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Essays in Honor of Prof. Dr. Michael Fremerey

Constanze Engel, Günter Burkard, Hans Hemann, Werner Trossbach, Peter Wolff (eds.)

*Essays in Honor of Prof. Dr. Michael Fremerey on the
Occasion of his Retirement from the University of Kassel*

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Preface

Development - Organization – Interculturalism

Werner Trossbach

Three words entitle the present collection of articles in honor of Michael Fremerey on the occasion of his retirement from the academic staff of the University of Kassel (Germany). Together they may reflect the field of Michael Fremerey's professional activities which do not only include academic teaching and research at different universities, but also experience as the director of an NGO in Singapore and Indonesia. The idea of development advocated by Michael Fremerey has never been congruent with a mere technical understanding and by no means with a certain version of the modernization theory that since the sixties and seventies of the twentieth century had exerted eminent influence on many international agencies.

Unlike this approach, Michael Fremerey has never been trapped by the idea of superiority of the western social and economic system. Even though, his conception of development is based on values: equity, tolerance, participation, and democracy have always guided his professional work. From his educational background, Michael knows very well that these values had one of their roots in the processes of western civilization, especially in the European enlightenment period. One of the articles in the present collection deals with this context. However, Michael has always been far from monopolizing these basic values for a certain geographical unit. The distortion of these principles in the course of European colonialism and their complete overthrow during Nazi rule were a major field of discussion and research in Michael Fremerey's early academic environment at the Bergstraesser Institut of Freiburg University and the University of Frankfurt.

Furthermore, from the beginning, Michael has been completely aware that non-western cultures have produced similar values as well. If modernity means the emergence and presence of the basic values mentioned above, most of the cultures of the world are inherently "modern". So Michael's well-known claim for "modernity" in the development process does not imply universal westernization. On the other hand, the similarity of ideas and values does not necessarily generate a congruence of concrete concepts. This simple truth is widely reflected in the present collection of articles. The contributions of Peter Wolff, Gerald Braun, Günter Burkard, Heiko Faust / Björn Schippers / Robert Weber, Reinald Döbel, Heribert Weiland, Emilia Nercissians / Saman Amirpour Amraii and Caro Lucas / Masoud Mirmomeni give different ideas about what a general conception of modern values in the development process may mean in different contexts and which obstacles it would have to surmount.

The editors are glad to present not only a diversity of topics, but also of a wide range of concepts and approaches corresponding to the openness of academic discussion and political competition. This will certainly match one of Michael's main objectives in his university career: He has been a superb team player, but

he has always appreciated and supported intellectual independence. At the University of Kassel he contributed significantly to overcoming a narrow-mindedness he was in some cases confronted with. He created the basis for an excellent team spirit, which is topic of discussion in the interview at the beginning of this book and in several of the contributions, for instance in Siawuch Amini's UNISTAFF chemistry-article and in Constanze Engel's account of how German universities are trying to cope with the cultural diversity of their students.

As his friends and colleagues know, Michael is a unique communicator, not only in the narrow sense of this term in the current media age. His capacities go far beyond this one-sided understanding. He has developed a talent of true mastery which is very seldom to be found, especially in the university context: the capability to listen to other people. This capability has enabled him to put a theoretical concept into practice which is inextricably linked to his conception of value-oriented development: the dialogue of cultures.

This dialogue is of eminent political importance in a world, threatened by the contrary, the "clash of civilizations". The danger is not unreal. The constant dialogue of cultures, however, seems to be the only way to prevent Samuel Huntington's gloomy prophecies from fulfilling. In the interview we can experience Michael's idea of intercultural dialogue, and most of the articles in this volume are devoted to this issue, especially those of Gerald Braun, Heribert Weiland, Günter Burkard, Reinald Döbel, and Constanze Engel, some of them focussing on the obstacles and self-produced traps retarding or even obstructing a thoroughly needed process of intercultural exchange.

In the practical programs launched by Michael and his team, especially in the University Staff Development Program, which has become world-famous in the genuine sense of the word, these obstacles have fairly been overcome. The accounts given by his closest companions Siawuch Amini and Matthias Wessler in this volume will give the reader an insight how the UNISTAFF course has progressed to develop cross-cultural networks of scientists almost all over the world, which is much more than mere dialoguing. In the interview, however, Michael is quite aware that one reason for this success consists in the similarity of academic experience and objectives shared by the participants. Accordingly, strengthening the common values without disregarding the diversities in the academic world has been another major focus of Michael's professional efforts and research activities. In the present volume this wide range of topics is covered by the contributions of Ulrich Teichler, Alicia Eugenia Vargas Porras, Volker Jahr and Constanze Engel.

The present volume touches different issues related to Michael's fields of research and his general intellectual objectives. Furthermore, it unites different generations of researchers. One of the younger scholars to join Michael's circle was the ethnologist Günter Burkard, an outstanding researcher on Indonesian peasant societies, one of the contributors and co-editors of the present collection. Günter Burkard died when the preparation of this volume was almost accomplished.

Interview mit Michael Fremerey

Voneinander lernen

Siawuch Amini, Matthias Wesseler

Sia Amini:

Fangen wir mit dem für dich so bedeutsamen Feld der "interkulturellen Kommunikation" an. Warum ist sie für die Hochschulen so wichtig und was ist das Besondere an interkultureller Kommunikation?

Michael Fremerey:

Interkulturelle Kommunikation folgt selbstverständlich den normalen Regeln kommunikativen Austauschs. Sie findet allerdings unter besonderen Voraussetzungen statt: die Distanz zu dem anderen ist größer und die Kenntnisse über dessen Kontexte und „Codes“ sind in der Regel bestenfalls fragmentarisch. Damit sind auch die Unsicherheiten größer und die Gefahr von Verletzungen steigt. Vereinfacht könnte man vielleicht sagen, dass es bei interkultureller Kommunikation um eine Kommunikation unter besonders sensiblen Bedingungen geht. Der allgemeine Grundsatz, den anderen verstehen zu wollen, ohne dabei den Anspruch zu erheben, in seine „Schuhe schlüpfen“ zu können, erhält in der interkulturellen Kommunikation eine herausragende Bedeutung.

Die Wichtigkeit interkultureller Kommunikation für die Hochschulen, gerade auch in Deutschland, ergibt sich natürlich aus deren wachsendem Bemühen um ein internationales Profil. Hier gibt es meines Erachtens einen erheblichen Nachholbedarf. Die Universität ist nicht per se eine internationale Institution, nur weil sie dem universellen Ziel der Wissensgenerierung und Wissensverbreitung folgt. Und ebenso wenig sind ihre Akteure automatisch kompetent, diese Prozesse aus einer interkulturellen Perspektive zu verstehen und interkulturell zu vermitteln.

Sia Amini:

Nun gibt es aber unterschiedliche Kommunikationskonzepte. Setzt du auf eine besondere Art von Kommunikation?

Michael Fremerey:

Ich persönlich sehe im Konstruktivismus eine ganz entscheidende theoretische Grundlage für das Verstehen und das Gestalten von Kommunikationsprozessen. Es geht um das Bewusstsein, dass ich meine Realität wesentlich aus persönlichen Erfahrungen, Sozialisationsprozessen, Erwartungen und Wünschen heraus „konstruiere“, und ich somit auch dem anderen zugestehen muss, dass er sich seine eigene Realität schafft. Selbst wenn wir über das Gleiche zu kommunizieren meinen, nimmt dieses scheinbar Gleiche doch eine sehr unterschiedliche „Gestalt“ an. Das heißt: bei

Kommunikation geht es letztlich um einen Verständigungsprozess über unterschiedliche Wahrnehmungen von Realität. Und dieser Verständnisprozess ist natürlich in interkulturellen Kontexten, in denen die Kommunikationspartner von z.T. extrem unterschiedlichen Perzeptionen von Realität ausgehen, besonders schwierig.

Matthias Wessler:

Du weißt sicherlich, wo die Risiken und Gefahren interkultureller Kommunikation lauern. Um diese Frage etwas biografisch zu formulieren, würdest du nach mehr als 20 Jahren Erfahrung und Arbeit im Bereich von unterschiedlichen Kulturen in Witzenhausen eine Bilanz zu Nutzen und Gefahren ziehen?

Michael Fremerey:

Ich sehe interkulturelle Kommunikation nicht in erster Linie unter dem Gesichtspunkt von Gefahren und Problemen, sondern vor allem als eine äußerst bereichernde Herausforderung. Aus dem Bemühen um Verstehen resultiert das Gefühl, dass du dich jemandem angenähert hast, der dir zuvor noch fremd war und von dessen Welt du nur ein sehr begrenztes und lückenhaftes Verständnis hattest. Dir erschließt sich damit auch eine andere Perspektive auf Dinge und Prozesse, die dir aus deiner bisherigen Sicht als selbstverständlich und eindeutig erschienen. Das als eine Bereicherung zu empfinden, ist natürlich nicht immer ganz einfach, weil damit zunächst auch ein mehr oder weniger großes Maß an Verunsicherung einhergeht. Dieses Gefühl ist vermutlich die größte Hürde, die im Prozess interkultureller Kommunikation zu überwinden ist. Eine extreme Reaktion auf das Empfinden von Unsicherheit sehe ich in der teilweise militanten Gegenposition zum Kulturrelativismus (in unserem Kontext könnte diese Gegenposition etwa lauten: „es gibt nur *eine* Universalität“). Selbstverständlich hänge auch ich an Werten, die mir als nicht veräußerbar gelten. Aber bis zu dieser Ebene gibt es nach meiner Meinung sehr viel Spielraum für wechselseitige Akzeptanz und Bereicherung. Dieser Spielraum geht in einer pauschalen Ablehnung des Kulturrelativismus allzu leicht verloren.

Ich glaube, dass mir die Tätigkeit in Witzenhausen, und hier insbesondere im UNISTAFF-Programm, in dieser Hinsicht viele Einsichten vermittelt hat. Ich möchte das UNISTAFF-Programm geradezu als eine „Schule in interkultureller Kommunikation“ bezeichnen. Aber auch die Arbeit mit Studenten aus unserem internationalen Master-Programm hat mich sehr bereichert, insbesondere die gemeinsame Auseinandersetzung mit dem Phänomen „Culture Shock“.

Sia Amini:

Demut und Überheblichkeit könnten auch sehr nahe beieinander liegen. Ich glaube, die Gefahr der Überheblichkeit besteht darin zu glauben, andere völlig verstehen zu können. Ich rede mit den Worten von Gadamer, der sagt, völliges Verstehen kann am Ende vieles verderben. Und ein Hauch Überheblichkeit könnte im konstruktivistischen Ansatz liegen. Wie siehst du das?

Michael Fremerey:

Wenn man Konstruktivismus richtig versteht, sollte er eigentlich Demut fördern und Überheblichkeit verhindern. Ich meine hier Demut nicht im Sinne von Unterwürfigkeit, sondern von Anerkennung des Anderen und seiner Wirklichkeit. Ich kann mir vorstellen, was du mit „Gefahr der Überheblichkeit“ meinst. Mir ist sie aus meiner früheren Praxis im Rahmen der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit geläufig. Dort ist mir eine Form von teils zur Schau gestellter, teils impliziter Überheblichkeit immer wieder begegnet - nach dem Motto: "Wir verstehen die, wir kennen deren Codes, wir sind weltläufig, wir haben diese Erfahrung in Lateinamerika, in Afrika und in Asien gemacht, für uns ist das alles nicht mehr fremd." Das hat mir sehr zu denken gegeben. Und ich habe mir auch sicherlich nicht nur Freunde gemacht, wenn ich gegen derlei Einstellungen geredet habe. Ich halte sie in der Tat für sehr gefährlich. Die dahinter stehende Selbsteinschätzung des erfahrenen „Weltbürgers“ (die nicht zuletzt vielen Deutschen eigen ist) erscheint mir als eine besondere Form des Ethnozentrismus, die der eigenen Position eine Aura des Allgemeingültigen verleiht und sich alternativen Wahrnehmungen und Wirklichkeiten verschließt.

Sia Amini:

Wie grenzt du hier die Kultur ein? Was bedeutet in diesem Zusammenhang „Menschen aus anderen Kulturen“?

Michael Fremerey:

Wenn wir von interkultureller Kommunikation sprechen, so meinen wir in der Regel die Kommunikation zwischen Menschen aus unterschiedlichen nationalen oder regionalen Kulturen. Kultur ist für mich allerdings kein Begriff, der sich ohne weiteres nach geographischen Kriterien eingrenzen ließe. Ein solches Vorgehen ist zwar nahe liegend, aber nicht unproblematisch. Eine „interkulturelle“ Situation kann ebenso gegeben sein, wenn beispielsweise ein Agrarwissenschaftler aus dem norddeutschen Raum einen Bauern aus dem Bayrischen Wald berät. Kultur, definiert als ein Orientierungsrahmen, nach dem ich mein Leben im Großen wie im Kleinen gestalte, schafft eben auch maßgebliche Differenzen und Verständnisbarrieren in ein und demselben Land. Gleichzeitig habe ich gerade im Rahmen des UNISTAFF-Programms die Erfahrung gemacht, dass Menschen aus anderen Kulturräumen, aber mit einer ähnlichen beruflichen Sozialisation, wie beispielsweise Hochschullehrer, mir in mancher Hinsicht „kulturell“ näher sein können, als Menschen aus meinem eigenen deutschen Kulturraum. Hier kommt allerdings das vorhin schon angesprochene Problem der Überheblichkeit ins Spiel. Über dem schönen Gefühl gegenseitigen Verstehens sollte immer ein Fragezeichen stehen – nicht als Zeichen unausweichlicher Frustration, sondern als Herausforderung, den Blick für Differenzen nicht zu verlieren und die Wertschätzung für divergierende Erfahrungen und Prioritäten zu bewahren.

Sia Amini:

Du sprichst von UNISTAFF. UNISTAFF ist aber nicht Hochschule. Wie verhält es sich denn mit interkultureller Kommunikation in den Hochschulen?

Michael Fremerey:

Ich habe den Eindruck, dass interkulturelle Kommunikation bei uns in der Hochschule ein Anspruch darstellt, der bei weitem noch nicht eingelöst ist. Was man als „interkulturelle Kompetenz“ bezeichnen könnte, erscheint in der deutschen Universität zuweilen noch stark unterentwickelt. Eine bestimmte Art von Überheblichkeit, die unsere Formen und Standards im wissenschaftlichen Betrieb als selbstverständlich voraussetzt und sich entsprechend wenig darum kümmert, wie sie denn im Einzelfall erreicht werden können, spielt hier eine besondere Rolle. Dahinter stecken keineswegs nur individuelle Inkompetenzen; das Problem ist in mancher Hinsicht auch struktureller Natur. Die zunehmend fest gefügten Mechanismen der Studien- und Prüfungsordnungen sowie die personell vielfach prekäre Situation internationaler Studiengänge können auch das engagierte Bemühen vieler Hochschullehrer um interkulturelles Lernen an der Universität in seiner Wirkung minimieren.

Matthias Wessler:

Mich hat immer sehr interessiert, Michael, dass du einen Fokus sowohl auf Organisation und Institution, wie auch auf das Individuum gerichtet hast. Bist du der Meinung, dass ein solch individuelles Charakteristikum wie Demut auch auf Organisationen übertragbar ist? Gibt es eine demütige Universität?

Michael Fremerey:

Warum nicht - auch wenn der Begriff auf den ersten Blick deplatziert erscheint? Ich glaube, dass Eigenschaften, die man normalerweise Individuen zuspricht, bis zu einem gewissen Grad auch auf Organisationen übertragen werden können. Ich spüre z. B. in einer Organisation, ob sie einen „demütigen“ oder „überheblichen“ Zugang zu anderen Kulturen hat. So wie eine Organisation „lernen“ kann, was normalerweise als eine auf Individuen bezogene Kategorie gilt, kann eine Organisation auch Demut praktizieren und ausstrahlen. Die Indikatoren für „organisatorische Demut“ müssten allerdings benannt werden – so wie dies ja auch im Falle des „organisatorischen Lernens“ erfolgt ist. Eine interessante Aufgabe!

