

Global Academic Capitalism, International Mobile Academics, and Transnational Identity Capital

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An overview

- Continuing global expansion of HE – from elite to mass to universal participation
- New modes of knowledge production - late industrialisation and further globalisation of academic capitalism, the rise of neo-feudal hierarchies
- Continuing increase of transnational **Academic Mobility**

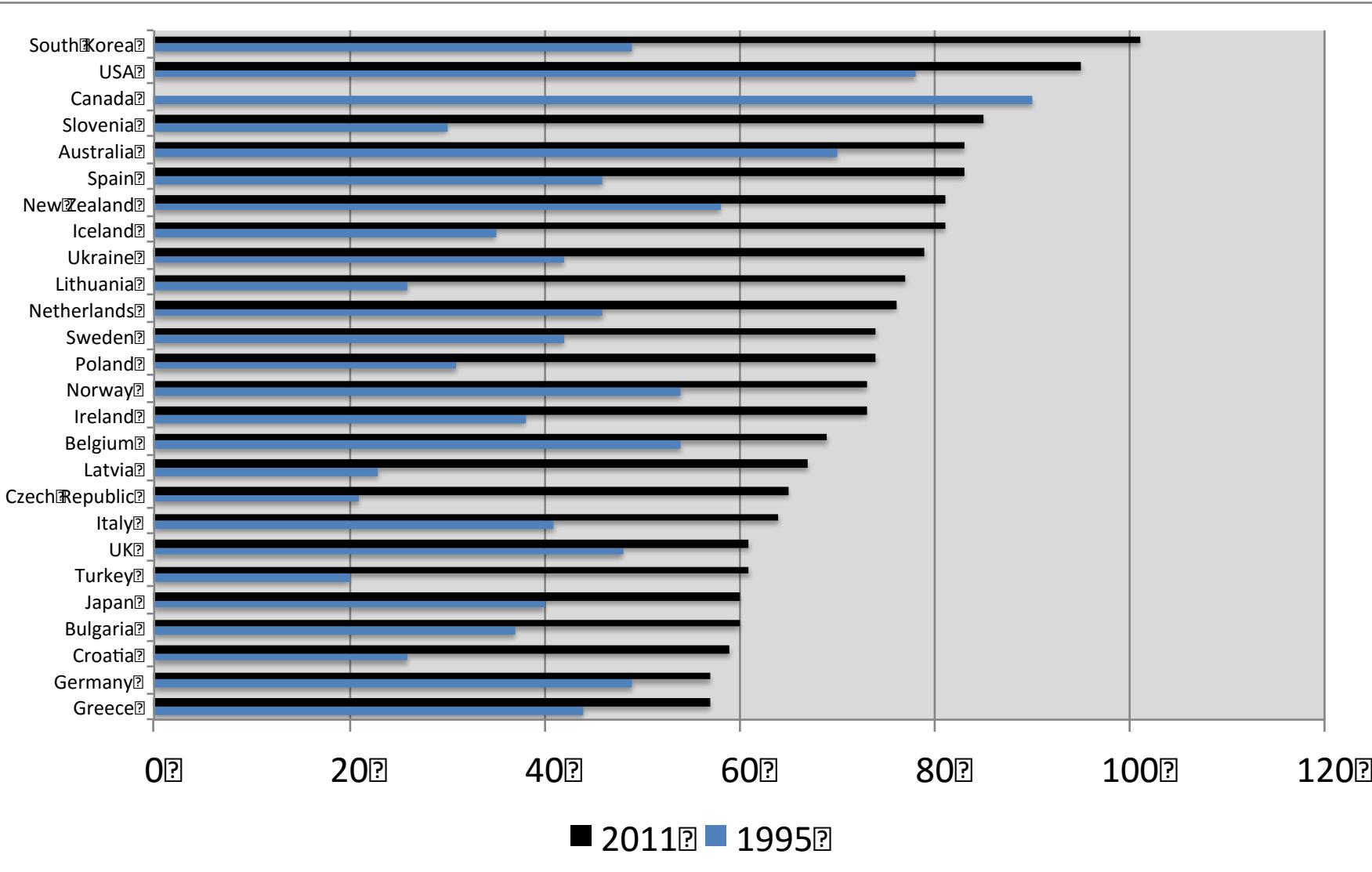
According to a French report (*Investir dans l'internationalisation de l'enseignement supérieur*, 2015), the number of internationally mobile students has doubled from two million in 2000 to **four million today**, and could double again in the next 10 years.

