

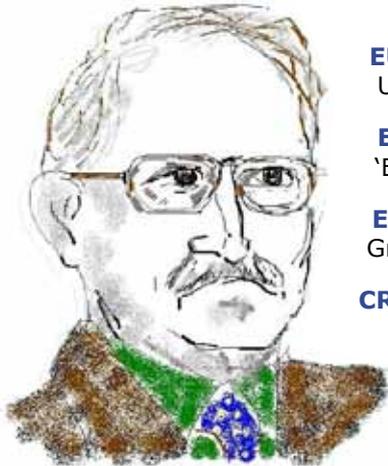


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by Immanuel Wallerstein



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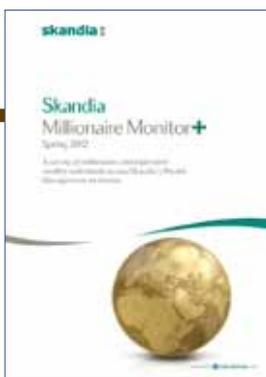
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## HIGHER EDUCATION UNDER ATTACK

by Immanuel Wallerstein

For a very long time there were only a few universities in the world. The total student body in these institutions was very small. This small group of students was drawn largely from the upper classes. Attending the university conferred great prestige and reflected great privilege.

This picture began to change radically after 1945. The number of universities began to expand considerably, and the percentage of persons in the age range that attended universities began to expand. Furthermore, this was not merely a question of expansion in those countries that had already had universities of note. University education was launched in a large number of countries that had few or no university institutions before 1945. Higher education became worldwide.

The pressure for expansion came from above and below. From above, governments felt an important need for more university graduates to ensure their capacity to compete in the more complex technologies that were required in the exploding expansion of the world-economy. And from below, large numbers of the middle strata and even of the lower strata of the world's populations were insistent that they have access to higher education in order to improve considerably their economic and social prospects.

The expansion of the universities, which was remarkable in size, was made possible by the enormous upward expansion of the world-economy after 1945, the biggest in the history of the modern world-system. There was plenty of money available for the universities, and they were happy to make use of it.

Of course, this changed the university systems somewhat. Individual universities became much larger and began to lose the quality of intimacy that smaller structures provided. The class composition of the student body, and then of the professorate, evolved. In many countries, expansion not only meant a reduction in the monopoly of upper strata persons as students, professors, and administrators, but it often meant that "minority" groups and women began to have wider

access, which had previously been totally or at least partially denied.

This rosy picture came into difficulty after about 1970. For one thing, the world-economy entered its long stagnation. And little by little, the amount of money that universities received, largely from the states, began to diminish. At the same time, the costs of university education continued to rise, and the pressures from below for continued expansion grew even stronger. The story ever since has been that of the two curves going in opposite directions — less money and increased expenses.

By the time we arrived at the twenty-first century, this situation became dire. How have universities coped? One major way was what we have come to call "privatization." Most universities before 1945, and even before 1970, were state institutions. The one significant exception was the United States, which had a large number of non-state institutions, most of which had evolved from religiously-based institutions. But even in these U.S. private institutions, the universities were run as non-profit structures.

What privatization began to mean throughout the world was several things: One, there began to be institutions of higher education that were established as businesses for profit. Two, public institutions began to seek and obtain money from corporate donors, which began to intrude in the internal governance of the universities. And three, universities began to seek patents for work that researchers at the university had discovered or invented, and thereupon entered as operators in the economy, that is, as businesses.

In a situation in which money was scarce, or at least seemed scarce, universities began to transform themselves into more business-like institutions. This could be seen in two major ways. The top administrative positions of universities and their faculties, which had traditionally been occupied by academics, now began to be occupied by persons whose background was in business and not university life. They raised the money,

but they also began to set the criteria of allocation of the money.

There began to be evaluations of whole universities and of departments within universities in terms of their output for the money invested. This might be measured by how many students wished to pursue particular studies, or how esteemed was the research output of given universities or departments. Intellectual life was being judged by pseudo-market criteria. Even student recruitment was being measured by how much money was brought in via alternative methods of recruitment.

And, if this weren't enough, the universities began to come under attack from a basically anti-intellectual far right current that saw the universities as secular, anti-religious institutions. The university as a critical institution — critical of dominant groups and dominant ideologies — had always met with resistance and repression by the states and the elites. But their powers of survival had always been rooted in their relative financial autonomy based on the low real cost of operation. This was the university of yesteryear, not of today — and tomorrow.

