

Magdalena Dybaś, Dominik Antonowicz

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Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.

is the reason why Bauman writes about elusive modern times.

Let us now look again at *Life to Shred*, and at other works of the author. Bauman, due to continuous narration, reproduces his concept. What is more, in this way he reproduces culture itself! It lets us (sociologists, philosophers, and common people that live in late modernism) to reconstruct and remember better the vision of our modern world in its magnitude.

Łukasz Afeltowicz

Dominik Antonowicz, *Uniwersytet przyszłości. Wyzwania i modele polityki* [University of the Future: Challenges and Models of Politics] Instytut Spraw Publicznych, Warszawa 2005, pp. 200.

A lot has been said today about the crisis of the idea of university. The problem is even deeper because there is no agreement as to the new concept of this institution. The defenders of traditional academic values do not always specify enough which heritage they mean. Is a true university a corporation of the Middle Ages, or is it a bureaucratic institution, closely related to a national state? The evolution of university did not stop on the concept of Humboldt. The modern academies must actively create their vision in the world of globalised economy based on knowledge, in societies who are endangered by unemployment and that want to study in huge numbers, even at university level. Looking for the right model of a government policy towards universities, such issues as academic autonomy, financing universities, putting university education on the market, etc. must all be analyzed. The book by Dominik Antonowicz performs a double

function in the discussion on the future of universities. Firstly, it is a source of knowledge on the development and transformation of universities, whose history started in the ancient times. The author also makes a detailed review of the concepts of government policies towards academic institutions, as far as legislation, financial and personal policy is concerned. On the other hand, the book is a voice in the debate. Antonowicz analyzes the models of politics towards universities in the countries of Western Europe and the USA, and he refers those problems and solutions to the situation of Polish universities. On which foundation, he forms instructions for Polish policy towards universities.

The book includes eight chapters. The author develops quite numerous aspects and refers to the rich history of the university. However, it must be noted that the whole was created very coherently and clearly. The initial three parts describe the evolution of the aspects fundamental for universities: the rules of the functioning and organization of the school, the term of academic autonomy, and the sources of financing the academy.

Antonowicz widely discusses the evolution of university from the Middle Ages' corporations (he also mentions ancient academies) to the modern age institution. Nevertheless, the main of his interest are constituted by the problems and tasks of modern universities. The last decades of the twentieth century constitute a breakthrough also for the idea of a university. Globalisation, the decreased role of the national state, which constituted a base for the culture-creating functions of a university, mass education, also at the university level, drastic limitations of finances from the budgets of countries, which have been directed into social spheres, as

a result, universities have had to find other ways of financing their activity – all the above does not constitute, according to numerous researchers, a crisis of a particular idea of a university, but of the university in general. Antonowicz is not in agreement with this claim. The university faces new problems, yet it must defend its highest values, its unique mission “to stay faithful to universal tasks of extraordinary significance” [p. 37]. What is this significant mission comprised of? Defining it in detail could become an excellent weapon in the fight with vocationalization of universities, with the opponents of the whole concept of academy, and with the followers of the idea of putting whole university education on the market. Unfortunately, the “significant tasks”, though intuitively understood, are difficult to specify and their definition is also absent in this book. However, the author reminds us that it is the “European and integrating character” of a university that constitutes its multidimensional idea, as well as the long history, creation of “the sense of belonging to the same cultural community based on searching for the truth, in spite of national, state or religious divisions (...)” [p. 34]. Pure cognition must also be completed with knowledge transferred to society to enable it to enhance its existence, since due to the applied teachings a university forms “human everyday life”, which strengthens its credibility and endows it with social legal force. Protection of the unique values seems to be the main aim of government policy towards universities in the times of globalisation and commercialization of all the sectors of human activity. However, it is not synonymous with academic ignorance of all the phenomena or with functioning as an isolated from the world “ivory tower”. Antonowicz rightly emphasizes almost in every

part of his book that a university must notice the changes in the functioning of economy, actively react to the social need of continuously acquired new qualifications. Otherwise, it can simply cease to exist.

