Neo-Nationalism and Universities

University of Bergamo

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Case Studies focused on Four Policy Realms

- **Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties** – How and to what degree are national governments restricting or influencing freedom of speech and teaching and learning within universities?

- **Institutional Autonomy and University Governance** – To what degree are governments seeking controls and steering of universities, and influencing their management capacity to meet government political needs?

- **Talent Mobility and Immigration –** What national policies are emerging and influencing the in-flow and out-flow of academic and student talent?

- **Universities and International Engagement –** How do nationalistic government priorities shape and possibly restrict the ability of universities to engage with the international community?

Case Studies

US and Trump – anti-immigrant, changes in visa policies (DACA), anti-science, de-regulation of environmental laws, proposed cuts in student financial aid and research, rhetoric around free speech and universities as anti-conservative

The UK and Brexit – current and prospective impact on international students and non-UK academics, research funding

Hong Kong – long shadow of Xi's China, suppression of academic freedom, Party control of university governance, students leaders in the umbrella movement and recent protests

Brazil and Jair Bolsonaro - campaigned on cracking down on academic freedom and curtailing the "leftist proselytizing" at universities; Police used for office raids of leftist academics

Case Studies

Hungary and Viktor Orbán - battle with Central European University and restructuring of the Academic of Science

Turkey and Erdoğan - 8,500 faculty and 1,350 staff members at universities in Turkey have been fired; 553 arrested or named in warrants, branded as "terrorists" and "coup plotters", travel bans for academics

Russia and Putin – increasing crack-down on opposition and pressure on academics not to voice dissent

China and Xi Jingping – firing and arresting academics - Document No. 9 in 2012 Seven Unmentionables: "Western constitutional democracy," human rights, media independence, civil participation, pro-market liberalism and "nihilist" criticism of the party's past. Persecution of Ugher population

EU Neo-Nationalism – academic and professional talent fleeing illiberal democracies

Concepts of Nationalism

Building the Modern Post-Feudal Nation-State - Ernest Gellner - nationalism as an organizational and "sociological pathway to a more urban, more industrial world in need of a more formal role for government in the promotion and regulation of economic development."

Racial, Language, Cultural Identity - John A. Armstrong - *Nations Before Nationalism* published in 1982, focused on human identity, and argued that "groups tend to define themselves not by reference to their own characteristics but by exclusion, that is, by comparison to 'strangers.'
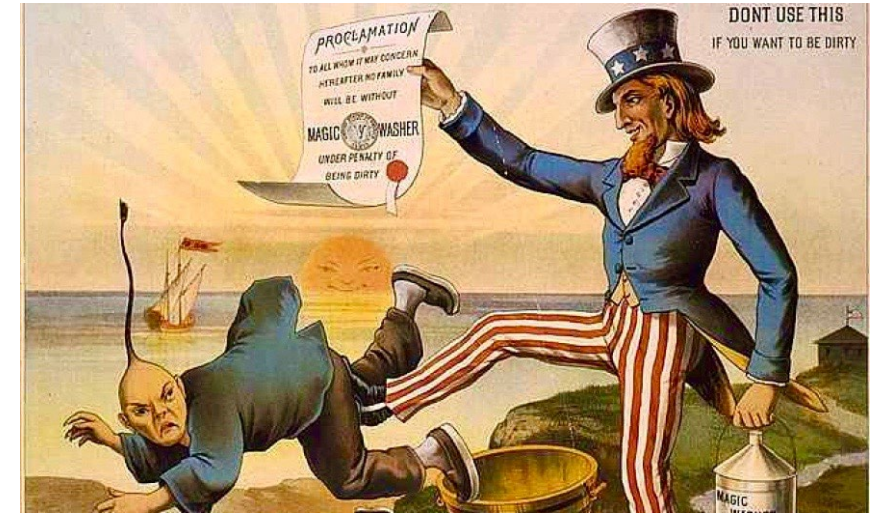
Concepts of Nationalism

- Building the Modern Nation-State provides an Organizational Identity

- Racial, Language, Cultural Identity

- Economic and Geographic Identities

- Political Identity – allows for multiracial nation-states and authoritarian states

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- **Political Identity – allows for multiracial nation-states and authoritarian states**

Nationalism unto itself is not a pejorative term. But in terms of 20th century+ world politics, it has tended to equate with populist extremist movements and **demagogues** on both the left and the right.

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Old Versus Neo-Nationalist Movements

What distinguishes Neo-Nationalism from earlier forms of nationalism?

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What distinguishes Neo-Nationalism from earlier forms of nationalism?