One can write this off as simply one more aspect of the global chaos in which we are now living. Except that the universities were supposed to play the role of one major locus (not of course the only one) of analysis of the realities of our world-system. It is such analyses that may make possible the successful navigation of the chaotic transition towards a new, and hopefully better, world order. At the moment, the turmoil within the universities seems no easier to resolve than the turmoil in the world-economy. And even less attention is being paid to it.

**Immanuel Wallerstein**, Senior Research Scholar at Yale University, is the author of *The Decline of American Power: The U.S. in a Chaotic World* (New Press). Copyright © 2012 Immanuel Wallerstein. Distributed by Agence Global. Image: I. Wallerstein

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## news



Press release of the Delft University, 31-01-2012

[tudelft.nl/](http://tudelft.nl/)

More about the European Platform of Universities Engaged in Energy Research, Education and Training (EPUE)  
[eua.be/](http://eua.be/)

### EU: UNIVERSITY PLATFORM FOR ENERGY PROJECTS

An initiative by the Delft University of Technology aims to get universities across Europe more involved in energy technology developments.

At the inaugural meeting in Delft on 23rd and 24th February, the European University Association (EUA) presented results of a survey, which showed that there are more than 1200 relevant masters and doctoral programmes across the EU. The EUA, in conjunction with the European Energy Research Alliance, is now offering the university sector a platform to work with other institutions on joint energy technology projects. More than 200 establishments are now signed up to the programme.

"It is not that we need more connections, but it is good to have an official body that unites the universities, especially for education and training," says Hester Bijl, chair of the Delft Energy Initiative which has already organised 700 researchers in various projects across the university. "We can join forces between countries, universities and disciplines in order to make the energy transition possible."

Torbjørn Digernes, rector of the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, and chairman of the platform, says: "We need to reach out to all of Europe to engage all the talent that might have an inclination to work in this area."

### EU: CALLS FOR ERASMUS GRANT SCHEME TO BE IMPROVED

The European Students' Union (ESU) proposes income-assessed Erasmus grants to enable students from lower socio-economic backgrounds to enjoy the benefits of a period of study abroad. These calls for tailor-made grants come in response to the EU's 'Erasmus for All' programme, which advocates replacing the current basic grant system with a 'Loan Guarantee Scheme' (see *ESNA Bulletin N°119 - 07-12-2011*).

According to ESU, this would have a negative impact on the accessibility of studying abroad. "We urge for an increase of Erasmus grants as they are largely insufficient. Only students with high or medium family income can afford learning experience abroad," argues Allan Päll, ESU Chair. "We do not think it is a good idea to burden young people with a huge study debt in these economically uncertain times with skyrocketing youth unemployment levels."

The European Commission has proposed to increase the budget for education and training by 70 percent in the period 2014-2020, to 19.5 billion Euros.

Press release by ESU, 27-03-2012

[esu-online.org/](http://esu-online.org/)

LSE Feasibility study, 2011

[ec.europa.eu/](http://ec.europa.eu/)



Luigi Berlinguer (Photo: LB)

### EU: BERLINGUER PROMOTES BOLOGNA PROCESS

The Berlinguer Report achieved huge support in the European Parliament with 572 votes in favour and only 89 against when it was presented by Italian MEP and former Italian education minister Luigi Berlinguer on 13<sup>th</sup> March. He supports the introduction of a common market for degrees across the European Higher Education Area.

The Commission will now be playing a bigger role alongside the European Parliament in the promotion of further learning in Europe. They propose to 'increase significantly the funds devoted to European education and training programmes' and to promote professional degrees and 'EU-joint degrees'.

Berlinguer advocates reinforcing the Bologna Process, fundamentally by making quality standards and degrees more compatible throughout

the EHEA: "It is highly problematic that we lack one common labour market. (...) It means that a degree obtained in one university is not necessarily valid in another EU-country." (see also: *ESNA Bulletin N°118 - 30-11-2011* p.8)

But not only Euro-sceptics are sceptical about Berlinguer's proposal. Former Portuguese science minister Mariano Gago is against the EC having greater influence over the Bologna Process because, as he said on a conference in December, its attraction lay in the democratic process among member states.