- Typology of modes of knowledge creation - comprised of knowledge capital, social capital and identity capital
- The positions and roles of mobile academics in globalised HE communities and the international distribution of knowledge and power in and through HE

Gross Tertiary Enrolment Ratio 1995/2011

Selected OECD and European systems

(UNESCO Institute for Statistics data 2014; Simon Marginson, 2014)



... mobility-related disadvantages should be eliminated for all workers. This is particularly important for the research world as it allows more mobility, more cooperation and more competition throughout Europe. As such, it could lay the very foundations of a truly dynamic European Research Area.

The *League of European Research Universities* , 1 March 2010



On a global scale,

- We are experiencing a mass movement of academics (especially researchers) across borders at the same time as a new mode of knowledge production (Gibbon, 2003; Kim, 2013) and the corporatisation of universities (Kim, 2008).
- HE has become inseparable from national competitiveness, an indicator of economic super-power; and universities are regarded as 'ideal talent-catching machines' → **International students become migrant workers.**



Strategic HE Policies for enhancing international knowledge and economic competitiveness

- Recruiting transnational mobile brains; injecting international human capital in HE and R&D institutions

Excellence Initiatives at both national and supranational level in Europe.

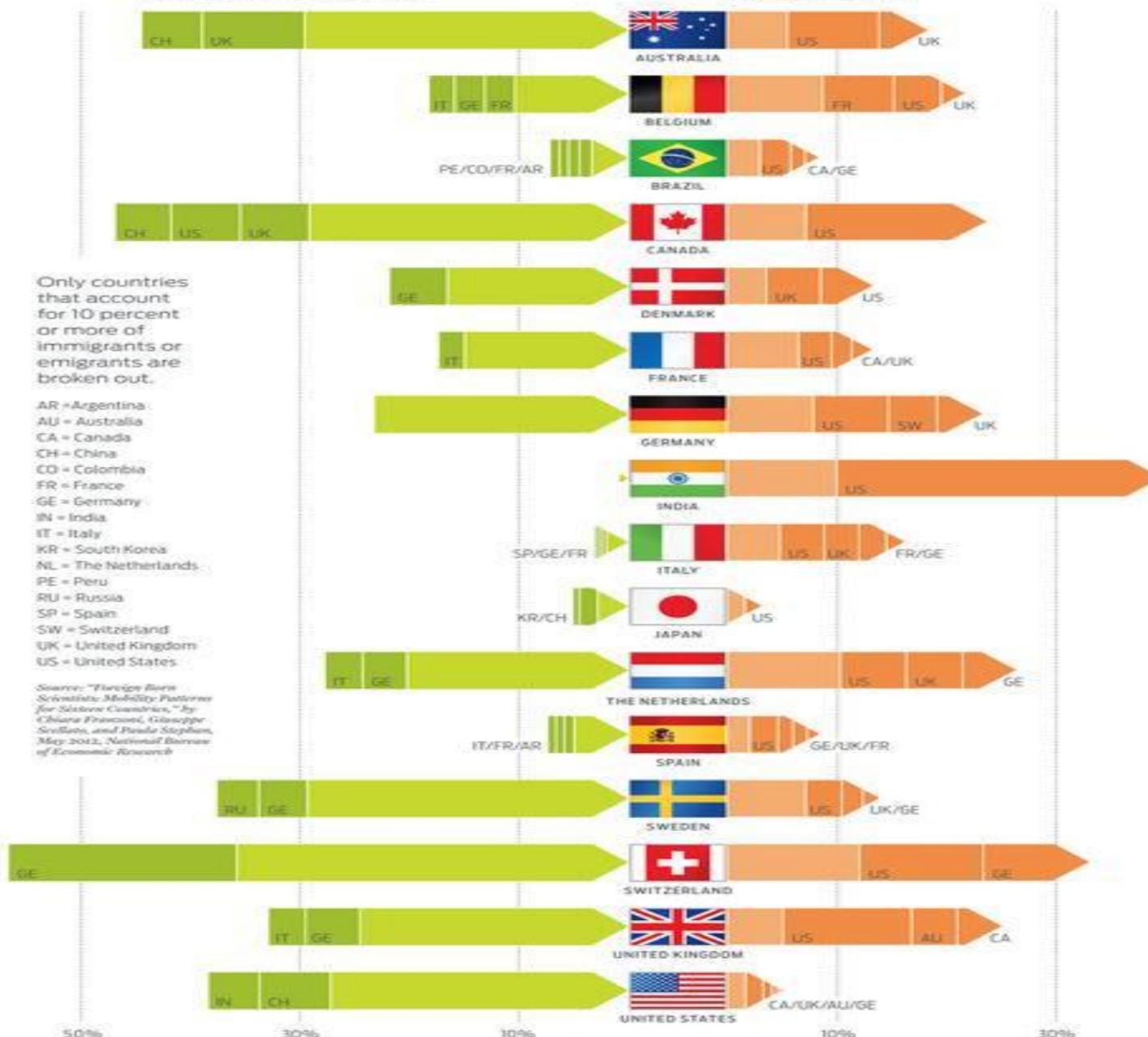
- European Excellence Initiative (EIE)
- Germany: Excellence Initiative (Exzellenzinitiative)
- France: Programme d'Investissement d'Avenir
- UK: Research Excellence Framework

