

# Internationalisierung, Vielfalt und Inklusion in der Wissenschaft

## Europäisierung der Hochschullandschaft

- Europeanization under constraint
- Project Europe – Towards a theoretical framework for micro-level Europeanization in universities
- Europeanization through neoliberal reforms
- Zur Entwicklung des Europäischen Forschungsraums  
Eine bibliometrische Analyse

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# Internationalisierung, Vielfalt und Inklusion in der Wissenschaft

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### Seitenblick auf die Schwesterzeitschriften

Hauptbeiträge der aktuellen Hefte  
Fo, HSW, POE, QiW, ZBS und HM IV

Wolff-Dietrich Webler (Hg.)

### Leiden Sie unter Überakademisierung?

- Notwendige Akademisierung oder „Akademisierungswahn“?
- Oder ein Drittes? (Ergebnisse des 10. Hochschulforums Sylt 2016)

Studieren in der deutschen Gesellschaft zu viele? Diese alle Jahrzehnte wiederkehrende Debatte wurde jüngst von Julian Nida-Rümelin unter dem reißerischen Titel eines tatsächlichen oder angeblichen „Akademisierungswahns“ wieder populär gemacht. Er macht eine unvertretbare Abwertung der beruflichen Bildung und sogar Irreleitung dafür verantwortlich. Haben wir eine umfangreiche Fehlentwicklung vor uns? Weder angeblich sinkende Arbeitsmarktchancen noch behauptete intellektuelle Unzulänglichkeit halten der Überprüfung stand. Trotzdem gibt es umfangreichen Handlungsbedarf. Dessen Aspekte haben 33 Expert/innen aus Hochschulpolitik, Hochschulleitungen sowie Berufs- und Hochschulforschung eine Woche lang beraten. Das Ergebnis ist lesenswert.



In den Beratungen wurden Fragen von der Art aufgeworfen, wie:

- Ist die Prestigedifferenz zwischen allgemeiner und beruflicher Bildung berechtigt?
- Sind Gesellschaften planbar? Müssen alle, „die etwas werden wollen“, studieren?
- Debatte um Obergrenzen – dieses Mal (wieder): Wieviele Akademiker braucht die Gesellschaft?
- Und wie gehen wir mit dem deutschen Verfassungsgebot um: „(1) Alle Deutschen haben das Recht, Beruf, Arbeitsplatz und Ausbildungsstätte frei zu wählen.“ (Art. 12 (1) Satz 1 GG)?

- Verkommt Studium zur Jagd nach Zertifikaten in statusverleihender Instrumentalisierung ohne Verständnis von Wissenschaft?
- Wieviel Studium muss die Öffentlichkeit finanzieren?
- Nach der Welle der „Gymnasialisierung“ nun als nächste Stufe die „Akademisierung“ und absehbar schon die „Doktorisierung“?
- Lassen sich arbeitsteilig differenzierte Hochschulsysteme aufrecht erhalten? Ist Wissenschaft vertikal teilbar?

Der Begriff der „Akademisierung“ ist vieldeutig und auf dem Hochschulforum Sylt weiter ausbuchstabiert worden. Dieses Themenspektrum findet sich in vielen Einzelbeiträgen dieses Bandes aufgegriffen. Der Band liefert reichlich Diskussionsstoff und Antworten.

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## Europeanization and higher education

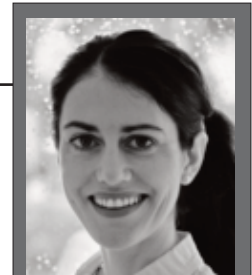
### On the relevance of a Europe-oriented perspective on higher education processes

This issue of *Internationalization, Diversity and Inclusion at Universities* (Internationalisierung, Vielfalt und Inklusion in Hochschulen, IVI) is a special one in that it, first, still marks the relaunch of a necessary and important journal for the scientific community. In times of border and economic crisis in the EU, an increase in migration to universities and increasing globalisation – all issues affecting institutions of higher education – IVI has a crucial role to play when it comes to investigating international and intercultural encounters in higher education. Second, this issue of IVI is dedicated to a selection of the proceedings – four original research papers – of the conference “Research into Europeanization: European Encounters, Politics, and Higher Education”. This conference took place at the Europa-Universität Flensburg in October 2016, and was organized by Monika Eigmüller, Klarissa Lueg, and Sören Carlson. Our aim was to give momentum to research specializing not only in the field of the internationalization of universities, but, more specifically, focusing on processes of Europeanization on the university and higher education level. The conference, organized as an authors' workshop, was the first, and highly fruitful outcome of our joint research perspectives. Europeanization, as understood in the specific context of our combined research foci, is the politically induced change of higher education institutions and policies in Europe or connected to Europe, as well as social and cultural practices, and the conditions and consequences of these changes. Research into this phenomenon, often researched under the geographically broader term “higher education internationalization” is manifold, and prevalent in sociology, as well as in educational and cultural studies. Our idea is to give voice to research taking into account the changes in European politics and policies as to the educational field and investigating how these changes affect agents and practices on the organizational level, that is, primarily, on the many-faceted level of European universities.

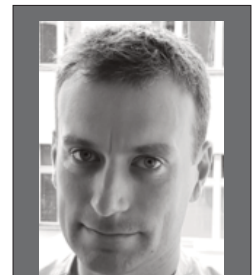
Research on higher education internationalization in general has produced a vast body of high-quality publications (s., among others, Altbach et al. 2007; Kehm et al. 2007; Knight 2013; Teichler 2009). Studies have investigated manifold aspects such as U.S. American influences and global competition between universities (Engwall 2004, 2016), student mobility (Carlson 2013; Castro et al. 2016), perceptions of university stakeholders (de Haan 2014), the impact of English as a



Monika Eigmüller



Klarissa Lueg



Sören Carlson

medium of instruction and scholarly language (Jensen et al. 2011; Lueg et al. 2015), the construction of legitimate knowledge and perception of international students (Kastberg et al. 2014; Lueg 2017; Tange et al. 2012). Pronounced research into the Europeanization of higher education is, however, less prevalent. This is surprising, considering that concrete policies and initiatives by the EU provide a tangible background of policies and regulations which could inspire critical inquiry. Europeanization research into other fields is, on the same grounds, an active community with a vast body of publications (for example, Eigmüller 2013; Favell et al. 2009; Fernández et al. 2016; Kuhn 2015). Such politically induced policies and initiatives within higher education are, most prominently, the European research area, the European higher education area and the Bologna process. Given the greatly different cultural practices and routines on the national, but also on the organizational level, these (proposedly unifying) policies have a vast impact on the experiences of stakeholders – students, staff, faculty – at universities. In order to carefully assess the success of these politically induced changes, monitoring how stakeholders deal with their end of the process, is a vital part of critical inquiry. Consequently, the present issue of IVI focuses not only on the process and progress of higher education Europeanization itself, but it also observes how Europeanization influences the daily routines, perceptions and organizational practices of agents within higher education.

The four contributors to this themed issue study phenomena of Europeanization from different angles, in different national contexts, and finally, employ diffe-

rent types of scholarly texts: The first contributor, *Viktor Karady*, CEU, Hungary, in the form of an (empirically grounded) essay, gives an account of the specific "Hungarian experience" of Europeanization. In his contribution, titled **Europeanization under constraint. A historical overview of Western intellectual connections in the Hungarian social sciences till present times**, he delivers an overview of the impact of different Europeanization processes on the Hungarian social sciences.

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The second text **Project Europe – Towards a theoretical framework for micro-level Europeanization in universities** by *Julia Simoleit*, WWU Münster, Germany, investigates university employees' experiences and insights into organizational Europeanization processes. Vagueness and ambiguity, but also a centralization of power, seems to be a prevalent part of the Europeanization experience of these actors.

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The third article is a contribution by *Tanja Kanne Wadsholt*, Aarhus University, Denmark. Her empirical study **Europeanization through neoliberal reforms and its effects upon autonomy, pedagogy authority, knowledge and interaction in the internationalized classroom** links the Europeanization of Danish universities to neoliberal reforms. She alerts that Europeanization might foster autonomy loss for universities, and empirically demonstrates an impact of neoliberal reform on in-classroom interaction.

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Finally, *Torger Möller*, DZHW, Germany, contributes the title **Zur Entwicklung des Europäischen Forschungsraums. Eine bibliometrische Analyse**. He draws upon a bibliometrical analysis of the Web of Science, and, in a comparative perspective to the USA and China, outlines visible progress in the formation of the politically pronounced European Research Area. With this new thematic issue of IVI, we hope to contribute, substantially and solidly, to relevant ongoing debates within the field of higher education and research into Europe, and to provide pathway for further research and collaborations.

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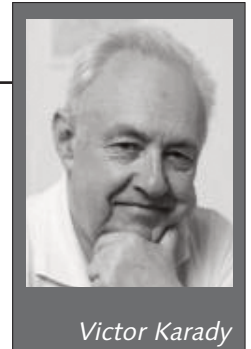
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*Victor Karady*



*Victor Karady*

## Europeanization under constraint

### A historical overview of Western intellectual connections in the Hungarian Social sciences till present times

This is an essay on the vast historical problem area of Europeanization processes observable in the Hungarian social sciences since their emergence in the late 19th century up to post-communist times. Following a reminder of the incomplete historic anchorage of Hungarian society in Western Christian civilization (as reflected in the image of a 'ferry boat') the changing pattern of dominantly German and secondarily French references is exposed over major regime changes as in 1919 (dismantlement of the historic state) and 1945 (collapse of old regime Hungary). After a short transition period of controlled democracy with openings to the West (1945-1948) the country came under Stalinist rule. Sovietization involved academic reforms and the development of educational and intellectual infrastructures together with the ban of most social disciplines. They were forcibly replaced by mandatory Marxism-Leninism. The readmission of earlier prohibited social sciences from the mid 1960s onwards brought about a progressive but controlled trend of their opening to Western cognitive goods. This trend took a new start and culminated after the fall of communism in 1989 as demonstrated in a rich set of empirical data on translations into Hungarian in various fields of social studies.

The public self-image of Hungarian elites – much reflected upon in school curricula – often referred to a shuttle (ferry) country between East and West. This was not only a somewhat poetic recognition of economic, political, social (in various meanings) and cultural backwardness as compared to the West or, in another perspective, the acknowledgement of being dominated by the West. The image expressed the fact, duly demonstrated by historians that the development of the country, since the early take-over of Western Christianity in the 11th century, owed to exchanges with the West most of the intellectual goods, economic and social innovations and other applicable assets necessary for its development and modernization. The message included that Hungarian civilization (including its system of knowledge production) both depended largely upon Western importations and was engaged in a permanent movement of 'catching up' with the West.

In practical terms the reference to a shuttle or ferryboat was regularly objectified by investments in West European intellectual markets in various – mostly interconnected – forms. This had to do with student migrations in Western universities, starting with Vienna and Prague, all the more because there was no local university up to the 17th century. In elite culture there emerged a veritable cult of Western languages since at least the 18th century (including Latin, prevailing till 1843 as the administrative language of the state). German appeared to be a must in the basic professional training of creative intellectuals in times of the Dual

Monarchy (up to 1919) and beyond (till the very end of the Old Regime in 1945), though French was also a most desirable complement, together with Italian and English as useful but not necessary further choices. Whenever professional intellectuals emigrated abroad – like after the lost civil War of Independence in 1848-49, or following the two world wars, the trends were almost exclusively directed to Western Europe or its civilizational extensions overseas. Thus – may be paradoxically – most of the internationally canonized modern cultural heroes of the country (like Béla Bartók, Karl Mannheim or Georg Lukács), or else all the more than a dozen of Nobel Prize laureates born here achieved most of their careers in the West.

The Western orientation of national elites was a constant historical trend, especially since the Enlightenment with all kinds of ups and downs till today. One of its main still surviving manifestations had to do with the success of the Reformation. This left its marks – more than anywhere else in Europe (or perhaps in the whole world) – on the socio-cultural set-up of Hungarian society. The country has become by the end of the Counter-Reformation the most multi-confessional (and multi-ethnic) statehood in modern Europe. A unique case in the continent, it was lacking both a denominational or an ethnic majority till the end of the historic state in 1918!

Moreover, the national state emerging in the 19th century was not an exclusive creation of the liberal nobility of essentially Magyar stock, but heavily supported by va-

rious non Magyar clusters. Besides Slovaks, more or less recent immigrants belonged to paragons of Magyar nationalism, especially Catholic Germans (settled in the 18th century) and Jews (arriving mostly since the late 18th century after the division of Poland). Even in the period of the consolidation of the nation state after the 1867 political Compromise with Austria completed by the early 20th century, Germans and Jews – respectively less than 15% and 6% in the population, both endowed with a Germanic multi-cultural heritage – made up close to half of the educated elites. This contributed powerfully to the strengthening of the cultural impact of the West in different ways.

For example, Jews and Germans represented the absolute majority of university students from Hungary in the West. Student peregrinations were conducive almost exclusively to German speaking countries. German was the only Western language mandatorily taught in secondary education (with 8-10% of teaching hours during the 8 years leading to the *Matura* (or *Abitur*) around 1900. German was at that time important due to the fact that the country was the main partner of the multi-ethnic Habsburg Empire with a Germanic linguistic majority. Intellectual links remained strong even after 1919 with the great cultural centers of the former Empire and other German speaking countries. Elite training itself remained grounded on the 1849 imperial educational reform (up to 1945), based on an organizational model taken over from Prussia via Austrian mediation. Elite education continued for all practical purposes to be part of the Germanic academic market, securing facilities of contacts, integration in the national curriculum of semesters spent by students in Germanic universities, interchangeability of degrees, unreserved exchange of scholars, unhindered student peregrinations. Whatever innovation was carried out in the Germanic academia could thus be immediately imported to Hungary. The 'catching up complex' proved to be obviously essential in the birth of the Social Sciences (henceforth SSH) as well.

Hungarian elite training was not only an institutional copy of the Austrian (and the Prussian) one, it achieved, actually, a comparable efficiency. There emerged a sizable intelligentsia in the country, often with high level Western training. Around 1,4-1,5% of young men of around 20 years of age achieving *Matura* (*érettség*), the relative size of the educated cluster in the country was as large as in Germany or France by the early 20th century. But it was much more open to foreign cultural goods with a disposition of a strong demand for them. It also proved to be much more competent – linguistically – to import them (compared to their French or Anglo-Saxon equivalents). A significant fraction of the educated elites, mostly those of the cities, was thus ready to get engaged in the collective work of investigation and self-reflection concerning the state of public affairs and social relations brought about by modern industrial societies in the making. But since the university system itself remained very conservative (like in France or Oxbridge) to institutionalize the upcoming SSH, sharing the value system of the highly conservative political elites, the SSH started to organize themselves separate-

ly. This happened since the late 19th century either in private learned associations or in academic state institutions like the Academy of science (founded already in 1825) or the statistical offices. Both cultivated intensive contacts via conferences, study visits, book reviews in their professional journals, invited lecturers, etc. with their Western professional counterparts.

Before the collapse of the historic state (1918) among the most important learned associations the *Hungarian Psychoanalytical Association* (1913) under Alexander Ferenczi, a close partner of Sigmund Freud, and the influential radically left wing *Society for Social Science* (1900) under the sociologist Oszkár Jászi must be listed (Csunderlik 2017). One has to add the two Statistical offices (one for the capital city and one for the whole country) – producers of the most ingenious socio-historical data sources available in contemporary Europe. They were instrumental in the introduction and the application of the most advanced scholarly inventions and insights coming from Austria, Germany, France and other Western countries.

This development was halted by the military defeat in the Great War and its geo-political consequences. The historic statehood (with close to 20 million inhabitants) was dismantled into a 'rump state' with hardly more than one third of its former population (7,9 million in 1920) and territory. The new political regime emanating from two revolutions in 1918-1919 of the so called 'Trianon Hungary' was revanchist against its neighbor states, anti-Semitic but open to the West in the framework of an official policy to achieve 'Magyar cultural superiority' in the Carpathian Basin. On the one hand Jews were made collective scapegoats (not much unlike in rightist circles of Germany at that time) of the war disaster and the revolutionary turmoil. An infamous law of anti-Jewish numerus clausus was introduced as early as 1920 (Karády-Nagy 2012). It led to continued waves of emigration not only of many of the best minds in the country but also the majority of Jewish secondary school graduates till the mid 1940s (Frank 2009). But on the other hand the new 'Christian Regime' conducted a policy of 'cultural expansion' via the construction of a number of primary and secondary schools, new university premises and quite a network of *Collegium Hungaricum* (in Rome, Vienna and Berlin) as well as other cultural centers abroad (like in Paris). This policy included the foundation in French and English of officially supported cultural reviews and an unprecedented number of state scholarships for studies in the West. In spite of this, foreign policy came under the more and more decisive influence of Germany in the period of Nazification (1938-1944), somewhat mitigated by close relations with Mussolini's Italy.

As to the SSH this policy remained heavily restrictive in the inter-war years. The regime started with decisive steps of political purges touching Jewish civil servants, leftist academics and public intellectuals suspected of socialist or liberal sympathies. All the university appointments made during the revolutionary period, representing a major drive for the intellectual renovation and modernization of academia, were drastically cancelled. Intellectual emigrants were declared *persona non grata*.



Freemasonry, the gathering of secular (often anticlerical) and progressive intelligentsia and a bulwark against conservative cultural policies, was outlawed. The same occurred to the *Society of Social Science*, many of its leaders being forced to emigrate (Frank 2009). The formerly established SSH institutions were tolerated as private learned societies together with their professional journals only when they conformed themselves to the ideological line set by the authoritarian governments. This line was followed in the activities of a few SSH research centers set up under official sponsorship. It applied especially to the *Teleki Institute* (1941-1948, named after the known geographer and right wing prime minister, who committed suicide when the *Wehrmacht* invaded Yugoslavia across Hungarian territories), or to the appointment in the first ever chair of sociology at the Arts Faculty of the Budapest University (1941). The fundamental German orientation of the elites did not change in the decades before 1945. This is indirectly reflected in the following table, extracted from reports on the 1941 population census, giving data on linguistic competences of the inhabitants.

Table 1

Population	Budapest	'Trianon' Rump state	Territories recovered 1939-1941
numbers	1 706 000	9 316 000	5 367 000
speaks German	21 %	11,3 %	8,5 %
speaks French	3,2 %	0,6 %	0,4 %
speaks English	2,4 %	0,4 %	0,2 %
speaks Italian	0,9 %	0,2 %	0,04 %

If such data should be interpreted with due caution, they point at some interesting insights. In spite of a significant German rural population (some 4% of the Rump State), it is clear that German must have been largely practiced in educated strata. Obviously enough, this competence was much more concentrated in the capital city, the living space of the largest sectors of administrative staffs, academics, professionals and creative intellectuals as well as executives of the private economy. More than a fifth of the Budapest population was speaking German, while only around one tenth in the provinces. The position of French appeared to be much more modest, but not insignificant, especially in the capital. French – much like English or Italian – was a language which had to be specially studied, since there was no indigenous group of people liable to speak it as a home language (*von Haus aus*).

