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Twenty five years ago, in 1991, when the Australasian Association of College and University Housing Officers (AACUHO)<sup>2</sup> came together for its first conference at the University of New England in Armidale, Australia had thirty two (32) universities and approximately 520,000 enrolled students.<sup>3</sup> One hundred years before, in 1891, there were just four (4) universities and some 900 enrolled students. Women had been admitted as university students in the 1880s<sup>4</sup>; Lilian Alexander was admitted in 1883 as the first female non-resident member of Trinity College, University of Melbourne, and Miriam Merfield was the first woman to live in an Australian university college – Queen’s College, University of Melbourne, in 1888<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Dr Ian Walker is Head of Toad Hall ANU and President of University Colleges Australia (UCA). He was Dean, New College UNSW 1994-2002 and Principal of The Kensington Colleges 2002-2009. His PhD in History (UNSW), supervised by Scientia Prof John Gascoigne, 2016/2017 joint Gough Whitlam & Malcolm Fraser Professor of Australian Studies at Harvard University, focused on the establishment of denominational colleges in Australian universities – including the relationship between churches and the secular universities, as well as an overview of the founding of Australia’s universities and their residences. One examiner, Emeritus Prof Brian Fletcher, inaugural Bicentennial Professor of Australian History at Sydney University, noted: “No-one ... has traversed the field in so comprehensive a way ... (Mr Walker) has succeeded in breaking new ground ... his thesis contributes to our understanding of a dimension of Australian university life that has not previously been examined in this way.”

<sup>2</sup> Now ‘badged’ as The Asia-Pacific association for student housing

<sup>3</sup> There are thirty nine (39) universities registered with Universities Australia (2016), with some 1.3m enrolled students

<sup>4</sup> Melbourne and Adelaide universities, with women approved for entry by the Sydney Senate in 1881

<sup>5</sup> For a time, women were enrolled at Queen’s but lived in Parkville; women were fully admitted to Queen’s as residents in 1973

## Colleges “a very difficult experiment”:

The first Australian university residential college<sup>6</sup>, St Paul’s College, was founded at Sydney University in 1856 out of controversy and compromise. The foundation of denominational colleges at Sydney University was seen as a “very difficult experiment”<sup>7</sup> and, in a NSW Legislative Assembly Report on Sydney University in 1859, as a “grievous mistake ... a violation of the great principle on which (the University) was founded as a strictly secular institution.”<sup>8</sup> When William Charles Wentworth moved in the NSW Legislative Council in 1849 for there to be a university in Sydney, he was determined that it must be kept entirely free from the teachers of any religion whatever and that it must be open to all and influenced by none.<sup>9</sup> He was conscious of the sectarian rivalries in the early colony concerning the provision of schooling and the potential role of the churches in the development of higher education, as well as of the religious tests imposed by the Church of England in the then unreformed universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Durham.<sup>10</sup> He took as a more appropriate model, the newly founded University of London, referred to as the “godless college on Gower Street” because of its secular nature in being open to all without any religious tests for matriculation and/or graduation. He was not opposed to religion but, rather than taught, it would be instilled<sup>11</sup>, with the University established “for the better advancement of religion and morality and the promotion of useful knowledge”<sup>12</sup>.

While the Anglican Bishop of Australia (and first Bishop of Sydney), William Grant Broughton, would have nothing to do with the proposed University that he believed would be the “great emporium of false and anti-church views in this hemisphere”<sup>13</sup>, and particularly with any proposed Anglican college, the Chief Justice, Sir Alfred Stephen, declared it was the “duty for the Church of England to make provision for the moral and religious superintendence of their youth by the establishment of a separate (affiliated residential) college”<sup>14</sup>. The break with the traditional association of universities with religion in the foundation of Sydney University was to be qualified as “... scholars have since pointed out the significance of affiliated denominational residential colleges at Australian

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<sup>6</sup> Christ College, Hobart, was founded as Christ’s College in 1846. As a tertiary institution, it was mainly a theological college but took various forms during the 1800s and was not affiliated with the University of Tasmania, founded in 1890, until 1933. St James College was established in Sydney in 1845 as a theological college for the Church of England, but closed in 1849, with its premises at ‘Lyndhurst’ in Glebe purchased in 1852 by St Mary’s College (founded by the Roman Catholic Church in 1824).

<sup>7</sup> Prof John Woolley *Report from the Select Committee on the Sydney University*, Votes & Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, NSW, Sydney, 1859-1860, p.23

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid* Report Conclusion p.9

<sup>9</sup> *Sydney Morning Herald* 7<sup>th</sup> September 1849, p.2

<sup>10</sup> The tests were to be abolished in the Universities Tests Act 1871

<sup>11</sup> C. E. Turney et al *Australia’s First: A History of the University of Sydney, Volume 1, 1850-1939* Hale & Iremonger, Sydney NSW, 1991, p.43

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid* p.630 An Act to Incorporate and Endow the University of Sydney, 1<sup>st</sup> October 1850

<sup>13</sup> G. P. Shaw *Patriarch and Patriot: William Grant Broughton 1788-1853, Colonial Statesman and Ecclesiastic* Academy Press for Melbourne University Press, Brisbane 1978, p.246

<sup>14</sup> H. E. Barff *A Short Historical Account of the University of Sydney* Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1902, p.50. Stephen, a prominent Anglican layman, chaired the committee to establish St Paul’s and ensured its ‘freedom’ from diocesan control

universities ... What emerged was a public secular university containing collegiate forms of the churches.”<sup>15</sup>

In 1854, following the inauguration of the University in 1852<sup>16</sup>, a compromise was reached in the Affiliated Colleges Act which allowed for residential colleges to be established provided that the residents must be matriculated students of the University, no religious tests were imposed for admission, and that residents must attend the lectures of and be examined by the professors of the University; university courses would not be taught in the colleges, as at Oxford and Cambridge. There could, however, be religious or theological instruction conducted within the college<sup>17</sup>.