- Korea: Brain Korea 21, World Class University Project
- Japan: COE (Centre of Excellence), Super Global Universities Project
- China: Project 211 and 985; 1,000 Talent Plan

Patterns of (Academic) Mobility in the Age of Migration

- The EMN project: 'Immigration of International Students'
http://emn.fi/ajankohtaista/emn_kansallinen_seminaari_2012_-kooste/
- According to a new report by the OECD, migrants to advanced economies have generally spent longer in education than their native-born peers.
- Over 50% of immigrants to Canada and 47% of the recent migrants to Britain have completed tertiary education, the highest levels among rich countries
- **The five largest highly educated migrant populations are from India, the UK, the Philippines, China and Germany.**
(OECD, 2012; Economist, 6 Dec. 2012).

Percentage of researchers who are immigrants



Stratifications and (feudal) hierarchies in the World Society of States

often determined by ethno-national identities
most acutely pronounced in the processes and
consequences of transnational mobility and migration

“Some arrivals are described as expats; others as immigrants; and some simply as migrants. It depends on social class, country of origin and economic status. It’s strange to hear some people in Hong Kong described as expats, but not others. Anyone with roots in a western country is considered an expat ... Filipino domestic helpers are just guests, even if they’ve been here for decades. Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese are rarely regarded as expats ... It’s a double standard woven into official policy.”

