The Co-operative University Now!

Joss Winn and Mike Neary
University of Lincoln
Historic @Coop_CollegeUK board meeting today commits to exploring feasibility of a British cooperative university.
Demands for democratic control by students in occupation:
http://josswinn.org/2015/05/21/student-demands-for-democratic-control-over-universities/

#WeAreTheUniversity
#USSStrikes and academic calls for democracy
https://twitter.com/search?q=%23USSstrike%20AND%20democracy&src=typd
April 2018 update

“Two weeks ago the College formally registered with the Office for Students and more recently, our CEO and Vice Principal both attended an Office for Students information event in Manchester. The plans for acquiring Degree Awarding Powers and developing a model for a future Co-operative University are on track.” https://www.co-op.ac.uk/co-operative-university
The origins of a co-operative university in the UK

- **1871**: Attempts at ‘University Extension’ work began with Pioneers in 1871, to try to get (unsuccessfully) Cambridge to establish provision in Rochdale. Cambridge started Extension work in 1873 with support from “various co-operative stores… both financially and supplying meeting rooms, and continued to do so for years afterwards.”

- **1872**: Nicholas Balline, with reference to ‘propaganda’, urged the establishment of a co-operative university. First mention of a co-operative university?

- **1874**: Cunningham urged relations with universities. Education and propaganda go hand in hand. Lots of work done on University Extension scheme.

- **1904**: Stratford Congress had E. O. Greening plea in inaugural address for a Co-op University.

- **1909**: W. R. Rae at Newcastle Congress: “What we want and seek to obtain is a co-operative journey that will end in a co-operative university.”
A sense of urgency in 1913

• “So terrible are present conditions that it is becoming increasingly difficult for the workers to live in comfort. If nothing is done to change present conditions we shall sink back into barbarism from which there seems no escape.” … “Our real weapon of defence is knowledge, and that knowledge must come from some highly developed centre directing the movement on right line.” Anderson (1913) York Educational Committee.
1914 Vision of a ‘Co-operative College’ connected to a broader social vision.

• Money contributed by co-ops funded libraries, which were then being provided by the state, so “These changes have set free co-operative funds, which can now be well applied for the extension of facilities for the higher education of co-operators in other ways, and, in particular, for education in liberal subjects.”

• Movement depended “upon the appreciation of ideals by a well-educated democracy”; “need to undertake this higher branch of education ourselves”

• “In short, the college should create a burning desire for social justice, inspire a willingness to work for it, and provide the knowledge how best to attain it.”

• “Our aim should be to provide education in its widest sense: an education for the highest purposes of life…”

• Would train teachers, provide correspondence courses, train employees, serve the movement, offer summer and weekend schools, receive students from abroad, funded by the movement (as per Rochdale practice), would first be based on Holyoake House, with students living together in private rooms, “the students would enter the college...at their own expense, and on scholarship or award from their own society of trade union.”

• 1-2 years of study envisaged, with shorter opportunities, too. Would apply to women equally with men.

• “The management of the college would, of course, be vested entirely in the movement, either in the Central Education Committee or in a specially-constituted committee.” (12)
The Co-operative College (1914): Teaching, learning and research.

• Objects: “To complete the scheme of Co-operative Education by providing a centre for higher education in the specialised subjects required for the full equipment of the co-operative and for the further development of efficiency in the Co-operative Movement… To undertake investigation and research calculated to aid the general development and progress of Co-operation and stimulate the application of co-operative principles in the solution of social problems.”

• “teaching should never be divorced from learning and enquiry.”
The desire for growth (1928)

• One College with about 30 students each year to meet the needs of a movement of 5m members. “We ought to have 3000 students a year a several colleges preparing them for series in the Movement.”

• Courses available: e.g. Co-operation, history, economics, citizenship, sociology and ethics, education, propaganda and public speaking, Emergency and special subjects (e.g. taxation), technical subjects.
A ten-year plan… yet (soon!) to be realised.

- **1936**: ‘A ten year plan for co-operative education’ includes a point on “Strengthening the Co-operative College and its Work, with a view to the ultimate establishment of a Co-operative University with constituent colleges in various parts of the country.”

- **1944**: “This central British Co-operative College could become the nucleus of a Co-operative University of Great Britain, with a number of affiliated sectional and regional Colleges of Co-operative Institutes, as the demand arises.”

- Early references to the Co-operative College seem to treat it as synonymous with a higher education and what we may consider the function of a university.
Education legislation is a ‘splendid opportunity’ for co-operators

- ‘Co-operators and the New Education Act’ (April 1919 Co-operative Educator). Shows how co-operators were thinking about how legislation could favour their cause.
- Makes reference to W. R. Rae’s: ‘The New Education Act of 1918’… “‘herein will be found a splendid opportunity for co-operators’ to shape local systems of education in conformity with co-operative ideas.”
University Governance, leadership and management

• University governance in the UK has changed significantly since 1980s.
• Jarratt report (1985), which established the Vice Chancellor as Chief Executive.
• Dearing report (1997), which reduced the number of members on the governing body.
• Lambert report (2003), which stated that participatory governance by a community of scholars was not ‘fit for modern times’, and recommended a voluntary code of governance for the HE sector (Shattock 2006; Shattock 2008).
• Occurred alongside the Cadbury report (1992), the Hampel report (1998), the Higgs report (2003), and the development of the current UK Corporate Governance Code. How were co-operatives affected and what have we learned that could apply to higher education?
Public or private? Is an alternative possible?

