Some of them have been attending the state school for as many as eight years. Some of them began their formal education as they were approaching their teenage years. The range of ages and abilities within a classroom is wide, but given that there are forty students and five teachers, the children are receiving much-needed attention.

In the morning, the children have a devotion followed by the traditional classes taught by state teachers. Then they receive a hot lunch provided by the state. In the afternoon, they have an after-school program with time for completing homework and enrichment activities, led by Hungarian and foreign volunteers who commit one year to working in the school.

It is a full day for the children and they are sent home to read independently each evening. The attendance pattern of many of the Roma students continues to be irregular, but the teachers work in hope that no child will fall behind.

The success of the model is apparent in that over the past two years, because of dedicated teachers, the education level of the students has progressed dramatically. Their confidence has grown and so has their ability, but they are still remarkably behind their Gadje peers. Despite the clear benefits associated with the school, the question remains: what is the social cost of segregating the Roma students?

## THE HOPE: INTEGRATION

The Roma school in Szürte was not built to promote the segregation that exists between Roma and Gadje. Indeed, there are only two classrooms in the Roma school, which is certainly not enough space to educate all Roma children for their complete primary and secondary education.

The intention of the separate Roma school is to provide the children with a base necessary for them to successfully continue at the state school. The hope is that a strong foundation will teach the children how to learn and enable many Roma students to study at the levels of their Gadje peers.

For now, this remains as only a hope. After one more year, the Roma children who have attended the separate school for three years will be asked to return to the state school to continue their education. Many of them have bad memories of attending the state school; others have great fears of leaving the safe walls of the Roma school.

However, when the students who have achieved appropriate levels are asked to switch schools, they will be better prepared and hopefully capable of making the transition. Perhaps this will also challenge the stereotypes commonly held by Hungarians about Roma.

When the students prove they can perform in school on the level of their Hungarian peers, one can only hope that they will earn a new level of respect and alter the reputation of Roma in Szürte. Only time will tell what these children can achieve.

The education model being employed in Szürte has the potential to confront many of the challenges that are perpetuating a vicious cycle of undereducation among generations of Roma in the village. It requires the support of the Roma community, international support that finances some of the special needs, and state support that can support integration.

Although change will certainly be gradual and involves initial segregation along ethnic lines, hope remains that this model will be a way to promote integration in a divided community.

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**Louk BOX**

# *The Great Transformation in Higher Education — Into Something Rich and Strange?*

*Nothing of him that doth fade*
*But doth suffer a sea-change*
*Into something rich and strange.*

Shakespeare, Ariel's Song in *The Tempest*

*The world of higher learning has changed more over the past decade than it has over the past century. It is now more international than it has been for centuries. The university, once anchored in the nation state, is increasingly international in character, and higher education is one of the sectors that is globalising most rapidly.*

*Globalisation processes have their own dynamic, generally associated with the emergence of new market-structures and a different role for the state and for public interest institutions based in civil society. In this article, I argue that the Great Transformation in higher education has drastic consequences for international education and for institutions that are associated with it, such as the Institute for Social Studies (ISS).*

*I argue that traditional international education has had its time. If we are to reap the benefits of half a century's investment in human capital and institutional development, a drastic transformation is called for. In the process, however, a uniquely efficient and effective form of international cooperation can help maintain diversity in a globalising system of higher education.*

## TRANSFORMATIONS: WAGENINGEN–MAASTRICHT

What are the transformations that are confronting us? An example: Wageningen Agricultural University in the early 1980s. The occasion: a debate in the University Council on the so-called "internationalisation" of the University. The rector had just presented a plan; students and staff voiced their reactions.

The one I remember most clearly was by someone who said: "Is this the end of Dutch in higher education?" It could not be; safeguards had to be promised for courses to be given and exams to be taken in Dutch, for it to remain the main language in the university. Times have changed. In 2005, international students make up half the student body in Wageningen University and, as a result, most of its graduate courses are taught in English.

Another place, another time: Maastricht University, September 2002. New international students in European Studies enter the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. International students had been there all along, but they were in the minority—20 per cent in 2001. The *lingua franca* was Dutch; messages on notice boards or in e-mails were in Dutch. Three years later, there was a curious mix of

English, German, Dutch, and sometimes Spanish. International students were the majority (65 per cent) in the faculty, and the English language had taken over.

Wageningen and Maastricht Universities experienced one aspect of what I call "The Great Transformation in Higher Education." I participated in both these transformations. Having been an international student myself in the 1960s, I firmly believed in mobility—be it geographic, intellectual or mental—and therefore promoted it in both places.

The use of English was just one aspect of a transformation that implies the entire restructuring of higher education in Europe and probably in the rest of the world. I will argue that it means a sea change for the institutions involved, and that will need all our intellectual, academic, administrative and political skills to understand and to guide it.