(Christopher DeWolf, ‘In Hong Kong, Just Who is an Expat, Anyway? *The Wall Street Journal*, Dec. 29, 2014)

Internationalisation (or de-nationalisation) of the Academic Profession:

e.g. in the UK

- Universities UK has estimated that the overall proportion of international academics employed in British universities **will rise to 50%** in 20 years (Universities UK, 'Policy Brief Talent Wars', 2007, p. 10).
- **The prospect of UK universities are depending increasingly on foreign academics for regeneration.**
- **The rise of a new transnational, cosmopolitan academic tribe & the de-nationalisation of the (British) academic profession? (Kim, 2009)**

The patterns of academic mobility overlap with, and are constructed by, the characteristics of contemporary neoliberal market-framed universities and academic capitalism:

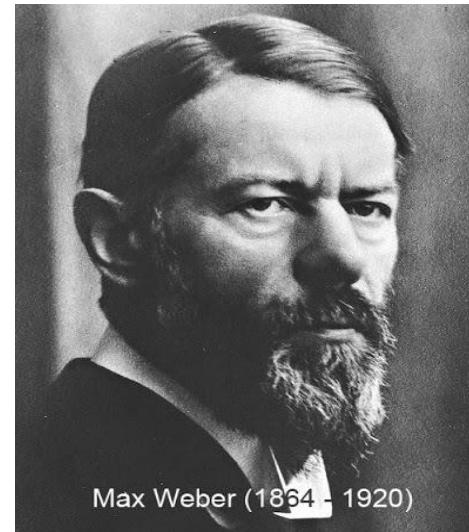
1. **new division of academic labour** – research vs. teaching vs. management - more pronounced in new entrepreneurial universities(?)
2. **casualisation of academic labour** in short-term, fixed-term contract-based staffing - according to HESA, **68% of research-only staff are on fixed-term contracts**, which typically last as long as the **research grant** - **academic neo-feudal hierarchies; academic alienation**.
3. **severe competition for external funding and international recruitment of research staff and students**
4. **implementation of immigration policies favourable to highly skilled foreign knowledge workers**
5. **changing styles of university leadership in corporatist governance and management**
→ Conversion required from academic leadership (***primus inter pares***) to Managerial skills & competencies (**line management**)

Changing nature of the academic profession: in the diffusion of New Public Management

- Neoliberal management of knowledge as “performance”; ‘**performativity**’ ([Lyotard](#))
- Shifting core academic commitment: from ‘universal truth’ to ‘quality control/assurance’ **in the discourse of excellence and professional accountability** ([Foucault’s normalised and governable individuals](#))
- Evidence-based / evidence-informed practice – “**What counts is what works**” principle - indicative of “performance management”
- The **new soft power of management** theory and practice recognises performance as having acquired a **normative force** – isomorphic pressures.

Max Weber – *Wissenschaft als Beruf*

- The nature of being a professional scientist – scientific career as a vocation
- **Beruf** – both the professionalism of and calling for a career
- Academic politics
- Being a great teacher vs. being a great leader are not one in the same thing.



Contemporaneously,

“ those who profess and provide academic leadership are replaced by those who manage and organise academics. **Discourse about academic leadership shifts into discourse about successful management.**”

(Robert Cowen, 2000)

Managers & Professors

The shift is not merely that managers are more powerful than professors.

The professors are now both managers and clerk (Cowen, 2000).

New career opportunities open up.

- The University is a new site of opportunity for non-academic work in HE
 - as termed by Whitchurch (2012) ‘the rise of third space professionals’.

Neo-feudalism in the globalisation of **Academic Capitalism: Oligopoly/ monopoly knowledge rents**

- **Academic capitalism** has put quasi-feudal restraints on the spread of the public good knowledge.
- Arbitrary-legal charges on information usage resemble feudal rents and colonial tributes

“New colonies today are universities. Scientists increasingly are vassals of knowledge corporations. They starve scientifically unless they generate ideas corporations are interested in buying and selling. [...] Freedom of enquiry is blocked at various turns by patent and copyright obstacles.“ (Drahos and Braithwaite 2002, 201)

- Academic ranking, symbolic capital - prestige/ reputation/ rumours consolidate the **neo-feudal hierarchies** (Münch, 2014; Reitz, 2015)

