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UNIVERSE-CITIES AS PROBLEMATIC GLOBAL VILLAGES

continuities and shifts in our academic worlds



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Tubarão, SC

UNIVERSE-CITIES AS PROBLEMATIC GLOBAL VILLAGES:
CONTINUITIES AND SHIFTS IN OUR ACADEMIC WORLDS

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Gráfica e Editora Copiart

U51 Universe-cities as problematic global villages : continuities and
shifts in our academic worlds / Edited by José Lambert and
Catalina Iliescu Gheorghiu. - Tubarão : Copiart ; Florianópolis:
PGET/UFSC, 2014.
284 p. ; 23 cm
ISBN 978-85-8388-012-7

1. Linguagem e cultura. 2. Globalização. 3. Cultura. 4. Novas
Tecnologias. I. Lambert, José (Ed.). II. Gheorghi, Catalina
Iliescu (Ed.).

CDD (21. ed.) 401.41

Elaborada por: Sibele Meneghel Bittencourt – CRB 14/244

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Research in our days is not a task in solitude as it used to be in the past. Publishing a book is a heavy burden in our contemporary world; and the current volume is definitely a collective achievement, involving both peers' efforts and institutional support. Our gratitude, therefore, goes primarily to our universities: the University of Alicante, which harboured in 2008, with funds also from the local government, the Conference on *Univer-cities: Translation, Languages and Internationalization*, a vibrant international event which allowed us to share our views and open new paths for investigation in TS at the rewarding confluence with other fields; and the Post Graduate Course on Translation Studies of the Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC), which helped us publish the current volume. We would also like to acknowledge the inspiring contributions of our co-authors and their patience on this 'long manuscript's journey into book'. A particular word of thankfulness goes to our English language reviser (William Hanes) who went far beyond his mission, by posing key questions and providing wise comments on some of our insights. Finally, we remain grateful to our dear ones, for enduring our profession.

CONTENTS

Introduction

- Catalina Iliescu Gheorghiu and José Lambert*..... 11

Globalizing Knowledge or Acknowledging Globalization? Socio-cultural Implications of Academic Interaction

- Catalina Iliescu Gheorghiu* 33

The Position of Literary Theory and Translation in the Global University

- Pedro Aullón de Haro* 79

Internationalization of Knowledge. The Role of New Technologies in Universities

- Andrés Pedreño Muñoz* 97

Does Ranking Rhyme with Banking? Academic Communities and Their Approach to Language(s) in the Age of Globalization

- José Lambert* 111

Anthropological Considerations for Multicultural Analysis of Muslim Communities by Universe-cities

- Yolanda Aixelà Cabré* 163

The New Locations of Culture: Literary Internationalization vs. Commercial Globalization

- Covadonga Gemma Fouces González* 183

After (Neo-) Babel: Globalization, Post-babelianism, and Multilingualism in Translation	
<i>Jorge Jiménez Bellver</i>	197
SciELO – Globalizing Brazilian Scientific Productions through Languages: Cultural and Historical Understanding	
<i>Monique Pfau</i>	217
Authorship under the Microscope: Interdisciplinary Consensus on Translational Authorship in Light of the Multiple Authorship Trend	
<i>William F. Hanes</i>	237
Conclusions	
<i>José Lambert and Catalina Iliescu Gheorghiu</i>	257
Notes on contributors	279

INTRODUCTION

Catalina Iliescu Gheorghiu and José Lambert

Editors

The term global/globalization seems to be one of the axes of this volume. But what does it refer to exactly? It was first mentioned in relation to economy, markets and capital. Then, as migrations began to increase in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, a contradictory relationship between the globalized world economy and the logic of migratory population flow arose, developing a complete dialectics of integration and exclusion. The term ‘globalization’ in spite of its repeated, generalized use, remains somehow abstract, generic and even a little diffuse. It seems to refer to a global way of thinking/acting and it implies a given series of separate elements taken as a whole – elements which, though bearing different features, share a relative homogeneity and certain linkage under the globalization umbrella. Globalization facilitates contact between cultures but, at the same time, dissolves the interestingness of these contacts since individual cultures increasingly resemble one another. As Branea shows (2009: 269), the senses allocated to this concept differ in terms of ideology, subject area and/or culture. University students tend to see it negatively, as a loss of tradition and cultural diversity. Postmodernists stress cultural equality in an attempt to abolish centralisms by recognizing the values of a shared universal culture;

however, further adjustments and a language common to all are necessary now that social divisions are no longer so marked and simple as they were forty years ago and that, in Zygmunt Bauman's terms, society is more fragmented, complicated and 'liquid'.

From a technological perspective, global experts have proliferated; the idea that knowledge is produced in certain – an elite group of – universities is only no longer sustainable since knowledge is disperse, flexible and diffuse due to the spectacular progress of ICT. Scholars concerned with globalization realize that an accurate description of migrating ethnic groups in a permanent process of transformation, technological leaps, banking manoeuvres, media images, and ideological conflicts are very hard to characterize and label. The metaphors used to define them are very often related to uncertainty, hazard or even chaos. The orderly global village is talked about in terms of multiplying points of conflict, antagonism and contradiction. Cultural globalization, so far unilateral (occidental), is reconciled through *connaissance* and *reconnaissance* of as many communities as possible with their infinitely diverse values and traditions, whereas economic globalization becomes ever more intense, in spite of the announcement by certain politicians of a forth coming era of de-globalization.

Global thinking, as Cividanes explains¹, starts from the idea that our planet is a borderless world that branches out into several perspectives, such as the following: (1) the *humanistic* perspective, which is concerned with perils like underdevelopment, neo-imperialism and unlimited growth; (2) the *technocratic* perspective, which sees the world as unlimited in terms of time and space and, hence, encourages new technologies, transportation, cost-effectiveness and the like; (3) the *media* perspective, which regards the world as a global village, with a constant influx and outflow of online internationalized information through audiovisual devices; (4) the *political* perspective, according to which the world corresponds to a single fundamental social organization based on a system of liberal democracy with market economies, universal rights, and sovereign multinational bodies; (5) and the *economic* perspective, which defends a 'one world,

'one market, one economy' scheme where a world-type system prevails in bringing about a world-type economy and global public goods.

But long before 'global' became an adjective preceding, as we have seen, almost all the essential nouns that make socioeconomic sense in our lives, humanity had already organized itself professionally into 'corporations of craftsmen' in classical Greece, and into guilds during the Middle Ages. And, as strange as it might seem, these communities of practice were not mere groups of people working on their own, but large organizations.

Today, as always, these communities of practice – which complement existing structures of knowledge sharing, learning and change, as Wenger and Snyder (2000) show – are bound together on the grounds of expertise and/or passion rather than on the grounds of formal criteria. Whether they have an explicit agenda or not, their primary output is knowledge, and the management of this intangible entity is of paramount importance to business. Nevertheless, communities of practice are not prevalent because they are resistant to supervision and, thus, difficult to integrate into the rest of a firm. The advantage of such structures is their permanent connection with peers as well as their response to change and their self perpetuation (since they generate knowledge). Unlike teams, however, communities do not disband after obtaining their goal, since they have their own inherent leadership.

Such communities of practice are intrinsic to knowledge-based organizations like universities, although the post-Bologna era carries the risk of provincialism (i.e., when higher education institutions focus on their traditional regions instead of seeking worldwide audiences, seeing that their key responsibilities have to do with international attraction, dissemination and cooperation). Such goal can only be attained by universities in the global era if a programmatic renewal of their approach to languages is adopted, instead of merely resorting to English as a cure-all for the lack of a scholarly model for priorities. Rather, a real coexistence and collaboration between talents worldwide must be achieved, which was the prime aim of EU programs like ERASMUS² (an exchange of trained people in order to obtain mobile and flexible future professionals) or eLearning (unlimited acquisition of and innovation in knowledge).

In 2008, several senior scholars, young researchers, and a considerable number of students gathered in Alicante, Spain to discuss what seemed to be at that moment an incipient alarm signal for Universe-Cities as problematic global villages. The aim of the symposium was, on the one hand, to discuss the implications of the communications changes entailed by the internationalization (globalization) of language and translation strategies and, on the other hand, to redefine globalization, not in terms of standardization, but on the grounds of new attitudes toward communication based on diversity, access, efficiency, etc. The topics around which the symposium panels were developed included: language, multilingualism, and society; translation/interpreting studies in the global era; the dynamics of Universe-Cities; and the print/audio-visual media world. A selection of the papers presented in Alicante has already been published, but the main symptom detected in the symposium was that universities continue working with old-fashioned structures while attempting to face the future, a point drawn from several key components in our present academic landscape which deserves a discussion on its own, hence the *raison d'être* of this volume. The volume starts from a certain feeling of malaise about Universe-Cities that could perhaps function as the tip of the iceberg, as a warning to society and academia against the risk of losing its traditional spirit of *universitas*, especially the principles of interdisciplinarity and cooperation. Its nine chapters endeavour to synthetize some of the most critical and criticized aspects of the manner whereby universities cope/survive with globalization.

Universities seem to have changed their nature and goals; they depend more and more on standardized structures and tend to forget their main competences, which are those relating to academics (research, teaching). They would probably benefit (see Lambert's chapter 4) from a more distant relationship with politics and a closer one to virtual mobility and multilingualism via translation and EU ethno-linguistic democracy, which, although sophisticated in theory, proves to be not so viable in practice since neither politicians nor academics actively participate in the internationalization and Bologna reforms (i.e., a mastery of 3 languages plus fluency in English recommended for all EU citizens). However, given

the fact that for a large majority of EU citizens this is still utopian, languages and translation should be given far better representation in the context of European policies since these are hypocritically defined as defenders of diversity. Experiments such as the bilingual education for migrant children carried out in the 80s have proved to be of ‘debatable importance for maintaining ethnicity’. As Edwards (1979: 135) shows, this sort of education ‘is not primarily a method of encouraging cultural pluralism’, although it might be of use in overcoming the language barrier faced by disadvantaged minority children. This indicates, however, that it is not for all foreign language speakers who settle in a country but rather for those typically found at the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum; hence the subjacent linkage between ethnicity, poverty, and low-prestige jobs. This is reminiscent of the lexical distinction in Spanish by which Moroccans, South Americans, or Eastern Europeans were called ‘immigrants’ while Scandinavians, Brits, Germans, or Frenchmen were referred to as ‘foreign residents’.

Traditionally, people have tended to downgrade ethnic groups other than their own, especially those distinguishable in visible ways, even when they speak fluently and are highly articulate in the host country’s language. This prejudice increases in times of economic recession, when scapegoats are often produced. There is also prejudice against immigrant children, who – besides that – are forced to tackle added difficulties such as the clash between the values and attitudes at home and in the streets, the alien religious and political beliefs shared by their community which transform the classroom into a strange environment, differences in discipline, culinary habits, clothing or ornamentation; all these may become gaps that universities have the moral duty to fight through an adequate language and translation policy in their respective regions and countries. Regarding the recent war in Yugoslavia, perhaps the most prominent civil war in the conscience of Europeans, Mey (1998: 34), referring to Levinger’s study (*ibid.*), showed how the ‘rhetoric of war’ functions through language, i.e., how language wars turn into real wars, as well as how linguistic purism has a counterpart in ‘ethnic cleansing’. The European continent, with its cruel history of conquest or extermination of ethnic minorities and the expulsion or enslavement of religious minorities, has a historic duty to re-analyze its

interactions at global level. Thus, opinion makers (especially academia) must be aware of the Universe-City's need to be no less local than it ought and no more global than it must.

According to Ricoeur (2005: 45), Europe, as a 'post-national' state, surpasses the nation-state in form but does not replicate its structures at a supranational level; new institutions are invented that can't be inspired by current federal states and, at a global level, we deal with a combination of 'identity' and 'alterity', finding several models of integration between these two poles. One of them, the 'translation model' (*ibid.*: 46-49) is a European linguistic pluralism model in which the peril is neither the renaissance of Esperanto nor even the generalized use of a single instrument – a *lingua franca* – but rather incomunicability due to a retreat into one's own linguistic traditions. In this sense, Lambert (chapter 4) warns against the risk of universities becoming more provincial instead of more international.

Ricoeur argues for the unity of the human species due to the fact that sense transfer is possible between any human languages. Translation not only refers to text or discourse, but is a priori condition of 'communication'; he claims that Europe's policy of recommending that citizens speak at least two languages in order to give minorities a chance to communicate neglects the fact that the spirit or 'ethos' of translation should be extended over intercultural relations. This reminds us of the debate re-visited by Cronin in 'Translation and Culture in the Global Age', which fails to distinguish 'translation as communication' from 'translation as transmission', a distinction borrowed from Debray. According to this author, 'communication' conveys information across space in the same spatial-temporal sphere that, in Ricoeur's terms, generates consecration through synchronism; while 'transmission' transports information through time between different spatial-temporal spheres, which generates legitimization through diachronism and requires a medium (which historically has been a material such as stone, paper or magnetic disk) submitted to a social vector (an organization such as a school, university, or church able to provide a formal context for the transmission of ideas, beliefs, values). In Cronin's view, only by social transfer does communication become transmission, i.e., attains endurance.

Another model described by Ricoeur (2005: 49-55) is the *exchange of memory*, in which the main role is played by identity-constructing narratives. In this model, stories intermingle on an interpersonal level and are sometimes hindered by the presence of ‘founding events’ in the collective memory, which, through repetition and instance, eventually crystallize into an unchangeable and incommunicable identity. For this reason Ricoeur advocates for not abandoning such historic landmarks in the European ethos but rather that an effort should be made to implement a ‘plural approach’ to the effect that narrating differently would not mean disrespecting tradition.

Finally, the third model invoked by Ricoeur is based on *forgiveness* (*ibid.*: 56-63) in terms of both **narration** (understood as a means of revising the past and one’s own narrative identity) and **intermingling stories**, which are not to be revised in solitude (focusing on one’s own past) but reciprocally, since forgiveness comes as a release from unfulfilled promises in the past. In this scenario, translation plays a strategic role as an accumulator of symbolic capital and an accelerator of the rhythm of acquisition as well as legitimizing mechanism for the collective memory (*ibid.*: 190-192).

Nevertheless, Ricoeur’s three models of integration (translation, memory and forgiveness), meant to serve as antidotes to that huge peril of incommunicability enshrouding human kind, do not seem to be guiding the new era of globalizing knowledge, which instead appears to be subjected to unilateral strategies, i.e., redefining programs, disciplines, and even departments. Cooperation with and within universities is not equally offered among areas; for instance the sciences (industrial, business) seem to polarize the goals of universities to the detriment of other fields such as the humanities. In fact, the goals of universities are currently much more closely linked with those of the exact sciences and big business than they were in the past while, at the same time, such goals are becoming more and more static due to bureaucratic structures that tend to reward industrial innovation rather than conceptual or methodological research. Even in the field of translation there are voices supporting a shift to business-oriented

research. Authors like George Ho (2008: 55-57) who defines globalization as a ‘complex economic and social process in the history of civilization and the driving force of the world economy and society’, urge a paradigm shift from a ‘priority of research on canonical translation to that on practical translation, which has become the mainstream practice in the new global age’. The author describes translation in terms of knowledge – the aim of which is to ‘provide a communicative channel between the sender and receiver across linguistic, cultural and specialized knowledge barriers and to realize the added-value of translation in the value chain of commodity circulation and that in the value chain of social or commercial services targeting foreigners’ (*ibid.*: 2). Starting from Kuhn’s theory on paradigm shifts, Ho claims the existence of a ‘serious breach’ between translation theory – some of which (e.g., the ones tackling the ideological function of translation) he finds irrelevant or inadequate – and practice because ‘the impact of globalization on the profession and business of translation has caused great environmental changes’.

In Lambert’s ‘shoebox structure’ metaphor, researchers share their results with partners from their own discipline instead of seeking universal dimensions. Since they are obliged to perform for their own peers (under strict assessment rules) within their own shoebox, they cannot go for larger audiences, which means that the ‘university-*universitas*’ concept is in trouble. The shoebox system is partly in the hands of the scholarly market and it will take the involvement of truly international dynamics to change it. Local change and/or autonomy are also possible, as long as academic leaderships offer their support.

It has been stressed for quite some time that our world is changing at an ever faster and more fundamental rhythm, and that universities, in their three-fold nature (teaching, research, organization), actively and passively reflect this ongoing globalization. By definition, Universe-Cities attract and play a central role within shifts, able to act as barometers of social change, as occurred during several centuries when *universitas* was conscious of its position in the world. Under such conditions, Universe-Cities have reflected and facilitated exchange within the microscopic intensity of the ‘global village’ – which is a paradox in itself since the concentration of small social,

geographical, and cultural units throughout the entire planet (and precisely this small-scale) is what allows for an exceptional intensity and efficiency on global level. In fact, global intelligence can be active in a privileged way at certain points of the globe but not at others. Local and global worlds merge, but not always and not everywhere. History has taught us that the global world has its own margins; in the past the number of Universe-Cities was limited, which probably made them more global. A few decades ago, universities multiplied tremendously, since every country wanted to excel by means of its Universe-Cities.

However, before and during the Middle Ages there were no grounds for linking Universe-Cities with countries, which makes us think that the huge spread of excellent institutions (with or without the capital ‘i’) might have had to do with the multiplication of states. In Europe this phenomenon became noticeable in the ‘60s, in the USA after World War II, and in Spain after the fall of Franco’s regime. Reasonable or not, this multiplication – which somehow fulfilled the illusory desire to combine universal and local worlds – proved to be quite problematic. And this has been especially true inasmuch as progress in knowledge and technology has helped overcome distance and even time. Thus, some of these centres of knowledge have become redundant since competences and knowledge itself have become mobile. An attempt to analyze this modern paradox is one of the goals of this volume which, as we have already mentioned, promotes a reflection upon the ideas presented and discussions held during the Alicante symposium, a place which is symbolic due to its Arab remains that recall early European universities in countries where ‘East’ was established at the end of the Middle Ages. Alicante is also a good place for our contemporary world to rediscover the East after several centuries, especially around the Mediterranean, where interactions and conflicts have been ongoing for about 2000 years. And most paradoxes involving the East may make us better aware of the migration problem in the Western world, which is also a painful answer to the mobility propaganda surrounding the World of Knowledge. Not exactly what we might call a Universe-City answer!

The present volume thus proposes a series of different perspectives bearing a common concern: they all concentrate on the open devices offered

by communication in the new age of technology, with translation as one of the central resources, since it is supposed to re-establish communication gateways. However, these gateways are not to be intra-field only (i.e., within a number of limited areas), but inter-field (i.e., among Sciences, Applied Research such as medicine etc., and the humanities) as well. Iliescu (chapter 1) tries to apply some of the general observations in circulation about the way universities manage linguistic and cultural diversity and their degree of awareness on the importance of languages/translation in attaining the goals of internationalization (understood as an attempt at making the most of the imposed globalization). Since, in the global era, all countries seem to have relations between one another, a case study on the Romanian student population visiting Spanish universities (on ERASMUS grants and the like) seems to be an illustration as valid as any other. Iliescu's insight provides a panoramic view on the management of language/culture contact with foreigners and host institutions; reason why it is aimed at drawing some conclusions about the current language policies in Spanish academia (particularly the University of Alicante), whether in teaching/learning or in administration/technical services.

The approach to languages and to translation on behalf of universities reflects their uncertainty within the new world; that is, their identity crisis. It is not at all an issue for one particular department/discipline – e.g., the 'language department' – since multicultural communication is a priority for the entire academic community. This has always been the case; it becomes crucial in the World of Knowledge where interaction can be neither unilateral nor top-down. This is also a fundamental reason for treating monolingual *lingua franca* patterns by the academic (and other) worlds as gateways to another kind of colonization.

As communication structures, both the Applied Sciences and the Humanities appear to be running well within the global world. But do we have any reason to believe that there is an interaction between past and present? This diachronic view is offered by Aullón de Haro in chapter 2. Apart from analyzing the historical position of the Human Sciences toward global structures, this contribution suggests that, while selecting 'new' disciplines after the end of Franco's dictatorship, Spanish academia discovered Literary

Theory, Translation Studies, and Comparative Literature (not as specific areas but rather as elements for stimulating universities-in-movement). The historical position adopted by Aullón de Haro is often neglected in terms of (academic) management, which seems to focus mainly on the future; and the future comes through business. However, by ignoring the past, present problems can hardly be solved. That is why our book alternates diachronic perspectives with synchronic ones; the former legitimating, and the latter consecrating the argument.

A future-oriented view is proposed by Pedreño (chapter 3) with his perspective on the relationship between universities and technology with respect to concepts, programs, and technological progress. He investigates how our contemporary world explores the borderlines with other new 'to-be-expected' or even 'to-be-exploited' worlds. One of the implications of the new world of knowledge is uncertainty toward electronics, technology, communication, and Internet. The question that Pedreño poses is: how exactly are we to integrate, or rather, to what extent are we ready to integrate the new technologies and their implications in our academic world? The fact that alternate worlds (e.g., the Internet) are opening up is evident. However, academic worlds, Lambert warns (chapter 4), tend to ignore the many challenges posed by such novelties. Hence, the (non-) use of the Internet (see the point on eLearning) as well as the obsession over and the unilateral use of rankings are examples of the academia's rather improvisatorial way of approaching the issue. One of the symbolic illustrations of the above-mentioned 'malaise' is the intense discussion about language and communication, which involves many colleagues from language or translation areas. It is also true that Human Sciences are responsible for this in their own way since they have not taken an active part in planning the new future. Their participation has nonetheless been systematically boycotted by the new power mechanism; such mechanism has been making decisions about language, communication, discourse, and culture without requiring research from or on behalf of the humanities (see the many *lingua franca* issues throughout the volume).

The fact that the new challenges have not yet been fully explored by academics indicates conservatism, but since communication appears to be

one of the central channels into day's global world, the university cannot function without languages: verbal communication appears to belong to the core business of the Universe-City as such. And another revolution taking place has a lot to do with language(s), since heretofore perennial notions like distance and time are being submitted to a radical revision. Are we facing a new world of language or, in terms of Bellver (chapter 7), a new world of Translation/Multilingualism? This contribution raises a somewhat polemical issue – namely the existence of new conceptual worlds for global verbal interaction illustrated by everyday names of groups or parties prefixed with 'neo' (e.g., 'neo-Babel'). Such relabeling has to do with underlying layers of cultural traditions and, more often than not, conflicts that can now be seen in the refracting mirror of East-West colonization. In fact, approaching language and communication not as technical issues but as a strategic social component (lacking in the interdisciplinarity and cooperation that should define the whole construct of *universitas*) is an idea put forward throughout this volume. Such a new sign of the colonial component becomes conspicuous in global competition where the so-called Western World, the canonized one, struggles for survival against the New World (actually the ex-colonial world).

Aixelà's contribution (chapter 5) illustrates an alarming idea put forward in chapter 4, namely that while universities claim to be scholarly institutions, they tend to forget about their interdisciplinary research. Aixelà shows how our intellectual world is much too static and that the mobility of our academic and intellectual population is often treated negatively and defensively instead of as an asset. This anthropological perspective begins with the migration phenomenon and uses mobility as an indicator of the end of static societies, as well as, consequently, the end of a particular age of political links between people and geography which could lead to a deterioration of both people and culture.

In fact, returning to Cronin (2003: 139), we discover metaphorically that speakers of minority languages are like the 'undead', being compared to Count Dracula looking into Jonathan Harker's shaving mirror and remaining disturbingly invisible. He complains of the fact that this absence is extended to the field of translation, which lacks a theoretical focus on the

issue of minority languages. Hence, the idea of a ‘linguistic market’ (coined by Fasold in 1994) based on sociolinguistic studies carried out in Montreal. These investigations determined the need to use ‘socially approved forms of language for economic reasons’ as a result of the pressure exerted by social networks to regulate people’s speech. This variant of local speech (see variational studies; Labov, etc.), as a result of the community’s need to emphasize its own identity, is contradictory to the ‘rub-off’ effect regarding immigrant accents in the host country’s language, which have already been stratified over the centuries with easily detectable class and status markers (e.g., vowel shifts and their effect on social judgement in British English).

Fouces tackles another axis of the intellectual world (chapter 6) by analyzing the fictional and literary universe as submitted to economic laws. This is intimately linked with the discussion on the academic interdisciplinarity scarceness, since Fouces observes how difficult struggling against new worlds of literature can be due to concepts and methodologies that do not allow for interdisciplinary discussion. Apart from a redefinition of fictional (literary) worlds, Fouces suggests that literature has always been a challenge to the real everyday world – or rather, to its intellectual components (i.e., our world of knowledge) – and that it has played an essential role in nation-state building, which, after all, turned out to have polemical relationship with our future worlds. But, as record shows, literary worlds are not necessarily supporters of nation-state traditions; on the contrary, they get quite deeply into the world of knowledge, where they get married to technology, market games, and industrialization; hence literature moving farther into internationalization (i.e., mobility). In this picture, translation and translated literature have a hidden role, as Fouces suggests, and, if we go through the different perspectives gathered in this volume, we might consider as one of our hypotheses the fact that technology – and thus communication – rules not just knowledge but much more than that; it runs the world of social relations, mobility, and learning. And what can be derived from the panoramic views explored herein is that we can expect the role of the Universe-City (social relationships with intercultural environments from past and present) to be heavily conditioned by new technologies.

How all this entanglement influences the role of academic villages, and for that matter, villages as such, is the challenge posed to and by this volume.

Fouces and Aixela lead us into the markets, into very different ones in fact: the modern world of books (including the academic one) – which looks more and more like a market, and a market under threat – as well as a no less modern (although more painful) market, the everyday life of migration. The terminology applied to such worlds does not sound too academic, but this may be – exactly – our point.

It is not easy to establish to what extent the various contributions focus indeed on the everyday world while reflecting academia. One may have the feeling that we are sticking to the Old Continent; the physical and cultural origins of our contributors are largely West-European. But the topics and their orientation could easily apply to other continents: no longer can globalization, internationalization, and/or even colonization be the monopoly of any specific continents, however distinct it appears to work in terms of chronology, power relations, or technical and social features. The various contributions seem to teach us about more countries, languages, academic societies etc. than the ones explicitly mentioned in the various chapters. Anyway, it seemed very relevant to countercheck such opinions by moving also for a while into the Latin American continent, as it shall be made clear. And the other continents play a role via the networks that inspire researchers – not exclusively those in our book. And it is around the globe, not simply on the European continent, that the object of study, the academic world, is delivering many of its secrets. Whether one of the consequences might be understanding whether and where the old and various other continents become invisible is another story.

One important correction seems to be necessary, however, as far as the globalizing academia is concerned: it would be hard to question the increasing mobility of communication as an intercontinental phenomenon, including in the brains and structures of academia (notwithstanding its traditional conservative image). Geographical and other borderlines are weakening under the influence of the mobility provided via technology etc., as Walter Ong has taught us a few years before the Internet started (Ong, 1982). Nowadays readers, students, and professors as well as fans of

cinema, football, or fashion can select their goods from amazingly global repertoires. But mobility has not simply deleted borderlines, it may even have generated and strengthened new ones. The various strategies used by nations – and other communities – in order to protect their own goods against their neighbour's goods have been tested and institutionalized throughout the 20th century. Among them, languages and language policies have always played a prominent role (as in the European Union, e.g., patents...). It hardly needs to be stressed – again – that language policies are often supported by particular translation policies ('There is no language policy without a translation policy': Meylaerts, 2011). When applied to one of the Holy Countries of Dubbing – i.e., France – the history of dubbing is a wonderful illustration of cultural and economic protectionism (Danan, 1991; Danan, 1996), and the history of the media, including the so-called social ones, confirms that languages can function as tools of resistance against internationalization.

In other situations, the knowledge of languages, their proliferation, and their translation rather support the openness of the new world – i.e., global values. It would be illusory to assume that the international world is supported only by the lingua franca, or even by a single lingua franca. As it has been demonstrated by Chew (2009), at one of the concentrated centres of English in the Asian world, the history of mankind has never functioned without lingua francas. Moreover, translation activities have always had a complex relationship with the various lingua francas. First, the actual use of a lingua franca is impossible without the previous intervention of translators, who often work for... 'black money' (!?) or simply free of any charges for so-called good friends. In the academic world, the budgets used for producing translations into English have no clear status, but academic requirements in matters of 'good English' obviously put a limited number of people and countries into a privileged position – which neither the creation of 'academic English' courses nor the professional role of translators, editors, and ghostwriters can compensate. To this very day, whenever international experts address large (academic!) audiences in Latin or Central America, interpreters and/or translators must be available; hence how nonsensical, notwithstanding the progress of international English, the notion that

Internationalization and/or Globalization do not suffer from language problems is. The world of languages is much less global than wishful thinking would make us believe. Hence the second complex intercontinental shift in the dynamics of languages: the mobility of people (migrations, etc.) creates new neighbours and new relationships between languages. All in one movement, translation and translation markets are moving from the (more or less) traditional bilateral links between individual languages into large multilateral constructions, as the translation world illustrates more or less clearly.

The dynamics of the Internet, as well as the Localization industry or the international media industry, produce large quantities of international ‘services’. Furthermore, the Book Market must be approached in statistical terms, as the disciples of Pierre Bourdieu have been demonstrating for several years (Heilbron, 2010a; Heilbron, 2010b; Sapiro, 2010a; Sapiro, 2010b). In Translation Studies, a new area has become indispensable: Community Interpreting as well as research on Community Interpreting. On the basis of their experiences, the new international expertise in matters of Justice provides us with spectacular figures: the Austrian court – e.g., at Vienna – has to deal with more than 30 languages; at Antwerp (with an international port) more than 130 languages are being used in the court system, but it seems that more than 160 languages are in use. This is more or less the number of languages listed by sociolinguists in the agglomeration of London. There can be no simple parallelism with the 190 languages currently used in Brazilian territory (or around Australia) since these languages function much less in the activities of the modern city. As Montgomery (2013) demonstrates, much contact between non-English speaking countries is now taking place around the entire globe (more than in previous decades), and Walter Ong has taught us why, exactly. But bilateral as well as international contacts are also happening in languages other than English, even at the United Nations and UNESCO during their North-American meetings. Furthermore, despite pronouncements otherwise, the European Union’s everyday language practices are indeed

in serious conflict with its official principles of ‘ethnolinguistic democracy’ (Fishman, 1993). It would be naïve, however, as Belgian politics can easily confirm, to imagine that the representatives of the EU stick to one language only, even in contact with the local Belgian population.

Again, a new area of academic research has investigated the translation market – which is not only a book market. One of the new features of contemporary translation culture is its ‘Ubiquity’ – the concept has been created by the team around the colleagues from Göttingen at the beginning of the 1990s: see Kittel 2004-2011 (1). Translation does not only circulate in the form of books or of entire texts or messages: it infiltrates our discourse (as exemplified by the French quarrel around ‘le franglais’: Etiemble 1964). One of the fascinating components of the Ubiquity phenomenon is the new ‘world map’ of translation phenomena, as conceptualized since the end of the 1980s and as now worked out, little by little, in statistical terms – for the concept, see Lambert, 1989 and Lambert, 1990; Casanova, 1999; Heilbron, 2010a; Heilbron, 2010b; Sapiro, 2010a; Sapiro, 2010b; Sapiro & Heilbron, 2002(2). Again, the new translation world is not just the expression of the world Empire of the lingua franca, though this is probably – at least – one of the meaningful results. As UNESCO’s well-known Index Translationum (1948-) (3) can easily confirm, a worldwide shift has taken place around the globe in terms of ‘source language’ and ‘target language’. ‘Source’ and ‘target’ have belonged to the jargon of a small group of translation scholars since the 1970s and to that of most translation scholars since, say, the end of the 1980s.

Nevertheless, the Ubiquity issue or Globalization trends – i.e., the more or less sudden substitution of largely multilateral (‘globalizing’) schemes for traditional bilateral interaction between languages/cultures – was not perceived before 1989 (Lambert, 1989, etc.) or better, since the beginning of the 21st century (mainly Cronin, 2003). Some explanation may be needed. While translation relationships used to occur in all possible directions (say Spanish – French, or vice-versa; Russian – Polish and/or vice versa; Chinese – Japanese or vice versa), although quite dominantly between two (or three or four) languages, the ‘directionality’ of translations has gradually given a leading role to English – not just in a few languages any more, but rather on five continents (see the Index Translationum). This

simply explains why, all over the world, the early morning news makes quite systematic use of English words. The striking phenomenon is that so many translation activities are taking place in one direction: out of English (from English), whereas the percentage of information translated INTO English has been reduced in a spectacular way.

Thus, it is clear that the world map of translations – and languages – has been heavily shaken and revised. Would we move into a reorganization of the planet in terms of languages in which the (officially) English-speaking ‘countries’ – or rather: people and populations – distribute their communication – and not only their communication to the partners who use other languages as their tool for verbal communication? It makes us remember certain black and white views on particular societies. The real difficulty – or the real correction – is that it would be extremely tricky to link this new ‘world map’ with clear linguistic borderlines. The fact is that the obvious worldwide redistribution of verbal dynamics is much more than a matter of language, whatever institutional Academia may say. A quite impressive group of scholars – who have dealt with such phenomena in their own research – support this new world view, as we shall see. Nevertheless, academic power is not in the hands of disciplines that have adopted such world view. Actually, the opinions and activities of those who hold such power are not grounded in research, although they claim to represent the Universe-City, nonetheless.

It is on the basis of such considerations that we have decided to devote one chapter of our book to the perceptions and experiences of Brazilian science, which has been addressing the scholarly world in many different languages since the beginning of the 20th century: Monique Pfau examines the current use of the lingua franca in humanities journals in the Brazilian-based metapublisher SCIELO. As we have tried to illustrate some 20 years ago (Lambert, 1995), the so-called ‘peripheries’ of our planet – e.g., Latin America and Southeast Asia – have chances to teach other continents, first of all the so-called Western world, how language seems to be a silent partner of Power.

And, to conclude, given that translation is the vehicle for this silent partner, the redistribution of power it entails cannot be ignored. The

technological revolutions concomitant with the rise of Globalization have not only expanded scientific communication in volume, reach and speed, but have altered, through the opportunities for collaboration that this communication has facilitated, the very practice of scientific production itself. In the final chapter, William Hanes takes an interdisciplinary look at the contentious issue of attributing (translational) authorship (i.e., responsibility and credit) in the increasingly interconnected academic environment.

Notes

1. Lecture given in the Postgraduate Course on Intercultural Mediation organized by the University of Alicante (2002).
2. http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/erasmus_en.htm

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GLOBALIZING KNOWLEDGE OR ACKNOWLEDGING GLOBALIZATION? Socio-cultural Implications of Academic Interaction

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Abstract

Starting from the distinction between globalization and internationalization, two of the concepts governing our current world, each one with its own models and consequences on universities and knowledge, this chapter discusses not only the challenges higher education faces in such context, but also what many scholars and part of the society consider a peril: the transformation of academia into an industry. As a symptomatic case of how the Old World copes with these new realities, the Spanish higher education system is broadly outlined while a special focus spots mobility as one of the most visible pillars of internationalization. Thus, the position of languages and the role played by the lingua franca in this scenario are also accounted for.

In the second part of this chapter the results of a field work (a survey conducted on Romanian students in Spanish universities) will be displayed and commented upon. The respondents' views on how communication is handled, what host institutions offer and expect, the extent to which curricula, course materials, administrative and social information are translated, students' adapting problems or socializing preferences, are questions intended to cast some light on this complex issue.

A further discussion on the University of Alicante as a host institution (after a previous approach to its internationalization aims and policies adopted so far) will

complete this panoramic view on the topic of Universe-Cities and their dual nature: a universalist vocation and a duty to share knowledge with citizens.

Keywords: globalization, university internationalization, Romanian student mobility to Spain, lingua franca

1 Introduction

Among the first distinctions we should draw there is the one between globalization and internationalization – very often used as synonyms in the press or circulating literature. The former is used critically by authors like Santos Rego and Lorenzo Moledo (2006), Escribano Ortega (2010), Subirats (2001) and Yarzábal (2005) or Allison Wolf (2002) regarding the economic, political, and social forces pushing higher education into a greater implication on the international arena clearly for reasons of economic growth, confirmed by the recent interest of global capital in the industry of knowledge. On the other hand, authors like Altbach and Knight (2006: 15) define internationalization as a much more elastic concept, implying an array of choices, unlike globalization, which is somehow imposed on society. In turn, González (2007: 7) defines ‘globalization’ as a phenomenon of the ‘90s owing to certain facts that co-occurred and created the necessary conditions for its development. Among them are the fall of the Soviet Empire (and as a consequence, the emergence of new hegemonic powers), the unprecedented evolution of IC technology, and neoliberalism. The difference between globalization and internationalization lies in the former’s unavoidable, implacable incidence in higher education versus the latter’s vocation as ‘one of the modalities through which higher education offers a reaction to the possibilities and challenges posed by globalization’, as the UNESCO-EDUCATION puts it in its Orientation Document (2002); Santos Rego and Lorenzo Moledo (2006) understand internationalization as the expression of current training demands for a global world in a university context. These authors argue that multi/intercultural education cannot be separated from global/international education, because, despite

their development within different fields, they clearly have common goals and shared elements. One of the open areas in this debate is the position (to be) occupied in this new landscape by universities.

2 Conceptual Framework

The international nature of higher education is not a novelty at all. When the first European universities were created (12th century), students were coming from different countries and Latin was the teaching lingua franca. When the New World was conquered, European nations founded (15th century) universities following either the medieval Spanish system (Alcalá de Henares, Salamanca) or the Anglo-Saxon (Oxford) one on the American continent to serve colonies. In fact, according to Subirats (2001: 12), 85 institutions created in the 15th century in Europe are still extant and, of them, 70 are universities. This capacity for longevity and prominence is due to the fact that they are great knowledge factories (Subirats, *ibid.*).

In the 19th century, with the fall of the colonialist order, many republics developed their own universities. Such is the case of the USA combining (Yarzábal, 2005) the British model with the Humboldtian research profile and the concept of university in service to society. During the 20th century, Latin American universities achieved a singular progressive status. They became public, laic, autonomous, free, and co-ruled. Along its history, humankind granted power first to those who had control over lands and natural resources, later to those who owned the capital and nowadays, knowledge seems to have occupied this privileged position. In an economy ever more based on knowledge – i.e., intellectual capital – it is logical to see university as a strategic and decisive asset.

After the Second World War and in the years following the fall of communist dictatorships in Eastern Europe, nations re-organized themselves and the internationalization of higher education became crucial. However, it evolved somehow differently in the USA when compared to the Old World. While North Americans saw an opportunity for national security and foreign policy and massively financed ‘technical assistance’

programs and international education through scholarships for studying abroad, the European continent reacted after a period of passiveness to internationalization when it realized that it could develop a strategic response to globalization. Therefore, programs of academic cooperation envisaging professors' and students' mobility were developed in the 90s, which contributed to the creation and development of the EU as we know it today. Should we see it as a split with the USA? Probably not, as long as the EU and American policies share many other components.

However, higher education currently faces and has been facing since the early 21st century a new challenge: a strong market orientation sustained by the WTO (World Trade Organization) under its policies of re-organizing the international goods and services market, re-classifying higher education as a commercial service/trade (Yarzábal, 2005). The international dimension plays a pivotal role in this commercialization process that universities – i.e., the 'educational industry' – is currently undergoing. In 1998, UNESCO organized a World Conference on higher education in the 21st century: Vision and Action. Two considerations (see González, 2007: 4) were put forward at this intercontinental meeting:

1. The number of university students rose from 13 million (1960) to 82 million (1995), representing highly spectacular worldwide growth.
2. According to the World Report on Education (UNESCO, 1995), the gap continued to widen between industrialized countries with broad access to higher education and developing ones that, although without it, experienced a growing demand.

2.1 Internationalization and globalization

Globalization, unlike internationalization, is unavoidable in contemporary society and has wrought important changes in the academic landscape such as:

- The integration of research.

- The use of English as a lingua franca for scientific communication and for higher education at an international level.
- The ever-growing importance of IT for archiving, selecting and spreading knowledge.
- eLearning and the upswing of international business companies devoted to international publishing and communication.

Internationalization, unlike globalization, involves devices for taking advantage of the new business-focused environment. It is not our intention to pit one against the other. The problem stems from the exact conditions and implications (e.g., the dominance of a single language) emerging from this ‘marriage’. Even the dominance of a given language cannot be rejected as such: it might generate better communication worldwide, and several continents could (sooner or later) benefit from an efficient knowledge of the lingua franca. The difficulty is that most features listed here (the integration of research, etc.) also happen to generate a few side-effects involving initial implications that are not taken into consideration by the advocates of this new world – e.g., one-sided views on (a particular kind of) research and its origins, and the business-oriented view of the university.

There is no need to elaborate on the fact that internationalization has many basic elements in common with globalization. Academic mobility has enhanced systems that were already developed (just as globalization helped concentrate wealth, knowledge and power in hands of those already possessing them), hence the intrinsic inequalities in the current phenomenon of higher education expansion, which involves North-to-South initiatives, and a concentration of knowledge, IT infrastructure, research products, etc., in institutions located in the developed North.

Nevertheless, unlike internationalization, which is profit-oriented and exclusively focused on economic growth, globalization fills in considerable gaps in the Third World, although it is still almost fully controlled by Northern countries, as Altbach and Knight (2006: 16) have demonstrated.

Moreover, Altbach’s definition of internationalization (2004) involves a series of specifically-designed government policies and programs for

favourably exploiting globalization. In the majority of the definitions we have come across, internationalization is seen as the basic strategy of an educational institution for either surviving in a competitive mercantile world (weak position) or taking advantage of globalization (strong position). Certain scholars (such as Warner, 1992) have tried to systematize this variety of perceptions on internationalization, proposing a three-fold classification that includes the following models:

- A competitive model that strives to impart international content to teaching and other services in order to provide a better position for students, the institution, or even the country.
- A liberal model that promotes self-development in a changing world.
- A social transformative model whose aim is to integrate students into international matters under principles of equity and justice.

Motivations leading to such international profile development in Higher Education, according to Yarzábal's (*ibid.*) interpretation of Knight (1997), are mainly of four natures: political, economic, academic, and socio-cultural.

1. Political motivations have to do with foreign affairs (the position of a certain country in the international arena), security matters, and ideological issues. One example could be the grant awarding system in favour of foreign students seen as future leaders or promoters of diplomatic relations between host and home countries.
2. Economic motivations refer to long-term goals such as training future professionals with international skills, selling educational products abroad, or hosting foreign students who contribute income via tuition and fees or to increasing indirect profits through accommodation, transportation, or meal expenditures.
3. Academic motivations refer to intrinsic goals of higher education such as reaching international standards in teaching, research or services. In this light, internationalization is regarded as a positive

agent for change in institutional development. Its planning can be extrapolated to other functions aiming to strengthen human resources and technical or infrastructural elements.

4. Socio-cultural motivations focus on preserving, enriching, and exporting culture and language internationally as well as understanding other languages and cultures of the world in view of defending cultural and ethnic diversity. Thus, internationalization understood in this sense serves as an instrument to counterbalance the linguistic and cultural homogenization imposed by globalization.

Altbach and Knight (2006: 18) include the following elements in a re-visited classification of the fundamental motivations upon which the internationalization process is based:

- Earnings (even some public institutions solve certain funding problems through revenues from international initiatives, let alone the expenditures of visiting students in host countries).
- Hiring teaching staff from abroad (especially in places where access to higher education is limited to less than 20% of society, and the growing demand on local universities can't be covered with local staff).
- Traditional internationalization (prestigious universities, especially in the USA, have been sending their students abroad to gain a transcultural perspective and upgrade their record).
- European internationalism (academic integration has been fostered by means of programs like ERASMUS; a further step is the Bologna Process for harmonizing academic systems. This mobility has gone beyond Europe into Asia, Africa and the Pacific).
- The internationalization of developing countries (as a device for attracting foreign students).
- The internationalization of individuals (students represent a great source of income since the families of most cover their costs).

But in all these programmatic declarations there are dark spots: first, the relationship between internationalization/globalization on the one hand and the nation-state tradition on the other hand (as the history of the EU might illustrate); secondly, the lack of any specific response derived from autonomous research by universities (rather than their specific departments), which are suspected of being heavily conditioned by very different national and international traditions.

Furthermore, there are no arguments for assuming that in academia such problems would be specific and limited to ‘the humanities’ or ‘language departments’, as our academic leaders tend to put it. As long as the opposite has not been demonstrated (by academic managers, not language departments), medicine, engineering, law, etc. depend as much as sociology or literary studies do on the international circulation of verbal communication – and this is largely a matter of persuasion with the aid of discourse and language(s).

2.1.1 Into symptomatic cases: the Spanish Higher Education System

Apart from the attention international bodies such as the European Parliament, the UNESCO, or the OECD pay to the issue of ‘training global citizens for a global civil society’, internationalization seems to be, in Santos Rego and Lorenzo Moledo’s view (2006), a paramount issue to be taken seriously not just by those more directly involved, but by society as a whole.

These authors show that social transformations, demographic changes and migration have revealed the need for adjustments in Spanish education at all levels. In their opinion, if the teaching staff at primary and secondary levels need specific training on intercultural issues, university staff does as well. On the other hand, they call for more ‘international life experiences’ on Spanish university campuses and for a more advantageous use of the on-campus presence of faculty and students from a variety of cultures and backgrounds and ethno-biographic registers. In other words, Santos Rego and Lorenzo Moledo translate ‘good internationalization strategy’ as a kind of ‘domestic intra-campus cosmopolitanism’ since, nowadays, there is no need to cross territorial boundaries.

Two further considerations should be added here. In the first place, how representative is the Spanish case of the general picture? Spanish participation in Erasmus mobility of (and within) the EU is remarkable. Figures about student mobility have been distributed in many ways by the EU. Similar information from North America seems to be less explicit and could be due to the fact that such mobility should either be activated or simply be given greater visibility. In its recent very spectacular efforts (75,000 new scholarships over the next three years), Brazil appears to be making use of the EU (and other) models, which clearly indicates that their student mobility agenda is generally being taken seriously.

In second place, we should consider the idea of language as a barometer for collective mobility. Beginning in the 1970s, as initiatives by the Council of Europe and, later, the EEC tend to indicate, almost all continents are in serious trouble due to their top-down and elitist use of English, including within the EU itself. This is all the more embarrassing since academia clearly reflects these same weaknesses, even in complex multilingual zones such as Latin America. It might be expected that, in terms of communication, the academia would lead the world instead of copying its approach from politics and business.

2.2 Mobility, the most visible side of internationalization

On January 21st, 2000, the European Parliament and Council issued a recommendation in which student mobility is defined as an 'ever more important dimension in stating one's European identity, and an instrument for social and intercultural integration'.