After 1945 and the disastrous collapse of the Old Regime there was a new start for the SSH too. The regime change was accompanied by enormous population losses – close to ten percent of the population, especially males. This was due to war casualties, the deportation of provincial Jewry in death camps, mass atrocities committed by local Nazi thugs in Budapest, the ill treatment of unarmed Jewish forced labor units in the frontline, fatalities in Soviet prisoners of war camps, the expatriation of civil servants and military personnel to Nazi Germany (facing the advance of the Red Army), etc. The creative

intelligentsia with a high proportion of Jews among them had suffered even much more heavily than the rank and file population. But the transition to communism (1945-1948), marked by a fragile pattern of political democracy – however controlled it was by the occupying Red Army – raised immense hopes both for liberal intellectuals cherishing after the Nazi nightmare the prospect of a Western type democracy and, for their leftist counterparts investing a quasi-religious trust in Stalinist socialism (Péteri 1998, pp. 13-14). All this brought back a number of well trained, sometimes even famous intellectuals from the West or the East (like the philosopher Georg Lukács or the film theorist Béla Balázs), many doctors, psychoanalysts, engineers and other professionals, earlier '*numerus clausus* refugees' or political opponents of the inter-war Horthy regime.

The 1945-1947 transition period was a favorable stage for the rebirth of modern social sciences open to the West. Most of the previous taboos were abolished together with the censorship of the press. New university positions were created (like a new chair of sociology in the University of Budapest) opening for the SSH. The rearguard of the conservative-clerical academia was purged due to its collusion with the previous political establishment. A number of new journals were published in various specialties and some 'generalist' intellectual reviews gathered a country wide readership by major new publications. The seminal study by the political scientist István Bibó on 'The Jewish question since 1945' appeared in the last issue of *Válasz* (Response), just before the journal's prohibition (Bibó 1986).

Indeed, the transition years ended with the communist take-over, which introduced a Stalinist type Bolshevik dictatorship in Hungary. Its final aim and result for scholarly activities can be summarized as follows. Independent institutions of knowledge production and distribution – like the whole school network on all levels – were nationalized and submitted to severe ideological surveillance. Academic staffs were exposed to drastic politically motivated purges. (The incumbent of the Budapest chair of sociology Sándor Szalai suffered a cruel prison term in 1950-1956 – without even a show trial.) For the SSH the consequences of this kind of sovietization proved to be even more dramatic than for other branches of study. Some disciplines – like sociology, psychoanalysis, political science, demography – were outlawed as 'bourgeois sciences'. Access to Western scholarly literature was either stopped (relegated in libraries to 'closed stacks') or strictly controlled. The SSH were regarded as more dangerous than other sciences in the eye of the communist power, since they could serve as competitors to the prevailing Marxist-Leninist doctrine under various denominations ('historical materialism', 'scientific socialism'). The closure applied even more to personal contacts and any form of cooperation with representatives of Western SSH. The Iron Curtain, mentioned by Churchill in his Fulton speech as early as March 1946, entered fully in force by the end of the decade in Hungarian intellectual life (Vorisek 2011, pp. 38-41).

The ideological *Gleichschaltung* of the remaining SSH and the whole educational regime involved a state organized effort at Russification proper. Russian replaced

German in secondary school curricula and became a mandatory subject in all sectors of higher education. In scholarly publications references to Russian sources – together with the ritual invocation of messages from the classics of Marxism-Leninism (preferably from the works of Stalin himself) – turned to be an inescapable practice. Special secondary schools were set up with fully Russian tuition language, following the model of the by that time suppressed German, English or Italian gymnasiums, founded in the inter-war years. This 'Eastern turn', an aggressive attempt of Russian cultural colonization, was accompanied by the generous supply of scholarships in Soviet universities and a systematic though strictly controlled sponsorship and promotion of exchanges with Soviet partners. Henceforth in every walk of erudition lip service had to be paid to Soviet and particularly to Russian accomplishments. In reports on the history of scholarly disciplines the alleged Russian priority of major inventions and discoveries ('protochronism') was expected to be acknowledged and emphasized.

It is true that sovietization also included considerable public investments for the development of schooling with a policy of forcible democratization of enrollments in higher education, based on a scheme of administrative counter-discrimination of sorts. This was carried out via the rigid quota system to the detriment of offspring of the former middle class and in favor of lower class children. Women were equally admitted since 1945 to all study branches, notably to Law and engineering, study tracks that had been closed to them earlier. Thereby was launched the movement of rapid feminization of academic staffs. Following severe political purges, the role of the Academy of Sciences was strengthened with new entitlements to award scholarly degrees (like 'candidature' or 'academic doctorate') and host professional research centers of its own (Péteri 1998, pp. 79-106). Privileged treatment was reserved to some 'useful' SSH disciplines like economics, the results of which could directly benefit the program of forced industrialization. It was gratified with a full scale university in Budapest (1948) and an unprecedented amount of resources for research (Csaba 2002, p. 84).

The quarantine in which the burgeoning SSH were closed via prohibitions and/or forced ideological alignment started to be lifted already in the so called 'thaw period' after Stalin's death in 1953. This political turn did not have much direct impact on SSH activities which could be pursued under various institutional disguises (notably in the statistical office), even if their publication remained restricted to high standing members of the party *nomenklatura*. The taboo imposed on the publicity of basic statistical informations started to be lifted after 1953 (Péteri 1998, p. 135). Western contacts of all sorts continued to be limited or even repressed. The coming of the 1956 uprising made this situation evolve by the softening of censorship and the public debates (on history, the press, philosophy, etc.) arranged under the auspices of the Petöfi Circle, an informal gathering of anti-communist or reform communist intellectuals.

The first anti-communist revolution in October 1956, contributed to the change more or less in the same sense. It was followed by a severe political repression, to

be sure, with several hundreds of executions and thousands of heavy prison sentences dealt out to participants who did not flee westwards. But, on the other hand, the 'thaw' was immediately felt with regard to contacts with the West and the progressive and controlled lifting of censorship over Western cultural products. The Western SSH were not regarded systematically any longer as 'hostile to socialism' and various arrangements were publicly sought for the accommodation of empirical SSH research with the preservation of the ideological supremacy of Marxism-Leninism. The rhetoric solution was to qualify some branches of the contemporary SSH as 'Marxist' or at least an acceptable ideological partner of official Marxism.

After the amnesty pronounced in 1964 of those condemned in the aftermath of 1956 – this concerned above all Jewish intellectuals, since those of the 'populist' camp were largely spared from the anti-revolutionary backlash – a number of institutional initiatives were made in for the readmission of earlier banned empirical SSH. Unoccupied positions were abundant in academe anyhow, thanks to mass level emigration of scholarly staffs after the October uprising in 1956. Some of them were reserved for the compromised and disbanded Stalinist leadership who achieved an intellectual reconversion in the SSH. A research group in sociology was founded under the former Bolshevik prime minister András Hegedüs (1963) (Szántó 1998, pp. 155-242). Demography was also recognized as a legitimate discipline, with a specialized research center under the Academy of Sciences, a pragmatic response to the sharp decrease of birthrates after 1956, following the alleviation of the formerly drastically applied prohibition of abortions. Social statistics restarted to be published (Péteri 1998, pp. 133-154) and the surviving ethnological research group developed into an institute of the Academy of Science (Kuti 2011). After 1964 even the social quota system in student enrolments in higher education was abolished and children of the former middle class could pursue higher studies without special admission procedures. In the last decades of communist rule even research in Western style empirical political science (with a special institute for opinion polls) was readmitted. Recruitment policies of research staff and university personnel were seriously softened, so that earlier excluded descendents of the ruling elites of the pre-socialist period could henceforth hope for a career in academe.

This development continued with some ups and downs throughout the rest of the socialist period up to 1989 amounting, on the whole, to a more or less progressive liberalization of working conditions of the SSH. If this process seemed to make a halt in the post 1968 years, it was suspended but not interrupted. The Communist Party turned against intellectuals protesting after the military repression of the 'Prague Spring' by the troupes of the 'Warsaw Pact', forcing several of them into emigration. The economic reform, prepared during years before 1968, was softened under the counter-attack of the Stalinist rearguard. Major personalities of the emerging sociological profession (like István Kemény, Iván Szelényi) or the philosophical circle of critical Marxists (the 'offspring of Lukács' like Ágnes Heller) also had to emi-

grate and continue their careers in Western universities (Vorisek 2011, p. 49; Huszár 2015, *passim*).

But contacts with émigrés, if they were not considered as political enemies proper, were no more stigmatized and punished as before. This applied even more to Western professional literature. If censorship was not openly suspended, the reference to Western scholarship and the recourse to Western cognitive importations as well as cooperation with Western authors were no longer proscribed (Némedi et al. 2002, p. 438). Following Soviet examples even Western type political science gained a level of institutional legitimacy in the 1980s, notably with the foundation of the first institute for the study of public opinion (Szabó 2002, p. 258, 260). Since 1984 the Open Society Funds (endowed by the Hungarian-American benefactor of Jewish background George Soros) was operating in Hungary in contractual cooperation with the Hungarian Academy of Science. It granted a historically as yet unprecedented number of generous scholarships to students and scholars of all disciplines for study trips in the West, besides highly appreciated gifts of technical infrastructure to universities and research institutions (computers, xerox machines, etc.).

By the 1980s this process of Westernization of the Hungarian SSH attained the level close to what was considered as normal in a really open society. Disregarding certain topical taboos – like the political ties with the Soviet Union, opinions about 1956, the state of political democracy in the country – social scientist could almost as freely choose their research topics, study partners (including Western ones) and methods of investigation as their Western counterparts.

Still, the stress here must be laid on 'almost'. The surveillance of intellectuals of all standing and level never ceased before 1989 via informers of the political police. Hungarian scholars invited to the West (or only meeting or corresponding with Western visitors) had to report on their contacts to their superiors. Marxism-Leninism continued to be taught in mandatory courses in every study track of higher education. Russian was the first language (mostly the only one) in the curriculum of secondary education. In the last years of communism a quasi general 'double talk' was typical among members of the party hierarchy, whether in SSH circles or outside. In written and public discourse the official Party line in matters political, ideological and intellectual was formally kept up. In personal contacts in the contrary, officials did their best to display their openness to the West, telling anti-regime jokes and being ironic about the local state of affairs.

In 1989 Hungary achieved a 'negotiated revolution' of sorts and a smooth transition

to Western style democracy (Tökés 1996). The space is lacking here to give a detailed report on the further development of the SSH in the last quarter of a century, marked by two major turning points. First in 2004 the country joined the European Union. By this its scholarly establishment was made eligible for benefiting from European research support schemes. The Hungarian SSH just like all other intellectual, economic and other activity sectors of the country appeared to be re-anchored to the Western civilizational hemisphere. Second, since 1910, the new government under Viktor Orbán has embarked on a self-proclaimed 'conservative' and nationalist (in many senses truly 'reactionary') science policy, reminding of inter-war and communist practices. Among other things political discrimination in academic appointments and for the distribution of research funds has been reintroduced, much as it had been usual in the earlier authoritarian regimes the country had experienced. Recently this policy has culminated in open attacks against independent civil society institutions supported by Western sponsors. This is a way to put at risk their continued operation and even challenge the survival of the Central European University, well known world wide. (The CEU was founded in 1991 by George Soros and generously endowed since by its founder.) This assault on academic freedom has already aroused country wide and international protestations. Indeed, the CEU has become the leading academic center for teaching and research in the SSH in the whole post-soviet area, hosting by far the best international library in social disciplines East of Vienna.

After this discursive reminder of the historic oscillations of the 'ferryboat' of the SSH in Hungary between West and East over the last hundred odd years, we can offer a concise set of quantified demonstrations of the issue of Westernization under constraint. They are grounded on the exploitation of bibliographical data related to a representative sample of foreign SSH publications translated into Hungarian and available in local public libraries. This serial indicator of intellectual relationship with the West and the East covers the long period of 1945-2013 and serves as a proxy, illustrating indirectly an essential aspect of the international orientation of the SSH in the country. The proxy here consists of the 'national' category

**Table 2: Social science books translated into Hungarian from various languages as received in the Municipal Library of Budapest (selected periods - 1946-2013)**

	East European	Russian	English	French	German	Other	all	N =	yearly average (rounded)
1945-1948	9.7	9.7	19.4	19.4	32.3	9.7	100	31	8
1949-1955	14.8	40.6	8.4	5.8	14.8	15.5	100	155	22
1956-1960	17.1	17.1	18.4	15.8	20.3	11.4	100	158	32
1961-1975	17.1	20.5	17.0	10.9	21.3	13.1	100	1978	132
1976-1989	16.1	20.5	19.6	8.6	21.5	13.7	100	2144	153
1990-2005	3.8	1.5	47.6	9.0	22.0	16.2	100	9241	616
2006-2013	4.1	0.8	53.8	6.8	19.0	15.5	100	4738	625
altogether	6.9	6.1	42.0	8.6	21.0	15.3	100	18445	318

rization of publications (by original languages) published in Hungary and signaled in the specialized bibliography of the SSH. This source was put together over the decades concerned by collaborators of the Budapest Municipal Library. One could have presented other indicators based on the same source – like foreign books imported over time, notably. But translations appeared to be better adapted to the purpose of illustrating the changing impact of 'foreign policies' as to the intellectual orientation of social disciplines at large. They required heavy investments due to translation costs, involving hence enhanced financial risks, additionally to the usual criteria of editorial decisions.

The historical dynamics of translations clearly illustrates the fate of Western contacts in the SSH over time, especially over the three (or four) more or less radical turns in the cultural policies of the political regimes observed.

In the transition period before 1949 there were very few translations, to start with, and their distribution responded to a pattern established in the inter-war years to the benefit of the relative priority of the German orientation. With one fifth of all translations, English and French books appeared in the second rank before the modest share (less than one tenth each) of all other categories, including Russian and East European. It can be remarked that translations from French had by that time lost their expectable prominence, compared to those from English, as could have been suggested by the distribution of linguistic competences in the 1941 census shown above. This is the reflection of an all European trend. The advancement of English in intellectual activity markets was generally observed almost immediately after the victory of the Anglo-Saxon Allies over Nazi Germany.

This situation was turned upside down in the next six years covering the Stalinist rule in Hungary. Here the absolute majority of the increasing number of translations was made of 'socialist' languages and, besides, the number of translations also increased significantly. This was the obvious manifestation of the Soviet-Russian effort at cultural colonization, since the growth of translations from other sovietized countries lagged much behind. Interestingly, translations from German still exceeded those from French or English. But the latter too were restricted to a minimum, even compared to those from other languages (mostly Italian and Spanish). This relative prominence of German may be attributed to East German 'socialist' publications. It was actually maintained throughout the whole socialist period and even beyond, to some extent (if compared to translations from French).

The post-1956 period presented a quite different pattern following the progressive but always limited liberalization of cultural exchanges with the West. There was first a real explosion (a multiplication by more than four times) of the yearly number of translations. Second, the proportion of translations from Russian and from other socialist countries diminished considerably – to somewhat over one third of all. But this proportion was systematically maintained unchanged further on up to 1989. Otherwise there were no major changes in the share of other translations, except for the progressive loss of

weight of French works. The multiplication of translations from English was visible but also markedly restricted before 1989. It did not attain the share of German works, hinting at the efficient containment by communist editorial decision makers of the ever increasing Anglo-Saxon cultural hegemony, observable elsewhere outside the sovietized world.

After the fall of communism in 1989 a new situation emerges. There is indeed a sharp division between 'before' and 'after'. One observes above all an unprecedentedly sharp rise of the yearly numbers of translations (multiplication by four times), a good illustration of the liberation of publication markets from communist constraints. Even more interestingly, the share of 'Eastern' translations collapses at a stretch. Before 1989 one out of four or five of all SSH books was globally translated from Russian and one sixth or one seventh from other socialist countries, besides those (not distinguished in the data) coming from East Germany. Afterwards these proportions approached to nil. Conversely, the share of translations from English expanded suddenly after 1989, so as to reach a proportion close to the majority. This proportionally still not overwhelming growth points clearly to the absolute domination achieved by Anglo-Saxon scholarship in the SSH: indeed, translations from English were by that time much less needed among the targeted readership than from other languages, given the multiplication of SSH professionals and rank and file publics conversant in English. Other languages were by that time much less practiced by SSH scholars. As stated earlier, German keeps its strong second position over time, while French continues to lose weight gradually. This is a fair reflection of the evolution of intellectual power relations between the two historically major Western civilizations besides the Anglo-Saxons. In the same time the share of translations from other languages – Italian, Spanish and Portuguese – has been kept up. This is probably the other side of the medal of English domination and the persistence of a strong German impact via contacts with the vast Germanic intellectual market (including neighboring Austria and Switzerland). Since translations signal the opening of Hungarian SSH to the West, translations were more and more demanded from hitherto marginal scholarly languages of big Western societies, representing fast expanding intellectual markets, especially in Southern Europe and South America.

Given the limited size of this study, its conclusion must point to a few major results only. Following the Stalinist interlude (1948-1956) an irregular, self-contained but still regular growth of the reception of Western scholarly products – a real move towards restrained 'Europeanization' – could be observed. 1989 constituted in this respect too a break. Henceforth Westernization means more and more: dominance of Anglo-Saxon scholarship, besides strong Germanic and weakening French influence. In contrast, Russian and socialist scholarship had throughout the period a rather restricted impact on Hungarian SSH, as compared to the effective membership of Hungary in the Soviet political camp. Even under Stalinism, in spite of official endeavors, there are no signs of a Russian intellectual domination comparable to the English one starting after 1989. Apparently, the So-

viet system represented a weak cultural power, incapable of the intellectual colonization it actually aspired for. The prominence of 'Soviet science' was paid lip service to only under political duress. It has never attained a similar degree of intellectual legitimacy and scholarly recognition as that of the West.

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*Julia Simoleit*

## Project Europe – Towards a theoretical framework for micro-level Europeanization in universities

Foto: Martin Zaune



*Julia Simoleit*

The purpose of this study is to provide concepts for an analytical perspective on Europeanization in universities. In addition to the surveys at hand, it is recommendable to take into account the particular organizational structure of universities and to address the organizational micro-level of decision-making and action. The author assembles four theoretical perspectives – usage, institutional entrepreneurship, micropolitics, and networking – to identify motivation, perception, experience, strategic behavior, and networking activities of individual actors within the organizational units of the university. Findings from qualitative interviews with university members in three universities in Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland are grouped in four "ideal types" of individual actors – strategists, idealists, experts, and neutral/passive actors. Comparing the three institutions, the study shows that internal university procedures are often marked by heterogeneity, ambiguity, and vagueness. Nevertheless, tendencies towards a centralization of power and decision-making are obvious and encounter resistance. External experiences and networking contacts provide individual actors with very valuable assets in internal negotiations and broaden their perspective for alternative pathways. In times of overall budget restrictions, respondents perceive Europe as a more and more attractive source for funding. European projects are attractive not only to idealists, but also offer interesting positioning options to strategists. Within the university, European higher education policies become an immediate factor to the creation of posts, to career prospects of individuals, and to the formulation of strategies. Largely independent from national, regional or organizational conditions, they offer an alternative set of options aiming directly at the participation of individual university members. They manage to recruit a considerable circle of supporters and multipliers.