World Prestigious Universities – Times Higher Education Ranking 2015

Country	Number of institutions in top 100	Top institution	Rank
United States	43	Harvard University	1
United Kingdom	12	University of Cambridge	2
Germany	6	Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich	=35
Australia	5	University of Melbourne	=41
France	5	Panthéon-Sorbonne University – Paris 1	51-60
		Paris-Sorbonne University – Paris 4	51-60
Netherlands	5	University of Amsterdam	51-60
		Delft University of Technology	51-60
Canada	3	University of Toronto	16
China	2	Tsinghua University	26
Hong Kong	2	University of Hong Kong	51-60
Japan	2	University of Tokyo	12
Russian Federation	2	Lomonosov Moscow State University	25
Singapore	2	National University of Singapore	24
Sweden	2	Karolinska Institute	45
Switzerland	2	ETH Zürich – Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich	15
Belgium	1	KU Leuven	51-60
Brazil	1	University of São Paulo	51-60
Denmark	1	University of Copenhagen	81-90
Finland	1	University of Helsinki	81-90
Mexico	1	National Autonomous University of Mexico	71-80
South Korea	1	Seoul National University	51-60
Taiwan	1	National Taiwan University	61-70

The world's top 10 young* universities

* Young universities are those established less than 50 years ago

Rank	University	Country	Established
1	École Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne	Switzerland	1969
2	Pohang University of Science and Technology	South Korea	1986
3	Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology	South Korea	1971
4	Hong Kong University of Science and Technology	Hong Kong	1991
5	Nanyang Technological University	Singapore	1991
6	Maastricht University	Netherlands	1976
7	University of California, Irvine	USA	1965
8	University of California, Santa Cruz	USA	1965
9	University of Warwick	UK	1965
10	Paris-Sud University	France	1971

The role of mobile academics in the international distribution of knowledge and power

- Different policy strategies competing between regions (North America, Europe, East Asia) and individual countries (new Centres of Excellence, HE Hubs)
- Different individual career strategies and the modes of knowledge production and stratification.

Types of Mobile Academics

- Distinguished academics – as transnational public intellectuals, academic celebrities
- manager-academics,
- entrepreneurial research-academics, and
- trained academic researchers and/or teachers

- * Their patterns and purposes of transnational mobility vary.

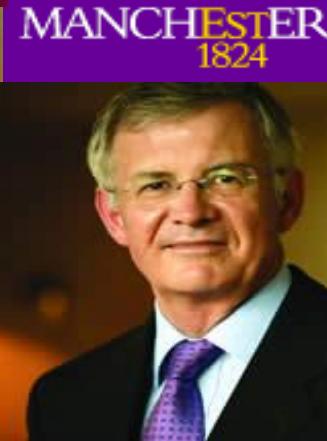
Kim, T. (2008) 'Transnational Academic Mobility in a Global Knowledge Economy: Comparative and Historical Motifs' In Epstein, D., et. al., *World Yearbook of Education 2008: Geography of Knowledge, Geometries of Power: Framing the Future of Higher Education* , London: Routledge, pp. 319-337.



UNIVERSITY OF
OXFORD



THE LONDON SCHOOL
OF ECONOMICS AND
POLITICAL SCIENCE



The Open
University



UNIVERSITY OF
CAMBRIDGE

Imperial College
London

In East Asia:

When international academic leadership
meets the nationally specific habitus..



Robert B. Laughlin

E.g. Prof. Robert Laughlin, Nobel Laureate/
former President of KAIST (2004-2006)



The school's first non-Korean president, Dr. Laughlin knew little about Korea or Kaist. Yet he envisioned bold reforms.

He wanted to expand the curriculum to include more liberal-arts offerings, as well as pre-law and pre-med programs. Dr. Laughlin also thought that more classes should be taught in English, and that the school should charge tuition as a way to wean itself from government dependence. In short, he set out to remake Kaist in the mold of a top American private university... Though he lacked administrative experience, Dr. Laughlin's Nobel Prize in physics gave him prestige. A Nobel in the sciences is a stamp of international recognition that many Koreans covet."