Press release, European Parliament 26-03-2012

[europarl.europa.eu/](http://europarl.europa.eu/)

Draft report , 26-10-2011

[esna.tv/](http://esna.tv/)



Željko Jovanović  
(Photo: Goran Kovacić)

## CROATIA: NEW MINISTER OUTLINES AMBITIONS

Željko Jovanović, Croatia's new Minister of Sport, Science and Education, has called for urgent reforms in higher education and last week announced a complete overhaul of legislation.

The time seems right for such a move: the new social democrat government is in its first 100 days of office and has the ability to address the social dimension of higher education in a way that wasn't possible during the term of its conservative predecessor.

According to Jovanović, students should only be educated for jobs in relation to the demands of the labour market. By the end of the year, he expects a draft detailing the precise market situation and the needs of employers.

Jovanovic is also calling for the abolishment of tuition fees and actions against corruption in education, science and sport. He is also considering lowering the retirement age for professors from 70 to 65, which would see many academics facing forced redundancy.

## CZECH REPUBLIC: EDUCATION MINISTER DOBEŠ RESIGNS

Czech Education Minister Josef Dobeš has officially resigned last week, after several calls by academics and politicians for his dismissal in the past.

Dobeš is said to be leaving because he disagrees with the government's austerity measures. He was asked to freeze an additional 2.5 billion Crowns (€ 100m) in the education ministry's budget after saving 4.5 billion Crowns last year. This would mean a pay-cut for teachers even though he had promised to increase their salaries.

"I do not accept these draconian budget cuts. It would either mean a decrease in teachers' salaries or the universities' budgets. But their wages are already on the edge of sustainability. [So] I decided to draw personal responsibility and resign," he said. This follows recent incidents involving the scandal-hit law faculty in Pilsen, over which he faces a lawsuit for attempting to prolong its accreditation (see [ESNA Bulletin N°127 - 14-03-2012](#)).

Dobeš, who was in office for 21 months, also drew attention to the positive changes he was able to make. He saved the government half a billion crowns, combined five organisations, dismissed nearly three hundred officers and reduced red tape.

The minister's planned university reform was widely criticised in the past few months; at the beginning of the year he said that he would leave the government if he failed to resolve the problems with drawing money from EU funds for educational projects.

## ITALY: YOUNG SCIENTISTS AND RESEARCH INSTITUTES AT STAKE

As part of the new Italian government's labour reforms, a ruling on simplification and development is set to have detrimental effects on the country's research.

In the past week, victims of the reform have gone public, including the Italian Institute for the Development of Vocational Training for Workers (ISFOL), based in Rome. The reforms would see ISFOL dismantled, 630 employees being relocated and 252 part-time workers losing their jobs, and a single National Agency set up in its place.

Also ready for the chop is a peer review system, which has financed more than one hundred programmes by allocating public funds to researchers under 40 years old since its introduction in 2006 through bursaries of 500,000 Euros. Winner of the Nobel Prize for Medicine, Rita Levi Montalcini, and democratic senator Ignazio Marino have now launched an appeal to the government to save "the future of so many young people hoping to do research in Italy".

"If such a law is not modified, the selection [of researchers] will again pass through the closed rooms of the Ministries of Education and Health, giving access to funds only to those who have the right friends and not the necessary qualifications earned by studying for years, maybe in the basement of some faculty, for a few Euros," Montalcini protested.

Minister for Public Administration and Innovation, Filippo Patroni Griffi, is still trying to shed light on why the removal of this regulation has been included in the controversial new decree.

Josef Dobeš's announcement  
of resignation,  
22-03-2012 (in Czech)  
[msmt.cz/](http://msmt.cz/)

**ISFOL**

Press release by the  
network of researchers  
RETE RICERCA PUBBLICA,  
27-03-2012 (in Italian)  
[retericercapubblica.blogspot.de/](http://retericercapubblica.blogspot.de/)



José Ignacio Wert (Photo: MECD)

## SPAIN: UNPOPULAR UNDERGRADUATE COURSES FACE THE CHOP

Unpopular university courses in Spain will be phased out from 2013, as part of the Spanish Government's educational reform.

According to plans drawn up by the Ministry for Education, Culture and Sport, courses with fewer than 40 registered students will be forced to close or to merge with other programmes. Courses with fewer than 50 students will have three years to attract more students or to present a restructuring plan. Some regions, such as Galicia, have already begun cutting courses, and from 2013 this measure will be applied country-wide.