Luchilo (2006: 105) considers international student mobility to be the most notorious side of the internationalization of Higher Education. Directly linked with globalization, the ever higher demand for qualified people on the one hand, and the migration phenomenon with its implicit need for training (of both emigrants and immigrants) on the other hand, the preoccupation as to where 'our most brilliant minds' are going to move

is central in circles of specialists in developed countries. For many years, as Luchilo has shown (*ibid*: 108), the experience of studying abroad belonged to the upper classes or to top students. In the last two decades, however, this experience has acquired a wider character, and although the percentage of ‘mobile’ students is still small, the idea that it is possible, convenient, or interesting has lost its ‘aura’ of exceptionality. According to Luchilo (2006: 109), the *sine qua non* for studying abroad is a good command of English, and thus offering language courses could instigate a subsequent movement toward countries in which that language is used. It goes without saying that the arguments formulated here reflect universities’ ambiguity between global and national concern(s).

Mobility is, doubtlessly, one of the pillars of internationalization. It is achieved not only by international circulation but also actions such as: higher education services provided abroad; distance learning programs; the existence of headquarters abroad; exchange programs; franchised programs; and programs offered by consortia of local and foreign universities. Although not as directly and visibly, university-organized international conferences, research projects; researchers’ exchange, and joint publications also contribute to internationalization.

However, academic authorities at the University of Alicante agree that not everybody understands ‘internationalization’ the same way. Indeed, definitions go from a general process, in Knight’s words (1993), of ‘integrating an international and intercultural dimension into teaching, research and services’ to a more specific definition of internationalization as a ‘development strategy’ (see Van der Wende, 1997) that is ‘a systematic and steady effort oriented to foster a response on behalf of higher education to challenges brought by globalization’. Other views indicate the diminishing funding of universities, and hence an increase in international activity in search of extra-budgetary financing sources. The internationalization of Spanish universities is owed, in Subirats’ (2001: 29) view, to Spain joining the EEC in 1986 and to the intensification of its connections with Latin America.

Escribano (2010) states that Spain has been receiving foreign students in its universities for the last 15 years, and the Polytechnic University of

Madrid is the second most prolific host institution in Spain with 1000 incoming students per year (that is 3.60%), after the University Autónoma of Madrid (6.08% incoming students), Granada (1.71%) and Complutense (1.65%). This tendency is also confirmed by the fact that Spain has not only become the primary destination for Erasmus students but also the most productive ‘export’ country, according to a report published by the EC in June 2011 (see Europa Press, 06/06/2011).

In the academic year 2009/2010, Spain received 35,000 foreign students (29,328 degree courses and 6,061 internships, surpassing traditional destinations such as France (26,141) and the UK (22,650). The number of outgoing Spanish students was 31,158 (27,448 on tuition and 3,710 in internships), followed by France and Germany as the top sending countries. In 2009/2010, 213,266 European students received an Erasmus grant and 37,776 professors had a stay abroad. In the case of teaching staff mobility, Germany was first as a host country (3,775), followed by Spain (3,613) and Italy (3,368). The most productive sending countries were: Poland (4,443), Spain (3,797), and Germany (3,385).

Among the top ten universities in terms of hosting foreign students, seven are Spanish. The University of Granada, followed by Valencia and Complutense of Madrid are the most popular destinations in Europe. Similarly, five of the top ten sending universities in Europe are from Spain, with Complutense of Madrid leading the list. Generally speaking, the Spanish regions with the most outgoing students are, according to Pereyra, Luzón Trujillo and Sevilla Merino (2006: 134): Madrid (19%), Cataluña (16%), Valencia (14%), to which the University of Alicante belongs, and Andalucía (13%); in all these cases, women outnumber men by 8%. During the academic year 2002/03, 27,626 Spanish students took courses abroad of 6-8 months. Student mobility, as Papatsiba (2006) states, is an essential and defining category in this social construct we call the ‘education system’, and is being promoted as a fundamental element in the international structure of higher education institutions on a European level.

One of the big issues that hinders the progress of internationalizing Spanish institutions of higher education is the asymmetrical financing

received from regional governments (Comunidades Autónomas). The delegation of these affairs to regional administrations in 2002 made the prevailing model even more complicated and did little to further the principles of equality and homogeneity which, according to Pereyra, Luzón Trujillo, and Sevilla Merino (2006: 135), are so fundamental to public services such as higher education for the healthy development of a society. In a system where 80% of public university funding comes from regional autonomous administrations, their budgets depend on how much of the region's GDP is allocated to institutions of Higher Education. In other words, they depend on that particular government's commitment to development or on such aspects as size or tradition, which, in light of quite visible territorial inequalities, clearly shows that there are no uniform budget allocation criteria in Spain.

2.3 The higher education industry

The new emerging 'education market' has led to increased private investment and to an explosion of very heterogeneous higher education providers. On the other hand, according to Yarzábal (2005), the demand for university studies continues to grow – from 17 million students worldwide in 1990 to an estimated 159 million in 2025. In the case of Spain, Subirats (2001: 22) demonstrated that this proportion has grown from 100,000 students in 1950 to 1.5 million currently and from 26 universities in 1976 to 64 in 2000 (48 public and 16 private).

Meanwhile, new formulas such as trans- or multi-national education have been developed by universities including: online curricula or degree-franchising (Altbach & Knight, 2006: 14) programs, distance or virtual courses, and joint degrees awarded by consortia of multinational companies and universities. The GEI (Global Education Index) has shown a very healthy evolution in this business sector, a very profitable one if we judge by the indicators in the analysis of 50 higher education firms worldwide, including private universities, international multi-campus colleges, online tuition firms, and multinational publishing houses. Apparently, the

internationalization of higher education, compared to erstwhile efforts, has changed from an academic focus to a monetary one, at least in Western societies, what Altbach and Knight call the ‘commercialization of higher education’ (2006: 14) where competition among industrialized nations is encouraged and a certain model of development is imposed.

Both universities and the results of the knowledge they produced, which used to exist for the public good, have become a key factor in this post-industrial era for competition between towns, regions, and countries, and are now dangerously linked with economic parameters. The fact that higher education is included in the GATS (General Agreement of Trade and Services) is pointed out by many scholars as a threat to the public character of education and its inherent principles of quality, relevance, and equality. Altbach and Knight (2006: 17) warn against the presence of GATS and the WTO as catalysts in current thinking since they consider higher education a commodity. The outstanding analysts Neave, Readings, and Slaughter-Leslie (Subirats, 2001: 15) warn that more and more voices have recently been pressing for university policy to be based on utilitarian rather than cultural factors.

The idea of higher education as a private good rather than a public responsibility has now gained prominence, legitimating the primary role of economic forces in higher education. Altbach and Knight (2006) distinguish between ‘international’ and ‘cross-border’ education; the latter regarded as trade and evaluated by parameters such as revenue generation, registration of foreign providers, quality assurance, curriculum accreditation, and the recognition of qualifications. The critical question as to how higher education can continue being a public good without turning a profit is implicit in such redefinition.

The internationalization policy of Australia, for instance, is aimed mainly at recruiting brains (whether the Bologna movement in Europe has different goals is still unclear). It is based on a strong twofold marketing plan: firstly, expand the number of incoming students; secondly, to increase distance learning programs by creating centres in other countries. As a result, between 1996 and 2004 the number of students tripled (see Luchilo, 2006: 11). This undergraduate mobility constitutes a ‘pilot’ experience for qualified migration (or ‘brain drain’) later on.

If we look at the rankings of academic institutions, we do not find the University of Alicante (our case in point) on the 2010 international list issued by Shanghai Jiao Tong University in China; in fact, the only Spanish universities to be found are the Autonomous University of Madrid (ranked 201), Complutense University of Madrid (207); the University of Barcelona (253); the University of Valencia (293); and the Autonomous University of Barcelona (302). The Times World University Rankings included only two Spanish institutions on their list: the University of Barcelona (ranked 142) and Pompeu Fabra University (155). On a national level, the top-ranked Spanish universities by the conservative newspaper 'El Mundo' are, for public institutions, Complutense University of Madrid, the Autonomous University of Barcelona, and the Polytechnic University of Madrid. The top-ranked private universities are the University of Navarra, Ramón Llull University, and the University of Deusto.

The future of internationalization is seen by Altbach and Knight (2006: 36) in terms of a steady growth and maintenance of its role as a central force in Higher Education. However, there are a series of uncertainties, such as:

- *Political reality and national security* (terrorism implies stricter visa screening).
- *Increasing tuition.*
- *Upgrading local capacities* (as local higher education develops, especially at the postgraduate level, the demand for study abroad will likely diminish).
- *Increasing use of English* (could lead to prioritizing postgraduate studies in English-speaking countries).
- *Internationalizing curricula* (becoming a valid choice due to the harmonization of national programs).
- *Expanded eLearning* (could be the formula of the future); international eLearning currently predominates over national eLearning, but these occur in developed capitalist countries)
- *Private sector growth* (private higher education has the greatest growth per country but does that also happen globally?).
- *Quality certification* (increasing difficulty of assessing international higher education programs).

- *European policies* (deciding on the path of ‘openness’, i.e., accepting non-EU nations or on the ‘fortress’ model and charging external users).

2.4 *The position of languages*

The EU Parliament and Council declared 2001 the European Year of Languages (Decision 1934/2000/CE), whose symbolic mission and goals included:

- Increasing awareness of the linguistic diversity wealth across the EU and of the value this wealth adds in terms of civilization and culture.
- Fostering multilingualism.
- Promoting the advantages of being skilled in several languages.
- Encouraging lifelong language learning.
- Collecting and disseminating information on language teaching and learning.

Of course such statements and actions are promotional. Actually, they rather confirm several decades after the EU made its goals known among member states that language remains a difficulty – a blind spot. And universities, as centres of knowledge and competence, have not yet demonstrated that they hold any responsibility in these matters. Moreover, whereas any economic sign of misbehaviour among the member-states is immediately scrutinized by the EU, language policies are not considered in cooperation agreements between universities and the EU, which simply implies that academia adopts the priorities of a mainly political and economic organization.

The paragraphs that follow indicate how European and national authorities are increasingly stressing the exact opposite: that language and the European language policies are merely optional, definitely not a basic aspect of either the EU or of universities. Such can be confirmed at any EU meeting (even on language policies) and is almost always supported by

academic experts, since the use of English as the language of communication is unavoidable. It simply goes without saying.

In April 2002, the Spanish version of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages was released ('Marco de Referencia Europeo para el aprendizaje, la enseñanza y la evaluación de lenguas') which determines guiding principles for further development of linguistic policies in the EU. This document was the result of 10 years of research conducted by experts in 41 countries whose mission was transparency, integration, and coherence (see Escribano Ortega, 2010), and was complemented by the European Language Portfolio. 2008 was the European Year for Intercultural Dialogue as well as the year of publication of a study entitled 'A Rewarding Challenge', which is a kind of Magna Carta of intercultural dialogue. Signed by 10 intellectuals, the study was conducted under the initiative of the European Commission and coordinated by Amin Maalouf.

This document comes after a turn in EU linguistic policies which has became more visible since we stepped into the new millennium (see, for instance, the creation of an organizational chart, *inter alia*, for a Commissioner of Multilingualism). It was also generated by awareness of the need to preserve linguistic and cultural diversity in Europe (and, for that matter, on the planet). Moreover, it coincided with the rise of the (not) new *intercomprehension* thesis, which foresees three intersecting spaces in Europe (Latin, Germanic and Slavic) on grounds of the predominance of a linguistic family that would allow basic communication among peoples. In more pragmatic, immediate terms, Maalouf et al. (2008) propose, when the necessary budgetary and institutional support are provided, a linguistic tool called *personal adoptive language*, which is not a foreign language but rather a second mother tongue, learnt in depth, spoken and written fluently, and included in the school and university curricula of each and every European citizen. Furthermore, each student would also choose an *international communication language*, not necessarily English – e.g., French, Spanish or Mandarin. Losing one's mother tongue, argue Maalouf et al. (2008), provokes disruptions in communication and finally violence. Preserving one's mother tongue and having it recognized, respected and learnt by fellow citizens positively channels the desire for safeguarding traditions.

Stating one's identity with exacerbation often comes from an imposed feeling of shame toward one's culture of origin and can lead to reticence about expressing one's identity possibly resulting in religious radicalization. By preserving and transmitting one's mother tongue, people are less prone to compensate their identity needs in other ways, which could significantly contribute to dialogue between cultures and harmonious co-existence and even spur European development (Maalouf et al., 2008: 31).

At the opening of *Translation and Globalization* (2003: 3), Cronin highlights the element of plurality that language differences provide and the limited possibilities for genuine understanding and vulnerability resulting 'from aggressively monoglot views of the world'. He later alerts the reader (together with other voices) to the 'fragility of the linguistic ecosystem of the planet and the unprecedented rate of language loss' (2003: 5). The author criticizes translation studies for its relative indifference to the situation of minority languages and provides illustrations from the Irish context in order to discuss the responses a minority language is capable of giving to translation, which has been alternatively seen as a threat or a godsend. Cronin also warns of an imminent peril in the linguistic ecosystem: 'Not only are the majority of the world's minority languages threatened with extinction this century but few languages are likely to escape the condition of being 'minority' languages if present developments go unchecked'.

Regarding the position of languages one parameter of internationalization that is being given increasing weight is the teaching in foreign languages, including so-called 'bilingual degrees'. The University of Alicante is not a pioneer among Spanish institutions regarding bilingual degrees. In fact, not many public Spanish universities offer bilingual programs, although several international reports recognize that the command of a foreign language – especially English (followed by French and German) – is a *sine qua non* to companies when hiring graduates. A bilingual curriculum implies that the student took more than half of his subjects in a foreign language to obtain an official bilingual degree. In the first academic year, the proportion of classes in the foreign language would usually be less than 50% of the credits, but then it would rise to the vast majority of subjects in the final years. Foreign language acquisition

is progressive and its goal is obtain a good command of the language for specific purposes – such as daily professional situations, specialized terminology, and conceptual frameworks. In Spain, a unified position in terms of criteria or requirements is lacking for students wishing to pursue such a degree. Some universities, such as Carlos III of Madrid, develop their own language entrance exams, while others, such as the University of Navarra, rely on the international certifications; for others, such as Rey Juan Carlos of Madrid, testing is optional.

The priority bilingual education degrees were Management and Law, followed by Engineering and Communication. At the top of the list we find institutions such as the University of Navarra with 13 bilingual degrees, Francisco de Vitoria University in Madrid with two (including MA programs with different branches) IE University at Segovia with 7 degrees, the European University of Madrid with 9, the University of Valladolid with 7, Rey Juan Carlos University with 3, San Pablo CEU Madrid University with 7, and Antonio de Nebrija University with 9. All these universities are private – which means their fees per academic year oscillate between €6,000 (Management) and €10,000 (Law) at Navarra, for instance, or between €14,000 (Communication) and €18,000 (Architecture) at Segovia. Carlos III of Madrid, the only public university among those offering bilingual tuition, offers bilingual degrees in Economics, Management, Telecommunication Engineering, Financial Sciences, IT, and Industrial Engineering.

3 A mobility experience. Romanian students in Spanish universities

Romania was not among the main countries sending students to Spanish universities in 2002/2003. The top senders were Italy, France, Germany, Morocco, and Colombia, followed by the UK, Mexico, Portugal, Argentina and Belgium. The chief destinations for Spanish students in 2002/2003 were the UK, Germany, France, the USA, and Switzerland; followed by Belgium, Sweden, Netherlands, Portugal, and Austria. As can be seen, there are no former Soviet bloc countries. However, things have changed considerably in recent years. According to the Romanian News Agency Agerpress,

during the academic year 2009/2010, 3,994 Romanian students obtained a mobility grant, most of them to France (1,094), followed by Germany (532), Spain (460), Italy (363), Greece (205), Portugal (182), and Belgium (162). During the same year, as a host country Romania received 1,325 students from: France (298), Spain (193), Turkey (152), Portugal (143), Italy (139), and Germany (107).

Regarding teaching staff in the same period, Romania registered a higher number of outgoing than incoming university personnel, most of them from France (326), Germany (122), Hungary (90), and Italy (88). On the other hand, Romanian staff going abroad chose mainly France (393), Italy (223), Spain (152), and Germany (143). The Romanian institution with the highest rate of outgoing students (477), 69th among the 100 most active sending European institutions, was Al. I. Cuza University in Iași. Number one on that list was the University of Granada, with 1,851 grant-holders.

The EU invested 415 million euro in the Erasmus grant system during the last academic year, which allowed 213,000 students to take courses abroad, a 7.4% growth over the previous year. Given the high number of participants, the grant amount has dropped 7% and is now €254 per month. In the light of the success of European mobility programs, the European Commissioner for Education, Andronella Vassiliou, pointed out that getting trained abroad enhances personal growth and job opportunities. However, a study by the Directorate General for Internal Policies of the European Parliament (IP/B/CULT/IC/2009-053) published on the EU website in July 2010 (titled ‘Improving the participation in the Erasmus Programme’) showed that ‘while the number of students who participate in the [Erasmus] program has been constantly increasing, the participation rate is still below 4% and the growth of participation numbers has stagnated or even declined’. And this might be due to financial barriers aggravated by the current crisis.

Although the study identified financial issues as the primary hindrance, other potential barriers included accreditation problems and, significantly enough, language skills. A total of 41% of the surveyed students reported being at least partly discouraged about studying abroad due to ‘limited foreign language skills’, with the percentage varying from 34% to 62% in different countries.

The rest of the barriers had to do with:

- Personal and family relationships
- High competition for grants
- Lack of information about the program
- Administrative burden
- The ‘social’ rather than ‘academic’ image of the Erasmus program.
- Limited choice of host institutions.
- Uncertainty about the education system abroad.

Apparently the ‘lack of curricula in English’ and ‘lack of support from student services’ were minor problems. This makes us think that, in comparison to the relatively high importance given to the ‘limited foreign language skills’ mentioned in second place, respondents might have intended to distinguish between their own limitations regarding the command of other languages, which is seen as a serious barrier, and the lack of program in English or the lack of (we understand language) support in student services as the host’s responsibility. However, this seems a minor issue for Erasmus grant holders, who are more concerned with their personal language level, their opportunities to improve and make the most of their stay abroad. Nevertheless, these results could also be interpreted differently. When mentioning foreign language skills, they are not necessarily referring to English. In fact, they could be referring to ‘limited language skills’ precisely in languages other than the lingua franca, which would allow them to penetrate the cultural and linguistic system of the host country. Thus, the ‘lack of curricula in English’ would hold little importance if their goals were to attend and comprehend classes not in the lingua franca but in the host country language.

Interestingly enough, these results are roughly similar to my analysis of Romanian grant-holders’ impressions on their study abroad in Spanish universities. As we will see, some of them are critical toward the lack of services, information and interaction in a language other than Spanish, but regarding their degree of satisfaction with the program or whether it met their initial expectations, they were very positive, suggesting that maybe

English (*lingua franca*) is not necessarily the only solution/priority. These results might further suggest that Romanian students studying in Spanish universities already have a good level of Spanish, which would allow them to more fully take advantage of the experience. However, this is not true in all cases. To Escribano (2010), however, host universities should treat Erasmus students like native students – i.e., same rights, same duties. Such a view has been welcomed by those possessing a good level of Spanish, but has caused frustration among incoming students with a poor command of the host language.

3.1 The survey

Some of the results published by the EU in 2010 coincide with the answers I obtained while carrying out the survey that I would like to describe in the following lines. A questionnaire was handed out to a sample of 46 respondents, all Romanian students or grant holders, 44 of whom who spent their Erasmus, Leonardo, or other type of stay in Spanish territory at 16 different universities, and two who stayed at different French universities. Respondent age ranged from 20 to 43 years old, grouped as follows: 32 between 20-30, 13 between 30-40 and one over 40. Most studied in Spain in 2009 (7), 2010 (15), and 2011 (12). Before 2009, there were fewer respondents: 2008 (3), 2007 (4), 2006 (3), 2005 (1), and 2001 (1). This distribution is at least partially due to methodological limitations, since the survey was conducted at Romanian universities, and responses came mostly from recent experience (i.e., young graduates still in touch with their former institutions). Thus, 34 of the 46 respondents studied at Spanish Universities in the last 3 years. Those involved in linguistics-related fields were excluded, except for one from Translation Studies and one from Catalan Philology. The rest were from the following areas: Chemistry, Architecture, Political Sciences, Engineering, Tourism, International Relations, European Union Studies, Archaeology, Geography, History, and Journalism.

The 46 respondents (37 women and 9 men) stayed at the following host universities: the University of Alicante (19), the University of

Salamanca (5), the Polytechnic University of Valencia at Alcoy (4), Complutense University of Madrid (3), the University of A Coruña (2), and one each at the Polytechnic University of Cartagena, the University of Granada, the University of Vigo, the University of Las Palmas, Pompeu Fabra University (Barcelona), the University of Valladolid, the University of Zaragoza, the University of Girona, the Autonomous University of Madrid, and the Polytechnic University of Catalonia (Barcelona). The two Erasmus students who went to France studied at the University Charles de Gaulle and University of Toulouse.

When asked about why they had chosen their particular universities to study abroad, the most common answer from the 44 respondents who studied in Spain had to do with the attractiveness of the city – e.g., Barcelona or Madrid, both capitals with a rich cultural life, and Granada due to its beauty and cultural heritage. Others simply wanted to go to Spain; the choice of the university had to do with prior experiences shared by colleagues. Still others, however, were interested in a specific university. Salamanca and Complutense, for example, are prestigious institutions famous for their academic quality and the variety of subjects they offer. One M.A. student selected the University of Alicante due to its quick and simple registration process. Some respondents were interested in their university's geographic region: A Coruña, for instance.

The application process was conducted in Spanish in 21 cases, English in 14, and Romanian in 2 (the contact at the University of Alicante for the Leonardo program is Romanian). The amount and type of communication difficulties with host universities due to language issues, as recalled by some respondents, is interesting: 24 reported no difficulties whatsoever (12 communicated in Spanish, 6 in English, 5 in both, and one in Romanian); 16 reported some difficulties (7 in Spanish, 7 in English, and 2 in both); 4 respondents reported great difficulties (2 in Spanish and 2 in English) – the Spanish –language cases were due to students with an insufficient level of Spanish interfacing with monolingual Spanish-speaking hosts.

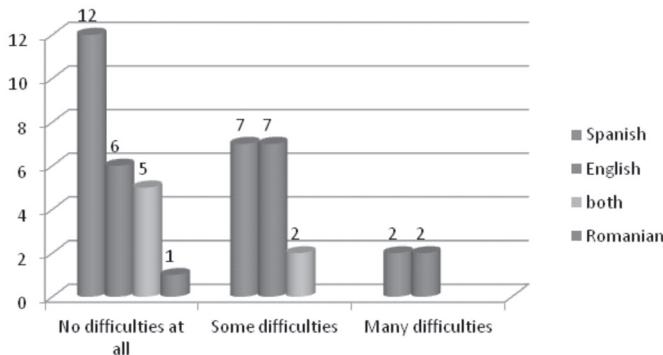


Figure 1. Communication difficulties

One question was about the percentage of necessary information the grant holders could access on Spanish host university websites. Naturally, the second part of this question referred to the languages in which this information was provided. According to 29 respondents, the information was released in Spanish or co-official regional languages (21 out of 29 found between 70-100% of the necessary information on host institution websites); 9 stated the information was provided in both English and Spanish (7 of 9 considered the percentage to be between 80-100%); only 5 respondents remembered being able to access useful information in English, 3 of whom considered the percentage to be under 50%.

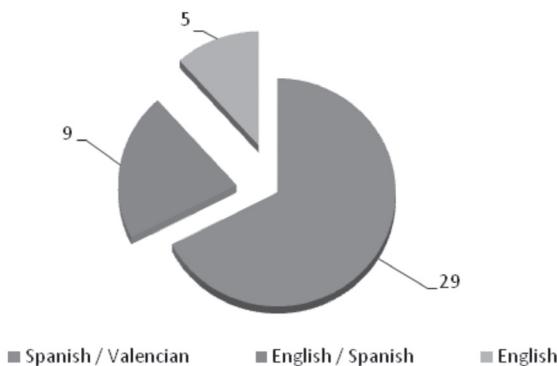


Figure 2. Languages of host institution information

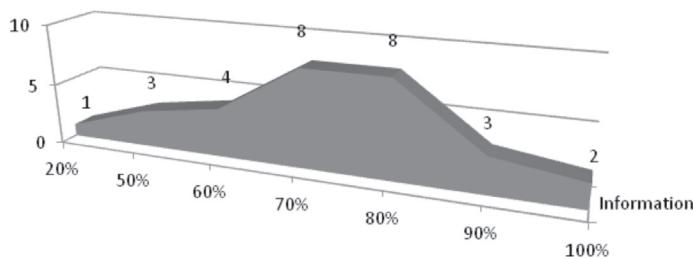


Figure 3. Percentage of information

One postgraduate student stated, remarkably, that information on postgraduate studies was provided only in Spanish but that undergraduate information was in both Spanish and English. This is quite unexpected since the mobility tendency should have been higher at the postgraduate than undergraduate level some years ago, although it seems to be changing now, probably due to the European Space for Higher Education. When asked about the type of contact and language used upon arrival at the host institution, the following results were obtained:

- a) 'I first contacted an acquaintance, friend, or relative'
 - 6 communicated in Spanish
 - 1 communicate din English
 - 11 communicate din Romanian
- b) 'I first contacted an administration officer'
 - 17 communicated in Spanish
 - 3 communicated in English
- c) 'I first contacted a professor'
 - 1 communicated in Spanish
 - 1 communicated in English
 - and 5 communicated in Romanian (again, those from the Leonardo project)

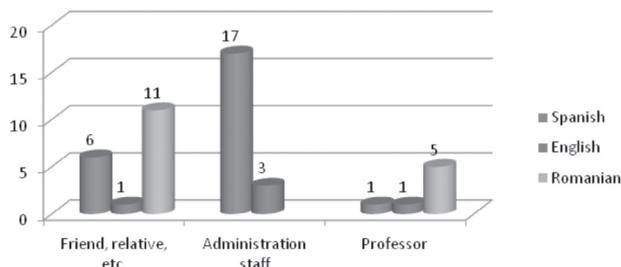


Figure 4. Language of first contact

The item ‘problems in adapting to daily life due to language’ produced interesting results. With this question I was trying to determine to what extent respondents were affected by monolingualism in Spanish society (i.e., apart from the regional co-official languages). If the monolingual stereotype proved to be reality, integration for foreigners would be quite difficult, despite the proverbial hospitality and friendliness of the host society. However, the survey results showed that the Romanian students’ Spanish language level was generally considerable upon arrival, which was corroborated by the 13 respondents who declared having had no difficulties at all during the adaptation phase (except with Catalan or Galego).

Nevertheless, 12 respondents reported serious adaptation problems. The following reasons were among the responses: ‘people spoke no languages other than Spanish’; ‘I took it for granted that since I had a good command of Italian, Spanish would be relatively easy, which was not the case’; ‘I could understand some Spanish but couldn’t speak’; ‘My university professors couldn’t speak any English, so I failed my exams’; or ‘everything was in Spanish on the website and in brochures and I couldn’t apply for transport or meal subsidies like my colleagues did’. Ten other respondents admitted having had ‘some problems’, either because their hosts couldn’t speak any English or because their Latin American colleagues used many unfamiliar words and expressions.

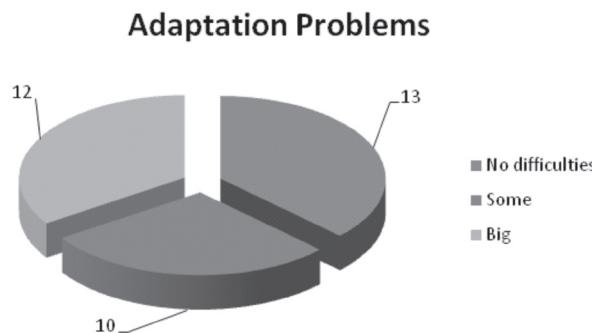


Figure 5. Adaptation problems

The fact that Romanian students in Spain tended to establish social contact with students from other nations (23 of 46 respondents), rather than with their Spanish classmates or even other Romanians, is also telling. When the students were asked in which language they solved daily life issues and basic needs, Spanish was the most prevalent response. Housing matters were discussed in Spanish by 38 respondents, compared to 6 who did so in English. Documentation problems, visa procedures, and formalities in general were resolved in Spanish by 39 respondents; only 5 used English (one of which complained about the total lack of assistance in other languages at the Foreigners' Office). When dealing with meals or transportation, Spanish completely predominated: 42 and 43 had to use Spanish vs. 2 and 1, respectively, who could manage in English. Before explaining the final three questions, which are of a more subjective nature, one final aspect should be pointed out: the amount of printed or electronic matter in languages other than Spanish that students received while studying abroad. These are the results:

- 36 respondents remember having received all the administrative documents in Spanish, versus 3 who received them in English and 5 who did so in both languages.
- 24 respondents remember having received all the general, tourist, and cultural matter in Spanish, while 3 received it in English and 16 in both languages.

- 31 respondents remember having received all course material in Spanish, while 3 received it in English and 9 received it in both languages.

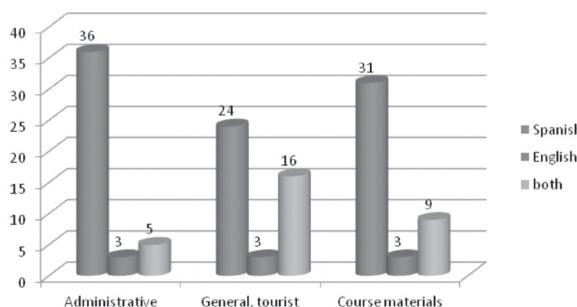


Figure 6. Spheres of languages use

So we see that both oral and written skills were equally necessary for communication during this type of exchange program, since Spanish was necessary in the majority of cases in each sphere. However, the respondents did not necessarily find this a drawback. When asked about the degree of satisfaction they had with their cultural contact during their stay, the responses were positive. Some of the remarks point out that 'even if it was difficult at the beginning with the staff and population speaking no English, it turned out to be an advantage in the long run since I was forced to learn Spanish faster and more intensely'. Satisfaction scores on a scale from 1 to 10 were given by the Romanian students regarding language experience:

- 10 (15 respondents)
- 9 (14)
- 8 (10)
- 7 (4)
- 6 and 5 (1 each)

Only one person was not satisfied at all (who gave score of 2): a Leonardo journalist who was disappointed by the impossibility of communicating with the man in the street and even university students or

staff in languages other than Spanish. Among other remarks we find: ‘it is very difficult to communicate because they don’t usually speak English. And when they do, it would be better if they were speaking Spanish’. The second part of this subjective question enquired about the degree of satisfaction vs. the respondents’ initial expectations. Not surprisingly, 36 students thought that their expectations coincided with their satisfaction levels either highly or very highly; 9 respondents found a low level of coincidence and one found they did not coincide at all.

Due to the subjectivity involved, one challenging point of the survey was a question regarding the degree of awareness of academic authorities, teaching staff and administrative staff about the adaptation problems and difficulties foreign students face when coming to Spain. Two respondents gave a score of 100% to the authorities, teaching staff, and administrative staff; 90% was given by seven respondents to the authorities and by five to the teaching staff; 80% was given by twelve respondents to the authorities and by ten to teaching and administration staff; 70% was given by nine respondents to authorities and administration staff and by four to teaching staff. Without going into further detail, the tendency is clear. Romanian mobility students in Spanish universities regarded academic authorities and teaching and administration staff as highly aware of adaptation difficulties, which could be construed as sensitivity, empathy, and commitment.

3.2 The University of Alicante: a case in point

The University of Alicante’s (UA) *Strategic Plan* (web.ua.es/en/peua/strategic-plan.html) encompasses seven strategic and operational axes that are defined in the following terms:

- Axis 1: International Policy
- Axis 2: Cooperation for Development
- Axis 3: Financing
- Axis 4: Human component
- Axis 5: Organization and management

Axis 6: Communication, social dissemination, and promotion

Axis 7: Foreign languages

For the purposes of this article, we are naturally interested in the first and seventh axes. Two branches are defined on the first axis: supporting and enhancing the internationalization of UA and improving quality and increasing mobility. Two aspects are being developed in the first branch: reinforcing and widening relations with relevant institutions (through international and Erasmus agreements) and external promotion of UA by participating in international associations and bodies of higher education. Targets in the second branch were jointly set by the Quality and International Relations units and associated actions were measured by indicators. Thus, the mobility of home staff and students is to be increased by such actions as raising the number of grants, improving coordination between Erasmus itineraries and local curricula, offering incentives, creating frameworks for placement abroad, enhancing continuing education programs, etc. The number of foreign students is to be increased by encouraging degree programs at UA by means of enhancing the international character of its postgraduate studies, creating special tutorial programs for foreign students, and creating exchanges with Asian countries, primarily China but also Japan, India, and Korea.

The other axis of interest here involves foreign language competence, with two branches devoted to: ‘training teaching and administration staff as well as students in English and other languages’ by means of actions such as diversifying course offerings, creating multimedia courses, signing agreements with official bodies that award language level certifications, expanding the Chinese and Japanese departments, and ‘promoting and supporting the use of professional English or other languages’ by creating a special cabinet for language matters, writing a report on the recognition of linguistic skills in the new academic curricula, designing a plan for the translation of curricula, and course material into English with a view to giving class in English. Sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2 will be dedicated to analyzing, in light of the above-described survey’s results, certain aspects of the *Strategic Plan for improved quality and internationalization*

currently being implemented at UA. Actions and indicators indicative of internationalization policy parameters will be pointed out to clarify the priorities of the academic authorities leading this institution.

3.2.1 Internationalization policies at the University of Alicante

Anyone who accesses the Vice-Rectorate for International Relations and Cooperation page on the UA website comes across a menu of the following items, which seem to be the pillars of UA's internationalization policy:

1. Student mobility.
2. Teaching Staff mobility.
3. Administration Staff mobility.
4. International Agreements.
5. Foreign Languages.

When accessing the activity report for the previous academic year, we find the following declaration of intentions: 'The UA, through the Vicerrectorado of International Relations and Cooperation, promotes and *gestiona* (sic) the international university cooperation: the exchanges of *alumnado*, profesorado, and personal of administration and services, in an *imparable* process of internationalization of the institutions of upper education in Europe and all over the world, that constitutes one of the strategic axes of the University of Alicante¹' Regarding the Erasmus initiative as an initial stage of the European Space for Higher Education, UA has been awarded the Extended Erasmus University Charter by the EC for its success in promoting activities that support the Erasmus Program and one of its most important divisions, the Lifelong Learning Program (in which 383 Erasmus agreements have been signed with institutions of higher education from France, Germany, Italy, and the UK). In 2009/2010 alone, 37 new agreements were signed by UA for exchanges of knowledge and scientific, technological and training experience. In the academic year 2009-2010, 909 students from all corners of the EU studied at the University

of Alicante for one or two semesters. The number of outgoing students represents half (458) of those incoming, and one of the main reasons for this is related to financial resources. Apart from European mobility, UA promotes exchanges with universities in the USA, Canada, Australia, Mexico, Chile and Brazil. Last year an agreement with a Chinese University was signed and three UA students have already studied there.

3.2.1.1 Teaching Staff mobility

Teaching Staff mobility grew (56) compared to 2008/2009 (50) and 2007/2008 (48) although the peak period was 2004/2005 (72) and 2003/2004 (79). The number of faculty hosted by UA was similar to the number who went abroad in 2009/2010. A new program has been implemented this year, the 'Programa Propio para el Fomento de las Relaciones Internacionales' (Internal Program for the Promotion of International Relations). Its €100,000 budget is devoted to the mobility of faculty and researchers involved in three main types of internationalization activities: international conferences organized abroad, temporary positions at UA for foreign professors, and projects to internationalize UA Faculties/Centres. The faculty mobility program imposes no language prerequisites for the time being, although San Miguel (2011) reports that UA intends to set norms for the use of English in the classroom by requiring a *C1 level* for professors in charge of ARA groups ('Alto Rendimiento Académico' – High Academic Achievement).

At the moment, UA only offers one ARA option, but next academic year there will be four. Funding can reach €500 per week for faculty wishing to improve their level of English for this special purpose via studying abroad and language training programs. Faculty mobility participants with Erasmus grants do not count on language courses in either the host country or at UA before they leave. Instead, a series of language courses is offered by the UA International Centre of Languages for faculty and administration. Years ago such courses used to be free, but now fees are charged that are refundable for students who pass the final exam. According to San Miguel, UA faculty, while abroad, teach in either the language of the host country or in English.

3.2.1.2 Administration Staff mobility

Seven administration staff members participated in training abroad in 2009/2010, staying in the UK, France, Germany, Romania, Poland, and Bulgaria as part of 'Erasmus Programme Staff Training'. New agreements were signed with Denmark and Italy to broaden the range of destinations for LLP-Erasmus participants from UA. On the other hand, programs that had been in place for many years continued sending up to 20 administration staff members to British, German, and French universities. UA administration staff have several options for improving their language skills: they can either take a course at a partner university (such as Bath, Dublin, Limerick, Edinburgh, London [Westminster], Bremen, Manheim, Weimar, Chambery, or Montpellier), a choice made by 20 people in 2009-10, or they can apply for the Erasmus Staff Training grant, which seven members were awarded last year.

Apart from these 'training abroad' programs, administration staff are offered courses by the International Centre of Languages; as in the case of professors, administrators pay a tuition fee refundable upon passing the final exam (English, French or German). These courses are not compulsory, although each classroom hour counts as $\frac{1}{2}$ hr. worked on their timecards. As the Head of the Administration² informed me, there are no specific foreign language level pre-requisites, except for certain administration positions. Instead, candidate CVs indicate their language qualifications, which is why we do not have an exact picture of staff language skills, seeing that some members might not have added this information and others although possessing a certificate, might not really have usable skills. The table below shows the foreign language (and Valencian as a co-official language) competence of administration staff members (1,486 in total) according to language and level.

	A1	A1+A2	B1	B2	C1	C2	Percentage
	5	9.7	22	10.3	4.9	0.13	52.01
French	7.7	11.44	4.24	1.7			25
German	4.7	4.6	0.9	0.67			10.9
Arabic	1						0.07
Greek	1	1					0.13
Italian	0.54	0.27	0.13				0.9
Russian	0.13		0.07				0.2
Valencian		5.9	18.4		26	8.07	58.4

Table 1. Foreign language skills of UA administration staff (PAS) by language and level (source: UA)

As previously mentioned, some services and positions require a good command of one or several foreign languages, and such is the case with the entire International Relations and Mobility Service team, the European Projects Unit, the Placements Unit (Vice-Rectorate for Student Matters), the Department of Translation and Interpreting, the Faculty of Economics, the Higher Institute for Applied Languages, and The Ramón Margalef Institute for Sciences, which in all represents 17 of the 1,486 total administration positions. The final internationalization parameter I would like to discuss here is the services the UA offers in languages other than Spanish and Valencian. UA's Vice-Rectorate for Institutional Relations has a well-developed news department that updates the academic community and maintains contact with the media. As Silva³ reports, everything on the university's main news page (except for items of local or internal interest) is released in Spanish, Valencian, and English. A professional translator is responsible for the English versions.

Since the 1990s, UA has run a 'virtual campus', one of the first in Spain, and the university website and all IT applications are linked to it. According to Aparicio and Ruiz (IT Services, University of Alicante)⁴, all electronic information is released in at least the two official languages (an administration productivity parameter) and frequently in English. In certain cases an English version is compulsory (e.g., curricula, in order to receive recognition) but this is one among other productivity factors. In

these cases, the translation is done by either a professional, a student intern, or a machine. For IT translations (mainly institutional information), an English version is produced with DejaVu software and then revised by a translator. IT Services do not provide machine translation to the rest of the campus since it only handles information related to its own purposes. Other purposes involve other channels such as the web, which includes information uploaded by users. Aparicio informed us that the Mobility Unit, for example, publishes most of its data in English, whereas the Personnel Unit announces job openings in Spanish.

The co-official language is handled quite differently from the lingua franca; there is a Valencian unit dedicated exclusively to resolving language issues. On request by any department, its staff provide, at no cost, revised machine translations, which are, unlike for many language pairs, already near optimal. This is due to the work of Prof. Mikel Forcada and his team, who have developed the Apertium translation program, a free-architecture system capable among other pairs, of Romanian-Spanish translation. They were awarded a Google Summer of Code prize in 2009, 2010 and 2011⁵. The only non-electronic information published by UA I could find in the non-official languages was a student guide in English. It addresses mobility students specifically and foreign visitors in general, providing basic information on UA's services (academic, cultural, etc.). The only course not offered in Spanish or Valencian, apart from the previously-mentioned ARA courses, was in the International Business Program⁶.

3.2.1.3 Student mobility

The following figures show the evolution of outgoing UA Erasmus undergraduate students over the last seven years. These figures are not surprising considering a study conducted by the European Parliament (IP/B/CULT/IC/2009-053) which indicated that finances were among possible barriers to more intense mobility. The decrease in outgoing students from the UA is evident when comparing academic years 2003/2004 (540), 2004/2005 (497), 2005/2006 (537), 2006/2007 (518) with the early signs

and evolving of the crisis in 2007/2008 (480), in 2008/2009 (377) and in 2009/2010 (458). The most prolific year for visiting students at UA was 2006/2007, with 1,012. An annual average of 900 students from abroad makes UA one of the most sought-after Spanish destinations.

The greatest activity occurred in the Arts and Economics faculties, both for incoming (384 and 296 respectively) and outgoing students. Regarding the nationalities of visiting students, the available information is for all registered students, local and visiting. Since this includes foreign residents studying at UA, precise figures are impossible. In fact, undergraduate data from 2009/2010 indicate that the majority of foreign students at UA were not part of an exchange program but were foreign residents from the following countries:

1. Argentina (138)
2. Columbia (99)
3. Russia (98)
4. Romania (91)
5. Morocco (91)
6. Italy (83)
7. France (77)
8. Ecuador (72)

Although the Italian mobility numbers might have to do with EU programs, the French presence could be due to multiple factors: Erasmus, being a neighbouring country, a certain tradition in relations, the children of Spanish emigrants to France, or French residents in Alicante (which is, incidentally, the Spanish territory with the highest rate of foreign residents). The presence of students from Latin American countries could be due to agreements with UA or the numerous migrants from that region living in the area (some with double nationality resulting from former bilateral agreements). The Moroccan presence could be due to the fact that UA features a prestigious department of Arab Studies and also that Moroccans are the third most numerous migrant community in Spain.

The reasons for the Eastern European presence are slightly different. An upper class group of Russians, for example, settled in southern Alicante in the 90's and their sons and daughters are now pursuing university degrees. The presence of Romanian (91 students at the University of Alicante in 2009/2010), however, could have a dual nature: on the one hand, Romanians (at more than 800,000) are the most numerous immigrant community and their second generation has reached the age of higher education; on the other hand, as we have seen, Spain is (after France) a favourite destination for Romanian Erasmus (and other) grant-holders. Unlike the undergraduate panorama, things are quite different in postgraduate courses. Cuba (13) and Chile (11) lead in foreign graduate students, followed by Mexico (8) and Morocco (7) or Columbia (7).

One interesting aspect of student mobility has to do with the language level required for an Erasmus grant. According to San Miguel (in May 2011)⁷, outgoing students must have a certificate showing they possess at least a *B1* level (or similar) in English, French, German or Italian⁸. Those without such certification can either take a test or pass courses at the UA's International Language Centre. These courses were free some years ago but, currently (due to non attendance), half the tuition is reimbursable only for students achieving a *B1* level. For incoming students, a free 30-hour Spanish course is still offered, although this course no longer exists at host universities abroad. Continued study beyond the 30 class hours is charged.

3.2.2 An illustration

A sample of 19 Romanian mobility grant-holders (Erasmus, Leonardo, or other) at UA was also surveyed to compare their views with the main internationalization parameters that have been put into practice at UA. The main purpose for this is to detect the success or failure of actions undertaken by the university to update the position of foreign languages in its internationalization policies drawn.

Of the 19 respondents (15 women; age range age 21-36), seven carried out their application correspondence with UA in English. Four experienced

some difficulties or misunderstandings; two experienced many difficulties; and one experienced no difficulties at all. Eight of the respondents corresponded in Spanish, of whom four had some difficulties, two had many, and two none – which seems rather balanced. Three respondents corresponded in both languages and experienced no difficulties at all, as did, obviously, the one student who communicated in Romanian.

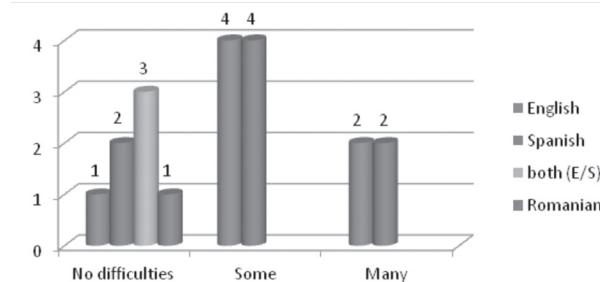


Figure 7. Romanian grant-holders' difficulties corresponding with UA

At first glance, the most noticeable result is that grant holders with both English and Spanish skills avoided all difficulties and misunderstandings in their correspondence. The question ‘In what language/s did you find necessary information on the university website?’ resulted in the following:

- a) The percent of necessary information available in Spanish
 - 4 respondents found 80%
 - 2 respondents found 70%
 - 2 respondents found 100%
 - 3 respondents found 50%
 - 1 respondent found only 20%
- b) The percent of necessary information available in English
 - 1 respondent found 30%
 - 1 respondent found 70%
 - 2 respondents found 50%
- c) The percent of necessary information available in both Spanish & English
 - 3 respondents found 90%

Thus, the majority of Romanian mobility grant holders found the most pertinent information in Spanish.

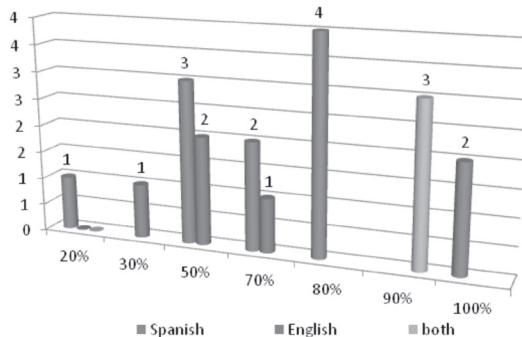


Figure 8. Languages found in the UA website

Regarding the first contact at UA, seven Romanian grant holders preferred administration staff (six communicated in Spanish and one in English), six chose an acquaintance/friend/relative (all, except one, communicated in Romanian), and six contacted a university professor (again, all except one, communicated in Romanian). Besides first contacts, the Romanian grant holders were also asked with whom they established social relations. They tended to socialize with co-nationals (8), fellow students of other nationalities (7), and distinctly less with Spaniards (4).