Matthias Wessler:

Hat das mit der Form der „Governance“ zu tun?

Michael Fremerey:

Ich glaube, das hat sehr viel mit dem zu tun, was wir heute unter den breiten Begriff der „Governance“ fassen. Governance setzt die Regeln und Strukturen, in denen Führung und Kommunikation in einer Organisation praktiziert werden. Diese Regeln und Strukturen können beispielsweise einen partizipativen Führungsstil, Transparenz und intensive vertikale wie horizontale Kommunikationsprozesse fördern – und damit grundlegende Voraussetzungen schaffen für eine Vielfalt an Lernprozessen, auch interkultureller Art.

Matthias Wessler:

Gibt es kulturübergreifende Formen von guter Governance?

Michael Fremerey:

Diese Frage führt uns zurück zum Anfang unserer Diskussion. Und in ihrer sehr direkten Form macht sie ein Dilemma deutlich, dem wir uns als einerseits interkulturell offene, andererseits als wertmäßig geprägte Menschen kaum entziehen können. Im Großen ist dieses Dilemma natürlich auch dem Prinzip der „Good Governance“ im Kontext der internationalen Entwicklungszusammenarbeit eigen. Konkret: Auf den ersten Blick sollte man erwarten, dass eine Universität in Deutschland und in Kenya an vergleichbaren Governance-Prinzipien orientiert ist – das legt das Streben nach international einheitlichen Wissenschaftsstandards und einer gemeinsamen „Wissenschaftskultur“ nahe. Auf den zweiten Blick muss man jedoch erkennen, dass Führungsstrukturen und Führungsprozesse nicht völlig unabhängig von Einstellungen und Erwartungen gestaltet werden können, die in dem jeweiligen kulturellen Kontext dominant sind. Eine Führungspersonlichkeit, die diesen Erwartungen nicht wenigstens teilweise entspricht, wird sich nur schwer durchsetzen können. Dazu ist allerdings anzumerken, dass sich diese Voraussetzungen gerade in den Hochschulsystemen in Asien, Afrika oder Lateinamerika in den vergangenen zwanzig Jahren erheblich gewandelt haben. Wir erfahren auch im Rahmen des UNISTAFF-Programms, dass insbesondere die jüngeren Führungspersonlichkeiten an Universitäten mehr und mehr einem universalen Modell folgen, das an Prinzipien wie Transparenz, Partizipation, flachen Hierarchien oder Selbstorganisation orientiert ist. Insofern dürfte der Prozess zu einheitlichen Standards des „Good Governance“ an den Universitäten sehr viel weiter fortgeschritten sein, als dies in politischen Systemen der Fall ist. Es ist sicherlich unbestreitbar, dass hier ein Veränderungsprozess stattfindet, der dem Muster europäischer bzw. nordamerikanischer Hochschulsysteme folgt. Aber kann ein Wissenschaftsbetrieb, egal welcher kulturellen Provenienz, letztlich auf Governance- und Führungsformen verzichten, die Lernen und Kreativität, individuell wie kollektiv, nach besten Möglichkeiten fördern? In dieser Auffassung mag man einen kulturellen „bias“ und eine Abgrenzung gegenüber dem Kulturrelativismus erkennen. Ich stehe dazu.

Matthias Wessler:

Du hast hier sehr normativ argumentiert, und ich finde das sehr legitim. Du bist aber auch mehrfach Dekan gewesen in einem Fachbereich, der heute zu den führenden der Universität zählt. Konntest du da etwas von diesen normativen Vorstellungen verwirklichen?

Michael Fremerey:

Ja, ich denke schon. Und ich habe mich hierbei ja auch in meiner eigenen Kultur bewegt. Ich habe mich insbesondere darum bemüht, die vertikale und horizontale Kommunikation im Fachbereich zu intensivieren. Die gemeinsame Arbeit an einer „Vision“ des Fachbereichs - sie hat über ein Jahr gedauert und war wohl insbesondere in der lebhaften Auseinandersetzung von Bedeutung, an der alle Gruppen des Fachbereichs beteiligt waren - war hier sicherlich besonders wichtig. Ein Teil meiner Dienstzeit als Dekan fiel aber auch mit unserem Modellversuch „Ökologische Landwirtschaft“ zusammen. Wir haben in diesem Rahmen versucht, Strukturen, Kommunikationsformen und organisatorische Lernprozesse anders, ich möchte mal sagen: „kreativer“, zu gestalten, als das bis dahin der Fall war. Inwieweit das nun eine breite Basis gefunden hat, ist eine ganz andere Frage. Solche Prozesse vollziehen sich langsam und nicht ohne Rückschläge.

Sia Amini:

Nun zur Frage der entwicklungspolitischen Zielsetzung. Du hast eine Zeit lang im entwicklungspolitischen Bereich gearbeitet. Ich hätte gerne über deine Einstellung zu dieser Frage, insbesondere im Zusammenhang mit dem Auftrag der Universität, etwas erfahren.

Michael Fremerey:

Ich denke, dass unsere Universität, im weitesten Sinne, grundsätzlich auch eine entwicklungspolitische Funktion hat – sei es, dass hier an entwicklungsrelevanten Technologien gearbeitet wird, dass ein Diskurs über Entwicklungstheorien stattfindet (wobei es möglicherweise auch zu sehr entwickungskritischen Schlussfolgerungen kommt!), oder dass im Rahmen der Aus- und Weiterbildung Kompetenzen entstehen, die zur Überwindung von Entwicklungsbarrieren von Bedeutung sein können. In letzterem Bereich ist auch das UNISTAFF-Programm anzusiedeln, in dem die Teilnehmer ja in zunehmendem Maße die Frage nach der gesellschafts- und entwicklungspolitischen Relevanz von Lehre und Forschung an ihren Universitäten bearbeiten und diskutieren. Der Stellenwert, der diesem Weiterbildungsprogramm heute an der Universität Kassel eingeräumt wird, sollte uns mit Genugtuung erfüllen. Auch die bislang offensichtlich erfolgreichen Bemühungen der Universität, sich in der „Exzellenzinitiative Entwicklungszusammenarbeit“ zu positionieren, könnte sich als ein starker Impuls in Richtung entwicklungspolitischer Verantwortung erweisen. Wir alle wissen nur zu gut, dass die Leitlinien, Formen und Ergebnisse von Entwicklungspolitik und Entwicklungszusammenarbeit an den Universitäten äußerst kritisch hinterfragt werden – und das zu Recht! Eine Stigmatisierung

sollte daraus jedoch auf keinen Fall erwachsen; es würde den Verzicht auf Einflussnahme bedeuten und damit eher kontraproduktiv wirken.

Sia Amini:

Sollten wir den Teilnehmern dann nicht explizit verdeutlichen, dass die entwicklungspolitische Komponente in UNISTAFF eine Rolle spielt. Wie siehst du das?

Michael Fremerey:

Möglicherweise. Andererseits sehe ich das Problem eher darin, dass sich die Teilnehmer selbst zu sehr als Lernende oder Wissensempfänger empfinden – ganz im Sinne herkömmlicher Entwicklungsparadigmen. Genau besehen findet hier aber ein Diskurs statt, der von allen Beteiligten geführt wird und der Lernprozesse auf allen Seiten generiert – die „Lehrenden“ eingeschlossen. Und das Wissen und die Erfahrung, die wir in einem Kurs vermitteln, sind doch zu einem guten Teil aus diesem Austausch in früheren Kursen entstanden. Wenn wir also von UNISTAFF als einem Programm zur Hochschul-„Entwicklung“ sprechen, so unterscheidet sich der Prozess doch erheblich von herkömmlichen Formen des von „Nord“ nach „Süd“ verlaufenden Entwicklungstransfers. Ich erlebe in der UNISTAFF-Praxis sehr viel mehr einen „Süd-Süd“-Transfer, in dem wir als Programmverantwortliche vor allem auch die Rolle von Moderatoren oder „Facilitators“ übernehmen.

Matthias Wessler:

Wir haben mit UNISTAFF ja ganz offensichtlich, und die letzte Studie von Sia beweist das noch einmal mehr, ganz außerordentliche individuelle Wirkungen erzielt. Der Einfluss auf die Karriere ist in einer Form beobachtbar wie selten. Aber glaubst du, dass wir auch zu einer globalen Perspektive beigetragen haben, zu so etwas wie einer „Emergent Discipline“ von Hochschulentwicklung?

Michael Fremerey:

Zunächst bin ich der Meinung, dass UNISTAFF nicht nur individuelle Universitätskarrieren fördern konnte, sondern sich auch in institutionellem Wandel niedergeschlagen hat. Der überwiegende Teil von Projekten, die von den Teilnehmern entwickelt wurden, zielte auch auf institutionelle Veränderungen, sei es im Bereich von Organisationsentwicklung, Curriculumentwicklung oder Forschungsmanagement. Ob damit auch Hochschulentwicklung als Wissenschaftsdisziplin stärker in den Blickpunkt rückte, ist schwer zu beurteilen. Wir wissen zwar, dass eine Reihe von UNISTAFF-Absolventen bei der Gründung von Zentren zur Hochschulentwicklung beteiligt waren oder in solchen Einrichtungen tätig wurden. Die Arbeit in diesen Institutionen ist jedoch nicht ohne weiteres gleichzusetzen mit Hochschulentwicklung als wissenschaftlicher Disziplin. Aber möglicherweise sind in ein oder anderen Fall die Anfänge dafür geschaffen worden.

Ich möchte aber auch nicht ausschließen, dass wir uns in der UNISTAFF-Praxis einer Theorie der Universitätsentwicklung, die Basis einer „Emergent Discipline“ auch in den Universitäten der Teilnehmer hätte sein können, zu wenig

gewidmet haben. Stattdessen standen Theorien aus dem Zusammenhang der einzelnen Module (Organisation, Lehre und Lernen, Forschung und Wissen) im Vordergrund. Vielleicht liegt in deren Integration zu einer Theorie von Hochschulentwicklung eine Herausforderung für die Weiterentwicklung des UNISTAFF-Konzepts.

Sia Amini:

Gibt es so etwas wie ein Markenzeichen für UNISTAFF, wodurch es sich gegenüber anderen Bildungskonzepten abhebt?

Michael Fremerey:

Ich würde sagen, dass man das Prinzip des „Sharing“ als Markenzeichen des UNISTAFF-Programms verstehen kann. „Sharing“ bezeichnet, einfach ausgedrückt, einen Prozess des Austauschs, des Gebens und Nehmens, in dem die Prozess-teilnehmer Lernende und Lehrende zugleich sind. Dem liegt die Wertschätzung des Wissens anderer zugrunde, aber auch das Bewusstsein, selbst über relevantes Wissen und Erfahrung zu verfügen, das es wert ist, vermittelt zu werden. Tatsächlich sind in den UNISTAFF-Kursen dieses Wissen und diese Erfahrung gewissermaßen „im Raum“. Natürlich reihen wir uns als Kursverantwortliche auch in den Prozess des Sharing ein; aber zu einem großen Teil besteht unsere Aufgabe doch auch darin, dafür Sorge zu tragen, dass die vorhandenen Wissensbestände zum Ausdruck kommen können und ihnen auch eine gebührende Wertschätzung zuteil wird. Diese Aufgabe ist nicht immer leicht, aber wie wir hinlänglich erfahren haben, ist sie ungemein spannend, lehrreich und befriedigend.

Ein weiteres Markenzeichen mag man auch in der Kombination von Wissensvermittlung und Wissensgenerierung auf der einen Seite und praktischer Umsetzung auf der anderen Seite sehen. Mit letzterem spreche ich die Projekte an, die von den UNISTAFF-Teilnehmern während des Kurses entwickelt werden, und die ganz konkrete Veränderungen im universitären Arbeitsumfeld der Teilnehmer zum Ziel haben. Trotz mancher Bemühungen in der pädagogischen oder andragogischen Praxis ist diese Kombination noch nicht so weit verbreitet. Insofern sollten wir auf dieses Markenzeichen durchaus ein wenig stolz sein. Sicherlich haben wir bei der Entwicklung unseres Konzepts aber auch von den einschlägigen Erfahrungen profitiert, die wir im Rahmen der Lehre an unserem Fachbereich machen konnten. Hier spielt das Projektprinzip ja eine erfreulich große Rolle.

Matthias Wessler:

Vom „Sharing“ zum „Networking“: Sia hat dieses Prinzip vor ein paar Jahren hier eingebracht, und es hat sofort große Resonanz gefunden. Wie siehst du die Bedeutung von „Networking“ im UNISTAFF-Kontext?

Michael Fremerey:

Unter einem Netzwerk verstehe ich eine Verflechtung von Einheiten, die ihre volle Wirkung nur im Verbund mit anderen entfalten können. Die Verbindungen zwischen den Knoten sind die Beziehungen, die sich wesentlich in der Form von Kommunikation und Austausch (also „Sharing“) konkretisieren.

„Networking“ entspricht unserer Arbeit ganz besonders, weil wir es bei den Alumni mit Menschen zu tun haben, die an verschiedenen Stellen der Universität oder auch an verschiedenen Universitäten in einem Land oder in einer Region angesiedelt und dort vielfach auf sich allein gestellt sind. Sie können nur wenig bewegen, es sei denn, sie verbinden sich in geeigneter Weise und gewinnen damit an Einfluss und Bedeutung. Man kann sich das als Metapher vorstellen: ein Netz, das eben sehr viel mehr einfängt als ein Angelhaken. Die Alumninetzwerke, die sich in den vergangenen Jahren in Zentralamerika, Ostafrika, Südostasien und Iran gebildet haben, arbeiten genau in diesem Sinne, oder sie sind zumindest dabei, in dieser Richtung wirksam zu werden. Für die Zukunft des Programms sehe ich gerade in der Förderung und Stabilisierung dieser Komponente eine wichtige Aufgabe und Herausforderung.

Sia Amini:

Würdest du sagen, dass UNISTAFF oder ISOS auch kommunizieren, oder nur Individuen? Gibt es da Erfahrungen über Schwierigkeiten der institutionellen Kommunikation mit Kassel oder dem Fachbereich? Kann man hier von „Networking“ reden?

Michael Fremerey:

Ich denke, da besteht noch ein großer Nachholbedarf. Wir haben es in der Tat in erster Linie mit einem Netzwerk von Individuen und weniger mit einem Netzwerk von Institutionen zu tun. Es wäre ein wenig hoch gegriffen, wenn wir sagen wollten, wir hätten ein Netzwerk von Institutionen geschaffen. Aber das kann sich ändern. Und ich glaube, dass sich auch etwas in diese Richtung entwickelt. Das DIES-Programm (Dialogue on Innovative Higher Education Strategies) des DAAD kann dabei von entscheidender Hilfe sein, die wir auch gerne in Anspruch nehmen wollen. Es fördert schwerpunktmäßig die Partnerschaft zwischen Institutionen und könnte damit die Entwicklung von personenbezogenen Netzwerken zu inter-universitären Netzwerken unterstützen.

Sia Amini:

Haben wir einen Versuch unternommen, solche Netzwerke auch hier zu stärken?

Michael Fremerey:

In unserer Universität scheint mir die Zusammenarbeit zwischen einzelnen Personen, häufig auf der Basis gleicher oder verwandter Wissenschaftsdisziplinen, sehr viel ausgeprägter zu sein als zwischen Institutionen. Da schließe ich uns, d.h. das ISOS, durchaus mit ein. Allerdings waren wir schon frühzeitig darum bemüht, eine institutionelle Zusammenarbeit mit Einheiten der Universität Göttingen zu suchen, so mit dem Tropenzentrum (CeTSAF) und im Rahmen des Sonderforschungsbereichs STORMA. Und das hat ja streckenweise auch ganz gut geklappt und erfreuliche Ergebnisse gezeitigt. Aber ein stabiles Netzwerk ist aus verschiedenen Gründen bis heute nicht daraus geworden. Dafür fehlte uns nicht zuletzt die Kraft, von der wir zunehmend mehr in das UNISTAFF-Programm investierten und uns damit

sicherlich auch ein wenig isolierten. Aber ich wünsche den Kollegen aus dem Fachbereich, die heute mit großem Engagement an diesem institutionellen Netzwerk knüpfen, uneingeschränkten Erfolg. Ich denke, dass sie hier an einer sehr wichtigen Entwicklung arbeiten, die natürlich auch wesentlich durch äußere Zwänge gefördert wird, die eine institutionelle Verflechtung nahe legen. Vielleicht können wir daraus den Schluss ziehen, dass die Entstehung von institutionellen Netzwerken im Hochschulbereich vielfach erst durch schwierige oder gar existenzbedrohende Rahmenbedingungen ausgelöst wird.