### **Picken, prayers and punctuality:**

Though, not long after St Paul’s College took in its first very few students in 1858, the “experiment” was labelled a “grievous mistake”, residential necessity and the links between political, university and church leaders saw the pattern of college compromise established with affiliated denominational residential colleges on land mainly set aside on the perimeter of the secular university.<sup>18</sup> St John’s College (1857) and St Andrew’s (1870) followed St Paul’s at Sydney; Trinity (1872)<sup>19</sup>, Ormond (1879) and Queen’s (1887) were established at Melbourne University, founded as Australia’s second secular university in 1853 but, rather like Sydney, “instituted in honour of God”<sup>20</sup>. Even the Principal of the non-denominational Women’s College, founded at Sydney University in 1892, insisted on attendance at morning prayers as (in part) “prayers are an excellent means of enforcing punctuality”<sup>21</sup>.

With the founding of the universities of Adelaide (1874), Tasmania (1890), Queensland (1909) and Western Australia (1911), some twenty two (22) mainly denominational affiliated residential colleges had been established within or close to Australia’s six (6) universities by the outbreak of World War II. They represented at that time some 87% of university residence, with their leadership often exercising significant influence within the university and wider communities. For example, John MacFarland, first Master of Ormond College, became Vice-Chancellor and Chancellor of the University of Melbourne; and, on a more personal level, former Vice-Chancellor of the universities of New England and Queensland, and former Governor-General of Australia, the late Sir Zelman Cowen, recalled his student days at Melbourne University and his non-resident attachment to

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<sup>15</sup> Julia Horne & Geoffrey Sherington *Sydney – the making of a public university* The Miegunyah Press, University of Melbourne, Carlton Vic., 2012, pp. 7-8. References to IW’s thesis; Emeritus Prof Sherington was an examiner, and is a former DVC Sydney University and Dean of the Faculty of Education.

<sup>16</sup> This took place in the Sydney College – in what is now the ‘Big School Room’ of Sydney Grammar School

<sup>17</sup> The second Bishop of Sydney, Frederic Barker, laid the foundation stone of St Paul’s but established a separate theological college (now Moore College) for the Diocese on Thomas Moore’s estate at Liverpool – later to move to Newtown, ironically adjacent to St Paul’s.

<sup>18</sup> Referred to as a ‘paradise of dissent’ (W. J. Gardner *Colonial Cap and Gown: Studies in the Mid-Victorian Universities of Australasia* University of Canterbury, Christchurch NZ 1979, p.35), South Australia was determined to keep sectarian or denominational tendencies well away from the University of Adelaide, and no land was set aside for the purpose of colleges, with the University itself only receiving some 5 acres of parkland on North Terrace (W. G. K. Duncan & R. A. Leonard *The University of Adelaide 1874-1974* Rigby, Adelaide, 1973, p.3).

<sup>19</sup> Trinity set up a Women’s Hostel in 1886 – later to be Janet Clarke Hall.

<sup>20</sup> Geoffrey Blainey *A Centenary History of the University of Melbourne* University Press, Melbourne, 1957, p.8. Part of the inscription on a brass plate under the foundation stone laid on July 4, 1854.

<sup>21</sup> Louisa McDonald to Eleanor Grove, in Jeanette Beaumont & W. Vere Hole *Letters for Louisa; a woman’s view of the 1890’s* Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1996, p.70

Ormond College, with advice given to him about his studies by the Master, D. K. Picken: "If I were to build a monument to any man who exercised an influence on me at that time it would be to Picken"<sup>22</sup>.

Further compromise in the secular foundation of Australia's universities was to be seen, for example, in the appointments of Bishop Charles Henry Davis, Catholic Auxiliary Bishop of Sydney (1848-1854), to the first Senate of Sydney University; the Rev'd Canon Robert Allwood, Rector of St. James' Anglican Church, Sydney (1840-1884), as Vice-Chancellor of Sydney University (1869-1883)<sup>23</sup>; Bishop James Moorhouse, second Anglican Bishop of Melbourne (1877-1886), as Chancellor of the University of Melbourne (1884-1886); Bishop Augustus Short, first Anglican Bishop of Adelaide (1847-1881), as first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Adelaide (1874-1876) and Chancellor (1876-1881); and Charles Riley, Anglican Archbishop of Perth (1894-1929), as Chancellor of the University of Western Australia (1916-1922).

### Colleges and "the advantages of that social life":

Nevertheless, issues around the place of denominational colleges in relation to the secular universities continued, with, for example, the Queensland Minister for Public Instruction (1903-1908), A. H. Barlow, fearing that the construction of residential colleges and the provision of playing fields would make the University of Queensland too like Oxbridge, would encourage idleness, and that "the evil of sectarianism would creep in to an organisation required by law to give no official recognition to political or religious creeds".<sup>24</sup> Barlow made it clear in further parliamentary debates on the University, particularly about its proposed relocation from the city to a larger site, that he opposed denominational residential colleges, and that if required, residences could be run in the town as boarding houses under University Senate regulations: "I am entirely opposed to (affiliated denominational colleges). I do not think they do any good. We want a thoroughly unsectarian University."<sup>25</sup>

One of those who sought a larger site was the Anglican Archbishop of Brisbane, St. Clair Donaldson, who expressed the hope that the Government would provide land on a new site for denominational colleges "where the undergraduates may obtain the advantages of that social life, which contributes at least one half of the benefit of University education".<sup>26</sup> The University did not move to its site at St Lucia until after World War II, by which time the place and role of the colleges, especially in their care and supervision of residents and "the advantages of that social life", had been affirmed, with the existing colleges (including the non-denominational Women's College) moving to St Lucia, and with new ones established.