Shattock (2008): HE was once explicitly ’self-governed’ but after 1980 became ‘state-governed’ and subsequently the policy drivers “are no longer those of the system itself but are derived from a set of policies designed for the reform and modernisation of the public sector of the economy. The formation of higher education policy therefore needs to be reinterpreted as an adjunct of public policy, rather than as something intrinsic to higher education.”

“Most of the changes (reforms) were exogenously driven, the reforms themselves mostly representing the application of measures applied elsewhere in the public sector that were tailored to the higher education situation or were formulated as a response to national needs that, it was thought, higher education could help to meet.” (185-6)
'Outside in’ rather than ‘inside out’

“The first stage of NPM implementation was to tighten controls, cut budgets, freeze new appointments, campaign against waste (value for money), squeeze the system; the second was to marketise, to create internal competition and to re-shape the system; and the third was to introduce monitoring mechanisms, key performance indicators and regulation. The history of higher education in the periods 1979–1985, 1985–1992 and 1992 onwards mirrors this scenario. In higher education, legislation also dictated the pace of the process with the 1988, 1992 and 2004 Acts representing mile posts in the story.” (2008, 191)
The rise of the executive

“a rise in ‘the executive’ at the expense of the traditional components of university governance, governing bodies, senates, academic boards and faculty boards, and a growing tendency to push academic participation to the periphery.” (Shattock, 2013, 217)
The fall of the governors

“The volatility of the funding régime over the last decade and the threats implicit in the changes rather than their actual impact, have imposed tensions within institutions that have reinforced hierarchies and authority structures and encouraged a growing centralisation, particularly of finance-related decision-making. In addition, the wider policy environment has become more unstable breeding considerable institutional uncertainty in planning and strategy. Universities have mostly adopted defensive attitudes to the changes rather than embracing the new market philosophy. The effect is to reduce the role of governance and greatly enhance that of leadership and management.” (Shattock, 2013, 219)
A new model of governance is needed

• “We thus have the paradox that at a time when the higher education environment has come to replicate private sector conditions in its market orientation, more than at any time since the First World War, the private-sector company governance model seems to be the least appropriate.” (Shattock, 2013, 222)

• “Governing bodies seem simply to be wearing the emperor’s clothes; in the post-2010 world of university strategy and executive action are intrinsically linked and the governing body is just too far away from that action and too lacking in expert knowledge to contribute effectively to the policy decisions that have to be taken.” (223)
A history of multi-stakeholder co-operatives in the UK (Ridley-Duff and Bull, 2014)
Social/solidarity/multi-stakeholder co-operative model

• As a historically new form of institutional governance, the ‘social co-operative’ appears to be compatible with traditional collegial structures (Cook 2013)
• It speaks to many of the concerns raised over increased corporate governance structures and hierarchical management of universities (Bacon 2014; Shattock 2013) by providing an alternative for governors, academics and students to consider.
• It also has much to commend for more radical, popular and community-based forms of education. New co-operativism for the social-solidarity economy.
• The multi-stakeholder model is relatively new as a form of corporate governance. Most universities were created before it was introduced into the UK. It is now a credible model of governance when existing public and private models of HE governance have arguably failed.
• Higher Education and Research Act (2018) is an opportunity to rethink governance in the HE sector and introduce a new multi-stakeholder model.
Why Now? (or reasons to be hopeful…)

• Repeated efforts over last 100+ years to establish co-operative higher education and/or a co-operative university. Long-standing ambition.

• Policy changes since 1980s have led to a decline in university autonomy and a shift from private to public accountability and regulatory demands.

• Repeated demands from students and academics for genuine democracy in their institutions.

• New co-operativism: Single member co-op models are antithetical to post-1968 higher education. Maturity of the multi-stakeholder co-operative model of ownership and governance since 1980s, especially in last few years. A suitable co-operative model of governance didn’t exist in the UK in 1992 (Somerset Rules (2009); Co-ops UK Rules (2012?)) and CICOPA World Standard of Social Coops (2011).

• Higher Education and Research Act 2017 encourages ‘challenger institutions’. HE sector has never been more open to new entrants but also never been more subject to state regulation and control.
Why only now?

• Entry into higher education sector was more difficult prior to 2018 (though not impossible). The idea of ‘Public Higher Education’ was the norm until new fees introduced and block grant withdrawn.

• Policy changes crept in since Jarrett Review (1985). Changes to governance were gradual and uneven. Browne review represented a dramatic and sudden shift, tangible to both students and academics.

• There was no credible co-operative alternative model for university governance until 2009 (2012?). Worker-owned or consumer-owned doesn’t solve the problem. Governance has to be multi-stakeholder.

• Universities are increasingly seen as emblematic of the problem rather than the solution. Student debt; VC pay; attack on pensions; graduate (un)employability.
Co-operative Universities bibliography

http://Incn.eu/coophe
References


• See also various pamphlets and periodicals held in the Co-operative College Archive. E.g. The Co-operative Educator and The College Herald.