While the characteristic of Neo-Nationalism (sometimes also called New Nationalism) are similar to historical forms of the same,

- Xenophobia
- Economic Change and Status Anxiety
- Demagogues

the circumstances are different
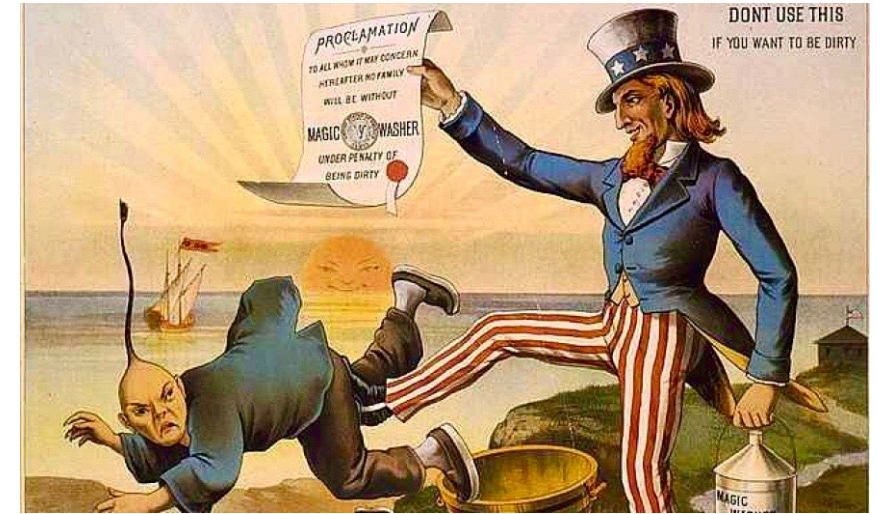
Old Versus Neo-Nationalist Movements

The leading sources of today's breed of nationalism:

- the post-modern pace of globalization and technological change, leading to economic uncertainty for some

- and the pace of immigration and demographic changes among and within many countries leading to status anxiety and concern for "nationalist" values

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Old Versus Neo-Nationalist Movements

Nationalism is also a tool for solidifying power exemplified in the growth in the number of so-called **Illiberal Democracies**: the emergence of nation-states with **populist leaders** and governments that increasingly limit civil liberties, justify their power initially through elections whether free or rigged, and usually drawing political support thru nativist rhetoric and policies