The aforementioned “ivory tower” is a symbol of the ideal model of a university autonomy, which is missed by so many academics. It is a specific myth, with which the author is preoccupied in the second chapter. The traditional understanding of this value refers to the idea of freedom of academic knowledge, i.e. freedom of research, choice of views, contents and methods of teaching. In the practice of organization, autonomy is connected with the self-government of a university, but not with total independence. Antonowicz considers autonomy to be an unquestionable value of an academic community, which should protect it against an overstretched interference of authorities. However, he points at the fact that the autonomy guaranteed to a university binds it to take full responsibility for its actions. Numerous researchers share this point of view. “Autonomy is always followed by responsibility, which means that on demand of the interested parties (...) a university should be able to prove that it has efficiently and effectively used the public means”¹. As Leja writes, referring to the Bologna Declaration, “a standard that is accepted at European Universities is autonomy together with an executed social mission”². A university is not a financially independent institution, therefore, it seems natural to opt

¹ J. Józwiak, *Model uczelni przedsiębiorczej a model tradycyjny – doświadczenia polskie*, “Nauka i Szkolnictwo Wyższe” 2003, no. 1 (21), p. 11.

² K. Leja, *Uniwersytet – świątynia wiedzy czy sprawnie działająca organizacja?*, “Nauka i Szkolnictwo Wyższe” 2002, no. 1 (19), p. 104.

for the realization at universities of the tasks set by society and state. Autonomy should rely on the free choice of the means that lead to these goals. Antonowicz rightly points at the threats that result from the modern model of university autonomy. It is the so-called conditional autonomy, which can in reality seriously limit a university. A university, when looking for partners that would finance its activity must bear in mind particular requirements and the fact that it will receive money for specific research, not for its general activity. As a result, there is a possibility of fast disintegration of the mission of a university, which, in a short perspective, will not be profitable for a given sponsor. Therefore, a diversification of the sources of a university's financing is necessary, and it is the state that can be the only guarantee of the freedom of knowledge.

The analysis of the evolution of an organizational structure, the idea of autonomy and the means of financing a university leads the author of the book to the description of five concepts of the functioning of an academy in society, and just as many models of adequate government policies towards such universities: a traditional one, a pluralist one, a bureaucratic one, a totalitarian one and an evaluating one. To some extent, the evaluating model is the closest to the author's views, the existence of which was enforced by the crisis of the *welfare state*. The drastic limitations of the means for science and education meant an increase of control over their management. In this model, a university can act within wide legislative limits and is answerable as to the fulfilment of the goals that have been contracted between the university and the government. Schools are forced to look for different sources of donations, other partners outside the state, they start to function on a quasi-market, compete for money and stu-

dents, and apply for accreditation. The opening to the market demands a reorganization of university management and a change in the attitude to the academics employed there. The employees of a university are also answerable for the effects of their work, they compete for posts, research grants, they are treated as representatives of any other profession.

The author, although he prefers the evaluation model, can see a number of threats to the idea of universities coming from this form of university organization. Although it has not been directly stated, in the book, the evaluating model approaches the concept of a company university understood as a factory of useful knowledge and specialized graduates, a corporation run by managers aiming at the highest profit possible at the lowest expense. This may be the easiest way to vocationalizing universities and abandoning their civilizational and cultural mission, which is not accepted by Antonowicz.