**Europe is gaining in importance as a supranational actor in higher education policies. In the framework of the Europe 2020 agenda and in its contributions to the Bologna process, the European Commission has elaborated an ambitious vision for the future internal and external mission and strategy of universities in the proclaimed knowledge economy (European Commission 2017). Arguably, its own policy instruments and budget seem marginal when compared to national and regional traditions, prerogatives, and funding options. Still, the EU manages to set priorities, to encourage mutual learning, and to act as a driving force in education and research policies to an extent that exceeds expectations (Maassen/Olsen 2007; Teichler 2010; Leresche et al. 2009).**

Universities, on the other hand, are eager to signalize European commitment, by establishing EU related service points, displaying European projects and awards, participating in European networks, or even participating in or setting up representative offices in Brussels. Universities further make use of European policies – including European funding programs in research and

education as well as the European level as a platform for communication and decision-making – as a resource or arena and thus actively promote or prevent the implementation of European policy goals. Surveys show that a majority of university representatives consider the European Commission to be an increasingly important player in higher education (CHEPS 2006, 2009). Most respondents mention Bologna reforms, internationalization, and EU research and innovation policies as key factors to their university's strategic orientation. They even estimate them as more important than the much-acclaimed national and international rankings (Sursock/Smidt 2010).

Are universities being Europeanized, and if so, how does this come about? My research suggests to take a closer look at individual actors within the university, to study their perceptions and to evaluate their activities. In this article, I propose a theoretical framework combining four conceptual perspectives – usage, institutional entrepreneurship, micropolitics, and networking – that help us detect and classify individual action within organizations. In the last part, I illustrate this frame-

work with examples from qualitative inquiry in three universities.

### A micro-level perspective on organizational reality within universities

It is difficult to identify and depict European effects at university level since European policies are an indirect framework that cannot easily be distinguished from more influential regulative powers such as national and regional policies. How can we track and trace Europeanization within the organization?

Following Radaelli's concept of Europeanization (2003), it is to be expected that European policy discourse triggers and facilitates domestic reforms by providing legitimacy and problem solutions, and by altering the expectations and beliefs of those who Radaelli calls "domestic actors" – this concept can be applied to any kind of political or societal actors below the nation-state level.

Universities, on the other hand, are complex entities and require closer examination. As a classical starting point in higher education research, the university can be described as a loosely-coupled system, combining largely independent units and interests (Weick 1976). Recent research with a view to ongoing policy reforms in German higher education tends to regard universities as increasingly integrated, goal-oriented and independent actors (Meier 2009). Still, they cannot be equivocated with entrepreneurial structures alone. Internal fragmentation and micro-political decision-making below the central level representing the organization as a whole still play an important role (Krücken 2008). Quotidian university procedures in Germany, for instance, are often characterized by an absence of continuous hierarchies and a low level of identification of departments and members with the overall institutional framework. In a highly differentiated and internally fragmented expert organization, individual choices and behavior matter substantially to the development and implementation of innovation and reform. The professorate in the first place, but also permanent research staff – depending on their individual position – are traditionally powerful and usually have pursued long and strenuous career paths. Their professional background and history are marked by a high degree of intrinsic motivation and autonomy. In the German context, professors mostly insist on professional self-governance and typically mistrust central governing and steering ambitions by the rectorate and the legitimacy of central administrative units in general (Hanft 2000; Krücken et al. 2010). In contrast to the traditional dualistic structure of non-academic administrative staff in central units and academic faculty, the recent professionalization of higher education management has led to a growing number of staff with academic backgrounds taking over coordinating tasks in research, teaching and administration (Klumpp/Teichler 2006; Meier/Schimank 2010).

Due to this internal fragmentation, it seems reductionist and inappropriate to investigate corporate images and

figures on the organizational meso-level alone. In a loosely-coupled organization, research cannot focus on the position of the university as an entity. Instead, it is recommendable to concentrate on motivation, perception, experience, strategic behavior, and networking activities of individual actors within the organizational units of the university. It is these actors who presumably use and implement European higher education policies as an opportunity structure and as a resource for action. I therefore turn to the question of why and how do individual actors within universities adopt, implement, and disseminate these concepts and ideas? How do they perceive European higher education policies, and how are these policies used as strategic resources?

### Towards a theoretical framework for micro-level Europeanization

In order to conceptualize individual agency in the context of Europeanization, we need to regard Europeanization itself as a social phenomenon that is characterized by responsiveness, interdependence, and interaction. Micro-level actors within the organization are not mere recipients, but active participants and important factors to European integration. European policies and politics provide them with resources, ideas, and frames in the policy process. Micro-level actors will use these European policies as political opportunities and constraints to their individual leeway and translate them into practice by applying, promoting, or opposing them. They accept and spread concepts that have been developed on the European level and use them as instruments to increase their influence or to legitimate their courses of actions as they try to influence the policy process within their organization or at their workplace. The theoretical concept of *Usage* is most applicable and illustrative here: European discursive strategies (such as publications, events, symbols, funding policies, or argumentative structures in a more abstract sense) are offered as resources to provide individuals with tools and opportunities for problem-solving and legitimation in their everyday communicative and productive procedures at the workplace. Over time, they influence and change the perception, priorities, and practices of those using these resources (Jacquot/Woll 2003, 2010; Radaelli/Pasquier 2010).

Turning from the individual position of university members to the loosely-coupled university as organizational environment in which they are located, a theoretical concept linking these two spheres is needed. It should take individual action into account, offer an explanation for innovation and institutional change, and thus complement those neoinstitutionalist approaches that predominantly focus on the organizational sphere by reintegrating the individual perspective. Theoretical concepts such as *Institutional Entrepreneurship*, *Change Agency* or *Institutional Work* highlight the entrepreneurial, goal-oriented, and innovative potential of individual actors in social networks and organizational fields, but at the same time avoid the narrow individualist perspective of ra-

tional choice approaches (DiMaggio 1988; Greenwood et al. 2002; Boxenbaum/Battilana 2004, 2005; Campbell 2004; Thaller 2009). *Institutional entrepreneurs* mobilize resources and support the construction of causal arguments and discursive practices that frame and legitimize new behavior and rules within organizations (Hardy/Maguire 2008). Despite their initial embeddedness in an institutional field and their submission to regulative, cognitive, and normative constraints, they manage to change practices and routines. They might be central and powerful actors who stimulate and promote change processes, or actors who cross borders between different organizational fields and social networks and import new ideas. Change and independent agency are more likely to occur in heterogeneous organizations where deviance and dispute are essential elements of communication and organizational niches offer shelter to inventive genius. The import of new ideas and unexpected solutions can rather be expected from individuals with a high social status who do not have to fear economic consequences and who dispose of multiple affiliations, and experience in mobility between organizations (Walgenbach/Meyer 2008).

Individuals within an organization are subject to interpersonal exchange, coalition-building, and power struggle. The concept of *Micropolitics* offers a theoretical framework for political processes and interactions on the level of individual actors within organizations. It presupposes that power in organizations is not necessarily centralized. Even though central actors usually have privileged access to decision-making and distribution of resources, marginal actors still can use their position and influence to impact discussions, strategies, and distributions (Schmid 2011; Vogd 2009). Compared to other, particularly to corporate organizations, universities feature multiple grassroots options for participation. Their management goals, decision-making procedures, and control mechanisms are often quite weak, vague, and subject to constant and mostly random change. In an "organized anarchy", changing problems, solutions, and volatile actor constellations are the rule rather than an exception (Pasternack/Kehm 2001; Cohen et al. 1972; Cohen/March 1974). In this context, micropolitics include all kinds of strategic behavior individuals might employ to improve their position – power exertion, symbolic practices, normative orientation, communication practices, position and positioning in hierarchies and networks (Nullmeier et al. 2003; Neuberger 2002). If understood as implementation analysis, a micropolitical approach should focus on actors and networks at the bottom level of decision-making and ask for their objectives, strategies, activities, and contacts in order to find out how individual commitment, identification, attitudes, and coalitions determine the implementation of political decisions (Gornitzka et al. 2007, p. 54).

In addition to the *micropolitical* perspective, contacts and exchanges among organization members and with their extra-organizational environment require closer and more consistent observation. Access to information, exchange, and pooling of resources are crucial to

individual action within an organization. Network analysis helps to switch the focus from an individualist perspective to the relational position of individuals within their social context (Stegbauer 2010; Franke/Wald 2006). Since in an intra-organizational and explorative research setting relevant actors, relations, and references cannot be identified ex-ante, *ego-centered network analysis* is recommendable as a tool to systematically analyze and describe the social embeddedness of individuals. Analytical concepts such as Policy Networks, Epistemic Communities, and Advocacy Coalitions, help to explain how networking works, how ideas are circulated, how legitimacy is attributed, how social learning and change happen (Janzen/Schubert 1995; van Waarden 1992; Haas 1992; Radaelli 2003; Sabatier 1993).

From these four theoretical perspectives, the following hypotheses can be drawn:

- Frequent **use** of and reference to European discursive strategies (as an instrument of problem-solving or legitimation) changes the perception, priorities, and practices of individual actors.
- Individual professional mobility experiences and transfer capacities promote organizational and institutional change through **innovative agency**.
- The professionalization of EU related tasks leads to increased **micropolitical negotiation and lobby activities** in the area of European higher education policies.
- **Networking activities** within the organization foster a coherent vision and dissemination of European concepts. Networking activities of organization members with external actors raise individual awareness, spread knowledge, and encourage imitation.

Apart from the concrete example of Europeanization in universities, this theoretical framework could be used for conceptual work in any project that attempts to examine organizational reality in a micro-level perspective. In the following chapter, I apply it to a sample of 27 interviewees in three traditional universities in three European countries, two located in EU member states (Germany and the Netherlands), one, as a contrast case, in Switzerland. Even though Switzerland is not an EU country, this university participates in all relevant funding programs on the basis of bilateral agreements between the Swiss federal government and the EU. The three organizations are not only comparable in size, age, disciplines, faculty structure, and national position, but also share an overall self-concept as renowned research universities within their respective national environment. Among the interviewees are members of the professorate, of the management and governing board, as well as employees from the universities' innovation offices, international offices, coordinators of EU funded research or curriculum development projects, and Bologna promoters. Through qualitative interviews and a simple network analysis tool, I investigate the perspectives, strategies, and networking activities of individual actors within the different organizational spheres – such as faculties, departments, and central administrative units –



working in interface positions between EU funding and policy dissemination and the elaboration of strategies within the university.

### Micro-level Europeanization in universities: Findings in three universities

Which actors engage specifically in implementation of European policies, and how? Which practices, experiences, strategic decisions and network activities are relevant here? The theoretical framework outlined above allows for a multi-dimensional and complex analysis and interpretation of the data. The perspectives *Usage*, *Institutional Entrepreneurship*, *Micropolitics*, and *Networking* are complementary and help to identify and estimate individual European socialization and strategic ambitions from different points of view.

The *Usage* perspective asks how individual university members perceive, interpret, and use European programs, and how their orientations and decisions change accordingly. It proves helpful to identify different groups of actors: In a first group, “*confident multipliers*” fully endorse European policies and advocate their dissemination within the university. A statement by a Swiss professor may serve as an example here:

*“Our project is just like, well, it’s cross-cultural, it’s interdisciplinary, and that’s what makes it just so wonderful, you simply cannot compare that to national research funding.” (IP γ3a: 214-216)*

Her evident enthusiasm and commitment show that she is not simply behaving strategically, but has become a convinced multiplier of European policies within her university and discipline. In contrast to this, “*strategic users*” rather emphasize the financial benefits, but at the same time identify costs and limitations that political funding priorities will implicate. As counterpoint, the third group of “*critical users*” primarily try to keep a distance from political implications and only accept a limited number of aspects as useful for their work.

The perspective of *Institutional Entrepreneurship* puts a focus on the leeway for innovation that individual actors have despite their embeddedness in institutional contexts. It turns out that actors in organizational niches try to import and implement concepts or ideas from other contexts into their field of activity in order to promote development, to change organizational rules according to their own expectations or to enlarge their own room for manoeuvre.

One interviewee, head of an administrative unit at the German university, explains how she imported the approach she uses in her own position from prior experiences abroad:

*“I do have quite some experience there, and I see myself as advisor to the rectorate, well, the rectorate decides, obviously, but I try to make them see certain solutions, like what is important for the university, and what should be avoided. And that’s a way of doing things that I have been learning in the Netherlands. I had not known that before.” (IP α6c: 172-176)*

Not surprisingly, this transfer seems to work better when trying to import ideas from contexts that are generally regarded as exemplary and desirable. External contacts and experiences prove particularly helpful here, just as support from central authorities such as the university board.

The *Micropolitics* perspective concentrates on the change of internal power relations and (career) options of persons, groups, and departments that European policies can trigger and foster. Through European commitment, researchers manage to strengthen their own position within the university and particularly receive support from the central level. Non-professorial faculty find options here to build up new capacities, qualifications, and alternative career paths. The following extract from an interview with the head of an administrative unit at the Swiss university shows how personal convictions and instrumental considerations are entwined:

*“Well, I personally am convinced that the university can only benefit from international networking. And that is why I believe that EU funding should become more and more important. And for our office, too, of course.” (IP γ3c: 459-461)*

A closer look at *networking* activities of the respondents shows that faculty members who actively engage in European projects often turn to the central administration and university board for support. Close and regular cooperation often leads to an increased influence in internal policy formulation and decision-making processes. External networks strengthen the individual position within the university and offer additional resources such as information and legitimation.

To accentuate these results and to reach general conclusions, four groups of “ideal types” (Kelle/Kluge 2010) can be assembled (see fig. 1): All interviews are grouped according to their similarities and differences regarding European experiences, position within the university, strategic ambitions, and networking activities of the respondents.

Whereas *idealists* are more commonly identified in the German and Swiss universities, *strategists* are more common in the Dutch university, with possible reasons for this expanded on below.

In all interviews, the university appears as loosely-coupled and heterogeneous in its structures, priorities, and agendas. This was partly to be expected when asking organization members about their position. Still, the ambiguity and vagueness of organizational goals is striking. Despite an observable centralization of power that is most obvious in the Dutch case, decentralized and individual agenda-setting and decision-making still are important factors to institutional development. Intrinsic international orientation and motivation remain important and respondents are very aware of it, as they voice doubts and concerns about an inappropriate centralization of international activities. Professors in particular are eager to defend their leeway against steering ambitions of the university board and central administration. On the other

Table 1

<p><b>Strategists</b></p>	<p>Mostly research staff with a high degree of embeddedness in international networks who engage in European projects mostly due to strategic considerations and career opportunities.</p> <p>They use European funding options as useful support to their research activities which were already international, or manage to find access to international networks and consortia in order to raise additional funding and to make their research more visible.</p> <p>Respondents express mild to substantial criticism regarding the political, economic and disciplinary orientation of European higher education policies, but manage to adapt their projects to meet requirements and to benefit from the financial and strategic support.</p> <p>For them, European funding is an option, but not an optimum, as it seems to be driven by external interest and does not seem to aim at meeting academic needs in the first place.</p>
<p><b>Idealists</b></p>	<p>Research or administrative staff who are – due to disciplinary focus or biographic experience – deeply convinced of the legitimacy and usefulness of European higher education policies.</p> <p>They advocate, support and try to disseminate European cooperation within their department and the university. In their personal and professional experience, European cooperation, mobility and funding are useful, politically legitimate and money well spent. Accordingly, their vision of future European cooperation is very positive, and they expect and demand attention and support from superior levels for their projects and initiatives.</p>
<p><b>Experts</b></p>	<p>Mostly administrative staff with distinct networks in administration and senior management who specialize in European funding and cooperation. Have vital interest in strengthening/extending their area of expertise within the university. Have specialized in this field over time and dispose of relevant contacts. In contrast to <i>idealists</i>, their commitment is to a higher degree utilitarian: They show a generally positive attitude towards EU programs and policies as a means to ensure their own position.</p>
<p><b>Neutral/passive</b></p>	<p>Research or administrative staff with regular contacts to European programs and policies, basically with a positive attitude towards European projects, but no particular emphasis in this field. In many cases, respondents do not identify and perceive European activities as distinctively "European", but as part of the standard procedures of the university (for example, Bologna reforms are described as a predominantly national phenomenon, EU research funding as "just a little different" from national programs). Unlike <i>experts</i>, they do not see any particular career options in this field. Unlike all three groups, their experience and knowledge in this field do not necessarily strengthen their status within their department/organization.</p>

hand, those faculty members who actively engage in European projects are much more likely to find recognition and support at the central level than in their faculty. They often rely on "door openers" in central positions, such as international officers, to promote their projects towards the central organizational level or external partners. Even though support and counselling are often vital to their projects, professors generally do not support any further centralization of services and decisions but insist on their traditional autonomy. The import of new ideas and procedures from external contexts helps organization members to assert their ambitions within the organization. Provided that their suggestions meet with approval from superior levels, external experiences can be very useful and valuable in internal negotiations. The same holds true for external networking contacts, as long as they are sufficiently prestigious and thus legitimate. For research staff, the

subsequent HORIZON 2020 program has already reached a comparable status. Faced with overall budget restrictions and constraints to seek external funding for research and teaching projects, respondents see Europe as a more and more attractive player. Due to their internationality, European projects are attractive not only to *idealists*, but also offer interesting positioning options to *strategists*, all the more with financial means and symbolic capital rising considerably during the last years. European programs, projects, and reforms lead to the creation of new posts and possibilities and prospects for *experts* who specialize in these fields and who will, as a consequence, advocate the continuation of their employment and the extension of their departments. One of the most obvious examples for this development are specialized service points within faculties or administration offering support and advice to raise funds from European sources. Their service needs legiti-

quality and number of external project partners and research usually counts as a proof of their productivity and rank within the discipline or community. Research and administrative staff benefit from regular external contacts that provide information, arguments, and support for their internal activities and initiatives. Cross-university and intersectoral networking will also enable them to compare experiences, import ideas, or build coalitions to exert pressure on the political level.