Free
Partly Free
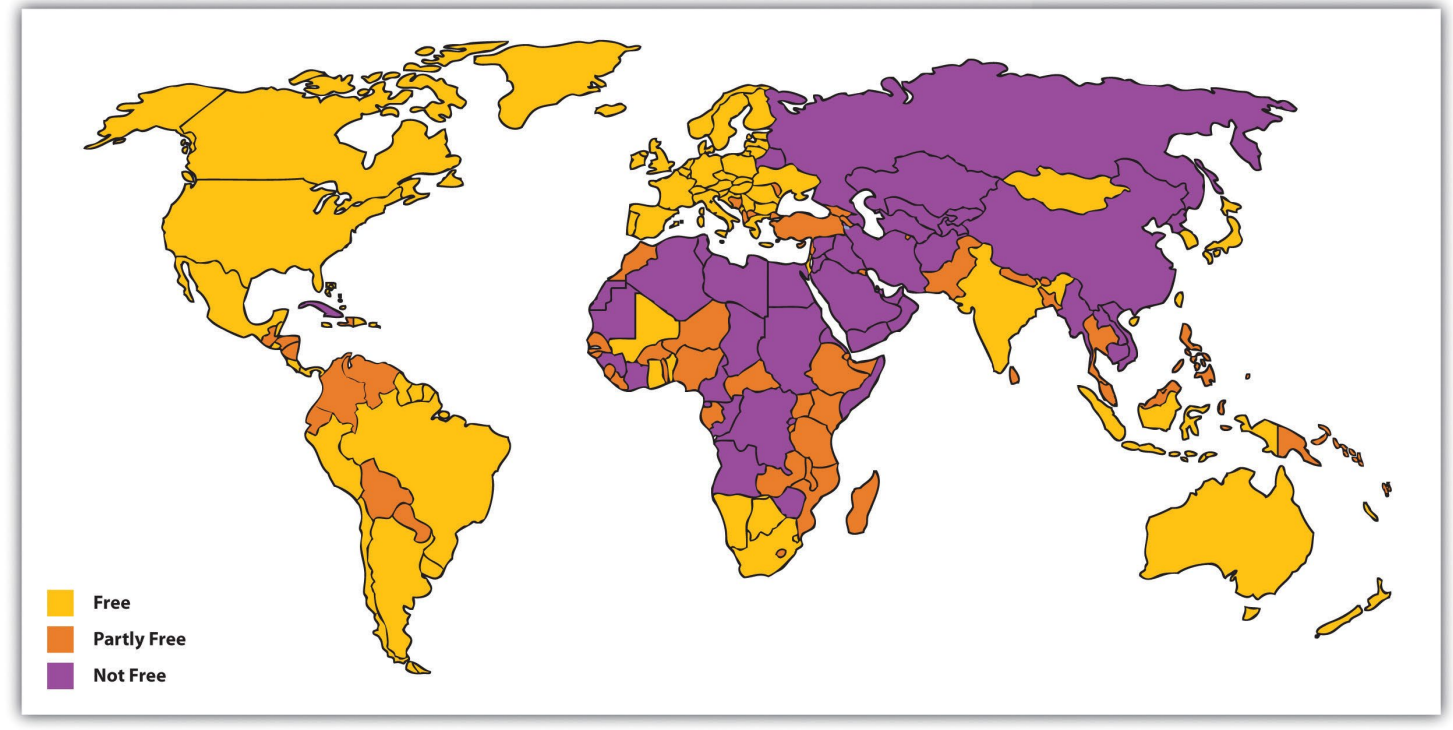Not Free

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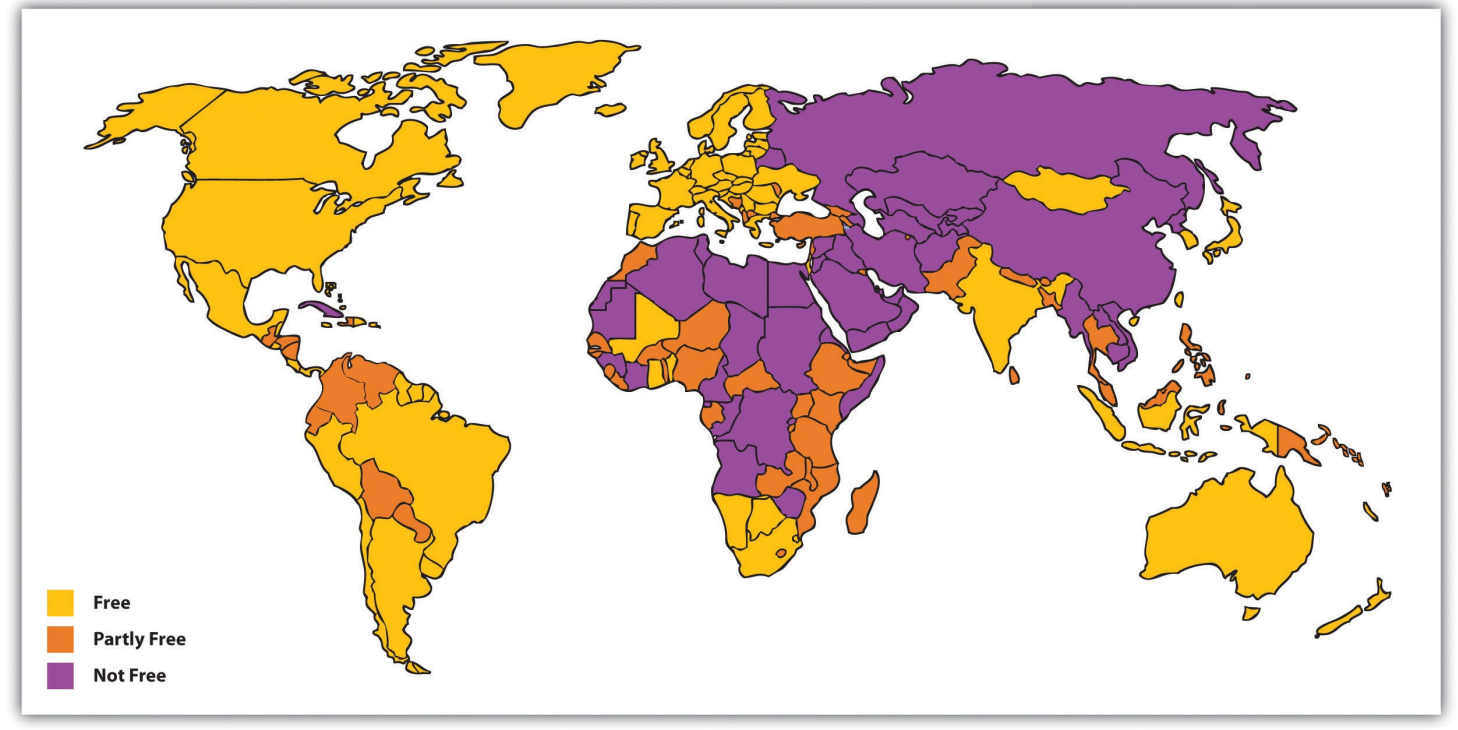
Neo-Nationalism

