CHAPTER 1

Civic Engagement in a Cold Climate: A Glocal Perspective

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Introduction

This chapter presents both the challenges and the opportunities facing civic engagement in an age of austerity when universities are coming under increasing pressure to become more business oriented. The first section of the chapter discusses the *global contexts* within which universities operate and poses the need for a closer attention to the politics of scale. Globalization only becomes operationalized at a local level, however, hence our concept of the *glocal* (at the same time local and global, an hybrid or liminal concept) grounded university that is at one and the same time globalized and embedded locally. The advent of globalization has not done away with the nation-state however, as some early analysts believed, and thus the second section focuses on *national mediations.* These national contexts are, of course, different varieties of capitalism and thus higher education policy will clearly show national variations. We explore in the section "Local Settings" a case study of civic engagement within North Dublin. In an area where the ratio of access to higher education is the same as the average for sub-Saharan Africa, civic engagement should have a measurable impact. This local area is subject to global forces—not least during the current recession—hence our return to the theme of the *glocal,* where the global meets the local. It is our argument that civic engagement becomes even more important for higher education in a period of austerity and that we need to be clearer in the way we conceptualize it and embed it not only in our institutions but also in the wider community.

Global Contexts

Higher education and its civic engagement mission must necessarily be set in the context of globalization. (As there is often some conflation between globalization and internationalization, some clarification is necessary.) There has always been an international aspect to economic development, and the university has always had international links. As Edwards puts it, "Universities have a long held and fundamental belief that they are essentially international institutions notwithstanding that most are creations of individual nation states and are regulated to some extent by national governments" (Edwards 2004, 32). However, over the last 20 years or so a much deeper globalization has occurred, questioning the ongoing role of the national regulations, thus creating the prospect of the university—just like corporations—needing to compete in a global market in a world where knowledge is now global.

Global economic integration is today driven by powerful governments and corporations that jointly design and manage the new world order. Globalization in this sense has given rise to a set of novel political dilemmas, namely, how to combine transnational economic relations with national state forms of political governance. In social terms, globalization has produced a greater degree of interconnectedness, not least through global cultural flows as well as far less restricted travel. In terms of this new paradigm, there is considerable debate about what a "globalised university" would look like (King 2004). Certainly there is greater engagement with the global economy, and the once-traditional university role in regards to national culture and training is less dominant. In the cultural domain, universities have adapted relatively easily to the more internationalized world we now live in.

Too often, however, globalization is taken as an overarching paradigm, which, in trying to explain too much ends up explaining too little. First of all, economic internationalization is hardly new and the world was arguably more globalized in the 1870–1914 period. The globalizers, those who assumed the world changed completely around 1990, have overstated and overgeneralized the decline of the nation-state and its capacity for action. Capitalism clearly has distinct national variations, and nation-states have differential capacities to respond to the demands of global competitiveness. In terms of its impact on universities, globalization can also be viewed in different ways. Some believe that the university by losing its traditional national authority is now free to engage in a global democratic dialogue toward greater cosmopolitanism. For others, however, globalization will primarily commodify knowledge and unleash competitive forces to which less well-endowed (or subsidized) universities will succumb. To fully comprehend the complexity

of the global domain and how we can respond creatively to it, we need to develop a better understanding of the scales of human activity.

Human activity has a clear spatial as well as social dimension. Our social space in society is also a geographical space. Certainly we should not think of the global, national, and local scales of activity as rungs on a ladder. They are rather quite fluid, more like a network or a spider's web, and it is hard to establish where one level of activity begins and where it ends. Early globalization theory waxed lyrical about the "death of distance" and the emergence of a "borderless world." However, the politics of place still matters, or perhaps matters much more, and the embedded relations of social life need to always be considered. In terms of universities, we see, for example, civic engagement being posed in terms of the "leverage of place" and, as we all know, the internationalization mission is at the top of the agenda.