Sia Amini:

Wenn man UNISTAFF einen Modellcharakter zubilligen wollte: worin könnte er deiner Meinung nach bestehen?

Michael Fremerey:

Diese Frage ist für mich natürlich schwer zu beantworten, weil mit dem Modellanspruch eine Bewertung verbunden ist, die eigentlich nur Externen zusteht. Wenn wir allerdings aufgefordert würden, uns um einen Modell-Status für UNISTAFF zu bewerben, so würde ich sicherlich die bereits genannten Besonderheiten in den Vordergrund stellen: die Praxis des „Süd-Süd“-Austauschs an Wissen und Erfahrung, die Projektkomponente, die auf konkrete Veränderungsmaßnahmen zielt, und die Arbeit der Alumni-Netzwerke, die den Veränderungsprozessen Breitenwirkung und Nachhaltigkeit verleiht. Wenn es gelingt, diesen Netzwerken auch noch eine stärkere institutionelle Basis zu geben, sollte eigentlich der Verleihung des Modell-Titels nichts mehr im Wege stehen ...

Matthias Wessler:

Es ist doch merkwürdig, dass diese ganze Geschichte UNISTAFF in einer sehr kleinen Stadt in Nordhessen stattfindet. Wäre so was in Frankfurt auch möglich gewesen?

Michael Fremerey:

Ich glaube kaum, jedenfalls nicht in dieser Form. So, wie sich eine Gruppe von Menschen, die sich vorher noch nie gesehen haben, die aus der ganzen Welt kommen, mit den unterschiedlichsten Kulturen, Erfahrungen, wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen und Karrieren, hier zusammen findet und in kürzester Zeit zu einem Team zusammenwächst - das wäre in einem anderen Kontext, zumal in einem urbanen, nur schwer vorstellbar. In Witzenhausen sind die Teilnehmer zu einem guten Teil auf sich selbst gestellt. Es ist zwar gewiss kein „Dschungelcamp“ hier, aber es ist immerhin ein Ambiente, das ein Zusammenrücken der Gruppe begünstigt oder nahe legt, ohne dass es sie jedoch zusammen zwingt. Insofern sind die Rahmenbedingungen hier ideal, und das erfahren wir auch fast uneingeschränkt aus den Rückmeldungen.

Matthias Wessler:

Spielt dabei auch der landwirtschaftliche Kontext des Fachbereichs eine Rolle?

Michael Fremerey:

Das ist eine schwierige Frage. Ich kann das nicht wirklich beurteilen. Sicherlich trifft das für solche UNISTAFF-Teilnehmer zu, die einen agrarwissenschaftlichen Hintergrund haben, und das ist ja in jedem Jahr eine relativ starke Gruppe. Die finden hier im Fachbereich natürlich vielfach interessante Ansprechpartner. Ob aber das internationale und ökologische Profil unseres Fachbereichs per se günstige Voraussetzungen für interkulturelle Kommunikation und Begegnungen schafft, steht auf einem anderen Blatt. Die Erfahrungen von ausländischen Studierenden, die sich mir im Rahmen meiner Veranstaltung zu interkultureller Kommunikation erschlossen haben, sind da keineswegs durchweg positiv. Es scheint auch hier das Phänomen der kulturellen Abgrenzung zu geben. Das vollzieht sich, glaube ich, weniger bewusst, sondern in der Praxis des Studienalltags. Man denkt nicht darüber nach, dass Studierende aus anderen Kulturen insbesondere in der Startphase einer besonderen Zuwendung bedürfen. Das sind nur Blitzlichter, aber sie bedürfen meines Erachtens der Aufmerksamkeit. Mit anderen Worten: Ich weiß nicht, ob nun die Fähigkeit dieses Fachbereichs zur Integration von UNISTAFF-Teilnehmern besonders groß ist. Ich vermute aber, es ist mehr das Ambiente, die natürliche Umgebung, der dörfliche Charakter, der „klösterliche“ Rahmen und die räumlichen Arbeitsbedingungen, die in diese Richtung wirken.

Sia Amini:

Siehst du uns eher als Exoten?

Michael Fremerey:

Eigentlich nicht, aber möglicherweise werden wir als Exoten wahrgenommen? In einem Fachbereich, der sich mit ökologischer Landwirtschaft befasst, erscheint vielleicht unsere inhaltliche Fokussierung auf Hochschulentwicklung „exotisch“. Das trifft aber gewiss nicht auf unser internationales Profil zu. Das passt wohl in diesen Fachbereich besser als in jeden anderen der Universität Kassel.

Matthias Wesseler:

Wir haben in den Jahren vielleicht fünfzig Studierende als Tutoren und Hilfskräfte gehabt und die waren fast immer gut und hilfreich. Nicht wahr?

Michael Fremerey:

Das stimmt. Ich würde sogar sagen, dass sie die „Kultur“ der UNISTAFF-Kurse wesentlich mitgeprägt haben.

Matthias Wesseler:

Eine wichtige Quelle des Erfolges - aber in welcher Verbindung steht das zu ihrem Landwirtschaftsstudium?

Michael Fremerey:

Die Verbindung sehe ich vor allem in den organisatorischen Aufgaben, die diese Studenten übernehmen, und in dem unmittelbaren Kontakt mit anderen Kulturen. Beides bezieht sich auf Kompetenzen, die in unseren Studiengängen bewusst gefördert werden sollen. Und ich bin sicher, dass die Studierenden, die während der Kurse als „support staff“ bei uns waren, in beiderlei Hinsicht vieles lernen konnten.

Matthias Wessler:

Wir haben über die individuelle, institutionelle, wissenschaftliche, kognitive Netzwerkdimension gesprochen. Eine Sache haben wir gar nicht erwähnt, das sind Gefühle. Haben Gefühle in deinen Jahren in Witzenhausen eine Rolle gespielt?

Michael Fremerey:

Mit Sicherheit. Ihr wisst, dass ich am Anfang, aus Singapur kommend, nicht wirklich sicher war, ob ich diese Aufgabe hier übernehmen soll. Und es bedurfte einiger Überredung seitens alter Freunde und Mentoren, die sagten, das musst du machen. Letztendlich spielte die Gefühlskomponente eine große Rolle, die mich mehr und mehr hier an Witzenhausen gebunden hat. Das betrifft in allererster Linie die zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen hier im ISOS. Auf sie gründete unser Erfolg, und sie hatten einen ganz entscheidenden Anteil daran, dass ich mir schließlich keinen besseren Platz zur beruflichen Entfaltung vorstellen konnte.

Sia Amini:

Ich glaube, dass du als Gesellschaftswissenschaftler und Direktor von ISOS eine Menge dazu beigetragen hast, hier eine Atmosphäre zu schaffen, in der alle oben angesprochenen Erfolgselemente realisiert werden konnten. Ohne deine Führungsqualitäten wäre wirklich vieles nicht so geworden. Was war dein Konzept? Was war bei dir das Wichtigste, um diesen Kontext zu schaffen, bewusst oder unbewusst, oder bezogen auf deine Persönlichkeit?

Michael Fremerey:

Ich kann wohl nicht für mich in Anspruch nehmen, dass ich ein Konzept gehabt hätte. Ein Konzept ist vielleicht später daraus entstanden, auch weil ich mich damit im Rahmen von Organisationsentwicklung zunehmend beschäftigt habe. „Führen im Team“ ist vielleicht die treffendste Bezeichnung für das Konzept, das sich langsam entwickelt hat. Aber dafür braucht man zunächst ein Team, genauer gesagt: ein „aligned team“, das eine gemeinsame Richtung hat, dabei aber individuell unterschiedliche Schwerpunkte und Kompetenzen einbringt; und natürlich den Willen und die Fähigkeit zur fortwährenden gemeinsamen Reflexion und Zielbestimmung – auch unter Einschluss von gelegentlichen

Konflikten oder Spannungen. Mit anderen Worten: Ich denke, ihr habt genauso viel zur Führung im ISOS beigetragen wie ich.

Sia Amini:

Aber das Vertrauen hat doch auch eine Rolle gespielt. Du hast nicht auf Kontrolle hingeezielt, sondern auf Vertrauen, und das ist innovativ und kreativ.

Michael Fremerey:

Ich glaube, dass Vertrauen eine Sache ist, die du nicht in eine Organisation hinein tragen kannst. Auch ist ein Vertrauensverhältnis in der Regel nicht das Verdienst eines Einzelnen. Es ist vielmehr das Ergebnis eines wechselseitigen Prozesses. Ihr seid, ich sage es auch hier noch einmal, genauso beteiligt gewesen wie ich. Ich denke, es hat auch eine Rolle gespielt, dass es trotz der engen Kooperation nie die Gefahr eines „harmonischen Breies“ gab. Dazu sind wir zu verschieden, dazu haben wir zu unterschiedliche Schwerpunkte. Vielleicht hat sich das sehr glücklich ergeben, dass wir inhaltlich wie vom Temperament her ziemlich unterschiedlich, besser vielleicht: komplementär angelegt waren. Und jeder hatte Respekt für den anderen in einem Dreiecksverhältnis, das ja grundsätzlich nicht einfach ist: sehr häufig bilden sich in Dreierkonstellationen Zweierallianzen, die sich gegen den Dritten richten. Das war bei uns nie der Fall.

Matthias Wesseler:

Bisher haben wir zurückgeblickt. Wenn du diesen schönen Raum leer geräumt hast, was interessiert dich dann, wenn du voraus schaust?

Michael Fremerey:

Wo soll ich da anfangen? Ich habe mir natürlich vorgenommen, andere Schwerpunkte oder auch andere Prioritäten zu setzen, und zwar solche, von denen ich jahrelang geträumt habe, die ich aber mangels Zeit nie hinreichend verwirklichen konnte. Zunächst wird meine Familie in diesen Plänen eine große Rolle spielen. Nach mehr als 20 Jahren Pendeln zwischen Oberursel und Witzenhausen und vielen Dienstreisen ins Ausland gibt es da einen großen Nachholbedarf. Eine weitere Priorität wird es sein, Musik zu machen: Gitarre zu spielen. Dabei halte ich an unserem „Projekt“-Konzept fest: ich möchte nämlich in Jahresfrist eine CD bespielt haben. Eine CD vor allem für mich. Ohne die Perspektive auf solch ein „Produkt“ würde mir möglicherweise die Energie ausgehen. Ich möchte aber auch das, was wir fünfzehn Jahre lang zusammen getan haben, weiter verfolgen. Ich würde diesen schönen und produktiven Kontakt mit Euch gerne weiter pflegen. Warum sollen wir, in bescheidenem Rahmen, nicht weiterhin gemeinsam in dem Feld arbeiten, in dem wir erfolgreich waren? Anregungen und Aufforderungen gibt es genug. Es wird vielleicht darauf ankommen, eine weise und „bekömmliche“ Auswahl zu treffen.

Sia Amini:

Und wenn du an die Übergabe deiner Funktion an einen Nachfolger denkst, was wäre deine Botschaft?

Michael Fremerey:

Meine Botschaft ist grundsätzlich, neue Dinge zu versuchen. Wenn wir uns nach 15 Jahren UNISTAFF auf die Schulter klopfen, kann das ja nicht bedeuten, dass unser Konzept nicht erweiterungsfähig wäre. Vor allem wäre zu wünschen, die Basis an der Universität Kassel für UNISTAFF insgesamt größer zu machen, personell wie institutionell. Mit der Eingliederung von UNISTAFF unter das größere Dach des International Centre for Higher Education Research (INCHER) ist dafür eine gute Voraussetzung gegeben.

Sia Amini:

Ich denke, dass sich die Zielgruppe verändern würde, wenn die Theorie und die Forschung eine größere Rolle spielen. Wäre das nicht ein Grund zum Nachdenken?

Michael Fremerey:

Ich weiß es nicht, das müssen wir der Zukunft überlassen und den Personen, die das übernehmen werden. Man wird natürlich aufpassen müssen, dass UNISTAFF nicht zu einem „fünften Rad“ in einem Forschungsinstitut wird, denn dann wird es sich als ein Programm der universitären Weiterbildung kaum halten können. Was ich aber durchaus positiv bewerte, ist, dass im Einzelfall dem speziellen Interesse an der Hochschulforschung besser entsprochen werden kann, als dies bisher der Fall war.

Matthias Wessler:

Gibt es eine Sache, die dir sofort in den Sinn kommt, wenn du Fremerey in Witzenhausen hörst, wenn du dich selber in Witzenhausen siehst in fünfzehn, zwanzig Jahren?

Michael Fremerey:

Ich glaube, dass ich mich auch dann immer noch lebhaft daran erinnern werde, dass ich vor genau 44 Jahren, im Winter 1965, in dieser Gegend meinen Grundwehrdienst bei der Bundeswehr gemacht habe. Ich habe mir damals gesagt: diese kalte, windige und gottverlassene Gegend sieht mich nie im Leben wieder. Dann kam alles ganz anders – und es war gut so ...

Matthias Wessler:

Für uns ist natürlich deine Arbeit in UNISTAFF besonders sichtbar gewesen in diesem internationalen, interkulturellen Bereich. Darüber hinaus hast du aber im Fachbereich nicht nur das Dekanat übernommen, sondern auch Generationen von Studenten in Ethik und in Kommunikation

eingeführt. Du hast Diplomarbeiten, Masterarbeiten und Promotionsarbeiten betreut. Kannst du dazu noch etwas sagen?

Michael Fremerey:

Die Arbeit im Fachbereich, mit den Kollegen und den Studierenden war für mich ganz wichtig. Sie war sozusagen das notwendige zweite Standbein. Ich hätte ja auch mit gutem Gewissen die Arbeit in UNISTAFF nicht machen können, wenn ich nicht eine feste Basis in einem Fachbereich gehabt und Erfahrungen als Dekan gesammelt hätte; wenn ich nicht aktiv in den Lehr- und Lernprozess integriert gewesen wäre und nicht an Forschungsprojekten gearbeitet hätte. Auch das Miteinander und die Auseinandersetzung mit Vertretern anderer Wissenschafts-disziplinen war für mich wichtig. Rückblickend kann ich wohl sagen, dass ich insgesamt sehr gute Beziehungen zu den Kollegen und Studenten hier am Fach-bereich hatte. Vor allem die Arbeit mit Studierenden hat mir immer viel Spaß gemacht. Vielleicht konnte ich einigen auch etwas vermitteln, was sie sonst hier am Fachbereich nicht gehabt hätten, etwa in den Bereichen Ethik, Kommunikation oder interkulturelles Lernen. Und ich habe daraus sehr viel Wissen und Erfahrung für den UNISTAFF-Kurs gezogen. Manchmal habe ich gegenüber dem Fachbereich ein schlechtes Gewissen gehabt, der mich ja als vollwertigen Fachgebietsleiter gewollt hat. Das war aber von Anfang an mit der Einschränkung verbunden, dass ich laut Berufungsvereinbarung bis zu fünfzig Prozent meines Deputats für Programme der universitären Weiterbildung zur Verfügung stellen sollte. Dem bin ich aufgrund meines Werdegangs natürlich sehr gerne nachgekommen, und so sind diese zwei Beine entstanden. Es war manchmal nicht ganz einfach, weil ich befürchten musste, das eine oder das andere Bein könnte anfangen zu hinken. Aber irgendwie habe ich gelernt, damit zu leben und die beiden Aufgaben zu integrieren.