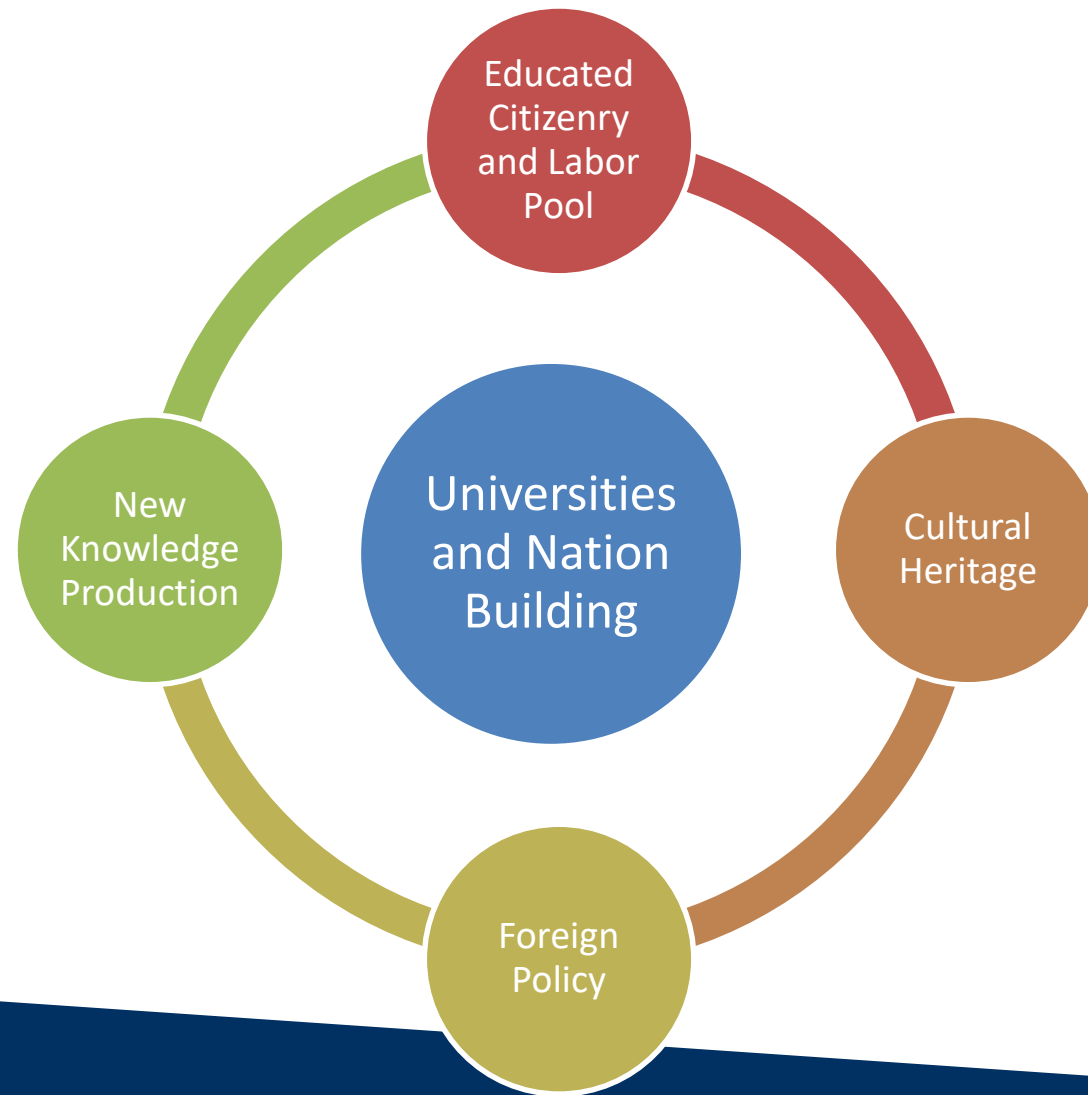The push and pull of Globalism!