The dominant tendency within the civic engagement literature operates within a rather restrictive, and arguably ethnocentric, paradigm. It traces its pedigree back to the US president Harry S. Truman's 1947 Commission on Higher Education, which set as its goal "education for a fuller realization of democracy in every phase of living" (Truman Commission 1947, 2). Taking up also the land-grant universities' rural extension work, the service intellectual tradition was consolidated in the United States in the 1950s. Its main appeal as Scott Peters put it is that "it offers the public a neutral, unbiased, disinterested, and non-political source of scientific knowledge, information and expertise" (2010, 53). It was based on a minimalist version of liberal political theory stressing individual rights over collective rights and a neutrality toward the social and political values citizens might have.

From a global perspective, this dominant view of the service mission of universities needs to be situated both historically and geographically. It belongs firmly in the particular conjuncture of the United States in the 1950s as that country basked in the postwar glow and its rise to a hegemonic global role and a seemingly endless era of prosperity. At the same time, and as part of the same hegemonic project, President Truman was also instrumental in backing the emergence of "modernization theory," which played a key role in establishing a neocolonial paradigm for the global South where British and French colonial powers were in full retreat. Thus modernization theory, in the power–knowledge tradition, constructed underdevelopment as an absence of Western investment leading to modernity. This development paradigm also marked the consolidation of the service tradition at home, a model which has not been questioned too much, either within the United States or as an assumed universal model relevant to all other countries.

From a spatial perspective it is also clear how limited, and even perhaps ethnocentric, the North Atlantic service mission of civic engagement really

is. Only in the very latest of the projects coming out of the Talloires Network coalition of engaged universities is there even an acknowledgment of a Southern model of engagement (Watson et al. 2011, 249). Even then, it is set within the modernization paradigm with the assumption that the South will "become inevitably more North-like as it develops" (Watson et al. 2011, 249). In fact we could argue more plausibly for a "Brazilianization" of the North (Beck 2000) as the Southern patterns of exclusion, informalization, insecurity, and growing inequality impinge on the welfare state of the North, not least through the impacts of the 2008–2009 crisis as well as the longer-term impact of globalization.

We need to develop, we would argue, an integrated framework that explains not only the expansion of market forces over the last 25 years but also the social reaction toward it. A useful starting point is the optic of Karl Polanyi (2000) writing toward the end of World War II. Polanyi proposed a "double movement" whereby the ever greater extension of free market principles inevitably generated a countermovement of social regeneration to protect society. For Polanyi, capitalism has a tendency toward promoting the self-regulating market whatever its social or political cost. In many ways globalization, at least in the neoliberal apogee prior to the 2008–2009 crisis, can be seen as Polanyi's vision (or fear) of "one big self-regulating market" coming to fruition.

Marketization is also a prominent feature in current university management and strategy. The internationalization of knowledge has, in brief, been accompanied by the commodification of knowledge. In the education literature this tendency has been referred to as "academic capitalism" (Slaughter and Leslie 1997), which refers to the way market or market-like mechanisms impinge on the university. Universities are being urged to accept commercial models of knowledge generation and transfer (i.e., commercialization) while also seeking nonstate revenue sources. Educational efficiency and accountability are increasingly being (re)defined in market terms. Courses are recast as commodities and students have become consumers of knowledge. At a global level, marketization of higher education is driven by the World Trade Organization's TRIPS (trade-related aspects of intellectual property rights) agenda and the World Bank's "reform" agenda focused largely around the self-financing of higher education.

Polanyi's countermovement also needs to be taken into account now. National governments cannot allow completely unregulated markets as that would lead to social anarchy. Free market economics needs to be balanced by the longer-term need for social cohesion as in, for example, the World Bank development policies. From society at large a whole series of countermovements have emerged since the late 1990s, contesting globalization as a

great unregulated market and arguing that another world is possible. In terms of the marketization of higher education, we would agree with Les Levidow, who says, "It is inadequate simply to oppose marketization or to counterpose whatever existed beforehand" (Levidow 2002). In other words the university as "ivory tower," beyond the market and autonomous, is hardly a viable alternative. We would suggest that civic engagement can be usefully conceptualized in terms of this debate. Is it simply a cosmetic corporate social responsibility measure or is it part of a social countermovement whereby society seeks to regain control over the market? And if civic engagement is part of a Polanyian social countermovement, how can it reconcile that role with the new academic capitalism, which is the dominant ethos of the contemporary university?