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<sup>22</sup> IW interview with Sir Zelman Cowen AC, Melbourne, March 2000

<sup>23</sup> The current Vice-Chancellor (2008-), Dr Michael Spence, is an ordained Anglican priest

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid* p.97 (The Act to Incorporate and Endow the University of Queensland included, as the earlier Australian universities, a clause (Clause 29) preventing the administration of religious tests for the purposes of admission, the holding of any office, or the enjoyment of "any benefit, advantage or privilege")

<sup>25</sup> Philip Raymont *Donaldson's College: Archbishop St Clair Donaldson and the Foundation of St. John's College, The University of Queensland*, Unpublished MEd thesis, University of Melbourne, p.56. Donaldson was Archbishop of Brisbane 1904-1921 and a member of the Senate UQ 1916-1921.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid* p.31.

## Development and change after World War II:

The University of Western Australia moved to its site at Crawley in 1929, with land having been set aside for denominational residential colleges in 1926. Only St George's College, opened in 1931, was on site prior to the War. As a precursor to developments that would occur after the War, the University's first permanent Vice-Chancellor<sup>27</sup>, Professor H. E. Whitfeld, visited the United States in 1938 and saw value and potential in encouraging the setting up of co-operative residential halls in association with the Guild of Students. The dormitories and shared dining halls of American campuses made "the University campus a real centre of life in the community", and he noted the benefit for students of the opportunity to exchange ideas and to make life-long friends.<sup>28</sup>

Development and change in university education and residence were inevitable following World War II. Dr H. C. Coombs, responsible for much of post-War reconstruction and later to be the first Governor of the Reserve Bank of Australia and a founder and Chancellor of the Australian National University, noted that "the Depression and the War brought about a strong spirit of nationalism, and a desire to change things for the better. It was a creative time and social planning seemed the first essential of a new life". Coombs saw the establishment of a national research university as "a kind of intellectual power house for the rebuilding of society".<sup>29</sup> Prime Minister Robert Menzies later reflected that "the Second World War brought about great social changes. In the eye of the future observer, the greatest may well prove to be in the field of higher education."<sup>30</sup> The foundation of the ANU in 1946 heralded the start of a 'second wave' of universities established between 1946 and 1975 and a growth in university enrolments from some 14,000 in 1939 to 148,000 in 1975. From six (6) universities in 1939, there were nineteen (19) in 1975. With a new focus on regional strategic partnerships and development, this period included the education of students from Asia under the Colombo Plan<sup>31</sup>.

As a result of the increasing demand for places and residence in universities in the United States after the War, the first conference of university housing officers was held at the University of Illinois in 1949, with the formation in 1951 of the Association of College and University Housing Officers – later to add the word 'International' (ACUHO-I).

## A 'golden era' of funding and support:

The recommendations of the Murray Report 1958, commissioned by the Menzies Government into universities in Australia, gave strong support to the role played by the residential colleges and included them in triennial funding arrangements for university capital works, to be approved and allocated by the Australian Universities Commission. Indeed, what had been noted as a "very difficult experiment" and concluded as a "grievous mistake" in 1859, was reported one hundred years later in the Murray Report as an "invaluable" college experiment, the benefits of which "we

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<sup>27</sup> Whitfeld was one of the University's first professors and twice held the rotational position of Vice-Chancellor until his permanent appointment in 1927.

<sup>28</sup> F. Alexander *Campus at Crawley: A Narrative and Critical Appreciation of the First Fifty Years of the University of Western Australia* F.W.Cheshire, Melbourne, 1963p.530

<sup>29</sup> S.G.Foster & Margaret M.Varghese *The Making of the Australian National University* Allen & Unwin, St Leonards NSW, 1996, p.19

<sup>30</sup> R. G. Menzies *The Measure of the Years* Cassell Australia Ltd., North Melbourne Vic., 1970 p.84

<sup>31</sup> One of the new UNSW Colleges is called 'Colombo House' in recognition of the original Colombo Plan.

wish that more students had the opportunities of receiving.”<sup>32</sup> In 1963, the Commission noted that “... residence in college or hall promotes the cross-fertilisation of ideas between students in different faculties and with different outlooks ... (that) the meeting between mature and immature minds, between those searching for standards of values and those who have found them, is encouraged by such contact ... (and that) in the Australian scene, residential colleges and halls of residence are not only desirable but necessary, provided they can cater, with adequate facilities, for a reasonable number of students.”<sup>33</sup>

The late 1950’s to the mid 1970’s was to be a ‘golden era’ of government funding for universities and their residential colleges and halls. It was a time when, because of the significant increase in demand for residence, universities began to establish their own colleges and halls, together with enabling the establishment of new affiliated denominational/religious ones. The first Vice-Chancellor of the University of New South Wales, established in 1949, Philip Baxter, felt that, while acknowledging the “admirable job done by the small colleges of the traditional collegiate system”, it would be inappropriate to accommodate all students in need of residence in what he called “southern hemisphere copies of the old Oxford and Cambridge tradition”.<sup>34</sup> While he encouraged the establishment of The Kensington Colleges, owned and managed by the University (Basser 1959, Goldstein 1964, Philip Baxter 1966)<sup>35</sup>, he nevertheless supported faith-based organisations in their establishment of affiliated colleges (New 1969, Creston 1970, Warrane 1971, Shalom 1973). He regarded their work as very much complementing that of counsellors and chaplains in their support of student wellbeing, as well as in helping to meet the demand for residence<sup>36</sup>. The Vice-Chancellor of the University of New England, Robert Madgwick, wrote to Baxter seeking advice about the proposal of the Dominicans to establish a residential college (St. Albert’s), noting “there is a good deal of opposition here to affiliated colleges and it would help me considerably if I could be sure of my ground when I steer a legal document through the Council. I am not particularly animated about the affiliated colleges myself but there seems little point in opposing the inevitable.”<sup>37</sup>