In the final part of the book, the author tries to define a new model of university. The European University must adapt to the new paradigm, which is the result of mass higher education and reduction of the financial means that come from the budgets of countries. Just as important are here the economic transformations connected with the placement of knowledge and information in the centre of economic development. The author underlines that the creation of a policy towards higher education, including academic education, must refer to the substantiated in this respect tradition in a given country. One universal model that could work anywhere is a fantasy. The reformation, or shaping of academic policy should take place in accordance with the system solutions of a particular country, yet the people in authority cannot forget about the sphere of ideas and values that are

fundamental for a university. Their protection belongs to the basic responsibilities of authorities towards academic communities. Antonowicz claims that the state should unequivocally specify the scope of the fundamental tasks of academic education. This concerns the choice between social targets (equal chances in social career by equal access to education) and economic ones (meritocratic selection of individuals to represent important social functions). An elimination of this postulate makes academic policy dependent on social moods and other unpredictable factors, thus it becomes impossible to realize a long-term strategy. It must be noted that the state should not allow to resign completely from one of these aims. For Antonowicz, the meritocratic role of a university should be of primary importance. However, it is strictly bound to its social role, since, to find the really gifted individuals, young people from the poorer families must have an equal access to higher education. According to the author, in Poland there is only one solution to this problem. The constitutional claim about free education should be abolished. The state should provide for a smaller share of the expense of students education. The saved means would make it possible to give financial aid to a bigger number of students. Moreover, there should be a gradual introduction of common fees for all kinds of studies. Today, Poland supports, in the words of Antonowicz, "the luckily born", i.e. well-off people, of a higher social status can study for free, while paradoxically, the poorest use the fee-paying forms of education. Tuition fees would constitute another source of income for universities, which is not without importance.

The vote for commonly paid higher education is very unpopular in Poland. The interested students oppose it and a part of political parties is beginning to do the same, therefore,

there has been no solution to this dilemma in the recently accepted act on higher education. Society, being used to the so-called free higher education, will not resign from this privilege without any opposition. Explanations that fee-paying education will be accessible only to the richest seems to be more logical. Moreover, there are also rational arguments against fee-paying studies. A number of changes is necessary for such a step. This is mostly concerned with organizing an efficient scholarship system that would be accessible to all young people that want to study, notwithstanding the credit ability of their parents. A question arises here, how can a young person granted a preferential scholarship be certain that he or she will be able to pay it back after graduation. A similar problem concerns nowadays the students that are wondering whether to take a students' credit. Today, graduating from university does not guarantee finding a job that would make it possible to pay the loan back. It is also difficult to imagine that, given the situation, the state should take the responsibility to provide full employment for every graduate. Therefore, it may result in a situation where still only the socially and economically privileged will study at university. Apart from that, both the followers and the opponents of fee-paying higher education point at the obvious fact that the inequalities start as soon as at the level of primary school, not to mention the family of origin. It is mostly children from the better-off families that come at the level of decision making about going to university. The idea of fee-paying studies is certainly right as far as universities are concerned, which facing mass education, to maintain their level of didactics and research, simply need bigger means, which should come from various sources, from all the concerned partners of a university. The fee-

paying studies, on the other hand, does not have to lead to a wider access for all young people to the best public universities. To the arguments for the tuition fee, it can be added that the value of university education would rise and it will be treated with due respect by students. Today, numerous individuals simply want to get the certificate and “slip through” the consecutive years of education paid by the state. It should also be considered that a fee-paying offer of a university would have to be better suited for the needs of the students, who in majority treat knowledge in an instrumental manner, as a means of getting a job. It should not be criticized, yet the teaching programmes should be treated in such a way so as not to vocationalize students on the one hand, and to provide youth with some necessary qualifications on the other hand (foreign languages, computer skills, etc.), however, these are not the issues discussed by Antonowicz.