National Mediations

Contrary to fundamentalist globalization theories, the nation-state did not disappear with the rise of globalization. Rather it was transformed from a development state to a competition state, seeking the best possible position in the new neoliberal global order. We can take Ireland as a good example of a small nation-state that shifted in the 1950s from a national development model toward enthusiastic accommodation within the new world order. The rise and fall of the Celtic Tiger is a particular but nevertheless representative example of the interaction between global trends and local development, which sets the context for university–community engagement.

For much of the 2000s Ireland had ranked as the most "globalised" country in the world. One of the most influential globalization indices deployed during this period ranked countries on the basis of the openness of information technology, finance, trade, travel, technology, and "politics" to measure, in some way, integration into the world system. In 2000, financial portfolio flows into Ireland were highest in the world, in terms of gross domestic product (GDP). A benign tax regime and what the foreign policy analysts called Ireland's "strong pro-business politics" placed the country at the top of the globalization index several years in a row (A.T. Kearney Inc 2003). A period of accelerated capital accumulation ensued, although it was based largely on foreign investment, financial flows, and an exceptionally overheated property market. Today we are in a position to see the clear rise and decline of neoliberal globalization and the so-called "Washington Consensus" on which it was built. After the Great Recession of 2008–2009, even the managers of globalization have had to admit that the neoliberal development model was flawed. De-regulation, driving back the state and giving free rein to market forces, was not the way to attain sustained growth, never mind

equitable development. In striving to prevent a global depression, on the scale of the 1930s, financial authorities practiced essentially Keynesian policies to inject demand into the system. There was also a concerted turn toward re-regulation of economic and financial matters, and an explicit recognition across the political spectrum that the market was not, after all, omniscient. In Ireland, the impact of the crisis was particularly severe with the general downturn being overlaid by a dramatic collapse of the housing bubble and the banking–property developer alliance that helped to create it.

The rise and fall of the Celtic Tiger is a story set firmly in the context of neoliberal globalization's unchallenged rise in the 1990s and its ignominious collapse in 2008. Ireland has been a social and economic laboratory over the last 10–15 years. It had gone from postcolonial lethargy to dynamic European Union (EU) success story and back again to a very fragile and dependent state. Ireland in the 1970s was one of the poorest countries in the EU in terms of GDP per capita. It also topped the EU league table in terms of days lost to strike action. The downward spiral reached its nadir in 1987 followed subsequently by a dramatic reorientation of the political economy. Public finances were brought under control, the tax regime was made more favorable to foreign investment, and the trade unions were effectively co-opted through a semicorporatist partnership arrangement. Membership of the EU created a favorable, enabling environment for this outward-oriented turn. There was a serious investment in education and research, so Ireland offered a skilled, relatively cheap, English-speaking workforce to the multinationals. As economic growth picked up it seemed as though Ireland had cracked the problem of dependent development, overcoming the heritage of underdevelopment and peripherality. It seemed, indeed, a success story for neoliberal globalization.

However, inevitably perhaps given its fragile basis, the economic miracle of the Celtic Tiger began to unravel. The repercussions of the North American subprime mortgage crisis in 2007 and the subsequent stock exchange collapse in 2008 was bad enough, but on top came the bursting of the Irish housing market bubble. By 2010, output per head had fallen back to 2000 levels and the spectacular growth rates of the 1990s now went into reverse. Wages were cut by a fifth and unemployment rates began to rise toward 10 percent.

Since the end of 2008 the Irish economy has been in freefall. The recession laid bare the illusions of the Celtic Tiger period. The government was forced to accept a humiliating "bail-out" by the International Monetary Fund and the European Central Bank. Growth rates became negative and unemployment soared. The housing prices that were increasing—a key factor in the boom—declined and within two years the houses had lost 40 percent of their value. The government continued to support the banking system,

which had contributed to this situation and refused to inflict any pain on bondholders or investors. The universities lost their reputation for well-paid public sector employment and were subjected to a quite draconian Employment Control Framework that was meant to achieve "more for less" from the higher education sector.

