are just starting to do so. (H1)

At the University of Tampere it is thought that the units which are at the interface of the university and the environment are entrepreneurial but not the traditional departments. As one interviewee stated, entrepreneurialism at the university concentrates to the “*developmental periphery*” but it should be connected also to the “*academic heartland*” (H6). These units are non-traditional, transdisciplinary and multidisciplinary institutes which have been established to fulfil some task (R&D services and also education services). Anyway, also the interviewees in these units emphasized the significance of academic thinking and the basic tasks of the university.

But they aren't really, you have to make a distinction, departments of their own, this one for example is an institution that conducts service research that's attached to a specific organization.

The Eduta institute of the Faculty of Education on the other hand provides education services and such. But even it has an organization of its own. So I don't think the departments as such have these kinds of distinct cultures. (H2)

One strategic goal of the UTA is that the university will support reorganising research work more and more to that kind of multidisciplinary research groups and research centres which cross the department and faculty borders. The culture of entrepreneurial action is anyway spreading also to the traditional departments but at the moment the nature of the work of professor or university teacher is seen very traditionally.

I think that on the level of these department cultures people are sort of more startled by the fact that they'd have to acquire some of their resources themselves. Another thing that would also be hard to accept is if we were to define the teachers' duties in a more entrepreneurial way. Another foreign idea is the idea of us assessing our personnel resources from the point of view of market success. Everything here is pretty much based on the traditional academic views of professors' and university teachers' duties. (H6)

The interviewees see the Finnish universities to be quite similar for their cultures and that they have developed at the same pace. The only exceptions are the universities of technology. They are seen to be ahead of other universities in this respect. Entrepreneurialism varies also according to fields. The medical and bioscience units are seen to be entrepreneurial in all the universities.

There are still "some of these traditional academies of hearts. But then again in these fields that are closer to these fields that have more profound effect on society, like technology or medicine, you're of course quite strongly involved with this sort of an interface. And obviously there's a lot of money involved in this. This makes it interesting to the business world." (H1)

Some interviewees do not think that it would be even possible to act entrepreneurially in the university. Because the university is an account office of the state *"it is only some kind of mental entrepreneurialism that one can engage in, without compensations"* (H3). Universities are anyway trying to react the challenges with new structures and even companies and that is seen by some to be vain because the university has no expertise at that area. *"Establishing toytown firms and playing with entrepreneurialism is what niggles in my mind"* (H7).

8. Inhibitors to entrepreneurialism

It was asked whether the interviewees see that the inhibitors for entrepreneurialism or general change are legislation, academic and traditional culture, individual resistance for change, organisational rigidities, financial factors or something else. All the alternatives got votes. The

legislation as an inhibitor is explained in a way that because universities are accounting offices of the state they do not have possibilities to act entrepreneurially. The autonomy decree at the University Act regards the freedom of teaching and research but not the financial autonomy.

I guess the most fundamental obstacle is legislation. We're classified as a government agency. That's just the way it is. And even if the Universities Act states that we are now somewhat autonomous, but in practice we don't have any more autonomy in economic or administrative terms than any other government agencies, we're just like any standard government agency. The same rules of financial management apply to us. (H9)

One explanation was that the management and administration systems do not work at the universities in Finland at all. The traditional freedom of working makes it difficult to lead a university. Secondly the administration system is from the era of stable teaching university and it is too heavy, collective and amateurish to the university where research and external funding have a notable role. There is no courage to professionalize management and administration. Financial factors got only one vote. One interviewee saw that the University of Tampere may have difficulties to cope at the battle for resources because of its fields.

The management system is terrible, almost useless. Managing the university is very difficult as you have to be able to adapt several difficult processes into a functional whole, to get both the research and the teaching to function together and also the administration to support them. - - And the management system is a relic of past times, our management system is a management system of a stable teaching university that isn't suited for this emphasis on research and external funding that needs to be managed. And our tasks are now also much more diverse and in terms of these new tasks our financial administration and personnel administration are too amateurish and too much spread out to different units. This has caused a lot of unnecessary work and mistakes. - - We haven't had the courage to make our management more professional. That's because we don't have the prerequisites needed for people to start trusting the management and administration. (H8)

The traditional culture and resistance for change were seen the most significant and fundamental barriers. One exception was an interviewee who said that the changes have been accepted very well by the organisation culture of the UTA.

Maybe you can call it academic tradition. People seem to think that all university researchers live in their own separate worlds where they should have the liberty to do or not to do what they want. (H5)

These two reasons were also connected. The structures of the system and the university can be barriers but the real reasons and conditions behind that are attitudinal. *"There is fairly little willingness to weigh where the real reasons are. Rather one does like it has done before."* (H6) The

resistance for change was seen even positive in some cases and to fit in the university, meaning that it is reasonable to be critical because change is not an intrinsic value.

The way I see it is that the university has hardly limited changes during the past ten years. There aren't actually that many obstacles for change just as long as there is willingness to change. We'll always have some sort of structures, right? We do have some structures, but they're very flexible. And the legislation doesn't really pose any limits anymore. The limitations are actually posed by the traditions and by people's attitudes. But you also have to bear in mind that change shouldn't be an intrinsic value either. I think it's good that we have some of these things that slow down the changes. I think this is very suitable for the university institution. (H1)

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