But in virtually all cases, **universities are subordinate to and usually a participant in the national political ecosystem**; they are rarely outside of it (with exceptions as transitory institutions), even if many retain the concept of the ivory tower and significant autonomy

Geography still matters!
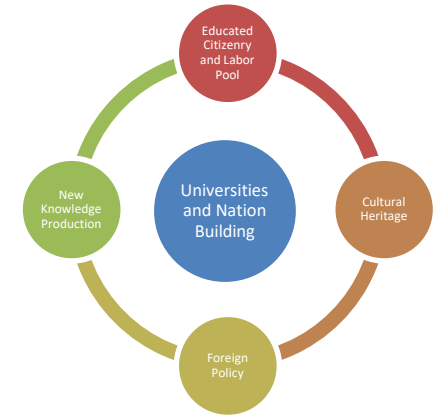

Free
Partly Free
Not Free

Universities and Nation-Building

Universities and Nation-Building

University of Bologna - granted a charter in 1158 by Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (the *Authentica habita*)

Educated Citizenry and Labor Pool

Cultural Heritage

Universities and Nation Building

New Knowledge Production

Foreign Policy

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Universities and Nation-Building

University of Bologna - granted a charter in 1158 by Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (the *Authentica habita*)

Germany - Friedrich Wilhelm University of Berlin

France - École Polytechnique's motto: *Pour la Patrie, les Sciences et la Gloire* (For the Nation, science and glory)

Of all our institutions, public education is the most important. Everything depends on it, the present and the future. It is essential that the morals and political ideas of the generation which is now growing up should no longer be dependent upon the news of the day or the circumstances of the moment. Above all we must secure unity: we must be able to cast a whole generation in the same mold.

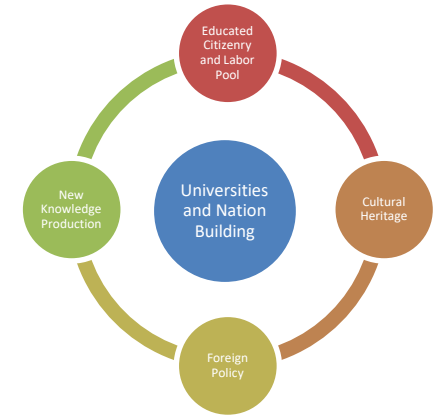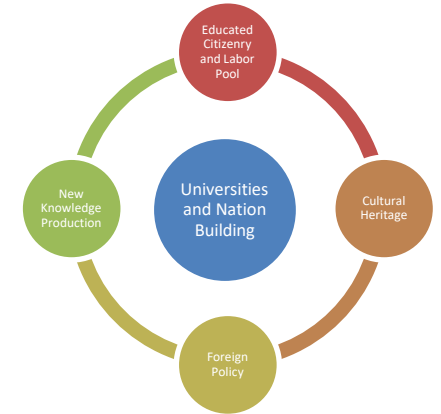- *Emperor Napoléon, Before the Council of State 1807*

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United States - Land-Grant University Movement 1862 >

Knowledge is in every country the surest basis for happiness. Whether this desirable object will be best promoted by affording aids to seminaries of learning already established, or by the institution of a national university, or by any other expedients, will be well worthy of a place in the deliberations of the Legislature.

- George Washington, message to Congress January 8, 1790

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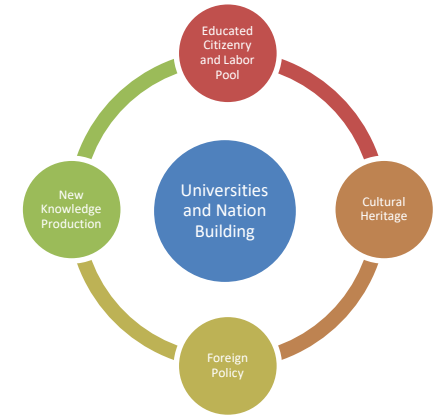
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Post-Colonial Nations – India, Mexico, Brazil, South Africa
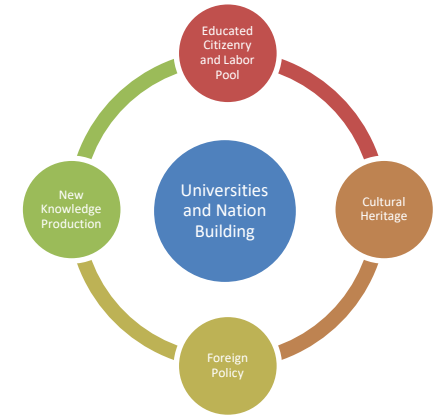
A Spectrum of Neo-Nationalism – A Conceptual Window

Neo-Nationalist environment in which universities are operating, ranging from various forms of *populism* as **political movements**, to the formation of **illiberal democracies**, and finally nationalism as a vehicle for retaining and enhancing **authoritarian power** – or what could be termed state led nationalism.

