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Journal

Higher Education, 66(4)

ISSN

0018-1560

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Publication Date

2013-10-01

DOI

10.1007/s10734-013-9614-z

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# Academic culture and citizenship in transitional societies: case studies from China and Hungary

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Published online: 9 March 2013  
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**Abstract** Through organizational case studies conducted at Guangdong University of Foreign Studies in China and Central European University in Hungary, this paper examines academic culture and citizenship in societies transitioning from communist to market-driven social and economic structures. The article presents a new model of citizenship, representing types of citizenship along the dimensions of locally informed to globally informed and individualist to collectivist. Implications emphasize the hybridization of academic culture and a reinterpretation of cosmopolitan professional identity in faculty life, expanding the concept from Gouldner's focus on disciplinary loyalty to commitments in a global sphere.

**Keywords** Global citizenship · Post-communist transition · Academic culture · Faculty

## Introduction

The establishment of colleges and universities focusing on global engagement as their core mission is an important trend among internationalization initiatives in higher education (Altbach and Knight 2007). Although globally engaged universities, providing higher education in an academic culture infused with internationally oriented values and practices, represent innovative forms of higher education in any societal context, globally engaged institutions hold special significance in countries transitioning from communism to capitalism. In these societies, such institutions are prominently linked to social and economic development, bringing international knowledge and experience to nation-states as they expand their social, economic, and political horizons. Indeed, globally engaged universities may play a key role in promoting forms of citizenship that encompass a sense of rights and

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responsibilities capable of addressing the opportunities and challenges of globalization and major social and economic transitions.

Despite their importance, little is known about the academic culture of globally engaged universities in transitional societies, along with the types of citizenship they engender among faculty. This paper addresses this gap in the literature by responding to the following research question: What forms of academic culture and citizenship characterize globally engaged universities in the context of national shifts from communist social and economic structures to those associated with more market-driven perspectives? By “academic culture,” we refer to the norms, values, beliefs, and practices associated with the working lives of faculty members at higher education institutions (Clark 1987a; Tierney and Rhoads 1993). And we use the term “citizenship” to convey a form of engagement reflective of a facet of identity encompassing faculty’s sense of rights and responsibilities in the context of their professional endeavors and in light of the larger social responsibilities that they often assume as part of an engaged scholarship (Boyer 1990).

To pursue our research question, we select the People’s Republic of China and Hungary, countries that have followed similar processes along their transition to market-driven economies (Stark and Nee 1989). In 1989, Stark and Nee noted, explaining the situation in China, “In the current situation some segments of the Chinese leadership are looking to Eastern Europe (and to Hungary in particular) ... for the economic lessons that can be learned about reforming a centrally planned economy” (p. 2). China and Hungary have also been heavily influenced by “neoliberal globalization,” a form of economic fundamentalism associated with free market ideology and the devaluation of the public good (Chomsky 1999). At the same time, the differences between the two countries’ transition processes (e.g., the continuing rule of the Chinese Communist Party in China vs. Hungary’s transition to democratic leadership) provide an informative research context, solidifying our description of academic culture and citizenship in transitional societies.

In order to ground our analysis in concrete cases, we select two young universities as sites for empirical inquiry: Guangdong University of Foreign Studies (GDUFS) in China and Central European University (CEU) in Hungary, two universities that have played key roles in promoting global engagement and came into existence as the result of societal transitions toward a more global, market-driven economy. As such, the examination of the two universities provides novel insight into higher education in the context of societies transitioning to market-driven economic realities. Furthermore, we see the value of focusing on what Geertz (1983) described as “local knowledge,” involving an exploration of the complexities of societies, and in this case, universities. By doing so, we suggest that regional and global forces are best explored and understood in localized contexts (Luke and Luke 2000). Our analysis is informed by literature related to (a) societies transitioning from communist to market-driven structures, (b) the impact of globalization and the role of global markets, and (c) academic culture and citizenship, including a model of citizenship relevant to universities.