In everyday procedures of university staff, Europeanization is often regarded as part of the larger international dimension of teaching and research. When asked about European aspects of their work, the first associations for many respondents are the omnipresent ERASMUS program and European research funding. ERASMUS exchange is widely perceived as a standard procedure of every university. Research funding in the framework of the 7th Framework Program for Research and Technological Development and the

mation through successful grant application and can, if successfully implemented, lead to a further increase of generated third-party funding. Creation and extension of specialized service points and staff usually also lead to increased internal and external networking to exchange information, find and formulate solutions. Thus, European higher education policies become an immediate factor to the creation of posts, to career prospects of individuals, and to the formulation of strategies at central university level. Largely independent from national, regional or organizational conditions, they offer an alternative set of options aiming directly at the participation of individual university members. They manage to recruit a considerable circle of supporters and multipliers.

With a view to the strategic orientation of the three sample universities, international approach and European ambitions stand out in the Dutch case. This is partly due to the traditional internationalization of research and teaching in the Netherlands, but also to early restrictions in public funding and an increased competition between universities. While in the German and Swiss cases, European initiatives are promoted mostly by *idealists*, it is primarily the *strategists* who commit themselves to Europeanization in the Dutch university. In contrast to most of their Swiss and German colleagues, they explicitly aim at improving their financial situation and their bargaining power within the university. They can rely safely on support from their governing board as the university has defined Europeanization as a central strategic goal and taken substantial measures to support applicants and to reward successful initiatives. On an even larger scale than the German and Swiss universities, the Dutch university invests money to set up and run internal services for research funding. Besides competitive pressures and strategic support, a different structure of career paths favors participation in European programs: Much earlier than in Germany and Switzerland, post-doctoral researchers are permitted in the Netherlands to coordinate research projects independently, and they also have earlier access to permanent or potentially permanent positions that make them eligible for European funding.

The study also shows that some European policy instruments are more efficient and visible than others when implemented at the university level. Generous grants from the European Research Council in particular, but also minor measures such as ERASMUS Mundus funding for international study courses offer an external certificate of quality and a high level of prestige, credibility and visibility. Besides financial support, these soft factors are most valuable for researchers, chairs, institutes, and universities involved in these projects. At the same time, these programs offer alternative career paths in research and higher education management that were not available in the habitual national or regional frame. They are thus particularly attractive to researchers and other university staff alike and attract a high level of participation and attention. In contrast to this, European initiatives such as the Bologna reforms

are often perceived as national rather than European business and do not trigger further European activities or orientation within the organizational structures of the university.

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Sylvia Lepp, Cornelia Niederdrenk-Felgner (Hg.)  
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Tanja Kanne Wadsholt

## Europeanization through neoliberal reforms and its effects upon autonomy, pedagogy authority, knowledge and interaction in the internationalized classroom



In the Danish university, the process of Europeanization and internationalization has been embedded in reforms which increasingly orient the university towards the labor market. The article traces the neoliberal roots of these reforms and sees internationalization as inscribed in field of power dominated by neoliberal ideology but internally structured around opposing ideas about internationalization. The article adopts the argument that a changing relationship to the field of power has come to restructure the evaluation of knowledge towards external criteria of evaluation thus decreasing autonomy. This claim forms the basis of an analysis of knowledge encounters in the internationalized classroom and it is argued that the increasingly heteronomous status of the academic field restructures pedagogic action and through the structures of the emerging epistemologies also interaction in the classroom. Based upon a fieldwork at a Danish university, this is exemplified with data from a program positioned in the middle of the field.

The process of cultural Europeanization in higher education (HE) has been accompanied by the inclusion of higher education in the European Union macroeconomic strategy and the vision of a "Europe of Knowledge" formulated in the Lisbon process (European Parliament 2000). It resulted in the establishment of a European educational market and vocationalization of university education (e.g. Holborow 2013; Wilken 2008; Fejes 2008; Wright 2008; Kristensen 2007b).

In the Danish university, the process of internationalization has been embedded in reforms which increasingly orient the university towards the labor market. These processes have had significant impact upon the conceptualization of knowledge in the university and upon evaluation of knowledge as knowledge is increasingly evaluated based upon an external instrumental/economic criteria of "usefulness" (e.g. Wright 2012; Nielsen/Sarauw 2012).

Drawing upon Bourdieu's field concept, internationalization of HE is analyzed as a field inscribed in a field of power promoting neoliberal ideology which has resulted in university heteronomy, but also as internally structured by on the one hand a pole oriented towards instrumental epistemologies of economic usefulness where international education is seen as an asset on the global labor market, and on the other a pole oriented towards epistemological difference as a means towards ethical globalization. According to Bourdieu, pedagogic action depends upon autonomy, and the second part of the article explores how the change in status along with new epistemological structures influence interaction and knowledge building in the classroom.

The article starts with a short account of the theoretical concepts. It then discusses neoliberalism and its epistemology before it turns to the institutionalization of neoliberal ideology and an analysis of the Danish reforms in terms of epistemological autonomy and establishes the struggle over internationalization. Finally, the implications for interaction in the classroom are discussed based upon a particular position in the field.

The article's empirical section is based upon a fieldwork at three internationalized master programs at a Danish university which explored recognition, acknowledgement and negotiation of knowledge among students.

### 1. Field autonomy, authority and pedagogic action

Bourdieu sees social space as made up of a number of relatively autonomous fields "that are the site of a logic and necessity that are *specific and irreducible* to those that regulate other fields" (Bourdieu/Wacquant 1992, p. 97). The internal logic of the field is relational and it is structured around a system of positions that have hierarchically and qualitatively different values that become meaningful and are defined through their relations to each other (Bourdieu/Wacquant 1992, pp. 96-97).

While the field is *relatively* autonomous, Bourdieu describes fields along a continuum between autonomy and heteronomy understood as the extent to which it can "generate its own problems rather than receiving them in a ready-made fashion from outside" (Bourdieu 2000, p. 112). The state functions as a meta-field, or a field of power, which has "the *monopoly of legitimate symbolic*

*violence, i.e., the power to constitute and to impose as universal and universally applicable [...] a common set of coercive norms"* (Bourdieu/Wacquant 1992, p. 112). In his earlier works, Bourdieu describes the relation between science and external society as relatively weak because science functions as an autonomous field. Autonomy is a product of disciplines' development according to an internal logic or *nomos* (Bourdieu 2004b, p. 47) and external recognition as "it has a academically and socially recognized name (... such as sociology as opposed to 'mediology,' for example); it is inscribed in institutions, laboratories, university departments, journals, national and international fora (conferences), procedures for the certification of competencies" (Bourdieu 2004b, p. 35). However, he later argues that the scientific field is becoming increasingly heteronomous and embedded in interdependent relationships with the journalistic and political fields (e.g. Bourdieu 2004a).

To describe the mechanisms behind the reproduction of society's structures, Bourdieu uses the concepts pedagogic action (PA) and pedagogic authority (PAu). PA refers to all actions, both in the education system and in informal education, where culture is imposed (Bourdieu/Passeron 1990, p. 5). Pedagogic action involves a "twofold arbitrariness [because it is] the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power" (Bourdieu/Passeron 1990, p. 5). Moreover, pedagogic action depends upon a relatively autonomous pedagogic authority to maintain the misrecognition of the incongruence between objective truth and the agents' practice.

Bourdieu (implicitly) points to one of the challenges of international education. He argues that when there is a difference between the cultural arbitrary of the group subject to pedagogic action and the cultural arbitrary the pedagogic action seeks to inculcate, there is greater risk of exposing the cultural arbitrary as arbitrary (Bourdieu/Passeron 1990, p. 15). Moreover, according to Bourdieu, non-violent pedagogies, i.e. relativist pedagogies affirming the arbitrariness of culture, involve a loss of pedagogic authority and opens up for a struggle for pedagogic legitimacy (Bourdieu/Passeron 1990, pp. 12-17). These are both aspects that occur in international education, but his discussion of the autonomy of the field also implies a relationship between changes in the larger field structures and PAu and PA. This suggests that as internationalization through neoliberal reforms that change the relationship between the state and the university and causes increased heteronomy also influences interaction in the classroom beyond changes that occur as result of the presence of international students and introduction of relativist pedagogies.

## 2. The traditional Danish university

Since the nineteenth century, the Humboldtian ideals – with the idea about the autonomy of the university – have been dominant in the Danish understanding of the university (Kristensen 2007a, b). The Kantian enlightenment ideal of man's exit from self-imposed immaturity in the sense of an inability to use reason without guidance formed the basis of an autonomous university. It should exercise scholarly reason without the influence

of church or state and without utilitarian purposes (Kristensen 2007a). Knowledge and scientific enquiry were legitimated by the search for truth alone and engagement in learning constitutes the ethical formation of the individual human being.

## 3. Neoliberalism and the knowledge economy

With the turn towards the knowledge economy, the role and position of the university changes. The cause/effect relationship between neoliberalism, globalization and the knowledge-based economy is debated (see e.g. Olsen/Peters 2005), but neoliberalism, its epistemology as well as a changing relationship with the state is brought into the university as responses to the challenges of globalization and realized in the changes in its internal structures, its ontology and epistemology with the turn towards the knowledge economy where internationalization comes to play a significant role in the Danish university.

Neoliberalism is often understood as an economic doctrine originating in the theoretical work of Hayek, Friedman and the Chicago School and the New Public Management principles. It was put into practice by the governments of Reagan and Thatcher and later on in the "third way" (Giddens 1998) approaches of Clinton, Blair, Schröder and the social democracies in Scandinavia (Ward 2012; Harvey 2005). But neoliberalism can also be understood as a moral and social philosophy (Harvey 2005). It involves a subjective theory of value where ascription of value is based upon subjective preferences rather than value as accumulation of labor, the belief that the processes of market exchange are the essence of human nature and serve as a technology to create and maintain social order (Ward 2012; Harvey 2005; Olsen/Peters 2005).

Importantly, neoliberalism rests on an epistemological argument which, together with the subjective theory of value and the belief in the market, implies changing processes of construction and evaluation of knowledge. In one of neoliberalism's key texts, "The Use of Knowledge in Society" from 1945, Hayek's argument for a market economy to substitute the planned economy is epistemological and focuses on particular, useful and practical knowledge. He describes knowledge as unorganized and to a large extent not scientific "in the sense of knowledge as of general rules" (p. 519). Instead, knowledge exists "as the dispersed bits of incomplete and frequently contradictory knowledge which all the separate individuals possess" (p. 519). According to Hayek, it contradicts the foundation of the planned economy where the logic is that all knowledge can be incorporated into theory building by a central authority. The market economy he proposes as solution to the problem of utilization of knowledge involves that the location of meta-knowledge has changed from a central theorizing agency to the prize-system where theorization is substituted by market-value. In consequence, the relationship between knowledge, agency and freedom is changed. Agency is reduced to responding to the needs of the market without the individual having insight into the causes and effects of changes in his or her environment.

The later "third way" approaches, which influenced both the Danish social democracy (Dahl 2014) and Danish right-wing politics (Larsen/Andersen 2009; Qvortrup 2002) sought to find a way to combine the approaches practiced by Reagan and Thatcher and the government intervention strategies of Keynesianism and socialism (Harvey 2005). It was an approach that aimed at making the state an active player in the economic development with the result that the control the state exercised was no longer about protecting the public domain but rather about expanding the market into new areas such as education, health care and social security and promoting entrepreneurial values (Ward 2012; Harvey 2005; Olssen/Peters 2005; Lemke 2001) by providing the necessary human resources and the infrastructure. Giddens also identifies significant epistemological changes that influence the status of knowledge which has become political and subject to democratic evaluation.

In the knowledge economy, knowledge becomes a means towards the economic growth the efficient state has to provide. The 1996 OECD report *The Knowledge-Based Economy* presents an economic theory where knowledge has become included among the means of production. The challenges are on the one hand codification of knowledge and on the other how to develop the necessary tacit skills for decoding information to secure the efficiency of the market. Moreover, interpersonal relationships are incorporated into the instrumental epistemology as "know-who" to make it available for economic analysis as a knowledge capital. Hence, market efficiency depends upon the state's regulation of education, knowledge production and knowledge distribution to satisfy the market's need for certain types of knowledge (18). As a result, the traditional role of the university as a producer of public good basic research, or *science*, is increasingly changing towards a production of *technology* which is knowledge generated for and legitimated by commercial purposes.

#### 4. The Bologna process

These ideas are embedded in the Bologna process along with its European identity project. In accordance with the market expansion goal of neoliberalism and the increased focus on education in the knowledge economy, one of the goals of the Bologna process was to create a "European Higher Education Area" through a standardization of national systems resulting in modular programs, comparable degree structures and a common accreditation system (Kristensen 2007b). In several ways, it involved a move away from the Humboldtian idea of the university. As part of the European Union's macroeconomic strategy and the vision of a Europe of Knowledge formulated in the Lisbon process (European Parliament 2000), the Bologna process also oriented the university towards economic goals which entails a break with the Humboldtian ideal of individual emancipation as the goal of education. Finally, with the process and its association with the European Commission, the universities, in spite of the declaration of autonomy from the state (European University Association 2003 in Wright/

Ørberg 2008), moved away from the idea of the independent university towards acceptance of being accountable towards external stakeholders.

#### 5. Danish university reforms

The reform in 2003 (Uddannelses- og Forskningsministeriet 2003) is the most significant. As such, the reform is not directed towards internationalization of the university, but the reform should be seen in the light of the importance assigned to the universities in the knowledge economy, which orients the universities towards a global market and job market relevance.

One of the arguments for the 2003 reform was that it would set the universities free from the state because they became "self-owning institutions" (Wright/Ørberg 2008). They were no longer part of the state-hierarchy but instead became engaged in contractual relationship with the state (Wright/Ørberg 2008). However, while the universities in one sense became independent from the state because the state is only concerned that the universities deliver according to the contract, the state also obtained new accountability tools for steering and controlling the universities such as performance- and output based payment (Hansen/Hansson/Nilsson 2012; Wright/Ørberg 2008) and the state actually got more political and economic control over both research and teaching (Kristensen 2007b).

At the same time, new measures for quality of education were introduced which involved description of specific competences that the students are expected to acquire (Nielsen/Sarauw 2012). These measures changed the emphasis from critical and independent reflection and course specific knowledge to quantitative measures of performance in relation to targets believed to match specific functions in the labor market (Nielsen/Sarauw 2012). As emphasized in the OECD report (OECD 1996), there is a focus upon skills and competences in the reforms, but also upon their measurability as human capital.

According to Kristensen, the reform involves a reformulation of the principle of autonomy in relation to university governance which from meaning institutional autonomy involving the freedom to decide what to teach and research comes to mean "operative autonomy", i.e. freedom to prioritize and make strategic choices in a time of increased competition for funding and "customers" (Kristensen 2007b). The university reforms are thus not only neoliberal in the sense that they alter the relationship between the state and the university and weakens university autonomy as measures of evaluation become externally imposed, it also introduces a neoliberal restructuring of knowledge itself.

The internationalization of the Danish university can thus be seen as inscribed in a larger field of higher education dominated by a neoliberal field of power which shapes the ontologies and epistemologies of the reforms of the university. However, the reorientation of the university is not uncontested neither in international or Danish debates. In the academic debates, critics of the neo-liberal university argue that the globalized university should engage in a more ethical knowledge produc-

tion. This is not a call for a return to the idea of the scientist and the university as disinterested, Rhoads and Szelenyi (2011) argue. But it is a call for an academic knowledge production that recognizes the challenges of globalization and of the interconnectedness of our lives (Rhoads/Szelenyi 2011); that recognizes the world's epistemological diversity (Santos/Nunes/Meneses 2007); that recognizes and challenges Eurocentric paradigms (Paraskeva 2010) and makes ethical choices "in the shape of academic inquiry" (Barnett 2012, p. 224). Like neoliberal epistemology, epistemologies from these positions are critical towards generalizing, universalist knowledge but rather than the neoliberal epistemologies of diversity, they promote epistemologies of difference and emancipation. Within that line of thought, Aihwa Ong (2009), seeing the neoliberal mode of knowledge production as a new universalizing discourse, promotes the idea of "multiple universalisms" and finds that "the call to develop 'common grounds' or 'common values' stifling, almost as oppressive as the purported universalism of a neoliberal mode of knowledge production and management" (Ong 2009, p. 39).

Others argue that a free future cannot be accomplished merely by "provincializing Europe" (Basole 2009, p. 36) in the sense of assigning it a role as a local site of knowledge production because of the colonization of thought by Eurocentric categories, the elitisms of the theoretical categorization in academia and the hierarchization of knowledge and non-knowledge in the university (Basole 2009, p. 37). Emancipation thus involves recognition and inclusion of knowledge produced elsewhere not just in geographical terms, but also outside the university.

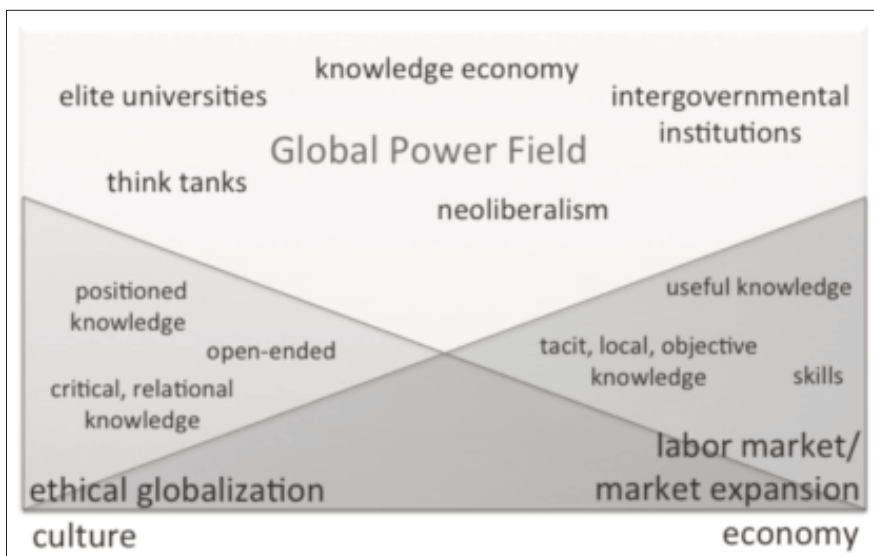
Sahasrabudhey (2009) emphasizes everyday life as a site of knowledge production where *lokavidya*, people's knowledge, is produced (Sahasrabudhey 2009, p. 43) and similarly, Purwar and Sharma (2009) argue that exclusion is often understood as an exclusion of content while it should be understood through processes of knowledge production.

In Denmark, the debate has mainly been centered around the decreasing autonomy of the university and its orientation towards the labor market. This is e.g. visible in the protests from "Det Frie Universitet" (see e.g. Elling/Groes 2015) and among students from the group "Et Andet Universitet". The group joined the international "Red Square Movement" (Red Square Everywhere) which objects to the marketization of education and increasing tuition fees, and the labor market orientation but also to the dominance of Western knowledge in the university. While the critiques of the neoliberal university thus come from a number of different positions, the common denominator is not a defense of the Enlightenment university and its grand nar-

ratives but the critiques are oriented towards the legitimation of the university in economic growth and a loss of its critical function.