It was toward the end of the boom period that the Irish government set up a commission to elaborate a new higher education strategy, as also referred to in many chapters in this book. When the report was finally published in 2011, Ireland was firmly in the grip of a recession but its new government decided to adopt it anyway. The main thrust of the National Strategy for Higher Education to 2030 is that "The policy framework for higher education will make national expectations clear. The objectives and operations of the institutions and those of the funding and quality agencies will be mutually aligned, and will be underpinned by a sustainable funding model and clearly defined structures for system governance and accountability" (Department of Education and Skills 2011, 4).

This high-level objective was made more explicit in the body of the text where the traditional university position of autonomy was qualified by the adjective operational. Thus determination of the strategic vision for the university would be determined by the state, with each university having discretion only in terms of how it might implement this strategic vision. With this, the concept that the university is a place where creative knowledge is generated, was replaced by state-led coordination as part of the national development strategy. This leads to an overwhelming focus on marketization through internationalization (attracting fee-paying overseas students) and knowledge transfer through the commercialization of research. It is significant that while the report mentions the word "enterprise" 40 times, the word "equality" receives only three mentions. While it is understandable that in an era of acute economic crisis the state will seek to harness the universities to the national recovery plan it is doubtful whether central planning will deliver this alignment of higher education with socioeconomic development.

The new national strategy for higher education also, however, recommended that a new third pillar of engagement should join the traditional university tasks of research and teaching:

> Engagement by higher education with wider society takes many forms. It includes engagement with business and industry, with the civic life of the community, with public policy and practice, with artistic, cultural and sporting life and with other educational provider in the community and region, and it includes an increasing emphasis on international engagement.
>
> (Department of Education and Skills 2011, 79)

Engagement is necessarily multifaceted and it springs from a higher education institution's responsibility to contribute to the socioeconomic and cultural well-being of the community. To situate the current and potential role of engagement within the higher education sector, we need to visualize the complex web of interactions between education, enterprise, and community through figure 1.1:
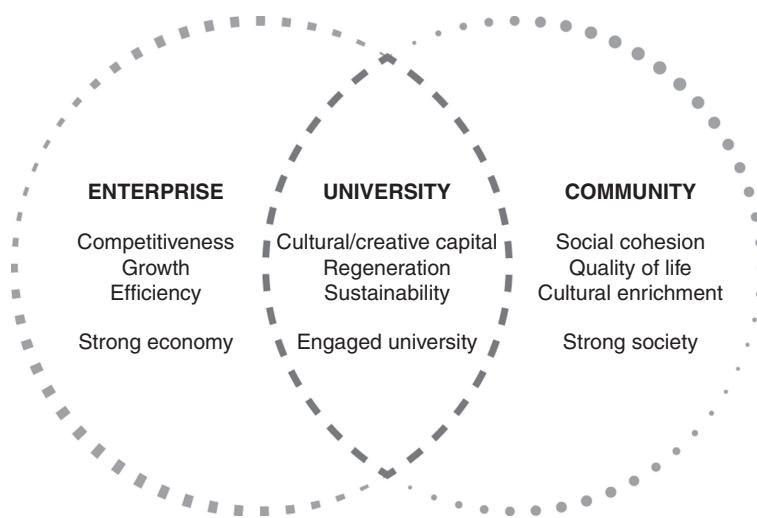
ENTERPRISE