### **Transitional societies and globalization**

Scholars working in the area of “transitology,” “transition studies,” “transition theory,” “post-communist studies,” and “post-communist modernization” have sought to develop theoretical explanations of transition processes, covering mainly the last 20–30 years.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dahrendorf (1990), Kuzio (2001), Nee (1989) and Walder (1994).

This work, however, has not been without its controversies. One central issue relates to criticism that transitional theories are teleological in nature (Szelényi and Kostello 1996), hinging on the assumption that Western-style democracy and related forms of capitalism represent the ultimate achievement in human civilization. Scholars such as Stark (1992), however, argued that the changes in transitioning nation-states are best understood as “path-dependent,” taking the unique economic, political, social, and historical challenges of particular nation-states as the focal point. This conceptualization is relevant for China and Hungary, whose paths in the transition have shown signs of convergence and divergence. Most relevant to the current study, both countries followed “gradualist” paths in market liberalization (Papava 2005; Stark and Nee 1989), while market transition was accompanied by regime change to democracy in Hungary and the maintenance of one-party rule in China.

A considerable challenge of this project is deciphering the role of the transition process from sources of influence linked to globalization, where globalization is seen as the reduction of time and space to the extent that events on one side of the world have the potential to quickly impact circumstances in other parts of the world (Giddens 1990; Held 1991). Particularly troubling is that neoliberal globalization confounds even more the forces of marketization associated with transitioning nation-states, given that marketization is also a primary goal of neoliberalism. We do not see any real possibility of separating these forces, and in fact, believe they are deeply intertwined. Consequently, in making sense of the push toward marketization within China and Hungary, we see such pressure as deriving both from transitional forces and neoliberal globalization. Given our belief in the vital societal role of universities, we see the need to explore localized manifestations of academic culture and citizenship within particular universities in transitioning nation-states. Such a project though requires digging deeper into the concepts of academic culture and citizenship.

### Academic culture and citizenship

Drawing on the fields of cultural anthropology, organizational behavior, management, and sociology,<sup>2</sup> we define organizational culture as the norms, values, beliefs, and assumptions that members of a particular organization, in the case of this study, a particular university, share (this does not, however, imply that every member will “buy into” the organization’s culture). Organizational culture helps members to construct reality, allowing “people to see and understand particular events, actions, objects, utterances, or situations in distinctive ways” (Morgan, 1986, p. 128). Organizational culture as a theoretical framework led key scholars such as Becher (1989) and Clark (1987a, b) to analyze the cultural nuances of academic life.

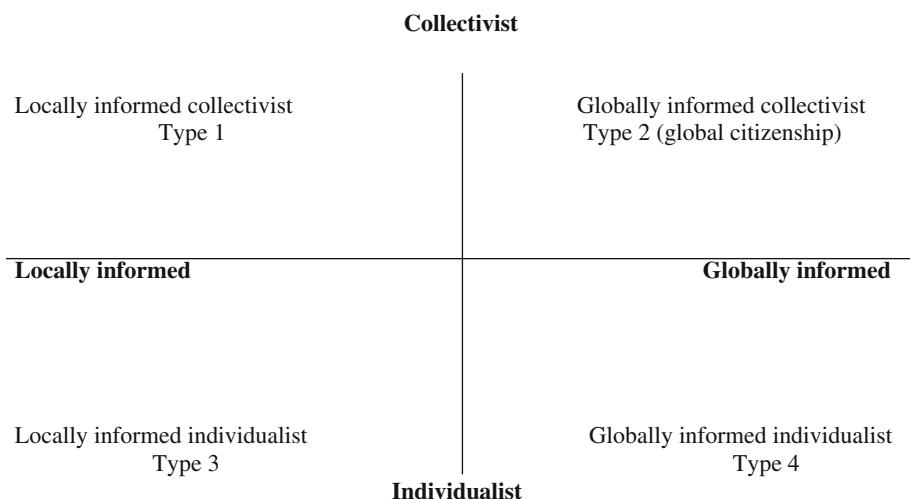
One particularly salient issue of contemporary academic culture concerns the degree to which faculty embrace privatized or academic capitalist (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004) versus public-good models of scholarly work. Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) described the basic functionality of the “academic capitalism knowledge regime” as valuing “knowledge privatization and profit taking in which institutions, inventor faculty, and corporations have claims that come before those of the public” (p. 29). At the same time, significant emphasis remains on the public good function of higher education, reflected in knowledge production linked tightly to societal concerns (Gibbons 2000). The culture of higher education institutions today is thus significantly shaped by the interaction of academic capitalist and public good-oriented goals.