The analysis of knowledge encounters in the next section sees programs, lecturers, students and the knowledge at play as positioned in a field of international higher education dominated by the neoliberal ideology of the global field of power. However, internally the field is structured around an economic pole focusing on the market on the one hand and a pole oriented towards what might be called "ethical globalization" on the other.

Fig. 1: The field of international HE



## 6. Excluding knowledge? Neoliberal epistemologies and interaction in the internationalized classroom

The section is based upon data from a fieldwork at a Danish university. The approach was explorative but the data was produced with a Bourdieusian lens focusing on symbolic violence and instances of reproduction on the one hand and on the other with a lens focusing on instances where "other" knowledge was acknowledged and (ideally) not reduced. Engagement with the data pointed towards the role of autonomy and knowledge structures – and hence also the position in the field – in shaping the encounters and building knowledge. The fieldwork involved observations of lectures, seminars and group work at three master programs that describe themselves as international as well as in-depth semi-structured interviews with students from all three programs. Moreover, it included policy documents at university and faculty level as well as program descriptions and course materials. The programs were chosen to represent different ways of approaching internationalization and comparing observations from the three programs, three main types of knowledge-encounters, i.e. encounters in which differences in cultural or disciplinary knowledge were negotiated, emerged. The encounters can be described as "rejection", "becoming the



same", and "remaining other". The focus here is upon a program positioned between the two poles where "becoming the same" was the main strategy of negotiation. The program is an interdisciplinary program in development studies and like Giddens' third way politics, its foundation is the changes in politics after the end of the Cold War which has changed the understanding of security from being about protection from other states towards being either about local relationships or global challenges like climate changes.

The middle position is visible in several ways: It is seen in the combination of theoretical and applied knowledge and an expressed aim of combining scientific and indigenous knowledge. Moreover, the program offers stipends to selected third world students and development of intercultural skills is described as an extra bonus of the program which again points to a "middle position" where intercultural engagement is instrumental rather than critical. Furthermore, the program is taught by a combination of academics and external consultants. While the aim is cultural and epistemological integration, it becomes a position which opens up for the dominance of neoliberal epistemologies, undermines academic authority and excludes "other" knowledge through its instrumental focus.

At the program, heteronomy is evident in references to labor market sources of evaluation. The lecturers continuously justify the methods they teach with the relevance it has *after* the university because it is the way the consultancies they refer to work. The project form used for many of the exams is also justified in that mode: "because projects allow you to go into detail and get an overview of the whole thing. A project has a clear goal. A time frame. A budget. You will work in projects later on [after university] so it is not just a skill you develop for this course, but a skill for life", it is argued on one of the first days of the course. Similarly, the academics among the teachers stress their own practical orientation and experience: "I am practical rather than academic" one of the lecturers says. Moreover, interdisciplinarity is seen as a "real world" way of working and the lecturers stress that they are interdisciplinary, rather than rooted in a single discipline: "I am an anthropologist originally, but my work has been very interdisciplinary. It is very difficult to pinpoint my own discipline. I have a mixed background now" (field notes, introductory days).

The students also adopt the external evaluation criteria: "So I think it is great that we need to write a project proposal because that's a skill that you actually need to have", one student says in the interviews.

As discussed above, Bourdieu's theorization involves the interdependence between autonomy, authority and pedagogic action which implies that as the university becomes heteronomous and practices are evaluated according to external criteria, it also has consequences for authority and pedagogic action. Autonomy depends upon freedom from external influences, but also the presence of discipline-internal evaluation criteria, according to Bourdieu, and hence while autonomy is challenged by the adoption of external criteria of evaluation, interdisciplinarity is in itself also potentially a challenge

to autonomy. Both the interviews and the observations of class discussions and a discussion between students and lecturers shows that the authority of the academic teachers is challenged. On the one hand, the academic lecturers are compared to lecturers in the students' previous universities that were "proper" academics and on the other, they are compared to the external consultants that are the authorities on the "real" world:

Uhm, yeah, I definitely think that the contact part is great because of the fact that not all the teachers are academics. [the external consultants can help some of the students to get internships] [...]. So definitely from that point of view. From a more content, well the actual content of the knowledge I don't know yet [...] Well, the thing is I don't think I have been exposed to it at all. Like ok, I don't know. [...], the information I've gotten, from my course teachers, I'm not talking about guest lecturers now, just my teachers. It's just power point presentations on what we have read. So summaries. I could have made it at home. Nothing new. [...] I hope it's more than that. [...] whereas I used to being just filled with information with somebody who knows about something and just trusting them. Not 100% but a lot [...] I liked the academic standard [in the previous university]. The fact that I really had to learn a lot to prove myself. Uhm, I really liked that and also my teachers [...] were very knowledgeable and that inspired me a lot.

Similarly, another student finds the teachers uncritical in their presentation of the theories used in the course. Moreover, the theoretical parts of the course become irrelevant because it does not connect to the rest of the course:

But it seems strange that sometimes we have a ... we'll have a lecture on human rights, for example, and it will be two hours or three hours and whatever it is and then it's kinda gone. That's it. You have made your notes and then we move on really rapidly and you kind of ... do I need to go back and look at this. Is this gonna be useful in the future. If it didn't inspire me and I don't actively wanna read about it, do I need to?

In an instrumental epistemology the transformative potential of such knowledge can thus be rejected, if it is not evaluated as useful.

In class, both the lecturers who operate closest to discipline internal criteria of evaluation and the lecturer with no consultancy background who teaches the project approach, struggle to establish authority. Respectively, it may result from the discrepancy between the criteria of evaluation of those lecturers and the dominant external criteria of evaluation, and the missing claim to authority within those criteria.

Initially, a large part of the students find the methods taught by the lecturers referring to internal criteria difficult but as the lecturers lower the level and find new teaching strategies, some of the students display that they find it ridiculous by rolling their eyes, making fun of the lecturers and simply leaving the room when asked to do exercises. In their choice of methods for their field

work, which forms the basis of their master thesis, almost none of the students include these methods and in the evaluations, they are simply dismissed as irrelevant: "We are not interested in the [x] methods", one student says. Another one says that the teaching methods should be more oriented towards actual practice rather than theory and a third one says "You should think about whether it is actually relevant for us to learn about these methods". Regarding the project approach, the students want to learn it from the consultants and reject the exercises as too simple.

In spite of thorough attempts at cultural and disciplinary inclusion, interaction among the students soon becomes characterized by rejection of "other" knowledge. Inclusion is approached with a strategy of "becoming the same", i.e. compromise and communicative convergence of positions – or in Ong's words as establishing common ground. From the beginning of the program, diversity – both disciplinary and cultural – is stressed as an asset that can help the students develop skills for the labor market, but also as a challenge. The program starts with a workshop designed to raise the students' awareness of the benefits and challenges of diversity in the group. They get exercises designed to find similarities in their experiences and they learn about structured dialogue and appreciative inquiry. Working on the exercises, the student stress similarities between their experiences and they develop a common language. As part of learning about the project approach, they also get several exercises about teamwork.

The inclusion of "other" knowledge is also approached as convergence and common ground as students from third world countries are often asked by the lecturers to contribute with examples to illustrate the methods the lecturers are introducing. However, in effect convergence becomes reduction and (re)establishment of hierarchies and the classes soon become characterized by tension and on several occasions actual conflict.

In a methodology course, one of the lecturers introduces participatory research methods as methods that can both elicit local knowledge and empower the locals that participate in the research. The lecturer initially describes them as easy to use but still valid. However, he also continuously talks apologetically about them and as not valid on their own:

"Mapping is a quick analysis of your data. You can use local materials. Pen, paper, stones, mud. These techniques cannot be used alone. Quantification of their results is dangerous. Should not be used as standard methodology. I'm sure some of you think this is ridiculous and stupid".

"Other" knowledge thus has to be appropriated and thus reduced by "standard" knowledge to be included. Group formations show that the students are reluctant to form interdisciplinary and intercultural groups and when inclusion occurs, it becomes instrumental relationships where transformative potentials are not realized.

Already after a couple of weeks, when the students are forming groups for their exam project, the first conflict arises. Even though interdisciplinarity is emphasized as a

prerequisite for a successful exam project, a number of students form monodisciplinary groups and a group of students refuse to include a student with another disciplinary background. Faced with the argument that it is part of the assignment, one of them responds "I just don't think it is relevant".

In one of the other groups, an academic hierarchy based upon geographical origin is quickly established. The group consists of Eastern European and African students and in the beginning they use structured dialogue and an appointed "gamemaster" to make sure, everyone is heard. However, the two African students are marginalized almost immediately even though especially one of them is academically quite strong. The other students question his contribution and decide to consult the teacher on the things he tells them about academic writing. After a couple of weeks, one of the African students has left the group and the other is visibly marginalized to the extent that he is actually excluded. The three of them work on the project but he sits alone at one side of the table, where he cannot see what the others write. They do not talk to him either and even as he moves around the table to get a look at the computer screen, he is ignored and he is not talked to until one of the other group members tell him when they have decided to meet up again.

Over time, the groups the students establish to do exercises in class also become more and more monocultural and monodisciplinary. Especially the third world students are isolated in their own group and there is no knowledge exchange between them and the other students or between them and the lecturers during classes. However, when the students present their project proposals for their internship, which forms the basis of their thesis, these students are mentioned as gatekeepers that can help the other students get access to people during their internships. Instead of bringing transformation through new epistemologies and perspectives, these students thus become inscribed in instrumental relationships where they provide access and factual knowledge.

In spite of an aim of inclusion, knowledge encounters at the program develop towards hierarchy, reduction and exclusion of "other" knowledge outside the external evaluative criteria of usefulness.

## 7. Conclusion

In Bourdieu's theorization, pedagogic authority is the foundation of the power to transmit a cultural arbitrary as legitimate truth and while this is essentially the object of the critique of much intercultural pedagogy aimed at assisting the socialization of the international student into the host culture, the fragmentation resulting from heteronomy is equally problematic.

The middle position in the field is thus a position where, while it aims at disciplinary, epistemological and cultural integration, internationalization potentially challenges pedagogic authority and results in exclusion and fragmentation. This is not just a matter of the presence of a large number of international students itself and it is not

through a relativist pedagogy. Rather, it is related to the dominance of external criteria of evaluation which are not countered by strong internal epistemologies. Moreover, viewing knowledge as structuring as well, the middle position becomes excluding both as result of the tension that arises after convergence of positions, but also because the dominant epistemologies disregard the transformative potential of "other" knowledge.

The internationalization that has taken place as result of neoliberal reforms thus potentially poses challenges in the classroom that cannot just be accounted for by the presence of a large number of students socialized into other educational and cultural frameworks, which naturally in itself causes barriers to recognition of each others knowledge or by the survival of colonial hierarchies. Field struggles over the meaning of internationalization and differences in epistemological positions, heteronomy and structures of within the emerging epistemologies also potentially influence interaction in the internationalized classroom.

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## Zur Entwicklung des Europäischen Forschungsraums Eine bibliometrische Analyse

The European Research Area is an initiative of the European Union with the aim to promote collaborations and exchanges of research organizations and researchers in Europe to overcome the fragmented European national research landscape. The article focuses on changes that have taken place during the last 20 years in European collaboration and on how far the European Research Area has been established in comparison to other research areas (USA and China). This question is investigated on the basis of a bibliometric analysis of the publication and citation data of the Web of Science (WoS).

Der Europäische Forschungsraum ist eine Initiative der Europäischen Union mit dem Ziel die Zusammenarbeit und den Austausch von Forschungseinrichtungen und Wissenschaftler\*innen in Europa zu fördern und dadurch die nationalstaatliche Forschungslandschaft zu überwinden. Bereits die europäischen Forschungsrahmenprogramme, angefangen vom ersten (1984-1987) bis zum aktuell „achten“ (2014-2020, Horizon 2020), können als Instrumente für eine vernetzte europäische Forschungsförderung angesehen werden. Mit der Kommissionsmitteilung „Hin zu einem Europäischen Forschungsraum“ aus dem Jahr 2000 nahm die Entwicklung jedoch deutlich an Fahrt auf (Europäische Kommission 2000). Im Zentrum des Artikels steht die Frage, welche Veränderungen sich in den letzten 20 Jahren in der europäischen Zusammenarbeit zwischen Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftlern ergeben haben und inwieweit im Vergleich zu den Forschungsräumen USA und China es gelungen ist, einen Europäischen Forschungsraum zu etablieren. Dieser Frage wird auf Grundlage einer bibliometrischen Analyse der Publikationen im Web of Science (WoS) nachgegangen.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Der Europäische Forschungsraum

In der Kommissionsmitteilung „Hin zu einem Europäischen Forschungsraum“ (2000) wird zu Beginn ein Krisenszenario beschrieben, das wissenschaftspolitisches Handeln notwendig macht: „Die Situation der Forschung in Europa (...) ist besorgniserregend“ (Europäische Kommission 2000, S. 4). Europa drohe ein „Verlust an Wachstum und Wettbewerbsfähigkeit“ (ebd.). Als Ursachen der „alarmierenden“ Situation (ebd.) gelten unter anderem, dass Europa – gemessen am Bruttoinlandsprodukt – prozentual weniger in die Forschung investiere und weniger Personen in der Forschung be-

schäftige als andere entwickelte Länder (USA oder Japan) (ebd.). Hinsichtlich der Organisation der Forschung in Europa wird bemängelt, dass die „Forschungsaktivitäten in Europa zum Großteil auf nationaler Ebene“ stattfinden (S. 7). Zwar stellen die Forschungsrahmenprogramme der EU ein „wichtiges Instrument“ dar, doch entfielen auf das damalige Programm nur etwa 5,4% der Forschungsaufwendungen im Zivilbereich. Dies sei „alleine nicht ausreichend“ (S. 7). Die europäische Kommission konstatiert, dass es im Jahr 2000 „noch immer keinen europäischen Forschungsraum“ gebe (S. 10). Es wurde gefordert, dass die Vernetzung der Forschung und die Abstimmung der Forschungsaktivitäten auf europäischer Ebene intensiviert werden müsse, so dass es im Ergebnis zu einer „Verbesserung des innereuropäischen Zusammenhalts im Bereich der Forschung“ komme. Ebenso müsse die Mobilität sowie die „Attraktivität des europäischen Raums für Forscher aus aller Welt“ erhöht werden (S. 9).

Bereits in der Kommissionsmitteilung „Hin zu einem Europäischen Forschungsraum“ vom Januar 2000 wurde auf den im März des gleichen Jahres stattfindenden Lissabonner Sondergipfel „Beschäftigung, Wirtschaftsreform und sozialer Zusammenhalt – Für ein Europa der Innovation und des Wissens“ Bezug genommen. Der Europäische Rat beschloss in der sogenannten Lissabon-Strategie unter anderem, dass aufgrund der im Vergleich zu anderen Ländern geringen anteiligen europäischen Forschungsausgaben jedes europäische Land bis 2010

<sup>1</sup> Der Artikel entstand im Rahmen eines vom Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung finanzierten Forschungsprojekts (FKZ 01PQ16001). Bei den Analysen wurde auf die durch das Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung geförderte Datenbank des Kompetenzzentrums Bibliometrie zurückgegriffen (FKZ 01PQ17001).

drei Prozent seines Bruttoinlandsprodukts in Forschung und Entwicklung investieren solle (Scherb 2012). Die EU, so das übergreifende Ziel, soll somit zum wettbewerbsfähigsten und dynamischsten wissensbasierten Wirtschaftsraum der Welt aufsteigen. Nicht zuletzt aufgrund der Weltwirtschaftskrise wurde zwar das Drei-Prozent-Ziel verfehlt, besteht jedoch in unverminderter Weise in der 2010 beschlossenen Nachfolgestrategie „Europa 2020“ fort („Europe 2020 strategy | European Commission“ o. J.). In Deutschland konnten schließlich im Jahr 2012 die Forschungs- und Entwicklungsausgaben auf knapp drei Prozent des Bruttoinlandsprodukts gesteigert werden (Gemeinsame Wissenschaftskonferenz (GWK) 2014).

Ende 2009 trat der Vertrag von Lissabon in Kraft, in dem der Europäische Forschungsraum zu einem rechtlich verankerten Ziel der Europäischen Union wurde. Im Artikel 179 heißt es: „Die Union hat zum Ziel, ihre wissenschaftlichen und technologischen Grundlagen dadurch zu stärken, dass ein europäischer Raum der Forschung geschaffen wird“ (EU 2012, konsolidierte Fassung). Der Europäische Forschungsraum ist dabei „das Herzstück der Strategie Europa 2020“ deren „Vollendung“ der Europäische Rat bis 2014 ausgerufen hat (Europäische Kommission 2012a, S. 2).

Im Jahr 2012 wurden in den zwei Kommissionsmitteilungen die Schwerpunktbereiche des Europäischen Forschungsraums weiter spezifiziert. In der ersten Kommissionsmitteilung, „Eine verstärkte Partnerschaft im Europäischen Forschungsraum im Zeichen von Exzellenz und Wachstum“ (Europäische Kommission 2012a), werden fünf Prioritäten genannt. Der Europäische Forschungsraum brauche (1) „effektivere nationale Forschungssysteme“, (2) eine „optimale länderübergreifende Zusammenarbeit“, (3) „ein[en] offene[n] Arbeitsmarkt für Forscherinnen und Forscher“, (4) die „Gleichstellung der Geschlechter (...) in der Forschung“, (5) „optimale[n] Austausch von, Zugang zu und Transfer von wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnissen“ (Europäische Kommission 2012a, S. 4). Mit der zweiten Kommissionsmitteilung des Jahres 2012, „Verbesserung und Fokussierung der internationalen Zusammenarbeit der EU in Forschung und Innovation: ein strategischer Ansatz“ (Europäische Kommission 2012b), erhält die internationale Zusammenarbeit jenseits der bereits genannten zweiten Priorität („optimale länderübergreifende Zusammenarbeit“) ein besonderes Gewicht. Ziel der internationalen Zusammenarbeit ist eine „Stärkung der Exzellenz und Attraktivität der Union in den Bereichen Forschung und Innovation“ sowie die Erhöhung der „Wettbewerbsfähigkeit durch die Schaffung von Win-Win-Situationen“ (Europäische Kommission 2012b, S. 4). Dabei geht es neben der eigentlichen Forschungskoope-ration auch um wissenschaftspolitische Maßnahmen, wie die Öffnung des europäischen Forschungsrahmenprogramms Horizon 2020 für Nicht-EU-Länder und die Entwicklung von (inter)nationalen Roadmaps. So wurden in den letzten Jahren die Prioritäten des Europäischen Forschungsraums auch in nationale Umsetzungsstrategien implementiert. Am 16. Juli 2014 verabschiedete die Bundesregierung als erster EU-Staat eine solche nationale Strategie zum Europäischen Forschungsraum (Bundesminis-

terium für Bildung und Forschung (BMBF) 2014). Mittlerweile haben 24 EU-Mitgliedsländer und fünf assoziierte Länder nationale Strategien zur Umsetzung des Europäischen Forschungsraums beschlossen (European Commission 2017, S. 3).