Competitiveness
Growth
Efficiency

Strong economy

UNIVERSITY

Cultural/creative capital
Regeneration
Sustainability

Engaged university

COMMUNITY

Social cohesion
Quality of life
Cultural enrichment

Strong society

Figure 1.1   Engagement as interactions: university, economy, and society

The National Strategy takes a broad, holistic view of the sector's engagement with the wider society. It posits three strands to engagement, which we would argue should be taken as a closely interrelated set of activities contributing to the overall engagement mission. This is an arena of engagement with considerable history within the higher education sector in Ireland. The expansion of flexible learning, the promotion of work placements, and the involvement of stakeholders in curriculum design are all examples of this strand. Engagement is seen by the National Strategy as a potential contributor to economic competitiveness. There is, however, a feeling in the business community that higher education institutions could be more dynamic and coherent in their approach to collaboration. From a higher education institution's perspective, it is well to stress that market criteria should be matched by social cohesion and development priorities. International experience shows that this strand works best when guided by clear social and economic priorities, be they national and/or regional.

Engagement with the community is seen as particularly important in the context of its promotion of greater equality in higher education. While recognizing that community engagement has a long history, it has been argued that "this has not been as coordinated as it might be and in the future this needs to be developed more firmly as the core mission of higher education in Ireland" (Department of Education and Skills 2011, 77). This is borne out by the survey carried out by Campus Engage where 75 percent of respondents found a moderate or strong acknowledgment of community engagement in their institutions, but far fewer found that it was embedded in terms of management structures and recognition through promotion and other mechanisms (Lyons and McIlrath 2011). There is considerable unrealized potential for academic–community partnerships to contribute to long-term cultural and social transformation.

For those who had been practicing civic or community engagement over many years, this strand of the new National Strategy was very encouraging. Due recognition was being given to this dimension of university work albeit subsumed under a broader category of engagement where the profit motive loomed large. In figure 1.1, we can see the differences, and even contradictions, between engagement with enterprise where "competitiveness" is the watchword and engagement with the community where "social cohesion" or "quality of life" are seen as the main issues. It is perhaps not too fanciful to explain this tension in terms of the "Polanyi problem" articulated above, namely how does the expansion of the free market become moderated or controlled by society?

In summary, Ireland is moving toward a coordinated mainstreaming of civic engagement in a recessionary period. It is set within a strategy that firmly supports marketization, internationalization, and rationalization. It is also subsumed within a broader category of engagement where enterprise or business enjoyment looms large. Thus civic or community engagement could be seen as complementary to, or even subordinated to, the dominant marketization strategy. In Ireland, the ethos of social partnership was a cornerstone of the Celtic Tiger boom insofar as it secured social compliance with economic strategy. It could well be that the newfound enthusiasm for civic engagement in higher education planning and management circles could be a compensation for an upcoming period of austerity and employment control frameworks.

Local Settings

Globalization should not be conceived as "something out there" somewhere, "doing things" to us "down here" on the ground. Rather, in keeping with our

earlier discussion on the politics of scale, we might more productively examine actually existing globalization through the local settings within which it is embodied. If we were to think beyond the local–global binary opposition we could conceive of a "grounded glocal" university. Critical studies of globalization have shown that it is not in reality a "nebula" out there somewhere doing things to us. Rather, globalization only operates successfully when it is grounded. In the business world, the SONY Corporation realized this early on and developed the conception of "glocalization" to articulate its commitment to local embeddedness of its global consumer goods. The term is derived from the Japanese word *dochakuka,* which translates more or less as global localization, or glocalization; in terms of social theory, it can be seen as a reflection of the general tension between the universal and the particular. We would argue that universities are glocal organizations on the whole—that is, they have both local roots and a global reach or context. To promote a grounded global university means to recognize that the world of knowledge is global but also that knowledge must be applied and grounded to be effective. The new grounded university would be well placed to articulate global citizenship as a key element of the student experience.

Increasingly governments are reviewing the role of universities as key stakeholders in the development and implementation of locally based development strategies, and in some cases, in the promotion of foreign and nonlocal investment. Internationally, the evidence shows that the shift in orientation of regional strategies since the 1980s toward supply-side initiatives, regional institutional capacity, and endogenous development led governments "to look to universities as providers of a number of inputs to the development process, whether it be scarce resources of skilled labor, technology, or management development" (Charles 2003, 7). In addition, it is clear that the wider involvement of universities in the civic life of their localities has been perhaps undervalued, both by the universities and local civic institutions. Concurrently, the changing nature of the governance of the development interests of localities is producing more opportunities for universities to become involved in the planning and governance of their surroundings (Moulaert 2002).