Sia Amini:

UNISTAFF hat wahrscheinlich einen Einfluss auf deine Lehre gehabt. Umgekehrt auch?

Michael Fremerey:

Zweifellos. Das war ein wechselseitiger Prozess. Ich habe vorhin von der Projektorientierung gesprochen: das war so ein Beispiel, wo ein Transfer von der Lehre im Fachbereich in den UNISTAFF stattgefunden hat.

Matthias Wessler:

Du hast doch wesentlich mit Sia zusammen den ersten Sonderforschungsbereich, nicht nur im Fachbereich, sondern in der ganzen Universität, mit angestoßen. Was für eine Bedeutung hat das?

Michael Fremerey:

Dieser Exkurs zurück in die Forschung war mir wichtig, schon um unsere im UNISTAFF-Programm praktizierte „Trinität“ von Organisation, Lehre und Forschung mit der intensiven eigenen Erfahrung zu untermauern. Von

Bedeutung war dabei insbesondere die Entwicklung des theoretischen und methodologischen Rahmens, bei der ich sehr eng mit Sia zusammengearbeitet habe. Mir war klar, dass ich das nicht bis zum Letzten ausschöpfen konnte, das war einfach zu viel. Ich konnte auf Dauer nicht UNISTAFF machen und gleichzeitig den Sonderforschungsbereich. Nach sechs Jahren haben wir dann unser Projekt im SFB beendet. Das Buch, das in diesem Zusammenhang entstanden ist, legt, glaube ich, ein gutes Zeugnis von der Arbeit unserer Doktoranden ab, und natürlich insbesondere von Günter Burkard, unserem Postdoc im Projekt, der kürzlich leider verstorben ist. Es war für mich wichtig, ihnen einen Rahmen zu geben und ihnen ein kontinuierlicher Berater und Gesprächspartner zu sein.

Sia Amini:

Wir müssen uns ganz herzlich bei dir bedanken.

Michael Fremerey:

Ich danke euch.

Locating Rural Communities and Natural Resources in Indonesian Law

Decentralization and Legal Pluralism in the Lore Lindu Forest Frontier, Central Sulawesi¹

Günter Burkard

Abstract

The traditional *open access regime* and *political centralism* under the Suharto Era left local communities without organizational and regulatory structures in the management of natural resources. Recent processes of political decentralization and local autonomy offer chances for more rural participation and a stronger involvement of local communities in natural resource control. However, processes of effective empowerment and rule creation at the local level are impeded by a series of intervening factors. Thus, the division of authority and responsibility among different village institutions is not conclusively regulated in the state regulations. The devolution of rights related to local resource management remains mainly confined to so-called *customary law communities*, leaving no chances for communities which lack the necessary, state-defined indicators. In contrast to the laws on regional autonomy, the Forestry Law and other sectoral laws are only weakly dedicated to decentralization. Indonesian policy lacks both, an integrated vision and an integrated legal framework for the management of protected areas. Instead, the sectoral character of the Indonesian law does neither support the establishment of a co-ordinated management plan for the resources surrounding the villages, nor does it offer meaningful guidance for community empowerment. Laws and regulations regulating NRM in *direct* manners offer often less opportunity for local communities to manage their resources autonomously compared with legal devices regulating resource use in *indirect* manners. The room of manoeuvre of the forest margin communities in the Lore Lindu region is further limited by their buffer zone position in regard to the zoning scheme of the National Park.

Keywords: legal pluralism, decentralization, local resource management, Indonesia

Introduction

In Indonesia, tropical rain forests are disappearing at an alarming rate due to illegal logging, delineation of concession areas and farmer encroachment.

¹ This legal analysis is part of the research findings of sub-project A2 “Social Organization and Processes of ecological (De)-Stabilization” of the STORMA (Stability of Rain Forest Margins in Indonesia) research project, financed by DFG under SFB 552. Under the leadership of Michael Fremerey, A2 participated in Storma from 2000-2006 and investigated the impact of three context variables on community-forest interactions: socio-economic security, autonomy and learning capabilities of local organizations and legal reliability.

Indonesian forests are characterized by a high degree of bio-diversity and host a high number of endemic species. Consequently, the Indonesian government is under severe criticism for its policies that allows for excessive extraction and utilization of forests at the expense of conservation and protected area management. Established in 1995, the “Lore Lindu National Park” (LLNP) in Central Sulawesi has become one of the most prominent conservation areas, representing one of the most unique bio-diversity hot spots in the archipelago. Tropical rain forests provide several ecosystem services which cannot be performed by any other kind of ecosystem. These reach from local services such as erosion protection or clean water provision to global services such as e.g. carbon sinks. Global interests in forest conservation however are often at odds with socio-economic interests of local people living in forest margin areas. Thus, it often depends on local, community level negotiations which dominant modes of utilization (conservation, eco-tourism, conversion into agricultural land, agro-forestry schemes etc.) will be adopted and deployed in forest margin areas. Here, the process of political and administrative decentralization in Indonesia is of primary importance.

In May 1998, after more than three decades of centralist rule under President Suharto’s authoritarian New Order (*Orde Baru*) regime, the Indonesian government passed two basic laws in order to devolve political and economic power from the centre to the regional governments, especially to the regencies (*kabupaten*).² This pair of laws, the “Law on Regional Autonomy” (UU 22/1999)³ and the “Law on Fiscal Decentralization” (UU 25/1999)⁴ were shortly followed by the enactment of a new “Forestry Law” (UU 41/1999).⁵ UU 22 and UU 25 were in turn replaced by UU 32 and UU 33 respectively in 2004.⁶ These laws substituted the long established “Law on Village Governance” (UU 5/1979)⁷ and the old “Basic Forestry Law” (UU 5/1967) which deprived local communities of their self-organising capabilities by establishing a nationally uniform bureaucratic structure in the countryside and by concentrating the full authority over Indonesia’s forest resources in the hands of the state.

² In the following, the abbreviation “UU” stands for *undang-undang*, that is a statutory law which has been approved by parliament.

³ *Undang-Undang Otonomi Daerah* (“Laws on Regional Autonomy”), Part 1: UU 22/1999: *Pemerintah Daerah* (“The Regional Government”), published by Karya Utama, Surabaya 1999: 3-98.

⁴ *Undang-Undang Otonomi Daerah* (“Laws on Regional Autonomy”), Part 2: UU 25/1999: *Perimbangan Keuangan antara Pemerintah Pusat dan Daerah* (“Fiscal Balance between the Central Government and the Regions”): Surabaya 1999: 99-154.

⁵ *Undang-undang 41/1999 tentang Kehutanan* (“Law 41/1999 on Forestry”). See Salim (2002: 182-260) for the original Indonesian version of the complete law and Wollenberg and Kartodiharjo (2002: 96-109) for an English summary of its most important articles.

⁶ The names of both laws remained identical, just the numbers and years had been changed. See *Undang Undang Otonomi Daerah 2004*, published by Citra Umbara, Bandung 2004.

⁷ *Undang-undang Pemerintahan Desa No. 5/1979* (“Local Government Act of 1979”), reprinted in Saleh 1980.

Despite the new laws pronounce their commitment to *decentralization*, the break with the centralist past is less sharp and abrupt than it is generally believed. This holds especially true in regard to conservation laws, which have not been adapted to the new political environment and which continue to exert centralist pressure on the villages. A legal way out of the dilemma may be found in the official acknowledgement as a “Customary Law Community” (*Masyarakat Hukum Adat*) which provides the single legal slot for communities to regain control over their forest resources. Because the traditional principles that relate local communities to the forest are akin to an *open access*-system and because settlements are often multi-ethnic in character, Central Sulawesi villages have almost no chances to make use of the “customary slot” provided by the law. Acknowledging the fact that local acceptance and legitimacy of the National Park can only be maintained when local communities become somehow involved in its management, the Park Authority has started to implement a number of “Community Conservation Agreements” (*Kesepakatan Konservasi Masyarakat*), which have been facilitated by *The Nature Conservancy* (TNC).⁸ Given the political and legal framework within which they are enacted however, the legal reliability of these agreements must be rendered as rather low. Besides, effective rule making, monitoring and enforcement are hampered by the sectoral character of the national forest policy which puts conservation areas under direct control of the Ministry of Forestry at the same time it devolves control over protection forests (*hutan lindung*) and production forests (*hutan produksi*) to the regions. Thus, villages have to make several agreements with several agencies for the management of certain bundles of an ecosystem which in their perception represents a single forested area.

Village Governance: Oscillations between Uniformity and Regional Diversity

In economic terms, the New Order government (1965-1998) has been described as an example of “successful developmental authoritarianism” (McVey 2003: 21). This authoritarianism was cushioned in the official doctrine of the *floating mass*, according to which “villagers should not be distracted from the task of economic development by political activity” (Hart 1986: 43). Two of the major legal means to promote economic development and political stability simultaneously have been the “Law on Village Governance” (UU 5/1979) and the “Basic Forestry Law” (UU 5/1967). Whereas the first centralised local administration to achieve village-level depoliticization, the second centralised forest management and control in order to develop Indonesia as an international leader in timber export.

Before 1979, the form and structure of Indonesian villages was highly diverse, reflecting the ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of the archipelago. The purpose of UU 5/1979 was exactly to deconstruct this diversity. Thus, the various indigenous terms for “village” have been substituted by the Javanese term

⁸ TNC’s involvement in the Park management precedes the establishment of the National Park Authority (*Balai Taman Nasional Lore Lindu*) in 1997. Besides operating more than 1300 nature sanctuaries in the USA, TNC made agreements for the co-management of nature reserves with several governments in the Southern hemisphere.

desa. As the law (Art. b) states: “the state of affairs concerning *desa* administration is to be made uniform as much as possible ... in order to strengthen *desa* administration so that we will be more competent to mobilise society in its participation in development” (Kato 1989: 93). The village head was appointed by the district head, thus eroding traditional forms of authority, legitimacy and participation. Most important, the former “Village Social Council”, the *Lembaga Sosial Desa* (LSD), which was headed by a non-governmental leader and which often “constituted a platform from which political struggles could be waged” (Hart 1986: 44), was replaced by the so-called LKMD (*Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa* = “Body of the Village Society”). The village head (*kepala desa*) was ex-officio made the leader of the LKMD. Other uniform elements of the internal community structure are the prominent role of the village secretary (*sekretaris desa*), the division into several hamlets (*dusun*), and the five leaders (*lima kaur*) of the “functional sections”, such as development, finance, administration etc. Local communities saw their indigenous institutions, including those related to customary conflict resolution, de facto abolished by the law.

- There is some debate whether UU 5/1979 was replaced by the “Law on Regional Autonomy” (UU 22/1999) in order to please the provinces’ plea for more autonomy and to respond to calls for democratization from civil society, or because the decentralization of key government functions was the most appropriate means to deal with the severe currency crisis that hit the country in 1997/98. More important than the actual motivation of the government however are the legal changes introduced by the passing of the law.⁹ These include that
- existing villages may be broken up into their constituent parts or may be re-united to form locally sound settlements which may be denoted by local terms (Art. 93),
- villages are allowed to reject government programs which are perceived as inadequate and may form their own village institutions according to local needs (Art. 106),
- the village head is directly elected by the villagers (Art. 95),
- the village head is appointed by and put under control of the newly established “village representative body” (*Badan Perwakilan Desa*, abbr. BPD), the members of which are also directly elected by the villagers (Art. 95, 105).

The BPD forms the basic rural institution within the law. In contrast to the LKMD which mainly served as a forum to promote government programs, the functions of the BPD are summarized in Art. 104: These are (1) to collect, organize and give voice to the aspirations of the common people, (2) to maintain and foster local custom (*adat*), (3) to explain regional regulations to the people and (4) make village regulations, which means that the BPD is actively involved in legislation. In case of misbehavior of village officials, the BPD may send a

⁹ I am indebted to Bani Susanto and Anastasia Wida from the STORMA research project for helping me in translating parts of the original laws, especially for figuring out the purpose and meaning of the rather cryptic and esoteric article 94 of UU 22/1999.

report to the regency head (*bupati*) in order to remove them if necessary. Whereas it is true that in contrast to its predecessor, UU 22/1999 tries to safeguard the election of village councils from undue interference from above and outside, one must keep in mind that powerful *insiders* can still determine who participates in the vote and who not.¹⁰

One of the most significant traits of UU 22/1999 and UU 25/1999 is their tendency to grant greater authority to the regency at the expense of the province. Thus, in regard to Art. 106 (creation of village institutions), villages have to maneuver within the confines of the regency regulations. The regencies of Donggala and Poso, in which the National Park is located, have clear stipulations about how an indigenous village institution has to look like. Indigenous institutions are confined to the so-called “Customary Council” (*Lembaga Adat*), the function of which is to articulate common aspirations and to provide a conflict resolution platform.¹¹ Interestingly, in the “Regulations on Village Institutions”, the structure of the customary council is prescribed to include a leader, a secretary, a treasurer and several heads for certain sections.¹² Further, the responsibility for implementing that structure is in the hand of the village head (after the structure was approved by the BPD). Thus, far from being an organization capable to counterbalance state power, the *Lembaga Adat* (LA) is shaped by and positioned below government institutions.¹³ Consequently, it consists often of retired village officials. Instead of representing a new village consensus, it rather reflects political networks from the Suharto Era. It is obvious that this kind of “empowerment” is linked to the formation of institutions which mirror bureaucratic structures and which organize participation in predictable manners. Local aspirations are thus “domesticated” in formal patterns.

In regard to natural resource management, UU 22/1999 remains ambiguous. Art. 7 states that the utilization of natural resources lies in the hands of the central government, whereas Art. 10 grants the regions the right to manage natural resources autonomously within the confines of their territory (Sembiring and Husbani 1999: 60). Further, whereas the management of production forest (*hutan produksi*) and protection forest (*hutan lindung*) lies within the responsibility of the regencies, the management of conservation forest (*hutan konservasi*) and National Parks on the other hand remains under direct control

¹⁰ By organizing the vote of the BPD via the church meetings, the (Christian) leaders of some villages were quite successful in securing as little participation of Muslim migrants in the vote as possible.

¹¹ *Peraturan Daerah Kabupaten Donggala No. 13, 2001 tentang Pemberdayaan, Pelestarian dan Pengembangan Adat Istiadat dan Lembaga Adat* (“Government Regulation Donggala Regency No.13 on the Empowerment, Resilience and Development of local Customs and the Customary Council”).

¹² *Peraturan Daerah Kabupaten Donggala No. 14, 2001 tentang Lembaga Kemasyarakatan di Desa* (“Government Regulation Donggala Regency No.14 on Village Organizations”).

¹³ The respective regency regulations for the regency of Poso are to be found in: *Himpunan Daerah Kabupaten Poso, 2001* (“The Collected Decrees of the Regency of Poso”). Regional regulations do not exist in digital form. Hard copies of the originals of all relevant regency regulations may be obtained from the author.

of the central Ministry of Forestry in Jakarta. Via implementing regulations, regency leaders are allowed to issue limited concession licenses to cooperatives (Dermawan and Resosudarmo 2002: 337).

Since October 2004, the “Law on Regional Autonomy” (UU 22/1999) has been substituted by the new “Decentralization Law” (UU 32/2004) and the “Law on Fiscal Decentralization” (UU 25/1999) has been transformed into UU 33/2004. In terms of fiscal decentralization, the share of revenue from the forestry sector allocated to the regions (80%) in comparison to the share allocated to the central government (20%) remained identical with the ratio stipulated in UU 25/1999.¹⁴ However, it still remains to be seen how much of the paragraphs in UU 22/1999 which foster decentralization are still existent in the new decentralization law. As far as we analysed the new version of the law, important functions of the BPD (e.g. legislative functions) have been dropped totally or been limited in scope. Whereas co-operation between the village administration and the BPD is enhanced, control of the administration by the BPD is almost absent in the new version of the law (see UU 32/2004, Art. 202-215, especially Art. 209). On the one hand, the state seems to maintain its “participatory approach” in allowing local variations in village organization and local regulations (UU 32/2004, Art. 211). On the other hand, the BPD (now called *Badan Permasyarakatan Desa* = “village consensual body”) is formed by the traditional principles of “discussion and consent” (*musyawarah dan mufakat*), not anymore by a common vote (UU 32/1999, Art. 210, §1). Whereas according to UU 22/1999 (Art. 104) the BPD was active involved in legislation (*membuat peraturan desa*), under UU 32/2004 (Art. 209) its role is confined to implementation (*menetapkan peraturan*).