<sup>2</sup> Birnbaum (1988), Bolman and Deal (1991), Morgan (1986), Scott (1987) and Tierney (1988).

Intersecting with the notion of academic culture is a view of faculty as practicing a form of citizenship attached to their institutional and scholarly communities. We define citizenship as a form of engagement linked to aspects of identity guided by sets of rights and responsibilities that people occupying particular locales often assume (Soysal 1994; Szelényi and Rhoads 2007). Citizenship thus encompasses the range of academic decisions and actions faculty enact with regard to their working lives and professional commitments. Our study is driven by a model of citizenship we developed to address the contexts of colleges and universities, including globally engaged institutions. In our model, the approaches to citizenship are represented along two intersecting dimensions. First, the dimension of individualism–collectivism encompasses how faculty members conceive of and enact their rights and responsibilities as citizens in relation to themselves (individualism) or with regard to other individuals and groups (collectivism). And second, the dimension of locally informed–globally informed refers to the role of local as opposed to global understandings shaping faculty’s citizen thoughts and actions (see Fig. 1).

The various approaches to citizenship are situated at different points along the two dimensions. In order to bring greater clarity to the model, we describe four types corresponding with the extremes of the two intersecting dimensions. Importantly, we do not see these four types or archetypes as reflections of a fixed identity, but view them as forms of engagement one might enact given a particular context and set of circumstances. The four types to which we refer are (1) locally informed collectivism (Type 1), (2) globally informed collectivism (Type 2, global citizenship), (3) locally informed individualism (Type 3), and (4) globally informed individualism (Type 4).

Type 1, *locally informed collectivism*, is shaped predominantly by knowledge attained at the local level. The commitment to collectivism is expressed as the enactment of responsibilities toward entities that reach beyond one’s self and family. Providing access to higher education for students from underrepresented backgrounds is one example of the locally informed collectivist notion of citizenship. In *globally informed collectivism* (Type 2), our conceptualization of global citizenship, individuals attain knowledge and skills in understanding the global sphere of existence and, based on those knowledge and



**Fig. 1** Citizenship typology

skills, engage in collectivist action on the local, national, regional (in the sense of reaching across national borders), or global levels. Globally informed collectivism can be reflected in faculty gaining knowledge about a particular issue (e.g., human rights) globally and infusing that understanding into teaching primarily US-born students, raising their awareness of significant global implications of local actions.

In *locally informed individualism* (Type 3), individuals draw on their knowledge and skills attained in local contexts to emphasize the importance of individual success and rights, rather than responsibilities. Among faculty, locally informed individualists may choose to focus their careers on individual advancement within the context of a university, using their knowledge of institutional culture to achieve their goals. And lastly, in *globally informed individualism* (Type 4), individuals focus on their own interests, and those of their immediate families, drawing on sophisticated understandings of an increasingly globalized world. Participation in international scholarly communities with the goal of establishing networks to advance one's career is an important example here. This model, that we use to guide our analysis of faculty views and values at the two universities, presents a novel understanding of citizenship in the higher education literature that rarely addresses both citizen rights and responsibilities in a coherent framework and remains mostly concerned with the citizen responsibilities of universities in the context of particular nation-states (Bringle et al. 1999; Kezar et al. 2005).

We also draw on debates addressing the extent to which faculty may be more inclined to address local, institutional concerns, as in the case of “locals,” or whether their interests extend to disciplinary affiliations as in the case of “cosmopolitans” (Gouldner 1958; Clark 1987b). Rhoades et al. (2008) broadened the definition of “local” by highlighting faculty contributions linked with the local community that encompasses, but also goes beyond the institution, reflecting a new sphere of local professional loyalty (p. 211). Although this is a positive step, we argue for the need to also reconsider the definition of “cosmopolitan,” reframing it to stress the relevance of faculty activities and disciplinary commitments in service of a more regional or global community. This reinterpretation is especially necessary in the case of globally engaged universities.