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Nascent Populist Movements

Populist Political Parties

Nationalist Leaning Governments

Illiberal Democracies

Authoritarian Regimes
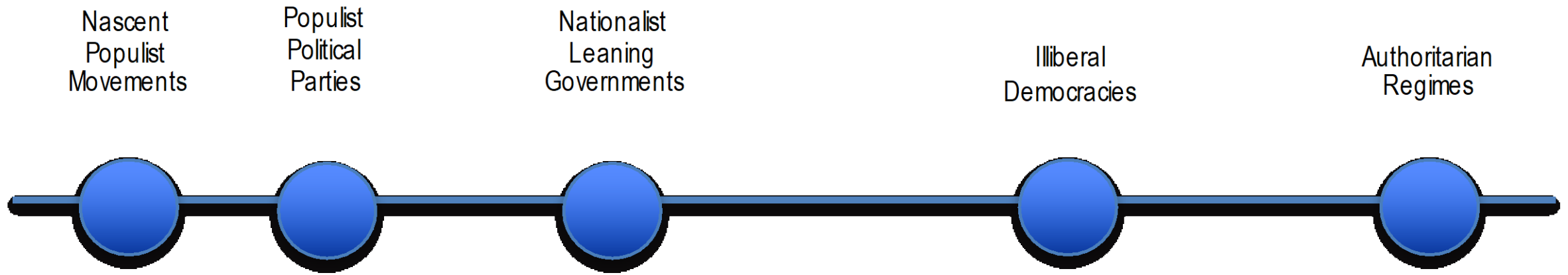
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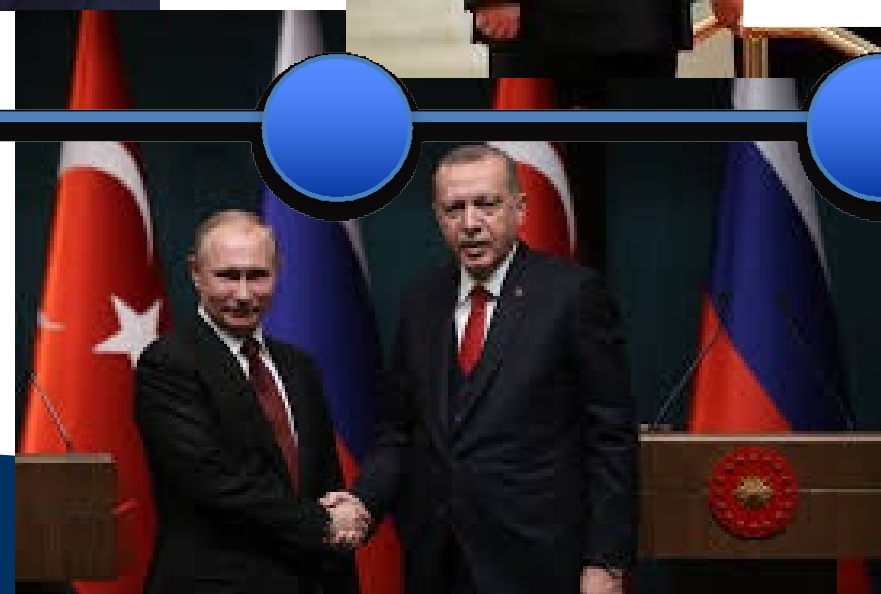
Neo-National Spectrum and Impact on Universities

Nascent Populist Movements

- Anti-Immigrant
- Anti-International students
- Anti-Globalism
- Doubt about Value of HE

Nationalist Leaning Governments

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- Restrict Student and Faculty Visas
- Restrict Path to Citizenship for Academics
- Battles Over Freedom of Speech
- Increased Focus on IP and National Security
- Threaten Reducations in Funding
- Restrictions on International Cooperation

Illiberal Democracies

+

- Restrictions on Free Speech
- Firing of Academics
- Controls on Management
- Restrictions on the admissions of immigrant/foreign nationals
- Restrictions on Travel for Academics
- Targeting Nationals in Foreign Universities for Sedition

Authoritarian Regimes

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- Limits or Censorship of Social Cititicism
- Ministerial Monitored Curriculum
- Ministerial Controls on Leadership and Faculty Hires and Advancement
- Internet Communication Firewall
- Arrest of Academics for Sedition

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Universities as Leaders or Followers or Intermediaries

Are universities leaders or followers, or intermediators in China? In Russia?