A response, though not the only one, is for universities with other local agencies and groups (e.g., local governments and chambers of commerce) to work to promote local concerns and discoveries internationally so that the wider world becomes aware of "our" institution and "our" locality. The aim is that the "global" and the "local" should be complementary to each other, and create linkages and dialogical relationships with other universities and their localities. This process is often referred to, rather inelegantly, as "glocalization." It is this unusual blend of global challenge and local responses that confronts universities and their localities. For many local communities the

university is perceived as an island or "enclave" rather divorced from local needs. However, universities across Europe and North America have presented themselves in a new light by developing new ways of breaking down barriers between the academic "enclave" and the local community. In this way they seek to reinforce the role of the university as a key urban institution: not an enclave of learning that happens to find itself in a city but rather a key element of the city. This development is a crucial part of the process whereby universities help localities engage with the myriad of globalizing processes facing them. For example, our own university, Dublin City University (DCU), is represented on the board of a large number of local agencies and organizations, including the board of Ballymun Regeneration Limited, three area partnerships, a citizen's information center, a regional think-and-do tank (NoDubCo), and an environmental nongovernmental organization (NGO) in its immediate area.

We no longer hear so much about universities as "ivory towers" divorced from the real world. Today, the complaint is more about the "corporate university" dancing to the tune of the big pharmaceuticals and other corporate players. Many commentators now refer to the phenomenon of "academic capitalism," as learning for learning's sake is giving way to the business agenda. While not wishing to deny that the contemporary university is affected by the market in many ways, we must note that it is also part of the community. The engaged university recognizes that it is part of the community around it. The success of a university is very often completely intertwined with the prospects of the civic community of which it is a part. A thriving university boosts the town or city in which it is situated. Likewise, a dynamic city is good news for any university trying to make its mark in a global knowledge system. The productive interaction and mutual engagement between the university and the wider community are beneficial to both in many ways. It is now increasingly acknowledged that universities can play an important role in community development, in support of civil society, in a knowledge-based global economy, and in a socially challenged world. This can lead to enhanced human and social capital development; improved professional infrastructure and capacity building; and, more broadly, to benefits for the socioeconomic, environmental, and cultural dimensions of the wider community. The contribution toward the development of active citizenship is an intangible but significant addition. To generate debates on issues of significance to communities is also an area where universities can contribute directly to the quality of life.

The main component plan of university strategy that impacts on students as global citizens, apart from the internationalization strategy, is the civic engagement strategy—if indeed they have a separate civic engagement

strategy, which is not always the case. This was a new departure for DCU for the 2006–2008 strategic period. DCU is a relatively young university with a strong science and technology orientation but sited on the north side of Dublin that has the highest indices of social deprivation. The argument was that community or citizenship was, or should be, the third leg of university core business alongside teaching and research. The main plank chosen to implement this new strategy was the opening of a teaching center in neighboring Ballymun in partnership with the local regeneration company Ballymun Regeneration Limited. North Dublin in general and Ballymun in particular had exceptionally low levels of access to higher education and the town/gown divide was at its widest. In June 2008, the university's community-based learning center was opened in an approximately 130-square-meter educational facility in the heart of Ballymun, with planning for this exciting venture going back to 2006. We were joined by the City of Dublin Vocational Educational Council (VEC) in an innovative partnership to produce joined-up thinking that could help bridge the gap between the formal educational qualifications of local residents and university-entry requirements. The Shangan Road center had already begun to act as a real window between a severely disadvantaged neighborhood and the world of higher education. But, within DCU, this social and educational experiment causes waves across the system. How to "mainstream" it? How to resource it? Should we expand our activities? Do we mediate all our community engagement activities through the center? These are, of course, the problems of success.