## 2. Konzeptioneller Ansatz

In den letzten Jahren hat die Europäische Kommission eine Reihe von „Progress Reports“ zur bisherigen Umsetzung des Europäischen Forschungsraums veröffentlicht, zuletzt den „European Research Area Progress-Report 2016“ (European Commission 2017). Auch wurden vor einigen Jahren eine Reihe von bibliometrischen Studien von der Kommission in Auftrag gegeben, die sich mit der Rolle der Universitäten, der Forschungseinrichtungen und privater Unternehmen im Europäischen Forschungsraum auseinandergesetzt haben (Campbell/Ventimiglia et al. 2013; Labrosse et al. 2013; Roberge et al. 2013). Eine weitere Arbeit untersucht auf Länderebene die Anteile der internationalen Zusammenarbeit, insbesondere vor dem Hintergrund des siebten Forschungsrahmenprogramms (Campbell/Roberge et al. 2013). Campbell resümiert, dass sich keine positiven Auswirkungen des 7. Forschungsrahmenprogramms auf den Europäischen Forschungsraum in Form einer stärkeren Kooperation der einzelnen Länder feststellen lasse (Campbell et al. 2015, S. 14). An diesem Befund dürfte sich bis heute trotz weiterer Aufstockungen der EU-Förderung wenig geändert haben. So stellt das für sich genommen hohe Fördervolumen von 70 Milliarden Euro (ohne Inflationsausgleich) für das sieben Jahre laufende Programm Horizon 2020 (European Commission 2013) nur einen geringen Anteil der gesamten Forschungs- und Entwicklungsausgaben in der Europäischen Union dar. In 2015 lagen für alle 28 Mitgliedsländer die Ausgaben bei etwa 300 Milliarden Euro (Eurostat 2016). Die EU-Förderung im Rahmen von Horizon 2020 macht also nur etwa drei Prozent der jährlichen Gesamtaufwendungen für Forschung und Entwicklung aus, sodass deren Auswirkungen auf das Gesamtsystem kaum mess- und nachweisbar sind.

In der vorliegenden Arbeit wird ein bibliometrischer Ansatz gewählt, der weder auf die (alleinigen) Auswirkungen der EU-Forschungsförderung noch auf Veränderungen in den einzelnen Ländern oder Organisationen abzielt. Vielmehr soll die Entwicklung des Europäischen Forschungsraums über einen längeren Zeitraum (1995-2014) im Vergleich mit der Entwicklung anderer Forschungsräume (USA und China) betrachtet werden. Im Zentrum des Forschungsinteresses steht das für den Europäischen Forschungsraum zentrale Konzept der internationalen Zusammenarbeit (siehe oben), die in verschiedenen Formen realisiert wird: in gesamteuropäischen Forschungsstrategien oder deren Implementation in nationale Wissenschaftspolitiken, in internationalen Kooperationen an europäischen Forschungseinrichtungen, im Rahmen der EU-Forschungsfinanzierung oder in vielfältigen Austauschbeziehungen zwischen Wissenschaftler\*innen aus verschiedenen Ländern. Alle diese Formen der internationalen Zusammenarbeit müssen sich jedoch letztlich, wenn diese nicht wirkungslos blei-

ben, auch in de facto Forschungsk Kooperationen und damit in internationalen Ko-Publikationen widerspiegeln und somit einen Beitrag zum übergreifenden Ziel der Überwindung der fragmentierten europäischen Forschungslandschaft leisten. Wenn im Folgenden Ko-Publikationen als Indikator herangezogen werden, dann um die Entwicklung und Konvergenz des sich gerade in den letzten Jahren auch zunehmend erweiterten Europäischen Forschungsraums zu messen. Insofern rücken in diesem Artikel die messbaren Effekte in der gesamten Breite wissenschaftspolitischer Maßnahmen in den Fokus, die zusammengenommen auf eine Erhöhung der internationalen Zusammenarbeit abzielen.

Einer internationalen Ko-Publikation liegt eine gemeinsame Autorschaft zugrunde, welche wiederum auf verschiedene Formen der Zusammenarbeit referenziert. Grit Laudel hat in einer qualitativen Studie verschiedene Typen dieser Zusammenarbeit herausgearbeitet (Laudel 2002). Kooperation kann dabei von der gemeinsamen Laborarbeit, der Bereitstellung von Serviceleistungen oder Zugängen zu Forschungsinfrastrukturen bis hin zur beratenden Dateninterpretation im Publikationsprozess reichen. Dabei kann in Ausnahmefällen Autorschaft auch bedeuten, dass die betreffende Person letztlich keinen „echten“ Beitrag zur Veröffentlichung geleistet hat (z.B. bei der sogenannten Ehrenautorschaft). Die letzte Form gilt beispielsweise gemäß der guten wissenschaftlichen Praxis der DFG als wissenschaftliches Fehlverhalten (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft 2013, S. 29). Für die in diesem Artikel vorgenommenen Analysen sind durch solche Sonderfälle jedoch kaum verzerrende Effekte auf die Ergebnisse zu erwarten, da es für die Länderzuordnung eines Artikels unerheblich ist, ob beispielsweise nur die oder der wissenschaftliche Mitarbeitende oder auch die oder der Vorgesetzte als Ehrenautor\*in einer Publikation fungiert.

Wie in den verschiedenen Dokumenten der Europäischen Kommission hervorgehoben, besteht ein zentrales Ziel des Europäischen Forschungsraums und der internationalen Zusammenarbeit in der „Stärkung der Exzellenz“ von Forschung (Europäische Kommission 2012b, S. 4). Aus diesem Grund wird im Folgenden auch die sogenannte Exzellenzrate ausgewiesen, um den wissenschaftlichen Impact von Ko-Publikationen quantifizieren zu können.

### 3. Methode

Für die bibliometrischen Analysen wurden drei Untersuchungseinheiten gebildet, die die Entwicklung der Europäischen Union und des Europäischen Forschungsraums beschreiben: (1) Die EU15, d.h. alle EU-Länder, die bis einschließlich 1995 der Europäischen Union beigetreten sind und die nicht nur ökonomisch, sondern auch wissenschaftlich die „Schwergewichte“ Europas bilden. Zu den EU15 gehören Belgien (Beitritt 1958), Deutschland (1958), Frankreich (1958), Italien (1958), Luxemburg (1958), Niederlande (1958), Dänemark (1973), Irland (1973), Vereinigtes Königreich (1973), Griechenland (1981), Portugal (1986), Spanien (1986), Finnland (1995), Österreich (1995) und Schweden (1995).

(2) EU 28, d.h. alle aktuellen Mitgliedsländer der europäischen Union. Die EU15 Länder zuzüglich der im

Rahmen der sogenannten EU-Osterweiterung ab 2004 beigetretenen Länder Estland (2004), Lettland (2004), Litauen (2004), Polen (2004), Slowakei (2004), Slowenien (2004), Tschechische Republik (2004), Ungarn (2004), Bulgarien (2007), Rumänien (2007), Kroatien (2013) und, wenn auch geographisch und politisch anders einzuordnen, Malta (2004) und Zypern (2004).

(3) Der Europäische Forschungsraum – so die Europäische Kommission im Jahr 2012 – „stützt sich auf (...) nationale Forschungssysteme der Mitgliedstaaten“ der Europäischen Union (Europäische Kommission 2012a, S. 4). Die Untersuchungseinheiten EU15 und EU28 können somit als historische Konstellationen eines sich wandelnden Europäischen Forschungsraums begriffen werden. Der Europäische Forschungsraum wurde in den letzten Jahren jedoch deutlich erweitert. Im Rahmen der „europäischen Nachbarschaftspolitik“ soll eine „Förderung in – oder Ausrichtung auf – den Europäischen Forschungsraum“ durch „Assoziierung“ im Kontext von „Horizon 2020“ erfolgen (Europäische Kommission 2012b, S. 7). Die europäische Nachbarschaftspolitik soll somit „einen Beitrag zur Entwicklung eines ‚gemeinsamen Raumes für Wissen und Innovation‘ leisten“ (Europäische Kommission 2012b, S. 7). Dieser erweiterte Europäische Forschungsraum durch assoziierte Länder ist dabei deutlich größer als der Kern-Forschungsraum der EU-Mitgliedsländer. 2016 hatten folgende Länder einen assoziierten Status: Albanien, Bosnien und Herzegowina, Färöer-Inseln, Georgien, Island, Israel, Mazedonien, Moldawien, Montenegro, Norwegen, Serbien, Schweiz, Tunesien, Türkei und Ukraine (European Commission 2016). Einige dieser Länder haben auch eigene nationale Umsetzungsstrategien zum Europäischen Forschungsraum beschlossen (European Commission 2017, S. 3). Neben den Untersuchungseinheiten EU15 und EU28 bildet der erweiterte Europäische Forschungsraum (im folgenden eEFR), der neben der EU28 auch die assoziierten Länder umfasst, die dritte Untersuchungseinheit. Dabei ist zu konstatieren, dass der eEFR nicht nur über die Grenzen der Europäischen Union, sondern auch des geographischen Europas hinausreicht (Israel, Tunesien).

Um die drei obigen Untersuchungseinheiten mit anderen Forschungsräumen zu vergleichen, wurden darüber hinaus zwei weitere Forschungsräume, die auch in den Kommissionsmitteilungen häufig als Referenz angeführt wurden, in der Analyse berücksichtigt. Zum einen die für das weltweite Wissenschaftssystem wichtige USA, zum anderen das nicht nur ökonomisch, sondern auch wissenschaftlich aufstrebende China. Des Weiteren wurden – wenn möglich und sinnvoll – als allgemeiner Benchmark die weltweiten Referenzwerte in den Ergebnissen ausgewiesen (Welt).

Die bibliometrische Analyse erfolgte auf Grundlage der Datenbank des deutschen Kompetenzzentrums Bibliometrie. Um die Datenbasis sowohl der (Ko-)Publikationsanalysen als auch der Zitationsanalysen wechselseitig konsistent zu halten, wurden aus methodischen Gründen nur Journalpublikationen vom Typ Artikel und Review berücksichtigt, die in den Datenbanken Science Citation Index Expanded, Social Sciences Citation und der Arts & Humanities Citation Index enthalten sind. Es ist hierbei anzumerken, dass aufgrund der Datenbankab-

deckung als auch der zugrunde liegenden Publikationstypen die Natur- und Lebenswissenschaften in den Ergebnissen überdurchschnittlich stark vertreten sind. Für die Zitationsanalysen wurde ein dreijähriges Zitationsfenster zugrunde gelegt, so dass der gesamte Analysezeitraum (1995-2014) hier etwas kürzer ausfällt (1995-2012). Bei den Berechnungen wurde die sogenannte „whole count“ Methode angewandt, d.h. eine Publikation wurde jedem daran beteiligten Land voll zugeordnet. Bei der in den Ergebnissen dargestellten Exzellenzrate wird der Anteil der weltweit top 10%-hochzitierten Publikationen eines Publikationssets gemessen. Die Exzellenzrate ist dabei in folgender Weise zu interpretieren: Wenn 10% der Publikationen eines Landes zu den top 10%-hochzitierten Publikationen zählen, ist dies ein durchschnittliches Ergebnis. Bei einem Wert von über 10% kann – gemessen am weltweiten Benchmark – von einer überdurchschnittlichen Performanz gesprochen werden. Um den verschiedenen Zitationsraten unterschiedlicher Fächer gerecht zu werden, erfolgt die Berechnung der Exzellenzrate fächer- und dokumentenspezifisch. Die hier angewandte Berechnung lehnt sich an die von Waltman und Schreiber (2013) vorgeschlagene Methode an. Sie trifft dabei – im Gegensatz zu vielen anderen in der Literatur zu findenden Berechnungen – den 10%-Benchmark genau.

#### 4. Ergebnisse

Abbildung 1 zeigt, wie sich der Publikationsoutput der Untersuchungseinheiten über die Jahre entwickelt hat. Zu Anfang des Untersuchungszeitraums veröffentlichten die USA noch etwas mehr Artikel als die EU15. Ab 1997 übertraf die Anzahl der Veröffentlichungen der EU15 kontinuierlich jene der USA. Alle Untersuchungseinheiten steigerten ihren Publikationsoutput über die Jahre – jedoch in unterschiedlichem Ausmaß. Die größte Steigerungsrate hat China, das seine Publikationen zwischen 1995 und 2014 um das 21,3-fache erhöhte. Beim Publikationsanstieg ist jedoch auch das zugrundeliegende Datenbankwachstum zu berücksichtigen. So wurden im Jahr 2014 mehr als doppelt so viele Artikel (2,2-fache) in der Datenbank erfasst wie im Jahr 1995.

Bezieht man die Entwicklung der Publikationen auf das Datenbankwachstum, dann zeigt sich folgende Entwicklung (vgl. Abbildung 2). Während der Weltanteil der chinesischen Publikationen um das 9,7-fache von 1,8% (1995) auf 17,2% (2014) ansteigt, bleibt der Anteil im eEFR-Raum (38,7% zu 38,4%), der EU28 (35,4% zu 34,1%) und EU15 (33,2% zu 30,9%) nahezu stabil bzw. fällt leicht ab. Die EU15 bildet den Kern der Publikationsaktivität im europäischen Forschungsraum. Im Jahr 2014 waren an 80,5% aller Publikationen des europäischen Forschungsraums Länder der EU15 beteiligt. Ein Rückgang des weltweiten Publikationsanteils zeigt sich für die USA (von 34,8% (1995) auf 26,3% (2014)). Es ist jedoch an dieser Stelle anzumerken, dass die Abdeckung der wissenschaftlichen Literatur für die USA auch zu Anfang der Untersuchungszeitraums deutlich besser war und der Datenbankprovider die Abdeckung sukzessive für andere Regionen der Welt verbessert hat (Testa 2011). Für die heutige Situation lässt sich festhalten,

Abb. 1: Publikationsoutput

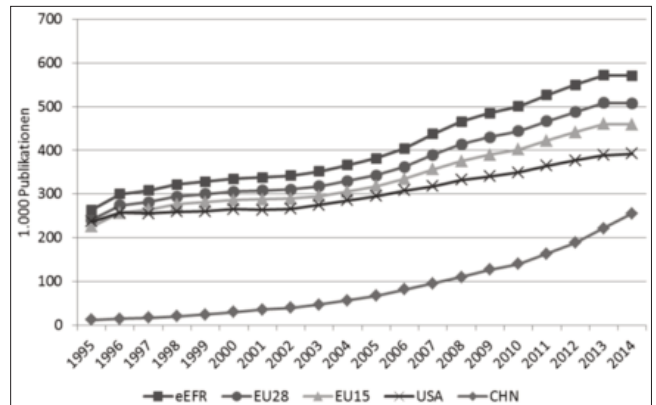


Abb. 2: Anteil am weltweiten Publikationsoutput

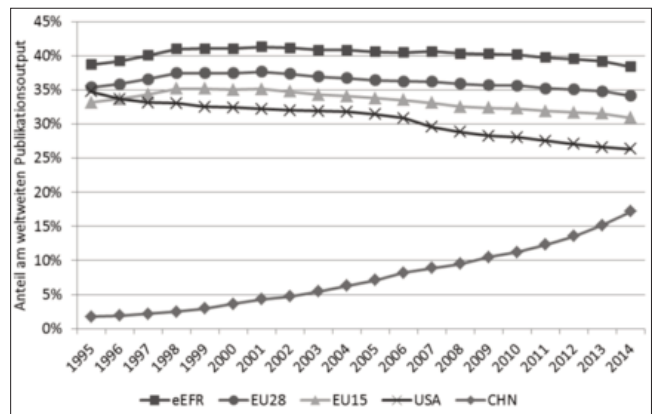
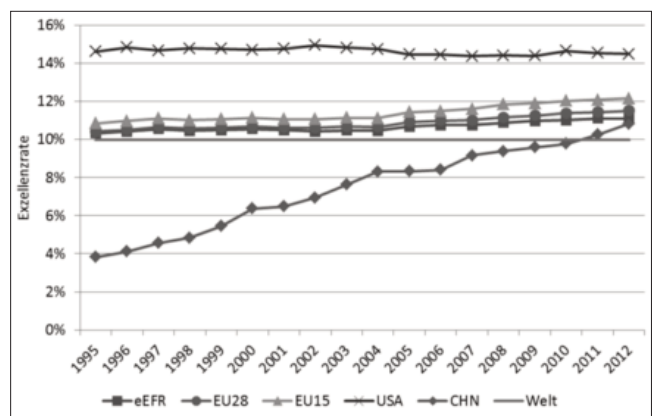


Abb. 3: Exzellenzrate



dass der europäische Forschungsraum (in seiner engeren historischen (EU15) wie auch aktuellen Ausformung (eEFR)) gemessen an seinem Publikationsoutput am weltweit größten ist.

Neben dem reinen Publikationsoutput ist für die Leistungsfähigkeit eines Forschungsraums entscheidend, welche Wirkungen (Impact) von deren Publikationen ausgehen, d.h. in welchem Maße diese im wissenschaftlichen Diskurs rezipiert werden. Aus Abbildung 3 geht hervor, wie viel Prozent der Veröffentlichungen des jeweiligen Forschungsraums zu den weltweit top 10%-hochzitierten Publikationen zählen. China zeigt nicht nur beim reinen

Publikationsoutput, sondern auch bei der Exzellenzrate eine deutliche Steigerung. Nach zunächst unterdurchschnittlichen Werten übertrifft China erstmals im Jahr 2011 den weltweiten 10%-Benchmark und liegt 2012 nur noch knapp hinter dem eEFR (CHN: 10,8%; eEFR: 11,1%). Die EU15 (12,2%) und die EU28 (11,5%) weisen eine höhere Exzellenzrate auf als der eEFR. Den höchsten Anteil haben die USA mit 14,5% und liegen damit deutlich vor den europäischen Untersuchungseinheiten.

Die historische Erweiterung des Forschungsraums erhöht zwar die Anzahl der Publikationen, führt aber zu einem Absinken der Exzellenzrate. Eine Übersicht über die unterschiedliche Leistungsfähigkeit der einzelnen Länder, sowohl hinsichtlich ihres Publikationsoutputs als auch des Anteils an den Top 10%-hochzitierten Veröffentlichungen, gibt Abbildung 4, wobei von den 43 eEFR-Ländern nur jene berücksichtigt wurden, die über 1.000 Veröffentlichungen (Artikel oder Reviews in Journals) im Jahr 2012 verfügten. Dies entspricht in etwa dem jährlichen Publikationsoutput einer mittelgroßen deutschen Universität.