### Research method: a multi-case study approach

Our methodological strategy centered on multi-case study analysis (Stake 2006; Yin 2003; Bogdan and Biklen 2007). Yin offered a definition of case study as “an empirical inquiry that: investigates a phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used” (p. 23). Multi-case study methodology seemed particularly well-suited for our needs because of the advantages it holds in increasing the trustworthiness of case study research (Stake 2006). The comparative nature of our study design was linked to additional conceptual benefits. Indeed, as Teichler (1996) noted, “comparative research is a gold mine for the early stages of conceptual restructuring” (p. 463), an advantage clearly reflected in the model of citizenship we propose.

#### Background and site selection

We select China and Hungary on the basis of several critical factors. First, these two nations both are, or have recently been, considered transitional nation-states, moving from communist structures to more market-driven ones (Bartlett 1995; Wang 1995). Second, we

wanted to select countries from two different world regions, Central Europe and Asia, to increase the opportunity for making comparisons on the basis of national trends and differences. Third, given that one of us grew up in Hungary and the other speaks Chinese and often conducts research in China, we were able to develop a more in-depth understanding of the cases.

Two major criteria guided our selection of the universities. First, we wanted to study institutions that are highly engaged in the international arena and whose faculty have extensive knowledge of global processes acting on their respective institutions. Second, we wanted to select relatively young universities whose founding was in part an outcome of national, regional, and/or international impulses to develop universities capable of transcending traditional boundaries of the nation-state. Such institutions provide informative and, by and large, previously unexplored examples of how academic cultures and citizenship have been shaped by globalization and the shift from socialism to capitalism. GDUFS and CEU are young universities with significant levels of global engagement, thereby meeting both key criteria. Important to note, however, is that our intention is not to generalize our findings to other Chinese and Hungarian universities, although the results may have broader implications for higher education institutions that are globally engaged.

### Data collection strategies

We conducted semi-structured interviews with 46 faculty members (25 at GDUFS and 21 at CEU) and all interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Faculty were selected with the help of key informants and departmental Web sites, using purposeful sampling for disciplinary diversity and various faculty ranks. Although our sample is lacking in terms of pure and applied science because of both universities' overwhelming focus on humanities, social science, international trade and communications, and international studies, it speaks well to our interest in social, economic, and political processes linked to transitional status and globalization. We also conducted informal interviews and collected key documents, including university mission statements, public addresses by senior officials, and university brochures and policies.

### Data management and analysis

Interview transcripts, documents, and field notes were coded on the basis of concepts and themes relating to our key research concerns and theoretical perspective. This deductive process was strengthened by an inductive component in which we read and re-read our body of data to identify additional key themes and conceptual categories (Bogdan and Biklen 2007). In what follows we discuss the two cases and share key findings relative to issues of academic culture and citizenship.

## The two universities

### Guangdong University of Foreign Studies

China continues to operate on the basis of a one-party system—with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) dominating political and governmental decision making. At the same time, there is no doubting China's growing influence in global markets. In the years

subsequent to Deng Xiaoping's decision in 1978 to advance the Open Door policy, China clearly moved away from the communist ideals advanced by the Marxist utopian revolution (Mok 2000). The transformation of China to a "socialist market economy," as it is commonly termed by CCP leaders, has had a major impact on the fundamental character of key institutions (Mok 2000), clearly reflected in the decentralization and marketization of Chinese universities. Decentralization removed the government from complete responsibility to provide education (Mok 1997), a process that necessitated provincial and local responses by universities such as Guangdong University of Foreign Studies.