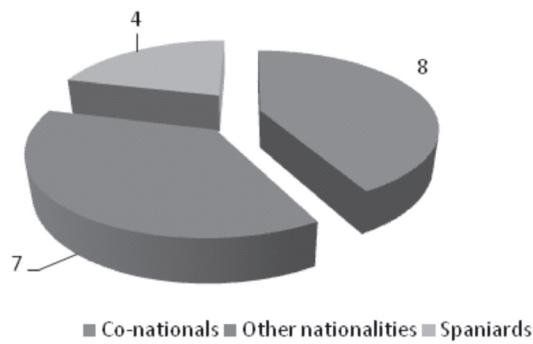


Figure 9. Socializing

Spanish was the most-used language the Romanian students resorted to in order to solve basic needs. Housing negotiations were conducted primarily in Spanish (15 Spanish vs. 4 English), while meal- and transportation-related conversations were equally distributed (18 Spanish, 18 English). For official/formal procedures, 14 used Spanish, 3 English, and 2 both languages. The Romanians' written communication with UA, both on paper and electronically, was predominantly in Spanish. Eighteen of nineteen respondents recalled having received administrative documents in Spanish (the other was English); sixteen received tourism and cultural information in Spanish vs. two in English and one in both languages; fifteen received course material in Spanish vs. 3 in both Spanish and English and one in English.

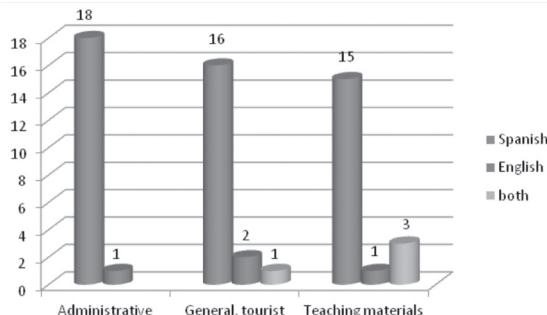


Figure 10. Languages of the written material received by Romanian students from UA

Finally, the following are the Romanian students' ratings of the UA staff (academic authorities, faculty members, and administrators) awareness level about the difficulties a foreigner faces upon arrival:

1) Authorities

Aware	Nr. informants
100%	1
90%	1
80%	8
70%	2
60%	3
20%	1
10%	1

2) Teaching staff

Aware	Nr. informants
90%	2
80%	3
70%	3
60%	2
50%	3
20%	3

3) Administrators

Aware	Nr. informants
100%	1
90%	2
80%	4
70%	3
60%	1
50%	2
30%	3
10%	1

10 out of 19 respondents set authorities on a very high degree of awareness (between 80% and 100%), 7 respondents set administrators within the same parameters, while only 5 set faculty on the same range. Therefore, in the light of these results we might argue that out of the three involved groups (academic authorities, teaching staff, and administrators), professors seem to be the least aware of these problems at the University of Alicante.

4 Conclusions

One of the conclusions that can be drawn from all this (although there is still much to say about internationalization in terms of communication or research) is that the University of Alicante has made some progress toward internationalization, although there are still quite a few things

to be done. A necessary tool when approaching the internationalization of higher education is a catalogue of parameters or indicators defined in homogeneous terms that can be applied in general. Many authors who deal with this issue discuss mobility, bilingual degrees, distance courses, and the dissemination of research, but we still lack a clear, hierarchical taxonomy of these parameters so that the level of internationalization specific institutions have attained at specific points can be determined.

The lack of such organization might be symptomatic, insomuch as we have seen public and private, as well as more urban and more provincial public universities, set different priorities and pace their actions differently. As far as internationalization is concerned, the vicerector believes that UA is complying with some indicators (such as student and faculty mobility, participation in international research groups, joining European Programs) but doing not so well with others, such as involvement in international master's and doctoral programs, participation in Erasmus Mundus or the ratio of services offered in languages other than Spanish/Valencian.

The great handicap that UA is faced with is the scant number of courses given in foreign languages compared to the entire degrees or a master's in English provided by other Spanish universities. 'This lack', the vice rector says, 'reduces our attractiveness to overseas students and researchers, which is counterbalanced, to a certain extent, by our climate and campus conditions'. She adds, however, that 'internationalization policies should now focus on master's and doctoral training, and one key priority is offering postgraduate courses in English'. When asked about UA's *internationalization ranking*, she argues that 'we are perhaps at an upper middle level, because there are a few things with which we have had really good results, including the three PhD programs with Cuba and the number four position we hold in exchanges with China, besides our very good student mobility results, although this aspect still can be improved'.

One of the flaws the Vice-rector identifies – besides the university's lack of a consistent international communication policy – is the imbalance among faculties: not all are equally active. The best levels occur in the

Faculty of Economics and, recently, Polytechnics (updating its backward position very quickly), followed by the sciences. The Faculty of Arts is not among the most mobile, despite the number of language departments it involves. The other faculties are still far from being competitive in terms of mobility. The relatively little information and guidance provided in languages besides Spanish and Valencian should also be added to this list.

Furthermore, the entire UA website has not been translated into English, and those sections that have are not entirely coherent, which indicates a lack of supervision and feedback. Nevertheless, the survey with Romanian Erasmus students revealed a very high degree of satisfaction, so what we considered a liability became an asset in that they took advantage of the opportunity to improve their Spanish. This coincides with certain findings of the above-mentioned EU study. The other side of the coin is not to what extent this university or Spanish universities or, for that matter, universities worldwide comply with internationalization (and other) indicators as a quality guarantee, but rather who establishes those parameters and to what end. These are basic questions, after all, about institutions claiming a central position in the world of research.

Notes

1. This is a direct quote from the site, obviously machine translated. The italics are mine (see <http://web.ua.es/en/memoria09-10/vr-relaciones-internacionales/international-programs-and-mobility.html>).
2. Structured qualitative interview with Álvaro Berenguer, UA Head of Administration, and manager Yolanda Gil.
3. Semi-structured qualitative interview with José Angel Silva, Head of the Secretariat for Coordination and Communication.
4. Structured qualitative interview with Juan Manuel Aparicio, Head of IT Resources and Web Services Area and Enrique José Ruiz, Head of the UA IT Service.
5. For more information visit: <http://www.google-melange.com/gsoc/homepage/google/gsoc2011>
6. Course5 ECTS.<http://economics.ua.es/en/vri/international-business-programme/international-business-programme.html>
7. Structured qualitative interview with Dr. Begoña San Miguel, Sociologist, Vice-Rector for International Relations and Cooperation since 2006.

8. B1 is the minimum compulsory level when foreign universities do not require a given level; if they do (such is the case of British institutions requiring a B2 or C1), then UA proceeds accordingly.

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THE POSITION OF LITERARY THEORY AND TRANSLATION IN THE GLOBAL UNIVERSITY

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Abstract

In this paper, the question of literary theory and translation and their position in the Global University will be approached using three arguments: 1) Premises: criteria and specification of the terms of our position; 2) Insight into the historical dialectics of the three main moments or stages in university institutions; 3) Review on the character of Global Universities in the light of both premises and historical dialectics referring and according to the globalization we know and can predict.

Keywords: globalization, dialectics of university evolution, Global University, literary theory and translation

1 Premises: Criteria and specification of the terms of our position

The premise on which this reflection is based is a vital humanistic foundation because it is in principle the only possible criterion to specify two disciplinary entities characteristically of humanistic creation: Literary Theory and Translation. The term Literary Theory refers first and foremost to Rhetoric and Poetics in their traditional and ancient sense as *technes* that have survived until now at the heart of humanities, and secondly, for

the sake of rigour, as literary theory in a general sense that comes after the object, whether it refers to literary criticism, theory of hermeneutics or comparative literature, and finally, on a wider scale, to literary Aesthetics. Furthermore, translation refers clearly not only to the mere activity of transferring a text from one language to another, along with the whole task that it entails, but especially to Traductology as the theory of translation, and eminently to the philological activity of translating suitably very elaborate texts that are artistic or philosophical, simply literary or of an academic nature. We are looking, then, at a series of disciplinary entities considered to be characteristically humanistic throughout western history.

As regards the Global University, this term is used to refer to a high academic institution describing it according to its present aspect which suggests it belongs to the phenomenon of 'globalization' – this being its most recent and novel phase and making it worthy of examination or interpretation. Clearly, the Global University is symmetrical, analogous and, as a terminological construction, somehow a descendent of the global village. The word 'globalization' was in fact preceded by the coined phrase global village, disseminated more than a decade previously thanks to Marshall McLuhan's successful books – although everything seems to point to the fact that this new phrase was not born until the penultimate decade of the 20th century. Such was the case in the English language, but in a natural and almost immediate way its use spread to most languages, drawing its success from the strength it received from its use in Spanish and English, as opposed to the French option *mondialization*. Both terms, however, transmit the meaning of internationalization, and we must acknowledge the fact widely agreed on that its purpose is economical and market orientated, and its phenomenography, so to speak, is based on the expansion of two elements: new technologies and transport.

In our opinion, it is important to stress the fact that globalization is only possible today thanks to the relation between the West and the Far East: that is, the connection between both ends that in turn represent the two main universal cultures; it is the idea of opposites being complimentary. With this in mind, the greatest operation of cultural universality means the highest level and, therefore, sublimity; hence the potential *sublime* aspect

of globalization. It is worth noting that globalization bears no contrary implications or sub-meanings, but rather meanings which converge with the essential principles of humanistic thought, since it implies a certain universalistic sense, one of *universality* and of positive conceptualization of all men and all nations and even humanity, to the extent that one can even conceive an *idea of humanism*, and, therefore, of *human dignity*.

Nevertheless, the problem becomes clear after considering the potential cultural content of globalization. Although at first sight globalization may show a pleasant aspect of humanism of general (and not excluding) value, it also shows clear principles of a restrictive economic nature and of commercial and financial repercussion, making the cultural element completely subsidiary at best, sometimes even relegated to the role of a plausible companion resulting from market activity and transactions. As it is, this briefly described phenomenon has served as a criteria frequently adopted by 'globalist' or community policies in the European Union from its foundation to this day. However, I have no intention of evaluating the subject, but it is important to note the following fact: despite implying a meaning which is related to the very concept of *universitas*, and allowing a hypothetical humanistic expansion, describing university institutions as 'global' – bearing in mind what has been previously observed, or even in a secondary equivalence to 'global village' – has no particular academic, cultural, or scientific value that could reaffirm the institution's own identity. At best, if this were possible it would strongly underline a wider location than that of a city, a country or a continent, thereby upholding the idea of internationalism and universality, which is definitely the preferable option for what we see as the correct idea of the university as an institution.

2 About the historical dialectics of the three main moments or stages in the institution of the university

For this next point I would like to propose a hypothesis – that is, visualizing something as a whole in order to avoid a strict and successive tiresome historical reconstruction of university institutions. It is a matter of considering the dialectics of the historical process as a quick memory

operation. As we will see in short, this will allow us to determine the three unequivocal stages on which dialectics were founded. Having established this, it will then become feasible to begin interpreting the reality that the term Global University describes. However, let us start by mentioning a few specific points that will assist us in our hypotyposis.

It is true that in China one can find academic establishments that date back one or two millennia before Christianity – and even some that, according to tradition, have maintained their link with the original methods. It may also be useful to remember that the first ‘European style’ university founded in Asia was a Spanish one, Santo Tomás, in Manila, 1611, after the first American universities, which were also Spanish. Among some of the configurations prior to the European university, it is possible to recall the case of Persia or another interesting predecessor, that of the medieval Upper Schools or *madrasas* brought to Spain by the Arabs. It is common knowledge that what we have labelled the ‘European style’ university is one of Christian medieval founding whose roots naturally lie deep in the Greco-Latin tradition; it is the *universitas* as an academic institution that has spread all over the modern world and which irrevocably leans progressively toward absolute science and personal autonomy.

A global perspective on *universitas*, established universally in order to comply with its very concept, allows us to differentiate three great historical moments or stages, namely: 1) the University as an ancient Greek institution; 2) the Christian medieval and Renaissance university; and 3) the Modern enlightened and neo-humanist university. The question that hangs like an *epoché* from such a hypotyposis is clearly whether this Global University of our time represents a fourth stage to add to the three main moments, whether it is a mere extension of the third, or whether it really does constitute an institution which, after a series of possible transformations in its principles and objectives, is a new institution altogether. I believe that, in considering the university as an ancient Greek institution, it is important to take into account the duality Athens-Alexandria. This not only represents the entirety of its cycle, but allows us to observe its evolution as one that took place in three stages which derived directly

from the evolution of three elements: a Socratic element introduced by Plato, an encyclopaedic-scientific element introduced by Aristotle, and the material crystallization of Alexandria's Museum and Library run by Ptolemy and to which Demetrio Falereo (or de Falero) later added the Aristotelic Lyceum library after running away from Athens and being named a great librarian in the town he fled to.

The Academy of Athens, created by Plato in 387 B.C. on a tree-lined street beside the Academos gardens, was reformed in light of the Renaissance and later years and reconstructed in five intellectual or study periods that came to an end under the direction of Antioco in 529 A.D, when it was closed down by the Emperor Justinian. Whether described from its idealist, sceptical, or even eclectic point of view, it is a Socratic institution of philosophy and truth. The Academy, or more specifically its most renowned student, gave way in 336 B.C, after Plato's time, to a new school known as Aristotle's Lyceum, beside the Apollo Liceo temple, which was organized by Aristotle and focused particularly on each and every science and, therefore, much better equipped instrumentally and bibliographically. In 84 B.C. the Lyceum no longer existed, although the institution survived one way or another until the above mentioned Justinian decree whose aim was to promote Christian schools. However, as we have explained above, Demetrio Falereo (Aristotle's brightest Athenian disciple) added Aristotle's Lyceum library to the Alexandrian library Ptolemy I created beside the Museum, a construction that resembled an entire university complex based on the incredibly fertile bringing together of philology and philosophy and on scientific investigations in their widest sense. We could also add, although in a complementary manner and for conceptual purposes, two schools known as Pergamon and Antioch.

The medieval concept of the university is that of the Latin Christian *universitas* brought about by trade corporations made up of teachers and students that replaced monastic, municipal, and palatine schools and in 12th-century Europe projected a pre-Renaissance that followed the Carolingian model that would later be known precisely as the 'university renaissance'. It is an idea of university that would provide people with titles and job opportunities and a new social position. These were cathedral

schools or schools newly established by royal or papal privilege (the *Studium Generale*) with a strong international sense based on Christianity and Latin as a *lingua franca* that maintained the unity of knowledge by teaching the liberal arts (*trivium* and *quadrivium*) along with the higher disciplines of law, medicine and theology. After this first four or six-year course, occasionally including a sense of professionalism that could even meet a lower middle class standard, a doctor's title could take up to a decade to be achieved, at least in terms of obtaining a high qualification acknowledged and standardized in these disciplines in the Christian world. If students and teachers are known travellers there is a *peregrinatio* or pilgrimage element to the medieval university governed by specific impulses toward knowledge and a search for prestigious lecturers and institutions.

Not only does the Renaissance evolution not imply a rupture, unless we consider the coming protestant division, but first of all it implies a humanist encounter with the ancient Greco-Latin university which materialized after re-establishing classical ideals and collecting texts in addition to the example of Plato's Florentine Academy; the modern university – born in a truly modern state – is thus typically state-run. It represents the scientific world and culture of the Enlightenment and its Napoleonic and Anglo-Saxon reform implantation was at its most refined in the German Berlin model from the beginning of the XIX century (Humboldt's model). In it, teaching and research are inseparable and vital to the academic seminar, for it responds to the new scientific situation and develops thanks to a spirit of German neo-humanist idealism and progress gained through true planning and legislation which, beyond the more or less relevant or formal privileges, finds its destiny within science and its development using freedom of speech, research and professors. This model has an ultimate, synthetic consequence to it; that of a dialectized historic evolution where constant perfecting remains true to itself, true in the spreading of knowledge and the search for the truth which is vital since the expansion of the very first aim born in Athens-Alexandria.

3 Review of the character of Global Universities in the light of both premises and historical dialectics referring and according to the globalization we know and can predict

On examining the concept of the Global University it is important to acknowledge that the new adjective specification added to the previously existing noun refers in principle to the basis of 'globalization' – that is, to something which emanates from the market, from market internationalization, from its commercial and financial activity enforced by the improvement in transport and new electronic and computer technology. Globalization relies on the market and cybernetics; the most important general structure here is that of the immediate social surroundings, the society or group of societies that make up our Global University's habitat and communicate within the physical and virtual space occupied by nations, languages and continents. It is the idea of a *cybernetic university* that responds to the *information society* and *knowledge society*. The latter is of course faced with an enormous problem that is very important for us to analyze at this point since it represents in the simplest and most exemplary manner the semantic deficiency or incorrect interpretation relating to this subject. The heart of the problem is an error that consists in blithely transferring and later assimilating the first term within the second. On the other hand, this is very interesting and revealing since it shows the greatest deficiency in semantics and in the general understanding of our time when it comes to the mechanisms most frequently used in computerization and the potential strength of its synergy.

The use and later assimilation of the term 'information society' meaning 'knowledge society' is, at the best of times, a clear case of optimism that can only be based on a contented ignorance promoted by computer media. It is a case of something I have called the 'screen effect', that is to say, a type of physical flattening brought about by the loss of semantic volume on a computer level that is reflected on a psychological level due to a functional mimetic identification. Indeed, linguistically speaking, 'knowledge society' emerged from the acceptance of a false metaphor, which therefore does

not enrich nor complement the understanding of this reality but rather causes confusion on the matter. 'Information = knowledge' is nothing more than metonymy whereby the effect is confused with the cause, or perhaps a well-intentioned synecdoche. 'Information society' may or may not lead to a 'knowledge society' mainly because having information does not necessarily imply having knowledge, in the same way as acquiring a library is no guarantee of our access to wisdom. In fact, in the information/knowledge relation we see another phenomenon which is not only typical of our time but also common to mankind in what I believe could be defined as 'the paradox of the inverse', developed at length in the people's knowledge and that can easily be amplified through analogy: there's nothing like having a lot of time to waste, or having an easy income to spend, or having a wide availability of resources for access to bibliography for our ability to use them to deteriorate, which is now the case.

At present, it has been stated that the definitive loss of unity in science, caused by an absolute separation between human sciences and physical-natural sciences, along with the frequent internal separation of a given sector, has been followed by the equally definitive decrease in humanities. It is important to mention a crisis in humanities within the wider crisis in today's university, and the configuration of a Global University. Here I must turn to the knowledge that experienced teachers have today in order to make the following statement: the significant degree of disintegration in the humanities, or humanist disintegration, is defined by the following aspects: a loss of discourse (right now especially by students) and a disciplinary decrease in the general frame of humanism. That is to say, the progress we have seen so far has come to an end or is even going into reverse. And so it is that the Humboldtian model of modern university can be considered obsolete and now transformation basically means access to a model that consists in merging institutions focused on experimental studies and those focused on professional training.

The creation of a stage in which the cybernetic university is the basis of the Global University required four factors of an apparently very diverse nature but intricately connected: less training for students, an existing ideology of university/business collaboration, the introduction

of the concepts of market and computerization, and finally the end of the use of criticism. These are factors that together can, in many ways, be considered as *levelling out*. There is also a fifth factor, which we will not be discussing here, represented by the activism of certain recent and numerous non-academic groups who eventually have an immense influence. However, this is a very significant factor only in America and is still not very developed in European countries. The general decrease in student training (which will consequently lead to or already has lead to a decrease in teacher training) is at the very root of the problem and is derived in a very wide sense from a rather common Western process (which had a connection, however irregular, with certain aspects of the massive and fragmented young American society). As we know well, this process has been widely accepted in the civil services by means of a series of legal reforms in secondary education, certain social developments and a tendency to abandon all valuable discipline and criteria, even in an urban sense. This has been done under the guise of an often curious and mistaken ‘democracy’ largely connected to ‘political correctness’, a process nobody has ever tried to correct or discourage.

Furthermore, it is also important to underline the fact that this decrease in training and its psychological significance is slowly but steadily being forced upon us as a result of a clumsy use of what is known as the ‘image culture’, the ‘audiovisual culture’, and so on. From the very moment graphic images as a finished form offer human perception a truly standardized whole – one that is complete, perfect and equal – it becomes clear that perception mechanisms become free from having to constantly think and imagine. The aim of these activities is to design projects mentally, most of which are of our own individual creation, and what they produce is aimed toward complex domains and operations to be developed later on. Therefore, students half a century ago would have had to construct, imagine and configure the order and intellective sense of certain realities based on the small array of graphic realizations available using half-a-dozen sticks, so to speak. There is no need to stress the enormous creative intensity a child or teenage psyche would be able to apply when faced with a situation of such expectation – which is nowadays generally obsolete since the child

sees the light of the world reduced to a permanent projection through television and computer screens which show constructions of finished reality that lead to an unhealthy passive perception. In an attempt to alleviate this fact, certain superficial mechanisms have been used that are known as interactive mechanisms and which in no way solve this appalling intervention.

The result of all this is a decrease in the ability to conceptualize, to speak and to argue – both by speaker and receiver, of course. Students now hardly have the necessary conditions to produce or understand oral and written discourse with a certain length and degree of complexity, which of course is added to by an increasing unawareness of the basic elements of a cultural tradition which, from a schooling point of view, has undergone a very strong progressive loss in value and transmission. This is so because the humanistic transmission responds mainly to a culture that values words, respect toward a hierarchy of knowledge, and pedagogical communication. And what we have experienced is that we are the witnesses to a great loss. This is a fact we teachers have discussed along with many others, only more persistently and pointedly, and it is something that I, from my own personal experience, after twenty-five years of teaching, can assure. In spite of all this, we are unable to ignore the question of whether such evolution could be considered an historic fact, which has occurred naturally and is therefore quite acceptable. I will not discuss this any further.

The idea of university/business collaboration is, in principle, clearly oriented to the cooperation between these two organizations and fields of activity for the sake of a more appropriate integration of universities, especially by means of research agreements with bilateral sponsorship, and students carrying out practical exercises with a bridge toward later work opportunities for young graduates. This sphere of possible relations, very convenient in some aspects, has no doubt produced better results in the English-speaking world, as could be expected from its ethical, business and academic traditions. These relations pose problems both deep and superficial: the difficulty of adapting university organisms, aimed at teaching and investigating, to a business organism, whose existence is based on the cost-effectiveness of its product in a given market and for which

investigation only makes sense in relation to the company's profitability and never on a very long-term basis. The fact of the matter is that there has been a general attempt to level out this difficulty of adapting both their principles and aims by means of a teaching strategy that is in sync with modern perspective and competitive regulations in the free market, and thus leads to what can be known as an ideology of university/business collaboration.

In addition to this, however, the finalism of this profitability precisely represents the separation of potential future results between physico-natural sciences, applied to engineering, and human sciences. From a point of view of academics and of universities' internal structure, which is based on the ideology of placing university/business on the same level, and without any intention of denying certain unquestionable achievements in cooperation, the eventual consequence of this, however, is a deepening not merely of disparity but of an actual incompatibility between these two large fields of university teaching activity. There is no end to how serious this whole affair is, since the final outcome will be to leave the drama that underlies Western culture from the very beginning, and which grows little by little, unresolved. It is a matter of very delicate ethics and is already at the gates of very extraordinary extremes. We are talking, of course, about the huge phenomenon of biotechnology, which threatens to dominate the immediate future of cutting-edge experimental disciplines.

Although there are insufficient perceptible elements to lead us to believe that those mechanisms at risk by the university/business relation were the key to recent bureaucratic development (sometimes truly expansive) in the new university, the truth is that there seems to be a certain synergy between the business-financial world's horizon and the possibilities of extension and introduction of new organisms inside the academic system, uprooting comfortably and speedily the very foundations of an institution thousands of years, only comparable to the Church in that sense, to which it partly owes its medieval origin both from a point of view of politics and dialectics. But here the problem is that this academic institution, as opposed to a business, not only lacks a certain degree of internal control uses, but does not even have natural corrective mechanisms related to

certain unquestionable parameters such as profitability and, therefore, can sometimes cause a deformed expansion which is hard to set right.

Adopting a concept of the market as a mirror of the university has a very significant basic value since it tends toward putting the university and society on the same level, as if they were comparable, at the same time as it adds a surplus meaning to the new academic ideology of profitability from a point of view of curricular productivity and ‘industrialism’ so to speak, which at the same time promotes the physical expansion and mass buying of technical equipment. Clearly, this idea of curricular productivity, apart from its commendable ability to promote studying and self-improvement, somehow lays a whole marketing project on the table with consequences for investigation that will no doubt provoke an excessive academic development. The fact is that, essentially, true research is a very long, expensive and intense task and therefore refers to an individual vocation that cannot be improvised and to the creation of a personal intellectual project far from any kind of marketing and bureaucratic developments. Here the universal formula ‘bureaucracy kills investigation’ applies. It is clear that serious investigators have put in a lot of personal effort and hold an intellectual image amongst their colleagues that is a very decisive part of their patrimony, almost untouchable except by them.

In fact, today serious investigators are part of a small intellectual community, which regards itself as isolated within the general framework of the scientific and university community. Serious investigators are true intellectuals in the most solid sense of the word, and all the academic ideologies and consequences are in their eyes mere absurdities at best, while they attempt to survive inside academic institutions that only rarely are suitable for research and thinking. It is worth remembering the paradox, often mentioned among humanist scholars, according to which the very institution that supposedly shelters them and for which they work in practice exerts great pressure on them and, therefore, on their activity. It is along this path that a self-destructive sense of the word ‘university’ arises, one we frequent find in Latin-American countries and, let us say, is almost non-existent in the English-speaking university world, no doubt

due to its institutional tradition and public ethics in spite of it having an institutional structure such that it is more prone to absorbing market uses and its offer-demand relations. Indeed, this is one of the greatest differences in university geography worldwide.

At a time when some have begun to forget that all universities must necessarily be born from a library, and others appear never to have known such a fact, the expansion of computer systems, which are the instrumental basis of what we have named the cybernetic or global stage of university, is bound to carry out a substituting function and become a means of power. Traditionally libraries and bibliography, argumentative ability and even intellectual seduction or the ability for ideas to penetrate have acquired the image of authority used as power. Often, this power is hardly aggressive in terms of direct institutional political efficiency, but this new disposition for computer systems represents, apart from a potential public property and an already irreplaceable means for work, a replacement of everything instrumental and can be built as a mechanism of power that efficiently affects the university world as a whole under a pretence of control, innovation and, therefore, progress – now described as ‘quality’ by way of consumer goods.

Classrooms must be full of the most complete computer equipment, which not only implies an industrial impulse and a huge benefit for intermediate parties at the expense of the public, but also a way of homogenizing teaching and making the most perfect instruments ever dreamt of available to the field. All of this is very important to the levelling process and implies aggression not only toward university individuals, to their independence, but also a mechanism highly destructive to the great principles of university. It is true that in some experimental subjects and practices the use of computer systems is clearly of an at least complimentary use, but any teacher of law, ethics, literary theory, philosophy of history, logic or epistemology would clearly lose face with his colleagues or look foolish in front of his most modern students if he were to try and explain the fundamental concepts of his subject using electronic means and not mere words. This, as we will see later on, is part of an important contribution to the disintegration of universities.

This new and confusing state of affairs alone can explain certain wrong behaviour in public administration (with respect to the university institution and its management), as well as promoting bureaucratic interventionism in this field of activity that has reached one of its highest peaks in the obvious failure, especially in Latin-American countries, of general evaluation systems. Funnily enough, or perhaps due to this very failure, these evaluation systems, disguised beneath the renewed superstition of innovation and quality, are now intended to be re-launched and take up a new place in the final decision for selecting teachers. Moreover, since all bureaucracy tends toward perpetual and growing attributes, in time evaluators will ultimately constitute a new class. The fourth factor, which was first known as the decay in the ability to criticize, is nothing but a conclusive concept that can be drawn from the process described; it is a decay that is at the same time both the condition and the consequence of this process, which means it has a total, all-encompassing value. This is why reactivating criticism would serve as an antidote against levelling mechanisms in general and, in fact, one could say that it is the only antidote to be considered effective, thorough and hard to recreate. The worst part is that to acknowledge this decay, if the diagnosis is correct, would imply in itself the dissolution of the modern university institution as we inherited it.

Therefore, we should now rethink the question posed in our previous epigraph as to whether Global University represents a fourth stage in history to add to the three main previous ones, whether it is a mere prolongation of the third, or whether it really already establishes an institution which, as a result of possible transformations in principle and goals, ought to be considered as the emergence of a different institution, something new. If our analyses are confirmed, and nothing seems about to refute it in the foreseeable future, we must establish that the so-called Global University is essentially something new, a true breakthrough. However, this should not lead to the complete dissolution of the most relevant elements in the European humanistic science, already two-and-a-half millennia old. It is possible to create well-founded redoubts. There will be those who believe that all these considerations promote alarmism. I would simply say that

we have not worked so hard to gain so little. Allow me to offer some more observations on this general subject.

To keep things healthy, it is necessary to promote the academic determination of computer instruments as a means and not an object; to establish that the so-called 'knowledge society' as a consequence of an 'information society' is mere fantasy, and that turning humanistic disciplines back into physical, experimental disciplines is not the way to proceed, as if their nature could be altered to adapt to a new goal. Correct judgement states that if the required level of higher education (due to a reduction in teaching standards) is the level accepted at present, the solution does not lie in turning a good many universities – slowly but steadily – into large professional schools, nor in promoting actions that lead to a levelling control or which degrade theoretical subjects, but in guiding these schools without bringing about the complete destruction of the entity of research and teaching that universities represent.

I would like to propose that, in the face of this decline in human sciences we should create *redoubts*, which are of little cost and will allow the adequate survival of these fields of knowledge in favour of culture, reason and the future of freedom of thought. This is something Western countries can and must do; any solution to the contrary would be cultural suicide. And so, we must maintain the institution of university in its dedication to humanities in a reduced but rigorous manner in the shape of a minority group of centres for high and specialised studies, so that we can transform the majority of university campuses into large schools for higher and professional education; the latter creating an effective institutional link with the former. In my opinion, there is no other feasible or acceptable alternative. Otherwise, the human sciences in their higher stages would suffer the most, especially in Europe, which is their rightful place. Consequently, society as a whole would gradually suffer serious incalculable damages. Otherwise, an increasing amount of non-humanistic studies will continue to find their place more and more within already existent organisms and centres. Meanwhile, the applied disciplines, the leading and most widespread subjects, will adapt perfectly – as is already the case – and

become the leaders of these huge new practical and professional schools that our universities are turning into. One example: the question is not whether Translation in higher education should develop in one direction or another, but simply whether it should be promoted in a philological sense or it should become a sort of practical discipline such as the one taught in language schools and, in this case, duplicating in part an already established academic function.

I must now conclude by restating two obvious facts brought about by the Global University – the university of our time. It is true that both facts refer essentially to a starting point preceded by a long road and which is, furthermore, almost inevitably drawing to an end given the historical path that the academic institution (not just the university) has taken, along with educational policies in general in developed countries. I am referring, firstly, to the definite loss of unity in science, to its increasing fragmentation and its coverage not by fundamental disciplines based on theory, but by mere applications lacking any epistemological basis, or by the emergence of professional sectors that are now included in the course catalogues of universities and campuses as if they were theoretical and academic sciences. This is the case of professional disciplines, so important in other contexts. Secondly, I am also referring to the decrease in the humanities – a decrease related to everything I have mentioned above and which, although it could be specified, is so clear that we need not spend more time on it.

Therefore, as regards the Theory of Literature the Global University generally represents a decrease affecting both its individual and its academic positions, as is inevitable in the present framework of humanities. Having said this, we must propose and specify certain things, especially at a time when many formal and structural visions have collapsed and in Western areas ideological and sociological positions have emerged that are far from humanistic knowledge but claim to have the stature to replace it. There is one exception to this decrease, and it is derived from the renewed expansion of Comparative Literature – and Comparativism in general – precisely as a result of globalization and the amplification of international communications, the main consequence of which is that the continents are somehow ‘drawn

closer. Thus, the cultural relationship with Asia and Africa is acquiring a proximity and evidence unknown hitherto. It is true that a problem of linguistic relations and translation arises here that must be solved mainly through major languages, inasmuch as the idea of profitability will make any other possibility based on minority languages inconceivable.

Furthermore, it is now quite clear, and in fact rather inevitable, that as oral-based cultures – as opposed to written-based cultures – African literature is notably reflected upon in European languages. This does not, of course, mean that, although in small quantities, new waves of studies about these areas of knowledge will not be able to rise and grow in the field of the humanities (especially represented by Asian Orientalism and Africanism). With regards to translation, its disciplinary series (or intraseries) offer a peculiar circumstance of great and undeniable development, despite carrying at the same time a decrease in the previously mentioned order of Literary Theory. In truth, it is possible to predict an increase in academic translation tasks called for by this new comparatist expansion mentioned above.

However, what is most likely to take place is an interlinguistic reduction necessarily focused on the effective spreading of major languages in practical fields, while there may be a certain humanist compensation in the establishment and development of options for both comparatism and translation unnoticed in western universities, where Asian Orientalism and especially Africanism have played a completely secondary, minimal, and often non-existent academic role. In any case, it is a generally considered fact that Translation and the group of activities around which it takes place have over the last few decades multiplied their power and potential as a result of the ever-stronger internationalization of university campuses in every possible way. Thus, Translation as a discipline and as a practice has, as we can see, gone on to occupy a new, larger space devoted to necessary practical activities – although at the same devoid of philological grounds and theoretical principles. This is, therefore, a path that basically implies moving away from the heart of this discipline and its originally clear humanistic sense and role.

Note

This paper has been written without direct bibliographical sources since, although it provides (especially in the second epigraph) some historical and chronological information, this is nothing more than frequently used documentary data. For a thorough examination of the history of education in general, it is advisable to refer to the work of H.I. Marrou (*Histoire de l'éducation dans l'Antiquité*) and J. Bowen (*A History of Western Education*). Some of the historical elements I refer to which are not perhaps very widely known, such as the concept of *madrasa* or the first university in Asia, are well described in the articles by I. Donoso, volume IV (2007-2008) of *Hispanogalia*, which focuses on universities. In one of these articles ('The question of university today', pages 11-30) I was able to develop some arguments, which are mentioned in the third epigraph of this paper. In regards to the previous aspects of disciplinary epistemology, I refer you to my *Teoría de la crítica literaria* (Madrid: Trotta, 1994). Bibliography on globalization is very extensive, so I will only say that a selection of various well-discussed problems and arguments from a rare point of view can be found in a series of articles from volume II (2005-2006) of the *Hispanogalia* journal, which focuses on this field. I have commented on the particularities of globalization referring to general problems between western and Asian cultures in *Asia and the West: A Universal Perspective in the Era of Globalisation*, Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2008.

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE. The Role of New Technologies in Universities

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Abstract

Knowledge has acquired a growing political, economic, and military importance in contemporary societies. More and more countries are gradually recognizing knowledge as a strategic source of power and economic growth. On the other hand, old postulates of business competition are being replaced by the ability to innovate. But are universities, especially European ones, prepared to face these challenges? Starting from the premise of knowledge and globalization being the two main axis of our current life, this paper aims to investigate the role universities play within the knowledge society while it brings some examples to illustrate approaches adopted in different parts of the world.

Keywords: globalization, knowledge society, information society, European education model

1 Introduction

The present crisis is destroying the old economic model. Even new emerging countries are largely orienting their productive activity toward knowledge; and the fact is that globalization leaves little room for progress

according to the old postulates of business competition (cheap labour, access to raw materials, low quality, etc.). Knowledge and the ability to innovate seem to be the only possible strategies, especially when referring to advanced¹ economies. The Internet is a key tool for progressing in the knowledge society. However, it is worth considering whether universities are sufficiently diligent in the use of such tools: are they exploiting them according to the potential and current needs of society? Determining good practice in this situation can help us move forward toward our goals.

In the broad reforms some countries have undergone as to adapt their educational systems to the European Space for Higher Education, the use of new technologies and the Internet are not central matters. In fact, awareness that these tools can (by facilitating the ‘mobility of knowledge’²) help draw the linguistic and cultural diversity of the European Union together does not appear in the very definition of the main objectives of the European education model. The fact that some very anticipatory *eLearning* projects – launched by corporations linked with prominent US and UK universities – were not successfully carried out should not be attributed to a lack of corporate interest. Rather, apart from limitations in the projects’ design, there was a lack of receptivity toward implementing such internet-based methodology.

At present, however, things have changed. For example, the *OpenCourseWare consortium*³, originally developed by MIT and later joined by universities all over the world, approaches this subject with a broadly supported philosophy⁴ that such electronic methods are vital for the mobility (i.e., universality) of knowledge, the quality of instruction, and the prestige of the universities themselves. European policies, on the other hand, are situated far from these uncertainties, which is something worrying, to say the least; they are preoccupied with old dilemmas and debates⁵ that barely make way for challenges stemming from new social demands. Such demands, magnified by the economic crisis, will bring about massive changes, new paradigms, and, especially, unequivocal calls for progress in the knowledge society.

2 The framework in which we operate: knowledge and globalization

As mentioned earlier, knowledge has acquired a growing political, economic, and military importance in contemporary societies; gradually, more and more countries are recognizing knowledge as a strategic source of power and economic growth. Even the ‘information society’ itself, a revolution born of intense innovation in information and communication technologies, must be seen as a precursor to the knowledge society. Such is the case with the economic growth of countries that have prioritized new technologies and knowledge: Ireland, the Nordic Countries, South Korea, and even the United States⁶ unequivocally highlight the results of such focus. It is also interesting to observe the approach of larger emerging (i.e., BRIC) countries to this matter, as well as to science and technology.

However, some developed countries have oriented their growth models toward knowledge-poor sectors over the last few years⁷. The economic and real-estate crisis (that now affects the United States and many European countries) should be understood as undeniable proof of the huge limitations and high costs of the old economy within the present global framework. The old ideas of Porter and Drucker⁸ prevalent in Business Schools and business sociology left little room for the mathematical lucubration that has kept economists entertained over the past thirty years. Competition between companies and countries is based on the ability to innovate, and the ability to innovate is provided by knowledge. We could embellish it, but the path to progress – which has been widely verified in recent years – is that simple.

A laboratory has been in existence for some decades with the skill to anticipate ‘waves of innovation’ that would stimulate sectors and businesses all over the world. This laboratory is known as Silicon Valley. First, in the sixties, it anticipated the integrated circuit revolution, which gave way to personal computers in the seventies and the beginning of the eighties. In this decade software development took off and would lead to the Internet boom; and, at the turn of the millennium, there was speculation about what new wave from Silicon Valley would be able to feed the world economy. At

the rate the Internet was progressing, it was already seen as a ‘mature sector’. Experts predicted that the new wave involve a merger of biotechnology, info technology and nanotechnology, though the weight of development tended particularly toward the latter.

Indeed, nanotechnology has begun to take shape, with various steps forward and new applications, although it has not yet spurred economic growth equal to preceding waves. In the meantime, it is important to underscore the relevance of nanotechnology’s potential for development of both the economy and the knowledge society. Charles Vest – while president of MIT – strongly maintained that the progress of nanoscience and nanotechnology would bring about a second industrial revolution. In various fields of science and businesses, nanotech development capacity is used to delineate future economies unequivocally based on the progress of science and technology⁹.

Over the past eight years, however, the United States government’s military, political, and economic agenda has prioritized other things; their monopolization of the world savings rate (almost 50% over the last few years) has not been used to finance knowledge as a priority. The hecatomb in real-estate, finance and traditional sectors (automotive and other consumer sectors) or the high cost of its military campaigns may have something to do with this. The US and other developed countries will have to recover the comparative advantage they gained in science and technology in sectors where Silicon Valley has demonstrated that it can drive and anticipate growth.

The way out of the present world crisis will be to establish knowledge as a key element – not only of competition, but of society itself. And this must be carried out in a framework of globalization-defined concurrence and liberalization. It is also important to be aware that the development of certain knowledge sectors will also have consequences in the economic and military order¹⁰, the hegemonies and the leadership currently in place among the nations¹¹. In short, for a framework such as that described above, strong, well-funded universities with excellent human capital are needed to adequately administer the coming challenges of the knowledge society, maximize its profits and minimize its risks.

3 The information society, the Internet and universities

It was mentioned at the beginning of this article that the information society could be seen as the prelude to knowledge society. From this point of view, it might be useful to make a critical observation about the role played by universities in all this. The Internet is proving to be a tool with incredible potential in many aspects of daily life, of, businesses, and of institutions; nevertheless, although its potential for expanding the knowledge society is huge, the exploitation of Internet is perhaps not being carried out at an optimal pace. Universities, far from implementing leadership strategies for development and innovation, are crippled with a conservative attitude that, in many cases, even interferes with assimilating the progress made by others.

Let me put it more clearly: corporately, universities are slow and/or unwilling to adopt the changes, proposals and progress introduced by individuals, businesses, and institutions outside the ivory tower¹². A few simple examples will illustrate this situation: Google Books, the development of freeware, Wikipedia, and the spectacular expansion of social networks. Universities thrive on ‘web 1.0’ while Internet surfers worldwide celebrate its death and enthusiastically welcome the new spirit of ‘web 2.0’¹³. With regard to an ambitious project like Google Books, universities, and university members have largely been accomplices in an obsolete and restrictive concept of intellectual property.

Far from truly protecting the interests of authors, they have produced inexplicable excuses for preventing the efficient and free diffusion of knowledge over the Internet. They have allowed the interests of obsolete industrial publishers to determine – and restrict – the scope of the diffusion and exploitation of knowledge¹⁴. The subject of intellectual property and the digitalization and diffusion of books are not an exception. Personally, I would have liked for universities to have played a more relevant role with just one successful movement such as open source. Nevertheless, this has not been the case, despite the university’s critical mass of qualified human capital, teaching, and research activity. It is, however, part of the strategy of leading businesses in this sector, such as Google.

Moreover, a somewhat irrational rejection of Wikipedia and social networks also seems to be symptomatic of a stifling attitude toward the introduction of some other valuable innovations (apart from the Internet) in methodology and the university communities in general. The Internet's current planning and development can and should be questioned; but such criticism should avoid restricting the possibilities of a tool that makes it possible to work and communicate at low cost in real time anywhere in the world in a naturally global environment with communication protocols, tools, search engines, etc. Given the above, it is legitimate to suspect that the role played by universities in exploiting, developing, and leading the information society has not been satisfactory – despite some relevant achievements. Introducing and exploiting basic tools and mature experiences in other fields has been slow going; more consciousness is needed of the speed and implications of changes triggered on a global scale, not to mention the need for specific responses within our respective social settings.

4 The role of universities in the knowledge society

Historically, universities have proven to be a pivotal arena in which science can make steady progress, and this is due to systematic and methodical research efforts based on properly specified problems – which results in a clear representation of reality. This method and rigour have granted universities the ability to develop and transmit knowledge with an eye toward its universalization. By their own right, universities ought to be key elements in the internationalization of knowledge and play the main role in the knowledge society – which is taking shape, it would seem, in the present framework of globalization.

But theory and practice do not always go hand in hand. The university structures in many European countries shelter excessive endogamy, and their preoccupations and goals are not converging with the social demands of our time; neither is consciousness of the historical opportunity represented in exploiting the knowledge society evident in public policy. Policies linked with the European Space for Higher Education are a good example of these

faults, despite favouring universities and professional mobility within a common economic space. The reforms that this agreement entails will not revitalize a series of relevant issues in European universities; one example is the pressing need to transfer technology and knowledge on a European and international level, at least to the extent that other countries (e.g., the United States) manage to do so. Another need is to enhance the competitiveness and social productivity of universities in response to the demands of each country within the framework of globalization.

We should be efficient and increase our ability to respond to present and future social demands; we ought to favour and work toward the introduction of certain changes that will affect the modernization of our cities, countries, etc. University policies show a lack of awareness of the demands of competition; as opposed to the profusion of rankings and evaluations in countries like the United States, the evaluation of universities in Europe suffers a weakness and certain lack of interest. The European Union has been criticized for this, since it leaves the international classification of our universities in the hands of international and intercontinental institutions instead of keeping watch over its own, using variables and criteria specifically adapted for the situation in Europe¹⁵.

5 Some initiatives

There is still much work to do, and some universities have independently developed initiatives to address the knowledge society and the intensive use of new technologies. There are what can be considered 'good practices' and, as such, it is interesting to make mention of them. It is important to reiterate here that new technologies demand a reorientation of what we teach and the way we do so; the digital era and the Internet have so much potential that their exploitation is obligatory. This should motivate universities to commit to the universality of knowledge, investing in new, low-cost tools for access and interaction, as well as in collaborative methodology, scientific communities and networks, etc. Such initiatives, however, will require greater leadership from universities.

Another important point to be considered is that initiatives to enhance research activity should also respond to social priorities; otherwise, an ever greater gap between social interests and academic activity could result. Research priorities in harmony with relevant goals (including support of the knowledge society), as well as measurable productivity that is focused on social profitability and carried out within clear deadlines must also receive proper funding. Research and teaching activity should be integrated into a global atmosphere of competitive knowledge. It would seem contradictory for the present framework of economic and financial globalization to have brought about the free movement of capital, goods and services in almost the whole world with knowledge remaining, however, immobilized in ‘static compartments’ in our universities. Such compartments have proven counterproductive to the universality of knowledge and equal opportunities for accessing knowledge.

5.1 New teaching approaches and solutions

In referring to these initiatives, I would like to mention a simple case of using new curriculum profiles to reorient teaching approaches. First, I would like to point out that one of the most frustrating parts of the Bologna process and the ESHE has been classroom reform in many countries. Apart from ‘technical’ efforts to ensure a minimum of compatibility and convergence, this has largely been a lost opportunity. Instead, the process should have been used to develop a more internationally competitive model with greater financial resources in order to weaken endogamous practices in a context where the university autonomy would not otherwise have been questioned.

However, within such a context, *Aalto University*¹⁶ was created by merging the *Helsinki School of Economics*, the *University of Art and Design Helsinki* and the *Helsinki University of Technology* – an intelligent marriage of economy, graphic design and IT; three subjects that, separately, would not appear to be suffering from a demand crisis. Nevertheless, the merging and interaction of these three fields allows a specific curriculum that can result in significant added value for businesses. There are currently

economists who are strangers to technology and technologists unable to think in financial terms; neither of these specialities alone can efficiently solve the problems of companies, which must make decisions that integrate both specialities. This brilliant initiative¹⁷ contrasts the immobility and rigidity generally characteristic of a great deal of career possibilities in public universities.