Unter den 43 eEFR-Ländern kommen im Jahr 2012 nur 31 auf mehr als 1.000 Publikationen. Fast die Hälfte der Länder (14) gehört zur Gruppe der EU15 (ohne Luxemburg). Zehn Länder sind nach 2004 der EU beigetreten und sieben Länder kommen aus dem erweiterten europäischen Forschungsraum (Israel, Norwegen, Schweiz, Serbien, Türkei, Tunesien, Ukraine). Zwischen den Ländern im europäischen Forschungsraum gibt es deutliche Unterschiede, sowohl hinsichtlich ihres Publikationsoutputs als auch hinsichtlich ihres Anteils an hochzitierten Publikationen. Alle EU15-Länder erzielen eine Exzellenzrate, die über dem weltweiten Durchschnitt liegt. Von den EU-Ländern, die nach 2004 beigetreten sind, schaffen dies hingegen nur Estland, Ungarn und Slowenien. Von den eEFR-Ländern haben die Schweiz, Norwegen und Israel einen überdurchschnittlichen Wert. Unter dem Durchschnitt liegen die ab 2004 beigetretenen EU-Länder Tschechien, Slowakei, Rumänien und Polen, sowie die eEFR-Länder Serbien, Türkei und Ukraine. Mit nur wenigen Ausnahmen (Estland, Schweiz und Norwegen) liegt die Exzellenzrate bei den ab 2004 neu hinzugekommenen Ländern wie auch bei den assoziierten EFR-Ländern unterhalb des EU15-Durchschnitts (2012: 12,2%). In den folgenden Abbildungen werden verschiedene Aspekte der internationalen Zusammenarbeit anhand von Ko-Publikationsindikatoren betrachtet. Eine Ausgangsvoraussetzung für eine Ko-Publikation ist zunächst, dass mehrere Autor\*innen an einer Veröffentlichung beteiligt sind. Publikationen, die nur von einer Autorin bzw. einem Autor stammen, können (den Sonderfall der länderübergreifenden Mehrfachaffiliationen ausgenommen) somit keine internationale Ko-Publikation sein. Abbildung 5 zeigt den Anteil der Ein-Autor-Publikationen an dem gesamten Publikationsoutput der jeweiligen Untersuchungseinheiten. Über die Jahre hat in allen Untersuchungseinheiten, wie auch weltweit, der Anteil an Ein-Autor-Publikationen stetig abgenommen. In China stammen im Jahr 2014 lediglich 2,2% aller Publikationen von einem einzelnen Autor. Der weltweite Anteil liegt bei 9,4%, für die USA bei 9,5%, für den eEFR bei 9,0%, für die EU28 8,7% und für die EU15 bei 8,2%.

Abb. 4: Publikationsoutput und Exzellenzrate für Länder des Europäischen Forschungsraums mit mehr als 1.000 Publikationen in 2012

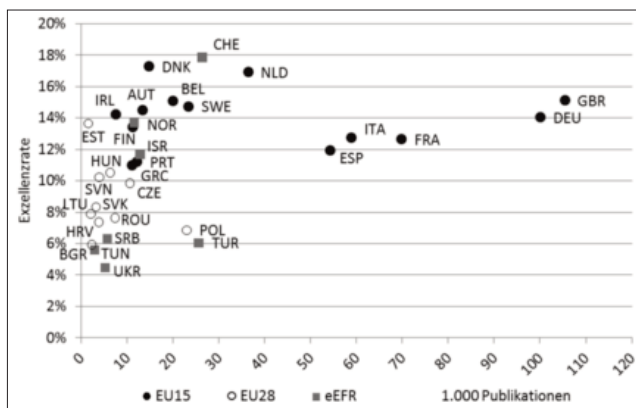


Abb. 5: Anteil der Ein-Autor-Publikationen

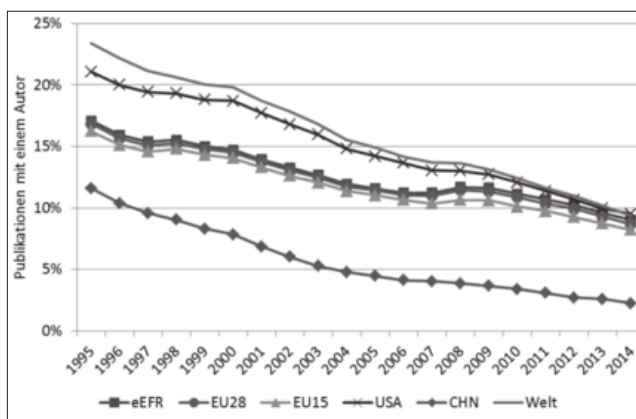
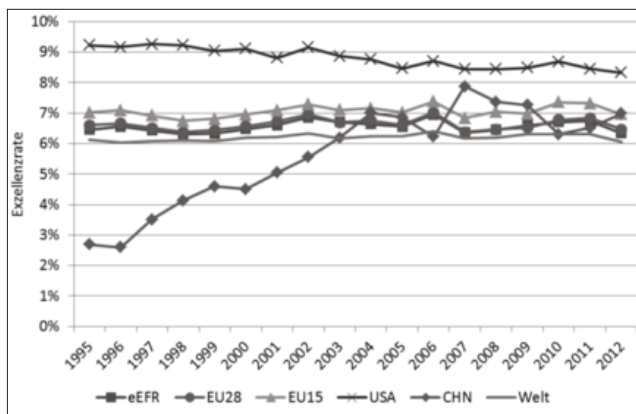


Abb. 6: Exzellenzrate der Ein-Autor-Publikationen



Aus Abbildung 6 geht hervor, wie viel Prozent der Ein-Autor-Publikationen zu den top 10%-hochzitierten Veröffentlichungen zählen. Insgesamt erreichen die Ein-Autor-Publikationen in keiner der Untersuchungseinheiten den allgemeinen 10%-Benchmark aller weltweiten Veröffentlichungen. Betrachtet man jedoch nur die Ein-Autor-Veröffentlichungen, dann schwankt der weltweite Wert zwischen 6,0% und 6,4%. Verglichen hiermit liegen alle Untersuchungseinheiten über dem weltweiten Durchschnitt (2012: 8,3%), EU15 und CHN (7%),



EU28 (6,5%), eEFR (6,3%)). Die chinesischen Ein-Autor-Veröffentlichungen unterliegen aufgrund der deutlich kleineren Anzahl an zugrundeliegenden Publikationen einer größeren jährlichen Schwankung.

Wieviel Prozent der Publikationen eines Forschungsraums stammen ausschließlich aus diesem, sind also in diesem Sinne interne Publikationen des jeweiligen Forschungsraums? Zu dieser Frage geben Abbildung 7 und Abbildung 8 Auskunft, wobei die jeweiligen Wissenschaftsräume als ein einzelnes Land gezählt wurden. In diesem Sinne kann zum Beispiel eine interne EU28-Publikation aus einem oder mehreren EU28-Ländern stammen. Es dürfen jedoch keine Länder außerhalb der EU28 daran beteiligt sein. Diese Vorgehensweise soll sicherstellen, dass innereuropäische Kooperationen nicht anders bewertet werden als reine US-amerikanische oder chinesische.

Insgesamt nimmt der Anteil an internen Publikationen in der Datenbank und den einzelnen Wissenschaftsräumen (mit Ausnahme China) kontinuierlich ab. Im Jahr 2014 stammten 74,9% der weltweiten Publikationen aus nur einem einzigen Land. Der Anteil war in China am höchsten (75,4%). Aus den größer werdenden europäischen Untersuchungseinheiten ergibt sich, dass der Anteil im eEFR (72%) größer als bei der EU28 (67,3%) und EU15 (63,0%) ist. Die USA haben den niedrigsten Wert (63,0%).

Die weltweiten Veröffentlichungen, die nur aus einem Land stammen, weisen mit 8,8% im Jahr 2012 einen unterdurchschnittlichen Wert bei den top 10%-hochzitierten Publikationen auf, d.h. umgekehrt, dass internationale Ko-Publikationen eine höhere Wahrscheinlichkeit besitzen zu den weltweit hochzitierten Veröffentlichungen zu zählen. Die USA liegen mit einem Anteil von 12,8% hochzitierten Publikationen deutlich vor der EU15 (10,2%), der EU28 (9,5%), dem eEFR (9,3%) und China (9,0%). Aus den Ergebnissen lässt sich schlussfolgern, dass der US-amerikanische Forschungsraum es in deutlich höherem Ausmaße schafft, aus sich selbst heraus hochzitierte Publikationen hervorzubringen.

In den obigen Analysen wurde der eEFR als ein einziges Land betrachtet, um diesen mit den anderen Forschungsräumen USA und China, bei denen auch nur eine Länderangabe vorliegt, vergleichen zu können. Die „inländischen“ eEFR-Publikationen lassen sich jedoch anhand der beteiligten Länder weiter differenzieren. Abbildung 9 zeigt, dass die Abnahme der internen eEFR-Publikationen vor allem darauf zurück zu führen ist, dass die lediglich aus einem Land stammenden Veröffentlichungen zurückgehen. Demgegenüber steigen die internen Ko-Publikationen (KoP) im europäischen Forschungsraum an. Ihr Anteil beträgt im Jahr 2014 13,4% für den eEFR, 9,8% für die EU28 und 7,7% für die EU15.

Ko-Publikationen innerhalb des europäischen Forschungsraums werden deutlich häufiger zitiert als jene Publikationen, die nur aus einem einzigen eEFR-Land stammen. Für die EU15 beträgt die Exzellenzrate im Jahr 2012 14,7%, für die EU28 13,7% bzw. für den eEFR 13,6% (Abbildung 10). Die unterdurchschnittliche Exzellenzrate bei den internen eEFR-Publikationen ist vor allem auf den hohen Anteil an Veröffentlichungen zurückzuführen, die nur aus einem einzelnen eEFR-Land

Abb. 7: Anteil interner Publikationen

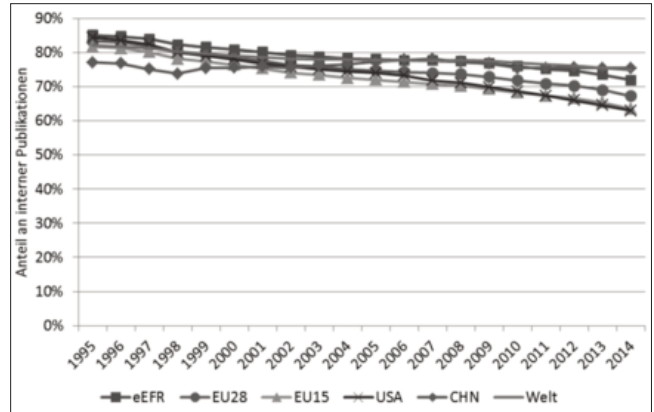


Abb. 8: Exzellenzrate der internen Publikationen

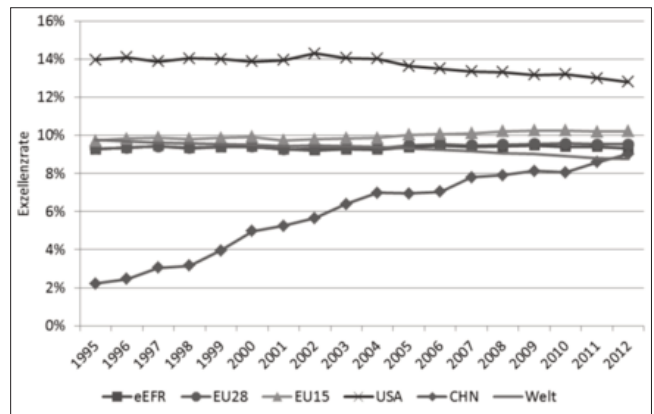
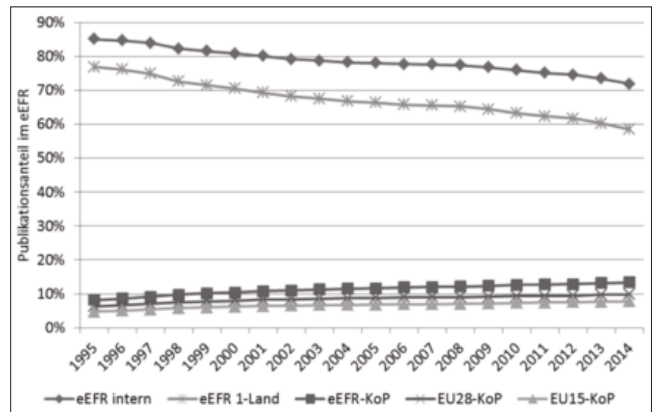


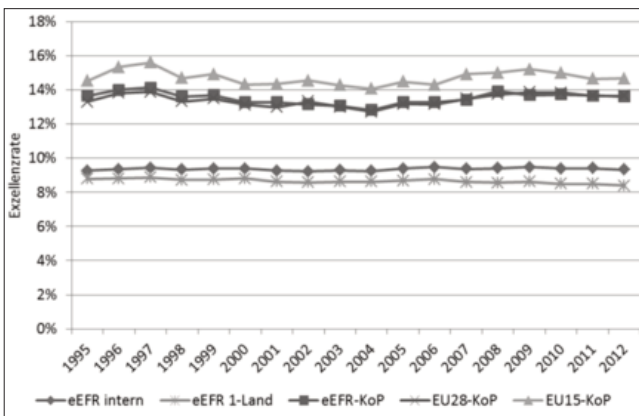
Abb. 9: Anteil interner Publikationen und Ko-Publikationen im eEFR



stammen. Dabei ist zu berücksichtigen, dass der Anteil nicht-englischsprachiger Publikationen im europäischen Forschungsraum mit 3,8% höher ist als bei den US-amerikanischen Veröffentlichungen (0,2%), aber auch bei denen aus China (2,4%). Die Anteilswerte sind zwar klein, da aber nicht-englischsprachige Publikationen eine deutlich schlechtere Chance besitzen überhaupt wahrgenommen und somit zitiert zu werden (der PP Top 10% liegt bei 1,1% für den eEFR-Raum), sind die Auswirkungen auf die Exzellenzrate deutlich größer als der eigentliche Anteilswert zunächst vermuten lässt.

Komplementär zu der internen/inländischen Entwicklung (vgl. Abbildung 7) zeigt sich der Anteil an externen/internationalen Ko-Publikationen des jeweiligen Forschungsraums (vgl. Abbildung 11). Die europäischen Untersuchungseinheiten wurden wiederum als ein Land gezählt. Weltweit steigen die externen Ko-Publikationen an, wobei die USA den größten Anstieg der Untersuchungseinheiten verzeichnen. Vor dem Hintergrund der sehr hohen Gesamtpublikationssteigerung Chinas (vgl. Abbildung 1) wuchsen zwar auch deren externen Ko-Publikationen absolut an (nicht dargestellt), jedoch

**Abb. 10: Exzellenzrate der internen Publikationen und Ko-Publikationen im eEFR**

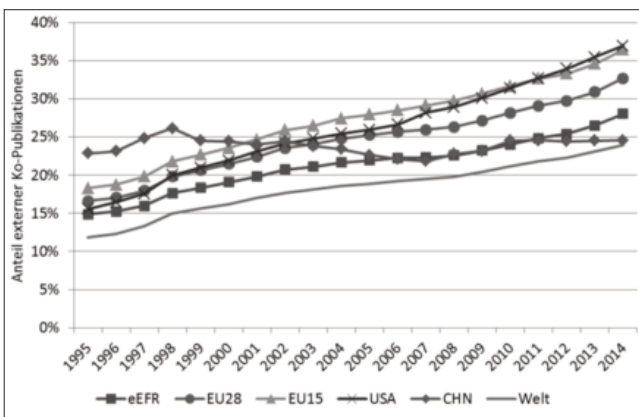


stagniert der prozentuale Anteil. Die USA (37,0%), haben vor der EU15 (36,5%), der EU28 (32,7%), dem eEFR (28,0%) und China (24,6%) den höchsten Anteil an externen Ko-Publikationen im Jahr 2014. Weltweit gehen 24% aller Publikationen aus Kooperationen zwischen mindestens zwei Ländern hervor.

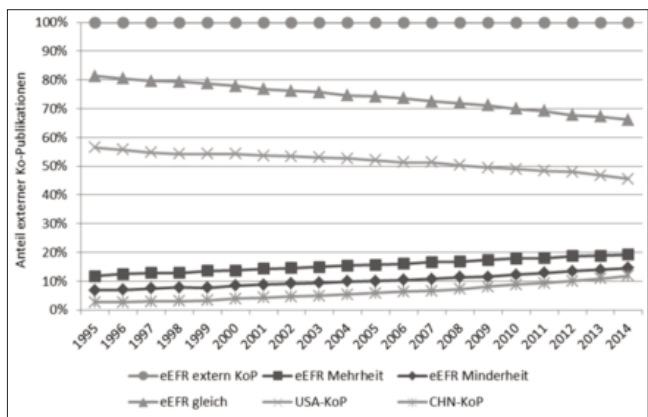
Im Hinblick auf die Exzellenzrate hat China das stärkste Wachstum aller Untersuchungseinheiten. Den größten Anteil an hochzitierten Veröffentlichungen haben die USA (2012: 17,8%) (Abbildung 12). Die anderen Untersuchungseinheiten liegen annähernd auf demselben Niveau (CHN (16,2%), EU15 (16,0%) EU28 (16,1%) eEFR (16,2%)) und über der weltweiten Exzellenzrate von 14,5%.