### **‘Sacred’ and secular alike:**

Much of the inevitability lay in the determination of Sir Robert Menzies<sup>38</sup> and of his Minister for Education (1962-1968), John Gorton, to ensure that both secular colleges and halls and faith-based

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<sup>32</sup> Keith A. H. Murray (Chair) *Report of the Committee on Australian Universities, September 1957*, Canberra, Government Printer 1958, p.55

<sup>33</sup> *Report of the Australian Universities Commission on Australian Universities 1958-1963* The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, October 1963, pp. 63-64

<sup>34</sup> P. Baxter in *Report of Proceedings of the Conference of Australian Universities 1964*, The Australian Vice-Chancellors’ Committee, University of Melbourne, Victoria, 1964, p.63

<sup>35</sup> Somewhat ironically, the first Master of Basser College was the Rev’d Dr Malcolm Mackay (later Minister for the Navy in the McMahon government); and the first Master of The Kensington Colleges was the Rev’d George When.

<sup>36</sup> IW interview with Emeritus Prof Sir Rupert Myers, Vice-Chancellor UNSW (1969-1981), 13<sup>th</sup> May 1997

<sup>37</sup> R. B. Madgwick to Sir Philip Baxter, 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1965, UNSW Archives (IW PhD thesis p.372)

<sup>38</sup> Menzies was a strong supporter of the denominational colleges, noting, for example, that he had “always been a tremendous believer in schools and colleges at universities which have a background of religion ...” (R. G. Menzies *op cit* p.87). Sir Zelman Cowen noted that Menzies “really had a fairly low opinion of university types ... I think he got pleasure out of having been the ‘saviour’ of the universities, but yet fundamentally he didn’t admire the institutions or the people in the institutions which he was helping.” - interview with IW, Melbourne, March 2000: quoted by Ian Walker in ‘Dare to be Wise: Robert Gordon Menzies and the Value of

affiliated colleges received equal funding support. This caused some controversy, as many within universities, in this period of debate about State aid to non-government schools, felt that government funds should not be directed to religious bodies and that religious groups certainly should not be given priority over funding for the establishment of secular colleges and halls. In the early 1960's there had also been debate about views expressed by church leaders, such as the Anglican Archbishop of Sydney, who attacked "soul-destroying philosophies" being taught at Sydney University – a criticism of "the rise of secularism more generally".<sup>39</sup>

This tension was particularly apparent in the establishment of Bruce<sup>40</sup>, Burton and Garran Halls at the ANU at a time of consideration of plans and funding for denominational affiliated colleges – John XXIII, Ursula and Burgmann. Particular concern was expressed by the President of the Students' Association, A. G. (Tony) Hartnell,<sup>41</sup> and by staff of the Research School of Social Sciences and Pacific Studies which was headed by Professor (later Sir) Jack Crawford.<sup>42</sup> While the School acknowledged the "properly taken" decision of the University to establish conditions for affiliated colleges, it urged the University Council to "follow a clearly defined policy of seeking to provide (its own Halls) on a scale adequate for the needs of all students of appropriate intellectual calibre who did not wish to live in affiliated colleges."<sup>43</sup> Philip Baxter (UNSW) wrote to Senator Gorton indicating that he looked forward to a balanced development of colleges at the University "including those operated by outside organisations, presumably in the main religious organisations, and those operated by the University itself. We welcome the Government's decision to give equivalent support to both kinds of college developments."<sup>44</sup> Religious organisations, of course, very much welcomed the Government policy, with the Warden of St George's College UWA, J. H. Reynolds, expressing to Senator Gorton his deep gratitude for the aid given by the Government, such aid being "something so wonderful and stimulating".<sup>45</sup>

The 1960's also saw the funding of new denominational/religious colleges at pre-World War II universities, such as St Hilda's at Melbourne University (1964); Kingswood (1962) and St Columba (1971) – later to be merged as Trinity College at the University of Western Australia; and Grace College at the University of Queensland (1970). With the support of Rotary International, the establishment of International Houses began in Australia in 1957 with the opening of International House at Melbourne University.

In the thirty years following the establishment of the Australian National University, fifty nine (59) new colleges, halls and houses were opened, of which thirty one (31) were owned and managed by

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Church Colleges', Geoffrey R Treloar & Robert D Linder (Ed.) *Making History for God: Essays on Evangelicalism, Revival and Mission (In Honour of Stuart Piggin, Master of Robert Menzies College 1990-2004)*, Robert Menzies College, Sydney 2004, p.69

<sup>39</sup> Horne & Sherington *op cit* p.187 – reference to IW's thesis. Archbishop Hugh Gough made the 'attack' in a sermon at St Andrew's Cathedral in 1961, particularly directed at the views of Professor John Anderson, Professor of Philosophy at Sydney University.

<sup>40</sup> Bruce Hall, opened in 1961, was the University's first Hall catering for undergraduate students following the amalgamation of the Canberra University College with the ANU in 1960.