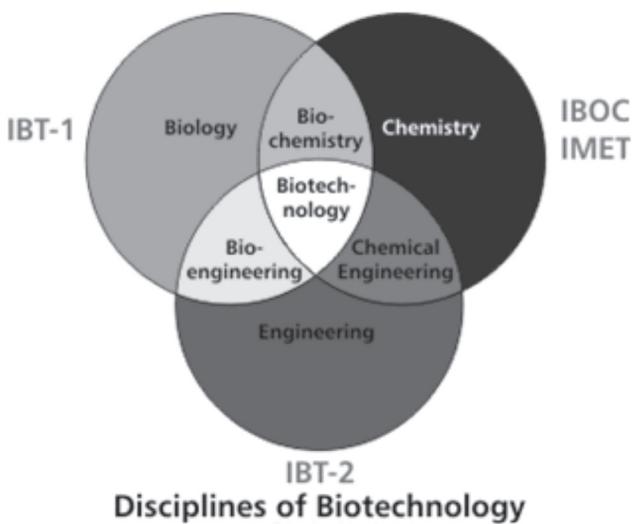


Figure 1. The confluence of disciplines

This initiative perfectly illustrates the principle that added value is increasingly generated in the confluence of different specializations, as can be seen, for example, in Figure 1 above, which refers to biology and biotechnology¹⁸. Economics, as well as other disciplines, in confluence with the humanities and, specifically, with the study of language, generates potential of the utmost interest to businesses and institutions. Any attempt to exploit such confluence should only include related disciplines; a scattered accumulation of specialities is much less effective, leaving students the task of searching for a productive synthesis.

5.2 The demands of globalization and initiatives involving New Technologies and the mobility of knowledge

One of the great debates involving knowledge and New Technologies is just how open knowledge actually is in the shadow of the Internet and telecommunications. At first glance, it would seem like an ideal environment for promoting cooperative university networks and supporting open knowledge¹⁹ – especially due to the success of the ‘open source’ revolution. The Anglo-Saxon world seemed to take the lead, promoting corporations formed by universities and culturally prestigious institutions²⁰. Nevertheless, the only current such consortium in the world is from Ibero-America, and it is taking its first steps into other regions (e.g., the US, the UK, Russia, and China). I am referring to the Universia network²¹, which involves more than 1,200 universities in 15 countries²².

Apart from specialized services, such as online first job searches for students²³, Universia promotes projects that (in view of open knowledge) are called upon to introduce relevant changes both in what we teach and the way we teach it. Faced with competing commercialized Internet teaching platforms, Universia quickly joined the OpenCourseWare movement (OCW)²⁴ – which was launched by MIT at the turn of the century. Today, it is a key element in the OCW University Consortium formed in 2005 and its scope is worldwide, already involving countries such as China.

The idea of OCW took root through Creative Commons licensing²⁵, and it enhances the educational resources of university programs, teaching materials in any format, evaluation methods, etc. Its aim is to create easy access to fundamental input for university teaching activities, promoting transparency as well as access to and exchange of classrooms resources. Although it provides no accreditation or commercialization of educational resources, it has other unquestionable social advantages – since it was designed to simplify the mobility and diffusion of educational resources to universities. Such initiatives can be used to significantly improve the quality of teaching in our classrooms. On the one hand, they encourage innovation and the implementation of better teaching practices, counteracting

endogamy and lack of transparency; on the other hand, among other advantages, these initiatives integrate and simplify the universalization of knowledge through teaching.

5.3 Investigation, social networks of researchers and the introduction of new technologies

For decades, European universities have tried to enhance the transfer of technology using a variety of means (scientific parks, policies favouring entrepreneurs, etc.). Without a doubt, the British model²⁶, adopting paths already successfully tested in the US, has made relatively important achievements serve as an outstanding point of reference in the European Union. However, the situation in the UK can hardly be generalized to the rest of Europe, which, on the whole, shows poor results in many research competition indicators, especially cases involving the transfer of technology to business, patent development, etc. This comparative disadvantage in Europe should bring about a push for the use of new technologies – especially programs involving the transfer of technology and innovation, not to mention the formation of networks of researchers from different countries. Nevertheless, the use of these new technologies has been distinctly lacking when forming such networks and promoting a ‘space for European research’.

Regarding the idea of channelling offers and demands of innovation, platforms like Universia²⁷ can include the entire offer and demand of employment using the Internet, with all the advantages derived from the substantial increase of satisfaction of this demand. But the scope and growth of this type of platform will be small and slow if official incentives are not involved to allow a speedy conformation of a critical mass of researchers or investigation groups and the possibilities of success in fulfilling the company requirements. One task yet to be accomplished is the creation of European investigation networks using means such as the Internet or intranets²⁸; although subject to language restrictions, the political inertia regarding such developments clashes with their potential advantages for

forming a relevant critical mass of investigators and the ability to share projects, resources, and results.

6 By way of a conclusion

In spite of the initiatives mentioned in this article, the use of new technologies by universities does not seem to correspond to the demands raised by the information and knowledge societies. The dynamic character of many initiatives outside University shows that our rigidity gets in the way, not only of developing projects and ideas, but of the making relevant progress based on these external initiatives. The academic attitude toward projects such as Google Books, Wikipedia, or Facebook (at the beginning, merely a network of university students) is an ominous symptom. To this we must add the cautiousness regarding open knowledge, which in fact relies more on specific groups than on university institutions themselves.

The ESHE represents a lost opportunity for intensively using new technologies in the midst of a culturally complex space that is subject to language constraints and other obstacles for effective communication, integration, and interdependence. The mobility of students does not guarantee a European university system broad enough to homogenously integrate developments in teaching quality or a strategy to effectively meet the demands of the knowledge society. So, indeed, there are tasks on the European university agenda to be done in coming years.

Notes

1. A broader presentation of these topics can be found in: Pedreño, A (2008). 'Globalisation and the knowledge society', in the book 'Globalisation in the XXI century: challenges and dilemmas'. *Federación de Cajas de Ahorros Vasco-Navarras. Vitoria.*
2. This interesting idea was suggested to me by José Lambert.
3. <http://ocw.mit.edu>
4. Along with similar movements such as 'open source'.
5. Which have been highlighted in the uncertainties that can be found in the European Space for Higher Education.
6. During Clinton's time, where there was even a belief that the 'New Economy' had broken economic cycles due to the extensive period of economic growth.

7. Under the protection of neoconservative policies, especially in the United States and some European countries.
8. Especially in their respective reference works (Porter, M. (1985). *Competitive Advantage*, Free Press, New York, 1985. and Drucker, P. (1993). *Post-Capitalist Society*, Harper Collins, Auflage).
9. In order to understand this, we must point out that nanotechnology investigations involve the generation of new very advanced materials with highly productive features, the problem of lack of renewable and clean energy, poor water quality, cancer treatment, state of the art instruments and tools for diagnosing diseases, among many other applications.
10. As with the Internet, new information technologies and telecommunications, no country should lock itself out of the nano technological revolution; doing so will risk incredible development gaps. But the management and application of nanotechnology will require advanced societies with 'strong' universities.
11. The presidents of certain large American universities have warned the government itself in recent public speeches and articles about the risks of the United States losing its world dominance in short order if it does not make an ambitious investment in Science and Technology.
12. However, the speed at which change affects our society requires an ever-faster adaptation to these changes and a more active incorporation of new tools, habits and methodologies to our teaching and research activity.
13. Web 1.0 and 2.0, apart from involving different technology, differ in the role of the user. While in the former, the role is limited to receiving information, web 2.0 users play the dominant role by generating, selecting, evaluating, commenting, creating networks, etc., around information.
14. We should mention some honourable exceptions, thanks to which we have achieved significant progress in the Google Books project. I am particularly referring to the role played by Michael Keller (Stanford University) and some prominent American universities open to the project right from the beginning. In Spain, this is the case of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Regarding this, see Pedreño, A. (2008): 'Editores, autores y Google Books alcanzan un acuerdo histórico' on <http://studium.universiablogs.net/39>. Aside from these 'concessions', the publishing industry, when faced with this kind of practice, resorts to a 'protectionist' attitude. In the short- and mid-terms, this path will prevent it from being a major part of new future sectors and new platforms and services derived from digital formats and diffusion via the Internet.
15. This idea has been pointed out to me by professor Lambert, and quite rightly. This for him has an important scope in the specific application of the use of languages which, within the European Union, should hardly be approached from the sole basis of the English language. This seems to explain how our academic tradition is a victim of a situation characterized by the fact that English should become the only *de facto* channel for communication.
16. It was originally known as *The Innovation University*, and its web address is <http://www.aaltoylipisto.info/en/>. A brief reference to the three merged universities can be found at: <http://www.aaltoylipisto.info/en/view/innovaatioylipisto-info/universities>
17. Although it is still soon to evaluate the fruit it has borne, since it is still in an embryonic state, we must in any case value the attitude and motivations behind the merger strategy described.

18. Image source: <http://www.fz-juelich.de/ibt/datapool/general/biotechnology.gif>
19. This refers to any content of academic interest (articles, drawings, audio, video, etc.) published under a non-restrictive license and diffused in a format that can be copied, distributed and modified.
20. This is the case, for example, of Fathom (<http://www.fathom.com/>), currently largely controlled by Columbia University, but which in the beginning aimed to be a platform combining the offerings of institutions like Cambridge University Press, the London School of Economics, the University of Chicago, the University of Michigan, the British Library, the British Museum, the New York Public Library, the Victoria & Albert Museum, etc.
<http://www.universia.net/>
21. Which, in turn, represents more than ten million students and over 850,000 professors.
22. During 2008, over 100,000 first jobs for university students were mediated by Universia.
23. <http://ocw.mit.edu/>
24. <http://creativecommons.org/>
25. Particularly interesting is the Scientific Parks promotion model
26. See Pedreño, A 'Innoversia: demandas y ofertas de innovación' on the blog *Studium: universidad y nuevas tecnologías*. <http://studium.universiablogs.net/innoversia-demandas-y-ofertas-de-innovacion>
27. Technological platforms could take valuable lessons from some specialized social networks.

DOES RANKING RHYME WITH BANKING? Academic Communities and Their Approach to Language(s) in the Age of Globalization

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Abstract

The goal of this discussion paper is to question – and to ask questions about – one particular issue in the international approach of universities and higher education, i.e., the question of languages. Both the internal and external use of language(s) are at stake. They have been discussed in most countries in recent months in the more intellectual newspapers, quite often in direct connection with the Globalization issue, hence almost inevitably in reductionist terms and from a polemical perspective regarding English. In July, 2010, the important scholarly society for research on Organization and Management, called EGOS, devoted its 32nd seminar to: ‘Englishization and Language Diversity’ (EGOS, 2010: 30)¹. It is on the basis of their tradition and their scholarly contribution, but also on the basis of research in other areas of cultural and scholarly dynamics that we want to argue in favour of a research-based approach to one of the fundamental challenges of our planet.

Keywords: academic communication, communities (of practice), globalization, lingua franca, (research based) management, multilingualism/translation, synchrony/diachrony, world of knowledge

The academic community tends to categorize such a start in terms of ‘language(s)’, which is correct, and in terms of ‘linguistics’, which is a very

different issue. Like so many colleagues (cf. Blommaert, 2003), as well as for scholarly reasons, I want to avoid being buried in the academic shoebox system, which is an impressive but dreadful bureaucratic construction. The language issues that I want to examine, and which are of great importance for research (and not only research on language), benefit from many linguistic publications without belonging themselves to the canonized topics of the discipline. My own scholarly affiliation is not very important, *hic et nunc*. It is – independently – based on the actual agendas of linguistics and other departments that I want to indicate why language/discourse is crucial for the university and for research at this very moment; precisely because the people who decide about it deal with the matter on the basis of very unscholarly considerations.

There are strong indications that universities (*Universe-Cities*) are still designing their approach to languages as they did in past centuries – i.e., on the basis of pragmatic (political, social, economic) considerations – but not on the basis of any academic (say: scholarly) approach. In our contemporary world, one of the more or less new language-related questions is about the language of international interacademic interaction. It is new because of the globalization phenomena. Within academic management it is treated in traditional terms, without any new systematic reference to specific scholarly approaches. This is probably because, in the language of academic leaders, there are other priorities: language cannot really be an issue.

This explains why, in the many newspaper debates, the position of researchers and professors is hardly to be distinguished from the opinion of writers, journalists, or politicians. Instead of providing society/societies with research oriented insights, they happen to take part in political, linguistic, social, and economic debates. And while universities have felt obliged to change their approach to language over time, e.g., regarding the unavoidable (?) *lingua franca*², they have not been much more talkative about the issue than other institutions are about taboo topics. The history of the language(s) of the university has always been muted, at least in explicit terms; the history of academic linguistic and discursive traditions, however, can easily be connected with key events and choices made in the past. Is this a sufficient reason for an explicit approach to languages by leading

scholarly institutions that are trying to achieve a measure of transparency – i.e., for scholarly approaches? Why not? However, the purpose of our discussion is not to argue in favour of any ethical or moral paradigm. It is for reasons of scholarship, and in order to anticipate (colonial?) exploitation that universities handle their responsibilities for their own sake, for the sake of scholarship, since the autonomy of scientific institutions – and their scholarly staff – are compromised from the moment the channels and language of communication are left in the hands of external partners.

There is even evidence that the topic is being avoided on the academic agenda and/or that the members of academic communities have no alphabet for tackling the question of worldwide academic communication. Among the little considered issues, let us mention: whether research and academic interaction would necessarily be reduced to one (national) language, whether particular options (say: the use of English or foreign language learning) are likely to become universal (or compulsory within member states of, e.g., the European Union) or whether the same options as in business or politics (the so-called *language policy*) ought to be adopted. It seems that there are good grounds for not reducing the issue to simply a matter of likes and dislikes, a matter of international business or a matter of personnel and departments ('*Is this a problem? Oh! really? Maybe in the Faculty of Arts?*'), since international academic life and academic careers are submitted without further justification – by their academic authorities – to the ranking logic of the new media. This is why our title indicates the linkage between banking and academic life, not as a rhetorical but rather a real question: is it really a matter of money and only money? There is scholarly evidence, nowadays, about particular implications of the actual language policy applied to scholars. This is what happens when decisions are made first and research comes later.

1 Universities, Communities, Communication between Scholarly Communities

Universities seem to have spread all over the planet; almost every country (except, e.g., Luxemburg) seem to have at least one, and a large majority

of them also tend to belong to government-supervised institutional networks. In fact, many universities (Leuven-Louvain; Sorbonne, Bologna, Charles Vth at Prague, etc.) are much older than the nation-state. And the (Western) European type of universities has certainly not had a monopoly on intellectual knowledge and research (see Aullón de Haro: this volume). Since all countries are supposedly part of the United Nations and UNESCO, anyway, they also want to put universities and other academic institutions at the top of their education network. Are they really part of the national heritage? Maybe, as artefacts of the colonial distribution of national organizations. One of the paradoxes is that these various *Universities-Cities*, notwithstanding their limits and specificities in terms of enrolment, budget, programs, diplomas, etc. (which are perennial hot topics in largely national newspapers), are supposed to pursue universal rather than national knowledge and wisdom. This is a paradox indeed since their very name justifies their claim for such.

It is also a paradox because these centres of excellence have always been involved in international cooperation, which was one of the conditions of international/intercultural excellence: closed intellectual borders reduce intellectual mobility, hence their incompatibility with the mission of academic life. One of the best-known ambitions of the European Union has been and still is to revitalize the tradition of Erasmus and the Humanist generation by promoting the student mobility: in the Age of Globalization, the exchange of students has been rediscovered as one of the motors of intercultural dynamics. It can be assumed that internal and external communication is (was?) the core activity of university. It goes without saying that, from the very beginning of the history of Universities, any kind of academic networking – *avant la lettre* – became (and becomes) senseless without communication, and that academic communication has never been efficient without a given (common) approach to language(s): any kind of international contact, including wars, requires a few basic language skills, if not a certain degree of language planning. Yes, wars are indeed concerned, as recently reported news and research tell us about the Yugoslavian and Middle East conflicts: it is embarrassing to have to ask whether universities are less mysterious in their approach to languages than nation-states are in war situations.

Although it is true – in many cases – that international contacts are the result of common idioms rather than the opposite, they are, nevertheless, favoured by the use of one or more common languages. Strangely enough, our more and more international (global?) world of knowledge has needed a few centuries to realize – more or less – how languages and verbal communication work; even the contemporary intellectual world promotes and rigorously maintains quite a few naïve assumptions about language. Many distinguished intellectuals, even with backgrounds in the Humanities and the Arts, tend to be convinced that countries are – of course – separated by political borderlines, which are supposed to also coincide with linguistic ones. How the dynamics of languages relates to the dynamics of political communities is not at all and has never been one of the research priorities of higher education or universities. Only in the last few years have experts established that even the idea of a national language policy, the willingness of political communities to use language as a basic rule for cohesion, is a Western and a very recent concern of ‘the nation’ and that it has been (gradually?) exported from Western countries like a colonial product (Hobsbawm, 1992).

Of course, first of all, languages themselves have been and still are exported like colonial products into various continents and have, likewise, particular political and ideological views about language. Only recently a new branch of linguistics (i.e., sociolinguistics) has established that there are in fact no monolingual societies and that the standardization of languages is heavily indebted to their institutionalization as a national value. It is only in recent years that one of the most famous linguists has supported the thesis that most individuals have at least five *linguistic* identities (this is a leitmotiv in the works of William Labov), besides many others (membership of a family, of a business enterprise, as fans of soccer teams, etc.), which inevitably implies that quite a few (less well-informed) teachers of language and other experts certainly promote a very unrealistic and static view of the languages of our planet. In the Age of Globalization, the national and/or international dynamics of languages does not belong to the repertoire of the average intellectual, not even in the case of multilingual speakers; it is at best a hobby horse among the happy few.

On our planet, according to contemporary experts (de Swaan, 2001), there are between 6,000 and 7,000 languages, which may ruin – once and for all – the assumption that there are simple links between (the say some 200) UN nations and languages. That is, except to the extent that the Western (and more or less ex-colonial) world, including the Old Continent (where everything is small, according to American stereotypes), is very poor in terms of its number of languages. It is clear that the Continent that has given birth to the first nation-states reorganized its language maps while such priorities obviously were no great concern for Africa, Oceania or Latin America. Intellectuals and most decision makers have reorganized their language maps, but they are not aware of it – they are not even aware of their individual language history. In terms of languages, they are struck with *amnesia*: even philologists, who know that there is no rational basis for the distinction between languages and dialects. The current generation of philologists tends to forget what has been taught at almost all universities, i.e., that nationalistic traditions, with the aid of philology, have gradually been replaced by globalizing concepts, and the views of language have become economic-political priorities. Even if this is not the case in classes or textbooks, it can at least be seen in everyday life³.

One of the consequences of the century-old internationalization processes and the much more recent globalization processes is that the academic world, i.e., the central instrument for excellence in knowledge, to put it in *globalizing* terms, reflects a striking unawareness of linguistic complexities and linguistic dynamics. This is, first of all, because *the languages of the world* have never really been part of academic programs: language is either approached in general terms (as a topic for *linguistics*) or taken seriously, mainly since romanticism, as *the languages of the neighbour (countries)*. Each university has a local world view of languages; as the 18th-Century French *Encyclopédie* illustrates (Lambert, 1996), the language of the modern neighbour has gradually been substituted with the *Ancient Languages* (Latin and Greek, yes, but since the 1960's the neighbouring languages of the Middle East have stopped being old). Second, this is because the study of the intercultural dynamics of language(s) is not a priority in academic curricula (except for a few specialized departments

or institutes where ethnography, anthropology and sociology happened to be linked with the study of languages). It is not difficult to understand why the mobility and ‘internationalization’ of languages have no chance of becoming a hot academic topic: teaching, as well as the use of international languages, suffer political pressure from societies and the influence of the dominant employer – i.e., the government.

Political considerations have had their impact on the academic agenda of languages long before the nation-state was created. Long before sociolinguistics (i.e., the study of language from a sociological point of view) was developed, experts in language studies were aware of the impact of power on language use. In their international contacts, the academic world has consistently reflected its dependence on power and politics in its selection of international languages. Over the centuries, hardly more than three *linguae francae* have been institutionalized by academic populations: first Latin, then French, and now the language of George Bush. In other words: first the language of the Church, then the language of Louis XIV and Napoleon, and then, long before the Internet started, the language of Uncle Sam.

It's a long way to Tipperary between the language of the Church, the language of Louis XIV, and the language of George Bush – or rather, between the three best known types of *lingua franca*, or between the successive empires underlying them. In fact, this reduction of the international languages reflects a very colonial, and Western, world view: it makes sense to assume that the richer a continent tends to be, the more it drives harmonization, including harmonization of the language component, as the European Union clearly illustrates. In our modern world, the heterogeneity of languages remains obvious. But, notwithstanding the enormous *literature* (i.e., bibliography) and the enormous intellectual power of those who have concentrated on Babel (from Luther, Erasmus, and Joachim Du Bell to Herder, Goethe, and Mme de Staël to thousands of intellectuals in the 20th century, including the churches, Etiemble, Umberto Eco), universities – those centres of knowledge – have moved in silence from one lingua franca empire to the next – i.e., from French to English (Lambert, 2007a). The (international) language issue is not a hot academic topic for the *Universitas-City*, not even in the Age of Globalization. Like managers, rectors have

good reasons for avoiding internal and external language conflicts. In fact, their academic communities reflect the internal and external linguistic and cultural complexities of the surrounding communities in a spectacular way, and in academic style – but apparently without any real harm. I will give one example from contemporary real life: being an important port, the city of Antwerp needs around 130 languages for its court activities (Vienna needs between 30 and 40), while Leuven university has more than 100 partner countries and hardly any multilingual legal activity⁴.

2 What Kind of a Community is Universe-City?

As stated in Kingsley 2010, only recently has the question of language in society been disconnected from its mechanical relationships with nations or countries. Not only linguists, but also social researchers and economists have tended to redefine the borderlines and the objects of their research topics. One of the new concepts applied to our borderless world is the ‘Community of Practice’ (Wenger & Snyder, 2000). Universities have hardly ever coincided with the linguistic habits and structures of the surrounding community/country/nation. Contemporary politicians and citizens have the strong tendency to expect linguistic fair play from universities with the geographical and territorial environment. But part of the specific function of universities would be boycotted by the reduction of linguistic openness to ‘foreign’ languages. It is in such dilemmas that the ‘harmonization’ impact of the Nation State becomes evident. On the other hand, in the contemporary waves of globalization, universities have also felt obliged to adopt the behaviour models of private business, which well knows that its range would be tremendously limited if it had to exclude foreign languages. Hence, many universities go for the business solution: English.

Let us deduce from the preceding paragraphs that neither countries nor universities can be merely defined as linguistic communities – i.e., as communities that borrow their distinctive features from their use of language(s) only: according to leading experts (e.g., Hobsbawm, 1992), hardly any nation in Europe had a so-called national language before it

was created (Germany is among the most remarkable exceptions and, quite surprisingly, France has always been in serious trouble with its national language tradition). It is probably due to the European Union that every member-state does its best to look as (linguistically) homogeneous as possible, notwithstanding promotion campaigns such as 'Learning three European languages'. The complex relationship between language(s) and nations or any communities does not mean at all that the use of language(s) cannot teach us basic issues about any of them (i.e., countries, universities, and other institutions) on the exclusive basis of their linguistic practices.

One of the first obvious insights deduced from the language component is the fact that – by definition – it is hard to imagine that universities would simply be part of 'the nation' or 'the country', given their historical intercultural mission and behaviour, not to mention their task in external/international communication. Universities have more explicit intercultural tasks than countries. This may be one of the principles underlying the – extremely young – tradition of academic rankings (see further), whatever the many ranking models may mean: universities with a lower ranking may have their survival questioned, whereas highly ranked ones have the chance to become prototypes (everyone understands the sentence: 'This is the Belgian Oxford' or '..the Belgian Harvard'). The composition of any given *Universe-City* is interpreted as rich and of high standing from the moment it attracts foreign students and foreign (visiting) professors; if not, it looks like a rather local university, it does not look too different from the surrounding community, which justifies fundamental questions: 'How can this be a *Universe-City*?

Over the centuries, the mobility of academic populations has often favoured the use of another language (i.e., a language different from the surrounding communities): an academic language, not only for oral communication and teaching, but also for written texts, courses, external communication, etc. The idea of the academic language has acquired a social connotation because, even regarding most national languages, academics are known among their countrymen as masters in the use of high level discourse (it may be symbolic that the handwriting of doctors in medicine keeps the man in the street far away from their wisdom). Due to popular

resistance to academic discourse, the academic world has been considered responsible for the non-development of national languages in the area of scientific discourse: this is one of the reasons why in France ‘le franglais’ (Etiemble, 1964) appeared to be a national scandal, or why in Flanders and even in Dutch, to put it in more general terms, the mathematician Simon Stevin (1548-1620) is known as one of the fathers of the Dutch language.

Anyway, the combination of several such features explains why academic communities such as *Universe-Cities* hardly ever coincide with the surrounding communities. Nowadays it seems to be a concern of both universities and societies (or nations) to impose rules, even legal ones, for university language policies: it was exactly during its recent presidency of the EU that the Flemish government adapted its academic language policy to recent changes in the international environment. The very concept of language *policy* refers to the political background of the view on language(s), and to the gap between policy and research-based insights.

Whatever such rules and their changes may promote, academic leaders seem to avoid explicit conflicts between academic languages and the official (public) ones. The final evidence is that, however strict national governments may be, academic populations, partly like multinationals (*think globally, act locally*), have their own agenda(s). Their international profile and the need to perform as *Universe-Cities*, especially after 2000 – i.e., since the onset of the ranking obsession – have generated obligatory international games, games entailing a double or multiple identity. This is a basic anthropological feature of individuals and communities that most communities, including scholarly (and hence academic) ones, tend to ignore. And, true, it is beneficial in terms of budgets and power to ignore multilingualism.

One of the interesting tendencies in the tradition of worldwide education is linked with the level and structure of education – i.e., with its hierarchies. Since international schools (for diplomats and their families) have been created in many countries, one may wonder why, in our case, universities and their language occupy such a crucial position. Indeed, not only universities can be (almost entirely) international, like some American (and other) universities ‘at large’ (such as Johns Hopkins at Milan, or *the Université Européenne Jean Monnet* at Brussels; or the many French and

English universities on the African continent, or the British academic tradition in India, Taiwan or Hong Kong, – or the global colonial academic tradition worldwide). The reasons why the linguistic traditions and the habits and status of universities/academic traditions attract our attention are simple: while representing the highest level of education, they are also a privileged area, one of the symbols of interaction between communities. According to the (type of) communities, such interactions are interpreted as an advantage (*an asset*), or as a handicap (*a danger*), according to the dominant cultural dynamics (Robyns, 1994).

For quite understandable reasons, universities illustrate in a privileged way how almost all societies are multilingual – not just in their everyday (informal) speech, but even in public terms, notwithstanding the more or less global tradition of national language policies; and open conflicts between academic communities and their ‘homeland’ seem to be rather exceptional. One of the well-known cases occurred in Belgium when – at the end of the 1960’s in Leuven – the principle of ‘intégrité linguistique’ of the territory was taken up by academic institutions, then applied step by step to political parties, and then to various kinds of governments and several other (but not to all) levels of institutionalization (e.g., public and private broadcasting, television, etc.).

The *Universe-City*, in this case, was accepted as the model for federalizing the country (and the process never ended; it was even refreshed and reconsidered in 2010-2011). It cannot be innocent that this happened and continues to happen in one of the founding member states of the European Union, where the language policy is borrowed from national (istic) language policy traditions (Coulmas, 1991; Fishman, 1993). It may seem trivial to analyze the complex status of mixed or international communities in our contemporary societies, since football teams (‘the Premier League’), tennis tournaments, circuses, and multinational business societies have become more striking examples of internationalization than universities. The difference, however, is related to historical framework: together with religions, academic worlds (i.e., the most influential ones) tend to have been among the privileged historical frameworks for internationalization throughout history. And it is due to their historical

background that they remain influential – religion as well as universities – within our contemporary societies.

History (or tradition) is a resource that has been used by institutions past and present, from East to West or North to South: history can be negative and compromising (e.g., the losing side after a war or those in poor economic or social positions) or an extremely strong argument (for the victors or any person or institution in a strong position, from sports and politics to culture and social relations). This is probably why history is indeed used as a resource – selectively: sociologists and Sigmund Freud with other theoreticians of the unconscious, not to mention Karl Marx, have demonstrated that collectivities, and hence institutions, even at their highest intellectual level, involve selection procedures, selective inattention and *amnesia*. The fact that universities worldwide and, particularly, from the member-states of the European Union (especially Belgian universities) have moved without explanation or research-oriented initiatives or mission statement changes from the national language ideology into the multilingualism of the Internet makes us wonder about the exact status and goals of academia: languages are not accepted into the academic agenda, except in selective terms. *Selective inattention*: how does the agenda function? Has this new positioning really changed things in terms of language or has it been excluded from the (many) changes, which would imply that it does not require any planning? Is language forever, (even) at *Universe-Cities*?

3 The Linguistic and Social Status of the Universe-City

Together with business enterprises, religions, etc., universities are communities that have always directly and structurally been dependent on multilingual practices⁵, while at the same time have tended to be officially unaware of linguistic and other kinds of heterogeneity: they seem to have always belonged to the *lingua franca areas*. To put things differently, without the *lingua franca* or without multilingualism as one of its different options, they would hardly have been able to be(come) centres of knowledge⁶. It is

rather surprising that the linguistic status of these communities has not been submitted to research – especially in our contemporary age.

It cannot be excluded that the lack of research on multilingualism (or linguistic diversity, or exclusion on the basis of language) does indeed have direct links with the ideological status of research institutions: ‘celui qui commande, paie; celui qui paie est aussi celui qui commande’ (‘The one who commands pays; the one who pays is also in command’). The birth of the nation-state has modified the landscape of universities worldwide, and a change in status for particular universities (e.g., who happened to have moved from a local to a national status) clearly influences their language policy. How, therefore, the language issue has conditioned/strengthened/complicated the dynamics and position of universities should generate larger questions about the homogeneity and organization of societies in general, both past and present. Centres of knowledge may adapt themselves to the (political, religious, social) environment, but how the environment influences given centres of knowledge (e.g., in their languages) in return, is indeed another story.

In case the mobility of people – including the mobility of languages – influences the position and function of knowledge, the questions of decision-making and budgets would also have an impact on languages and language policies. And vice-versa: when universities revise their language policy, they may be providing a model for the revision of their environment and their country, as the history of KU Leuven demonstrates (Lambert, 2007b). But such logic seems not to be mechanical. In the case of Leuven, where a university was divided into two units on the basis of language and territory after the 1968 movement, the redefinition of heritage also coincided with a change in the financial status of the (Flemish) university: the private Catholic university obtained a status almost on a level with public universities. A concomitant shift in international language policy (from French into English) also ensued, involving a redefinition of international labels (‘Université Catholique de Louvain’/‘KULeuven’). Above all, this concatenation of changes seems to have implied changes in partnerships, hence changes in identity.

The age of globalization does not necessarily change the position of universities/higher education, at least not by definition, except to the extent that it also tends to imply the (economic) promotion of the ‘world of knowledge’: university access to the Internet and the planning of an Internet policy at almost all universities worldwide cannot take place without some marketing and budget consequences. Likewise, such planning also impacts the choice of international languages since English tends to be the leading Internet language. However, it is not at all the only one, whatever the West European perception may be; whether this also implies the promotion of the ‘economic world of knowledge’ or the promotion of the ‘world of economic knowledge’ is probably more than wordplay. How could the progressive globalization of knowledge be innocent in terms of decision-making, and how can/could the globalization of knowledge be favourable to the reduction/exclusion of languages rather than their proliferation?

This is the basis of our discussion. Our obviously more and more international academic world is also supposed to be (becoming) more and more bilingual: the local language (e.g., Japanese or Italian) is used on campus, while the lingua franca is used in our most influential decisions and social contacts around the world. Within a limited number of universities/academic centres (e.g., in Holland, at Hong Kong), however, the tendency is even to replace the home language with the lingua franca; hence the quarrel(s) about English as the *lingua franca*. After all, one might expect the opposite to occur: the discovery of a world full of languages. True, the world is also more aware of its multilingualism, but the distribution of such awareness is hardly homogenous; but the way that universities have come to support international monolingualism (or better: bilingualism) in their public relations (and on campus) was not really predictable fifty years ago.

Is the impact on languages just a technical-mechanical consequence of deeper options and strategies, or is it simply a deliberate part of decision-making? Does it refer at all to any deeper strategies? From the moment the so-called centres of knowledge/excellence undertake basic changes, they have strong reasons for conducting well-planned research beforehand. The use of the Internet in academic environments is obviously a fundamental revolution for universities, although it would have been much more fundamental if

eLearning had stopped being used mainly as on-campus communication support⁷. There have indeed been many publications on the academic use of the Internet, but there are not too many symptoms of the interaction between research and management: it does not look as if academic Internet policies were research-based. It goes without saying that the academic languages on the Internet are in full movement and development and that there are no clear indications about any explicit research support. It has recently been established that explicit discourse on language policy is not very common, at least not in the case of banking activities (Kingsley, 2010). It seems that the same findings would apply to universities⁸.

The international language issue cannot be reduced to the use of the Internet – though one does deserve integration into the other. And, again, there are no strong indications about new scholarly developments, except from the didactic perspective: it has become an area of Language for Specific Purposes; and special training sessions and programs are now devoted to academic English. The use of the lingua franca has not been planned on the basis of prior planned research, but it has become clear worldwide that the growing use of English has revealed shortcomings in the mastery of international languages. English (or the *lingua franca*) was not supposed to be the problem, but real life has shown that academic management tends not to worry much about language(s).

Nobody knows, one might say, whose field of competence such an issue might be. It looks so new, so *unacademic*: could it be English departments? Foreign language departments? Communication (don't tell us that communication departments also have to care about language!)? Comparative linguistics? Translation? How can interdisciplinarity flourish in such shoebox-systems? None of these options can provide anything but an improvised and localized solution; thus, the *lingua franca* solution has been copied from business and politics with little or no scholarly input (see the European Union Directorate General for Translation and *Translation Studies Days in February 2011* or Lisbon 2010, Section 30 of the XXVII EGOS Congress. Foreign language learning focuses on didactics only, by definition, and approaches languages one by one. Comparative linguistics, if still available, is not focusing at all on the pragmatics of multilingual

communication or on multilingual communication. Translation studies, in its broadest interdisciplinary conceptualization, might provide insight into language-pair oriented discussions and into the pragmatics of communication, but it depends on cooperation with its neighbours.

This is a most delicate problem, as communication vs. linguistics demonstrates, since languages/verbal communication are often excluded from communication programs, while linguistics hardly ever deals with screen-based communication (the Internet, dubbing, subtitling, etc. etc.), which is one of the dominant communication flows. In a country like Belgium, in the heart of the European Union, where around 140 languages are in use (as statistics from court files demonstrate) and where the above-mentioned disciplines are represented in the many universities within 50 km of Brussels, all answers to the question of multilingualism are contradictory. But the Belgian academic answer to multilingualism is neither worse nor better than in other countries or on other continents. Academia's global answer to multilingualism confirms that the world of excellence, notwithstanding its claims, is heavily indebted to Tradition.

4 Which of the 36 Shoeboxes? Why is Universe-City not an Object for Research?

In the past, it has been shown that new needs generate new fields of specialization (and a few more shoeboxes, as long as university shoebox-system is maintained). In the area of languages, this has been the case for LSP (Language for Specific Purposes). This has also been the case for interpreting, conference interpreting and, later, community interpreting. However, the academic space between communication, languages, and sociology (or anthropology) is full of no man's lands as soon as the question of media (from subtitling, voice over, etc., to the Internet) comes into view. After the Second World War, the need for a new environment regarding intercultural verbal communication has even established a fully new infrastructure of learning (in a few countries only) – i.e., the translation and interpreter training network.

One of the most serious implications of the Bologna agreements is based on the observation that much more is required than good training alone: as long as no research background is available, vocational training in translation-interpreting is no longer a satisfactory basis for the competence and knowledge required in the area of multilingual communication. This is at least one result of the Bologna movement at the highest professional training level. Whether any university has reached similar conclusions is not yet clear. But again, the Bologna movement itself confirms that planning began a few years ago and, so far, it has not concentrated explicitly on any language component: neither in its conceptualization nor in its management nor in concomitant research, the internationalization and globalization of education – the so-called world of knowledge – seem to involve new views on language and/or verbal communication.

5 Languages, Multilingualism, Translation, etc.

It is not astonishing that the 6,000/7,000 extant languages of this world offer an embarrassing challenge to experts in verbal communication. The man in the street knows a lot about language and languages, he even happens to know a lot about *how to-questions*, but his wisdom is not sufficient for an academic approach to global multilingual communication – neither is it sufficient for the individual scholar or for rectors or research councils. The embarrassing thing is that, at the highest levels of academic decision-making, the idea is widespread (as the curricula illustrate) that the new *homo academicus* must update his professional and scholarly skills in view of the global world, although languages are not considered part of such updates. The ambition to never make academic decisions without the support of research, as claimed by some prestigious universities, does not apply to language(s), not even in countries with a bilingual (or multilingual) language policy. Selective inattention?

A very dynamic area in the world of academic research that has a special focus on the interaction between research and academia is research on organization, management, etc. Given their openness to the

dynamics of entrepreneurship, academic authorities cannot remain blind to internationalization. Since the 1980's, notwithstanding their position somewhere between social research, sociology, economics, communication, etc., organization studies has devoted much attention to the (ir) so-called 'linguistic turn': little by little, they have accepted that language/discourse is one of the keys to understanding organization in any culture. That is, language/discourse, in their world-view, has become the key to the organization of (any) culture (Janssens & Steyaert, 2001; Tietze et al., 2003; Englishization, 2010). It may be interesting to notice how anthropologists and ethnolinguists have come into more or less the same conclusions (Blommaert, 2005; Blommaert, 2006; Ricento & Burnaby, 1998; Ricento, 2006; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). But from an organizational perspective, they have realized that language is never, and can never be, monolingual, i.e., that the world of languages is inevitably a multilingual world. This leads into the next inevitable question: how exactly can different languages coexist? How can the same people function within different languages? These are now, more than ever, beginner's questions for Academia.

One of the leading experts in the sociology of language, Joshua Fishman, has revealed the answer to such questions on the basis of his analysis of the language policy of the European Union (Fishman, 1993; Lambert, 1994): the construction of the ethnolinguistic democracy of the European Union is fully dependent on translation; without translation, it would immediately collapse. But Fishman (1993) and Kingsley (2010) hardly ever mention translation as one of the channels – in parallel with the lingua franca – of everyday multilingualism: only systematic research leads into the secrets of multilingual communication, where translation is, often systematically, made invisible (Venuti, 2002; CETRA, 2010). The fact is that, in this case, translation is not simply, say *translation*: it is a particular concept of translation, as experts in research on translation would argue. Within particular traditions of Translation Studies, they are aware of the various possible answers to the translation issue, they are even aware of the so-called option for *non-translation* (Lambert, 1993; Delabastita, 1997).

One thing is clear however: at present or in the past – in European or in other communities – the translation component is part of the game from

the moment when different verbal systems of communication are involved. And, unlike the lingua franca, translation is often deliberately conducted under the waterline, either for strategic or financial reasons or both (EGOS, 2010; CETRA, 2010; Pym, 1998). For researchers in organization studies, the opposite is also relevant: when looking for the basic rules (norms) of (verbal) communication, the support of communication/language/translation experts is a *sine qua non*. Language is never unproblematic, but this is the last theme that global managers and global management, including academic, tend to stress. This is simply because it supports self-damaging trends; it is incompatible with self-promotion.

6 Degrees of Visibility

Being open-minded and internationally well-informed is supposed to be a positive quality, a feature of distinction. But in certain cases it may become the opposite – e.g., for those involved in legislation, especially when a legal text has been translated: laws often happen to have international origins, like the *Code Napoléon* and its many offspring (Law as Translation: Pommer, 2010). But from the moment when given legal documents are available in more than one formulation, they lose their legal power, except on the basis of specific conventions – as in countries with bilingual constitutions. Translation scholars are familiar with cloak-and-dagger games regarding the ‘visibility’ of translation and translators. In other words: there is no once-and-for-all definition of translation; each definition is another attempt to cope with particular options, which also explains why translation changes over history and from country to country. The confusion increases when observing how translated sentences circulate in and between texts and how ‘non-translation’ (Lambert, 1993; Delabastita, 1997) is part of most translated texts.

To the man-in-the-street, the question is not where translation occurs, but how texts, discourses, etc. import and integrate previous texts (quite systematically without quotation marks) into the new text production: intertextuality is an important part of the global circulation of discourse,

especially since the success of the Internet. The most visible introduction to this translation ‘culture’ is Lawrence Venuti’s book (Venuti, 1995). However, the strategic roads into translation are well-known today by most translation scholars, even under new labels such as localization. The main difficulty is that most translation scholars select the easy road into the world of multilingual communication rather than the hidden or secret one: since it is easier to study phenomena labelled as translations, to devote projects to the less ambiguous kind of translated texts. The consequence is that the underwater strategy of translators and, especially, their employers and organizers remains secret or mysterious; even from the perspective of *Academia*.

The enormous trouble is that in contemporary communication, particularly in international communication (and organization), the ‘invisibility’ of translated discourse has become widespread, not just on the Internet and in Localization, or as a structural feature of all European Union documents, but even in book production and television, with respect to the dubbing/subtitling dilemma, etc. To the extent that scholarly discourse is by definition a systematic and complex mixture of discourses from different moments and different cultures and languages, it becomes almost impossible to account for international scholarly discourse without the aid of translation concepts: academic discourse cannot function without translation – it has never functioned without translation, particularly in the production, revision, editing and distribution of the different kinds of *lingua franca* that feed it uninterruptedly.

This is because translated/imported discourse is, on the one hand, part of the uninterrupted discourse among scholars and, on the other, an object of study. Moreover, it is due to the fact that contemporary scholarly discourse cannot function without reference to previous *Universe-City* discourse. When quoting Einstein, Aristotle, and Umberto Eco, our colleagues may feel obliged to quote their Masters in the original language; when quoting less famous Masters or opponents, most language and translation problems are ignored, there can be no language problem... An intriguing issue is how systematically the ever-increasing budgets for international text production are hidden under the label of other budgets, and how particular social groups (secretaries, friends, unpaid colleagues)

offer their (free) labour to dominant groups, as in periods of good-old colonization or in so-called bilingual countries (Lambert, 1995). Indeed, leaders and decision-makers frequently need quick help, they are not necessarily the best multilingual speakers/writers/editors.

7 The Historical Axis/Perspective

As the name ‘universities’ (*Universe-Cities*) may suggest in several languages, their ambition to function as a dynamic link between ‘the city’ (polis) and ‘the universe’ has often (always?) been a *leitmotiv* in their self-definitions. It was a symbolic option to borrow the concept ‘university’ from the church while using its language (*universitas*) and to link this with the idea of the ‘polis’ and, hence, the universal values that Greek culture still represents worldwide (North and South America, the two components of the New World, have used Greek names to justify their intercontinental ambitions). The question as to whether and to what extent universities are really a Western phenomenon as their name presumes (at least in many languages) may be left open. The Greek and Roman origins of the name ‘university’ may have helped, all the more since Latin and Greek have provided scientists with a rich repertoire for scholarly labels: the landscape of scholarship is full of ‘Ancient’ wisdom, which functions like a *lingua franca*. Universities were provided with Latin and Greek bridges between many other languages (including Germanic ones, as German grammar has taught us). Latin can easily be interpreted as a West European solution to multilingual understanding since a well-known international empire used it as a political and cultural framework. The Roman Empire spread out over many countries, and over many centuries its language has offered the basis for new languages and empires, even religious ones, since the country of Louis XIV and Napoleon claimed to be ‘la Fille Aînée de l’Eglise’.

To what extent are universities to be treated as Occidental institutions (organizations) and to what extent is the language issue, which cannot be reduced to merely the name of the institution (see below), one of the decisive components in the content and program of universities? The language

issue certainly plays a role from very different perspectives, whatever the name of the ‘university thing’ may be. It is hard to imagine that centres of ‘universal knowledge’ could ever have functioned without a firm common basis for exchanging knowledge and insight between various centres in other cultures, which we hardly dare call ‘countries’ now. How exactly did medieval universities cope with multilingualism? And how did the academic *lingua franca* coexist with other idioms, both inside and outside universities? When and how exactly was this *lingua franca* replaced by various vernacular languages⁹? Churches did their best, long before homo academicus, to speak the language of the people: ‘Man soll dem Volke ins Maul sprechen.’ (Luther). Even in our contemporary days, the man in the street still assumes that the handwriting of doctors (in medicine) needs to look esoteric because this keeps away the ‘*vulgum pecus*’ and because it stimulates better relationships with the peers.

8 Do We Really Need to Know About History? Do We Need the Ancient World?

At the end of the 1980’s, the leading newspapers in the USA liked to debate on an interesting cultural topic, i.e., whether American culture still needed to know about Homer and Ancient Greece. The very dilemma: ‘Do we still need Homer (as a source of wisdom), Yes or No?’, was based on the ambition to redefine links with Europe as the Mother of Wisdom. A few decades earlier, Jorge Luis Borges, one of the most civilized Latin American writers, also explored Homer as a challenge for self-defining the (post-) colonial world. The two answers happened not to be very parallel, but neither implied that history, historiography (or university) are superfluous.

It is not at all certain that research about the historical approach to languages within Academia can teach us much about medieval and modern universities, though the kind of questions asked might be instructive for methodological reasons, perhaps by contrast. Things are, at least apparently, so fundamentally different nowadays. But how and why, exactly? Such questions are first of all historical questions. Can they still have any impact on the general planning of universities? Are they recognized as issues for

'management' principles or would they simply tend to be excluded because diachrony has no clear status in matters of organization/management? What's the use of history among managers? Would academic managers be liberated from any historical considerations because, well, this is simply how managers tend to behave?