The Spanish government also wishes to decrease the number of university undergraduates by 20 percent and to increase the number of young people undertaking vocational training, based on the German model.

The Minister for Education described the reforms as forming a 'central element' in the architecture of the new Spanish educational system.

Press release by the Education Ministry, 22-03-2012 (in Spanish)  
[educacion.gob.es/](http://educacion.gob.es/)

## UK: ATTRACTIVE DESPITE VISA RESTRICTIONS

Higher Education is now the UK economy's fifth largest service export, representing 8.4 percent of all service exports. The UK expects to take almost 30,000 students per year by 2020, more than any other country except for Australia, which sees overseas student numbers of nearer 50,000. A large minority of students come from India, which still has strong cultural connections with the UK.

Figures from UCAS, the organisation which manages university applications in the UK, show a 13 percent increase in undergraduate applications from non-EU countries this year alone.

However, on April 5th, the government is set to close the post-study work visa category for new applicants. International graduates will now only be allowed to stay in the UK to work if they have a graduate level job. This comes as the National Audit Office (NAO) has published figures showing that up to 50,000 migrants may have exploited flaws in the UK's new visa system, introduced in 2009, to work illegally in the UK.

The system had been brought in "before the key controls were in place," which meant that those who entered the UK were not checked to make sure they had enrolled at their colleges. The NAO's report continues: "The agency has taken little action to prevent and detect students overstaying or working in breach of their visa conditions because the agency regards them as low-priority compared to illegal immigrants and failed asylum seekers."



Press release by NAO,  
 27-03-2011  
[nao.org.uk/](http://nao.org.uk/)

*daily* Europe's higher education *online*



Contributions to Bulletin N°128 - March 28, 2012: Tino Brömme (editor-in-chief), Luis Taboada, Harriet Bailey, Ana Jović, Elena Pinnen and Antigoni Avgeropoulou. Thanks to Arian Meyer

In the book review section of your Bulletin, the ESNA newsroom will share with you its reviews and announcements of the latest publications on higher education policy, management and debate.

## out now

### THE SUDOKU EFFECT UNIVERSITIES AND THE VICIOUS CYCLE OF BUREAUCRACY

What is causing the increase in bureaucracy in universities? How can we explain the school-like nature of bachelor and masters courses? Responsibility lies neither with a neo-liberal conspiracy to reorganise universities or the fantasies of control that university management entertains, nor indeed the technical clumsiness in course design.

Stefan Kühl shows instead that this is the unintentional side-effect of a seemingly small change in the organisation of degrees: namely, the introduction of credit points as a new unit of measure at universities. Because of a student's obligation to plan every single working hour in advance, a 'Sudoku Effect' is created – the need to combine credited modules, exams and sessions in such a way that the degree 'adds up'.

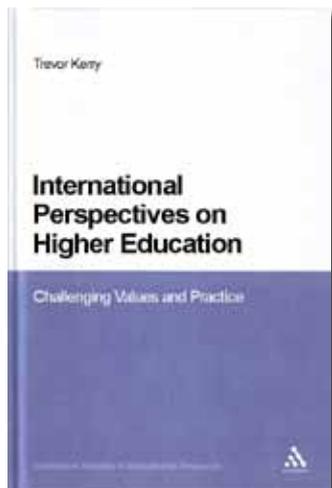
A complexity that even computers find it hard to master and an increase in tests count among the consequences of a continuous refinement of the regulatory rulebook that seeks to respond to its own shortcomings.



Stefan Kühl  
Original title: "Der Sudoku-Effekt: Hochschulen im Teufelskreis der Bürokratie. Eine Streitschrift"  
transcript | February 2012  
ISBN: 978-3-8376-1958-4  
German 172 pages paperback €19.80

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## upcoming



### INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON HIGHER EDUCATION. CHALLENGING VALUES AND PRACTICE

In this upcoming book, Visiting Professor at Bishop Grosseteste University College, UK Trevor Kerry puts together contributions from a distinguished group of scholars from Europe, Canada and Australia to give an exhaustive insight of the world of education today from a global perspective. The volume investigates key themes in higher education, such as academic freedom or ethical behavior, stressing the importance of developing social strong capacity in young people and questioning about the future of a quality education.