(WSJ, 1 May 2007:<http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB117798527844787708>)



Arguments

Types of Knowledge carried by Mobile Academics –
Wissenschaften + Weltanschauungen + Multiple networks

- New forms of knowledge creation emerge as a result of transnational academic mobility.
- They are transformed into ‘capital’ - forming **transnational academic capital (combining knowledge capital, social capital and identity capital)**.
- which raises some fundamental issues around **positional knowledge** and **creative knowledge** generated by individual mobile academic intellectuals, and their relations in the contemporary (neoliberal) university context.



Transnational identity capital (TIC)

possessed and carried by mobile academic intellectuals

- Critical reflexive hexis – an authentic individual asset, not reproducible
- More than cultural capital; social capital – embodied cultural capital
- Highly tacit embodied knowledge capital; generic competences to engage with *otherness* (Kim, 2010), which enables mobility in and out of different habitus between and above inter-national territorial boundaries:
- Enhanced by symbolic capital, objectified, institutionalized capital

Knowledge Creation

- **Socio-spatial transfer** of knowledge →
Knowledge transformation into
‘transnational identity capital (TIC)’.
- **Academic Mobility** as an **ontological condition** and
Knowledge as ‘**capital**’
- Collins (1993; 1995) suggests that most of **what we once thought of as the paradigm case of ‘unsocial’ knowledge – science and mathematics – has turned out to be *deeply social***; it rests on agreements to live our scientific and mathematical life a certain way.
(Kim, 2010, p. 584).

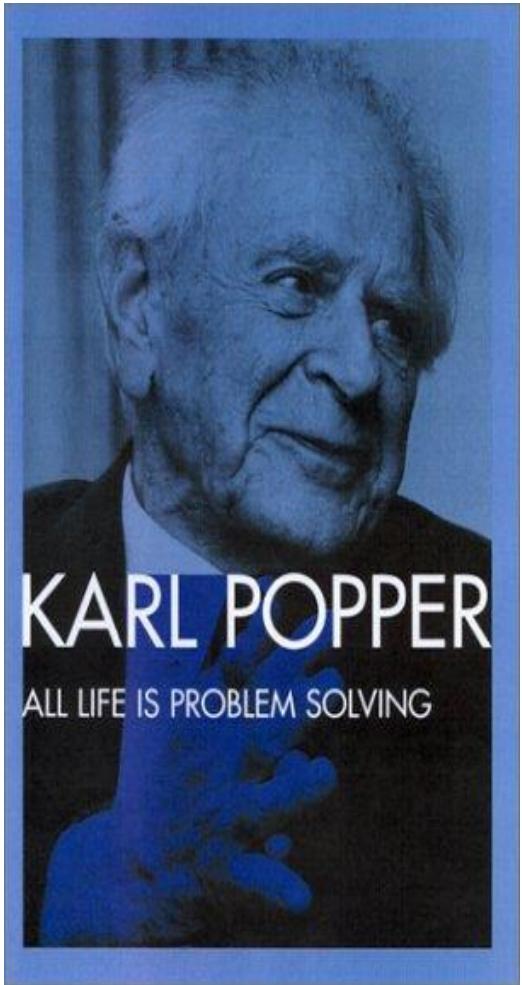


“I definitely think that not just in science, but in any creative field of endeavour, it is **an advantage to have been a ‘minority’**..., be it through religion, ethnicity, or even left-handedness.”....

“How far the experience of maintaining and defending - sometimes in public and in the face of some ridicule - **beliefs and attitudes not shared by the vast majority of my compatriots may have influenced my subsequent attitude to physics and indeed to life in general.**”

(Anthony Leggett (b1938), US-based British physicist & Nobel Prize winner in 2003, *Times Higher Education* 8 May 2008)

Karl Popper wrote about **obstacles** in his autobiography (1976):



My main trouble was to write (*The Poverty of Historicism*) in acceptable English. I had written a few things before, but they were linguistically very bad...I discovered that English standards of writing were utterly different and far higher than German standards. For example, no German reader minds polysyllables. In English, one has to learn to be repelled by them. But if one is still fighting to avoid the simplest mistakes, such higher aims are far more distant, however much one may approve of them.