The concept of management, so common in everyday discourse (in many languages), is hardly ever applied to the language issue (for interesting exceptions, see 26th EGOS Colloquium, Lisbon, June 28, July 3 2010: Sub-theme 30: Englishization and Language Diversity in Contemporary Organizational Life; http://www.egosnet.org/jart/prj3/egosnet/main.jart?rel=en&reserve-mode=reserve&content-id=1252389568509&subtheme_id=1252389568638; the application to banks and other 'communities of practice', as in Kingsley 2010, is also fascinating). It is even easier to apply 'management' to cultural matters ('culture management'), probably because 'language' tends to get kicked out of most management issues, including academic ones: when defined as 'language policy', the approach to languages is mainly left to politicians, even when linguists are involved in the debate.

This is to a large extent the result of 'philosophies' (or ideologies) of society, culture and the university – which are largely implicit and unconscious. One of the grounds for writing this discussion is precisely that universities and academics, those institutions with international and global claims, systematically ignore the results of research that demonstrates the impact of language as a part of the communication involved in their projects. They have no reason for excluding language; thus, decisions are made top-down about the lingua franca, the selection of languages, translation and the Internet, instead of consulting with privileged partners from both inside and outside the institution. In today's globalizing world, the management of language and languages is probably also a central topic for ethics and social and human rights, but it is certainly a new and strategic topic for managers: the first lesson provided by research was that only conservative and defensive thinking (Robyns, 1994) envisages languages as 'barriers'; the second was that insights into the world of language and discourse is a much better shortcut into the world of 'culture' than the many (generally

monolingual) handbooks for managers where language appears almost as a nuclear threat.

The fact is that universities themselves, their embedding in societies, the status of different kinds of societies (from feudal to national, business to virtual) and the dynamics of language have all undergone fundamental shifts. But historiography and cultural competence seem to make sense exactly when changes are taking place, and much less when there are no changes at all. Like statistics, historiography provides a framework for confrontations on both the synchronic and diachronic axes; it offers a panoramic view of the dynamics of scholarly and cultural data. One of the first historiographic insights we may draw in connection with universities is their function regarding fundamental wisdom and competence: another kind of training, vocational training, has been created by modern societies at a much later stage (during the Middle Ages it was in the hands of the Master and his peers). But the original goal of universities was intellectual, theoretical and methodological wisdom, including philosophy.

Among the innovations worked out in recent years, the harmonization of top competences in pragmatic as well as conceptual matters is to a large extent the outcome of panoramic intellectual efforts in which both synchrony and diachrony play a crucial role. The historical component is also central at the pinnacle of academic wisdom as well as within the various disciplines, as the History of Sciences may illustrate. In logical terms, there can be no way into the future (change, progress) without historical frameworks. And it seems that one of the symptoms of progress in academic knowledge is directly linked with the worldwide extension and intensifications of networking (and/as cooperation) (Castells, 1996). Networking, by the way, has a lot to do with verbal communication: how can academia be operationalized without languages?

One needs to consider the selection, planning, production, and distribution of doctoral theses and research projects – which are among the spectacular shifts in the (historical) dynamics of universities. Doctoral theses have been multiplying tremendously in the so-called positive sciences such as engineering, where Ph.D. culture was not really prominent half a century ago. Whereas the humanities, where doctoral theses have always

been welcome, have little by little borrowed their planning principles from their neighbours and from specialized research planning offices. One of the inevitable shifts has been not only the integration of research into (5 or 10-year?) planning and schemes, but also a shift from say ‘retrospective’ or ‘historical-cultural’ into ‘prospective (applied) research’.

Given that the shift from cultural research areas into ‘prospective research’ (i.e., focusing on ‘How can we?’ or ‘How to?’ questions) involves very different people, including different partners, internal and external (abroad) competitors and most certainly very different structures (faculties, departments), awareness of the various shifts in the world of research and education is by definition limited; and self-awareness happens to be a traditional crux in scholarly activities. Given also the fact that business worlds and macroeconomic and macro-political planning are more than simply interested in the (global) planning of scholarship and research (they have become real partners, even in decision-making), the new university – while moving into virtual (electronic) models – has not only worked out a new definition of its Space (geography), it has also redefined its relationship with Time. There are probably good reasons for reconsidering the goals of academic activity, the selection and training of people, their relation with Space and Time, total (‘global’) planning, and the use of new management styles (officially or unofficially borrowed from business, including the Human Resources area). However institutional branding has not really been revised; they remain ‘universities’ or scientific and didactic institutions. Or would they tend to become ‘training centres’?

Depending on their position in the academic world, all staff now have to define their future within (nationally-labelled) institutions on the basis of principles that insert them into international competition. What has been argued about the ‘harmonizing impact’ (*Skutnabb-Kangas*) of the Nation-State certainly applies even more systematically to the implications of international networking, both among academics and in other areas. Though scholars can partly select their everyday partners, they have to follow the larger trends of their departments and structures. Options are possible, but they are narrowed to preselected areas; it is much the same as in football, where trades are possible, especially for the better players.

International partnerships are proposed on the basis of the scholarly market. In this new landscape of everyday contact, language is inevitably a selection and exclusion criterion that is taken for granted. One interesting area for observing the internationalization of languages is eLearning ('Distance Learning', 'Open Distance Learning', etc. – the history of the labels applied to virtual learning is also very instructive): international partners are generally selected on the basis of linguistic and cultural considerations.

This is certainly the case within EU-supported projects, notwithstanding the EU's promotional program of 'Learning three European Languages'. The Internet policy of international universities confirms this as well: they clearly opt, in compliance with internationalization, for a less multilingual language policy – i.e., in the *lingua franca* ('as long as you choose English, language becomes unproblematic'). This is, however, a make-believe proposition: the native speakers are playing on their own court with obvious indirect benefits to themselves. Non-native speakers claim to feel at ease, but they need the silent and unofficial support of language brokers (even ghostwriters), who are by definition selected from language departments, often for free ('it's their job, after all!'). The more universities move into international networking, in English or other languages, the more language and communication services will be needed and the more they will tend to be used in terms of services (language services). This is clever in terms of budgets, at least for the power structures and their staff, but it reduces the communication potential of the Institution whose core business is to produce the highest level of scholarly communication in all disciplines.

By establishing how the costs have been registered, it might be easy for university academic research managers to determine to what extent their university's highest-ranked publications are produced by the author(s) alone or by a team of secretaries and (technical) writers – perhaps including translators and ghostwriters. Historiography teaches us how similar services – infrastructural slavery – have been planned and executed. Whoever is familiar with the history (diachrony) and the landscape (synchrony) of linguistic minorities is aware of such collective power relations in the language and communication game. At least one of the historical conflicts

known in the history of universities (the split of the University of Leuven just after the 1960's) is directly connected with linguistic minority status.

Such split became the direct origin of the federalization of Belgium, now an ongoing process due to power conflicts half a century ago. Among the populations involved, there is currently no doubt about the deeper reasons of the conflict, except among the most extreme groups. Hardly any intellectual in the country will now support the idea that monolingualism, from 1830 on, would have been better for Belgian business than the costly economic situation that the country faces today. Most Belgians now understand that the country's lamentable situation is due to management and decision making, and not really culture or languages. Fifty years ago, however, almost all francophone intellectuals were convinced that it was merely cultural quarrel, whereas the Flemish intellectuals had no hesitation about the underlying power relations. This indicates that history may improve transparency; whether it improves decision-making is rather another question.

9 Global Worlds: Avant la Lettre and Further on

The history of universities is an important response to a recurring question in any debate on Globalization: when exactly did the globalization movement (i.e., the rush into global knowledge) begin? Is it really an exclusively cultural (and economic) revolution from the end of the 20th century? Or is it, instead, centuries old? From the moment one considers it to be a 20th-century revolution, past university experience is immediately relegated to 'local knowledge' status. The truth is that in communication channels, the speed and content of communication, as well as the involved partnerships, have undergone tremendous changes over the last decades. One of the open questions should be whether such rapid and paradigmatic changes could ever take place without implicit or explicit redefinitions of the university as such: what kind of a community was it in the past? And now? And in the future? And who decides about such questions? One simple principle has a good chance of being relevant both historically

and in the future: the common language very probably helps identify the organizer(s). And organization, like language and communication, is not a strictly technical issue. Medieval scholars would have said: *fecit cui prodest*.

The university phenomenon also offers an important warning to disciplines (Linguistics, Translation Studies, Historiography, Economics) focusing on intercultural relationships since it demonstrates that intercultural relationships have never been exclusively bilateral (Lambert, 2007a/2007b): universities indicate that wherever there is bilingualism, there must also be multilingualism. Another warning has to do with the social, linguistic, cultural, political (etc.) status of universities: from the moment any university tends to coincide (too much) with the surrounding world in its strategies, it stops fulfilling its 'globalizing' role from the point of view of the surrounding community. There is no need to rehearse here how the mutual expectations ('contracts') between the local partner community and the global environment have undergone numerous revisions across the ages and cultures, especially since the birth of the nation-state, especially (see below) since the mid-20th Century (Lambert, 1989; Lambert, 2007a/2007b).

10 ...and since the Age of the Internet

Except for very particular moments in the history of cultures, no people, no scholars ever had reasons for assuming that knowledge is static, that it is forever, and that our great masters, including our own professors, had established all possible future knowledge. Aristotle, the Greeks and Romans or the Arabic world may have resisted for a few centuries, but even French universalism from the 17th century felt the need to discuss their own Tradition. But there are, indeed, good reasons for assuming that the global village, the Age of the Internet and several associated shifts in communication and in communication technology have wrought deeper changes within societies, including academic ones. It seems that some of these societies can no longer be disconnected from the language issue or from social issues such as Organization and quite a few other concepts. In such matters, academic research is certainly not struck with blindness,

but its awareness is limited by definition: cultural dynamics comes first. Research may sometimes be able to predict, but it generally follows revolutions. Academic leadership and management may be able to predict and to even to plan scholarly developments but, by definition, they are obliged to follow as closely as possible.

As far as the globalization movement and the establishment of virtual societies and their discourse are concerned, there can be no doubt that both research and management have difficulties in their follow-up of the language and communication area. Much has been written about the Internet and other virtual societies, including on the multiplication of (cultural) identities. But the link between languages and identities on the one hand, between languages and organization has remained largely unexplored. As with many other industrial innovations, localization has been explored in specific kinds of research, but not from the cultural point of view, and hardly within the academic world. And not even in terms of organization and management, whatever the challenges involved.

11 From the Internet to Ranking

First of all, except for many English-speaking universities, almost all universities worldwide have become bilingual or multilingual from the moment they decided to create a website. In fact, this can be considered a linguistic revolution that took place like other virtual communication intrusions (email, Facebook, etc.) into Academia: in silence. One problem is that not many universities have a tradition of external multilingual communication: being online formally, as a university, is/was so unknown that it was beyond the realm of discussion. And then suddenly: 'Just do it!' Since the technological constraints and expertise needed to provide online services happen to be very different from printed and oral multilingual text production (and translation), universities have adopted virtually the same strategy as (many new) multinational enterprises or most banks (Kingsley, 2010 does not analyze electronic banking, but her approach applies wonderfully to implicit Internet strategies): they have designated new

teams for these services, in most cases independent from their (traditional) translators and interpreters.

This unavoidably leads into conflict between different social groups, independently of their linguistic and communication skills. Hence, we find a number of internal inconsistencies in the online services of any given university or groups of universities, e.g., in the distinction between the various linguistic (sub)groups on campus. Moreover, the well-known weakness in foreign languages is also put on public display. English happens to be the most sensitive point to the extent that it is used as an almost symbolic expression of international academic identity. But other languages are no less symbolic: the more languages are selected, the more it tends to become obvious that the home university is dominantly monolingual. The consequences that may result from such inconsistencies is not clear at this stage, but at least there is no doubt that the approach to internationalization, one of the priorities of ambitious institutions, especially regarding Internet policy, has not really been solved.

12 Ranking and Rankings

The second subarea of multilingual academic embarrassment is the question of academic ranking, which has proliferated in recent years due, to a large extent, to Internet initiatives and the media. It is precisely in this case that recent history teaches us in a wonderful way what the consequences of these new evaluation schemes and models are, as well as how they support particular cultural and linguistic traditions that involve a certain view of universities, departments and even academic structures. It is well known that the sudden boom in academic rankings began as a combination of initiatives from China, the USA and the UK. From the very beginning, the Chinese team recognized its lack of experience in the entire field of the humanities and in languages other than English (http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Classement_acad%C3%A9mique_des_universit%C3%A9s_mondiales_par_l%27universit%C3%A9_Jiao_Tong_de_Shanghai).

The ‘Western’ world forgot to mention its own restrictions and restrictedness: besides languages and disciplines, the various traditions (and goals) of university structures and (governmental) policy are not easy to compare, except when certain norms and models are taken for granted. The initial approaches are still surviving as the dominant models, notwithstanding the turmoil associated with all kinds of ranking. The remarkable phenomenon is that universities are submitting wholesale to such games worked out by private initiative and that the key rules are being discussed only after they have been established and widely disseminated (on the Internet). Private business thus rules university concepts, including those of public institutions and networks. In just a few years, most of the countries and research agencies in the world have adopted the use of these rankings, with hardly any fundamental reconsideration of the parameters involved.

As far as language is concerned, traditional thinking has been confirmed worldwide, as if there were no surprises underlying attempts to externally evaluate universities according to one set of principles and in one language. Is this the progeny of a universalistic ideal going back to Descartes and French rationalism? No clear positions have been taken by governments, who probably are still waiting for the opinion of (academic) experts. And since academic experts tend, almost without exception, not to be specialists in languages/communication, the language component is/was treated as a ‘technical’ (i.e., marginal) question.

Since the very beginning of the 21st century, academic authorities, researchers, journalists and experts in bibliometrics have warned against ranking modalities. The language issue has been frequently used as a very sensitive argument against the ranking idea because, in practical terms, the most influential ranking systems did not imagine that using English as an exclusive parameter was not the only possible option. Hence most reactions against the linguistic implications of the ranking idea functioned as a political argument against the dominance of a given language. Discussion of the language issue appeared to echo discussions within many international organizations. And, strangely enough, notwithstanding their campaigns in favour of multilingualism, neither the European Union nor the Council of Europe responded to the more and more explicit push for a

scholarly lingua franca. In such circumstances, research agencies as well as academic authorities envisaged the language dilemma as business as usual, i.e., a technical matter. And since there is no scholarly tradition of debate about international language, there was no need to be uncomfortable about such a view. Questions and quarrels about language within academic management were likely to be read as the results of old-fashioned and unscientific concepts: just topics for ‘the humanities’. As in most situations linked with international policy (Kingsley, 2010), language had/has no chance of becoming a priority in such discussions.

Nevertheless, language is treated as a central problem by a team of Dutch scholars from Leiden University. This is a rather unexpected move since, first, Dutch academic groups haven’t the slightest quarrel with the use of English as an academic language and, second, the arguments are borrowed from an innovative and specialized area (Bibliometrics) and not from ‘the humanities’. The Leiden team has been reporting on specific implications of ranking models since (at least) the beginning of the 21st century, as is clear in the following article title:

First evidence of serious language-bias in the use of citation analysis for the evaluation of national science systems.

The abstract leaves no doubt about the international academic importance of the new insights:

Empirical evidence presented in this paper shows that the utmost care must be taken in interpreting bibliometric data in a comparative evaluation of national research systems. From the results of recent studies, the authors conclude that the value of impact indicators of research activities at the level of an institution or a country strongly depend upon whether one includes or excludes research publications in SCI covered journals written in other languages than in English. Additional material was gathered to show the distribution of SCI papers among publication languages. Finally, the authors make suggestions for further research on how to deal with this type of problems (sic) in future national research performance studies. (Van Leeuwen et al., 2000)

The impact of such a warning against one-sided parameters has not yet been made clear. This is rather predictable: business as usual, one could conclude, to the extent that the implicit language policy seems to be shared by both universities and banks (Kingsley, 2010).

The language problem was at least recognized in an ambitious debate at Brussels (<http://www.kennismakers.be/presentaties.html>) organized by the Flemish National Research Foundation where, in the seminar on Bibliometrics, the various ranking options were considered by a panel of international experts. The question of English/languages was selected as one of the many problem issues in a presentation by Anthony van Raan (<http://www.kennismakers.be/Anthony-van-Raan-Presentatie.html>), who announced an *ad hoc* publication and who referred to an exemplary West European situation: if rankings are based on English publications only, between 20 to 50% of publications (e.g., in France and Germany) become invisible. During the discussion, it turned out that these implications were not specific at all to particular disciplines, not even to the humanities, as is often suggested, and that they happen to have specific implications in innovative areas (ranging from clinical medicine and engineering to ‘the humanities’). In fact, this research had already been disseminated under media friendly titles:

Severe Language Effect in University Rankings. Particularly Germany and France are wronged in citation-based rankings

Which is made explicit in scholarly terms in the Abstract:

The authors presented first evidence of serious language-bias in the use of citation analysis for the evaluation of national science systems, particularly for Germany. This evidence is based on bibliometric research performance assessment work for the University of Münster. The pre-print paper extend (sic) the empirical work to the entire bio-medical research of Germany and also France. The results are quite dramatic.

Notwithstanding their more academic tone, the short technical explanations have the effect of a mass media news report:

We applied a set of standard bibliometric indicators to monitor the scientific state-of-arte (sic) of 500 universities worldwide and constructed a ranking on the basis of these indicators (Leiden Ranking 2010). We find a dramatic and hitherto largely underestimated language effect in the bibliometric, citation-based measurement of research performance when comparing the ranking based on all Web of Science (WoS) covered publications and on only English WoS covered publications, particularly for Germany and France.

The WoS data system covers a number of journals in non-English languages, particularly in German and French. Publications in these non-English language journals are counted as part of a country's output, although they generally have a very low impact since few scientists outside Germany, Austria and Switzerland can read German, a situation fairly similar to that of French. Obviously, such non-English publications considerably alter the average impact of countries like Germany, Austria, and France. This is particularly the case for more applied fields such as clinical medicine and engineering, but also for the social sciences and the humanities. Because biomedicine represents a considerable part of the entire scientific output of a country, this language effect directly influences the overall position of universities (Van Leeuwen, Moed, Tijssen, Visser & Van Raan, 2001).

Since these seminars and publications in 2008 and 2010, respectively, academic authorities seem to have responded to discussion about language policy in worldwide raking across systems. Though the October 2008 Brussels seminar was organized by the Research Foundation and chaired by an impressive staff of both 'local' and international scholars, neither individual universities nor the Research Foundation felt the need to share how they arrived at such views about the language of individual publications or about the macroscopic consequences, which the Dutch scholars call enormous.

Indeed, the truth is that such bibliometrical operations impact the scholarly market of: first, countries; second, universities/institutions; and third, their individual staff members. The evaluation of the scholarly records of individuals heavily dependent on the (linguistic) rules of the game, not only for researchers in psychology or literary studies, but also in biomedicine. In the current situation, individual researchers are not

informed of the implications of the rules that are being applied to them – e.g., the language rules. But the consequences for evaluating departments and entire disciplines will be influenced by the selection of evaluation models by university heads and within research foundations. This means that the national scholarly policy tends to be heavily oriented/influenced by the American/British/Chinese-based evaluation model, in which Anglo-Saxon institutions have been selected as the obvious norm, and in which, on the basis of predictable colonial-style parameters, Chinese and other Asian institutions happen to appear as privileged disciples of the new academic world system.

It may look extremely strange that the Old Continent, which claims to be the homeland of the Ancients and the origin of Civilization (as the well-known French *Encyclopedia* from the 18th century illustrates: Lambert, 1996) has been overwhelmed by this (business-oriented?) *putsch* against the Holy Traditions of the University. But it is true that, since the Second World War, together with economic and military power, a large group of prominent European scholars has (been?) moved into the New World. And for the last few decades, academic and scholarly management in international environments has become used to borrowing arguments from international business and, if academic partners are taken seriously, from the USA rather than from their own scholarly staff.

After all, a geographical shift has taken place in academia, and in such cases, the language shift is not astonishing (as we know from century-old traditions). This shift was accepted during difficult moments around the mid-20th century, i.e., in war and post-war. The least researchers can assume is that universities worldwide have no explicit language policy and, worse, have not worked out any new scholarly platform for their approach to the obviously very new globalizing academic world of today. However, the surrender of Old Continent academics requires further active interrogation, since there can be no doubt, as suggested by van Raan and his team, about the consequences. In fact there is no general surrender, since an incredible number of new ranking, evaluation and bibliometrical approaches have been worked out, though with a delay. The surrender we have in mind is the silent adoption of the language of the initiator: the

priorities in terms of international language(s) seem to be treated as a pragmatic issue, not as part of any academic/scholarly program.

How does academic management in the Old Continent account for its own discursive movement into the language of George Bush?

A few simple tests may at least provide us with some indications, which may be used as a platform for further planning:

1. During the preparation of this article, an interview was planned with one of the key people in the academic council of one of the 100 world top universities (according to several prestigious rankings). The question was: '*Has your university any explicit rules or priorities as far as the international language of publication of your scholars is concerned?*' – The answer was simple: '*English*', – and the justification was:

Any difficulty with English? – Yes, maybe in the Arts Faculty? Besides the top European and North American scholars, the best universities in India, Brazil, Singapore, China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Australia, etc. also make use of English. Before other countries may develop new centres of excellence, and impose their national language, it will certainly take around 20 years. No need to hesitate about the language priorities.

No doubt about the underlying philosophy: just like rankings, language is a matter of competition. Other possible arguments or approaches, e.g., the possible consequences of cooperation with other continents, are not taken into consideration. The language policy obviously refers to implicit world views and views on the goals of scholarship. After the Round Table debate at Brussels in October 2008, the questions continued with the same individual academic manager:

Given the peripheral position occupied by publications in German and French, not only in the Humanities, but also in clinical medicine and other particular areas in the 'sciences', how could you maintain the exclusive priority of English?

And the answer from the management ('*Dear Colleague, tell me in two sentences how you would solve the problem?*') makes it obvious that the

general policy for evaluating academic research profiles, as far as language is concerned, is simply nonexistent and the possibility of forming one is even discarded. It does not make sense to recommend any scholarly analysis to the academic leaders:

When two sentences only are given to such an influential parameter as the language of publication, it implies that the topic is discarded from the academic agenda of the university.

2. A second opportunity was selected on the occasion of a meeting to discuss plans for cooperation between Germany and Belgium/Flanders at KU Leuven, on the occasion of a lecture by the German Ambassador at Brussels (February 24, 2011). After the display of impressive figures and statistics about German, Belgian, and other partners in Europe and worldwide, one of the questions focused on the role of cultural and linguistic factors in the strategic priorities. Finally the Ambassador was asked:

We probably all agree in assuming that the international ranking systems, however controversial they may be, have a heavy impact on our planning and on our resources or potential. It has been demonstrated recently, in a very specialized bibliometrical analysis, that the language component plays an important role, and certainly from the moment the ranking is exclusively based on publications in English. As neighbours and potential partners of Germany, may we ask if Germany and its scholarly networks have any specific new approach to language in our current academic cooperation?

The answer, after an impressive and very interdisciplinary demonstration, was short and simple:

In recent months a new association of academic German-speaking researchers has been founded, with the aim to promote the use of German in scholarly publications. Anyone who is interested may request more information via our Embassy.

This is an almost symbolic answer. While enrolling partners and partnerships within the new world of globalizing scholarship, one of the

(economic and scholarly) world leaders, Germany, returns to language policy and ideology via the age of Herder and Goethe or of Joachim du Bellay's *Deffence et illustration de la langue française*. Such rather delicate options are suggested as the (only) solution in intercontinental competition. The underlying language policy, after all, is not really different from the age of the conquistadores, since Flemish/Belgian researchers are very welcome in the support they give to the German language. Maybe the number of solutions is limited. But so far the lack of any attempt by the Universe-City to search for long-term options from a broader (i.e., planet-wide) perspective is simply lacking.

Neither the research manager nor the international diplomat have imagined that the discourse and communication paradigms from the 18th-19th-20th century imply serious risks to so-called global world partnerships. This is not because academic leaders need to pursue narrow-minded (nationalistic) options, but because any options and their consequences will have their political day later on. So how can we reduce political (or other cultural) options while looking for scholarly approaches to the problem? This happens to be, in principle at least, a responsibility of the Universe-City. Or is this idea anachronistic? Where has it been explicitly stated that universities have redefined their priorities and goals in such fundamental debates?

A third test might be selected from the transatlantic academic world: In Brazil, and probably also in many other Latin American countries, no doubt is allowed: there is an obvious and immediate need for the *lingua franca* among the leading groups. First of all, because the active use of English has not yet been well established, as recent experiences in symposia, lectures, debates and tutorials have illustrated; a passive understanding of English is limited, and many international sessions are only made possible with the support of interpreters. Anyone somewhat familiar with the Americas has noticed how immigrant populations have escalated, and how strongly these groups want to keep in touch with their home cultures. One of the significant consequences is that the *substrate* (as we call it) of foreign languages is much more diversified than, say, in Western Europe. The consequence in Latin America is the lack of a common linguistic

background during most situations of international contact, at least compared to West European and North-American frameworks. But, as Shakespeare would have said (but who remembers Shakespeare?): 'there is nothing either good or bad but thinking makes it so.'

From the moment a given community plans to play an active role in new environments, for example in the global world of knowledge and quality production, there is no way out: up-and-coming participants must have access to the communication channels and rules of the new (dominant) partners. And until they can reach the competitors' level, they will be handicapped. Another less-simple strategy – that President Lula and the Brazilian government have kept under consideration – is the promotion of an alternative *lingua franca* (Spanish) specifically for Latin-America. One indirect implication might be that Brazil could then become the central spokesman for Latin America. But one cannot have his cake, and eat it, too. From the moment top Brazilian planning reaches beyond Latin America, the need for the current *lingua franca* will become a *sine qua non*. Strangely enough, in the many serious debates in the scholarly bibliography, in political and cultural debates among politicians and journalists and within the European Union about international languages, few symptoms of an explicit awareness of the differences (!!!) between Latin-America and the 'Western' world are to be found: obviously, the limits of our global knowledge are embarrassing.

This confirms all the more how West European intellectuals tend to *understand* Latin-America on the basis of their own European expertise. Or should we rather assume that West European intellectuals (and scholars) don't really worry about Latin American perspectives (*not my cup of tea?*)? Who exactly has the floor? Should that person be a researcher, one of the top managers of a well-ranked academic institution, or a businessman? This is exactly the kind of wisdom underlying the linguistic philosophy of our above-quoted academic manager: when using English, we are safe for more or less 20 years. In good French: 'Après nous, le déluge!' And the conclusion of this footnote on Latin America makes us believe that, indeed, the language issue has a lot to do with colonization; this was/is the position of Skutnabb-Kangas (2000).

13 Questions and Hypotheses

In our analysis, the so-called global world has been treated in a very limited and probably reductionist way; examples, positions, and goals have been taken from contiguous worlds, though not exclusively. It is a remarkable development of contemporary world culture, however, that ranking systems and other (more or less) global agreements and planning can take shape, even in a few years (the Internet was hardly in use 20 years ago). This indeed confirms that enormous changes have taken place, even in the academic world, in realms which have always been treated as conservative communities: the ‘City’ has established traditions worldwide, and the dynamics of university (while obviously being revised) at least confirm the relevance of research on the university concept.

The difficulty is, however, that changes (i.e., necessities of innovation) are part of any cultural dynamics, particularly those of academia, precisely because research implies innovation. However, changes and decision-making in scholarship are supposed to be made explicit: such are the simple, fundamental rules of any research and any doctoral thesis. If, without previously discovering what the linguistic implications might be, intellectual communities redefine their priorities (and thus their partners) by redefining their language and discourse, transparency and explicit interaction are being excluded from the academic agenda. An insight into this very interdisciplinary matter provided by Organization Studies is the clear link between the way that technicalities, such as languages, are treated (Hermans and Lambert, 1997) and the underlying strategic and social options. Deeper changes always seem to be implicit; they may be linked with people, social groups, or hierarchies and, of course, involve interconnectedness with norms, goals and ‘systems’. An informative hypothesis recommended by a neighbour discipline is that, from the moment any community or institution changes its external communication – e.g., its international language – the internal relationships are probably also being revised. One does not go without the other.

The problem is to determine whether and how the internal and external relations and structures interact, redefining and restructuring

each other. Moreover, another part of the problem is to what extent such operations are explicit or implicit, conscious, or unconscious. Most members of any academic community worldwide suppose they have convincing answers about the questions listed here. Even if the approach to language is largely (made) invisible, the revision of quite a few basic academic priorities is not that invisible at all. However, the link with language (and other components) is much less clear, since an opaque treatment of it allows for better integration into more central (new) priorities. In the (non)treatment of language issues, the new generation of academic leaders has not decided that language is not important; the silence surrounding languages and partnerships in fact favours decisions on behalf of academic institutions. In such an arrangement, research-based opinions can be replaced by advice from other quarters with other priorities. The sophisticated bureaucratic shoebox organization of Universe-City makes it possible to play interdisciplinarity in certain cases and not in others, on according to the people, structures, and power relations involved. Maybe this has always been a substantial part of the Universe-City, but the shoeboxes have changed a lot, and it is not very clear who has reshuffled them, why and what for.

Notes

1. This discussion paper is the result of more than two years work: first, during a research stay at UFSC (Universidade Federal Santa Catarina), Florianópolis, Brazil from January to August 2009; second, in a paper delivered in Workshop 30 of the Lisbon 2010 EGOS Conference. I am heavily indebted to my friend Tharsi Taillieu and to the stimulating group in Organization Studies (Chris Steyaert, Rebecca Piekkari, Wilharner-Rasmussen) who planned workshops with me at Helsinki (June 2009), Sankt Gallen and Lisbon.
2. The *Lingua franca* phenomenon is a well-known channel, besides translation and several other techniques, that makes (and has made) interlinguistic and intercultural communication possible through the ages on the basis of an ‘international language’, be it a real language (Latin, French, English, Chinese...) or an artificial one (e.g., Esperanto). The globalization movements that began in the 20th century have heavily intensified the debate about the implications of its use. Notwithstanding violent resistance from citizens, governments, intellectuals and experts (since Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, many sociolinguists consider the dominance of English in so many specific areas as a ‘linguistic genocide’). And the European Union is blamed (among others by Abram de Swaan as one of the institutions that indirectly promote

the lingua franca, notwithstanding its claims for an ‘ethnolinguistic democracy’ (Fishman, 1993). Recent debates demonstrate that not all scholars accept that there is a direct link between multilingualism, translation and the lingua franca (Fishman, 1993, completed and/or revised by Lambert (1994); François Grin, the European Union, etc.: see http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/publications/studies/index_en.htm). But for a large group of translation scholars, there is no doubt that the dynamics of translation ‘under the waterline’ need to be explained in light of its relationships with language concepts and with the *lingua franca, not just currently, but through the ages*. This is also one of the obvious results of Workshop 30 at Lisbon, in which scholars from Organization Studies felt the need to use translation concepts for any basic approach to multilingualism and the *lingua franca*. For a panoramic bibliography on multilingualism, *lingua franca* and language in globalization, see: [at:<http://www.tove-skutnabb-kangas.org/en/books-articles-since-2000.htm>](http://www.tove-skutnabb-kangas.org/en/books-articles-since-2000.htm) and http://www.tove-skutnabb-kangas.org/pdf/BIG_BIB.pdf (Accessed: 1 July 2011).

3. *Amnesia* seems to apply to the generation gap among Flemish intellectuals, who in the 1960’s and 1970’s split the leading university (Leuven) on the basis of language and territory considerations (while generating the federalization of political parties and then the entire country) and who don’t realize that the new lingua franca offers its support to a similar, maybe much larger colonization: the claim for autonomy works in one case and not in the other, but in both cases nationalism seems to be the explanation.
4. Information from research conducted at Lessius (Antwerp), mainly under the supervision of Erik Hertog, as well as from interaction with experts in Austria, particularly Franz Pöchhacker.
5. According to sociolinguists, inspired by Labov and his followers, one of the impacts of nationalistic concepts is the progressive harmonization and uniformity of societal and cultural patterns. Hence, a progressive reduction of languages and dialects (notwithstanding support also given to dialects). The idea that the borders between dialects and languages are blurred belongs to the basic achievements and corrections in our knowledge about ‘the languages of the world’, at least among experienced linguists, although not so much among intellectuals of trends and traditions that borrow their views on language from nationalistic ideologies.
6. Are international languages and the *lingua franca* killing or stimulating the dynamics of universities, and the dynamics of the (national) societies they represent? Our academic and political societies support contradictory theoretical answers, and so do scholars, who often worry more about politics than about intellectual progress. Is there any clear research-supported answer? As in many scholarly situations, it is first all fundamental to avoid looking for a single exclusive answer: it is matter of *Time and Space, or When and Where*. One of the reasons why almost all discussions of the *lingua franca* issue are biased, including many discussions among linguists, sociologists, anthropologists, etc., is the starting point, particularly the lack of scholarly goals and rules. Since from the point of view of the decision-makers (only), languages are at stake, the premises (i.e., the political, economic and/or cultural implications) are not taken under consideration.

7. Notwithstanding the ongoing globalization process or the systematic efforts of the most ambitious universities worldwide, the mobility of Learning and Knowledge has not yet succeeded in taking the form of virtual instruction (Open Distance Learning, eLearning, or whatever concepts or being used), and hardly at all in view of the most specialized audiences, such as doctoral or post-doctoral training. The fact is that academic eLearning, which has gotten cheaper with the aid of programs such as SKYPE etc., depends heavily on institutional frameworks, hence on academic and national policies. The UK and the USA, including many former British colonies, have made use of eLearning for larger groups of younger students. Other options, in particular within the EU, have claimed to address advanced audiences. Quite a few doctoral advisers make use of SKYPE and other user-friendly programs from their homes, without any direct administrative involvement. On the other hand, the universities worldwide that can afford to exclude electronic communication from their teaching and research are few. However, they reduce the range of this virtual instruction mainly to on-campus eLearning, while keeping the entire (global world) outside! It seems that the territorial principles and ideologies underlying the academic policies in most countries is not really compatible with deterritorialized environments, as can easily be deduced from the experiences and the research worked out within the framework of the EU. Available at http://ec.europa.eu/education/archive/elearning/projects/011_en.html; http://ec.europa.eu/education/archive/elearning/doc/studies/virtual_annex_g_en.pdf. (Accesed: 1 July 2011). The author of this discussion report and his Institute, CETRA (<http://www.kuleuven.be/cetra/index/>) have been actively involved in several EU supported projects, often from the perspective of multicultural communication, including cEVU (http://ec.europa.eu/education/archive/elearning/projects/011_en.html#1).
8. See the cEVU project (http://ec.europa.eu/education/archive/elearning/projects/011_en.html#1), one of the EU eLearning-supported projects. Research about languages in the everyday life of 'foreign' students (among which Erasmus students are only a rather large section), or about 'the 24 daily hours in the life of foreign students' universities tend to reduce the language problem to the selection of the language(s) used by the local institution for addressing visiting academics (students, staff, researchers, professors). The (very) few universities that produce a set of principles regarding the language policy to be used in contacts with foreign students tend to reduce the language issue to institutional contacts, excluding other components of social life abroad, i.e., other types of socializing and activities (e.g., sports, restaurants, shopping).
9. The answer to this question, which has not really been worked out, does not require much historical or cultural experience. According to the local language policies, European universities have replaced Latin, the language of the learned, with the local (or another) idiom. Latin PhD theses survived in France until the beginning of the 19th century. The survival of Latin was much more prolonged in Central Europe, where academic authorities happened to be able to address their visitors in Latin, if just for the fun of it!

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR MULTICULTURAL ANALYSIS OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES BY UNIVERSE-CITIES

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Abstract

This article offers an overview on the development of Cultural Studies and Postcolonial Studies in the analysis of Muslim communities. The aim is to verify the degree of territorialization of the production of knowledge about them and the importance of the movement of the academics to counterbalance some discourses or stereotypes.

Keywords: Muslim, Cultural Studies, Transnational Communities, Universe-Cities.

1 Introduction

In these times of migration and multiculturalism, it is inevitable to encounter both male and female others. Such encounters seem to be loaded with tension, firstly through rejection and fear of what is different (Appadurai), secondly because they legitimize inequality by means of a universalist discourse that differentiates between groups that respect human rights and those that do not (Kilani), and thirdly because they channel a state-imposed

linguistic homogeneity, which is also apparent in the gathering strength of English as a lingua franca among university communities (Lambert). This paper aims to contribute to the body of research on ‘univer-cities’ by setting out the analytical proposals that have emerged regarding multiculturalism and migration – with particular attention to the case of Muslims. It is also my aim to convey the pressing need to improve communication and mobility among researchers and academics as a way to combat the territorialization that we are victims of in our universities and other centres of learning: This has a major effect on what we can contribute to the study of multiculturalism and cultural diversity when designing our research or applying our knowledge of the theories and concepts behind these issues.

2 Transnational communities and communities in movement

Postcolonial studies gave us the notion that the other – the migrant – was a colonial construct. This is hardly surprising, considering that anthropology in ‘exotic’ contexts began in times of colonization, and these works were used in the 1960s to try to explain the cultural diversity that was emerging in Europe, the USA, Canada and Australia. Fortunately, many of the places in which classic anthropology was practised were then re-examined, providing new views on the objects of study and new data and theory, from anthropologists and other specialists alike. Key contributions include those of Appadurai (1999, 2007), Hannerz (1986, 1998), García Canclini (1999), Vertovec (1998, 2001), and Portes (1981, 2001). These researchers have analyzed the impact of transnational communities in economic, social, cultural, religious, and political terms in the contexts of both origin and destination. These authors and other social scientists have called for the concept of culture to be deterritorialized: people’s life journeys are now rich both in places of residence and learning.

Precisely because we are now hybrid individuals (Bhaba, 1994) who may end up living in several countries over the course of our lifetimes, contributing to and taking from both our own culture and those of others (Buxó, 1998; Martí Pérez, 2003), it makes sense for us to be thought of

as ‘communities in movement’ that are dynamic in nature and which equally find expression, cohesion and development in communication and virtual mobility (Lambert, 1998). Indeed, this is a view that should be further extended within the realm of universities – in terms of what Lambert (1998) calls ‘Universe-Cities in movement’. This is a privileged area of study that draws on local and global issues alike and has a huge influence on both scientific production (due to the cultural, historic and linguistic factors involved) and international study programs that involve migration (which, it must be said, are often taken up by people from the political or economic elite).

Indeed, certain experiences of mobile communities should be combined with the study of transnational communities, given that such communities are not limited by borders and possess cohesive elements that go beyond the ethnic, cultural, or religious. Thus, Wenger and Snyder’s work (2000) on ‘communities of practice’ (where, for example, language diversity is considered within the framework of globalization) could help refocus the study of transnational communities and values associated with a sense of community belonging. With States proving ever-less successful at being able to guarantee the equality of those residing within their borders, as reported by Z. Baumann (2006) and Vertovec (2001), analyzing the social strategies actively implemented by groups and individuals on a daily basis could be a way forward.

3 Analysis of immigration to Europe

Martinello (2003) stated that immigration to Europe from the end of the Second World War to the early 1970s changed the cultural, religious and ethnic make-up of the continent’s cities and regions, setting the foundations for cultural diversity. The economic and industrial crises of 1974 heralded a period in which countries decided to curb the flow of migration and encourage immigrants who had arrived decades earlier to return to their countries of origin. However, migration did not stop, and a process of family regrouping and global migratory traffic began. To Cohen (1997), the negative reaction from European countries was due to the fact that (unlike

in Australia, Canada or the USA) in Europe migration had never been a crucial part of the collective imagination. Many European countries saw themselves as solid nations that only resorted to importing labour force in certain contexts. Some later questioned why citizenship should be granted to immigrants.

The 1990s saw a tightening of immigration policies and an increase in cultural diversity, with so-called 'second generations' beginning to raise controversial issues regarding the specific nature of their cultural backgrounds. Ballard (1987) re-examined the integration of British immigrants, reporting that the children of immigrants with non-European appearance found integration difficult, which Balibar and Wallerstein (1992) and Taguieff (1987, 1995) called the racialization of immigration. Added to this rejection was a supposed cultural distinction that made them incompatible with the host culture – not to mention religious practices, particularly Islamic, that became an excluding factor due to their ability to foster a supranational identity (Kilani, 2000, 2002, 2003; Roy, 2003, 2007; Burgat, 2005). Such reactions to immigrants emerged in many European countries, despite differences in the management of cultural plurality.

A variety of approaches (assimilation in France, multiculturalism in the UK and the Netherlands, ethnicity in Germany and cross-cultural mixing in Portugal) all had problems in recognizing diversity, problems that could be seen in the vulnerability of Maghribians in France (Kepel, 1987; Kilani, 2003; Etienne, 1989, 2005), Pakistanis and Indians in Great Britain (G. Baumann, 1999), Turks in Germany (Radtke, 1994), and Sub-Saharan Africans in Portugal (Vieira, 1994). Insomuch as we now know that many immigrants take up permanent residence, the question must be asked of the role immigrants will play in the construction of European identity – and how ethnic, cultural and religious diversity can combine with democratic equality and the fight against discrimination. To Z. Bauman (2006), concurring with Rosaldo's (2000) concept of 'the right to distribution' and with Fraser (1998), these individuals deserve recognition in terms of social justice. In practice, however, the paradox has yet to be resolved between the democratic ideal and an end to discriminatory practices. Racism and xenophobia have been reformulated as a 'them' that denotes stigmatization

and incompatibility. This is the ‘multicultural paradox’, as expressed by Alund and Schierup (1991), which questions what integration means and whether cultural systems actually work against universal human rights.

4 Multiculturalism: movements and discourse

Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) report that multiculturalism emerges when diversity is interpreted as a problem by contemporary societies. Certainly, as defined by Fraser (1998) and Dietz (2001), multiculturalism involves a heterogeneous set of groups, associations and communities, including feminist and gay movements and the empowerment of African-American, African and indigenous communities – who all have laid claim to the policy of difference. Their objective is to bring about recognition policies and to establish a basis for equal opportunity. Multiculturalist movements appeared in Great Britain in the 1960s, in Canada and Australia in the 1970s, in the USA in the 1980s, and in Europe in the 1990s. Multiculturalism is also a response to the failure of the ‘melting pot’; according to Eckstein (1989), sociopolitical and economic marginalization made the concept of ‘culture’ the crux of collective claims for representation when, to Stam and Shohat (1994), it was a challenge to Eurocentrism. To Turner (1994), it was the moment when the concepts of culture and ethnicity became linked. Multiculturalism came to involve collective action toward building new identities, as per the Identity Project of Castells (1998); this, however, entailed a contradiction in so much as multiculturalism apparently fought against delimited identities.

As Grillo (1998) pointed out, consolidating multiculturalism meant using ethnic and cultural differences to gain access to the powers that be by adopting quota formulas. To Pincus (1994), multiculturalism would usher in a complex system of representation and ‘affirmative action’ policies for minorities in the fight against discrimination, what Hall (1997) classed as ‘strategic essentialism’. Certainly, for quota policies to have any effect, stable frontiers were needed between the hegemonic group and the subaltern groups (in the classic terminology of Tylor). Barth (1976), however, had

previously warned of the mobility of frontiers and of the content used to legitimize ethnic and cultural differences. Such multiculturalism policies have received widespread criticism. Vertovec (2001), for example, pointed out that the more successful such activism becomes in social practice, the more essentialist and static the concept of culture becomes. Balibar and Wallerstein (1992), meanwhile, warned that the relativistic perspective of multiculturalism regarding cultural difference could end up legitimising differentialist racism. Giroux (1994) also wrote that introducing culture into political discourse on the grounds that it is necessary to protect minorities in danger of extinction would lead to an ‘ethnification’ of cultural diversity.

Certainly, the appropriation of an essentialist discourse by hegemonic groups generated new ideologies of group supremacy that have led to cultural racism (Balibar and Wallerstein, 1992; Nash, 2002). As Bartra demonstrated (1996, 2007), the discourse of race formed part of the collective Western imagination and was a mainstay in legitimizing colonialism. To Wiewiorka (1991), the biologization of otherness made race and its cultural representation a justification for discrimination; sexual difference was also biologized, affecting the gender construct (Stolcke, 1994). Thus, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the debate about how pluricultural societies should change was polarized between a universalist standpoint – in which the West was portrayed as a ‘modern’ project involving democracy and a concept of the individual based on universal human rights – and a particularist standpoint – in which the non-Western world is portrayed as a ‘traditional’ or community project without a universal perspective. Huntington (1997) and Sartori (2001) point out how this dichotomization was escalated to an international scale as a clash of civilizations between the Christian West and Islam. Muslim otherness became irreconcilable (Said 2003; Hunter 1998; Burgat 2005; Roy 2003, 2007; Kilani 2003); Islam was seen as a threat to the globalized world.

5 Multiculturalism and cultural studies

Cultural studies form part of the theoretical and epistemological revision of post-structuralism and post-modernity, criticizing concepts such as

'individual', 'society', and 'history' as Western and Eurocentric concepts (Martín Díaz, 2003). Cultural studies took up the feminist criticism of the social sciences regarding their claims to universalism and their essentialist background. Kinchloe and Steinberg (1999) declared that gender was always present in cultural studies. However, Nash (2002) disagreed, asserting that the discourses of otherness continue to be homogenized by the effect of androcentrism – a trend that in her view must be supplanted by studying not only the other male, but also the other female. Brah (1987, 1996) linked the concept of identity with a subversive dimension that divided the dominated and the domineering, highlighting an inherent 'reductionist essentialism'.

The 'modern' project of the Enlightenment has been criticized for homogenizing cultural diversity. Hall (1997) made an interesting contribution regarding the impact that the system of representation has on the current configuration of society: representation transmits collective values that create (mainly negative) images of the other. The other is historic and occupies a specific time and place (Martín Corrales, 2002, 2004; Kilani, 2000; Bartra, 1996). Collective representations affect the configuration of pluricultural societies. Wrench and Solomos (1993) described a European dimension to negative otherness. Tylor (1994), Walzer (1998), Blommaert and Verschueren (1998), de Sousa (1997) and Kymlicka (1995) agree that the multicultural question should be resolved from a consensus of diversity: multicultural citizenship should be based on the rights of individuals as citizens and on the mutual recognition of each group's rights. Kymlicka (1995) and Miller (1997) insist that multicultural citizenship is only possible if universal rights are translated into individual rights.