If the university is not an ivory tower, nor an extension of the business world, then it needs to be seen as a socially embedded institution. There are dense social networks that some may wish to call social capital, tying in the university with its local community. These can include social, economic, cultural, political, and sporting links. Social embeddedness is a two-way street—a relationship that is sometimes fraught but always productive. One of our university's international partners at Arizona State University (ASU) put it like this when describing their design aspiration to be socially embedded: "Every university is geographically situated. Every university *has* a place, and every university *is* a place. We must leverage our place, leverage our unique locale and its culture. We must leverage the cultural diversity of our locale, its economic and cultural heritage, its social dynamics, and its aspirations" (Arizona State University 2011). The university is, or should be, firmly committed to social transformation and the pursuit of knowledge for the benefit of the community. A socially embedded university becomes anchored in a community, with its positive democratic and communal values. In its turn, the university can put its considerable intellectual resources to imaginative uses.

Some universities do not seem conscious of the place they inhabit, but some smart universities make use of their surroundings and create mutually beneficial linkages with local communities and neighborhoods. DCU is a Dublin city university in a very real sense. We do not exist only in an anonymous international academic market. Local issues impinge on us in a direct manner; for example, in relation to the Metro North project designed to create a rail link between Dublin city center and Dublin airport passing through DCU, or the siting of IKEA (a major Swedish furniture outlet) in Ballymun. For its part, DCU, as a sizable public institution, has the ability to bring community issues to light with a certain degree of independence and moral legitimacy. As a player with considerable weight in our local communities, the university needs to act in a socially responsible manner. If it loses its social relevance and denies a commitment to academic citizenship, it is in danger of making itself irrelevant.

Universities are well placed, we would argue, to link the requirements of the economy with the demands of citizenship. The production of knowledge was once engaged in for its own sake; now we see the instrumentalization of knowledge by market requirements, undermining the traditional elitist role of the university. The contemporary university can regain a positive role by prioritizing social goals, by researching in socially relevant ways, and by placing social inclusion at the heart of its mission. DCU intends to play an increasing role with regard to the community around it. It is well placed to bridge the gap between science, technology, and citizenship. Science needs to be relevant to people, and to engage with the day-to-day life of the citizen. Technology, not least, information and communication technology, permeates the world around us, but it needs to be humanized.

We could also argue that DCU (as other universities in their own settings) is also well placed to bridge the gap between the global and the local. We are constantly reminded that we live in a global knowledge economy, but we also live in particular places. In DCU's case, it is firmly embedded in Dublin's Northside, a hinterland characterized by acute deprivation but also a great creative dynamism. For DCU, its civic engagement strategy is not an add-on, something nice to do during the good times; rather, we are firmly committed to building our civic engagement role by promoting DCU in the community in all its aspects, and working alongside others to promote social, economic, and cultural development in our part of the city.

In conclusion, the agenda of the grounded university is very much a work in the making. It will not shift the student-as-consumer type of discourse to one based on global citizenship (see Banks 2003) overnight. However, it does provide some evidence that there are realistic options to the neoliberalization and marketization that critics (Lynch 2006) tend to see as overdetermining

or overwhelming. It sometimes seems as if the critics are imprisoned by the overwhelming logic of neoliberalism. Certainly, in our discussion, we would not wish to minimize the intensity of the very real pressures of marketization, but universities very clearly are not and will not become businesses whatever market-determined activities they engage in.

The battle of ideas is now on, and the future of the university cannot be assumed, as it will depend on circumstance and political will. The objective of orienting the grounded global university toward a new mission of encouraging students toward global citizenship is a worthy and realizable objective (Brown 2006). It will most certainly entail a change in the mind-set of many systems and staff, not to mention students themselves, and it would provide a valuable addition to the traditional university objectives in an era of global complexity. In this way, the university could become part of an exciting international debate on the future of citizenship in the era of globalization (Mayo 2005; Kivisto and Faist 2007). We would not want to overplay the role of the university in an era of acute economic turmoil and we do not believe that it can become the engine of recovery, but it does have a role in the realm of ideas and a critical engagement with the key issues of the day, not least engagement with the various spatial and social communities we operate within.

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