GDUFS, known simply to locals as *Guangwai*, was founded in 1995 as a merger of Guangzhou Institute of Foreign Languages and the Guangzhou Institute of Foreign Trade, as a result of a government policy of university mergers in China (Mok 2005). GDUFS is located in the heart of China's prosperous southern economic center, the area in and around the Pearl River Delta region and the city of Guangzhou in Guangdong Province. GDUFS is committed to international education and the preparation of students for a global environment. The university's "Message from the President" makes the international focus of GDUFS clear: "We shall do our utmost to become a trail-blazer in the internationalization of tertiary education and make our contributions...to the rejuvenation of our great nation."

GDUFS offers 52 baccalaureate programs in seven disciplines: literature (including the study of cultures and languages), economics, management, law, science, engineering, and education. GDUFS also offers five doctorate programs (linguistics/applied linguistics, French language and literature, English language and literature, Japanese language and literature, and translation studies), and 17 masters programs, including linguistics, economics, international trade, public administration, and various language and literature programs. The student population includes some 19,000 undergraduates and about 1,000 graduate students. Students are served by over 1,000 instructors and GDUFS typically employs 50–60 foreign instructors, commonly described on campus as "foreign experts," most often from Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

### Central European University

In Hungary, the transition from one-party rule and a state-controlled economy to democratic politics and a capitalist market economy began as a peaceful revolution leading to democratic parliamentary elections in October, 1989. As Hungarian society adapted to the new era, major changes occurred in the country's higher education system, driven by decentralization, expansion in the student population, diversification in institutional types, privatization, and a new openness to Western influence (Berde and Ványolós 2008; Lannert et al. 2006).

It was in this context that, in 1991, a group of intellectuals led by George Soros, the Hungarian-American philanthropist and entrepreneur, founded CEU to address the transition of East Central Europe and Central Asia to a free market economy and democracy in the model of open societies. First accredited by the Commission on Higher Education of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools in the United States, in 2005, CEU received Hungarian accreditation. A major shift in the university's history began with the expansion of the European Union to several formerly communist countries and the adoption of the Bologna Process. CEU has also confronted the forces of globalization that have shaped its institutional goals and practices.

Besides 32 Master's degree programs, CEU offers ten Ph.D. programs in history, math, medieval studies, economics, juridical science, philosophy, comparative gender studies, environmental sciences and policy, sociology and social anthropology, and political



science. Around 400 of the university's 1,500 students, from five continents, are enrolled in Ph.D. programs. Faculty members (130 permanent and 170 visiting faculty) at CEU represent national origins in over 30 countries from Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia, as well as other regions including most prominently Western Europe, North America, the South Pacific, and the Middle East.

### **Academic culture**

Reflecting the most dominant themes related to us by GDUFS and CEU faculty in the realm of academic culture, the ensuing discussion concerns classroom structure and pedagogical practice, the growing pressure to engage in research and modest forms of academic capitalism, and the context of community and working life.

#### **Influences on classrooms and pedagogy**

In recent years, GDUFS has taken major steps to strengthen its draw as a site for foreign language study and internationalization. Most of the institution's foreign instructors employ English as the language of instruction and tend to utilize Western pedagogy, including more participatory modes of classroom instruction. A faculty member noted this facet of change at GDUFS: "My expectation is that we have invested very heavily in foreign teachers from all sorts of countries, not just because they're native speakers and know the language, but also because they have different teaching styles, different perspectives on learning." Some faculty, however, especially more senior professors, see more participatory classrooms as running counter to traditional Chinese instructional practices rooted to some extent in Confucianism. These professors stress the teacher as knowledge expert and believe the best role for students is to respectfully listen to their teachers' lectures. This authoritarian view of knowledge points to the ongoing tension that universities such as GDUFS face as they seek to integrate certain aspects of Western university life and culture.

At CEU, the international diversity of the student body received special attention in professors' remarks: "I think it's wonderful that in my classes, I have no more than three people from the same country." Student diversity often proved useful in creating a participatory classroom climate built on critical thinking. A professor of political science described his classrooms, referring to his students from Eastern and Central Europe and Central Asia: "They sometimes seem to me incredibly uncritical of liberalism and capitalism and all those things. They say: 'In the West, everything is perfect and in my country, we're just dreadful and corrupt.' So that's something I always try and challenge." He went on to add: "And so if you bring in people from Africa, that immediately disrupts that way of thinking, or people from Indonesia and even, you know if we have some Americans and Brits who also don't think the system they're coming from is good. It's always good to have an American that says, 'No, America is no Utopia,' just to surprise people and undermine those sorts of assumptions."