Cultural studies has led to postcolonial theory, currently among the most fruitful lines of research. It rejects essentialism and denounces the idea that the construct of the other, the migrant, is similar to that of the colonial other (Prakash, 1994). To Dirlak (1997, 2003), Gandhi (1998), and Chakrabarty (2000), Eurocentrism is present in the West's view of the other and in effect reaffirms colonial identities: it provincializes, reshapes and territorializes the non-Western world. In postcolonial studies, identities are not delimited and do not have territorial frontiers: individuals simultaneously retain various cultural traditions, since they are partial

and bordering: Bhabha (1994) calls them ‘hybrids’ and to Hall (1997) they are ‘suture points’. Anderson (2002), meanwhile, considered the feeling of group belonging from the point of view of the ‘imagined community’, which is distinct from (and denies, in fact) the ‘created community’. Caws (1994) proposed a ‘moral world community’, with multiple cultural values.

Appadurai’s proposal of neither territorialized nor culturally homogenized ‘ethnoscapes’ has also generated interest. García Canclini (1999) re-examined works on ‘globalization’ by Appadurai (1999), ‘glocalization’ by Robertson (1997), ‘imagined community’ by Anderson (2002), and ‘hybridization’ by Bhabha (1994), having later proposed the concept of ‘imagined globalization’, in which – due to the indirect effects of globalization – new collective imageries would emerge. Finally, in postcolonial studies, particularly Hall (1997), cultural identities do not correspond with national identities: as Caglar (1997) observed, ‘hyphenated identities’ do not explain the ambiguous loyalties of French Algerians or British Pakistanis. Inherent in multiculturalism is a criticism of the concept, expressed by some academic communities, of abstract, essentialist, frontier-limited culture that is monopolized by nation-states. Current analysis incorporates dynamic and open perspectives in part because of the interaction between Universities/Universe-Cities.

6 Muslims in multiculturalism

Much has been written about European universalism. A good place to start would be to accept that a universalist world history is further proof that it is a particular version of history. Accordingly, Kilani (2002) wrote that one of the problems of universalism is that it is taught in universities as part of ‘normal’ science. Certainly, the universalist approach exerts an influence on the Muslim image and Muslim communities, particularly in multicultural contexts. Ethnic, linguistic, religious and national stereotypes have become integrated into how interculturalism is managed. They have become a part of the collective forms of representation that have affected coexistence in contexts of high cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity,

regardless of the status granted or demanded by the other: refugee, exile, foreigner, expatriate, minority. European universalism, apparently secular, has influenced the construct of the other and, as such, that of the Muslim as well. Islam has been construed as the conflicting other due to its similarity to the historically-Christian West.

The Muslim other has become an incommensurable otherness with irreconcilable differences. In this incommensurability of differences between Islam and the West, one factor was the academic position adopted following the Council of Trent (1312) regarding the scientific discipline of Orientalism that was emerging in Oxford, Paris, Bologna, Avignon, and Salamanca. As Said (2003) wrote, seldom have disciplines been created with such a broad and wide-ranging field of study which at the same time deal with such a geographic, cultural, linguistic, and ethnic singularity, known as the Orient (although a diametrically opposite field of study, Occidentalism, has yet to be created). The Orientalism denounced by Said had characterized the relationship between Europe and the East and revealed a monumentally perverse construct of otherness characterized by inverted reflection. This apparently simple grammar of alterity was used by G. Baumann (2001) to explain the multicultural tension emerging in 21st-century London: 'I am good, because you (the other) are bad'; 'I am superior, because you (the other) are inferior'.

The fact is that the various multicultural policies that have been implemented in Europe have been characterized not by their alignment with the ethnic, religious, cultural, or linguistic differences of the citizens they apply to: rather, they have often increased these differences in accordance with their interests in a discourse about the other that subtly integrated Said's Orientalist grammar. The perpetuation of cultural stereotypes (as they have become reinforced in our collective imagination) can neutralize the ability of many social scientists to respond to Muslim issues, reducing their capacity for reflection and analysis of the social dynamics involved in Muslim collectives. Of course, the Islamic attacks in New York, London and Madrid (Allievi, 2003), which were undoubtedly more influential than those in Morocco, Algeria and Sudan, produced a new view on cultural blocs and reified the apparent historic and centuries-long misunderstandings

between regions – giving rise to the opportunist works of Huntington and Sartori. On the other hand, concepts such as ‘second- or third-generation’ – that proliferated in France and Great Britain to exclude populations that supposedly cannot be integrated (Muslim and Indian-Pakistani) – renewed the idea that immigrants should always be on the move.

Such concepts have remained in force to explain why their values cannot contribute to the constructs of national identities that are, in historical terms, very solid (Anderson, 2002). This perception of Muslim alterity has also influenced the proliferation of research focusing on ‘diasporic communities’, a perspective that renews the non-recognition of Muslim integration into European contexts. It is true that, regardless of their acquired citizenship, some Muslims persist in adopting their own codes, which manifest themselves in their social presentation of the body, food, religious practices and family codes, although these do not create insurmountable cultural distances. In this sense, I wish to highlight the power that the image of the female Muslim veil, the hijab, has, both in contexts of Muslim origin and in contexts that receive Muslim populations: in the first instance, the veil gives an appearance of cultural continuity to a society that has already changed (Fanon, 1966; Kasriel, 1989).

The hijab is a symbol, a social presentation of the body connected with the codification of North African dress during colonial occupation that sought to differentiate wearers from their colonizers (Chebel, 2004); in the second instance, the veil expresses a claim to identity, reinforced and made visible to a Muslim community in need of collective affirmation, even though the veil is interpreted by Europeans as a symbol of female repression and cultural backwardness (Aixelà, 2006). France, which apparently has the most integration-minded policy in the European Union, has considered the veil as a symbol that cannot be integrated. This policy involves a decision to override the universal declaration of children’s rights by expelling them from school rather than allow any religious virus to invade the secular purity of its sociopolitical system. This is why the hijab, in European contexts, is understood as an act of protest by women who seek to affirm their own identity, regardless of the national identities of the

countries they live in. It seems that, in Europe, women who use the veil are no longer seen as victims (Kilani, 2003; Amiraux, 2003).

Furthermore, I would also like to mention the pressure that social scientists sometimes receive from certain political sectors and elements of the mass media who, having set themselves up as the voice of the people, look for ways to justify non-integrationist attitudes with the Muslim collective. With arguments that Muslim identity is supranational, that females are constantly abused, or that a large part of the Muslim population is potentially terrorist, Muslims are denied their demands or more impartial coverage in the news. Many of these arguments are used to justify prohibitions against mosque and chapel building (Aixelà, 2007) and for not implementing active political policies to curb or reduce increasing Islamophobia the effects of which are clearly felt in the daily lives of Muslims (Tamney, 2004; Suleiman, 2006; Ali, 2004). Such a course encourages them to defiantly rethink their identity based on the existing historical misunderstandings between the West and North Africa (Said, 2002; Martín Corrales, 2002).

7 Conclusions

In this paper, several of the arguments for further analyzing multiculturalism and Islamophobia have been put forward from the perspective of 'academic communities in movement', since these communities allow us to reflect on the social, linguistic, historic, cultural, and national dynamics of 'Universe-Cities' and, of course, their scientific production. It is my belief that developing this area of study could help improve the transnational perspective applied to research on migration and multiculturalism and would be particularly fruitful regarding the perception of the Muslim other, as well as helping to demythologize some of the foundations that still sustain European universalism. It is along these lines that I wish to stress the pertinence of anthropology as a social science for studying these issues, essentially because it has proven – with contributions such as those of Appadurai or Hannerz – that it can clarify the definitions, dimensions, and limits of the concept of 'culture'. As Martí Pérez (2003: 40) points out in

his analysis of culture's place in anthropology and the continued use of the concept (albeit with caution):

The misuse of the term culture that we see mainly in the political arena of our society rests on four main points: 1) the tacit or explicit equivalence that is established between 'culture' and 'society'; 2) the confusion between the terms 'culture' and 'cultural identity'; 3) the use of the concept of 'culture' in an ethnocratic sense; and 4) the use of a concept of culture which sometimes has overbearing effects for the individual.

It is also my belief that greater awareness regarding such bias will guarantee dynamism, flexibility, and breadth to a concept that has the potential to explain certain specific elements of the contemporary world. There can be no doubt about the need to update universities in Europe along these lines; and it would be a blunder for Universe-Cities to reduce such updating to, say, the anthropology or language or sociology departments. Flexibility in the approach to culture cannot be the incumbency of only a few particular departments; it is simply one of the implications of the concept of the university. To the extent that (Western) European universities serve a modelling function on many other continents, an anthropologically-based redefinition of culture – or rather, flexibility – in our approaches to culture and the world is the core task of universities and a worldwide responsibility.

Note

1. This article is published inside the Spanish National Project directed by Yolanda Aixelà: 'Handling of cultural diversity and socio-political influence of transnational migration in two former Spanish colonies: Equatorial Guinea and Morocco', Ministry of Economy (HAR2011-22752).

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THE NEW LOCATIONS OF CULTURE: Literary Internationalization vs. Commercial Globalization¹

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Abstract

The publishing industry is often considered to be one of the pillars on which democracy is based. The last twenty years have seen a transformation in the publishing industry, particularly in the United States and Europe; this change is related to economic concentration and has led to the almost complete disappearance of the book as a work of intellectual creation. The new profit-minded publishing logic is incompatible with what a democracy should expect from cultural powers – i.e., the diffusion of ideas. The question, however, is whether by treating the book as just another piece of merchandise, the nature of cultural goods is not altered in some way; thus creating a bulwark which only serves to limit the freedom of expression. One example is that the demand for an immediate profit only serves to endanger the emergence of ideas and of truly innovative fictional narratives.

As Pascale Casanova pointed out in *La République mondiale des lettres*, bookshops are overflowing with the kitsch products of commercial globalization; these products can be regarded as a World Fiction. Their authors might be Italian, Indian, English, or American; and they circulate quickly and effortlessly worldwide thanks to translation. This narrative fiction is contrary in all its aspects to the products of the *literary internationalization* that appeared in Europe during the first half of the 20th century – a prestigious circle whose centre is at the same time everywhere and

nowhere, although for some time Paris was its capital. As Bourdieu indicates, this specific and cultural tradition of *internationalism* is radically incompatible with what is called *globalization*, because globalization aspires to universalize the peculiarities of the United States cultural tradition.

Scholars can just hope that universities will at least wonder about the possible consequences of the redefinition of books, communication, languages, and, say, cultural markets. The challenge will be (or rather, is) how academic structures can refer to the new world of knowledge and communication while reflecting worlds from the past.

Keywords: literary internationalization, commercial globalization, editorial market, culture, literary translation.

1 The archaeology of translation: the editorial context

Using as an opener Vidal's revision (1998: 140-147) of Foucault's theories (1969) applied to translation, we believe that understanding the current situation of literary translation requires an understanding of its editorial context. With this understanding, we can construct a sort of *archaeology of translation*, which describes the circumstances that shape a text – those formal conditions that determine the emergence of meaning. This *archaeology* is the foundation (*the A Priori*) upon which texts are based. One essential component is comprised of those institutions that, at any given moment, transmit or affirm discourse. In the literary world, publishing houses are a stronghold of established power, determining what should be translated and who should translate it.

At the centre of this debate lies the possibility of redefining the relationship between society and culture in terms of a *normative dimension* – which stems from social institutions – and a *creative dimension* – which originates with the creators of culture, in other words, the creation of new structures of meaning. Between the two dimensions, there obviously exists a set of rules directly resulting from power relationships. As Hutcheon states (1988: 178), a linguistic act can only be carried out within a historic

and institutional social context. Therefore, understanding the relationship between texts and the socio-politics of the ideology in which they are created is vital.

Nowadays, *dominant discourse* holds that economic concentration in the book industry does not influence the diversity or quality of works of literature. Consumers are supposedly sovereign and their decisions, so it is said, guide the production of books. However, the reality is far different. The consumer is manipulated by the industry's previously-tested marketing techniques: techniques strengthened by the fact that the major transnational publishing houses are also Mass Media Corporations. The greatest scholar of power mechanisms was Lefevere (1992: 25-40), who developed the concept of *patronage*. *Patronage* is formed of three interacting elements. One is the *ideological component*, or the interweaving of form, convention and belief that commands our actions. The second is the *economic component*, the patron that guarantees the writer's survival, which currently takes the shape of author's rights and monetary advances to acknowledged writers. The third component is the question of *status*, or the approval of a particular lifestyle.

The literary system can be controlled by *undifferentiated patronage*, in which the same patron oversees the three components, ideology, economics, and status. This was the case of literary systems of the past and is still the case in totalitarian states. On the other end of the spectrum is *differentiated patronage*, where the three components are independent of one another. For example, in the current bestseller literary system (which belongs to the *commercial pole*) authors do not have the benefit of literary status bestowed by the critics and authors of high-quality literature. Current trends in the literary system, as seen in the United States and Europe, show that undifferentiated patronage needn't be based primarily on ideology – as was the case with the greater part of past literary systems. The economic component and hunger for profit can lead to the recovery of a *relatively undifferentiated* system that Whiteside outlines in the following terms:

The growth of large wholesale bookselling chains, the great rivalry between publishers to carve out a place for themselves in the markets, [...] the

appearance on the scene of a new species of literary agents, the influence of television programmes that tend to invite writers to appear as guests, the control wielded by show business over publishing houses. (Whiteside on Lefevere, 1992: 34).

According to Drucker (1989), we are currently living in a post-capitalist society where knowledge is the basic resource and competition is global. This economic system, characterized by transnational capital, gives way to a cultural and ideological system dominated by what we can call *post-capitalist patronage*. This patronage is almost entirely undifferentiated, whereby the publishing world threatens the existence of quality literature, and quality literature is in danger of being replaced in favour of commercial uniformity. In this case, the cultural system is not disadvantaged by the direct ideological censorship of a political power, as in totalitarian systems, but by a suppression of quality literature at the hands of what we call money censorship.

Schiffrin, in *L'Édition sans éditeurs*, (1999), identifies the recent change in the book industry – which started in the United States and is now expanding into European countries – as having been caused by the structural transformation of capitalism. This transformation easily finds its way into the Information Society; while profits have traditionally hovered around 4 percent in the literary sector, these days the new owners of publishing houses, which are included in the international conglomerates of the Information Industry, require a book's profits to be equal to the profits of other entertainment industry products. These other products are notoriously lucrative, earning between 12 and 15 percent profit. These impossible expectations of profit explain the importance of the Bestseller, because 12 percent is the absolute limit of what scholarly books or quality narrative fiction can earn. As a consequence, we are witnessing a desertion of these types of literature, which leaves the literary sector deprived.

2 The new publishing ideology and control of the word

The publishing industry is one of the pillars on which democracy is based. The last twenty years have seen a change in the publishing industry in

the United States and in Europe; such change has to do with economic concentration and has almost led to the complete disappearance of the book as a work of intellectual creation. The new profit-minded publishing logic is incompatible with what a democracy should expect of cultural powers: the diffusion of ideas. Just as Brémont states, (2002: 24) the question is whether by treating the book as just another piece of merchandise, the nature of cultural goods is not altered – putting an obstacle in the way of freedom of expression. As previously mentioned, dominant discourse holds that economic concentration in the book industry does not affect the diversity and quality of books, and that the consumer can be considered sovereign since his decisions guide production.

As we have seen the reality is nonetheless deeply different because ‘the public is dominated by a cultural dictatorship’ (Tortosa, 2007: 62). Within the mass media industry, the book is categorized as information. Consequently it is treated as any other piece of merchandise or product, and therefore subjected to the laws of profit – confirming the danger of which Bremond spoke: that by rejecting the specificity of cultural goods, the nature of commercial logic is altered. One example is that the demand for an immediate profit endangers both the emergence of ideas and the truly innovative fictional narratives. The most obvious outcome is that we also see, in all creative fields, the cultural production of substitutes – which can imitate vanguard research while continuing to toy with the most traditional mechanisms of commercial production. Therefore:

The mythology of differentiation and extraordinary diversification of products can be opposed by the uniformity of product, on a national scale as well as international scale: The competition, instead of diversifying, homogenizes, since the search for the biggest public leads the producers to look for *omnibus products, which work for publics of all types and of all nations*. These products are not diverse or diversifying. They are products such as Hollywood films, soap operas, serial television programmes, commercial music, revue and Broadway theatre, bestsellers directly produced for the world market and magazines for all audiences. The great majority of editors look toward commercial success, which unavoidably leads to the invasion

of mass media stars among authors and to money censorship. More than anything, this is because being part of large multimedia groups, they have to reach extremely high rates of profit (Bourdieu, 2001: 84-86).

In his book, *Le Contrôle de la parole* (2005), Schiffrin describes what could be the consequences of what we have called post-capitalist patronage, characterized by the international conglomerates that took over publishing and changed the way we read. Thus, we find ourselves before an uneasy coexistence of political, economic, and ideological powers in a cultural system in which, if somebody does not prevent it, the scholarly book and the commercial book will not continue to coexist. We are heading toward commercial uniformity, the *monoculture* of the Bestseller, and, consequently, toward the abandonment of culture.

To Schiffrin, the question of economic concentration in the publishing industry; and its inevitable, immediate, and complicit relationships with the political world can explain what has happened in the United States in the period subsequent to the invasion of Iraq: *control of the word* via an auto-censorship trend in all Mass Media; *freedom of the press* is in a state of emergency. In his previous book, Schiffrin demanded the right to read quality works of fiction and not only the few clichéd bestsellers. His demand has now become a defence of the freedom of press, of the freedom to inform and to be informed. While in the year 2000 he demanded the right to read not just Grisham and Stephen King, today he demands the right to read Chomsky, Ziegler, or Michael Moore.

We maintain that this economic system (controlled by transnational capital) gives rise to a cultural system dominated by post-capitalist patronage, in which the powers of economics, ideology, and status – held by the media and information conglomerates – have reduced the book to a sub-product of the more profitable forms of mass media. This is a literary scene in which the pressure to obtain immediate profits does not permit the release of marginally profitable books – such as books with new and/or controversial ideas or with challenging literary voices. At the same time, bookshelves are overflowing with copies of generic books, both national and translated. Of the translated books, almost all are translated from English

and specially-designed to be the bestseller of the moment. We can definitely speak of a suppression of quality literature at the hands of what we call money censorship; in other words: when, the ecological conditions of art are destroyed, art does not take long to die. Moreover, as Bourdieu (2001: 87) states, culture is in danger because the economic and social conditions in which it develops are profoundly affected by the logic of profit.

3 Literary internationalization vs. commercial globalization

As Casanova (1999: 217-227) pointed out in *La République mondiale des lettres*, bookshops are overflowing with the kitsch products of commercial globalization; these products can be regarded as a World Fiction. Their authors might be Italian, Indian, English, or American; and they circulate quickly and effortlessly worldwide thanks to translation. This narrative fiction is contrary in all its aspects to the products of *literary internationalization* that appeared in Europe during the first half of the 20th century – a prestigious circle whose centre is at the same time everywhere and nowhere, although for some time Paris was its capital. The *international denationalization of creators* – such as Joyce, Faulkner, Kafka, Beckett, and Gombrowicz, products of Ireland, the United States, Czechoslovakia and Poland but moulded in Paris – never could have existed or endured without a tradition of artistic internationalism.

As Bourdieu indicates (2001: 91-92), this specific and cultural tradition of *internationalism* is radically incompatible with what is called *globalization* – because globalization aspires to universalize the peculiarities of the cultural tradition of the United States. This new *globalized* cultural project helps to put the major media conglomerates above nation states, and ensures favourable conditions for their economic activities. In opposition to this tendency, a new *internationalization* should arise, capable of dealing with the issues with authentically international force. This new *internationalization* should be understood as ‘scholarship with commitment’ (Bourdieu 2001: 45).

Reflecting on current literature involves comment on the role of the literary translator, the essential negotiator in the international circulation of ideas. Therefore, it is necessary to present the translator's ethic – which is defined by total commitment to *internationalism* and an integral devotion to scholarship. This leads us to the formation of a *Transversal Ethics of Translation*, whose objectives are the analysis of power/knowledge that have constituted the original text and analysis of the translated text, in addition to a study of what can be done to oppose the reach of power. In this way, the translator becomes an intellectual subject 'who battles the forms of power wherever he is, at once being the object and the instrument: at the order of knowledge, of truth, of conscience, of discourse' (Vidal, 1998: 148).

4 The geopolitical economics of translation

Lambert (1991: 119-121), shows that national literature is insufficient as an explanatory model of total literary production. Currently, as a result of the international cooperation of major publishing houses in their eagerness to mass-produce works of literature, each individual culture has increasing influence on others through a process of emerging globalization. The analysis of this global system, and the position that different languages occupy in it, is essential for understanding the role of translation in each specific local or national context. The importance of translated works and the number of them in each language depends, above all, on the position that the language holds within the international system.

For this reason, transnational cultural exchanges do not accurately reflect the structural contradictions of the global economy, as has been proposed above. Casanova (1999) and Bourdieu (1992) have shown that cultural exchanges have their own dynamics, which are based on a certain autonomy with regards to the global market. That being said, instead of thinking of the cultural sphere as derived from economic structures, it might be more worthwhile to consider transnational cultural exchanges – as does Heilbron (1999: 432) – as belonging to a relatively autonomous sphere, an international arena with its economic, political, and symbolic dimensions.

This situation increases even more the necessity of a deeper awareness concerning this relatively autonomous sphere of culture. It also demands that a structural analysis of the international trends in translated literature be conducted to show why the study of translation is necessary for understanding literature today. The movement of translated books among the different language groups can be studied today with the help of some previously compiled statistics. In 1932 the *Index Translationum* was created – a collection of all the translated works of literature in the world: an international translation bibliography. For Heilbron (1999: 433-434), the international translation system is, above all, a hierarchical structure with central, semi-peripheral, and peripheral languages. A language can be considered as central to the system when it has a large share of the total number of books translated internationally.

According to the *Index Translationum* of January 2008, English is the key central language in this system; almost half of all translated books were translated from English. Furthermore, the position of English is even more central in Europe where anywhere from 50 to 70 percent of the total of translated works of literature were originally written in English. According to the data, English can be considered the hyper-central language of the system, with 942,087 translated works (i.e., eight times more than the second most frequently translated language). In descending order there are three other languages that also play a central role: French (with 176,129 translations), German (with 160,573), and Russian (with 92,000). Far removed from this group we find six languages that play a semi-peripheral role: Italian (with 52,030 translated words), Spanish (with 40,440), Swedish (with 29,488), Danish (with 15,426), Dutch (with 15,084), and Czech (with 13,663). The differences between hyper-central, central, and semi-peripheral are relatively clear; the differences between semi-peripheral and peripheral are nonetheless much more blurred. Peripheral languages occupy about 1 percent of the international market; among these languages are Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, and Portuguese. One fact that we can infer is that the population size of a language group is not critical to the centrality of that language in the translation system.

In this day and age, the imbalances that have characterized the relationship between translation and the global cultural economy are taking the form, along with the major transnational publishing houses, of multinational corporativism. Half of the total global production of translation is translated from the English language, far greater than other European languages. In the geopolitical economy of translation, the languages of developing countries occupy the lowest positions. But the situation of English-speaking countries is different; in clear contrast to this trend, British and U.S. publishers translate much less from other languages into English since translating from English into other languages is much more profitable. Beginning in the 1980s, the sale of translation rights to English books has earned American and British publishers millions of dollars a year:

The foreign rights for an English-language ‘blockbuster’ can fetch \$500,000 in South America and from \$10,000 to \$200,000 in newly industrialized Asian countries like Taiwan, South Korea, and Malaysia. In Brazil, the rights to translate an English-language book start at \$3,000. According to UNESCO, 1987 saw Brazilian publishers bring out over 1,500 such translations, including not only highbrow literary works still under copyright (Samuel Beckett, Margaret Atwood), but also multiple titles by bestselling novelists who command higher fees: 25 books by Agatha Christie, 13 by Barbara Cartland, 9 by Sidney Sheldon, 7 by Harold Robbins, 5 by Robert Ludlum, 2 by Stephen King. In the same year, British and American publishers together issued only 14 translations of Brazilian literature. The enormous earnings from foreign rights sales don’t increase the number of translations into English because British and American publishers are keen on financing domestic bestsellers, a trend that has continued unabated since the 1970s. In the words of Alberto Vitale, the chief executive officer of Random House, «foreign rights are the necessary income to compensate for the high advances we often pay in the U.S.». (Venuti, 1998: 161).

This commercial imbalance in the publication of translations generates negative cultural and economic consequences. The national publishers of non-English speaking countries, with their scant policies

for encouraging literature in their vernacular language (as is the case in Italy, Portugal, and Sweden) invest predominately in British and American bestsellers. This is due to the fact that these translations are more profitable in comparison with their own national literature, which often lacks prestige and recognition. As a result, they require a more aggressive approach to promotion and marketing in order to reach a larger public sphere; consequently, local authors do not receive the help they need and the development of local languages and literatures is ultimately limited.

Finally, a reflection on the status that Bourdieu bestows upon the term *globalization* gives us a point of view from which to interpret our previous reflections. Bourdieu considers globalization to be both a *descriptive and prescriptive pseudo-concept*, which obtains part of its symbolic force from the ambiguity of the notion. In other words, it is a concept in the descriptive sense that designates in a strict sense the unification of economics on a global scale. However, the concept has surreptitiously shifted from a *descriptive* sense to a *normative* sense – or better said, *performative* sense: Globalization designates an *economic policy* that floods national markets with narrative fiction translated from English, a policy that aspires to unify the economic field through the creation of rules to free up commerce in favour of transnational entities.

This *globalized* market is a *political creation* and has, as its objective, the creation of conditions of dominance, forcing agents and companies (that until now have been confined to national limits) to confront and succumb to the competition of more efficient transnational publishing forces whose bet is on the bestsellers translated from English. It is a model of unlimited universalism, which, to literature, means ‘an international literature, new in its form and effect that easily and rapidly circulates worldwide thanks to almost simultaneous translations. It has become extraordinarily successful because its ‘denationalized’ content can be understood in any part of the world without the risk of misunderstanding’ (Casanova, 1999: 223-227).

The study of literature is currently part of the standard curriculum of universities worldwide. In most cases, the literary program is linked with the various national languages, as if literature necessarily depended on a single language. Of course, it has clearly been established that the various

literatures are heavily indebted to traditions within a particular language – and in the Western world the Romantic Movement and the development of the nation-state have heavily influenced literary life. But it is exactly the Age of Romanticism that illustrates how this concept of literature is linked with particular moments and geopolitical frameworks: it cannot be a ‘universal’ model for the study of literary phenomena. Furthermore, the contemporary trends in the internationalization of literary markets makes clear that research on literature – hence the academic curricula – need to include the study of the new literary markets. In case Universe-Cities should fail to do so, they may even miss more than just literature, and may simply fail to fulfil their task.

Note

1. Investigation made within the I+D+i project ‘Retórica cultural. Planteamiento de un sistema metodológico de base comparada para el estudio de la literatura, el discurso y la cultura a partir de sus componentes persuasivos’ with reference FFI2010-15160, granted by the *Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad*.

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AFTER (NEO-) BABEL: Globalization, Post-babelianism, and Multilingualism in Translation

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Abstract

Globalization is commonly deemed to have triggered an unprecedented demographic change and, accordingly, a transformation of traditional forms of community identification. Translation features in dominant narratives of globalization as a largely extrinsic, professional, and reciprocal activity. In this article I discuss translation as domestic, individual, and unidirectional instead. Drawing from the concepts of ‘post-Babelianism’ (Eoyang, 1993), ‘neo-Babelianism by default’ (Cronin, 2003), and ‘multilingualism in translation’, I argue that the perception of translation and multilingualism displayed in dominant narratives of globalization remains anchored in idealized notions of language and monolingualism that ultimately perpetuate asymmetries of power and prestige. I discuss the influence that such notions have exerted on the understanding of translation, and I point to the interplay of sociolinguistics and translation studies to question dominant language ideologies. I conclude by reflecting on the role of Universe-Cities in the redefinition of translation in the face of globalization.

Keywords: migration, identity, language ideologies, majority languages, grammaticality, organic mendacity.

1 Introduction

In recent decades narratives on the increasing interdependence among states beyond traditional axes of influence have flourished around the term ‘globalization’.¹ Nurtured by economic and technological transformations since the 1970s, such interdependence has purportedly generated a second type of interdependence derived from increased interpersonal, intergroup, and intersocietal contact: cultural globalization. Contingent not only on the intensification of the flow of capital goods and services in the shape of transnational markets but also on the mobilization of immigrant labour force, globalization is commonly deemed to have triggered an unprecedented demographic change at the heart of host societies causing, accordingly, a transformation of traditional forms of (imagined) community identification (Anderson, 1983; García Canclini, 1999).

Translation – a practice largely identified with international communication, reinforced in recent times by the decision of the European Union to recognize its 24 languages as official ones – inevitably participates in narratives of globalization, albeit as a largely extrinsic (i.e., international) and professional activity between states without a common language in the shape of a third international language (i.e., a *lingua franca*) or a shared national language. However domestic the practice of translation is becoming (Cronin, 2006: 64-70), the perception of translation as an instrumental (yet, unidirectional) means to achieve the social integration of immigrants from the perspective of national and/or official languages remains considerably influential (Chambers, 2002; Shohamy, 2006; Horner, 2009).

Since the study of translation necessarily involves the recognition of difference (not only linguistic, but also social, cultural, historical, political, and so forth), translation studies should lead the way in problematizations of translation as a mainly extrinsic, professional, and reciprocal activity (in other words, translation as belonging in the international political arena, as epitomized in the European Union) to the detriment of translation as a domestic, individual, and unidirectional practice – that is, translation as a condition for the integration of the Other into imagined communities. I believe that contemporary labour mobility provides translation studies with

a significant opportunity to reconsider translation as a transnational – rather than international and/or national – practice vis-à-vis dominant narratives of cultural globalization. In this article I explore the notions of ‘post-Babelianism’ (Eoyang, 1993), ‘neo-Babelianism by default’ (Cronin, 2003), and ‘multilingualism *in* translation’ and argue that the prominence given to translation and multilingualism in dominant narratives of globalization remains anchored in idealized perceptions of language and monolingualism that perpetuate asymmetries of power and prestige among languages.

In this regard, I discuss the influence that those perceptions have exerted in the understanding of translation and point to the interplay of sociolinguistics and translation studies to undermine the currency of dominant language ideologies. I conclude by reflecting on the role of Universe-Cities in the redefinition of language and translation in the face of globalization. These issues are particularly timely with regard to narratives of the imminent demise (or at least the profound transformation) of common staples of individual and collective identity construction – most visibly, nationhood and citizenship, but also political orientation, religion, race, ethnicity, sexuality, and, indeed, language – as a consequence of intensified interaction among states and continents, and of shifting conditions and practices of mobility as reflected in categories such as ‘permanent resident alien’, ‘tourist’, and ‘temporary visitor’ (Schäffner, 2000; Carens, 2008).

2 Languages after Babel: Post-Babelian or Neo-Babelian?

Bearing in mind the longstanding ties between translation and Christianity (Bassnett, [1980] 1991: 45–50; Tymoczko, 2007: 56–57), the biblical story of the Tower of Babel has hold sway in translation studies. As can be seen reflected in the title of one of the most widely read works on translation (George Steiner’s *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation*) (Venuti, [2000] 2004: 150), questions of periodization from the standpoint of translation have largely followed the Babelian model (Robinson, 1991; Munday 2001),² yielding a pre-Babelian phase (where all humankind spoke a single originary language) and a Babelian phase (where a multiplicity

of mutually unintelligible languages was scattered around the globe), to which a post-Babelian phase (where those languages become mutually comprehensible through multilingualism and translation) has been recently added (Eoyang, 1993; Chan, 2002).³

The coinage of the term ‘post-Babelianism’ reflects one of the tenets of globalization and its implicit conflation of nationality with language: globalization and, more specifically, the population migrations triggered by globalization have given birth to multilingual national societies. Even though technological advances in the last decades in travel and communication should not be overlooked, the ready association of multilingualism with unprecedented labour mobility is far from accurate, not only reflecting the Eurocentric background of dominant narratives of globalization, but also perpetuating an understanding of translation that is bound to the paradigm of the monolingual nation-state (Tymoczko, 2007: 159-175). From this perspective, post-Babelianism is not so much predicated upon a genuinely multilingual and translational phase of personal, group, and social interaction as upon an increased prominence of multilingualism and translation as a means to achieve personal, group, and social integration into the dominant culture of the host society (Branchadell, 2005), tending less toward the realization of so-called ‘ethnolinguistic democracy’ (Fishman, 1993) and more toward what Michael Cronin terms ‘neo-Babelianism by default’ (2003: 60) – that is, the instrumentalization of translation into the dominant language in the name of instantaneous intelligibility and communication.

However problematic the neo-Babelian scenario in the age of globalization might be,⁴ it is certain that questions of intelligibility and communication figure prominently in narratives of cultural globalization, particularly vis-à-vis the marked increase of multilingualism in domestic spaces (Ramakrishna, 1997; Cronin, 2006: 59). Greater intelligibility and communication are pointed to as indicators of the convenience of adopting a neo-Babelian approach to situations of multilingualism (Huntington, 1993), whereas the ideological underpinnings of the notions of intelligibility and communication tend to remain unquestioned. What is the rationale behind the recurrent association of intelligibility and communication and the use of *a* language?

In the neo-Babelian scenario, language is predominantly portrayed in light of its locutionary force. Understood as a system that realizes a series of ideal functions (e.g., informing, stating, and questioning), from which a series of grammatical rules can be formulated and whose ultimate goal is the communication of information, language is approached as a concatenation of constants and attributed to a homogenous community of speakers who submit to social laws through the formation of grammatically-correct sentences (Austin, 1962; Deleuze and Guattari, [1980] 2004). In turn, the articulation of ‘grammaticality’ as an inherent feature of language communities functions as a form of symbolic power that regulates and represses the existence of a ‘remainder’ (Lecercle, 1990: 5-6; Cronin, 2003: 159-161; Venuti, [1995] 2008: 187) that, transgressing the limits of grammaticality, is relegated to the outside of the community. In this way, language becomes readily associated with constants and relations to be formulated systematically and unequivocally, effacing not only the ideological assumptions of the notion of language as monolithic, uniform, and homogeneous but also the role of grammaticality in the articulation of language as an object of study (Bourdieu, [1982] 1991: 41; Blommaert, 2010: 180-182).

Translation in the neo-Babelian scenario appears implicitly coupled with grammaticality, albeit without addressing the attached asymmetries and ideologies. Consequently, translation is merely understood as a unidirectional activity whereby a homogeneous system of constants and relations is substituted by an equivalent system of constants and relations in the service of wider communication, making the participation of neo-Babelian translation in political, economic, and cultural dominance invisible – or at least irrelevant – in view of the instantaneous intelligibility allowed in (rather than by) translation. Multilingualism in the neo-Babelian scenario is articulated *in* translation (i.e., translation into the dominant language as a means to eradicate the need for reciprocal translation in multilingual contexts) to the detriment of a scenario of multilingualism articulated *by* translation (i.e., reciprocal translation as a means to assert and reinforce different ethnolinguistic identities in multilingual contexts).

Even if the approach to language as monolithic, uniform, and homogeneous is observed, the attention dedicated to the locutionary

dimension of language in neo-Babelian narratives does not suffice to account for the interplay of language and translation. Although traditionally supported by idealized notions of language and society (Blommaert, 1996), the linguistic unity conveyed by the ‘metonymics of language names’ (whereby language names are taken to represent the totality of possible language appearances) has been contested in recent sociolinguistic research (most notably, in the linguistic rights paradigm),⁵ revealing the ideological underpinnings of language-naming approaches and their legitimization by way of formulation of constants and relations (Rampton, 1998). Likewise, the inseparability of the production of meaning and the production of sign-value and, accordingly, the asymmetries and ideologies involved in and by translation have also been discussed (Deleuze & Guattari, [1980] 2004: 99; Blommaert, 2010: 5).

3 Languages in the Age of Globalization: More Translation is Less Translation?

Notwithstanding the post-Babelian connection of multilingualism with contemporary labour mobility, the problematization of language ideologies is featuring increasingly in approaches to labour mobility as triggered by globalization – particularly when accompanied by the dichotomy of ‘majority’ and ‘minority’ languages (de Houwer, 1998; Barret, 2006; Brisset, 2008). Whereas the customary distinction between majority and minority has rested upon sociolinguistic data gathered from speech communities, translation has been recently incorporated into sociolinguistic research on majority and minority languages by way of the concept of ‘less translated languages’ – that is, ‘all those languages that are less often the source of translation in the international exchange of linguistic goods, regardless of the number of people using these languages’ (Branchadell, 2005: 1).⁶

The term ‘less translated languages’ certainly provides a more intricate account of the role played by translation in the face of globalization, particularly as far as the commodification of languages as products of exchange that in turn facilitate the commodification of further products of exchange is concerned (Díaz Fouces, 2005: 96; Cronin, 2006: 59). In

addition, while detaching majority and minority languages from their ready equation with the number of speakers they have, ‘less translated languages’ points to the asymmetries of power and prestige that operate among languages internationally and, furthermore, undermines the assumption that intelligibility and communication are the ultimate goals of translation practice – if that were the case, why bother with *less* translated languages?

Even though it effectively problematizes the understanding of translation as a reciprocal activity, the notion of ‘less translated languages’ appears committed to the perception of translation as belonging exclusively in the international, rather than transnational, arena. By so doing, ‘less translated languages’ participates in the perpetuation of translation as a largely extrinsic activity and neglects the translation into dominant languages (practised not only by speakers of minority languages in the international exchange of linguistic goods, but also by multilingual groups on the domestic front, where the discourse of intelligibility and communication remains operative).

In this respect, although some of the most significant challenges to established perspectives on language have been formulated in scholarship on translation since World War II (Tymoczko, 2007: 15-53), the conflation of nationality with language has also permeated contemporary translation studies (Cronin, 2003: 161-164). Not only do national languages figure prominently in contemporary studies of interlingual translation (Tymoczko, 2007: 56) but, not surprisingly, those languages often hold majority status (Susam-Sarajevo, 2002). Are translation studies destined to remain couched in the geopolitics of language in times of globalization?

Aside from the importance of translation directionality not only for addressing questions of power imbalances and linguistic ecology (Venuti, [1995] 2008; Cronin, 2003: 165-172) but also for the definition of translation *per se* (Marmaridou, 1996; Pym, 2010: 27-29), language as an object of study remains far from being satisfactorily defined. Furthermore, even if one abides by the ordinary notion of language as a conscious oral communication system, the definition of ‘majority’ and ‘minority’ a propos of language is likewise problematic (Branchadell, 2005: 2). Consequently, microcontextual approaches and new terminologies are increasingly

being incorporated into the paradigm of majority and minority languages – for example, ‘expansive’ and ‘recessive’ languages (Aguilar Amat and Santamaría, 1999: 103) and ‘source-language intensive’ and ‘target-language intensive’ languages (Cronin, 2003: 145–146), in addition to ‘dominant’ and ‘less translated’ languages (Branchadell, 2005). Nevertheless, the assumption of languages as largely uniform and of translation as a largely extrinsic and professional activity remains unquestioned.

The pervasiveness of idealized assumptions about language and translation speaks to the significant discrepancy between language ideologies (commonly anchored in idealized notions of language, culture, text, and society) and patterns of language use claimed by Joshua Price (2000). In particular, Price points to the influence of structuralist linguistics as the main catalyst to the prominence of views of languages as impervious to one another (i.e., mutually exclusive) and meaning as systemic and language-specific (i.e., unitary and untranslatable).⁷ Furthermore, Price argues that translation studies have inherited and reproduced the ‘organic mendacity’ of structuralist linguistics (i.e., the idea of languages as unitary and mutually exclusive), as reflected in the conceptually diametric relationship between source and target languages (2000: 24).⁸

Although the contention that contemporary translation studies remain couched in the tenets of structuralist linguistics is, at the very least, questionable,⁹ the perception of languages pointed above is certainly symptomatic of the operation of the organic mendacity in neo-Babelian approaches to translation in the face of cultural globalization, particularly in light of contemporary labour mobility. In this regard, rather than asking oneself whether translation studies are destined to remain couched in the geopolitics of language, a more relevant question would be: Where does translation figure in the geopolitics of language in times of globalization?

4 Translation and Multilingualism? Language and Monolingualism? Oui and Non?

For all the fuss about the conflation of nationality with language and monolingualism as the normative state of affairs (Tymoczko, 2007: 7), it

could be argued that translation and multilingualism are a fairly insightful combination in contemporary translation studies, not only a propos of the multilingual federalism of the European Union (European Commission, 2009) but also as a field of inquiry in its own right (Ramakrishna, 1997; Grutman, 1998; Delabastita & Grutman, 2005). Indeed, the neo-Babelian scenario of a future global (English) monolingualism is as mendacious as the notion of languages as monolithic, uniform, and homogeneous – and yet, unidirectional translation into majority languages keeps operating quite effectively (Cronin, 2003: 61). In this regard, I believe that, if translation studies are to gain further insights into the role of translation and multilingualism in the face of globalization beyond the currency of post-Babelian narratives, the ‘organic mendacities’ of language and monolingualism should be addressed vis-à-vis the imbrication of translation and multilingualism after Babel.

As I argued above, instead of triggering reflection on language ideologies a propos of the increase of multilingualism in domestic spaces, the post-Babelian paradigm underlies the assumption that nationality is coterminous with monolingualism and perpetuates an understanding of translation as fundamentally belonging in the international arena. In this way, a strategy of ‘translational assimilation’ (Cronin, 2006: 52-56), whereby the multiplication of languages attached to labour mobility is portrayed as detrimental to the host societies and the intended integration of immigrants meets with indifference to the socioeconomic circumstances preventing them to learn the host language(s) proficiently and participate in the host communities effectively (Horner, 2009), is championed.

Whereas, internationally, (reciprocal) translation serves to reinforce national linguistic identities, (unidirectional) translation on the domestic front is consigned to invisibility in the name of instantaneous intelligibility and communication. The invisibility of translation is symptomatic of the pervasiveness of the organic mendacity in the articulation of language (in contrast to languages) in the post-Babelian paradigm. As epitomized in the aphorism '*traduttore, traditore*', translation conveys a sense of treachery and resistance to an otherwise uniform linguistic system (and, by extension, to dominant paradigms and discourses) (Alarcón, 1989; Susam-Sarajeva,

2002; Aixelà in this volume). The maxim ‘translation is treachery’ stems from an understanding of language as the communication of a primary signification and, accordingly, of translation as the metacommunication of that signification as signified in a particular language. Differently phrased, the organic mendacity underlies a one-to-one equation of meaning and language and a chose-and-lose equation of languages and translation (Sommer, 2003: 13).

The perception of translation as a form of treachery and resistance acquires new overtones in light of contemporary population migrations and their accommodation into dominant languages, paradigms, and discourses. Translation in multilingual contexts remains coupled with treachery, albeit as long as multilingualism is articulated *by* translation. In this regard, the sense of treachery increases in situations of reciprocal translation in the domestic arena: not only is translation perceived as treachery by its own nature as a form of metacommunication, but the assertion and reinforcement of different ethnolinguistic identities also stirs suspicions of resistance to the unity of the (monolingual) community (Barret, 2006; Horner, 2009) – yet, translation remains an instrumental component of those communities. How is it possible that translation, if anchored in the maxim ‘translation is treachery’, figures so notably in the neo-Babelian scenario?

The articulation of multilingualism *in* translation speaks to the prominence of translation after Neo-Babel. Multilingualism remains associated with unprecedented labour mobility and perceived as detrimental to the host society, and the correlation of translation with treachery and resistance is not effaced. In contrast to post-Babelian narratives, it could be argued that without translation there could not be multilingualism, for it is through translation that language difference becomes not only reconciled but also recognized. The argument that post-Babelian narratives fail to underscore is that, although apparently predicated upon mutual comprehension, multilingualism and translation are not merely the logical extension of monolingualism and language in times of globalization but, more importantly, they are carriers of difference and, furthermore, of the ‘right to difference’ (Cronin, 2003: 35). Conversely, the imbrication of multilingualism and translation in the neo-Babelian scenario goes to show

that, however attentive to difference, translation does not necessarily result in an increasing recognition of the right to difference.

Translation is certainly constitutive of multilingualism in the neo-Babelian scenario (after all, multilingualism is articulated *in* translation), albeit a type of translation that is not founded on the right to difference or, for that matter, on the maxim ‘translation is treachery’ – both being related to reciprocal translation. Instead, neo-Babelianism seeks to overcome difference and prevent treachery and resistance by fostering a type of translation that is unidirectional and, furthermore, self-effacing. Unidirectional translation counters the perception of translation as the metacommunication of a primary signification by placing the so-called ‘translation burden’ (Cronin, 2003: 60) on the speakers of minority languages, who translate themselves into the majority language.

Given the asymmetries involved, the sense of treachery associated with reciprocal translation is sidestepped by the direction of translations and the dominance of the majority language, which eventually becomes the primary language of social interaction and participation to the detriment of its former identity as the language of translation. In turn, the condition of the majority language as both the ‘source’ language (i.e., a homogeneous system of constants and relations holding majority status) and the ‘target’ language (i.e., the language for translation, on account of its majority status) is allowed by the articulation of grammaticality. In this way, grammaticality not only legitimizes the operation of the metonymics of language names and the perception of languages as mutually exclusive but also shapes the (dominant) notion of translation and its directionality: from minority to majority languages on the domestic front and from majority to minority languages in the international arena (Venuti, [1995] 2008).

Consequently, translation figures as both the *conditio sine qua non* and the neglected agent *in medias res* of the geopolitics of language in times of globalization. The neo-Babelian scenario does not invalidate but rather support the argument that language and monolingualism (traditionally associated with pre-Babelianism) are contingent on translation and multilingualism (commonly linked to post-Babelianism). Were it not for the organic mendacities of translation and multilingualism, the discourse of

treachery and resistance to the normative state of affairs would be deprived of its legitimacy and, what is more, translation and multilingualism would emerge not as mere agents of intelligibility and communication but as 'rem(a)inders' of the right to difference in an increasingly asymmetrical dynamics of language interface.

5 Concluding Remarks

How monolingual is multilingualism *in* translation? In other words, does unidirectional translation actually secure monolingualism (and, by extension, the perpetuation of dominant paradigms and discourses)? Is neo-Babelian translation really 'a form of translation to end translation' (Cronin, 2003: 60)? And how does the reformulation of universities as Universe-Cities participate in and, more significantly, inform the discussion of the neo-Babelian scenario? From the predominance of a handful of languages in international communication (most notably, English) and the decline in foreign-language instruction in Anglophone countries (Cronin, 2006: 38-42; Brisset, 2008), one can certainly argue that, as translation traffic is increasing, globalization is benefitting unidirectional translation and, consequently, a 'language and translation ecology' turn is much needed in translation studies.