<sup>41</sup> Noel Butlin Archives ANU: A 8144, 2.2.1.28, part 1: A. G. Hartnell to Registrar, 6 May 1964

<sup>42</sup> Crawford became Vice-Chancellor (1968-1973) and Chancellor (1976-1984), but was also a supporter of the ANU colleges, with the insignia of his CBE given to Ursula College (later Hall).

<sup>43</sup> ANU Archives *Affiliation of Residential Colleges & Halls* 1493/1963

<sup>44</sup> Australian National Archives, AA 1969/212(16) J. P. Baxter to Senator Gorton, 13<sup>th</sup> October 1964

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid* J. H. Reynolds to Senator Gorton, 18<sup>th</sup> November 1964

their universities<sup>46</sup>. They were mostly organised and run along 'traditional' college lines, with Masters, Wardens or Principals, tutors and resident committees, sporting competitions, special guest speakers and formal dinners.

### **AHAUCHI:**

Heads of residential colleges and halls across Australian universities had met irregularly after the War, but in 1965 the Association of Heads of Australian University Colleges and Halls was incorporated (AHAUCHI), with conferences held each year in a different university. The first recorded President of the Association was Ms Doreen Langley, Principal of the Women's College, Sydney University (1957-1974), followed by Mr Bill Packard, Warden of Bruce Hall ANU (1961-1986). The Association was re-badged as University Colleges Australia (UCA) in 2010.

### **The Dawkins 'Revolution':**

The formation of Curtin University in Western Australia in 1986 from the Western Australian Institute of Technology (WAIT) introduced a third 'era' of university development with, from 1987, the amalgamations and mergers of universities and Colleges of Advanced Education (CAE's) under the Hawke Government's Minister for Education (1987-1992), John Dawkins. With the 'Dawkins Revolution' came a more deliberate focus on commercialism and corporate managerialism, the decline of academic collegiality in university affairs and administration, a focus on diversity and equity of access and on international competitiveness, the assessment and rating of teaching and research output, and the introduction of the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS). Undergraduate numbers significantly increased, with total university enrolments growing from around 148,000 in 1975 to approximately 520,000 in 1991; from nineteen (19) universities in 1975, Australia had thirty two (32) in 1991.

Numerous references have been made to what some felt to be the 'dumbing down' of Australian universities, with, for example, Emeritus Professor Harry Clarke of La Trobe University's School of Economics, writing in *Quadrant* (September 1998) that Vice-Chancellors had become more like corporate executives, academic departments were run by middle managers as part of a "new administrator class", and that in the post-Dawkins commercialised environment of higher education there appeared to be scant regard for collegial decision-making processes.<sup>47</sup> Hannah Forsyth notes, however, that "progressively, collegial structures were undermined, since collegiality was great for managing academic quality but dreadful for managing money, so more specialised, appointed (rather than elected) academic managers became the norm."<sup>48</sup>

### **AACUHO:**

Marked by higher school retention rates, with more students going on to both major metropolitan and regional universities, and a more competitive focus on attracting full-fee paying international students rather than on aid-based international programs, the 1990's saw increasing demand for student accommodation, including greater provision of self-catered accommodation particularly for older undergraduates and for postgraduate students. The expanding 'business' of residence and the

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<sup>46</sup> The 31 include International Houses

<sup>47</sup> Noted in David Murray & Brian Dollery *Institutional Breakdown? An Exploratory Taxonomy of Australian University Failure* Working Paper Series in Economics, School of Economics UNE 2004 pp.10-11

<sup>48</sup> Hannah Forsyth "The DVC Epidemic" *A History of the Modern Australian University* New South Publishing UNSW Sydney 2014 p.135



experience of ACUHO-I in the United States, established forty years earlier, led Dr Joe Massingham, Master of Wright College at UNE, to set up an Australian association (AACUHO) representative of a wider range of positions within student housing. It held its first conference at UNE in 1991.<sup>49</sup>

### **Small colleges and student cooperatives:**

With the end of Federal 'largesse' through the AUC in the 1970's, there were few if any new colleges and halls, of the kind built during the 1950's to 1970's, constructed in the following decades. Robert Menzies College, opened at Macquarie University in 1973, was probably the last. Smaller colleges have been established since, such as St Martin's (1992) and St Francis College (1998) for Charles Sturt University students in Wagga Wagga NSW; Richard Johnson College opened in a former YWCA building in Wollongong in 1993, but closed in 2006. International House at the University of Wollongong (UOW) opened in 1975 in former YMCA premises; Weerona College UOW opened in 1990 in former hostel premises, as did Fenner Hall ANU in 1992. Various colleges and halls added new wings, but the 'golden era' of government funding for capital works was definitely over! Indeed, with cuts and competitive funding requirements being imposed on universities under the Howard Government from 1996, new ways of meeting demand for student accommodation were being sought by university administrators, many of whom saw residence as 'non-core' business to the university's core activities of teaching and research.