(Popper, 1976, p. 113).

(Zygmunt Bauman, b1925)



“Britain was the country of my choice and by which I was chosen through an offer of a teaching job once I could no longer stay in Poland, the country of my birth, because my right to teach was taken away.

But there, in Britain, I was an immigrant, a newcomer – not so long ago a refugee from a foreign country, an alien.

I have since become a naturalized British citizen, **but once a newcomer can you ever stop being a newcomer?**”

(Bauman 2004: 9)

Having learnt to be ‘the Other’ means that I can never be Kiwi, nor do I aspire to be; after some years, however, I and other academic migrants like me may even become incapable of re-immersing ourselves in the academic world from which we came. **We become the Other in both worlds and as a result will always be reflexive about our place in academic environments.**

(Bönisch-Brednich, German Professor of Anthropology in NZ, 2011).



Academic migrants in the contemporary neoliberal market-framed university

Such pressures to become a ‘self-managing academic’ who adheres to business thinking... are difficult enough for locals who have been slowly coerced into **the corporatist performativity regime....**

As an academic migrant, this often creates another layer of culture shock, experienced as a deep intrusion into my academic identity. Moreover, **it is an imposition of another learning process: a third birth**, a re-making of the academic self into a participant in an entrepreneurial system of producing and selling knowledge. Resisting this often means a slow or sudden professional death...

(Bönisch-Brednich, German Professor of Anthropology in NZ, 2011).

Academic migrants in the contemporary neoliberal market-framed university

Q: When do you feel foreign (i.e. as a non-UK national/European) in your academic and non-academic communities in the UK?

“The only situation when I could possibly get a feel of foreignness is when I am in a management meeting, surrounded by people who take things all too seriously, without a sense of distance, sober reflection, or critical examination of the system and its dogmas. But this lack of critical distance could be found amongst people from different cultures, it is not a national trait; it is a specific mentality that seems to be proliferating in the new academic culture.”

(Excerpted from the interview with Professor Galin Tihanov -George Steiner Chair of Comparative Literature, Queen Mary, University of London, Dec. 2011)

“It is clear to me that I will always be an outsider when it comes to researching some aspects of the system. My choice of area of research the first time that I did make a conscious choice was that of the EU and that was precisely because of this feeling of coming from outside. ...

National identity is a bit more tricky because I cannot tell you where the boundaries of one ‘identity’ finish and the other begins (national, cultural, personal ...). **Early on in my career I found that many people responded to me as a Greek first rather than as an academic...** For instance, I gave two research seminars to present my work from the PhD in 1999 and 2000. In both of them, I had people at the end coming to ask questions not of the PhD work but of things that, to me, were irrelevant. The comments I would get were ‘your English is so good’, ‘very brave of you to come to a foreign country to study’, etc. I did find this quite offensive, but not surprising. **I had experienced it as well - as a PhD student with one of my supervisors [in Oxford] who would always comment about my language skills and almost never about the content of my work.”**

(Excerpted from the interview with a Greek female academic who worked in England, April 2012)

What is the main reason for you to have moved to overseas institutions?

Many, many years ago, when I was being offered an excuse as to why I should not be promoted to the rank of professor, I was told, “You have an international reputation, but not a national reputation”. This was obviously with reference to the ranking system used in the RAE/REF, and since it was a hierarchy with international reputation at the top, this statement was clearly nonsense. But it reflects a partial truth for me, that **I have always felt better appreciated outside my own institution, and even outside my own country, than inside it.**

Then there were a number of coincidences that came together to mean that I was offered the chance to go, first to Japan and subsequently to China for a number of months each year.