However, if, in line with Maria Tymoczko's (2007) notion of translation as a cluster concept, contemporary translation studies must seek not to solve the problems but to problematize the solutions, I believe that greater self-reflexivity about the certainties of translation is in order – particularly in relation to the alleged foundation of studies of translation: languages. In this regard, more attention is being paid to language as an object of study, particularly in connection with ideology formation and systems of belief. The metonymics of language names and quantitative (and ideological) notions of 'majority' and 'minority' languages are giving way to the study of language varieties and repertoires in sociolinguistic research, challenging widespread perceptions of language and monolingualism (Blommaert, 1996). Nevertheless, dominant globalization narratives remain framed

by such institutionalized ideas of language and monolingualism (and its relation to translation and multilingualism).

The role of universities as increasingly intercultural institutions that remain nonetheless largely dependent on national governments is paramount to the redefinition of language and monolingualism. The reformulation of universities as Universe-Cities speaks to a greater attentiveness to the interplay of the global and the local in times of globalization and, accordingly, the importance of language interaction vis-à-vis space-time compression. However, the rhetoric of globalization and space-time compression is likely to favour the perception of languages as products of exchange and, more importantly, the push for instantaneous intelligibility and communication – and, therefore, to covertly promote unidirectional translation (in the form of translation into dominant languages and/or an intensified translation traffic from dominant into less-translated languages). Universe-Cities should not simply participate in the commodification of languages (after all, universities are also driven by economic interests) but also illuminate problematizations of languages and monolingualism as governed by language ideologies – to begin with, by contesting the metonymics of language names and its connection with the understanding of translation as an interlingual transaction between homogeneous systems of constants and relations.

However, the interrogation of language-naming practices and ideologies of monolingualism should not undermine the importance of *lingua francas*. The neo-Babelian scenario is not problematic because it willfully encourages the use of a *lingua franca* in multilingual contexts. *Lingua francas* are obviously not specific to globalization; they make intercultural interface possible; moreover, the term *lingua franca* implicitly acknowledges language difference (otherwise there would be no need for a *lingua franca*). Yet, the neo-Babelian scenario is problematic because it is couched in a ‘pragmatic’ notion of language (Cronin, 2003: 147) that, nonetheless, appears very little informed by patterns of language use and, accordingly, effaces the participation of translation in the perpetuation of asymmetrical relations among languages.

Against this backdrop, Universe-Cities must not only raise awareness of the shifting dynamics of translation in the age of globalization but also promote greater self-reflexivity about the participation of (unidirectional) translation in the legitimization of dominant paradigms and discourses (as reflected in the ready association of translation with the international and/or national arena/s). In this regard, translation as a transnational activity should not (or at least not only) be equated with the transnational capitalism championed in globalization but, rather, seek to interrogate common staples of individual and collective identity construction and the dominant ideologies underlying the construction of individual and collective identities as driven by asymmetries of power and prestige. Ultimately, Universe-Cities should remain committed to the promotion of a critical language and translation ecology that counters the pervasiveness of the mendacities of language and translation – however organic they may seem.

Notes

1. Globalization narratives have acquired new overtones in the aftermath of the Great Crash of 2008. Although the consequences of the most recent worldwide crisis of capitalism for the paradigm of globalization have only begun to be explored, increased criticism of globalization narratives premised on the 'state of affairs of the *Wall Street Journal*' (Trouillot, 2002: 7) has come to the fore, particularly in light of the impact of the bailout of financial institutions on domestic economies (Gowan, 2009).
2. For a critique of Steiner's periodization of translation history, see, for example, Bassnett ([1980] 1991: 40-45) and Tymoczko (2007: 24-27).
3. Although he does not make reference to the adjective 'post-Babelian', de Swaan (2001) also points to multilingualism and translation as guaranteeing the functioning of the 'global language constellation', which constitutes an integral part of the world system.
4. One needs only look at language diversity in the United States, where, although English holds the majority status, there is an increasing presence of bilingual programs and institutionalized translation (Tymoczko, 2007: 312; see also Jiménez-Bellver, 2010).
5. See, for example, Phillipson (1992), Kontra et al. (1999), and Nettle & Romaine (2000). For a discussion of the linguistic rights paradigm, see Blommaert (2010: 28-62).
6. The coinage of 'less translated languages' followed from the concept of 'lesser-used languages', developed in the European Union and institutionalized in the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages (Branchadell, 2005: 1).
7. For a concise summary of structuralist translation theory, see Pym (2010: 9-11). For a discussion of the applications of structuralist linguistics to translation studies, see Fernández-Fernández and Fernández-Guerra (2004).

8. The phrase ‘organic mendacity’ was inspired by the work of Richard Weissberg on Friedrich Nietzsche (Price, 2000: 45).
9. For example, Maria Tymoczko (2007: 28-53) provides a compendium of approaches to translation that challenge the conceptually diametric relationship between source and target languages as articulated in structuralist translation theory – most visibly, deconstruction. See also ‘directional equivalence’ and ‘Cratylistic determinacy’ in Pym (2010: 25-42; 97-101).

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SciELO – GLOBALIZING BRAZILIAN SCIENTIFIC PRODUCTIONS THROUGH LANGUAGES: Cultural and Historical Understanding

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Abstract

This paper is a brief investigation of globalization, multilingualism and translation from the perspective of the Brazilian case. The objective is to raise awareness of the extent to which Brazilian scientific production in the humanities has been spread by means of the lingua franca through SciELO portal and regarding the possible political implications involved. The results indicate that scientific journals tend to export Brazilian elements and that there is a lack of translation norms in the portal.

Keywords: globalization, multilingualism, Brazil, SciELO, humanities.

1 Introduction

With increasing globalization, more and more information and discussion has been exchanged between universities and institutions of knowledge by means of scientific journals. Unlike developed countries, the underdeveloped ones have found difficulty expanding and/or sharing their scientific production due to a lack of high-impact electronic journals (1). The

would-be global world of knowledge happens to offer different resources and positions to so-called ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ countries: the prestige of the scholarly journals from the USA and the UK, for example, is much greater than from Asia, Latin America and, especially, Africa. Furthermore, language tends to be another barrier that impedes discussion (i.e., if the research is not published in a widely known language, specifically, English). Whatever may have been said about the new lingua franca, the use of English – on the level of journal and nation – seems to play an important role in the dissemination of scholarly knowledge and, hence, in the scholarly status of scholars, universities, departments, and countries. Thus, this paper is devoted to the language issue in contemporary intellectual ‘markets’.

First, the globalization phenomena will be examined with respect to how (much) languages are involved in this process – especially in Brazil, which has shown tendencies throughout its history toward hybridization in the language and the culture as whole. The discussion will then focus on Brazilian scientific publication in SciELO, a metapublisher of open access journals from a broad range of disciplines. The final part is a case study on the humanities section of the SciELO portal, examining all Brazilian journals that offer ‘special editions’, or rather, articles in English. The objective of this study is to examine to what extent Brazilian journals are exporting Brazilian culture through these articles. By analyzing specific cases, some initial conclusions may be drawn about the intentions of these particular journals regarding the papers they offer in English – i.e., the type of knowledge they mean to export and for discussion with other countries. The humanities were selected for this study because they directly relate to culture and the human being both in time and space. Moreover, spatial limits are more clearly delineated in the humanities, not to mention the broad discussion the area affords of globalization as it interconnects cultures historically, sociologically, anthropologically, politically, etc.

2 Globalization and Postcolonial Studies in Translation – the Brazilian case:

In a study on globalization produced for ‘An International Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies’ (Frank et al., 2007: 1692), the authors provide a

general historical overview of the research developed in this area until quite recently. They observed that translation has been haphazardly dealt with and has not followed the globalization trend. Nevertheless, some studies have appeared recently, albeit inconsistently, with some awareness of this; certain scholars have seen globalization as a new phenomenon and state that new kinds of translation will rule the market (*ibid.*: 1694).

The truth is that the role of translation appears to be much more than merely technical and passive: in fact they [it] play[s] an active role in the construction of contemporary societies, as contemporary research tends to verify. (*Id., ibid.*: 1681)

Globalization has become a controversial topic in many fields of study. Despite differences as to its exact meaning, which in itself is polemical (Shiyab et al., 2010: 1), there is no doubt about the great impact it has caused with respect to communication. Moreover, it has subsequently impacted translation – the intermediary for communication among different cultures and languages. In a sense, globalization could be equated with sharing (*ibid.*: 6):

The effect of globalization had a tremendous linguistic and social impact on translation or translation studies simply because globalization necessitated translation. Nowadays, there are more demands on translation services requested by from educational institutions and private companies than [at] any other time, simply because parts of the world are becoming interested in one another due to many reasons. (*ibid.*: 7)

Frank et al. conclude their text by stating that the spread of English as lingua franca and the global demand on translation are due to this great net that has come to connect countries, with the outcome that now cultures are becoming closer. Translators mediate cultures and one culture becomes aware of another by means of translation. Since it would seem that English has become the (main) language for intercultural dialogues, this paper aims to explore how Brazil has approached this dialogue in the humanities through open access journals.

Communication/translation certainly cannot be considered as neutral: the transfer of knowledge between languages, people, and cultures presents a number of variables to consider. History has been written from the perspective of those in power, and nothing different should be expected regarding communication, writing, publishing, and translation. Power relations apply to this field as much as to any other, thus power is one of the dominant themes in research on translation. Gentzler (2003) has discussed this issue with respect to the New World, whose history is marked by colonial domination and the imposition of European languages and many other standards on the extant cultures.

Gentzler describes three translation theories with regard to the New World – each representing a break with traditional thinking in this area. The first, by Lawrence Venuti, deals with the foreignization of the text's source culture in order to keep it visible; he specifically mentions cases of the 'exotic' for the target readers in the United States. The second theory is from the Canadian feminists Brossars and Lotbinière-Harwood and involves the '*récriture au féminin*'; they suggest new interpretations and the breaking of paradigms imposed by patriarchal languages and cultures, seen as limitations to new ways of writing. In Brossars' and Lotbinière-Harwood's case, they are talking about women's writing, but the theory could be generalized to any minority writing, from their point of view (Gentzler, 2003: 21). The third theory the author approaches is the one brought by the Brazilians Augusto and Haroldo de Campos, which is based on 'anthropophagic translation' or 'cannibalism'. According to these theorists, anthropophagy is a way of highlighting the hybrid quality of Brazilian culture, which is diverse both internally and externally – i.e., in the local culture (by immigration) and in culture imported from other countries and continents:

For the Brazilian writers, translators, and filmmakers, cannibalism has become one of the primary conceits for illustrating Brazilian cultural difference, its bi-cultural development, and its complex and often contradictory identity as a nation. (Gentzler, 2003: 28)

The author explains this theory as a way for Brazilians to reinterpret their own culture through the incorporation of European and Brazilian traditions; at the same time, some elements can be brought in question, such as the prejudice against indigenous people. Anthropophagy is a way for Brazilians to understand their identity as a composite of internal and external elements.

The theory of cultural cannibalism as a metaphor for one culture absorbing another was first suggested in Oswald de Andrade's 'movimento antropofágico', first published in 1928 during Brazilian Modernism. Despite its age, the theory is relevant to current debate about globalization. Tooge (2009: 54) points out that the anthropophagic movement was not an exclusively Brazilian approach, since similar essays can be found in Europe in the pre-war period, which was known for nationalist demonstrations and xenophobia in a number of countries. Thus, the anthropophagic movement can be seen as an antithesis to this tendency since foreign elements are more or less freely accepted and mingled. Given Brazilian status as an underdeveloped country, modernists were eager to adopt 'futurist' ideas from Europe and the United States. At that point there was also a Portuguese language purism trend in the academy, so the movement can be seen as a more direct demonstration against xenophobia in its defence of incorporating elements from indigenous or African languages, for example.

The new generation of 'tropicalist' anthropophagists defended the idea of a bilateral culture exchange by means of language – importing foreign terms into Brazilian Portuguese and exporting elements of Portuguese into other languages (2). They saw this practice as a way to internationalize the language and bring power and visibility to Brazilian culture. Gentzler (2003: 33) understands that the Brazilian nation and culture are very complex since the country's identity is formed from both national and international ideas. Nevertheless, he indicates both foreignizing translation (Venuti) and '*récriture au féminin*' (Brossars and Lotbinière-Harwood) are ways of circumventing hegemonies regarding translation phenomena. These contributions from postcolonial translation studies represent a new

approach to translation strategy in which translation is situation-dependent; there can be no generalizations. (Id., ibid.: 36)

3 SciELO – Brazilian visibility through open access

Suitable up-to-date access to technical and scientific information is crucial for social and economic development, especially with regard to decision-making processes for the planning, producing and application of public policies or for supporting professional practice and development. The result of scientific research is communicated and validated mainly through publications in scientific journals. This process is valid for developed or developing countries. However, scientific journals from developing countries face serious obstacles for distribution and dissemination; this limits access to and the use of regionally-produced information (3).

With reference to this problem, a project was created in Brazil in order to disseminate local knowledge in an accessible way. The SciELO model stems from cooperation between FAPESP (*Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo*), BIREME (*Centro Latino-Americano e do Caribe de Informação em Ciências da Saúde*), and other Brazilian and non-Brazilian institutions related to scientific communication and publishing. It started with a pilot project developed in 1997/1998 and, since then, has been operating regularly – now with the full support of the federal scientific and technological development agency CNPq.

SciELO provides a framework and norms for scientific journals as well as a bibliographic database featuring full open-access texts for downloading, electronic archiving, statistical usage indicators, and impact factor. Its journal evaluation criteria are based on international scientific standards. SciELO has developed its own methodology for producing electronic journals, which has led to agreements between Brazilian and international agents of scientific communication (authors, publishers, scientific institutions, funding agencies, universities, libraries, etc.) to disseminate and improve the model. Although now present in a number of countries, the database is based on

Brazilian infrastructure to concentrate operations and guarantee its future sustainability (4). Its purpose is to promote Latin American and Caribbean scientific journals by providing up-to-date open access to local information. Thus, it can contribute to decision making on different levels (5). Journals are allowed to take part in SciELO by agreeing to conform to international norms; once approved, SciELO itself inserts the journal's content in the portal to maintain standardization. (Ferreira, 2007: 154)

4 SciELO languages – lingua franca and visible languages

It is a key task for Translation Studies to establish the way in which translation will work in global multilateral relationships, where target-orientedness is not excluded but where the dominance of the network principle is obvious. (Lambert, 1996: 280)

Publishing in a single language could mean limited or regional visibility. In this 'era of globalization' the concept of mass communication suggests an increased target audience; mass communication is currently associated with media communication and technology (*ibid.*: 279).

As Lambert (*ibid.*: 280) proposes, globalization via translation is a way of penetrating borders; there are no borders when messages travel worldwide across linguistic and social barriers and manage to link people with no prior contact. Communication, in this light, can no longer be seen as tied to countries or specific languages. Little by little, roles and interfaces for languages have been developed in such a way that, taken together, they form an important component of what we call globalization; scientific publishing has widely been adapting to it, as can be seen in SciELO's case:

The globalization of publishing has increased the role of English as the lingua franca of scientific communication in a multilingual world, but it has not entirely displaced regional languages in specific situations. Multilingualism is a central feature of SciELO's integrated approach (Packer, 2009: 121)

English has become a primary language in most different fields of study. In recent years, the number of scientists who (although their mother tongue is not English) have been researching and publishing in English has increased enormously. In this same article, (*ibid.*: 655) Momem states that ‘English proficiency, together with research spending by countries, have been shown to be highly correlated with publications in highly-ranked medical journals.’ Meneghini and Packer (2007), however, in light of the tendency for English to supplant other languages in scientific publications, suggest that ‘[i]f journals could set a trend toward a more balanced use of languages in scientific publications, this might help to reverse the decline of other languages in international scientific communication’ (Meneghini & Packer, 2007: 112).

English tends to be an internationally visible language and scientists aim to have their publications in English as to achieve both worldwide prestige and visibility. On the other hand, many national languages are still in use in local publications with different purposes. A crucial observation regarding the use of English is that, in most cases, the academic and the political world take a single position in terms of language policy when discussing options. Rarely is any distinction made between, for example, political – or diplomatic – or business-oriented solutions and the academic/ scholarly ones; this implies that the discussion is based on the principles of language policy. The discussion does not rely on any research-oriented basis (state of the art); the fact is that research on such matters has hardly begun, simply because universities are only now discovering the implications of internationalization/globalization. One crucial consequence from the point of view of Translation Studies is that the implications of the use of English have not yet been analyzed: from the moment any international language is used, we move into bilingual or multilingual approaches; but how exactly scholars and universities move from their ‘local’ (national) language into the lingua franca is hardly ever taken into consideration.

This is why translation scholars refer to what happens ‘under the waterline’ (EGOS, 2010): how and where (and why translation is worked out in secret, or is supposed to be without any relevance. Translation scholars know what kind of illusory strategies may influence the entire translation

strategy (6); such situations (which remain ‘under the waterline’) explain why TS cannot be ignored in any internationalization moment. So why do authors continue to publish articles in their mother tongue? According to Meneghini and Packer (2007), it is also important to have a regional audience, especially when they are dealing with regional subjects of local interest. However, they also state that ‘[...] the ability of scientists to communicate in the *lingua franca* is part of a country’s scientific capabilities’ (*ibid.*, p. 112). In other words, they mean that the lingua franca is a way of establishing dialogue with other countries; this communication can only be carried out in a common language. Brazil is used as an example of developing countries: Brazilian scientists publish around 50,000 articles every year and 60% of them are in Portuguese; moreover, they also point out that most articles written in Portuguese are for small communities with peripheral interests. In addition, most of these articles are not peer-reviewed – that was one reason why SciELO was launched: to improve the quality of Brazilian, and, subsequently, Latin American journals.

A few Brazilian journals, which are run by dedicated individuals with limited financial support from government agencies, publish good quality papers; the condition of journals in other Latin American and Caribbean countries is similar. But – with a few exceptions – this mode of operation is insufficient to improve these journals further; consequently, a new approach was conceived. (*ibid.*: 113)

Momem (2009: 655) observes that Brazil has a strong association with scientific research and publication in English and suggests that this might be an influence for the international visibility of Brazilian research. Once again, all these arguments belong to language/translation policy. As Reine Meylaerts (2010) has already concluded, there is no language policy without a translation policy. Although SciELO does not have a specific language policy – member journals commonly publish in at least three languages: mainly Portuguese, English, and Spanish. Nevertheless, in researching for this paper, articles in French were also found. This, of course, does not preclude the presence of other languages in this huge portal. However, the

database itself offers instructions in the above-mentioned three languages; although we must keep in mind that we are dealing with scholarly journals, the approach to languages may not refer to scholarly arguments, but to political ones.

Regarding SciELO's multilingualism, some information is given by the portal itself (in one of its pages that explains the project, norms, etc.):

The practice for multilingual publishing in Latin American scientific journals indexed to SciELO is a growing trend. The reasons that lead to this tendency are the increase of the journal visibility and the insertions in the international scientific community, which prioritizes English as a 'lingua franca'. SciELO's methodology allows and incentivizes multilingual publications and, in this case, citations are regarded for the same article, independently of the cited version (7).

On the same webpage, which is about multilingual publications in 'Portal SciELO', some rules are given for certain cases in which the journal must simultaneously send both the original article and its translations, as well as the table and figures captions, which will be published in the three interface languages of SciELO – Portuguese, English, and Spanish. Some authors have begun discussing the language issue with regard to SciELO, although only briefly. Meneghini (2007), for example, points out that online publishing is not something complicated or expensive for journals nowadays, even though constant maintenance and improvements are needed to the structure of scientific communication. He states that authors should be encouraged to publish in both their native language and in English so that articles can address both local community and enter into worldwide dialogue: 'This truly bilingual publication system would be an important first step to overcoming language barriers in scientific communication and in moving toward a real global publication system' (*ibid.*: 114). However, this argument must be considered on the basis of pragmatic and political arguments, and not on the basis of scholarly ones.

Momem (2009: 656), who mainly analyzes biomedical publications, observes that SciELO's methods encourage multilingualism in scientific

publications, whereas Packer (2009: 121) reports that SciELO's multilingual publications in English, Spanish, and Portuguese correspond to the same approach in agriculture, public health, and social sciences (8); Meneghini (2007) reports that, in 2007, approximately 30% of articles were published only in English and also that nine of the ten top-ranked Brazilian member journals published articles predominantly in Portuguese between 2003 and 2005. 'SciELO's policy has been that the editors of each journal should decide on what language the article should be published in, whereas SciELO supports the assessment of scientific quality.' (*ibid.*, p.114)

This framework might have changed little in since then. Although a considerable number of articles have been made available in English, in the humanities the vast majority are published only in local languages (i.e., Portuguese and Spanish). Nevertheless, Hobsbawm (1996) – writing about the deterritorialization of communication societies – identifies the importance of national identities for individual and collective groups and further observes that the tendency to homogenize results from interference: '[...] nothing is less common than countries inhabited exclusively by people of a single uniform language and cultures' (*ibid.*: 1068). Using several examples of multilingual cases throughout the world, he develops the concept that language policy is rather different from language construction, suggesting that, throughout the history of humanity, the manipulation of languages during a certain period of time is aimed at the construction of a predicted future:

Let us be clear: in the absence of a willingness to change languages, national linguistic homogeneity in multi-ethnic and multi-lingual areas can be achieved only by mass compulsion, expulsion, or genocide (*ibid.*: 1071).

Finally, Hobsbawm notices that new language standards do not result from the language of common use in the region, but come as a new social construct.

First, we no longer live in a culture of reading and writing, Second, we no longer live in a world where the idea of a single all-purpose national

language is generally feasible, that is, we live in a *necessarily* plurilingual world (Id., ibid: 1073).

English currently means for intellectuals something similar to what Latin did in the Middle Ages (ibid.: 1076); it cannot represent only certain places in the globe where it resides as an official language. Moreover, when the power relations involved are taken into consideration (i.e., as dominant cultures centralized themselves over others) it is clear that the use of English as lingua franca has actually been premeditated. As a matter of fact, in scholarly terms, SciELO's discourse is normative and based on international, standardized norms.

5 Brazilian Humanities Journals: a Case Study

Aiming at finding out to what extent Brazilian scholarship contributes to worldwide research, and whether Brazil really participates in international debates by means of its English article versions in SciELO, a sample titles available on the portal have been selected for a case study. SciELO journals are divided into large groups according to the field of study (e.g., Engineering, Biological Sciences and so on); first, the category 'humanities' was selected, which provided a list of 270 available journals – these are produced at different universities from all parts of South America, the Caribbean, and Portugal. From this wide group of scientific journals, only Brazilian journals with special editions were chosen; by 'special editions' we mean that they have chosen special articles to be published in English separately from the articles in the regular editions. Special editions are not the only way of finding articles published in English; they also may include articles in Spanish as well as Portuguese versions.

Special edition articles may be bilingual or monolingual, which means that the article was either translated from Portuguese or written directly in English. When the article is bilingual, the Portuguese version can usually be found in the database of a regular edition; however, this is

not a rule since some Portuguese versions can also be found outside of SciELO. The table below suggests a schematic understanding:

Articles from Brazilian journals with Special Editions in SciELO – Humanities	Monolingual	Only English in SciELO
	Bilingual	English (special edition) and Portuguese (regular edition) in SciELO
		English (special edition) in SciELO, and Portuguese outside of SciELO in another journal

Table 1. Brazilian bilingual and monolingual publication patterns in the humanities

The list below shows the 18 Brazilian journals in SciELO in the humanities group featuring special editions. The special editions were published between 2005 and 2010. Nothing was found before or after these years for these journals.

Journal	Field of Study	Special Edition Nr. of Titles
Revista Ambiente & Sociedade	Environment and Sociology	18
Brazilian Political Science Review	Political Science	40
Cadernos Pagu	Gender Studies	11
Dados	Social Sciences	35
Estudos Feministas	Gender Studies	35
Estudos Sociedade e Agricultura	Social Sciences (agriculture)	28
História	History	7
Horizontes Antropológicos	Anthropology	42
Mana	Anthropology	25
Novos Estudos (CEBRAP)	Interdisciplinary (Sociology, Politics, Anthropology, and Humanities)	16
Religião & Sociedade	Social Sciences (interfacing with religion)	9
Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais	Social Sciences	46
Revista de Sociologia e Política	Political Science and Sociology	13
Sociologias	Sociology	19

Continua

Journal	Field of Study	Special Edition Nr. of Titles
Sur – Revista Internacional de Direitos Humanos	Human Rights	30
Tempo Social	Sociology	12
Teoria & Sociedade	Social Sciences	12
TOPOI – Revista de História	History	11

First of all, we can see that the publications are not standardized since they show a different number of articles published for each journal. *Horizontes Antropológicos*, for example, published 42 articles whereas *História* produced only seven. This suggests that the journals publish as many articles as they find relevant in English since SciELO does not set requirements for special editions. As previously mentioned, the idea was to find a term or a fragment in the title or abstract that referred to Brazil, since the purpose of the analysis was to determine the percentage of the total number of titles that were somehow exporting Brazilian culture.

Although a broader study could have been conducted covering Latin America or South America (or even the whole New World), this study was limited to Brazil, or even smaller regions within Brazil. Sometimes the reference was not geopolitical borders but, depending on the subject, it could have been a personality, a book, or a non-translated term that represented Brazil; that is, the corpus was reduced to 'Brazil' when specific Brazilian items, locations, explicit discussions on 'Brazil' and/or comparing Brazil to other places were found. The initial sample of 409 English language articles was analyzed to determine whether Brazil was explicitly mentioned in the title itself; this criterion yielded 180 titles. The abstracts were then analyzed to determine whether Brazil was involved in the research – which added another 87 articles. Thus, the final sample included a total of 267 articles – i.e., 65% of the English language articles.

The interesting thing is that the translated (bilingual) texts added the term 'Brazil' or 'Brazilian' in the English titles, which had not been found in the Portuguese versions; this demonstrates that the translators consistently used a contextualization strategy even in the title of the text. From this sample it follows that translation implies a change in perspective – i.e., target (Brazilian) readers of the source text would consider Brazil implicit

although this must be specified for international readers. Brazil is the inner culture in the Portuguese version, but the same cultural representation is not entailed in the English version. One technique used to distinguish between Brazil and other topics was the use of the epithet 'Brazilian', the substantive 'Brazil' or states, cities, or areas within the country (Belo Horizonte, São Paulo, Desterro, etc.). There were also other items that represented the country; below there is a list of categories with a few examples of each:

- **People groups** (*afro-Brazilian, Wapichana, Macuxi, Taurepang, gaúcho, bóias - frias*);
- **Names of presidents** (*Lula, Fernando Henrique Cardoso*);
- **Historical names representing politics and art** (Dom João VI, Joaquim Nabuco, Almeida Júnior, Mário de Andrade, Alceu Pena, Clarice Lispector, Vargas, etc.);
- **A historical moment** (the 1988 constitution);
- **Non-translated terms** (*favela, babado, sertão, cerrado*, etc.);
- **Governmental programs or institutions** (IBGE, Bolsa família, Maria da Penha law, Igreja Universal, Pastoral da Criança, Angra 3);
- **Brazilian literature** (*Vidas Secas, Grande Sertão Veredas, O Pasquim*);
- **Brazilian practices/movements** (*candomblé, MST*).

As previously mentioned, not all articles had a corresponding Portuguese version in regular editions – i.e., not all were written in both languages. Sometimes the Portuguese version could be found in a different journal without an open access format; this means that some research could only be freely accessed in English notwithstanding the fact that the Portuguese original directly dealt with Brazilian culture; this means that, for (Brazilian) researchers, sometimes it can be cheaper and easier to read in English.

6 Final Remarks

In this sample of humanities special editions from the SciELO database most of the titles and abstracts concerned Brazilian elements – fact that demonstrates

how strong the interest in exporting Brazilian culture by exposing it to open access international dialogue (in the lingua franca) is. SciELO, so far, has proven to be the strongest way to spread local research worldwide.

'People and institutions that organize public discourse always hope to increase the number of addressees, and it is true that changes in quantitative relationships have had enormous consequences for the power relationships between the partners involved. Networks with many members are probably stronger than networks with few members; the lower the number of addressees in relation to the number of speakers, the weaker their own impact. Technological progress has influenced these relationships, since it has systematically increased the number of partners in communication, and technological progress will presumably strengthen the position of the speaker (writer/producer) at the cost of the recipient' (Lambert, 1996: 278).

It is clear that SciELO's concern is to follow certain international patterns, inasmuch as the motivation for its creation are, among other things, worldwide recognition and the standardization of a common normative system. This is definitely an intentional attempt to promote the country (as well as all of Latin America). Globalization is an incontestable tendency all over the world and it is not different with this database; moreover, it is thoroughly linked with multilingualism, which is an obvious step for achieving and/or promoting international visibility. It is exactly at this time that translation plays an important role for SciELO; where it concerns the humanities, the question of culture is crucial for texts involving a specific culture. The field of Translation Studies has, in this sense, long discussed the importance of culture when dealing with translation: 'Translation was for a time reduced to a question of language system (L1/L2), whereas the *langue/parole* dichotomy has been adopted in order to account for the particular use of language systems and texts.' (ibid.: 272)

However, after this very brief examination of titles and abstracts, it seems there is no real concern about translation strategies. Some translators opted for contextualizing the target reader – adding the word 'Brazil' or

‘Brazilian’ in the title. Our question is whether there would be even more articles in this group of titles and abstracts that also have some sort of reference elsewhere in the country; for that, a more in-depth study should be undertaken in which the body of the articles is read. Nevertheless, some translators opted for the opposite approach; they decided to retain culturally specific Brazilian Portuguese terms or expressions in the text. In other words, such terms left in the original language became exotic elements that the target reader will probably not be aware of⁹.

SciELO does maintain rigid standards for translations, which means that translation decisions ultimately rest with journal editors, the author, or even the translator of a given article – and it is evident that the other types of standardized formatting may be priorities for the organizers. The database has nonetheless undergone modifications in an attempt make improvements – and gain recognition. Still, translation does not seem to be a great concern since nothing official could be found – i.e., no publications regarding this subject, even though multilingualism is one of the main purposes of SciELO.

Notes

1. Packer (2009) opens his article mentioning several other authors who have already approached this subject about science in the third world.
2. Tooge (2009) mentions some examples studied in her article. See references.
3. Author's translation of SciELO webpage: <http://www.scielo.org/php/level.php?item=1&lang=pt&component=56>
4. See SciELO webpage: <http://www.scielo.org/php/level.php?item=1&lang=pt&component=56>
5. (Id., *ibid.*)
6. Casanova (2002) discusses about the definition of aesthetic relation. See references.
7. Author's translation of SciELO webpage: <http://www.scielo.org/php/level.php?lang=pt&component=56&item=51>
8. ‘Multilingualism’ neither refers to (sociolinguistic) publications on multilingualism; nor to scholarly arguments about the use of translation.
9. This could be what Venuti suggests as ‘foreignizing’ translation mentioned in the beginning of this paper. Even other authors approach, with different terms, theories of translation as such – Toury (1995), for example, with adaptability and acceptability.

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AUTHORSHIP UNDER THE MICROSCOPE: Interdisciplinary Consensus on Translational Authorship in Light of the Multiple Authorship Trend

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'You have read the book, Goldstein's book, or parts of it, at least. Did it tell you anything that you did not know already?'
'You have read it?' said Winston.
'I wrote it. That is to say, I collaborated in writing it. No book is produced individually, as you know.'

George Orwell, 1984, part III chapter III.

Abstract

Precipitated by advancing technology, the global network information society appears to be either clarifying or redefining what authorship means across fields of inquiry. The recent massive shift toward multiple authorship in the scientific literature, coupled with high-profile cases of abuse, has occasioned considerable effort to codify and standardize authorship norms in scientific journals, which has culminated in a high-level movement to completely redefine the concept of authorship for both empirical and theoretical research. Since it also goes without saying that the very concept of the author's autonomy and authority has been under increasing scrutiny since the advent of poststructuralist philosophy, the current state of affairs thus provides an excellent opportunity for an interdisciplinary examination of the contributions of agents such as translators and revisers.

Keywords: big science, authorship criteria, contributorship, auteurism

1 Introduction

Anthony Pym argues (2010) convincingly that translators are non-authors based on questions of responsibility, self-positioning and commitment with respect to the text's content. Although he does not deny the sensitivity, creativity, and competence involved in the translator's work, inasmuch as the translator does not and/or cannot fulfill the criteria of authorship, he reasons that the translator's work ultimately remains within the sphere of mimetic function (knowledge 'telling'). Empirical studies are cited to the effect that experienced translators increasingly conform to this detached role and that translation may be a psychologically different type of activity than writing due to the attention strategies involved. And, notwithstanding the historical few who have paid a heavy price for their responsibility in the importation of incendiary texts, this operative distinction is inherent in the form of translation we have received from our cultures.

The entirety of Pym's argument, however, is predicated on a distinct formulation of the parameters of authorship – Goffman's (1981) model. Nevertheless, he does agree without compunction that the translator's work would satisfy the postmodern authorship criteria of Barthes or Foucault in that 'all authors work translationally'. Apart from these, however, other models of authorship exist, many of which have been developed outside the bounds of the humanities, and justifiably so, since an academic field that does not produce texts is hard to find. The definitions being formulated in the empirical sciences have brought out critical aspects in the concept of authorship as of yet little considered in Literary or Translation Studies due to the special constraints and forces at work in these areas.

Given that translation has no home – except everywhere – in the increasingly globalized structure of knowledge, the natural question is how is it, or can it, be seen, explicitly or implicitly, in the light of other authorship models? For example, Pym/Goffman's 'alien I' would ostensibly suffer some sort of permutation in the scientific literature, where even the source text is an exercise in detached observation, i.e., 'T' is often discouraged, if not repressed. The objective of this study, therefore, is to

examine recent developments with respect to authorship in the empirical sciences, particularly biomedicine and bioethics, in order to see what the prevalent authorship parameters may imply about translational authorship.

2 Historical background

Let us turn our attention, therefore, to the historical turning point for the concept of authorship in empirical science. Rennie and Yank put it succinctly (1998): 'Since 1955... the average scientific article has had more than one person's name in the byline. As the number of collaborators has grown, the balance between credit and accountability has shifted to exaggerate the former and diminish the latter.' Although the topic of multiple authorship had been broached in high-profile biomedical journals as early as 1976¹, this accountability failure was brought to light by the exposure of a number of incidences of scientific fraud in the mid-1980s – the most notorious of which was the Darsey case, which involved a series of publications featuring blatantly fraudulent data that had been unwittingly co-authored by a Harvard department head. These scandals resulted in such a public breach of trust that the U.S. Congress became involved. A number of groups, such as the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the American Bar Association, organized conferences to address this issue, including the Intramural Scientists, who met at the National Institutes of Health in May, 1988.

Their meeting, the Colloquium on Scientific Authorship, featured the directors of the National Institutes of Health, the editor-in-chief of *Nature* and the editor-in-chief and executive editor of the *New England Journal of Medicine*. Moderator Alan Schechter indicated (1989) that the public fraud cases in reality served to bring up more fundamental issues: 'It became clear to us that the very emotionally charged issues related to the investigation of alleged scientific fraud were part of larger questions concerning scientific authorship itself.' The International Committee of Medical Journal Editors (ICMJE), which first met in Vancouver in 1978, began producing a set of 'Uniform Requirements for Manuscripts Submitted to Biomedical Journals'

that has become international standard practice, currently followed by 1180 medical journals worldwide². The Requirements codify aspects of style (such as citations, references, abstracts, keywords, acknowledgements and units of measure) as well as the submission process to subscribing journals. In the wake of the above-mentioned scandals, in 1988 the Committee added a clause on authorship for the first time to its updated edition of the Requirements:

All persons designated as authors should qualify for authorship. Each author should have participated sufficiently in the work to take public responsibility for the content.

Authorship credit should be based only on substantial contributions to (a) conception and design, or analysis and interpretation of data; and to (b) drafting the article or revising it critically for important intellectual content; and on (c) final approval of the version to be published. Conditions (a), (b), and (c) must all be met. Participation solely in the acquisition of funding or the collection of data does not justify authorship. General supervision of the research group is also not sufficient for authorship. Any part of an article critical to its main conclusions must be the responsibility of at least one author. A paper with corporate (collective) authorship must specify the key persons responsible for the article; others contributing to the work should be recognized separately (see 'Acknowledgments'). Editors may require authors to justify the assignment of authorship. (ICMJE 1988)

Thus, authors submitting to ICMJE-associated journals were required to sign that they complied with these criteria, creating in effect a type of legal restriction of liability for the journal. Within a decade, this working definition had come under increasing criticism and a number of provocative editorials by high-profile figures in science publishing were written in 1997-98 that challenged the entire authorship system: 'The authorship system is broken and may need a radical solution' and 'Authorship is dying: long live contributorship' by Richard Smith, editor of the *British Medical Journal* (BMJ); 'Authors and authorship – reform or abolition?' by Mervyn Susser, editor of the *American Journal of Public Health*. Both of these authors refer to an article by Rennie, Yank and Emanuel (1997) that has become one of the most seminal papers on authorship in science³.

In this article (produced by personnel from the American Medical Association and the Institute for Health Policy Studies of the University of California at San Francisco) a proposal is made for the complete abandonment of the concept of authorship in scientific articles. In its stead, a new system based on 'contributorship' and 'guarantors' is outlined whereby the exact role of each participant and the identity of those who take responsibility for the entirety of the content are clearly disclosed to readers. They reason that such a system is more 'precise' and 'fair' and 'may discourage fraud,' since 'the coin of the realm' (i.e., the credit and responsibility inherent in the concept of the author) will thereby be infused with 'visible, assessable worth.'

In July, 1996, this same proposal had already been set forth at a meeting sponsored by the *Lancet*, the *BMJ* and the ICMJE at the University of Nottingham. One important result of this meeting was that the ICMJE added a new phrase to its authorship clause (ICMJE, 1997): 'Editors may ask authors to describe what each contributed; this information may be published.' A second result of this meeting was that the *Lancet* adopted and began to enforce a contributorship system (although without guarantors) for its submitting authors in 1997. The *Annals of Internal Medicine* followed suit, as did the *BMJ* after publishing a raft of letters from readers supporting the proposal.⁴

Since then, dozens of studies have been conducted on various aspects of the multiple authorship phenomenon and contributorship in scientific journals, one (FIGG et al., 2006) even demonstrating that there is a correlation between the number of collaborators and the average number of citations an article receives. The prevalence of honorary (gift) and ghost authors has also received special focus. Flanagin et al. (1998), for example, demonstrated 19 and 11% rates, respectively, for honorary and ghost authorship in a large sample of articles from three 'peer-reviewed, large circulation general medical journals.' Another study (Gøtzsche et al., 2007) has indicated rates as high as 91% for mis- or nonattribution of authorship in industry-initiated randomized trials.

In the latest edition of the ICMJE Requirements (2008), which has grown considerably in length, more than three full pages were dedicated to

ethical considerations in the conduct and reporting of research, as well as instructions for cases where a 'large, multicentre group' produces an article. Although the term 'author' was still part of their vocabulary, the ICMJE had at this point begun to openly encourage the contributor/guarantor system laid out in Rennie, Yank and Emanuel in 1997 with the following guideline: 'Editors are strongly encouraged to develop and implement a contributorship policy, as well as a policy on identifying who is responsible for the integrity of the work as a whole' (Yank & Emanuel, 1997: 2).

However, a more recent study (Matheson, 2011) has levied a fundamental criticism of the ICMJE Requirements on the grounds that industry, particularly the pharmaceutical industry, systematically uses the 'triple-lock' structure of the authorship clause (the fulfillment of all three strata of above-mentioned criteria), which was designed to ensure author participation and thus curb gift authorship, to cloak or greatly downplay the involvement of industry ghostwriters. The author charges that the very rules formulated to ensure the proper attribution of authorship are now being used to legally flaunt it and thus channel academic credibility for their own profit, which he describes an even more damaging (and prevalent) breach of trust than the handful of fraud scandals that motivated the contributorship movement; he proposes that:

Firstly, while the categories of authorship, contributorship and guarantorship remain important, comparable emphasis should be placed on the concept of origination, which differs from these categories in that it refers to a process rather than individual people...Secondly, it should be explicitly acknowledged that planning, drafting and writing generally constitutes [sic] a significant intellectual contribution to a publication... Thirdly, greater provision should be made for authorship by entities, and in particular companies. Whenever an entity carries out activities that in the case of an individual would justify authorship, it should be listed as a byline author (Matheson, 2011: 3)

Mathenson concludes, moreover, that a company lawyer should be required to sign off regarding legal accountability when it is listed as a byline author.

3 Specific characteristics of authorship according to recent scientific discourse

The shift toward multiple authorship in science is due to its increasing complexity and specialization. Mervyn Susser, editor of the *American Journal of Public Health*, wrote (1997):

Only in recent years has authorship become a matter of contention that calls for a definition. Contention follows the displacement and virtual extinction of solo science and small science by big science. Large-scale enterprises involving numerous more and less specialized collaborators have multiplied the potential claimants to authorship for any given paper.

The complexities of ‘big science’, therefore, having changed the rules of the game, have forced the redefinition of (scientific) authorship on an international scale. Let us now examine in detail the characteristics of these new definitions.

The basis for the ICJME definition is that ‘an ‘author’ is generally considered to be someone who has made *substantive intellectual contributions* to a published study...’ (ICMJE, 2008, emphasis ours). In distinction from ‘other contributors’, this one involves three criteria levels, as outlined in the table below:

AUTHORSHIP = at least one item in each of these categories			
1	substantial contributions to conception and design	acquisition of data	analysis and interpretation of data
2	drafting the article	revising it critically for important intellectual content	
3		final approval of the version to be published	
*	participated sufficiently in the work to take public responsibility for appropriate portions of the content		
NOT AUTHORSHIP = any of these alone			
Acquisition of funding	collection of data		general supervision of the research group
GUARANTORSHIP			
*	[author/s who] take responsibility for the integrity of the work as a whole, from inception to published article		
ACKNOWLEDGEES (examples)			
purely technical help	writing assistance		department chairperson who provided only general support

Table 1. Authorship criteria as defined in the 2008 The International Committee of Medical Journal Editors’ Uniform Requirements for Manuscripts Submitted to Biomedical Journals (wording theirs).

To get a clearer understanding of how the views of key writers compare and contrast with the concepts involved in the ICMJE definition, sample quotes by each author have been arranged side-by-side in the following table:

SOURCE	QUOTE	CONCEPTS
RENNIE et al.	'The person who writes the manuscript is the first/senior author (even if this is a graduate student)' (1998)	WRITER MUST GET FIRST CREDIT
	'[For] a person [who] has made a critical contribution to a research project, not being a writer should not prohibit his or her inclusion among the paper's authors' (1998)	WRITING ≠ THE ONLY CRITICAL CONTRIBUTION
	'Must 'treat a scientific manuscript as 'an inscription under oath'' (1997)	CREDIT = ACCOUNTABILITY
	'Must convince readers of accountability for articles on 2 levels – for each part, or contribution, and for the whole.' (1997)	ACCOUNTABILITY FOR PARTS AND WHOLE
	[Guarantors] must 'take the necessary steps to ensure the integrity of their manuscripts, including their colleagues' work' (1997)	OVERSIGHT OF ALL WORK
	'Those who did the work should explain who did what' (1997)	TRANSPARENCY
	NOT AUTHORS	
	'People who did not contribute to the conceptualization/design, management, analysis, or writing of a particular manuscript' (1997)	CRITICAL CONTRIBUTION = conceptualization/design, management, analysis, or writing
	'People whose contribution is not directly related to a paper's primary topic' (1997)	
	'Gift/Honorary authorship' (1997)	

Continua

SOURCE	QUOTE	CONCEPTS
SMITH	'...credit should depend more on thought and less on number crunching.' (1997a)	CREDIT FOR ANALYTICAL INPUT
	'A...radical, response is to scrap the concept of authorship. Instead, we would have a descriptive system something like film credits and talk about contributors rather than authors.' (1997a)	NEED DESCRIPTIVE SYSTEM TO BE FAIR
	[speaking of guarantors:] 'The idea of ultimate responsibility is not a difficult one. Ministers must take ultimate responsibility for everything done in their departments and editors for all that is in their journals.' (1997a)	FULL ACCOUNTABILITY EXISTS IN OTHER MODELS
	'The paper may include techniques as diverse as molecular biology and economic evaluation, all carried out by different people. The person who writes the paper may have done nothing but the writing. Who then will be the author? This becomes a matter of politics, not science.' (1997b)	COMPLEX INPUT = UNCLEAR CREDIT
	'...at least one person must take overall responsibility.' (1997c)	NEED FOR A GUARANTOR
	'...somebody should accept credit and accountability for every part of the process, including having the idea, undertaking a literature search, design, collecting and analyzing the data, interpreting the results, and writing the paper.' (1997c)	ACCOUNTABILITY FOR PARTS AND WHOLE
	'In moving from authors to contributors and guarantors we are entering a new era, and it seems to be wise not to be too prescriptive.' (1997c)	CAREFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF SYSTEM
SUSSER	'The prime criterion of merit in these interlocking subsystems is advancement of knowledge, most meritoriously through original contributions.' (1997: 1091)	CREDIT FOR ORIGINAL INPUT
	'A key assumption of the tradition is responsibility for what one publishes, and hence accountability for what is false, fraudulent, or taken without acknowledgment.' (1997: 1091)	CREDIT = ACCOUNTABILITY
	'An author, all will agree, is first of all a writer. Not any writer—mere reporting, translation, and plagiarism do not earn the title. What is common to these nonauthors is the <i>absence of original thought or a web of thoughts they have themselves created and thus own</i> .' (1997: 1091, emphasis ours)	REPORTING AND TRANSLATION ≠ IDEATION
WOOLEY	'If you haven't done the work, don't put your name on the paper. If you put your name on the paper, then you are stuck with it' (Rennie, 1997)	CREDIT = ACCOUNTABILITY

SOURCE	QUOTE	CONCEPTS
SA & SAGAR	'...[c]o-authors should bear collective responsibility for their publications, sharing blame as well as credit. It is a contradiction to be a co-author but then plead ignorance (and assume victim status) if there is controversy regarding data in the paper.' (Rennie, 1997)	CREDIT = ACCOUNTABILITY
RELMAN	'Research involves first, conceiving and designing a work; second, generating the data-whatever that takes; and third, analyzing and interpreting. In my opinion, and I think in the opinion of many of my colleagues who have discussed this issue, an author, to be considered a legitimate author, ought to contribute in some important way to at least two of those three parts of research.' (Schechter, 1989)	CRITICAL CONTRIBUTION = a. conceptualization/design b. data generation c. analysis or interpreting (2 of 3)
	'An author ought to know enough about the whole study how it was done and why it was done – and what it means, so that he or she should be willing, publicly, to interpret the work, to defend it' (Schechter, 1989)	CREDIT = ACCOUNTABILITY
	'Editors ought to require every coauthor to sign a form that says, 'I contributed significantly to this paper and I take responsibility for it.' (Schechter, 1989)	LEGAL ACCOUNTABILITY
	'It seems to me that we're going to have to accept that there are different kinds of authorship. There is full authorship, which means full responsibility...The second kind of authorship is 'with the assistance of,' or 'with the collaboration of,' or acknowledgments...it's the only way we're going to be able to deal with this growing problem of multiple authorship.' (Schechter, 1989)	LEVELS OF AUTHORSHIP
	'Simply conceiving or designing the work without generating the data or participating in the analysis and interpretation wouldn't be enough; nor would simply getting the data without designing the study or interpreting it; nor would taking the data from an experiment that's already been designed and carried out, and looking at it and interpreting it.' (Schechter, 1989)	CRITICAL CONTRIBUTION ≠ ONLY 1 OF THE 3 CATEGORIES
HUTH	'Only a few persons can truly serve the functions of responsible authors: adding authors beyond the number that can really be responsible for an article's content 'debases the currency of authorship.' (Rennie, 1997)	MUST RESTRICT AUTHORSHIP
CARBONE	'Limiting authorship severely will have a paradoxical effect: it will reward those who get it wrong by reporting small, nonrandomized trials, and punish those who go to very great trouble to get it right.' (Rennie, 1997)	RESTRICTING AUTHORSHIP DESTROYS BIG SCIENCE

SOURCE	QUOTE	CONCEPTS
EDSALL	How would we define the boundaries of responsibility within which a worker is justified in putting his name on a paper? Clearly, he or she must have been really making a significant contribution intellectually or experimentally or, commonly, both. But it seems to me grossly improper for the head of a large laboratory to put his name on papers in which he has had virtually no personal involvement. We must remember that many of the eminent German scientists of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century had no compunction about doing so. In some of the laboratories there were many such papers, and the head of the laboratory thought that it was proper and appropriate that he should sign it. (Schechter, 1989)	CRITICAL CONTRIBUTION = normally both intellectual & experimental (personal involvement) HISTORICAL CONCEPTUAL SHIFTS
ANGELL	'...there is, inevitably, some selection when a researcher writes up his work. He has, after all, a mass of data and he's building a picture. He's not emptying his data books into his paper, but he's trying to sort out what's important, what isn't important, and there inevitably will be loose ends.' (Schechter, 1989)	AUTHORSHIP = SELECTION & ACCOUNTABILITY
MATHESON	'...while the categories of authorship, contributorship, and guarantorship remain important, comparable emphasis should be placed on the concept of origination, which differs from these categories in that it refers to a process rather than individual people.' (2011) '...planning, drafting, and writing generally constitutes a significant intellectual contribution to a publication, and in most cases should require the individual and/or entity responsible to be listed as a byline author.' (2011) '...whenever writers are omitted from byline authorship by underplaying their true contribution, this constitutes ghostwriting, including when writers are listed as contributors.' (2011) 'Responsibility 'for 'content' should not be ceded to academic authors alone if others helped plan, write, or revise the manuscript.' (2011)	AUTHORSHIP INVOLVES ORIGINATION WRITING = CRITICAL CONTRIBUTION WRITER MUST NOT BE EXCLUDED FROM AUTHORSHIP CREDIT NO AUTHORSHIP WITHOUT WRITING

Table 2. Authorship criteria according to key science authors and editors.