Trevor Jerry (ed.)  
Continuum | May 2012  
ISBN: 978-1-44110-203-4  
English hardcover 208 pages £70.99

**Order**

### THE ORGANIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION MANAGING COLLEGES FOR A NEW ERA

Colleges and universities are best understood as networks of departments working together to fulfill a mission of education, innovation, and community partnership. To better understand how these large and complex institutions function, scholars can apply organizational and strategic planning concepts made familiar by business management. This book follows that model and explores the new and emerging ways by which organizational theories address major contemporary concerns in higher education.

Ideal for courses in administration and theory, this book reinvigorates the study of higher education as an organization and encourages scholars to rediscover the value of organizational principles in all areas of higher education research.

Michael N. Bastedo (ed.)  
Johns Hopkins Univ. Press | April 2012  
ISBN: 978-1-42140-448-6  
English paperback 376 pages \$30.00

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Each copy of your ESNA bulletin will provide information on studies which have captured our attention as pieces that may contribute to our common understanding of higher education. Our priority is to keep ESNA readers at the forefront of the knowledge pool on higher education and provide an arena for the issues raised in these studies to be heard.

## new studies

Maastricht University Green  
Office | March 2012  
English

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### GREEN OFFICE ANNUAL REPORT 2011

The Maastricht University Green Office coordinates and initiates sustainability projects at Maastricht University, by empowering students and staff members. Thereby, the Green Office addresses the urgent need for integrated and innovative efforts for a sustainable future at the university. This report outlines the achievements of the Green Office in 2011. In this report, through lot of research and analyses, there are findings and recommendations on waste and energy as well as on educational and research programs and on students groups active in the field of sustainability.

Universities UK | January 2012  
English

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### FUTURES FOR HIGHER EDUCATION: ANALYSING TRENDS

This report provides a platform for further discussion and reflection about the future. There is no single interpretation of a possible outcome for the sector, but rather a set of frameworks to support thinking about the current changes and possible solutions. The themes and analysis set out in this report were generated through an interactive process of development, testing and reflection carried out over a period of months with university leaders and stakeholders from the sector.

### INTERACTIVE ADDED VALUE NEW INNOVATIONS MODEL BETWEEN INDUSTRY AND SCIENCE

This study was done in order to explain and introduce new innovation model which should in future connect industry and science. Cooperation within Universities and companies is explained as necessary because it will provide better research and innovations which leads to developing and staying competitive.

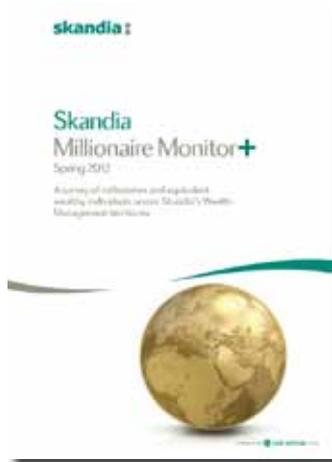
Andrea Frank, Simone Höfer  
Stifterverband | March 2012  
English

[Download](#)

Proposed measures should bring growth in investment, new partnership strategies and innovation in business. University should support young entrepreneurs and help them to develop. This study should help future students to be more prepared for market needs, to have practice knowledge and already built skills.

### MILLIONAIRE MONITOR 2012

The Millionaire Monitor surveys individuals with net disposable assets of £1 million in the UK or the equivalent purchasing power in other countries. Main topics that are researched are: personal wealth, migration, wealth outlook, saving and investments, business and attitude to risk. The report also contains a ranking of universities with millionaire graduates.



SKANDIA | March 2012  
English

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### OECD ECONOMIC SURVEYS: EUROPEAN UNION 2012

The OECD Economic Survey of the European Union, though not dealing directly with issues of higher education and science policy, highlights the EU's problems in the perspective of a Single European market.

The survey sees "high unemployment, particularly among young people, and low labour mobility coexist with skill and labour shortages in other regions. (...) Mobility is hindered by barriers stemming from restrictive domestic labour market and pension policies, and by weak enforcement and implementation of legal rights under the Single Market. The recognition of professional qualifications across the EU should be further developed and the access to public sector jobs improved."

OECD | March 2012  
English and French

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Furthermore, "with demographic changes underway, most EU countries expect growing shortages of skilled labour or workers in specialised activities. This should be mostly dealt with by making better use of the existing population and providing them with the right skills. The EU should develop policies to ensure that migration responds more directly to labour market needs. The Blue Card should be used effectively to make it more attractive to high-skilled workers."