One 'alternative' was the establishment of 'student cooperative living' where, with a concern for affordability yet with a desire for mutual support and for community, Cooperatives bring together and are run by student members in a shared living environment, usually in existing houses or former commercial buildings, warehouses etc. 'STUCCO' at Sydney University opened in 1991, and continues in premises close to the University, in Newtown. However, this and other Cooperatives, such as the Canberra Student Housing Co-op opened in 2011 in Havelock House near the ANU, cater for a relatively small number of students.<sup>50</sup>

### **Centralisation, commercialism and corporatization:**

Between 1991 and 2014 the number of students enrolled at Australian universities grew from around 520,000 to approximately 1.3 million, including an increase in international students from some 30,000 to nearly 330,000. Over this period, international education has become Australia's largest services export, growing at an average of 6% per year for the last ten years.<sup>51</sup> The uncapping of student numbers for bachelor degrees (except for Medicine) in Australian universities from 2012 and the establishment of a student demand-driven funding system, announced in 2009 following the Bradley Review<sup>52</sup>, have also led to a significant increase in student enrolments.<sup>53</sup> There is ongoing debate about the impact on standards of entry, quality of teaching, completion rates, and on spiralling university costs associated with more students. In a funding environment of having to do more with less, universities have become more centralised and corporatized, with a number of university-owned and managed residences re-organised and placed under more managerial rather

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<sup>49</sup> It seemed initially to be an association of bursars/business managers; its scope now includes all involved in student housing; UCA continues to focus on leadership/headship in collegiate communities.

<sup>50</sup> STUCCO accommodates 37 students; CSH Co-op 29 students

<sup>51</sup> Senator Richard Colbeck, Minister for International Education, Media Release 3 February 2016

<sup>52</sup> Review of Australian Higher Education (Report, December 2008), chaired by Prof Denise Bradley AC

<sup>53</sup> The first two years, 2012-2013, saw an increase in student numbers of around 5% overall, though some have noted that universities began to increase their intake significantly from 2009.

than educational leadership. Headship has been outsourced to more business and bureaucratic management, with fewer senior staff as part of the residential community – the nature, character and significance of collegial residential communities little experienced, and even less understood.

Since the late 1990's, universities have also turned, as in other parts of the world, including the United Kingdom, to a growing number of investors and to a burgeoning number of commercial student accommodation providers to invest in and/or to develop, operate and manage (in most cases), in partnership with the university or alone, purpose built student accommodation (PBSA) for large numbers of students, especially those from overseas. One of the first of these was the Sydney University Village, opened in 2003 by Campus Living Villages (CLV). Private/commercial student accommodation providers now also include companies such as UniLodge, Urbanest, Student Housing Australia, The Pad, Iglu and Scape.

Whereas prior to World War II religious/church owned and/or affiliated residential colleges represented around 87% of the provision of student accommodation, the situation now has reversed with such colleges representing approximately 13%. University and university/commercial partnership owned and managed residences represent the largest section of the sector, but with commercial on and off campus provision around 35% and increasing significantly.<sup>54</sup>

### **Buildings, beds and billions in a student housing 'industry':**

The enormous growth of what is frequently called the 'student housing industry' (rather than sector) is often marked by reference to the numbers of "purpose built beds" – a numbers and business investment and development juggernaut that is seizing the day of commercial opportunity in both local and international student need in Australian universities. A recent 'Domain' report notes that "Australian company Blue Sky Private Real Estate and global investment giant Goldman Sachs entered a joint venture to fund up to 10,000 purpose built beds for university students across Australia and New Zealand by 2019."<sup>55</sup> An *Australian Financial Review* article noted that "the more than \$20 billion student housing sector is an asset class that is increasingly being institutionalised in Australia."<sup>56</sup> Legal firm *Norton Rose Fulbright*, focusing on financial institutions, has reported that Purpose Built Student Accommodation options "offer higher quality accommodation, rents inclusive of bills, varying options on tenancy lengths, a branded product, enhanced internet connectivity, professional management and security ... students are viewed as highly sophisticated consumers". There is, the article notes, a "global investor appetite" that is "growing, with institutions seeking to diversify portfolios outside of the US and the UK."<sup>57</sup>

Of course, particularly contingent upon the international 'market' – and subject to any significant change in it - there is a real need for the increased provision of and choice in a range of student

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<sup>54</sup> National Census of University Student Accommodation Providers 2014, prepared by Tertiary Balance Pty Ltd (Mr Peter McDonald) for UCA, AACUHO and the Commonwealth Department of Education, Figure 1, p.12

<sup>55</sup> Carolyn James *\$1 billion deal means new accommodation for Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide students* [www.domain.com.au/news](http://www.domain.com.au/news) 24 March 2016

<sup>56</sup> Mercedes Ruehl *Scape to transform \$20 billion student accommodation sector with acquisitions* [www.afr.com/real-estate/scap-to-transform-20b-student-accommodation-sector](http://www.afr.com/real-estate/scap-to-transform-20b-student-accommodation-sector)

<sup>57</sup> <http://www.nortonrosefulbright.com/knowledge/publications/130703/the-growth-of-student-accommodation-as-an-asset-class-in-australia> July 2015

accommodation options.<sup>58</sup> Universities are looking to the private sector for investment and/or development, if not also for the operation and management, of purpose built residences. Some, such as the University of New South Wales (UNSW), have entered into partnerships with commercial accommodation providers as well as funded their own developments such as the new Kensington Colleges – rebuilding Basser, Goldstein and Philip Baxter Colleges along with establishing in the same precinct, and under the same overall management, Colombo House and Fig Tree Hall. The ANU will open a new five hundred (500) bed facility in 2017 which, while the University notes it will enable more students to access the “traditional halls of residence model”, with quality pastoral care, will be operated and managed by the commercial provider, UniLodge. ANU is also seeking investment from, but not management by, companies such as superannuation funds to fund the ongoing maintenance and/or rebuilding of its Halls/residences (other than Bruce Hall, which is scheduled to be demolished at the end of 2016<sup>59</sup>). Monash University has added on its Clayton campus six (6) new single occupancy self-contained private studio Halls to its older Halls/residences, providing for some 1,600 students.