#### **Pressure to engage in research**

GDUFS is undergoing a shift that increasingly emphasizes research and the commodification of faculty scholarly work. This outcome, in part, is linked to national policies of the late-1990s aimed at elevating China's top 100 universities to world-class status through

additional funding as part of Project 211. Hence, universities such as GDUFS—those not ranked in the top 100—often have the goal of elevating their status through increased emphasis on research. The research push is most obvious in discussions about the changing context of academic work and a general perception among GDUFS faculty of great pressures on scholarly productivity. A professor of journalism and communications explained it this way: “Publish or perish. I think it’s happening now in China.”

Some faculty saw pressures to increase research productivity as part of a broader international trend to tap into external revenues. A professor pointed out that the president of GDUFS often talks about the university becoming a “teaching and research university” (as opposed to just a teaching university), perhaps in 10–15 years. One professor noted the growing emphasis placed on funded research: “Nowadays, the funding system in China is also changing. In the past, it seemed that you just wrote articles and you got published. That was enough. Now, they talk a lot about funding.” A professor of English language and culture pointed out though that Guangdong’s provincial government presently places greater emphasis on serving the economic needs of the region and providing higher education to as many students as possible.

Similar processes were apparent at CEU. Responding to societal shifts, one of the primary goals of CEU became the transformation from a predominantly teaching-focused graduate university to a full-fledged research institution. To achieve this goal, the university reorganized its Research Board and put greater emphasis on grant funding. In addition, CEU strengthened its focus on entrepreneurial activities, competitiveness, and quality control (Elkana 2000). Reflecting this emphasis, the university instituted new rules for evaluating faculty productivity. As a professor of international relations and European studies explained: “I don’t know if this is a formal change in mission, but I think the university is becoming more like an international graduate school where fee-paying students are encouraged to apply and professors are judged more on their research and publishing record rather than their ability to teach students.” Other professors spoke of pressures to publish and bring in grants in more ambiguous terms. A professor of political science noted: “I feel pressured to publish at CEU, but I haven’t felt the monetary pressure, but I’m also not ambitious enough.” Research and publications are thus key mechanisms to advance at CEU, with various levels of emphasis on revenue generation.

#### Academic culture at a crossroads

For many long-time faculty at GDUFS, decentralization and marketization have resulted in forms of competition detrimental to traditions grounded in collectivism. In fact, the long-standing model of the *danwei*—a workers community—is under assault at GDUFS, slowly being displaced by a “civil-society” model characterized by “contractual relationships, individualism, egalitarianism, and mobility” (Ouyang 2004, p. vii). Several faculty described a limited sense of community among today’s college students and among more recent faculty hires. More times than not they attributed these changes to the competition generated by China’s growing participation in the global marketplace and the growing impact of Western popular culture. These faculty pointed to higher levels of academic competitiveness among students and the growing tendency for high-achieving faculty to express a weaker sense of institutional obligation. The latter trend, in their mind, represents an example of faculty acting more on the basis of self-interest than on the basis of commitment to the broader social good.

At CEU, academic culture has been heavily shaped by marketization and democratization in the broader region, making CEU’s traditional focus on post-communist

transitions less relevant. Responding to these societal changes, CEU broadened its focus to countries undergoing processes of democratic transition anywhere in the world. An additional challenge was presented because educational opportunities in the European Union became considerably more accessible to students across the region. A professor of environmental science and policy reflected on both trends: “The whole idea of focusing only on post-communist countries was a little bit outdated already because the whole region ceased to be homogenous, had become quite diverse. So the Board of Trustees decided that CEU should really go global, it should look at all countries, on the whole idea of transition, democratization. We have Iraqi students, Iranian students, so we are really going global, and our department this year got this large new grant from the European Union, Erasmus Mundus, which directly gives us a mandate to invite people from all over the world.”