The promulgation of the new law however, did not lead to a higher legal reliability in natural resource management. The major problem remains that the village administrations and the BPD are expected to implement rules and enforcement procedures for rule breakers who enter the forest. As it is known from various empirical settings, processes of rule creation are intrinsically linked to problems of enforcement and monitoring. Given an overall legal framework that puts conservation areas under the direct control of the central government, villagers have no mandate to monitor the rules they have made. Thus, the cornerstones of rural participation, *decision-making* and *implementation*, are dissolved. With no rights to monitor and with no funds for monitoring at hand, villages can neither pay guards nor provide guards on a rotational basis. Therefore, village rules must rely on “mutual control” with every villager prescribed to report infractions of others to the village administration. This policy tends to create a sort of “discriminative reporting” and increasing distrust among the villagers. With no well defined duty to report (as in the case of patrolling tasks), people tend to report the misbehaviors of those they dislike but are quiet (*diam*) in case of infractions committed by their fellows. Thus, locals may report infractions of migrants, but not of members of their own group; Christians rather report encroachments of Muslims than of church fellows and so forth.

Among Central Sulawesi NGOs and village leaders alike much hopes for more autonomy in protected area management and a more profound participation of rural communities have been raised by Art 9 of UU 32/2004 which states that

¹⁴ UU 33/2004, Art. 14, UU 22/1999, Art.6 respectively.

provinces and regencies may designate “zones with special purposes” (*kawasan khusus*). Elucidation of Art. 9 includes explicitly the designation of National Parks (*taman nasional*) under the umbrella of *kawasan khusus*. Despite legal inconsistencies with other legislation that puts conservation forests under the direct control of the central government (Dermawan and Resosudarmo 2002: 345), provincial and regency officials are rather reluctant to designate national parks. The reason is that in contrast to production forests, with the exception of eco-tourism, there are only limited chances for revenue generation to be expected from conservation areas.

Policies, Laws and Regulations on the Management of Natural Resources

The New Order’s concern with strong government, centrality and stability was not only a reaction towards the traumatic experience of regional and political disintegration in the period from 1948 until 1965, but links up with the “Idea of power in Javanese Culture” (Anderson 1972) according to which power – imagined as something tangible – exists only in limited amounts. In this conception, the central power at the apex of the state represents the unity of society as a whole so that any dispersion of power poses a fundamental threat not only to the existence of the government, but to the existence of the state itself (see Lindayati 2002: 40). Forest policy under the New Order cannot be seen in isolation from the dominant coherence system which means in practice that resource management sovereignty must remain under the control of the central government. The highest law in Indonesia is the Constitution of 1945 (*Undang Undang Dasar 1945*). Below UUD 45 are – in descending reliability – the *undang-undang*, or Statutory Laws (Acts) which have passed parliament. Most forestry rules however are either so-called Government Regulations (*peraturan pemerintah*, abbr. PP), Presidential Decrees (*Keputusan Presiden*) or Ministerial Decrees (*Surat Keputusan*, abbr. SK). Laws are more permanent legal instruments than decrees because the latter are always tied to the individual who issued the decree, so that they can be easily changed by a new position holder. The highest policy statements are codified by the “People’s Consultative Assembly” (*Majelis Perwakilan Rakyat*, abbr. MPR), the stipulations of which are called TAP (*Tatapan*) MPR. Also issued by the MPR are the GBHN (*Garis Besar Haluan Negara*), the “Guidelines of State Policy” which inform the five-year-plans (Sembiring and Husbani 1999: xvii).

Art. 13 of the Basic Forestry Law (UU 5/1967) stresses the need that “the utilization of natural resources must give the highest utility possible for the welfare of as many people as possible”. In general forest policy under the New Order was governed by the conception of forest “exploitation” (*penguasaan*) rather than “management” (*pengelolaan*). The role of local communities in forest control as envisaged by the law is exceedingly small. Thus, Art. 15 points out that in order to guarantee (effective) forest protection (*perlindungan hutan*), common people are better “involved” (*diikutsertakan*). Whereas people have a responsibility in protection, they have no say either in management, nor in forest planning. Art. 17 concedes that in principle communities may obtain benefits from the forest, but only “as long as they do not conflict with the objectives of the law as interpreted by the Minister of Forestry”. This rather restrictive forest

policy found expression in several government regulations.¹⁵ Thus, PP 21/1970 on “Forest Exploitation and Harvesting Rights”¹⁶ allowed local people to collect forest products only as long as they did not disturb the operation of business concessions. PP 28/1985 on “Forest Protection”¹⁷ centralised forest protection and withdrew communities from responsibility in protection functions. Involvement of forest margin communities in forest protection measures had been reduced to the anticipation of forest fires (Art. 10, §2).

As Lindayati (2002) has shown in more detail, since the mid eighties, the state had changed its repressive policies with a so-called “prosperity approach” (as can be seen by the adoption of several social forestry projects, especially in Kalimantan and Sulawesi). A Ministerial Decree from 1993 (SK 251/1993) allowed forest dwelling communities to collect forest products within concession areas and in 1991 the Decree on “Forest Community Development” (*Pembinaan Masyarakat Hutan*) obliged concessionaires to participate actively in village development (ibid: 48). Far from being empowered however, local communities were rather perceived as objects in need of specific guidance and hillside development than as equal partners. Thus, in 1993, the ministries of agriculture, home affairs and transmigration issued a joint decree (SKB 480-Kpts II/1993) in which shifting cultivators were officially blamed as “destroyers of the forest resource”. The notion of rural communities as people who must be “guided” by the wisdom of the government is also to be felt in the “Act on the Conservation of Biodiversity and Natural Ecosystems” (UU 5/1990).¹⁸ Instead of offering room for empowerment, the Act is coloured by general statements, such as that the “people have a role” (*peran serta rakyat*), that the government must “raise the awareness” (*meningkatkan sadar*) of the people with regard to nature conservation via “extension activities” (*penyuluhan*), or that the people must be “directed” (*diharahkan*) and “set in motion” (*digerakkan*) by government activities (Art 37, §§ 1 and 2). Similarly, the “Environmental Management Act” UU 23/1997 (*Pengelolaan Lingkungan Hidup*) denies any role of indigenous or local knowledge held by forest dwelling people in nature conservation, and is thus squandering valuable cultural capital (Sembiring and Husbani 1999: xxii). However, it refers to some important principles in dealing with local people. Thus, Art. 5 (§2) points out to their “right of information” (*hak atas informasi*), and Art. 37 (§1) pronounces their “right to complain and report” (*hak mengadu /*

¹⁵ I am indebted to the National Park Authority (*Balai Taman Nasional Lore Lindu*) in Palu and to Hedar Laujeng from the “Legal Aid Foundation” YBH (*Yayasan Bantuan Hukum*) for allowing me to make photocopies of all relevant forestry laws and regulations. Quotations of the most relevant regulations are to be found in Salim, H. S. (2003): *Dasar-Dasar Hukum Kehutanan* (“The Basic Principles of Forestry Legislation”), Sinar Grafika. Jakarta, and in Sembiring, H. and F. Husbani (1999): *Kajian Hukum dan Kebijakan Pengelolaan Kawasan Konservasi di Indonesia* (“An Analysis of Conservation Laws and Policies in Indonesia”), USAID, Jakarta.

¹⁶ *Peraturan Pemerintah No. 21/1970 tentang Hak Pengusahaan Hutan dan Hak Pemungkutan Hasil Hutan*

¹⁷ *Peraturan Pemerintah No. 28/1985 tentang Perlindungan Hutan*

¹⁸ *Kumpulan Peraturan Perundangan Bidang Konservasi* (“A Collection of Laws and Regulations on Conservation”). Edited by the Ministry of Forestry and Japan International Co-operation Agency (JICA), Jakarta 2003: 3-38.

melapor), their right to “class action” (*gugatan perwakilan*) and “strict accountability” (*tanggung jawab mutlak*) on behalf of the government.

It is tempting to make a sharp dividing line between the centralistic forest legislation of the Suharto government and the new “Forestry Law” (UU 41/1999), passed after Suharto’s demise under the new era of “Regional Autonomy” (*Otonomi Daerah*). In fact however, the new Forestry Law (UU 41/1999) preserved many of the centralist features of its predecessor (UU 5/1967). Within UU 41/1999, community forest (*hutan adat*) is not a distinct category on the same taxonomic level with private forest (*hutan hak*) and state forest (*hutan negara*), but represents a subaltern category within the national forest area (Art. 1, §6). Consequently, Act No. 41/1999 recognizes only the right to forest management (*pengelolaan*) according to customary principles, but not the right to open forest for conversion into agricultural land. Traditional management practices must not conflict with the state defined function of the forest as “conservation” or “protection forest” (Art.37). A significant improvement may be seen in Art. 71, §1 which allows for legal “class action” in accusations and claims (*gugatan perwakilan*). Paragraph 2 of the same article however restricts this right to situations in which forest management is not in line with the law. The right does thus not apply when local claims are in conflict with state claims.

The devolution of rights related to the management of natural resources remains confined to so-called customary law communities (*masyarakat hukum adat*, abbr. MHA), leaving no chances for communities which either do not qualify as MHA (e.g. multi-ethnic villages or transmigration sites) or which lack the necessary indicators. The required indicators listed in the Forestry Law (UU 41/1999, elucidation of Art. 67) are: (1) a legally identifiable social organization (characteristically denoted with the Dutch term *rechtsgemeenschap*), (2) a formal customary law institution, (3) a clearly defined territory regulated by customary law, (4) the presence of traditional *adat* authorities and (5) the collection of forest products to meet day-to-day subsistence needs. Thus, devolution is channeled through a social organization, the features of which are precisely defined by the state. The paradox is that whereas on the one hand UU 22/1999 and UU 32/2004 on “Regional Autonomy” try to abolish the most rigid standardization and streamlining tendencies of the former village law, at the same time the Forestry Law exerts the same pressure to conformity on forest margin communities! The Forestry Law gives the state further the power to revoke the status of MHA. In emphasizing the management capabilities of *adat* institutions, other criteria such as conflicting claims, socio-economic security and social stability are not recognized as decisive factors for devolution.

The most critical feature attributed to MHA however is that they must be persistent in time, since generations and without interruptions (Art. 67). Thus, according to the law, there cannot be an “invention” or “adaptation” of *adat*, nor can there be a “revitalization” of lost customary principles. Here, the legal situation becomes even more paradox: It was no one other than the Indonesian government itself which deprived forest dependent communities of their self-governing capability and sanctioning patterns by imposing a uniform, bureaucratic structure in the countryside (UU 5/1979) and by concentrating the full management authority over forest resources in the hands of the state (UU 5/1967). On one hand, local communities were withdrawn from their traditional

role in forest protection by government regulation (PP 28/1985), on the other hand they are expected to prove their embeddedness and integration with nature in order to qualify for recognition as MHA. As Campbell (20002: 15) points out “by depicting a romanticised version of *adat* as a glorious living tradition of harmony with nature that is fully operative in forest dependent communities, it is easier for government critics to push their equally simplistic view that most customary systems (as static self-perpetuating operating systems) have already broken down”.

The most important implementing regulation of UU 41 are Ministerial Decree SK 677/1998 on the “Right to control Community Forests” (Hak Penguasaan Hutan Kemasyarakatan) and government regulation PP 6/1999 about “Timber Harvesting Rights in Production Forests” (Pengusahaan Hutan dan Pemungutan Hasil Hutan pada Hutan Produksi). The latter presents a slight improvement in the sense that co-operatives (which can be formed by any MHA according to Art. 37 of UU 41/1999) may also extract timber. Whereas this regulation relates only to production forest, in SK 677/1998 conservation areas are integrated. It further allows for the harvesting of non-timber forest products (NTFP) and timber; requiring also that local communities must form co-operatives which are recognized as the one and only management institution (Wrangham 2002: 30). Thus, the law is ingrained with a dualistic conviction that links customary institutions to “to day-to-day subsistence needs” (pemenuhan kebutuhan sehari-hari, UU 41/1999 Art. 67, § 1a) and that links commercial utilization to the creation of “modern” legal bodies in the form of co-operatives.

Besides the Forestry Law, the Basic Agrarian Law (UU 5/1960, abbr. BAL) also deals with management rights of customary lands (Harsono 2000). Its most important regulation in this regard is the joint decree (SK 5/1999) of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs and the Agrarian Board (Badan Pertanahan Nasional, abbr. BPN) on the “Guidelines to resolve Customary Communal Rights Conflicts” (Pedoman Penyelesaian Masalah Hak Ulayat Masyarakat Hukum Adat). In contrast to the Ministry of Forestry, the BPN accepts communal land rights as intrinsic and non-transferable (Harsono 2003: 59). It explicitly allows MHA to lease their lands to the government (Art. 4, §2) and locates the responsibility for recognition as MHA in the hands of the regions without involvement of the central government (SK 5/1999, 3c). Despite the BPN’s commitment to decentralization, the problem with this is twofold: (1) land under the responsibility of the BPN does not qualify as “forest”, (2) so-called “customary forests” (hutan adat) are often secondary forests embedded in cyclical agricultural systems. Thus, they may often perform an integrated part of farmers’ income strategies (Burkard 2002: 7). Land use forms in customary forests may shift according to needs, with clear assignments of permanent types of land use to fixed units of land being rather the exception than the rule.

Deeply ingrained in the Indonesian legislation, especially the BAL (Art. 5, 16, 65), and an indispensable part of MHA is the notion of *ulayat*, referring to a special relationship between the local community and its “customary territory” (tanah adat). The term preferred by Dutch colonial scholars, *beschikkingrecht*, is usually paraphrased with “right of avail”. In its broadest sense, *ulayat* refers to community-controlled land. Whereas group members have a right to make use of virgin land within the community’s territory, outsiders can do so only after obtaining permission from the community. The regulation of access remains in

the hands of a traditional authority who may be either an individual elder or a council of elders. The collective nature of ulayat does not mean that individuals cannot hold resources for their own needs. Important is rather the fact that individual rights are defined by their relationship with the rights of the community to which the individual right holder belongs and from which his individual rights are derived. In general the community recognizes an individual's "preferential right" to a certain piece of land and at the same time he is bound by customary restrictions imposed by the community (Evers 1995: 3). The most common restriction in this regard is that land cannot be sold. Perceived in terms of a "delicate balance of rights and restrictions" (Evers, *ibid.*), in the hak ulayat-conception individual and community rights are complementary and mutually constitutive. In contrast to the "right of ownership" (*hak milik*), which allows for alienation and which can be registered by land titles (e.g. certificates), the "right of avail" is an unwritten "entitlement" based on community consent.

Legally, recognition as MHA and the devolution of management rights remain based on the notion of hak ulayat, the existence of which is officially denied by a (still valid) provincial decree from 1993 (SK 529.2/8158/1993). Given the principle of free access to the forest as practised in the past, the communities at the forest margin of LLNP did not develop the idea of community controlled land and – until recently – did not formulate claims to ancestral territories. Traditional rules applied exclusively in terms of ownership of individual plots. Acquired by the pioneer clearer, these plots remained within the family pool through inheritance. Local preoccupation with "private land rights" (as opposed to "communal land rights") was further enhanced via the national land registration in the early seventies when people could register stretches of secondary forest as privately owned "reserve land". Most cultivated agricultural plots in the area have meanwhile been certified under the National Certification Program "Prona" (Program Nasional) in the early and mid nineties. The PRONA program, in allocating private rights to land, follows the quite plausible idea that lands are worked better, more effectively and more sustainable if those who use them have also tenurial security over them (Burkard 2002, Vivian 1990). These private land rights (*hak milik*) - which are incompatible with the official recognition as MHA - are relevant also under another perspective: In rural areas, it is first of all private land certificates which function as collateral if one wants to borrow money from the bank. Community management rights over forest resources however are intrinsically linked to the recognition as MHA which is incompatible with individual land titles. Thus, at the same time a rural community may be empowered as MHA under UU 41/1999, its individual community members (peasants) may simultaneously be less empowered to control their own agrarian development.