The main lesson that I draw has to do with the value of diversity in the face of a global homogenisation of higher education; but this diversity will need to be stimulated through new alliances between public, private and civil society actors.

The ISS is a fascinating case in point: it was international well before the Dutch universities, and it fulfilled a mission to serve cooperative capacity building. We, at ISS, now ask ourselves what that mission should be at a time that most universities have internationalised. In Shakespeare's words (as spoken by Ariel in *The Tempest*), ISS "doth suffer a sea-change—into something rich and strange."

## SEA CHANGE IN INTERNATIONAL HIGHER EDUCATION

Sea changes come as the *tsunami* did—unannounced. Their effects are sudden and they take time to understand. We lack statistics and careful, trustworthy analyses of what has been happening over the past decade. Yet a first sketch of that sea change is now emerging.

Estimates are that some 2 million students currently study outside their home country. Some 85–90 per cent visit Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, especially the United States (which receives about 500 000), the UK (226 000) and Germany (200 000). In the U.S. alone, this student mobility contributed some $40 billion gross to its economy in 2002. In the U.S. and UK, but also Australia and increasingly Singapore, the balance of trade is positively affected by the provision of these services.

Most students entered an English-speaking system; some three–quarters of Asian students did so. Philip ALTBACH stresses its significance, for the "language of instruction and research is key to understanding the political economy of higher education."

Stéphan VINCENT-LANCRIN shows the regional origin of international students in the respective OECD regions in 2001. The single largest group comes from Asia (42 per cent), about half of whom go to North America (47 per cent). The second group comes from Europe (34 per cent) and they too go primarily to North America. Africans form the third group (12 per cent)—and they go to Europe for the largest part (75 per cent). In 2001, this made Europe the area with the single largest number of international students. However, will Europe maintain this position?

'Internationalisation' (taken to mean an increase of both student and staff mobility, together with emerging international agreements and arrangements) has shaken the notion of a 'national university system' as it emerged in XIX$^{th}$ century Europe. ALTBACH and TEICHLER argue, "Perhaps at no time since the establishment of the universities in the medieval period has higher education been so international in scope."

The nation state, as the main determinant of higher education systems, is under challenge. Jürgen ENDERS indeed notes that it is "appropriate … to see current trends as part of a process by which national systems of higher education are being challenged by new forces of internationalisation. Universities are thus objects as well as subjects of 'internationalisation' or 'globalisation.'

"Global power relations manifest themselves and are articulated by systems of higher education. In this sense, universities and the systems they are part of, became global players cooperating and competing for power and status."

The picture that emerges is of a rapidly globalising sector, with its geographical 'hub' in English speaking countries (like Australia, but also in Singapore and Hong Kong), and its academic centre in an association between a small number of research universities and academic publishers. This picture corresponds quite well with the one of student flows, attracted to the Global Ivy League.

A similar picture exists of staff mobility, since many researchers in the Global Ivy League first came as students. These universities can compete effectively at a global level for their main resources, i.e. student enrolments and staff time. National governments compete also, through regulations that facilitate student and staff mobility.

Europe is in the interesting position that it is still the largest recipient when it comes to attracting international students, but it is also quite reticent about promoting Non-European student and staff mobility. Europe is likely to lose its position soon, if it maintains present visa restrictions for international scholars and their families.

## THE GREAT TRANSFORMATION: A SOCIAL STUDIES PERSPECTIVE

The emerging global scientific network can also be characterised through the social relations of production. To illustrate this, allow me to take you briefly to one of the cellars in the house of the social sciences, where we can clearly see the foundations.

The cellars contain the remains of two social scientists who shared a biography so common that the differences become even more astounding. Both were born towards the end of the XIX$^{th}$ century in Central Europe to liberal Jewish families; both wrote seminal works in the 1930s; both fled to Anglo-Saxon safety; and both received world-wide renown due to their followers in North America.

One became the founding father of neo-conservative political economy, honoured by a highly influential think tank in the United States. The other wrote a seminal study on the development of XIX$^{th}$ century capitalism and is honoured by an academic institute that organises international conferences to keep his intellectual heritage alive.

Ludwig VON MISES (1881–1973) was born in Lemberg in Austria-Hungary (now Lviv, Ukraine). He received a humanistic education in Wien, where he became interested in history and politics - the same city that would produce other notable economists.

In the words of his followers, VON MISES "concluded that the only viable economic policy for the human race was a policy of unrestricted laissez-faire, of free markets and the unhampered exercise of the right of private property, with government strictly limited to the defence of person and property within its territorial area."

Karl POLANYI (1886–1964) was raised in Budapest, also Austria-Hungary, in a family "remarkable for its social engagement and intellectual achievement." He worked in Wien in the 1920s, where he became acquainted with and seriously challenged VON MISES' ideas "to restore the intellectual legitimacy of market liberalism."