4 Translation and Revision in Light of Scientific Discourse

One thing in the previous commentary is clear: neither translation nor manuscript revision for grammar, style, and coherence are considered

a critical contribution to the work as a whole and warrant – at most, acknowledgement. It seems evident that such contribution in this system would be something akin to that of the statistician who performs a numerical analysis and nothing more, or perhaps a computer statistics program (such as SPSS) that runs calculations based on data input and set parameters. In this light, the translator or reviser could be seen as ‘a kind of fax machine’ (Lambert, 2013) whose function is basically regarded as intelligent machine translation (‘just make it sound good’).

Curiously enough, a telling distinction has been made about classes or ‘species’ of translators in an important⁵, normative set of guidelines for conducting back-translations of measurement instruments (Beaton et al., 2000). These requirements insist on two translators for the initial translation into the target language: one translator ‘aware of the concepts being examined’ and a ‘naïve translator’⁶, who has no clinical background (i.e., blinded), who ‘will offer a translation that reflects the language used by that population’, i.e., the people, not the scientists. Thus, the scientific community is keenly aware of a register gap surrounding its (specialist) language, which must be bridged to be intelligible. They distinguish a ‘domesticated’ or ‘house’ type of translator, who understands and can handle their language, and a ‘wild’, ‘field’ or ‘uninitiated (i.e., illiterate)’ type who takes the language at face value.

What is evident here is that a dichotomy is seen between language and content, what is said and the way it is said – which is interesting because proper language is an essential key to the gatekeepers’ (i.e., editors and peer-reviewers) portal. Translation and/or revision potentially make a significant contribution to 2/3 of current worldwide scientific production, in that it originates in places where English is not an official language (ROYAL SOCIETY, 2008: 17) and ‘the most-significant journals of science, whatever their nationality, now publish in English.’ (Harmon & Gross, 2000). This hypothesis has recently begun to be quantified: a study by Vasconcelos, Sorenson and Leta (2007) of more than 50,000 federally indexed Brazilian scientists reports a positive correlation between higher English levels and higher publication rates.

It goes without saying that many manuscripts are sent back by peer reviewers or are ultimately rejected due to language issues. An article, no matter how brilliant the content, is unpublishable if that content is not presented in language that is sufficiently readable and adheres to, besides area-appropriate terminology, established norms of grammar and style. And if the article cannot be published in a high-impact international journal for lack of competent translation or revision, it will be ‘buried’ in lower-impact lingua franca or localized journals. By the same token, a beautifully written study that has not properly adhered to the rules of scientific investigation (e.g., reproducibility, effect size/statistical power) or lacks originality or relevance is also subject to rejection. Can it be said, then, that language is in danger of superseding content or that they can even be distinguished? Is there science apart from language? Susser, although explicitly denying authorship to translators, nevertheless appears to respond in the negative when stating that ‘civilization begins with language.’ (1997: 1091)

4.1 Translators and ghostwriters

This also brings up the ghostwriter phenomenon, i.e., farming out the composition/writing of an article to someone who was not involved in the study in any other capacity and whose involvement is to remain hidden (presumably to avoid ethics problems). Rennie, Yank and Emanuel (1997) define ghost authorship as ‘when those who wrote the article, or contributed in important ways to its production, are not named as coauthors.’ In the industrial type, the industry-paid ghost is then substituted by a big name (a ‘key opinion leader’), who both receives credit and lends credibility to the project, consequentially benefitting the profit-motivated company that generated the study. Like Rennie and Yank⁷, Matheson insists that ‘...planning, drafting, and writing generally constitute a significant intellectual contribution to a publication,’ (2011) and thus, ghostwriters must be duly named as authors or there will be an ethical breach in what Rennie, Yank and Emanuel (1997) call the ‘foundation of trust [that] underlies the entire publication enterprise.’

What does the ghostwriter have to do with the translator? In the first place, *self-positioning*, returning to Pym/Goffman's collocation or *accountability* in the idiom of Contributionists such as Rennie and Smith. Both ghostwriter and translator/reviser are hands commissioned by the powers behind the study, whether or not these powers want to be known. In fact, in the case of the ghostwriter, since the originating power (e.g., big pharma) wishes to remain occult, its agent must as well. The fact remains in both cases that these are not the agents whose '*beliefs are being told*' (Pym, 2010) in the work, despite the facts that their professional reputations (however occult) are on the line with those who authorized the work and their commitment is limited in that another assumes public *moral* (i.e., legal) responsibility for the work (by definition in the case of the ghostwriter and at least *de rigueur* in the case of science translators).

It matters not that one writes and another translates. In this sense, both Matheson and the ICMJE seem to be at odds with the Pym/Goffman model for insisting that the language broker *is* a critical contributor, even though not the *only* possible critical contributor. The difference between Matheson and the ICMJE is that Matheson insists on the writer automatically being named in the byline, while the ICMJE requires participation in two other criteria levels for authorship to be awarded. That is to say, the former finds writing a *sine qua non* of the study while the latter counts it only as one major component. Meanwhile, the Pym/Goffman model clearly distinguishes authoring from authorizing (i.e., the speechwriter analogy), administrative from executive control, that is to say, the hand from the mind/will. Nevertheless, Matheson's concept of origination does seek to trace the chain of command back to the source so that it cannot remain occult.

4.2 What are language brokers then?

As agents, therefore, of other powers, the translator, reviser and ghostwriter – all language brokers – fit into the same category. But since there would appear to be a discrepancy in all of the above-mentioned sources between

writing and translating, can distinctions be drawn between their work? What corollaries exist? While it is unnecessary to repeat the obvious and beyond the scale of this study to enter more than superficially into this question, as well as the fact that Pym has examined this subject in the light of mimetic function and (more or less relevantly to the system in question) process studies (2010), there does remain one lens through which this work can be filtered. Angell commented, regarding the researcher's framing of a study, that

...there is, inevitably, some **selection** when a researcher writes up his work. He has, after all, a mass of data and he's **building a picture**. He's not emptying his data books into his paper, but he's trying to **sort out what's important**, what isn't important, and **there inevitably will be loose ends**.
(in Schechter, 1989, emphasis ours)

I think that there is something very interesting in this comment that may be useful for our analysis. The idea of selection (sorting out what's important) is common in all of these functions – researcher, ghostwriter, translator, and reviser – each employing it differently. As stated above, the researcher selects from a set of data to draw appropriate conclusions (i.e., build a coherent picture). The ghostwriter, meanwhile, is given set data and conclusions that he must coherently link, selecting from a range of rhetorical options (like a lawyer, PR firm, or speechwriter – none of which add new information) to accomplish this. Having been given a completed text featuring data, conclusions, and rhetorical trajectory, the translator is doubly selecting, from the words of the source text and possibilities in the target language, determining the most coherent and acceptable way to (re)present/tell the given picture.

The reviser, finally, having been given data, conclusions, rhetorical trajectory, and phrasing in (some form of) the target language, must sift through this picture, determining what is *meant* to be said, and re-stating it more aptly for the record. The choices made in all of these functions entail 'loose ends', which are the possible negative consequences for excluding or including something, be it data, rhetoric, or even specific words or terms,

all of which can have a powerful (though more or less subtly so) effect on the final product. To run the risk of negative consequences, irrespective of the public eye, is to accept accountability. And credit, accountability and contribution are, according to the panorama of sources cited above, inextricably intertwined.

Does this mean, then, that the contribution of the translator is in actuality a 'critical contribution'? Is a reviser really an author? In the ICMJE criteria, only 'drafting the article' and 'revising it critically for important *intellectual content*' (and 'final approval') are included among the writing criteria. However, if there is no science without language, neither is there intellectual content without grammatical, stylistic and linguistic coherence. Schechter's comment, although not directed toward language brokers, does inadvertently apply: 'It seems to me that we're going to have to accept that there are different kinds of authorship' (1989: 209)

4.3 Contribution and the cinematic model

This goes back to the reasoning of Contributionists like Smith 'to scrap the concept of authorship. Instead, we would have a descriptive system something like film credits and talk about contributors rather than authors' (1997a). Continuing along in Smith's metaphor, this model makes for an interesting comparison in that it was developed to deal with multi-agent creative productions and it has a tested track record, both legally (e.g., labour unions), culturally (people, including scientists, are accustomed to it) and intellectually (e.g., Bazin, 1957). Although a translator is indeed neither director nor producer (i.e., *auteur* or guarantor), for a large portion of the world's science (not to mention cinema), the show can't go on the globalized stage without him. Although the translator is not (necessarily) a scientist any more than the speechwriter is (necessarily) a politician, he, as reflected in the guidelines by Beaton et al., must nevertheless be initiated into the sphere of scientific language and concepts. This means that he is playing with their (language-concept) building blocks on the same platform, even if only to tell what they (mean to) say. And although, like the defence

lawyer, he hardly runs the same risk as the power that employed him (i.e., the defendant), his accountability is real, nonetheless, in that his career is as performance-dependent as the researcher's – even though his name might never appear in the headlines, the byline or even in the acknowledgements.

5 Final remarks – beyond definitions

This brief survey has, admittedly, dealt chiefly with questions of definition of a more or less binary nature regarding what a translator is or is not in the field of empirical science publishing in comparison with a nonempirical ('humanities'-based) model. We have seen that, to empirical science, although answering the question of what authorship is and who qualifies for (at least part of) such credit is very much in play, the translator and reviser are unanimously seen as subalterns and denied status as authors. The weight behind such unanimity may stem from the English-centric bias of the key science players: for these native speakers of English (who, incidentally, are setting the definitions for the worldwide scientific community), translating is a distant, unurgent, unimmediate concept⁸ and the critical function of revision, similarly, is reduced to no more than that of copyediting (i.e., intelligent spellchecking).

In their definitions of authorship, however, certain themes have become apparent, themes that most certainly can be applied to the work of language brokers: analysis, intellectual 'involvement' (if not 'input'), and accountability/risk. These themes are similar to the key terms that Pym used: responsibility, self-positioning and commitment. Since, according to Rennie, Yank, & Emanuel (1997), for the authorship system to work, where there is credit, there must also be responsibility (i.e., risk); some level of risk must mean that some level of credit is at stake. And where there is credit, a contribution of some sort has been made. Hiding (discounting) the credit for this contribution from the public eye, as is common practice (if not a systemwide norm) in biomedical publishing, does not erase this contribution. Thus, if a contribution has been made, the question remains, was it a vital link in the process? Concluding with a quote from Relman:

The senior author acknowledges that there are 17 or 27 names on the paper, and you say, ‘Surely there could not have been 17 or 27 people making significant contributions?’ The author says the research simply could not have been done without the technical contribution of each one of them. (in Schechter, 1989: 213)

Acknowledgements

Thanks to Dr. José Lambert, Dr. Yves Gambier, and Dr. Ana Marušić for valuable input to the manuscript.

Notes

1. STRUB & BLACK in the *Lancet* (1976; 2: 1090-1091)
2. <http://www.icmje.org/journals.html>, http://www.icmje.org/1988_urm.pdf.
3. RENNIE, D., YANK, V. & EMANUEL, L. (1997). When Authorship Fails: A Proposal to Make Contributors Accountable. *JAMA* 278: 579-585. According to Google Scholar, this article has been cited 373 times as of 8/2012.
4. *British Medical Journal* (1997) 315: 696 (20 September)
5. 1301 citations according to Google Scholar (April 2, 2013)
6. Reminiscent of Foucault (1980: 82) ‘...a whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naïve knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity’.
7. ‘The person who writes the manuscript is the first/senior author (even if this is a graduate student).’ (1998)
8. Not to lessen the inclusion efforts of certain high-ranking journals

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CONCLUSIONS

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Editors

1 The Silent Redefinition of Universe-Cities: Beyond Ranking Barometers

In their discussions throughout this book, experts from very different disciplines and different countries have approached the University issue, or rather, the Universe-City issue, which is very different, since it focuses on the status and goals of ‘university’ in the age of Globalization while assuming that the established idea of ‘University’ is no longer very visible. The different contributions neither simply nor solely reflect the position of a small group of people who, on the basis of very divergent questions, reach the conclusion that universities are trapped by their own ‘universal’ ambitions at the very moment when, for the first time in history, worldwide communication has become easy, at least in technical and technological terms. Within their own fields of expertise, each author who cooperated in this volume makes use of research by prestigious scholars who have linked the academic search for money rather than for knowledge years before the Ranking stories started.

2 Borders and Walls within Global Knowledge

The final result of their discussion appears to be more convincing because of the very different backgrounds of the experts involved: according to researchers from many distinct countries and contexts, the global knowledge that the new, ambitious universities have in mind, if ever a real output of the now-programmatic worldwide cooperation, will reflect a very biased world of knowledge. If it claims to represent global knowledge, it will be so heavily conditioned and dominated by particular groups, i.e., representing particular countries and particular scholarly research options, that it will exclude many other important partnerships practically by definition. It institutionalizes given academic values while excluding other ones – e.g., on the basis of given disciplines (as in Science without Borders) and on the basis of non-scholarly approaches to language and communication.

The idea of universities as integrated into the ‘World of Knowledge’ (‘World of Learning’?) or the ‘Information Society’ sounds very questionable because it implies a (sudden?) redefinition of universities, whether or not we continue to link it with possible new names (‘Global’ is a good illustration of such fetishistic terminologies on behalf of experts who have forgotten about the origins of universities). In theoretical terms, defence of the idea and concept of *universitas* (Aullón de Haro: this volume) may still survive, but it seldom pops up any more among academic leaders. And it does not appear to be at all compatible with dominant ideas such as marketing and competition or ranking, which have invaded academia more or less via the backdoor – i.e., without any explicit investigation by academic management, whether in the USA or Asia or Paris. And since no programmatic planning or reconsideration was involved, there appears to be no way back: the redefinition of the goals and priorities of the Universe-City has taken place progressively (in fact rather quickly) outside of the decision-making and organization resources of academia.

This has, moreover, occurred at the very moment when the Internet and other new technologies have facilitated, in short order, the imposition of particular principles of Ranking and Evaluation as keys to Quality

(Marketing) Control, with no real resistance offered by Rectors or Academic Councils. In this contemporary world, when the technical conditions of information and decision making prohibit participation by the lower circles of academic communities, participation by academic communities in the new decision processes looks utopian. The most exciting discovery is that the 'university' has just now (i.e., at the end of the 20th Century) realized that it can and should go global (or universal?). How global have universities been through the ages? How about between the 1960's and the 1980's?

Anyway, the difficulty is not here, i.e., in the ambition to promote the idea of university: it is not really the ambition that is compromised nowadays but rather the content that this Institution, which claims to be promoting Knowledge into another Era, is providing. It seems that the struggle for international scholarly power (the international market) is based on previous struggles for power within each individual university (where markets tend to be local). There is no need to stress here exactly why universities have failed to develop universal knowledge: scholars have often been obliged to recognize that their optimistic assumptions about general (universal) rules had limits or, on the other hand, they have been wise enough to assume from the beginning that knowledge will always be progressive, hence also submitted to revision and failures. The fact that only a limited group of people and a few cultural traditions have been given the opportunity to take part in the development and the construction of knowledge adds additional reasons for the heretofore failure of universal knowledge.

Certain people and historical traditions have shown much more optimism about human brains and knowledge than others: many French intellectuals from the 17th and 18th century were much more optimistic (and naïve) than their neighbours, particularly in Germany, where it was assumed that progress (as well as culture, intelligence, and even Romanticism) *sind nur im Werden* (Friedrich Schlegel). The naïve belief in (speedy) progress may become reality again, both because human brains seem to have limits today as in the past, but also because very large groups on our planet have been excluded from the beginning. They are excluded on the basis of marketing principles ('they are not yet ready', although in fact they are not really allowed to get ready). Such groups

are also excluded on the basis of implicit criteria such as the principles of language and communication, which most power groups refuse to take into consideration. The global world of language and communication is needed as a service for the groups in power and for the decision makers, but it is not recognized as an object of research, say as part of 'science': as in the good old days of slavery and colonialism, or as in many bilingual countries.

Many intellectuals, representing either the slave or the decision-making group, will concentrate on the question of whether this should be called 'colonization' or not. It is true that the academic world has always been fascinated by 'Words, words, words', as Shakespeare would have called this blindness. It may be symbolic that we worry about words and names instead of concentrating on everyday life – which in this case are both of a fundamentally scholarly nature and bring Karl Marx to mind. Does the Universe-City also belong to the Empire of Drugs, and this at the moment when other quarters within academia are reducing the future of Knowledge to Food, Wealth and Power?

The problem is that enthusiasm about the university of the (immediate) future is supported with an impressive set of arguments, terminology, metaphors and maybe ideologies. But is this really my/our university? How and why? Not only the terminology, but also the actual everyday features of the new world of learning reflect: 1) the internationalization/globalization of its goals (and the redefinition of priorities within our well-known academic landscape, e.g., in terms of particular disciplines and departments); 2) the widening of our networks of potential partnerships; 3) the need to reconsider most of our projects from the perspective of internationalization/globalization; 4) all this within a structural position where money and personnel (for exactly these projects) neither reflect nor claim, respectively, such redefinitions.

In case it is true that universities have adopted the idea of markets not simply as a metaphor, but as a real priority, as the sudden boom of rankings and other Internet games seem to suggest, does this imply that there has been more than a change of language and rhetoric among partners and in partnerships? In case this discourse on the new university is obvious and, perhaps, fundamental, how can our academic authorities convince us to

take part in this new competition without informing us about the (silent?) redefinition of our employer and our Institutional monuments? All the more since such jumps into internationalization seem not to be so innocent with respect to the ideology of National governments?

3 Nation-States promoting Global Knowledge

How can the nation-state and its academic policies be combined with global rankings in light of the very particular (commercial, intellectual, linguistic, and political) origins of the new paradigm? Due to the research of Hobsbawm, Anderson, Ong, Bourdieu, etc., we have been made aware of the language mythologies that politicians, philologists, and academia have constructed around the concept of the eternity of the national language, which is held as an eternal value of the Nation. How can these very same groups accept, without so much as a peep, these new metaphors and mythologies, which will destroy their dreams from two centuries ago? The response indicates, at least, that the dream of the nation-state has been heavily undermined. Let us remember that Benjamin Anderson's concept of Imagined Communities (Anderson, 1983) was generated by the strange marriage, in South-East Asia no less, between Marxism and nationalism.

Many universities came into being long before the nation-state within whose borders they reside. Several survived for quite some time in their ('private') independence. However, in most cases, they have been increasingly absorbed by the policies of the nation-state. American universities, which have had a tremendous impact on universities worldwide, or at least on 'Western' (?) universities, have also had to cope with local political power. The current autonomy of universities is partly reflected in their budgets: the percentage of support from the national or federal level reflects the limits of their independence. Would they pursue market strategies because even politicians support the idea and they hope that the market will become their benefactor sooner or later?

Mathematical structures and statistical evidence have not been at the forefront of our argument in this book, and unlike politicians, we

did not look for votes or consensus. We did not run through the various disciplines/research fields (the various ‘shoeboxes’ that academic traditions delineated for the *divide et impera* policy) in order to test out how general or overwhelming the observations may be. The shoebox argument is still often used against our questions with such responses as: ‘Cultural and/or linguistic problems in the international policy of universities? In their approach to the Internet? Well, maybe in the language departments...’ (Lambert: this volume).

4 Academic shoeboxes

Whatever may be said about university disciplines and departments (or faculty principles), there is no understanding of them without simple mathematical principles. Many countries, especially former colonies (e.g., South Africa, China, Japan, Latin America, and even North America) have a relatively young academic history; it is the modern nation-state (again) that has identified the need for universities. The boom of American academic institutions has strong links with the Second World War and the brain drain from Europe to the USA (and Canada). Both the number of universities and the number of students have enormously increased after the Second World War: given the size of academia, the institutionalization of universities and higher education has only gained momentum. In many countries, financial dynamics have been linked with strict accounting principles, setting targets for the number of students and staff and even the square meters, secretaries and typewriters (now computers) to be allocated per office. This only became possible on the basis of rigid structures (borderlines) distinguishing between various fields of studies: how could anyone plan for the future without predictability principles for the next year? And mathematical principles have been created in view of a better planned academic economy between and within universities.

Whatever the various financial ‘keys’ to the distribution of yearly budgets may have been at the beginning, it is not difficult to imagine that any revision would be considered a threat to the entire construction.

This also counts for national research agencies (the French FNRS, the German *Forschungsgemeinschaft*, etc.). Progressive external and internal institutionalization has had an enormous impact on the planning of universities and their future. Whatever may be said about interdisciplinarity by academic authorities, it is easy to understand why the individual scholar has such enormous difficulties deciding to cooperate with partners from other (neighbour/remote) structures. The various commissions of evaluators as well as the members of the various departments have excellent reasons to avoid encouraging such 'border violations'. Whatever the actual priorities may be of any academic 'government', the financial priorities have defined the possibilities in terms of staff, teaching, and research for many years, which also implies that most elections for internal (and external) commissions impact policy, more particularly budgets.

One of the most symptomatic manifestations of the new Academia is *Ciência sem Fronteiras* (<http://www.cienciasemfronteiras.gov.br/web/cs/>), or *Science without Borders*, the ambitious cooperation project started up by Brasil, one of the BRIC countries. It reflects the confidence in Going Global, but the price to be paid is the redefinition of Science within the Borders imposed by the same BRIC country (*Áreas contempladas/areas taken into consideration*): the one who pays is also the one who is in command, and vice versa. Neither Communication Studies nor Languages are part of the official cooperation. Except to the extent that 'language services' will be provided, in good old colonial style, by the lower level academic areas, not only in Brazil, but also at the partner universities around the globe.

For older members of academic communities, it is not difficult to produce anthologies of statements made by their leaders and colleagues about financial and other priorities, including nomination policies. In many countries, it is not difficult at all to document how given key areas have shifted little by little into certain 'departments' or 'disciplines' and away from others: with the exception of a small percentage, West-European universities now select their Rector from the ('hard') sciences, or from medicine, chemistry, engineering, or economics. In many countries the planning of budgets and resources for research ('Science!') happens to have become a monopoly of certain departments (and groups/people):

in Flanders the national *Wetenschapsraad* happens to ignore almost all activities from ‘the humanities’... What does ‘science’ (research?) mean exactly? Is the present-day definition the result of a very national evolution, in administrative and bureaucratic terms, that has little by little redefined ‘university’? This would have been easy, after all, since politicians as well as the business world have many excellent reasons for supporting their academic partners in this very pragmatic redefinition. One of the new and remarkable publications on language, *Does Science Need A Global Language?* (Montgomery, 2013), is in fact devoted to the kind of science defined in *Ciência sem Fronteiras* and *Wetenschapsraad* in Flanders, but not in universities. Why did our dreams in the humanities keep silent during the many years when their employers, the UNIVERSE-City, worked out their new identity?

There can be no doubt any more: where would any real ‘Universe-City’ survive? In what kind of institutions would there (still) be a community of scholars, staff, and students that could plan common priorities for a number of years, especially in areas where the competence of particular partners/groups can hardly be questioned. Independently of disciplines and fields of study, all organizations are familiar with such tensions, options and changes: secretaries or administrators make decisions that belong to the competence of their Chairperson, and vice-versa. The question of international programs (organization, communication) is a delicate area in most universities; hence the globalization phenomenon can hardly be simple within any university. Seeing that the Internet has become a venue for approaching and representing universities, it can be considered as a barometer of the international dissemination of academic goods and – as initial research indicates – academics are none too fast: there are no universities with an unproblematic approach to global communication.

5 No research needed

The rhetoric of persuasion and communication are part of the world of engineers, medical researchers, or economists as much as that of history,

language, or philosophy departments. Looking over the titles of our discussion papers, it may even be assumed that the verbal component in communication (in teaching as well as research or organization matters) helps strengthen the impact of English – and not exclusively in the so-called ‘hard sciences’. It may be more or less true that, due to the systematic use of one common language, ‘there is no real language problem’; of course, there has been no discussion. In this fully new situation on the world level, the international academic world is obviously struck with blindness regarding the organizational and financial privileges are at stake. And decisions, including those about language and communication, are clearly not often in the hands of scholars from the language/communication shoeboxes. But let us not reduce this dilemma to the domain of either linguists or communication scholars: psychologists, sociologists, or economists may also do research in overlapping areas. Organization Studies, Sociology, and Anthropology may be less paralysed by the academic shoebox system than philologists because they are more aware of the real language issue (e.g., *Ce que parler veut dire. L'économie des échanges linguistiques*: Bourdieu, 1982). Hence they are (more) aware of the power and budget and academic implications of linguistic privileges.

6 Communication in/outside ‘the language departments’

In many academic situations, the linguistic (and cultural) components of globalization are, to a large extent, reduced to the use of English – the new lingua franca (at least in official terms); newspapers and politicians tend to adopt the same initial conditions. When linguists (or teachers, or literary scholars) take part in newspaper discussions on ‘language’, whatever it may mean, it is hard to distinguish between their discourse and the language of outsiders – and this is no real surprise, since the academic curricula hardly concentrate on the new world that has developed in the last twenty years. Universities continue to reflect the Age of the Nation-State and so do their language programs as well as most of their research questions in the area of languages, cultures, arts, and literatures. They continue reflecting the

national market of symbolic goods; together with their academic leaders, as long as these ones refer to matters of culture, and as long as they don't deal with budgets, or with Science, which are known as Global issues.

Let us also warn against this new kind of ideology, warn from the beginning against any traditionalistic (geopolitical) world view in which the world would be divided into 'English speaking' countries and/vs. the rest. True, the new academic and intellectual elite speaks English, but just as in multinational business this does not mean that the English speaking elites do necessarily represent any (English-speaking) nation. Much more than a mechanical use/non-use of English, it is the degree of fluency and organizational maturity in the dominant international language that appears to provide social, economic, and political privileges within every country. As translation scholars have discovered little by little (Lambert, 1995; see also Bellver: this volume), 'directionality' and clustering in communication patterns is much more important than the selection of one particular language over another. Two decades ago, international relations were still largely analyzed, in Translation Studies and in other disciplines, in terms of binary relations between (national) partners. Since then it has become clear that the combination (clustering), i.e., the DYNAMICS of movement and mobility (from language issues into religion, business and organization), functions like a new kind of colonization: any internationalization phenomenon implies the redistribution of relationships and partnerships (Lambert, 1995).

Rather than particular patterns or components, it has been the institutionalization of these dynamics – as in the Rankings – that has had such a pervasive impact. This factor was examined years ago regarding important social patterns in societies, and it is exactly the new configuration of power relations that justifies the 'colonizing' terminology, whether we want to dramatize it or not. But in the case of universities (which so far have escaped the researcher's eye, just like many privileged social groups) we focus on an extremely influential elite, a 'community of practice' (Wenger & Snyder, 2000: quoted in Aixelà) that, for this very reason, has an ambiguous status.

As in many social environments, the academic world as well as the intellectual elite would tend to immediately wonder about their possible reply. Instead of promoting immediate action, we might be wiser instead to

systematically study such broad and deep phenomena by means of change in societies. First of all, it is better to avoid short-term and local policies that will need to be revised afterwards. This is all the more important since it is not that particular components of the new world order will not have very positive consequences at a later stage: instead of eradicating them, we may be better inspired when observing larger panels of the picture.

7 The Academic Range of Lingua Francas

Two examples from the language area may illustrate how complex the picture is from the perspective of the different decision makers. In (Western) Europe, the use of a common language has indeed greatly improved the access to international cooperation – this is what lingua francas are made for, this is why Montgomery 2013 has been written – within the EU as well as within universities. But reducing ‘language’ and ‘communication’ to the lingua franca, even in matters of medicine – or engineering, or sociology, psychology, etc. – implies that language and communication are reduced to ‘services’, they are cut off from the real world: from people, from networking, from organization and institutionalization. And such options and decisions are by definition taken by non-experts in this area of knowledge. Let us call this an – academic – amputation.

Within the EU the language – communication – organization is also ‘excluded’, or rather: left to the politicians; this is ‘culture’ (and politics). Not only ‘Science’ makes use of Borders. The EU has either forgotten or not understood Jean Monnet’s self-criticism: ‘Si c’était à refaire, je commencerais par la culture’ (If it had to happen again, I would start by ‘culture’). The currency problems experienced nowadays may provide us with further arguments. In Latin America, particularly Brazil, the need for research and new options in school curricula has very different backgrounds. Given the composition of Latin American populations, there is a very rich tradition of multilingual family life about which the entire (?) world has hardly any idea: many families are familiar with a second or even a third language (either from their own continent or another), but they have hardly any

common foreign language (a lingua franca). The active use of foreign idioms is limited, even among academic populations, and so is the tradition of foreign language learning.

It may be a crucial consideration, for both European and Latin American leaders, that the weakness or ignorance of the dominant (international) language(s) keeps/has kept them removed from decision processes. Along insights that we all know from everyday life, and which the academic world has borrowed from sociologists or economists rather than from general linguists: in those countries where the lingua franca happens to be the mother tongue, the (organization of the) access to information and Knowledge is much more open (including to Intelligence Services) than in those countries where translators, interpreters, and ghostwriters are a preliminary condition of international interaction. Translators and Translation Studies happen to know how crucial directionality is; in their experience communication is never really symmetrical. In present and in past times, this is one of the basic rules of colonization and decolonization around the globe.

The attempts by the Brazilian government to develop an independent Latin American lingua franca illustrate that the mastery of one single international language is an insufficient basis for the communication and organization strategies (i.e., 'language management') of the future. In globalizing environments, the language policies from the past will no longer be satisfactory. But at least one thing is obvious: instead of having no language problem at all in future international connections, governments, universities, organizations, etc. will have more language problems than ever. The idea that language is not important any more ('since there is English') – certainly within the higher levels of societies, and particularly at universities – is due to the naïve confidence in the market: money and power are supposed to solve every problem. The risk is that one day it might be shown that Ranking is not much safer than Banking. Our decision makers continue working on the basis of old-fashioned world maps, where one language after the other is treated in binary terms and while the international top of Knowledge and Intelligence anticipate in multilateral – say global – terms.

8 Needs need to be updated

The fact that such dilemmas are new in Latin America illustrates that political leaders must reconsider their intercontinental relationships – including in terms of language, which should be no real surprise. Of course they don't like it. This was exactly the psychological and sociological origin of the idea of 'language policy': in case any partnerships can be bargained without any need to worry about languages and other embarrassing conditions, one can concentrate on 'the real issues'; of course such real issues are not necessarily known on beforehand. It is for the first time in the history of mankind that such dilemmas weigh in crucial decisions on a world level. But the fact that Flanders (with its central position within the EU, where such a sophisticated language policy is – promoted, at least officially) approaches the language issue in the secondary school and at the university level on the basis of principles from generations ago confirms that neither the academic nor the political leaders take the language issue seriously.

It is obviously not their cup of tea; and such observations tend to compromise the entire decision-making elite, who all have finished their secondary school, hence their basic training, in at least one key foreign language. Nevertheless, they serve as living proof of the shortcomings of their own school system since, in many cases, within the university and government, they are unable to perform well in any second language. Could it be that the next generation will perform better? Strangely enough, languages are not the problem, but rather people and their awareness and use of languages – or the organization underlying language(s) and communication. These are the worlds that our actual UNIVERSE-Cities are splitting up, whether in European or other countries, in their new academic world order.

The very idea of combining academic and educational perspectives with the world market economy has been submitted in recent days to serious questioning within the British intellectual world (Wolf, 2010). Several American centres have also questioned the various ranking schemes: it is not so certain that the marriage between education and business is (such) a profitable option (Nussbaum, 2010). The issue is not a

matter of countries, notwithstanding the institutional support on behalf of (national and international) institutions. The international scholarly world has asked many questions about the globalization of economic concepts and strategies; so far, however, no basic discussions have actually focused on the intellectual heritage of universities (*Universe-Cities*) as a delicate investment from the point view of either business or academia.

Several of the difficulties listed heretofore are directly linked with the heart of the matter: internationalization/globalization – whatever we may call it. Not only our universities, but also their leaders have been in almost all cases trained in national environments, notwithstanding the name ‘*Universe-City*’. About two decades ago, Germany wondered how the future of the new country could be won with the support of the political generation that had oriented the German Democratic Republic. How can universities worldwide and within the various countries fully go for the global world of knowledge and information, given their narrow links with nations? And how can their leaders integrate the economic dreams underlying the new universities into the traditional idea of university or vice versa?

This is one of the key questions in Pedro Aullón de Haro’s contribution, the only one that focuses, from the beginning to the end, on the consistency/differentiation of academic traditions. It is fully complementary with Andrés Pedreño Muñoz’s considerations on globalization and mobility ideas. His perspective, rooted in academic management, is rather different from the enormous literature that the EU has devoted to the innovative forces and conditions of the academic landscape. Pedreño Muñoz insists on shortcomings within the EU academic innovation toward the globalization of knowledge. One of his reiterated questions is related to the lack of a real mobility policy by European higher education, particularly regarding eLearning. And he is convinced that the USA and other (Anglophone) partners have been more dynamic in this area.

One of the recurrent features in Anglophone eLearning, be it Australian, South African, British, or North American, has been its option for mass production, prioritizing the contrast between teaching staff numbers and enrolment number – which promotes a unilateral, business-based learning model. It is hard to understand, after all,

how even the top universities (according to the rankings) have not yet succeeded in developing international/intercontinental seminars for their best staff members and students. Such seminars have developed in the less business-oriented areas, e.g., in Translation Studies, even in the format of *multilingual* seminars, so far unspoken off in the academic intelligentsia. Why do universities from the Age of Mobility and Globalization stick so strictly to their territorial principles? It could be because they have not reconsidered their basis for language, communication, societies.

Regardless of the results of a comparative intercontinental panorama – and on the basis of EU eLearning projects (including multilingual ones) – we may indeed draw important conclusions about Mobility Learning, as eLearning could rightly be called if it actually functioned as an integrated component of our education systems. The terminology changes within eLearning (Distance Learning, ODL or Open Distance Learning, etc.) have been symptomatic of the academic/didactic/economic competition between concepts and their evolution. From the European perspective, it is quite revealing that the EU has generously invested in virtual learning, whereas the different national education systems (in Europe), including the leading universities, have simply made use of the EU initiatives.

Why did the (Global???) world map of advanced training centres hardly change, while it would be amazingly cheap to exchange the most competent students and staff within the most interactive framework to be imagined? ‘Mobility’ in education appeared to conflict with national policies, even with the territorial policies shared by universities and governments. And in the different traditions of the USA, the UK, Australia, Spain, or South Africa, just as within the EU tradition, the key question has been from the beginning: ‘Why exactly should we develop mobility learning (as we like to call it)?’ Or rather: ‘Why develop new educational systems if we have already other (traditional) ones?’ A number of projects of mainly Anglo-Saxon background were a clear (and economical) answer to such questions: ‘If eLearning allows for a cheap distribution of Learning (with as many students as possible for as few professors as possible, preferably occurring in front of a TV screen) then it makes sense.’ The cheap solution.

This also implies that eLearning has been used in almost mechanical terms as a low-level instruction program in countries that are now strong supporters of globalization. In many EU projects, the priorities have happened to be quite different: eLearning appeared to be the ideal way into high level (doctoral and post-doctoral) seminars, symposia, etc. – The reasons why top-universities (from the top-Rankings) do not move into global eLearning based top-programs, with global staff and students, are more than mysterious; such programs do exist (Pedreño Muñoz: this volume), but largely without the support of eLearning, which does not require much money, only new kinds of institutional support. The world of global knowledge has very local roots.

In her paper on another kind of mobility (i.e., migration) and on different concepts of societies involved in the anthropological tradition, Aixelà indicates how West-European views on society are, much more than any other tradition, rooted in the idea of territoriality. The difficulties within the EU regarding migration policies confirm that the new Europe does not abandon and does not want to abandon its territoriality priorities. It appears that, from this point of view, Europe is isolated from the other continents. Such fundamental observations also provide a deeper framework for the ERASMUS policy and for the mobility policies of European universities or, beyond the EU policies, the Bologna (and Sorbonne, etc.) Declarations.

In her paper about other kinds of mobility, e.g., ERASMUS exchanges, Catalina Iliescu Gheorghiu provided impressive documentation about the Spanish forms of student exchange. She made use of several publications that give a panoramic European framework of student mobility as a part of internationalization programs. One of the striking features of the statistical material, however, is that the various countries are treated in terms of absolute figures and not as percentages or in functional terms. The figures used/distributed by different sources make use of different methods. In absolute terms, Spain, France, the UK (?), and Germany are more mobile than the smaller countries, which is logical since they have more students. But one can imagine that, in terms of mobility, the percentage of students involved in such programs gives a more symptomatic idea about the university that our societies are preparing.

The truth is that the statistics from several countries are hardly amazing – which makes us hesitate in our confidence about the preparation of Global Universities. What this means may also be illustrated by smaller countries: the Leuven university, which is not small in European terms (now far beyond 40,000 students) attracts a large number of foreign students (around 15 %), and some 50% of them from the EU, whereas the total population represents some 80 countries. Whether such situations and policies make for a satisfactory start to the Global University is not sure at all. And, again, so much more might be done toward integration and integrated ‘language management’ than what actually takes place.

This is what the ‘Universe-City’ is missing: a few months abroad, email and Internet contact with other students and staff members, training in new communication and language skills, where is this being integrated into the ‘local curricula’? It is the integration of people, learning, dissemination, etc. that is lacking and that prohibits our contemporary campus and campus life from being a real Community of Academic Practice. Maybe the size of our modern universities is so thoroughly influenced by marketing principles that academic integration and interdisciplinarity has become a mere dream.

We don’t have sound reasons for fighting the market and marketing principles that have overwhelmed, not just the academic world, but also the (so-called) global world. Covadonga Fouces (Fouces González, 2011) and Virgilio Tortosa (Tortosa Garrigós, 2007) devoted illuminating work to ‘cultural production’, which has provided the literary world with new communication channels and new ideologies. Cinema had similar effects long before ‘Cultural Production’ and the Bourdieu concepts had taken shape. The implicit malaise we may feel about the national and international ‘literary market’ may indicate that Literature is under threat as much as the Universe-City. However, this is neither what Fouces suggests nor what our book suggests about universities. The ultimate solution to the university crisis would be to give them up and try to substitute research and high-level training for marketing and market games. Theses and hypotheses such as Bourdieu’s have demonstrated that they are a strong basis for innovative and explanatory research; it is due to many other insights about

the principles of competition that a number of recent social trends have become intellectually more transparent.

More than ever, and partly due to the confusion between various disciplines, certain academic competences are at greater risk than others; their fluctuations reflect trends in society as well as in academia. The 'crisis of the university' begins at the moment that scholarly/academic approaches are replaced by everyday discourse. And everyday discourse, including about literature, plays a role in literary culture in the same way as the sick (i.e., clients) and their discourse and behaviour play a role in medicine. There is no risk, however, that such customers will kick the doctor out of his chair. Scholars from the field of literary studies may be responsible for misunderstandings about their academic positions and the power of their scholarly discourse; but linguists, sociologists, and even chemists suffer similar competition. The most embarrassing conclusion about the homogeneity of universities and the status of very different fields and disciplines, however, is the fact that there is no support for agreement about common goals and the differentiation between positions, as well as the fact that there is no forum where scholars can meet for such interaction. That is reinforced by the fact that university leaders do not realize this issue and are even adopting the language of isolated units rather than general views on academia.

It should be clear that our contributions are not and were never intended to compromise competition/markets (of different kinds) in contemporary (academic) worlds. Nor do we argue in favour of an obviously vanishing kind of university where – as in past centuries – different values and power games were operating. The confrontation between concepts that has been promoted here is needed in view of interaction and high-level feedback about the goals of academia. It is modern research about organization and organization studies that demonstrates how universities tend to adopt their principles from business life rather than from research-based management; hence the parallels between their approach to management/university on the one hand and the approach to globalization/communication/languages/translation on the other. In both

cases, universities ignore the activities of their own scholars and staff while lending their ears to politicians, newspapers, and the man on the street.

One final ambiguity to avoid is linked with international/global trends. On the one hand, they show the weaknesses and shortcomings of universities, which are too local (and/or too national) and have ignored their own shortcomings. On the other hand, they warn us against a simplistic and naïve exploration of the modern and intercontinental worlds. The strong cultural analysis in Jorge Jiménez Bellver's article warns us against colonial and postcolonial traditions that are still at play in national undercurrents. Is the 'Universe-City' concept a remnant of (West) European traditions? Since it is a neologism, it is not supposed to have such a past, but in our more and more intercontinental academia, European scholars might behave like Chinese, Latin American or East European scholars who happen to feel more concerned about the origin of the publications they quote (i.e., their reputation) than about their scholarly/explanatory power; and it is true that intercontinental dialogues are impeded by the traditions of publication and in canonization. The scholarly market in 'the humanities' from North and South America is different from the European one not only in that books and journals are treated differently from those on the European continent (the production of scholarly books as well as their impact could inspire Covadonga Fouces to further work) but also because the agendas and the canonization processes are so different. But who said that international academia was a straight road into Knowledge?

This is exactly why the new global science looks for new borders, and not at all for their being open to the entire global world. Access is not open, it is tricky. Truly global worlds that take the principle of scholarly interactivity cannot exclude multilingual communication. The philosophy underlying the actual Global Academia implies the necessity of communication, culture, and even (one) language, but only in 'manageable' doses – i.e., let us avoid them as much as possible. What is at stake is Interdisciplinarity, one of the most manipulated concepts in Academia. Interdisciplinarity and University, one does not go without the other; in other words, the idea of going more global is going hands in hand with the idea of cleaning out the

disciplines and redistributing the property of Knowledge. Cultural and linguistic genocide (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000; http://www.tove-skutnabb-kangas.org/en/most_recent_books.html) are also part of the bargain; they are not really the (official) goal, but are a price to be paid in the banking priorities of the new university.

The problem is not new. It has been rather clearly predicted, without too many social implications or components in terms of social research, by large wings of social research on language (Dell Hymes, Labov, Bourdieu, Skutnabb-Kangas...), society, historiography (Hobsbawm), systems theory (Wallerstein, Even-Zohar), anthropology, organization studies, etc. When such are excluded from the academic agendas, the academic future is also predictable. Excluding the communication and language component from Globalization, in terms of research, does not imply that the other world of research, which is much less academic, would happen to be naïve. It has recently become known worldwide that the new lingua franca bulldozes an open path for certain (inter)national Intelligence Agencies; they have a virtually free hand, while our highly-ranked academic institutions reduce their networks to the happy few, leaving large areas of the open world, the world without ranking privileges, to their individual scholars. The information about the worldwide (and the more local) circulation of knowledge happens to be very limited, if not oriented, by the institutional apparatus, as several particular explorations from other worlds have tended to make obvious (Hanes, in this volume; Chew 2009).

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With words of warm gratitude to William F. HANES and Gabriel A. SALCEDO ALAPONT, who were our technical supervisors until the last counterchecking of our manuscript was finished!

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J. L.

ISBN 978-85-8388-012-7

A standard linear barcode representing the ISBN number 9788583880127.

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