Community Conservation Agreements: Legal Basis, Agendas and Practical Obstacles

Since the declaration of LLNP in 1993, *The Nature Conservancy* (TNC) was actively involved in the management of the park. In principle, the management plan is based on the notion of zoning with different zones being subject to certain restrictions, ranging from enclaves, limited use rights of old coffee stands, harvesting rights of non-timber forest products (NTFP) and zones for

eco-tourism and research to totally prohibited areas. The adopted pattern mirrors, more or less, the zoning scheme prescribed in UU 5/1990 (§32). Though TNC rejects the idea of the sustainability of indigenous land use systems, which are perceived as insufficient for bio-diversity preservation, it has revised its earlier top-down resource policies in favor of more collaborative management schemes. The core institutional devices of the adopted strategy of *on-site protection* are the “Community Conservation Agreements / CCA” (*Kesepakatan Konservasi Masyarakat*), in which local communities enter into a negotiated arrangement with the Park Authority. In line with TNC’s conservationist orientation, the general content of the CCA is to avoid further encroachments and to reforest open gaps inside the Park. Plots already opened within the National Park must be replanted according to a fixed reforestation plan, whereas all types of secondary forests will be preserved and all opened plots close to rivers and slopes have to be abandoned. The reforestation species (teak, resin, candle nut, agathis, eucalyptus etc.) are defined by the natural surrounding, which is divided into various reforestation sites of different extend, topography and vegetation. The CCA allows for a coordinated collection of NTFP’s, fire wood and wood for private construction as well as the utilization of old coffee stands, the tapping of *damar*-resin and the utilization of the newly planted candlenut (*kemiri*) trees.

Because there is no single law or regulation which grants the Park Authority the right to devolve use rights to local communities; in search for a legal legitimization of the CCA it seemed more promising to rely on various laws having no direct relationship with the forest in general (and the National Park in particular) than relying on forestry regulations which are either of low legal reliability or which have preserved the centralist character of their predecessors. In facilitating conservation agreements for five pilot-villages in the Napu valley, TNC asked for the help of two legal experts in order to create a legally sound base which can be used as a future framework for all sixty villages bordering LLNP. Unfortunately, the major Governor Decree regulating land use from 1993 (SK 529.2/8151) , which declared all forest areas in Central Sulawesi as state land (*swapraja*) and which strongly rejects the existence of community land in the province, has not been dismissed so far. However, there may be some legal ways out of the dilemma. The BAL (UU 5/1960) offered local communities two ways of obtaining rights over land: The “recognition” of customary rights (*pengakuan atas hak adat*) and the “conferring” (*pemberian hak atas tanah*) of rights over land formerly controlled by the state. Whereas it is usually the former which has become the focus of the regional NGO discourse, the latter is much less known, albeit it is much more appropriate for the Central Sulawesi situation. Further, the experts make some (remarkably) short references to UU 41/1999. Instead, the major legal means of devolution of resources quoted are:

- TAP No. IX 2001 on “Agrarian Reform and NRM” (*Pembaruan Agraria dan Pengelolaan Sumber Daya Alam*): Art.5 §1 states that the management, ownership status and use of land must be ordered anew with a just land reform that acknowledges more clearly the ownership rights of the common people. The same paragraph refers also to the need to provide transitional justice as a means to establish social stability during the transition from centralist state to regional autonomy.

- TAP III 2000 on “Origins of Law and Legal Hierarchy” (*Sumber Hukum dan Tata Urutan Perundangan-Undangan*): abolished regulations tied to individual rule makers, such as the diverse decrees as a legal source at the same time it placed the parliament resolution (TAP) at the top of the legal hierarchy; just below the basic constitution. Both tendencies could strengthen legal reliability in the future and put an end to the continuous struggle between conflicting decrees from different ministries.
- UU 25/2000 on “National Development” (*Propenas*): Art 10 states that regulations on resource use must include access of *adat*-communities and (other) local communities.
- UU 39/1999 about “Human Rights” (*Hak Asasi Manusia*) declares local rights over resources as an integral part of the basic human rights. It emphasises the governmental responsibilities to local people, including community land rights which are portrayed in terms of natural rights (Art.6, §1,2).
- UU 10/92 on “Population Development and Family Welfare” (*Perkembangan Kependudukan Pembangunan Keluarga Sejahtera*): Art. 6 proclaims the right to the beneficial use of territory that constitutes a “traditional customary inheritance” (*wilayah warisan adat*) and fits perfectly with the local situation where claims to natural resources are unavoidable, but where the recognition of community land inside the National Park seems almost impossible to achieve. The notion of a “traditional customary inheritance” offers more “room for manoeuvre” than the rather narrow-minded and limited notions of *ulayat* and *tanah adat*.

Interestingly, five out of the seven major legal sources used by the law experts to legitimate the agreements have no direct relationship with NRM. Rather, access to and management of natural resources appears as a function of other political targets. There is no quotation at all of UU 5/1990 on “Conservation of Bio-Diversity and Natural Ecosystems”. This is because laws related to NRM and forestry offer less opportunities for local communities to manage their resources autonomously as it is the case with other legal devices regulating regional economy, family welfare and national development. In other words: In devolving authority in NRM to local communities, laws regulating resource use in indirect manners are much more relevant than laws regulating NRM in direct manners (however, there are often no implementing regulations for these kind of laws). Further, most forest policy issued until 2000 is not in the form of laws (UU) and parliament resolutions (TAP), but in the form of government regulations (PP), ministerial decrees (SK) and Director-General decisions (Kpts) which are actually not “laws” in the real sense, but products of the executive. Especially the SK and Kpts, which according to our listing make up almost 80% of all legal devices related to NRM, must be perceived as a rather weak legal instrument, because they are always tied to the individual who made the decrees. Because there is no single law or regulation which grants the Park Authority the right to devolve use rights to local communities, in search for a legal base of the CCA it seemed more promising to rely on various UU’s and TAP’s having no direct relationship with the forest in general (and the National Park in particular) than relying on half-hearted forestry regulations.

The local situation is even more complicated because most of the claimed areas are now located inside the National Park, a legal category which in the past offered only a very limited scope of action for participation of villagers. Inside the zoning scheme of UU 5/1990 the “utilization zone” (*zona pemanfaatan*) is restricted to eco-tourism only (because villagers have not been informed about the zonation, they equated “utilization” with “conversion”); whereas usage of the “primary forest zone” (*zona rimba*) is limited to scientific research. The situation for local communities improved with Kpts DJ-IV/2000 which established the legal base for the creation of a traditional utilization zone (*zona pemanfaatan tradisional*) in National Parks. The Kpts however leaves the most relevant question unanswered: which kind of traditional utilization is allowed and what actually constitute a “traditional usage”?

In order to safeguard a better supervision and co-ordination of the CCA, TNC established a separate “Village Conservation Council” (*Lembaga Konservasi Desa*, abbr. LKD) at the village level. Guided by the principle of co-management, the LKD is constituted by one member of all major village institutions, one official park-ranger and “other” people who are perceived as relevant (TNC 2002). Paragraph 21 of the agreements summarizes the functions of the LKD as follows:

- To socialize (*mensosialisasikan*) the conservation agreement to the related society,
- To carry out participatory planning (*perencanaan partisipatif*) with Park-Authority,
- To supervise the implementation (*mengawasi pelaksanaan*) of the agreement,
- To evaluate (*mengevaluasi pelaksanaan*) the community conservation agreement,
- To report the evaluation results (*melaporkan hasil evaluasi*) to the village head,
- To provide an umbrella for communication (*mewadahi komunikasi*) between (local) society and the Park Authority.

Whereas the LKD is concerned with the implementation of the CCA on the village level, TNC envisaged that conflicts between villages (or problems which cannot be solved by the LKD alone) are to be handled by a corresponding “County Conservation Council” (*Lembaga Konservasi Kecamatan*, abbr. LKK). However, the LKK never did materialize and was substituted by the establishment of the so-called “Buffer Zone Forum” (*Forum Wilayah Penyangga* = *FWP*), facilitated by the ADB-sponsored “Central Sulawesi Integrated Area Development and Conservation Project” (*CSIADCP*).¹⁹ In contrast to other

¹⁹ Here, the implementation of the CCA reveals something of the “conservation business” in Central Sulawesi. Although the watershed management is included in the CCA, the CSIADCP project facilitated the signing of a separate watershed management agreement called *Kesepakatan Konservasi Masyarakat Adat* in the villages. Despite its reference to *adat*, the agreement means the realization of government regulation PP 31 / 2001, § 27 and fulfils major obligations of the conservation law UU 5/1990. After TNC established a co-ordinating organization at the county level (LKK), CSIADCP established a similar organization in form of

facilitating NGOs and institutions in the research region which tend to treat villages as islands unto themselves, TNC does not assume that the local (village) level is most important. Instead, the crucial role of vertical and horizontal “cross-scale inter-linkages” (Berkes 2002), “intermediate” levels of organization such as the *kecamatan*-counties and the “nesting” of organizations located at various levels has been taken into account from the beginning of the facilitating process. Unfortunately, TNC’s far-sightedness to transcend institutional boundaries in establishing the LKD was not reflected in the perception of the forest resource as an integrated ecosystem:

- Given TNC’s strong concern with the National Park as a legal entity and the integrity of its borders, the CCA is only valid for the forested landscape encapsulated by the Park. Thus, after several villages signed the CCA, people refrained indeed from encroachment into the protected area, at the same time deforestation increased significantly in the areas designed as protection and production forest.
- When the LKD started to plant candlenut trees in order to demarcate the Park border, several conflicts arose with owners of adjacent plots. These conflicts however, could not be settled because the village head – who is still often the *de facto* conflict resolution institution – was not involved in the activities of the LKD.
- Irrespective of the CCA facilitated by TNC, the CSIADCP-project has launched its own agreements in the villages called “Customary Community Conservation Agreements”, CCCA (*Kesepakatan Konservasi Masyarakat Adat*). CCCA are not involved in reforestation, but focus on watershed management. In contrast to the CCA however, CCCA cover watersheds in all (legal) kinds of forest, this is LLNP, protection forest and production forest.

In order to simplify the situation and to reduce (legal) confusion, several village heads and BPD members proposed to drop references to CCA and CCCA in dealing with community members. Instead they planned to enter the agreed upon rules and sanctions of both agreements into the common village rules (*peraturan desa*) in order to equip the villagers with a single locally defined legal source. This practical approach, born out of day-to-day “grass-roots”-experience, could not be realized because of the different spheres of control which put the LLNP under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Forestry and other categories of forest under control of the regencies. Officials of the regional Park Authority in Palu confirmed that the National Park is “national”, not “communal” and that village rules under UU 32/2004 can only regulate forest managed by the regency, not conservation areas which are *de jure* excluded from decentralization. Far from being confined to the ministries in the capital, sectoral legislation led by particular interests becomes directly felt on the ground level. The development of an overarching Natural Resource Management Act

the FWP at the same level. In order to avoid competition between the two organizations, TNC was forced to abandon the LKK as a supervising institution with the FWP being the exclusive organization at the county level. CSIADCP in turn abandoned its plans to install a watershed management organization on the village level.

becomes one of the highest priorities if a co-evolutionary equilibrium between Indonesia's diversity-rich communities and natural resources is to be achieved.

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Cultural Dimensions of Rural Poverty in Indonesia

A Methodical Approach Focussing on Education and Origin

Heiko Faust, Björn Schippers, Robert Weber

Abstract

The investigation of relative poverty in rural areas of developing countries is dominated by an economic point of view. This paper presents a methodical step for weighting cultural factors of influence. As empirical data basis a household census of a village in rural Central Sulawesi, Indonesia, was conducted. For the determination of poverty we apply to a measurement tool already tested by Zeller et al. (2006). As variables, which represent the cultural factors exemplarily, we choose education and origin. We show that the level of education and the time of migration affect the poverty distribution of the village significantly. Ethnical affiliation, in contrast, plays only a subordinated role. Furthermore, we conclude that results of a quantitative approach towards cultural dimensions needs to be accompanied by qualitative in-depth research as otherwise crucial questions about the how and why of quantitative causal relations cannot be answered.

Keywords

Culture, Poverty, Rural Area, Sulawesi, Indonesia

Introduction

The examination of influencing factors of relative poverty in rural areas of the so-called developing countries has so far been dominated by an economic approach (cf. Ferreira 2001, Lanjouw 2001 etc.). Apart from the economical and political framework, cultural factors are usually not included in such scientific research, although these can have strong influence on individual behaviour and therefore can be critical towards the economic prosperity of households¹. Research on the cultural aspects of poverty on the other hand is usually based on qualitative methods (cf. e.g. Hentschel and Waters 2002).

¹ In this paper household should be understood as a socio-economic unit made up of individuals, „who live and operate together in an economic sense” (Pöschl 1989: 627, cited in: Peuckert 2004: 30 f.). In the research village it is often the case that the people living in one household are related to each other. However it is not a necessary requirement to the definition of household used here, that the members of it have to have family ties (ibid). Furthermore some households in the village are characterized by groups of individuals living together, but who feel that they belong to different socio-economic units, so that they represent independent households.

With this given situation the question arises, whether and how it is possible to link the distribution of relative poverty to cultural factors in a quantitative way. Furthermore, is it possible to develop an analytical tool to find the relevant and significant cultural factors for prosperity on the household level of a village? Such an approach for a quantitative procedure is found in Quang Dao (2004), who compared rural poverty on an international level by empirical analyses of 32 developing countries. A closer look at his statistical model shows that the socioeconomic factors are integrated into a formula to calculate rural poverty. Apart from economic variables, Quang Dao (2004) uses socio-cultural factors like ethnic homogeneity and a gender-development-index. It is however not clear how much emphasis such individual factors have in the overall result. This means that the used socio-cultural factors have not independently been put into relationship with the indicators for poverty. In contrast, for this study we have adopted an approach by which at first a poverty-index for households of an Indonesian village can be calculated. In a second step this will be put into relation with the values of different cultural factors (education and origin). This approach makes it possible to establish direct relationships between the level of poverty of a rural household on the one hand and the various cultural aspects influencing the household on the other hand.

The methodical question remains as the individual emphasis and weight of cultural factors has to be clarified in the light of a multitude of definitions and interpretations for the term "culture". It is understandable that mostly qualitative methods are used to describe and illustrate cultural parameters. Is it possible and acceptable to deal with the analysis of cultural aspects in a different way than with a qualitative approach? From a disciplinary point of view this is usually negated because of the complexity of the term culture. Especially for the, so far, fairly low level of co-operation between the natural and economic sciences with the social and cultural sciences, the quantitative recording of cultural factors opens up the possibility of modelling and interdisciplinary collaboration. In contrast to qualitative research, the quantitative recording of cultural factors makes statistical relationships possible. The results presented in this paper constitute a first methodical step for the formulation of the weighting of cultural variables. Our complete count of all households of a village in rural Central-Sulawesi, Indonesia is used as an empirical basis for the development of this approach. By using empirical data, the following thesis will be examined: education and origin of household members have a significant impact on the level of relative poverty of that household.

This study is an attempt to find a methodical approach in the causal research of rural poverty in the tropics from a social sciences point of view. After defining the terms „culture“ and „household“, the methodology applied in this paper as well as the research area will be described. In the following section the data set from the empirical case study is operationalized according to the mentioned approach. The results presented in this section are differentiated by education, ethnic origin and regional origin. Finally, the results are summarized and the methodical process is analyzed for its use and potential for follow-up studies.