Whereas VON MISES and his follower HAYEK became influential after World War II, inspiring the Thatcher and Reagan policies, POLANYI was largely forgotten. Yet, with the end of the Cold War, theorists revisited the debates of the 1920s and re-read POLANYI's seminal work of 1944, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time.*

POLANYI argues that the market-economy needs to be 'embedded' in society. 'Embeddedness' "expresses the idea that the economy is not autonomous, as it must be in economic theory, but subordinate to politics, religion and social relations." If the market subordinates society an inevitable response is triggered to protect society from the market's vagaries. This happened after World War I, leading to the Great Depression and, in its turn, to fascism.

POLANYI had influence in trans-disciplinary fields like economic anthropology and economic sociology; his current stature is largely due to the new reading that scholars make of his work. Since 1987, the Karl Polanyi Institute of Political Economy has been dedicated to: "the extension of economics beyond the narrowly defined study of the laws of market exchange to embrace redistribution (the role of the state) and reciprocity (the role of the community) as organising mechanisms of economic activity, with special emphasis on the relevance of POLANYI's approach to modern mixed economies, including socialist and third world variants; the exploration of the relevance of POLANYI's work in economic anthropology to the contemporary world."

Two visions of social science - two opposing paradigms with great relevance for the question: how do we analyse the globalisation of higher education? Do we see it principally in terms of free market relations, or in terms of redistribution and reciprocity?

In terms of one global market for educational services (as in the World Trade Organisation [WTO] General Agreement of Trade in Services), or in terms of the embeddedness of higher education in general social values such as those of cultural diversity (as in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO] Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity)?

Whither should we go with Dutch international education? Do we go for all-out liberalisation, through shock-therapy, as proposed to the post-1989 Central and Eastern European countries as the way to competitive efficiency? Or do we value cultural diversity, maintained through some form of state intervention?

## THE 'DUTCH MODEL': FROM 'AVANT GARDE' TO 'DÉPASSÉ'?

Started in the early 1950s by founding fathers such as DE VRIES, SCHERMERHORN and TINBERGEN, the so-called 'Dutch model'of higher education stressed post-graduate education for practitioners from developing countries in social or technical sciences. It was unique in that Dutch universities co-sponsored English language education at the master's level.

This was quite different from countries like Belgium, France or Germany where only national degrees were given to international students, through national language programmes. This 'Dutch model' was well ahead of the times in the fields of remote sensing, hydraulic engineering, urban housing, management science and indeed the social studies. The respective institutes produced more than 40 000 academic graduates from developing countries.

Others have sung the praise of the model, but as a good Dutchman I shall therefore rather be critical—though not about its results over the past half century, for which the Netherlands academic community can be proud. I refer to its relevance in the near future.

I argue that in line with Jan ROMEIN's "premium on relative backwardness" (Wet van de remmende voorsprong), the advantage of the Dutch model may have turned into a limiting factor, because of the apparent lack of need for innovation in the system as such.

In other words, the paradox is one of a country that promoted international education through acclaimed English language master's programmes, but now finds itself lagging behind in terms of international education.

What has happened? Dutch academia was happy on the whole to stay "rather Dutch," leaving English language master courses to institutes like ISS. With the exception of Wageningen Agricultural University, a separation occurred: Dutch students could continue to study in a Dutch environment—international students studied at international education institutes.

What does this mean for the traditional academic institutes of international education? Essentially this: the universities and these institutes have to find a new *modus vivendi*. In line with the British cry, *The King is Dead - Long Live the King!* We need to reinvent ourselves as Dutch academia on the basis of strengths in the system of higher education.

*The King is Dead* - neither the traditional universities, nor the traditional institutes of international education, will be able by themselves to face the storm of academic globalisation. We are already running behind our Southern neighbours and will need to shape up or ship out.

'Shaping up' means: face international competition and win a place under the sun. 'Ship out' means: accept an ancillary role in a secondary tier of academic relevance. If we prefer the former, it will mean universities and institutes have to profit from each other's strengths.

## LONG LIVE THE KING: INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION TRANSFORMED

The new mission of ISS is to be a research-led institution of higher learning, which provides critical social science analysis and debate on phenomena of globalisation and inequalities, plus practical approaches to confront these through partnerships with universities, governments, civil society and private enterprise.

*The first choice is to be research-led.* That means more attention for academic research in the best sense of the word. Through our research networks in the global South and in Europe, we can contribute to make a difference in social science development. ISS has a long history in that respect, starting with Egbert DE VRIES' dream of post-colonial relations, through Jan TINBERGEN's staunch position on a tax on Northern wealth for Southern development, by way of Kurt MARTIN and Jan PRONK.