(Excerpt from the interview with a British academic working in Beijing, June 2015).

Q: How significant are your nationality/ culture and identity to your academic work and new knowledge creation?

“Very significant in that as an expat, I do not feel a strong attachment to either one country or another. This allows a certain amount of academic and cultural freedom to create and explore third cultures-- which carries with it the price of an inherent instability and lack of academic or social support.

This increasing number of foreign academics is an inevitable result of the demand not only for courses taught in English in particular, but also for alternative perspectives and expertise. Perhaps in some cases, these foreign academics are contributing to the overall internationalisation of Korean universities and creating new knowledge, but definitely not in my school, where quite the opposite is occurring -- foreign professors are to be **"kept in their place."** A general ethos that permeates the work culture in my school is that foreigners are **not the experts. We are merely hired hands to do the work that locals are unable to do."**

(Korean-American, male Professor of English Language Education working at one of major universities in Seoul, Korea for more than 10 years, Interviewed in December 2011/January 2012)

A Canadian academic working in a Korean university English Department: “**The Golden Handcuffs**”

“You’re **trapped in an extremely lucrative dead-end job**. No room for advancement. when teaching in a Korean university, there quite literally is nowhere to go but sideways or down. It’s impossible to get into any sort of admin position and if you can get a “head teacher” position, it usually involves a lot more work for no extra pay. There quite literally is nothing new to learn, no expectations from anyone, no pressure to get something done right, no collaboration, nothing. I get kind a depressed even typing this.”

Blog: “Korean University Jobs: The Golden Handcuffs” (August 30, 2015:
<http://teachinginkoreanuniversity.com/korean-university-jobs-the-golden-handcuffs/>)

On epistemic “predicaments of particularity and universality”

“To be recognised ‘internationally’, I not only write in English but also formulate my findings in terms of relevant theoretical debates in the English speaking academic centres. As a Japanese national writing about Japanese education in English, I am **otherised** by the English-language scholarship **with my argument defined as localised and nationally specific**. The ironic benefit of being otherised, however, is that I gain authority as the ‘native’ whose voice often enjoys more legitimacy than non-Japanese scholars of Japanese education because of my national and racial ‘authenticity’, though my authority is strictly confined within the specialised field of Japanese education.”

(Keita Takayama, Japanese academic in Australia; Excerpted from Takayama (2011) In Comparative Education, 47(4), 451)

Conclusion

- The condition of transnational mobility and the position of mobile academics have been structured by political and economic forces determining the boundaries and direction of flows, and also involve personal choices and professional networks (Kim 2008: 322-333).
- The transnational academic mobility (and knowledge creation) are more often shaped by the intellectual centre/periphery relationships rather than merely directed by pure economic incentives.

Mobile Academics and Mode of Knowledge Creation

- Academic mobility is built in academic capitalism (Münch 2014) + pariah capitalism (Weber, 1978)
- Academic mobility is an ontological condition and is expressed in processes of new types of knowledge creation.
- Transnational identity capital -> inbetweenness, bifocality, spatial convertibility in the process knowledge production
- Brain drain/gain → Brain Transformation (Kim, 2010)
- Mobile academics as **knowledge broker/trader**, **knowledge translator** (*interpreter*), and **knowledge creator** (*legislator*) - invoking Bauman (1989)

Conclusion

- **There are unequal power relations in forming and shaping new knowledge and transnational identity capital** – which are made visible in the life history of mobile academics and also in the structure of knowledge (re)production in higher education.
- The position of **a stranger** enables mobile academics to explore the possibilities of **a professionalization of strangerhood** in knowledge creation in academic/pariah capitalism..
→ possible modalities of compossibility.
- But the global expansion of neoliberal market-framed university regimes may leave very little space for ‘free floating academic intellectuals’, while types of transnational academic mobility are being institutionally recognised and promoted and routinised.

Thank you

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