Defining the terms culture and poverty

Given the complexity of the term „culture“ it is not surprising that not only the popular science publications, but also the technical literature often talks about

culture without formulating any clear and tangible definition. Often this term is used without explanation (e.g. Blum and Dudley 2001) or a single component, e.g. religion, is named as constituting culture (cf. e.g. Barro and McCleary 2003). Belina (2003) criticizes the tendency of post-modern approaches of scientists like Smith (2000) or Mitchell (2000) who declare everything as culture, because by this only tautological definitions are possible. Then again he, as the other contributors in the textbook „Cultural Geography“ (Gebhard, Reuber and Wolkersdorfer 2003), reveals only a general definition of the term culture instead of naming concrete factors which together make up culture. Belina especially explains that culture does not stand in contrast to economics like in the definition of Williams (1988) because human behaviour is embedded into the political and economic framework. In reference to Segall (1983, 1984), Straub and Thomas (2003) discuss the opinion that culture, in total, can not be viewed as a measurable variable, because of its diffuse and abstract character. One can only try to operationalize aspects of the „over-complex construct“ (Straub and Thomas 2003: 34) that the term culture resembles for empirical research. Whiting (1976, cited in Straub and Thomas 2003) also suggests to dissect the term „culture“ which is difficult to comprehend into manageable variables. For the purpose of our research we define culture in reference to Thomas (1996) as an orientation system, which influences perceptions, thoughts, values and actions of individuals and groups. In this case the actors are the heads of households, whose cultural attitudes are influenced by internal and external factors. In the context of the study region, the components education and origin represent not only two important parts of culture, but also two clearly operationalizable variables. We are, however, aware that, as Fremerey (2004) emphasizes, culture is perceived as a result of socialization and therefore continuously adapted to its social context. Thus, our study will show to what extent a quantitative approach will be able to answer all necessary questions to fully understand the driving forces of culture-economy relations.

Although less complex than the term „culture“, it is also necessary to define what „poverty“ means in our study context. In this study the relative poverty index by Zeller et al. (2006) has been chosen. This index is an aggregated value from a series of variables, which represent the poverty status of a household. The choice of variables is made on the basis of a catalogue of altogether 37 ordinal and interval scaled variables from the range of topics „human resources“, „food security and vulnerability“, „living conditions“ and „property“. These variables are correlated with a defined and repeatedly tested benchmark-indicator („average per capita expenditures of the household for clothing and shoes“ cf. Zeller et. al. 2006) and are then ranked according to the resulting correlation levels (PEARSON-Chi-Square). All variables with a significant correlation coefficient ($\alpha < 0,10$) are then incorporated into a main-component-analysis. By means of multiple analysis runs it is possible to filter out the best combination of indicator-variables, which best describe the factor „poverty“. From this results the following choice of indicator variables for this research. An increase in the value of the variables marked with ^a have a positive influence and those marked with ^b have a negative influence on the value of the poverty index of a household:

- „Monetary value of electronic appliances”^a,
- „Monetary value of transport equipment”^a,
- „House: Material for outer walls” (ordinal scaled: increasing quality)^a,
- „House: Type of roofing material” (ordinal scaled: increasing quality)^a,
- „House: Type of flooring material” (ordinal scaled: increasing quality)^a,
- „Electricity source for the household” (ordinal scaled: increasing quality)^a,
- „Per capita expenditure for clothing and shoes” (= benchmark-indicator)^a,
- „Number of TVs in household”^a,
- „Food shortage”: How many of the last 12 months with at least one day with food shortage in the household?^b,
- „Increased income”: How much of an imaginary additional monthly income of 25.000 Rp. (≈ 2,50 €) would be spent on additional food?^b.

With help of the formula below the standardized and with specific coefficients weighted indicator variables can be connected by addition to get to the standardized poverty index (average =0) on household level:

$$(1) \quad PovertyIndex = \sum_{i=1}^{10} z_i \cdot w_i$$

with z_i = Value of variable i , w_i = weighting-factor for the variable i (cf. procedure for calculation of the poverty index see Zeller et al. 2006:98ff, Schwarze et al. 2005, Shaban 2001, Henry et al. 2000).

The result is a value for the poverty index for each household. Low index values give indication of a low level of prosperity, high values give indication of a high level of prosperity, so that a relative comparison can be drawn of the poverty situation of the individual households of the research village.

After this the households are divided according to the poverty index ratings into three categories (terciles) each containing the same number of households. The first tercile („tercile 1“) represents the poorest third of the village population, the „tercile 2“ stands for the average, less poor third, while the „tercile 3“ is made up by the least poverty stricken third of the residents. After data cleansing, including plausibility checks, the data for 475 households is included in the calculation of the poverty index. This tool of economists deliberately ignores cultural specifics of the mentioned individual poverty indicators, even though it has been designed for worldwide use (cf. Henry et al. 2000). For our research area in Central Sulawesi this is permissible. Although there are differences, for example in the specific building techniques of different ethnic groups, but this is not necessarily because of cultural preferences for certain building materials. Any differences occurring between the building techniques are solely the result of the economic situation of the households.

Research Area and Methods

The Lore Lindu region situated south of the provincial capital Palu in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia was selected as the research area. The core of the region is represented by the mountain rainforest region of the Lore Lindu National

Park. In the vicinity of this park more than 120 villages are situated. Agriculture is the main source of income for most of the inhabitants. Besides rice, coffee, vegetables and especially cocoa are the major crops cultivated in this region. Intra-regional migration and even more immigration from other parts of Sulawesi and from other islands of Indonesia influenced strongly the demographic structures of the villages over time (Faust et al. 2003). It has, however, to be distinguished between three main groups of villages in terms of population composition and socio-economic development: a) the static-traditional village consists of a majority of autochthonous people or migrants who settled down already more than three decades ago; b) the villages in transition show a recent growth of immigrants from outside the study region, while in the post-transitional villages (c) a big number of migrants from South Sulawesi settled down 10 to 15 years ago having a great impact on population and agricultural structures (Weber et al. 2007). A typical traditional village at the margins of the national park has been selected for this study on the basis of previous qualitative and quantitative research there (Fremerey 2002, Kreisel, Weber, and Faust 2004, Weber 2006). This village is characterized by an autochthonous majority of inhabitants (the group of the Moma) and a social structure based on local common law. The majority of the migrants had already arrived many decades ago consists mainly of the local ethnic Uma group and immigrated Rampi people originating from the northern part of South Sulawesi. Recent immigration to the village is few. Agriculture is the main source of income for the households. A census conducted by the authors in the village provides a pool of demographic, economic and cultural data for the total of 521 households for this study.

To define the cultural imprint is not an easy task, because a multitude of components make up such an imprint, whereby again each single aspect is subject to dynamic change. It is even more complicated to identify the cultural imprint for quantitative statistical analyses in a practicable manner. Especially not easily tangible culture components, like „tradition“ or „values“ are recorded better in a qualitative way than in a quantitative, with good reason.

In this study only those variables which allow a targeted operationalization can be selected to exemplify the orientation system „culture“ (see above). This requires that the data, as with those for the poverty index, can be collected and statistically processed with a standardized questionnaire. Cultural factors which can only be raised by means of narrative collection methods are not suitable at this stage. However they take an even higher significance with the selection of the cultural factors in this study and in the later checking of the quantitatively determined correlation between the cultural factors with the values for poverty. Furthermore the variables used must be clearly thematically distinguishable from another. On the basis of previous qualitative studies (Weber, Kreisel and Faust 2003, Weber 2006) the variables „education“ and „origin“ of the household members present themselves. Especially in rural areas, as represented by this study, these aspects have a very high influence on the cultural imprint of human behaviour.

The pre- and early colonial stages of the socio-economic structure of society in this region were characterized by small local elites with a high standard of prosperity based on their political position and a comparatively poor majority of the clan, respectively the later village population (Weber 2006). A formal school

system was introduced in this region in the early 20th century by the Dutch colonial power. Protestant missionaries acted in the double function as teachers and priests. The general accessibility of school education enabled the village people, independent of their social and economic status according to the motivation and abilities of the individual, to learn a more rational and economically orientated way of thinking, which could result in economic progress. This broke down the previous polarization and opened the way to individual differentiation in the distribution of prosperity. Naturally it must be considered that prosperous families have more possibilities to invest in higher education of their children, and in many cases may use this to secure the relatively high economic status of the family also for future generations. Of course the opposite effect is also to be expected that investment for schooling is made to enable a social and economic upward mobility for a family in the first place. Therefore, the cultural factor school education can be expected to have an influence on the distribution of poverty in the village.

The research regarding the level of school education is conducted on the basis of the heads of household and also of all adults of a household. On the one hand we illuminate the potential influence of the level of education of household members on their particular level of prosperity. Regarding the level of poverty, other research corresponds to a comparison of differently educated groups, i.e. a comparison of the heads of households who have not graduated from any school with other educated groups. Furthermore an average of the level of education of the adults of every household is made to get the average level of education of the households. This will be linked to the poverty index as well.

Despite its peripheral position and its rural structures the study region is characterized by strong immigration. Besides manifold intraregional migration, the immigration from other parts of Indonesia plays an important role. Especially migrants from the south of Sulawesi move to the region contributing to a significant population growth. A triggering factor for the dynamics of this migration is the „cocoa-boom“, which started in Sulawesi at the beginning of the 1990s. This often caused spontaneous migration, which especially targeted areas (such as our research region) because of sufficient land resources and good climatic and soil conditions for cocoa production (cf. Weber 2006). Still persistent today, the migration dynamics continue to modify the original spatial distribution pattern of ethnicities. The immigrants bring a certain cultural imprint from their region of origin with them, which is often different from the one of the indigenous ethnic groups. This is especially valid for the interregional migrants. A possible social stratification of the villages of the study region may be evident, but this does not play a role for the object of research of this paper. The village we researched represents a certain village type, which in regional comparison is characterized by relatively little supra regional migration and a more traditional social structure.

The cultural aspect „origin“ is perceived by two points of view: First the correlation between the poverty index and the affiliation of the heads of household to the different ethnicities will be analysed. Thereby „ethnicity“ or „ethnic“ shall mean the self-perception of individuals as members of a coherent group with certain common attributes like language, religion or collective traditions or history (cf. e.g. Barth 1969, Kohl 1998). Alone his or her response to the census question of which ethnic group he or she feels to belong to is

crucial for the classification of the head of household to a certain ethnic group in this study. There are no objectively testable criteria for this, so that the individual sense of belonging is not necessarily to be found in actual attributes. Further we will look at the question of immigration, whereby the term „immigration“ is defined as whether the head of household has changed his or her residence in his life (= „immigrant“) or if he or she has lived in the research village all his life continuously (= „native“). In addition the point of time of the immigration into the village will be included in the analyses.

Various statistical methods are applied in this analysis to link the economic value (prosperity of a household – represented by the poverty index) with the selected factors of the variable „culture“. In detail these are the one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA), the contingency analysis (Chi-Square), the Mann-Whitney-Test, the T-test and the linear regression analysis. The variance analysis checks the influence of the specific characteristics of a cultural variable on the variable „poverty index“. If there is an influence detected, it can be said that this cultural aspect significantly influences the poverty index in the research village. In this case we examine whether the independent factor-variables „ethnicity“, „religious affiliation“ and „level of education of the head of household“ each considered in isolation, have a significant influence on the dependent variable „value of the poverty index of the household“. With the help of a contingency analysis (Chi-Square-Test) we test whether the poverty index variable (classified as terciles) is independent of the individual cultural factors (especially ethnicity and educational level). On the one hand the entire cultural variable with all characteristics is tested for its independence of the poverty index. On the other hand two single characteristics (dummies) at a time are compared with each other in regard to their distribution on the three poverty index terciles.

The non-parametrical Mann-Whitney-Test enables us to test the distribution of cultural variables, which are itemized according to their characteristics (7 dummies), onto the poverty index variable. With this it can be ascertained whether there are significant differences between the individual characteristics of a variable in the particular poverty index distribution and which characteristic has the tendency for a higher poverty index average. The T-Test is used to examine two dummies (to be understood as two independent samples) of a cultural variable for their distribution on the dependent metric poverty index variable in order to find significant differences in the average values. The linear regression analysis is used to test whether there is a linear link between the metrical scaled independent cultural variables (education index of a household and duration of the residence in the village) and the also metrical scaled dependent poverty index variable.

Results of the case study

Our analysis shows that the ethnicity of the heads of household only plays an inferior role for the distribution of poverty of the research village, whereas the level of prosperity significantly rises with increasing educational level of the heads of households. Also immigration has a significant influence on the poverty distribution of the village: Immigrants, especially those who have migrated to the village in the past few years, tend to be in extreme positions

within the poverty scale. The results of the individual cultural factors will be presented in detail below.

Education is examined first on the level of the heads of household and then on the level of all adults of a household. The resulting links between relative poverty and education are explained as follows: the vast majority (53%) of the heads of household of the investigated 475 households has only completed primary school and 13% have not finished any school. Secondary school was completed by only 28% of the heads of household, whereas the highest education level (academy/university) was only reached by ten (2%) heads of household (cf. Tab. 1).

Tab. 1: Overview of the level of education of the heads of household in the research village (Source: STORMA Subproject A1 – Village census 2004)

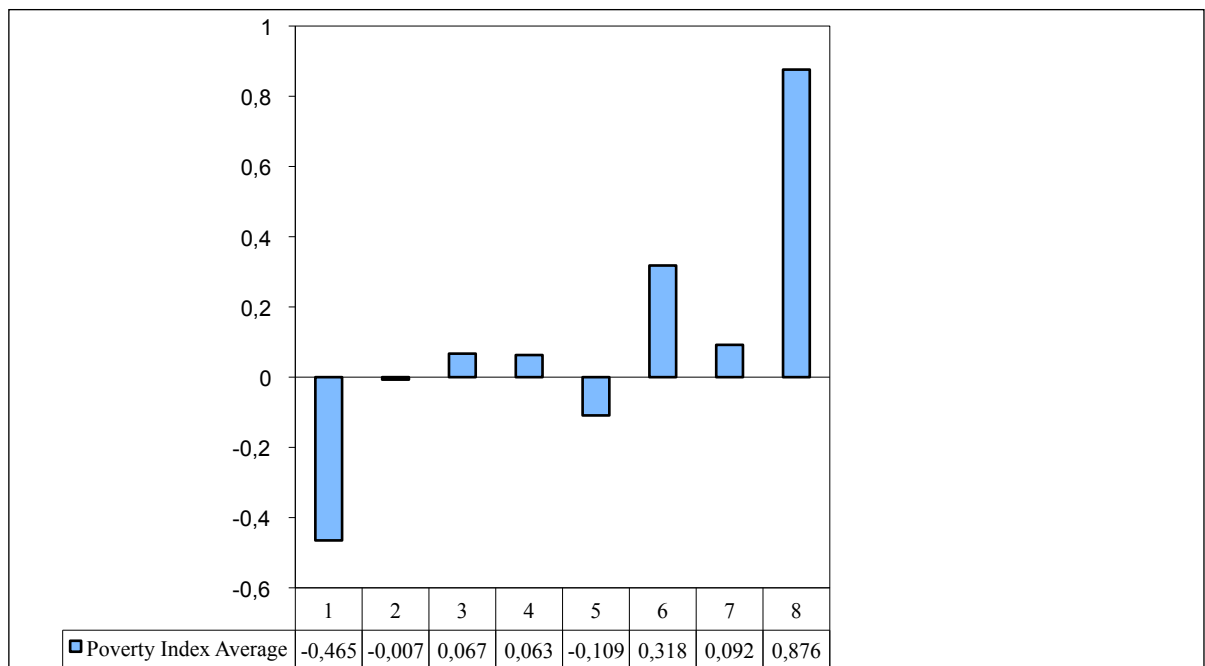
	Absolute	Percentage
No schooling or not finished primary school	61	12,8
Completed primary school	250	52,6
Not finished secondary schooling (Junior High)	20	4,2
Completed secondary school (Junior High)	78	16,4
Not finished Senior High	6	1,3
Completed Senior High	49	10,3
Not finished academic education	1	0,2
Completed academy or university	10	2,1
Total	475	100,0

Access to education is largely independent of ethnicity. This applies at least to two of the three considered ethnicities and for the natives of the third ethnicity (= Uma; see below). The migrant households of the Uma show significantly less well-educated heads of household. This can be explained with the circumstance that the villages of origin of most members of this ethnicity lack facilities for higher education. Moreover the peripheral and mountainous location and the infrastructural deficits of the region of origin of this ethnicity make the places with higher schooling not as reachable as from most other areas of the Lore Lindu region.