### **The “business of learning”:**

With the current realities of funding constraints, costs and commercial opportunities, and the views around what is core and non-core university business, words delivered by the late Dr Davis McCaughey in his final year as Master of Ormond College, University of Melbourne, are rather prophetic. He noted that “we (residential colleges and halls) are part of the academic enterprise ... part of the business of learning”.<sup>60</sup> The former Master of Ormond College (1994-2008), Professor Hugh Collins, in his AHAUCHI Presidential address in 2004<sup>61</sup> noted: “Fully grasped, the pressures to redefine our Colleges and Halls of Residence as solely accommodation services rather than as educational communities are a microcosm of the larger forces seeking to turn our public universities into corporatized, commercially-driven enterprises. Hence the importance of our resistance to such pressures, since our resistance will not be unimportant to the larger struggle in defence of academic freedom in Australia.” While now, over a decade later, ‘resistance’ could signal refusal to accept the realities of demand and supply in student accommodation, and the costs of meeting them, both Davis McCaughey and Hugh Collins assert the greater reality of what makes an appropriate and good living and learning community as educationally relevant to the core business of the university, and thus to the university’s reputation.

### **Quality communities:**

In collegiate or ‘college-style’ residences, the shared, supportive and enriching engagement of students, not just with each other, but with both resident and non-resident staff and faculty, and with the wider university community, add value to the overall student experience and to the university; a residential college is “ideally a community bringing together students of diverse

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<sup>58</sup> Some 80% of international students in Australia live in off-campus rental accommodation; relatively few live in on-campus PBSA, and even fewer in residential colleges (National Census 2014 *op cit*)

<sup>59</sup> Separate arrangements for the funding of this project are being determined

<sup>60</sup> Speech to AHAUCHI Conference 1979. Dr McCaughey was Deputy Chancellor of Melbourne University 1978-1979 and later became Governor of Victoria 1986-1992

<sup>61</sup> New Zealand Association of Tertiary Education Accommodation Professionals (NZTEAP) Conference in association with AHAUCHI, University of Otago, Dunedin NZ, 2004. Hugh Collins was a Professorial Fellow in Political Science, University of Melbourne, and has held academic positions at the ANU and Murdoch University, as well as a number of posts overseas including at St Antony’s College, Oxford.

backgrounds and disciplines in close contact both with each other and with more senior scholars and teachers, also of diverse disciplines, and others who work to ensure that the college is a rich learning environment for its students.”<sup>62</sup> The active engagement and giving back of alumni is often testimony to this kind of residential experience. Scholarly as well as administrative and pastoral leadership shapes the character and worth of university residential life as much as, if not more than, the active involvement and engagement of students, and certainly more than just the provision of beds and good facilities. The latter is needed, as is a range of options for students in the style and affordability of accommodation they might choose, but the overriding need is for quality communities of enrichment, supervision, care and connection where there is “the collision of mind with mind, and knowledge with knowledge”<sup>63</sup>.

As university residential life began in Australia with compromise in the Affiliated Colleges Act (NSW) 1854, so there could now be appropriate compromise in the encouragement of both universities and providers to focus on the kinds of residential communities they provide or sponsor, especially in terms of pastoral and academic support, appropriate size and the sense of belonging and being known, and educational as well as administrative/managerial leadership and involvement. The ACER (AUSSE) report on *Engaging College Communities: The impact of residential colleges in Australian higher education* notes: “By relating to the student as an individual, immersing them in an intellectual climate, providing for greater informal contact with academic staff, linking learning with people’s lives, and exposing them to enriching academic contexts, colleges can play a very important role in shaping student expectations and their sense of what they would like to achieve. As this brief review suggests, residential programs support and enhance aspects of learning and development that are central to university education.”<sup>64</sup> Campus Living Villages have developed their ‘uStay’ tutorial program as well as first year transition programs; UniLodge has its ‘Community Spirit’ activities and Urbanest its ‘uLife’ program. There can and perhaps ought to be opportunities, encouraged by their respective universities, for professional leaders and staff in more ‘traditional’ residences, both as educators and managers, to collaborate with other providers in the development, provision and/or support of programs of training and care.

### **Commercial repositories of crowded loneliness:**

In a recent article in *The Australian*, Professor Hamish Coates expressed concern about the outsourcing by universities of residential care and support to the private sector, with a view that it is really the role of the university to “just do the academic side of things”. In terms of graduate outcomes and developing the whole person as fit for work and responsibility, he believes “the private sector is not going to cut it in creating the creative and agile workforce of the future.”<sup>65</sup> The *Australian Financial Review* recently reported that the Managing Director of the UK-based Scape Student Living, which has a \$400 million development-approved Melbourne site that will include 1500 bedrooms, has stated that “we are not just offering a bed, blanket and bathroom” but a “fully

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<sup>62</sup> Donald Markwell “The value of university residential colleges” in *Instincts to Lead: on leadership, peace and education* Connor Court Publishing, Ballarat Vic., 2013, p.317

<sup>63</sup> John Henry Cardinal Newman *Historical Sketches Vol. III*, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1887, p.16

<sup>64</sup> Hamish Coates & Daniel Edwards ACER AUSSE Research Briefings v4 June 2009 p.3

<sup>65</sup> Hamish Coates, Professor of Higher Education, University of Melbourne, quoted in Julie Hare *Leaving home a moving experience for students* The Australian, 2 March 2016

integrated student hub". The key to Scape's ambition, the article notes, is "to create a community".<sup>66</sup>

The kind of community is the real key, with the risk that what could be created in and related to universities across Australia are commercial repositories of crowded loneliness, whether or not it is a crowd of "highly sophisticated consumers". As Hamish Coates, Paula Kelly and Ryan Naylor have noted: "Belonging to a community has long been seen as an important quality of higher education ... belonging signals the absence of alienation whereby people feel detached or even lonely in a crowd."<sup>67</sup> Adjunct Professor Gavin Moodie notes that "one of the most frequently cited factors supporting retention is developing students' involvement in and sense of belonging to their institution, faculty or department. Students 'belong' to their university in different ways."<sup>68</sup> Undoubtedly residence is a key player in promoting a sense of belonging.