This intellectual history needs to be written, and I challenge the present generation of doctoral researchers to engage in it. ISS carries its intellectual weight, but has at times been timid to show it. We need to show it through our contribution to the intellectual debates about unprecedented wealth and just-as-unprecedented poverty.

*The second choice is to move upstream in higher learning.* I use the term 'learning' on purpose, as in Maastricht University where I came to appreciate the benefits of problem-based learning. 'Higher learning' refers to the core task of academia: the preparation of skilled intellectuals who have learned to learn and can share that learning with others.

'Moving upstream' means concentrating on research-oriented learning, which will involve novel arrangements

and a corresponding need for joint programmes and joint degrees to allow students to profit from field experience in the global South and from comparative work in the global North.

Many intricacies, however, are involved in rethinking international education. Will the respective staffs see the need for cooperation, both national and international? Will they be able to link up seriously with partner institutes in the global South? Will the funding agencies be ready to provide support? Will accreditation agencies be ready to recognise joint degrees? These are important questions that we have to face.

*A third choice: engage public debate*. Our founding fathers wisely called us the International Institute of Social Studies. Social studies form the link between academic insight and public action, or between the conceptual realm and the realm of policy and practice. I have argued the continued relevance of social theorists like Karl POLANYI or Ludwig VON MISES: they deal with the conceptual, or even, the ideological realm.

There is no single truth in the social sciences; there are different viewpoints that explain more, or less, of a particular phenomenon. In this article, I have followed the views of POLANYI, but a neo-conservative could probably make a sensible counterargument based on VON MISES to explain the relations between society and economy, or polity and market.

Social studies are always informed by intellectual debate; it is naïve and therefore dangerous to assume one value-free form of social science. It is in the confrontation of different views, and in their respective capacity to explain processes of social change, that we come to greater understanding.

Such debate is the life-blood of an international institute of social studies; it is also the contribution that such an institute can make to public debate by enlightening assumptions and confronting alternatives.

**Suggested Reading**

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**Suzanna VERGOUWE**

# *We Have More Lives than a Cat:*

## *An Eclectic Essay on Culture, Education and Being a World Citizen*

*There is a Hungarian proverb which goes, "You are as many persons as the languages you speak" (annyi nyelv, annyi ember). And once someone told me, "When you meet a new person, you get a new life." We all look at the world in different ways. According to these sentences above, though, we are never complete replicas of that which is considered to be our 'culture.'*

*This fact is strange, because the debate on multiculturality is usually about clashes between clearly cut cultural ways of expression, of politics of culture and identity. "I am Dutch, you are Indian"; or "You behave like a Dane, and therefore are not like me, Ukrainian."*

*But everybody is a person in a network of many others. Then who are we? Products of our cultures? Or hybrid human beings? And what does education have to do with it?*

### ADAM AND HIS KIND

A major chunk of anthropological and sociological writings is about culture. Bill EPSTEIN writes about how similar we are, basing his theories on our common human biological characteristics and emotions. Clifford GEERTZ envisages cultures as entities that are enclosed in themselves as systems of meaning and thought. Cultures, in his view, are opposed to each other and exclusive.

Fredrik BARTH, although I never really got his point, uses the concepts of identity and ethnicity: 'we' as opposed to 'them,' which presupposes the other in order to define ourselves. Actually, that is not such an odd thought.

In the very beginning, Adam saw that the animals were different from himself and found only Eve to be of his kind. They were not necessarily of the same opinion, though, and so generic misconceptions of good and bad have become part and parcel of our nature. And of course there is confusing Babel, which challenged us to use the left part of our brain well by learning a couple of foreign languages.

### BABEL IN THE KITCHEN

Apart from speech, which clearly marks boundaries between different language zones, there is another sphere which can make one dazed: food. (Globalised food chains and fast-food restaurants left aside, for now).

One of my most memorable culture shocks after having moved into a Romanian family was embodied by a plate of chicken soup. In the tiny kitchen where we used to eat two or three at a time (the table being too small for the whole family to sit around), Grandma poured the soup and placed it in front of me.

There it was: the leg of the chicken, its toes (nails removed), covered with a wrinkled and fluffy skin. Why on earth would they serve exactly that piece of animal to me? Delicacy probably. Fortunately, Grandma, with who at that time communication was still restricted to gestures and some occasional short sentences, noticed I was puzzled.

She offered to exchange her plate with mine, so I was spared the embarrassment of having to eat the leg. I guess people have the same experience when being served caterpillars for dinner, or frog legs. Alternatively, the mussels and shrimps or 'head cheese' (made out of the brains of a pig) some people are so fond of down here by the sea.

Later on, when visiting the Hungarian butchers in order to find meat for a proper 'Dutch' dish, I could not figure out what part of the beef I should choose. The meat in the shop window just did not look like the slices of *braadlappen* I would find in The Netherlands.