Overall, we see the academic culture at GDUFS and CEU as connected to the broader global pulse that now beats throughout much of China (especially in the more urbanized coastal regions) and Eastern Europe. The academic culture that has come to characterize both universities reflects major societal shifts, connected to both the post-communist transition and the ever-growing influence of globalization. Together, these societal transformations produced an academic culture that comprised a hybridized set of values and practices ranging from strong international influences on pedagogy to market-driven competition, a strengthened emphasis on research, and modest forms of academic capitalism. Besides these similarities, the institutions’ unique histories have also contributed to differences in academic culture. For example, faculty at GDUFS were more likely to reminisce about the cultural values they saw as threatened by globalization and Western influence. CEU’s culture, on the other hand, was strongly driven by international influences, creating a truly globalized university environment.

### **Academic citizenship at GDUFS and CEU**

Changes in the nature of academic culture are tied to conceptions faculty hold about their rights and responsibilities—or what we describe as citizenship. Faculty’s actions and thoughts did not reflect a static view of citizenship, underscoring the fact that there are times when one’s engagement as a citizen demands global and collectivist considerations and other times when more local or individualist concerns must be addressed. All faculty, however, expressed prominent notions of their rights and responsibilities that fell predominantly in the globally informed collectivism or individualism dimensions of our citizenship model (see Fig. 1); this is not surprising since we selected these institutions because of their global engagement. In fact, locally informed forms of citizenship, in the realm of either collectivism (Type 1) or individualism (Type 3), were largely absent in our cases. Therefore, the ensuing pages describe findings from GDUFS and CEU related to Type 2 (globally informed collectivism) and Type 4 (globally informed individualism) in our citizenship model.

Reflecting a commitment to the local application of globally informed responsibilities, in a model of globally informed collectivism (Type 2), several professors at GDUFS spoke of the importance of strengthening China’s relationship with the United States through collaboration with US universities. Such views of citizenship also centered on the need to protect the best of Chinese culture from negative Western influences. One professor explained: “If we get too much Americanization there won’t be any Chinese culture left. It’ll be a small part of the society, a very small part.” These faculty members discussed the

social and cultural consequences of China's transitional status (including the influence of globalization) by focusing on how Chinese citizens might preserve valued norms and traditions.

Among CEU faculty, a broad geographic scope encompassing collectivist concern for Eastern and Central Europe and Central Asia was a dominant aspect of citizenship. Some faculty defended the growing impact of Western values and practices, portraying those as tools leading to political and economic development. Others were critical of global influence. A professor of political science noted: "The main message that I have been trying to relate to [successor states of the former Soviet Union] was that they should be very careful because joining certain supranational arrangements might result in increased brain-drain from these countries to Western Europe." Additionally, several participants connected their professional responsibilities to a range of issues relevant worldwide. Some spoke of their work at international policy organizations, while others published their work in local languages and English, to reach both local and global audiences.

At GDUFS, Type 4 citizenship (globally informed individualism) was most apparent among younger faculty and centered on professional rights related to the global economic context. A professor of language and culture explained: "We can see very clearly the expatriate teachers working as our staff members here at *Guangwai*. They are very much global. They have been working in Southeast Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Europe, East Europe, the United States, and South America. They have been traveling a lot. Many have dozens of years of teaching experience in those places. They have mobility, freedom to choose where they want to work." Some junior faculty at *Guangwai* also noted increasing opportunities for personal and professional gain as a result of the emergence of a Chinese academic market. They saw their personal attributes and abilities well suited for local contexts increasingly influenced by global forces, including the growing relevance of the English language.

At CEU, such global individualist approaches to citizenship were apparent in some faculty's efforts to publish their work in English: "I sort of feel like I'm writing about this region for a North American audience or an Anglo-American audience, largely because, you know, my image in the eyes of people in that kind of universe is what really matters for my career advancement." Others expressed similar concepts of citizenship in relation to their career advancement, in which CEU was a stepping stone to professional opportunities in other countries or world regions.