An important postulate is also to invest in universities with a prosperous research facilities, not in the local educational institutions (this is the character, according to Antonowicz that some of Polish universities start to represent). Of course, the author does not decrease the meaning of university education, which should be continuous in character and should be open to the the social needs defined from the point of view of a society bases on knowledge. In the opinion of Antonowicz, it is research that has the greatest part in the development of knowledge, due to which it is possible to co-operate closely with various social partners, just as is it the basis of the development of economy and academic education. An argument that would successfully reach the government should be the demographic prognosis, which say that population has been decreasing. Therefore, in Poland, the author

votes for the “policy of support for the best Polish universities”, because it is for the best public interest and it will add to the increase in the competitiveness of Polish academic knowledge in Europe. According to Kazimierz Denek “(...) only the elite universities with old traditions can maintain the traditional devotion to their constitutive features, functions and tasks that are realized in education and research at the highest academic level”³. The creation of Polish *Ivy League*, that should be privileged in financing from the state’s budget and a wider autonomy, becomes an economically and academically substantiated argument, yet one that contradicts the egalitarian aims of higher education, and thus just as difficult to introduce as fee-paying studies.

Not intending to undermine the need for the development of universities with a wide research potential, it must be noticed here that the author almost entirely neglects the question of subjectivity of students. Academic youth is mentioned in the book in reference to their payment for education and in the context of mass university education. It is obvious that it is impossible to deal with everything. However, it must be remembered that without students a university would cease to exist. The aim, which is to prepare graduates for their future professional life is specified both in the “Law on Higher Education” and in the Bologna Declaration, one of whose priorities is to rise the mobility and attractiveness of Europeans on the world job markets. Antonowicz takes up the sensitive subject of vocationaliza-

³ K. Denek, *Uniwersytety w służbie społeczeństwa wiedzy* [in:] *Szkolnictwo wyższe w Europie, w Polsce w świetle założeń i realizacji procesu bolońskiego*, (eds.) E. Kula, M. Pękowska, Kielce 2004, pp. 23–24.

tion of universities, which in his opinion would lead to the fall of university mission. On the other hand, he does not analyze the problem of graduates in the study programmes that are not adapted to the requirements of the job market and are not consulted with employers. Here also returns the question of tuition fees for higher education. What is it that a student should pay for if outside university he or she must invest considerable sums of money in education, learning foreign languages, or computer skills. It seems that, when looking for the model of government policy towards universities this issue should also be considered.

Antonowicz created a coherent set of recommendations for Polish politics towards universities. Apart from the postulates described above, the author also speaks about the necessity to stabilize the legal order, make more flexible forms of employment and decentralize personal policy. He opts for the strengthening of the position of a rector and organizational leadership, as well as for the replacement of the rule of democracy with collegiality, which would improve the decision-making processes and enabled an inside integrity of the undertaken actions. In the state-controlled putting of universities to the market, they should notice themselves the chance to build their autonomy and subjectivity. A diversification of the sources of finances, co-operation with business, but also with local authorities and organizations from outside the government will make it impossible for them to be dependent on only one partner. Nevertheless, the state and society must remain the main sovereigns of universities, so as not to let the schools fully devote to the market and commercialization.

The book by Antonowicz must be recommended to everyone who is connected with a university and is interested with its future.

This work constitutes a kind of a compendium of knowledge about the ideas, values and specifications of universities, which is essential to anyone who takes part in the debate on higher education, who forms the government policy towards universities. Similarly, students should also learn more about the history, values and problems of their Alma Mater, since it would enable them to take a constructive and serious part in the discussion on the fate of universities, and not only to be limited to the instrumental treatment of education. The ideas of the author for the Polish area of higher education arise from righteous assumptions on the necessity to change numerous aspects of university activity when facing new social and economic challenges and conditions, accompanied by preservation of the core of the institution's values. However, a part of the projects may appear very difficult to accept by all the interested subjects: academic communities, authorities, and society.

Magdalena Dybaś

Arkadiusz Karwacki, *Błędne koło. Reprodukcyjność kultury podklasy społecznej* [Vicious Circle: Reproduction of the Social Underclass Culture], Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 2006, pp. 243.

The analyzes of the social position of the former workers of State Farms (PGRs) and their families constitute an important fragment of the sociological study of Polish political system transformation. It is in relation to this group that the researchers dealing with the problem of poverty starts to form a hypothesis on the creation of the Polish form of so-called underclass – people constantly ex-