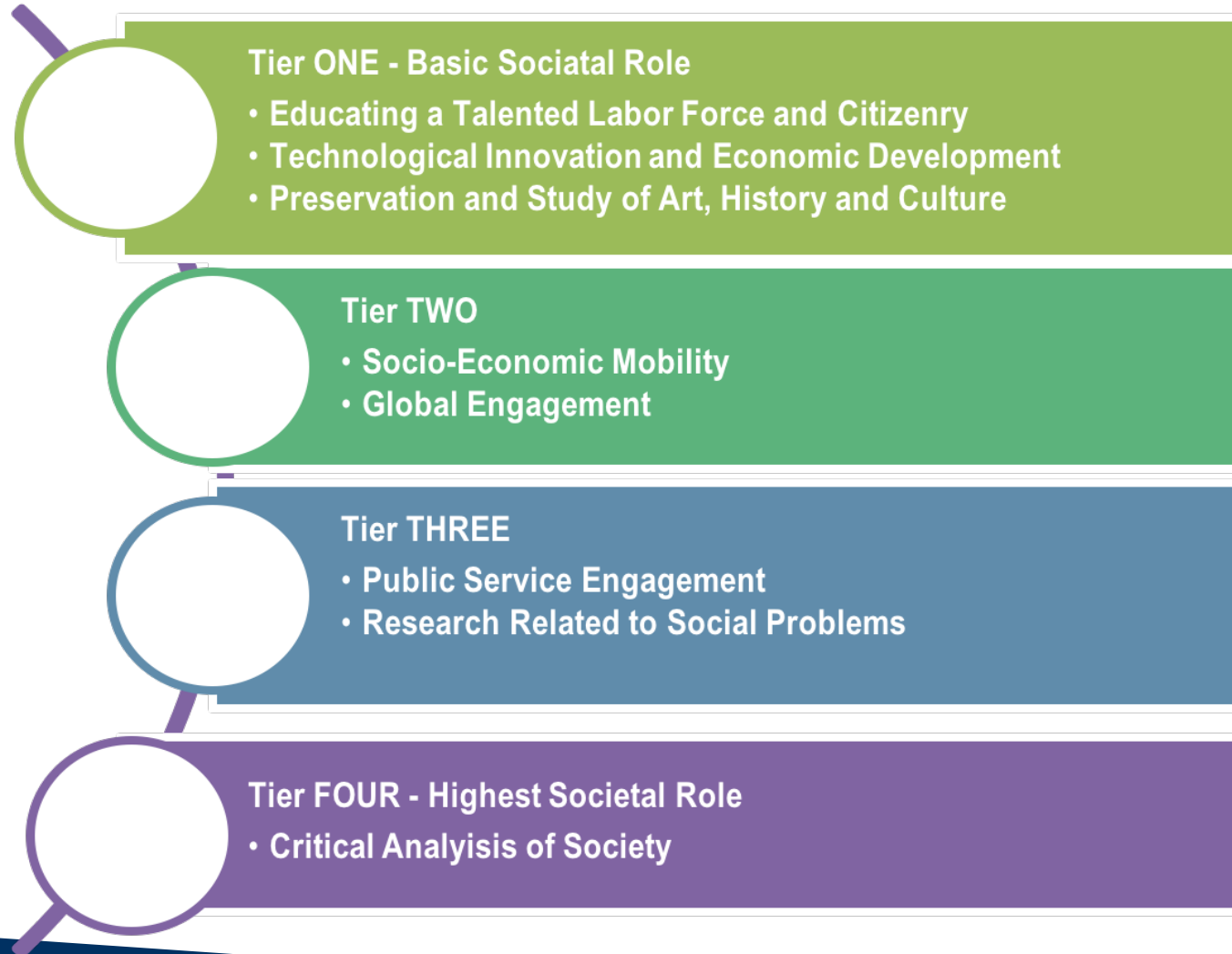How about in South Africa and Brazil and in Chile? Or in Trump's America?

Any careful consideration of these complicated questions requires reflection on the historical role of universities in nation-building – political geography still matters.