In Abbildung 11 wurde der Anteil der externen Ko-Publikationen am Gesamtpublikationsoutput jeder Untersuchungseinheit dargestellt. In Abbildung 13 und Abbildung 14 werden die externen Ko-Publikationen des eEFR weiter differenziert. Der größte Teil (66,1%) beruht im Jahr 2014 auf Veröffentlichungen, bei denen gleichviele eEFR- wie nicht-eEFR-Länder beteiligt sind. Dabei handelt es sich in der Regel um bilaterale Ko-Publikationen, d.h. die Autoren stammen aus genau einem eEFR-Land und genau einem anderen Nicht-eEFR-Land. 19,3% der externen Ko-Publikationen des eEFR beruhen auf einer gemeinsamen Veröffentlichung, bei der der eEFR die Mehrheit der beteiligten Länder bildet; in 14,6% waren die eEFR-Länder in der Minderheit. Während die externen Ko-Publikationen

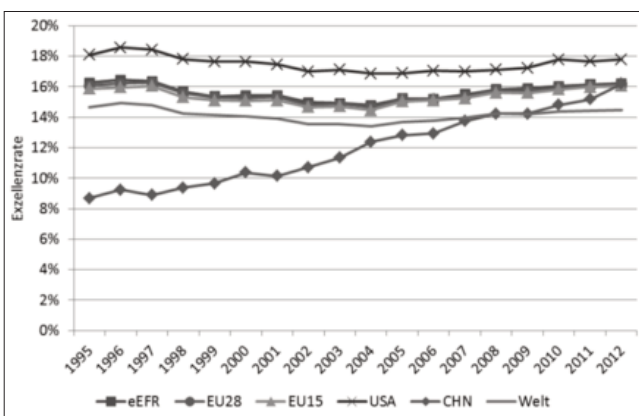
**Abb. 11: Anteil externer Ko-Publikationen**



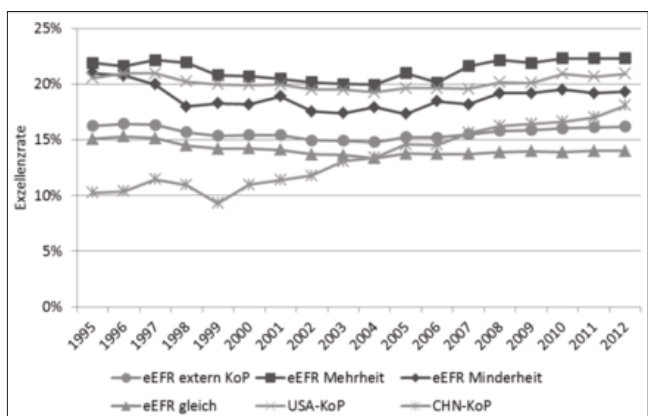
**Abb. 13: Anteil externer Ko-Publikationen im eEFR**



**Abb. 12: Exzellenzrate der externen Ko-Publikationen**



**Abb. 14: Exzellenzrate der externen Ko-Publikationen im eEFR**



mit gleicher und vorwiegend bilateraler Kooperation abnehmen, steigen die Anteile der Publikationen mit eEFR-Mehrheit bzw. eEFR-Minderheit an. Insgesamt zeigt sich eine Entwicklung, bei der es nicht nur zu mehr internationalen Kooperationen kommt, sondern dass in diesen auch zunehmend mehr Länder involviert sind.

Die USA stellen einen wichtigen Kooperationspartner für den eEFR dar, jedoch ging – trotz einer absoluten Steigerung der Publikationen zwischen den beiden Forschungsräumen – der relative Anteil zurück und betrug im Jahr 2014 45,6%. Demgegenüber stiegen die Ko-Publikationen zwischen dem eEFR und China auf 11,9% an. Dies ist auch auf die deutliche absolute Steigerung der chinesischen Publikationen zurückzuführen. Beim Anteil der hochzitierten Publikationen zeigt sich vor allem eine deutliche Steigerung bei den chinesischen Ko-Publikationen (2012: 18,1%). Die höchste Exzellenzrate haben die Ko-Publikationen, an denen mehrheitlich eEFR-Länder beteiligt sind (22,3%), gefolgt von den gemeinsamen Veröffentlichungen zusammen mit den USA (20,9%) und den Ko-Publikationen mit eEFR-Minderheit (19,3%). Den niedrigsten Wert weisen die Ko-Publikationen auf, die zu gleichen Teilen aus eEFR- und Nicht-eEFR-Ländern stammen. Hierbei handelt es sich, wie bereits bemerkt, vorwiegend um rein bilaterale Publikationen.

Wie wirken sich nun die verschiedenen Ko-Publikationsformen im eEFR aus? Nimmt eher die interne oder externe Kooperation zu? Drei Formen der länderübergreifenden Ko-Publikationen im eEFR-Raum werden in Abbildung 15 und Abbildung 16 unterschieden. Beim Großteil der eEFR-Ko-Publikationen (51,6%) handelt es sich um Veröffentlichungen, an denen ein eEFR-Land und ggf. mehrere Nicht-eEFR-Länder beteiligt sind. Es handelt sich also um eine aus eEFR-Sicht externe Kooperation (externe eEFR KoP). Bei 32,4% der Ko-Publikationen handelt es sich um rein interne eEFR-Veröffentlichungen, d.h. es sind mehrere eEFR-Länder, aber kein Nicht-eEFR-Land (interne eEFR KoP) beteiligt. 16,0% aller Ko-Publikationen beruhen auf einer sowohl eEFR-internen als auch -externen Zusammenarbeit, d.h. es sind mindestens zwei eEFR-Länder und ein Nicht-eEFR-Land involviert (interne & externe eEFR KoP).

Während die Anteile der rein externen und – wenn auch in geringerem Umfang – der rein internen Ko-Publikationen absinken, nehmen diejenigen zu, die auf einer sowohl internen wie externen Kooperation beruhen. Dieser Befund legt nahe, dass die internen Kooperationen im europäischen Forschungsraum zwar zunehmen, jedoch vor dem Hintergrund einer externen Kooperation. Wir haben es also mit einem allgemeinen Internationalisierungs- bzw. Globalisierungs-Phänomen zu tun, in dessen Kontext auch die Zusammenarbeit im europäischen Forschungsraum gestärkt wird. Die sowohl internen als auch externen Ko-Publikationen weisen auch eine höhere Exzellenzrate auf (2012: 23,2%). Die rein externen (14,3%) liegen dabei vor den rein internen eEFR-Ko-Publikationen (13,6%).

### 5. Diskussion

Der Europäische Forschungsraum ist – nimmt man die Publikationen des Web of Science als Indikator – seit

Abb. 15: Ko-Publikationen im eEFR

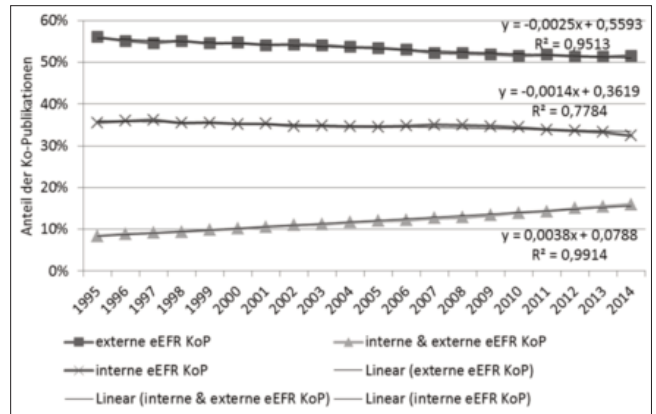
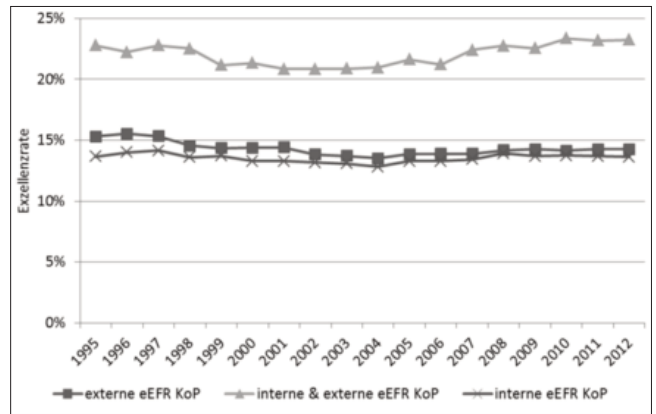


Abb. 16: Exzellenzrate der Ko-Publikationen im eEFR



Ende der 1990er Jahre vor den USA zum größten Forschungsraum geworden. Entgegen den im Jahr 2000 von der Europäischen Union formulierten ehrgeizigen Zielen, ist jedoch nicht in Europa, sondern in den USA der höchste Grad an Exzellenz und in China die größere Dynamik zu beobachten (größte Steigerung des Publikationsoutputs und der Exzellenzrate). Weitere Unterschiede zwischen den USA und Europa zeigen sich insbesondere bei der Exzellenzrate der nur aus dem eigenen Forschungsraum stammenden Veröffentlichungen. Den USA gelingt es dabei deutlich besser als Europa, exzellente Veröffentlichungen allein aus dem eigenen Forschungsraum hervorzubringen.

Es wurden drei (historische) Formen des Europäischen Forschungsraums in der Analyse berücksichtigt. Dabei zeigte sich, dass die seit 2004 neu der Europäischen Union hinzu getretenen Länder, wie auch die in den letzten Jahren im Europäischen Forschungsraum assoziierten Länder nur in Ausnahmefällen das Exzellenzniveau der EU15-Staaten erreichen. Die Exzellenzrate der EU15 fällt höher aus als die der EU28 oder des erweiterten Europäischen Forschungsraums. Dies bedeutet, dass die neu zur Europäischen Union hinzu tretenden oder im Europäischen Forschungsraum assoziierten Länder in der Regel die Exzellenzrate der dargestellten Untersuchungseinheiten vermindern. Seit der Proklamation eines Europäischen Forschungsraums im Jahr 2000 ist dieser nicht nur größer, sondern auch zunehmend heterogener geworden.

In allen Untersuchungseinheiten nehmen die Ein-Autor-Veröffentlichungen, ebenso wie die internen Publikatio-

nen, die nur aus einem Forschungsraum stammen, sukzessive ab. Entsprechend steigen die externen Ko-Publikationen an. Die höchsten Exzellenzraten bei den internen europäischen Ko-Publikationen haben jene aus den EU15-Ländern. Bei den externen Ko-Publikationen erzielen die, an denen eine Mehrheit von Ländern aus dem Europäischen Forschungsraum beteiligt ist, den höchsten Wert, sogar noch vor den europäischen Ko-Publikationen mit den USA. Dieses Ergebnis könnte einen Hinweis darauf geben, dass eine Stärke Europas in internationalen Forschungs Kooperationen liegt, an denen sie auf Länderebene mehrheitlich beteiligt sind. Insgesamt ist ein Anstieg der sowohl internen als auch externen Kooperationen im Europäischen Forschungsraum zu konstatieren. Demgegenüber nehmen rein externe, aber auch rein interne Ko-Publikationen anteilig ab. Eine eigenständige rein europäische Zunahme von Kooperationen lässt sich somit auf der Ebene von Veröffentlichungen nicht beobachten. Vielmehr findet der Zuwachs an innereuropäischen Ko-Publikationen vor allem im Kontext außereuropäischer Zusammenarbeit statt. Dieser Befund legt nahe, dass die Europäisierung letztlich vor dem Hintergrund einer allgemein zunehmenden Internationalisierung bzw. Globalisierung in der Forschung erfolgt.

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Reihe: Motivierendes Lehren und Lernen in Hochschulen

**Anne Dudeck, Bettina Jansen-Schulz (Hg.)  
Hochschuldidaktik und Fachkulturen  
Gender als didaktisches Prinzip**

Im Zuge des Bologna Prozesses ist „Geschlechtergerechtigkeit“ als eines der Ziele für Hochschulen festgeschrieben worden. Der Akkreditierungsrat hat „Gender“ als eines der Qualitätskriterien für die Akkreditierung neuer B/M-Studiengänge festgelegt. Im Profil der neuen Universität Lüneburg sind Gender und Diversity Elemente, die alle Bereiche der Universität betreffen und durch die innovativen Prozesse in Studium, Lehre und Forschung gefördert werden sollen. Hier setzt das vom Niedersächsischen Ministerium geförderte Projekt „Gender-Kompetenz“ mit dem Konzept des Integrativen Gendering an.

In den Beiträgen wird zunächst der Stand der Frauen-, Männer-, Genderforschung jeweils unter ihren Hauptfragestellungen beschrieben, bevor sie zu Methoden und Handlungskonzepten überleiten. Mit diesem impliziten Überblick zum aktuellen Forschungsstand versteht sich der Band auch als Einführung in Teilbereiche der neueren Genderforschung.

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*Sind Sie sicher, dass Sie in der Wissenschaft bleiben können?  
In jedem Fall ist es klug, einen Plan B zu entwickeln,  
eine zweite Existenz aufzubauen.*

## Berufsbegleitendes, postgraduales Studium „Higher Education Development/Science Management“ mit 5 Vertiefungsrichtungen

### Motivation der Studierenden

Karrierewege sind ungewiss. Auch wenn die große Liebe dem einmal gewählten Fach gilt, ist eine weitere akademische Karriere oft von Unwägbarkeiten bestimmt, von verfügbaren Stellen, personellen Konstellationen usw. Da ist es umsichtig, sich rechtzeitig und mit sehr überschaubarem Aufwand **berufsbegleitend ein zweites berufliches Standbein** zu verschaffen – **den berühmten Plan B**. Oder Sie haben sich bereits aus dem Herkunftsfach verabschiedet, arbeiten in Projekten des Third Space und suchen eine solide Basis, die Ihre weiteren Bewerbungsaussichten entscheidend verbessert.

### Künftige Berufsfelder

Ihnen bieten sich über 30 berufliche Funktionen im „Third Space“ (wissenschaftliche Aufgaben zwischen Forschung und Lehre einerseits und traditionellen Tätigkeiten in der Hochschulverwaltung andererseits), zu denen es bisher (fast) keine Ausbildung gibt. **Beispiele:**

- Fakultätsgeschäftsführer/in
- Referent/in für Lehre und Studium, Studienreform
- Hochschuldidaktische Multiplikator/in (Förderung der Lehrkompetenz)
- Forschungsreferent/in
- Referent/in für Personal- und Organisationsentwicklung
- Referent/in für Hochschulstrukturplanung usw.

Diese Hochschulprofessionen wachsen in den letzten Jahren stürmisch, der Arbeitsmarkt ist leergefegt, die Hochschulen klagen darüber, dass sie keine qualifizierten Kräfte finden. Hier kommt die Lösung.

### Zeitrahmen und Studienvolumen

- einem 4-semesterigen Masterstudium äquivalent (120 CP)
- umfangreiche Anrechnung vorausgegangener Leistungen
- nur ca. 60-70 Präsenztage durch Anerkennung von Vorleistungen und hohen Selbststudien-Anteil
- verteilt über 1-3 Jahre bei flexibler, semesterunabhängiger Planung der Präsenztage durch die Studierenden
- mit kaum mehr als 2 Monaten Präsenzzeit sensationell kurz, um neuen Beruf aufzubauen oder sich für eine akademische Karriere über das engere Fach hinaus breit zu qualifizieren
- Projekte, Exkursionen und ein intensiv begleiteter Übergang in die Praxis.

Das Studium ist zeitlich so organisiert, dass es gut neben anderen Prozessen (Promotion, Projektarbeit usw.) bewältigt werden kann.

**Eine neue Studiengruppe geht in Kürze an den Start!**

Studiengangsleiter: Prof. Dr. Wolff-Dietrich Webler  
Kontakt: webler@iwbb.de, Tel: +49 (0)521-923 610-0



**IWBB**

Institut für Wissenschafts- und Bildungsforschung Bielefeld  
**Bielefeld Institute for Research on Science and Education**  
Forschen - Entwickeln - Begleiten - Beraten - Fortbilden

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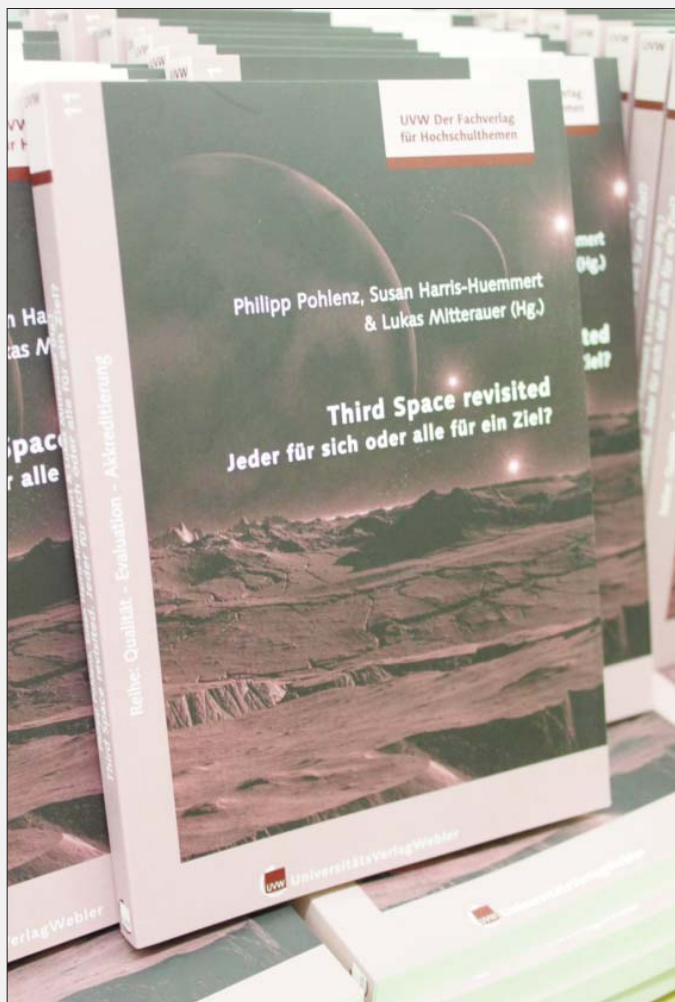
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Philipp Pohlenz, Susan Harris-Huemmert & Lukas Mitterauer (Hg.)

## Third Space revisited

Jeder für sich oder alle für ein Ziel?



Akteure in Hochschulen, die sich mit Themen der Qualitätsentwicklung, der Lehrevaluation, der Hochschuldidaktik und weiteren konzeptionellen Aufgaben im Leistungsbereich Studium und Lehre befassen, wurden in der letzten Zeit unter dem Label „Third Space“ beschrieben. Damit ist gemeint, dass sie zwischen der klassischen Verwaltung und dem Wissenschaftsbetrieb angesiedelt sind und dass ihr Aufgabenprofil dadurch gekennzeichnet ist, dass sie zwar durchaus wissenschaftlich arbeiten, aber keine Forschung im engeren Sinne durchführen. Die Zuständigkeiten der verschiedenen Bereiche innerhalb des Third Space sind vielfach voneinander getrennt. Dadurch entsteht zumindest potenziell die Gefahr einer „Versäulung“ dieser Arbeitsbereiche und einer Atomisierung ihrer Aktivitäten. Durch eine produktive Nutzung von Schnittstellen kann sich eine größere Wirksamkeit für das Ziel der Qualitätsentwicklung entfalten, etwa dann, wenn verschiedene Akteure ihre Kompetenzen für ein gemeinsames

Reihe: Qualität - Evaluation - Akkreditierung

Entwicklungsziel einbringen und dafür z.B. evaluationsmethodische und hochschuldidaktische Kompetenzen für eine evidenzbasierte Planung von Interventionen in der Weiterbildung zusammenbringen.

Dieser Band, welcher aus Beiträgen der Frühjahrstagung des AK Hochschulen der DeGEval 2016 hervorgegangen ist, beschäftigt sich mit Fragen zur Auswirkung der unterschiedlichen institutionellen Verortung von Einrichtungen der Qualitätsentwicklung in der Hochschule, und stellt dar, welche Mechanismen für eine „Lost“ (uncoupled) oder „Found“ (coupled) Situation dieser Tätigkeiten in der Institution sorgen.

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