## Conclusion

GDUFS and CEU are young universities, the former the result of a university merger and the latter a newly formed institution in the 1990s, and it was this very quality that inspired our analysis of the institutions' academic cultures in the context of transitions to more market-driven economies and growing global influence in China and Hungary. The newness of the two institutions allowed us to gain an understanding of the opportunities and challenges confronting universities that themselves came into existence in newly market-driven societies. The transitional societal context of these universities deserves special attention. In particular, the two universities are traditionally driven by goals that are, in some ways, antithetical to market-driven globalization and academic capitalism. At GDUFS, the continuing significance of socialism and the *danwei* has hindered the takeover of an academic culture driven by marketization, competition, and revenue generation. And CEU's focus on societal democratization has provided defenses against the globalized,

commercialized academic capitalist culture that has come to characterize countless universities globally (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004). At both universities, then, what we see is a hybridization of academic cultural forms, driven by both support and opposition toward global influence and reflecting a model of hybrid cultural survival in the face of globalization (Luke and Luke 2000; Said 1993).

The hybrid academic cultures and high level of global engagement at GDUFS and CEU provided fertile ground for the emergence of globally informed citizenship. The faculty actively used global influences in their approaches to their rights and responsibilities. Although globally informed individualism was present among some faculty, many discussed the strong relevance of globally informed collectivism (Type 2 in our model). Globally engaged universities in transitional societies thus offer strong potential to give rise to the kinds of citizen engagement among faculty members that foreground the greater good, contributing to social and economic development. We also believe that universities in countries not undergoing processes of market and democratic transition may be similarly well positioned in their ability to contribute to globally informed notions of collectivism among their faculty. Indeed, the strong global engagement of many higher education institutions (Altbach and Knight 2007) provides the opportunity for becoming globally informed in a collectivist model of citizenship.

We close with a reflection on local and cosmopolitan realities in the notions of citizenship expressed by faculty at GDUFS and CEU. Specifically, we draw on the recent work of Rhoades et al. (2008), arguing for the redefinition of “local” by moving the focus of the term from service to an institution of higher education (Gouldner 1957, 1958) to a commitment to the local community. The authors also introduced the term “local cosmopolitan,” representing professionals who, “even as they move in the abstract, universal worlds of cosmopolitans, they are grounded in concrete realities of local communities” (p. 233). The model thus challenged the academic profession to reevaluate definitions of professional success and to place higher value on local societal engagement.

Our studies at GDUFS and CEU suggest a redefinition of the concept of “cosmopolitan,” broadening it from its traditional conceptualization as commitment and service to an academic discipline that leads to high levels of mobility in pursuit of professional recognition (Gouldner 1957, 1958). First, our case studies underscore the importance of critically examining the increasingly global reach of disciplinary affiliations. The GDUFS and CEU professors who, reflecting the notion of “globally informed individualism” (Type 4 in our citizenship model), spoke of intentions to seek professional opportunities in other countries, pay tribute to this geographically expanded vision of professional identity. Second, we argue that it is equally important to recognize the reference of “cosmopolitan” to an expanded *geographic* reach of citizenship, where a person develops globally informed commitments to a range of geographic locales, including the “worldwide community” (Heater 2002; Nussbaum 2002, p. 4). In our study, most faculty were engaged in the global flow of knowledge that, in turn, shaped their thoughts and values as citizens. In other words, these participants engaged in a manner consistent with globally informed collectivism (Type 2).

In terms of the local-cosmopolitan continuum of citizenship, our study thus broadens the definition of the cosmopolitan dimension, highlighting both the global reach of disciplinary affiliations and the vital significance of globally informed engagement in faculty work. This reconceptualization raises several important questions to consider for future research, policy, and practice. For example, to what extent is community engagement that reaches beyond the nation-state valued in faculty reward systems? In what ways is professional success linked to notions of international mobility? Does global professional

engagement accompany global mobility patterns among faculty? And most importantly, how do—and how should—universities support faculty members as they become informed by and engaged in knowledge flows that reach beyond the boundaries of one nation-state? With the continuing emergence of globally engaged universities, higher education systems around the world will need to wrestle with questions such as these in order to respond to the increasingly expanded geographic reach of faculty identities.

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