Tier ONE - Basic Sociatal Role
• Educating a Talented Labor Force and Citizenry
• Technological Innovation and Economic Development
• Preservation and Study of Art, History and Culture

Tier TWO
• Socio-Economic Mobility
• Global Engagement

Tier THREE
• Public Service Engagement
• Research Related to Social Problems

Tier FOUR - Highest Societal Role
• Critical Analyisis of Society

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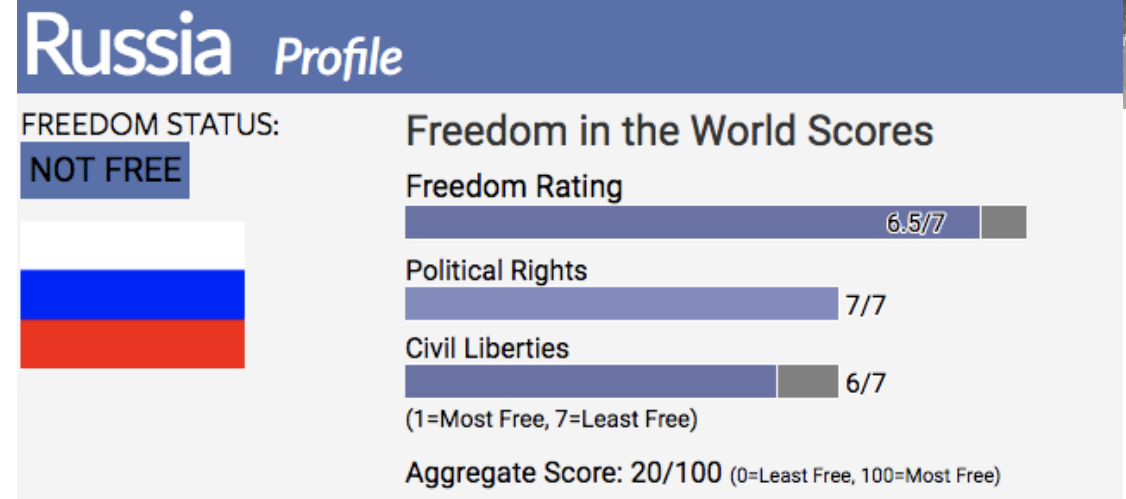### UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

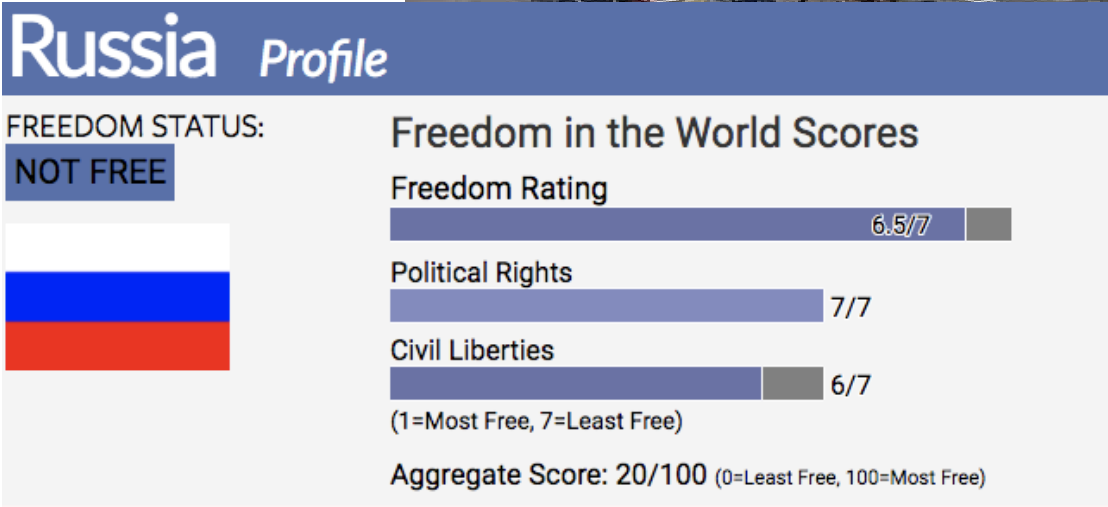# Universities as the Canaries in the Coal Mine

Universities as the Canaries in the Coal Mine

- Civil society markers
- Socioeconomic stratification of society
- Economy and labor needs
- Value of academic research
- Autonomy/management of public institutions
- International engagement

Russia *Profile*

FREEDOM STATUS:
NOT FREE

Freedom in the World Scores

Freedom Rating
6.5/7

Political Rights
7/7

Civil Liberties
6/7

(1=Most Free, 7=Least Free)

Aggregate Score: 20/100 (0=Least Free, 100=Most Free)

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Universities as the Canaries in the Coal Mine

Trajectory?

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Trajectory?

Negative in the national case studies +

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