An Australian Government 'Draft National Strategy for International Education' (April 2015), prepared for round table and other consultations, noted that "Australia needs to increase student housing on or near campus to provide more of the quality student and living environment inherent in a 'college' style academic experience."<sup>69</sup>

Whether on or close to campuses, the impact of significant increases in the number and size of residential communities on associated university services such as health, counselling, chaplaincy and sport/gym facilities also needs to be considered.

## **21<sup>st</sup> Century 'Collegiate Way' – continuing challenge, change and compromise:**

How collegiate or 'college-style' communities are interpreted to-day and for the future will be the subject of the second 'Collegiate Way International' Conference to be held at The Australian National University in November 2016. The first conference was held in November 2014 at Durham University UK. Is the 'collegiate way' just one way, or, as discussed in Durham, in what ways can it be expressed to meet new contexts, demands and opportunities such as those outlined in this paper, including those that have come about over the past one hundred and sixty years of student residence within and without Australian universities, as well as in universities across the globe?

Universities such as Princeton, Yale, the National University of Singapore, Fudan University in Shanghai, and the University of Macau have embraced and invested in developing stronger collegiate communities.<sup>70</sup> As Donald Markwell notes, "there has been a growth of colleges, or of emphasis on college life at its best, in many universities around the world which seek to offer their students an education which is increasingly comparable with the best in the world ... (there is a)

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<sup>66</sup> Mercedes Ruehl *op cit*

<sup>67</sup> Hamish Coates, Paula Kelly, Ryan Naylor *New Perspectives on the Student Experience Draft Report* for the Australian Government Office for Learning and Teaching April 2016

<sup>68</sup> Gavin Moodie (RMIT) 'Which students are most likely to drop out of university?', in *The Conversation* March 23, 2016 (<https://theconversation.com/au>)

<sup>69</sup> Australian Government 'Draft National Strategy for International Education: For consultation, April 2015', *Staying competitive* p.45

<sup>70</sup> This has involved, however, significant finance/investment – government, private/commercial, philanthropic

distinction between a university with a high proportion of students living on or near campus and a university with real colleges ...”<sup>71</sup>

In a session at the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary AACUHO Conference in Sydney, architect Trevor Hamilton spoke of ‘The New Colleges’ – residences large and small designed more deliberately to reflect a more collegiate life while at the same time meeting the challenges of demand, affordability, costs and constraints. He referred to a trend “back to college”, albeit with compromise and flexibility.<sup>72</sup>

In the promotion of collegiate or college-style residential communities, we should not be blind to past excesses of behaviour and related controversies, with the associated stereotypes of wealth and privilege being fed by some highly publicised incidents, often related to the over-consumption of alcohol but also to some entrenched cultures<sup>73</sup> of sexism, harassment and bullying – “the trappings of systematic privilege, which tend to be hidden away in college cloisters and quadrangles.”<sup>74</sup> These, of course, can mask much of the enormous value and worth that is gained by so many from their time in college or hall. Increasingly, colleges and halls, along with other residences, are taking lead roles in programs of promotion and training for a range of student wellbeing, safety and harm minimisation issues. Close, trusting, collaborative and collegial relationships between staff and students in residential communities, where people are known and where there is regular meeting, conversation, mentoring, advice and support, are critical to the most positive living and learning experience.

With the increasing demand for accommodation, commercial opportunity and the “global investment appetite” are resulting in more and larger residences that in many ways provide better essential facilities – better student real estate<sup>75</sup> - but might also result in missing the mark of providing the best sense of belonging and absence of alienation. There needs to be focus not only on the design features and inclusions of buildings, but also on the nature and levels of educational as well as managerial leadership; provision of appropriate care, supervision, and support; together with the facilitation of intellectual, cultural and social engagement, that best develop scholarly communities, that add value to the university, and that greatly enrich and expand the lives of students.

Undoubtedly, this will involve much continuing challenge, change and compromise.

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<sup>71</sup> Donald Markwell *Leadership in Colleges* Lecture given at the Centre for Leadership, King’s College UQ, 17 September 2012, pp.5&7

<sup>72</sup> Trevor Hamilton *The New Colleges* AACUHO Conference, Sydney, 22/4/16. Trevor Hamilton is a Director of Nettletontribe, Architects; projects have included Sancta Sophia Graduate House, Sydney University; Queen Mary Building, Sydney University; Lena Karmel Lodge, and the new SA5 building to open in 2017 at ANU; and residences at Deakin University campuses. He noted the impact of Dr Marie Leech, Principal of Sancta Sophia College, inviting him to understand more of what ‘college’ is about.

<sup>73</sup> It is important to note that there is not ONE generic ‘college culture’ across collegiate residences in Australia, despite some highly publicised events that have occurred in or related to some university residential colleges.

<sup>74</sup> Hannah Forsyth “Winners and losers in Australian universities” *op cit* p.205

<sup>75</sup> Better facilities, even in self-catered studio/apartment accommodation, should also include lounge, eating, study/meeting spaces, with concern for visibility in common areas so that residents are seen and known – community spaces that bring people together.