The level of education of a head of household has, generally speaking, a highly significant impact on the prosperity of the family (poverty index). This means that different level of education lead to different levels of the poverty index. Thereby a higher level of education is concomitant with the presence in a higher poverty index tercile (cf. Tab. 2 & Fig. 1). This link can be described as moderately strong with a contingency coefficient of 25%. The comparison of different levels of education with each other shows that those households whose heads have no schooling or did not finish primary school are inferior in their prosperity level to all other education groups.

Tab. 2: Distribution of the school education groupings on the three terciles (Source: STORMA Subproject A1 – Village census 2004)

Level of school education (heads of household)								
	No (finished) schooling	Completed primary school	Not finished secondary school (junior high)	Completed secondary school (junior high)	Not finished senior high	Completed senior high	Academic education (completed or not)	Total
Tercile 1	21,5%	50,0%	4,4%	15,2%	1,3%	7,6%	0,0%	100 %
Tercile 2	10,7%	57,9%	3,8%	16,4%	0,6%	8,2%	2,5%	100 %
Tercile 3	6,3%	50,0%	4,4%	17,7%	1,9%	15,2%	4,4%	100 %

Fig. 1: Level of education of the heads of household and poverty index in the research village (Source: STORMA Subproject A1 – Village Census 2004)

Level of significance < 0,01

Another result of the analysis is that households from the group of the „more educated“ (meaning at least completed high school) are significantly less poor than households from the group of the „less educated“ (heads of household who have only completed primary school or have not completed any school) (cf. Tab. 3).

Tab. 3: Poverty Index-Comparison „Less Educated“ vs. „More Educated“ (Source: STORMA Subproject A1 – Village census 2004)

	Poverty Index-Average	Mean Rank	Sign.
"Less Educated"	-0,10	176,50	
"More Educated"	0,41	235,26	0,000

All of these results support the hypothesis that a higher level of education of the head of household is equal to a higher level of prosperity of that household. From this comes the interpretation that the insertion of knowledge into the activities of a household directly influences the prosperity. For example it is thinkable that land use decisions are executed economically more rationally on the basis of a higher education level.

Besides looking at the level of education of the heads of household we now link the poverty index with the educational level of all individuals of a household older than 15 years (=“adults”). This seems necessary to us, because the exclusive focus on the head of household might hide the fact that also other members of the family, who contribute to the household income direct or indirectly, have a high or low level of education. Therefore the possibility exists that the low educational level of a head of a wealthy household is compensated by another member of that household with a higher level of education.

Firstly, all mature members of a household are included into the analysis. The results from this perspective also lead to the conclusion that a higher level of education entails a higher level of prosperity. Thus, the households of the research village whose adults have a higher average educational level are economically significantly better off than households with a low average educational level (with a contingency coefficient of 32%). In addition households with a high proportion of adults from the group of the „less educated“ (max. primary school) are significantly poorer as families with a low proportion. Inversely, families with a high proportion of the group of the „more educated“ (at least completed high school) are clearly less poor than families with a low percentage from this group (correlation coefficient of approx. 25% each). Furthermore we include into the analysis the influence of individual members of a household, who might be the only persons with a high level of school education in that household, but who are not acting as head of household. Households with at least one higher educated individual (completed high school or more) have significantly higher poverty index value and with that a higher level of prosperity as households without a higher educated individual (cf. Tab. 4).

Tab. 4: Poverty index and adults with a higher level of school education (Source: STORMA Subproject A1 – Village census 2004)

At least one member of household with a higher level of education?	Poverty Index-Average	Mean Rank	Sign.
yes (N=102)	0,49	307,28	0,000
no (N=373)	-0,13	219,05	

If those households where at least one higher educated individual is present are isolated from the group where the head of household is less educated, the result shows that these households are also significantly more prosperous. These results confirm the thesis that the level of education of a head of household has little influence on the prosperity of that household, when other members can compensate his or her knowledge deficit. At the same time this puts in perspective the influence of the head of household on the poverty level positioning of the household in the village. All these results presented in this section show that inside the research village there is a strong correlation between a higher education – be it the head of household or another individual from that household – and a higher level of prosperity of that household.

Ethnic origin

A multitude of different ethnic groups are to be found in the research village. More than half of all households count themselves to the group of the Moma (273 of the studied households), who like the Uma (47 households) are a local ethnic group focused territorially on the local district of Kulawi. The Moma group defines itself in contrast to the other ethnicities as *tuhan kampung* („masters of the village“). The second largest household-group is composed of Rampi-families (99 households), who originally came from the South of Sulawesi. All further ethnic groups of this research sample are represented with only ten or fewer households (cf. Tab 5).

Generally speaking the variable „ethnicity“ has no statistical significant influence on the value of the poverty index: On average, members of different ethnic groups do not show different poverty level distributions (cf. Tab 6). There are significant links to the poverty index in some cases when in a direct comparison of only two ethnicities at a time: The group of the Chinese in the village (N=7 households) is prosperous above average when compared to the Rampi and also the Moma (cf. Fig 2). They are more commonly found in the tercile 3 and therefore have a special position inside the village.

Tab. 5: Ethnic groups in the research village (Source: STORMA Subproject A1 – Village census 2004)

	Absolute	Percent
Moma	273	57,5
Rampi	99	20,8
Uma	47	9,9
Kaili	10	2,1
Poso/Mori/Pamona	10	2,1
Toraja	9	1,9
Napu	7	1,5
Chinese	7	1,5
Other	7	1,5
Besoa	6	1,3
Total	475	100,0

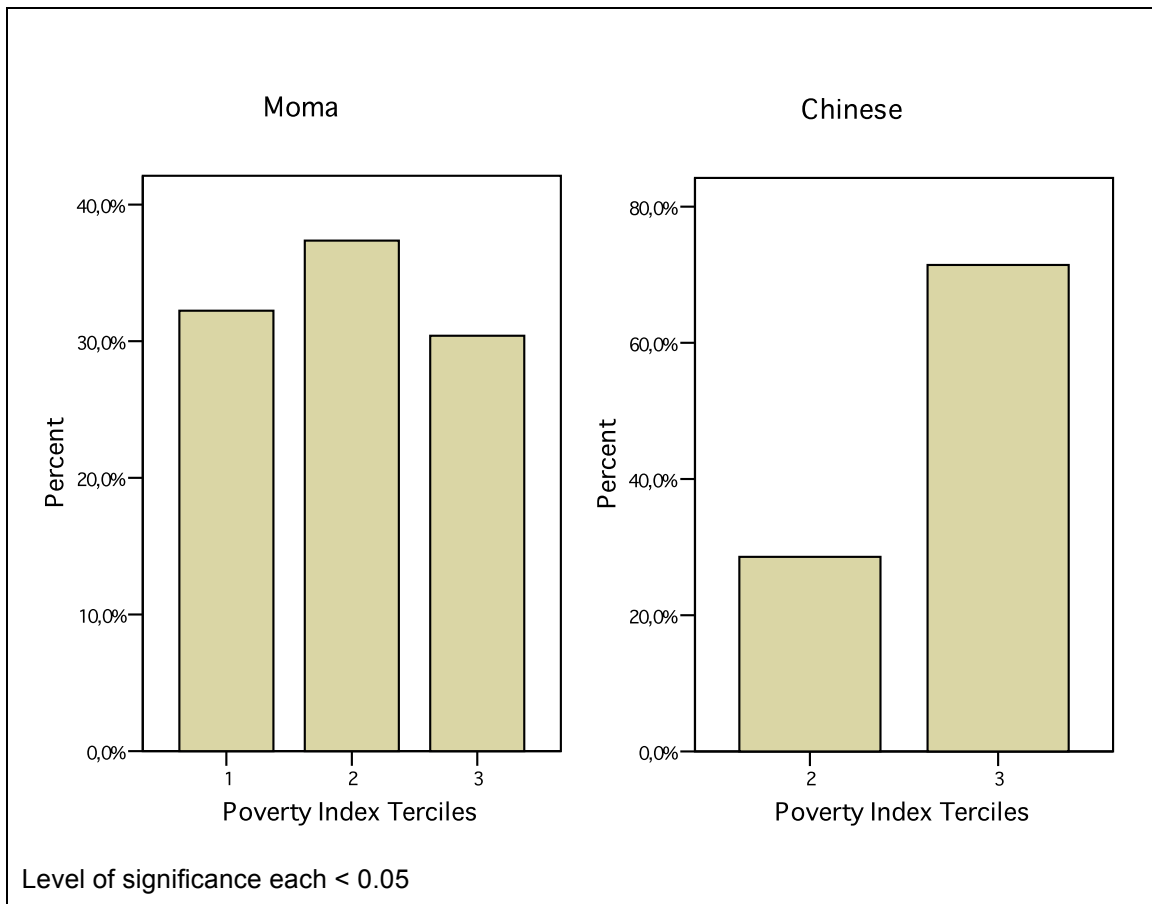
Tab. 6: Distribution of the ethnic groups on the three terciles (Source: STORMA Subproject A1 – Village census 2004)

	Ethnic Groups (Heads of household)						
	Kaili	Uma	Moma	Rampi	Chinese	Other	Total
Tercile 1	2,5%	9,5%	55,7%	23,4%	0,0%	8,9%	100%
Tercile 2	1,3%	8,2%	64,2%	20,1%	1,3%	5,0%	100%
Tercile 3	2,5%	12,0%	52,5%	19,0%	3,2%	10,8%	100%

The statements towards the group of the Chinese have to be taken with caution because they only represent a small minority in the research village. Therefore, the statistical revelations can be distorted. But other researches towards the economic position of Indonesians with Chinese origin support the notion that this group has an above average status of prosperity (cf. Chua-Franz 2002, Weber 2006). In comparison to all other ethnicities the Moma are found more often than the average in the middle tercile (=tercile 2), so that they tend less to the extremes „relative poverty“ or „relative prosperity“ (cf. Fig. 2). The remaining analyzed ethnicities do not allow any significant statements.

The differences of the ethnic groups in the village cannot explain the distribution of poverty. Only individual small ethnic groups, especially the Chinese, show significant differences in their poverty status. Yet in this context at least the tendency for differences in the distribution of prosperity between the local Moma-group and the immigrated groups (i.e. Kaili Uma, Rampi) is to be found. The factor „migration“ will be analysed more precisely in the following abstract. Besides ethnicity the religious affiliation of the head of household can be studied in relation to the distribution of poverty. Aragon (2001) for instance puts confession and economic status into at least an indirect connection for the conflict region of Poso in Central Sulawesi. However, in this case the religious affiliation is mostly identical with the ethnic affiliation (which is roughly the case in our research village) so that an isolated focus on religion does not seem advisable. Therefore, we limit the analysis to ethnicity as the influencing variable.

Fig. 2: Poverty index of the Moma and Chinese (Source: STORMA Subproject A1 – Village census 2004)



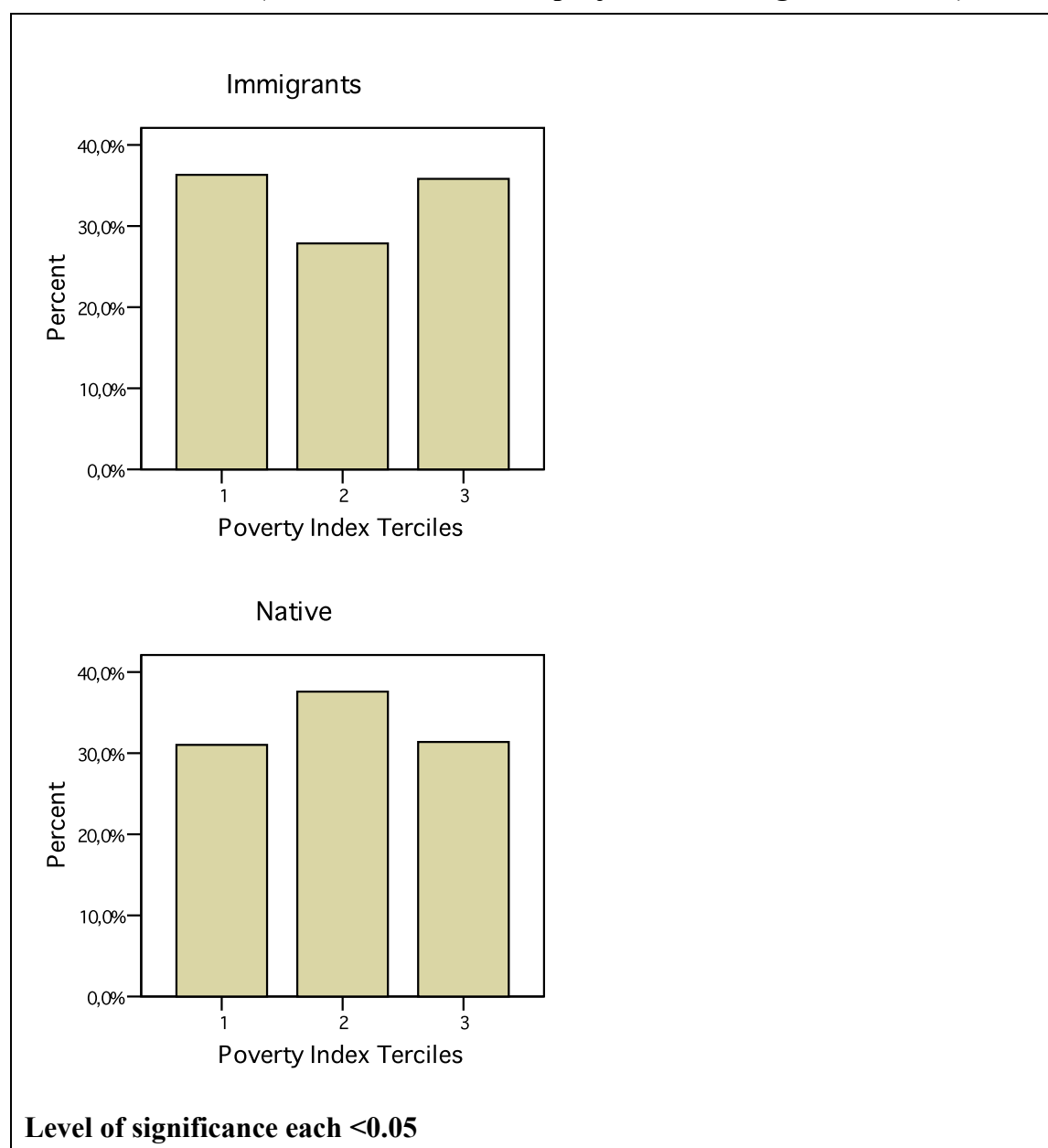
Regional origin

About 42% (201) of the heads of household of the research village have at least once changed their place of residence, while about 58% of the questioned heads of household (274) have lived continuously in the research village since birth (Source: STORMA Subproject A1 – Village census 2004). The first of the groups mentioned will be called „migrants“ or „immigrants“ (even when many of these individuals were born in the research village, but had a different place of residence in the meantime; this subgroup of the immigrants makes up about 20%) and the second group is declared „natives“. Besides the question whether a household is native or migrant, in this context it is also of interest at what time the immigration took place: do newly immigrated families have a different status of prosperity as families who immigrated a long time ago?

The tendency is that there are differences between the immigrants and the natives. Hereby the households from the group of the immigrants are on the one hand represented over proportionally in the poorest poverty index tercile (tercile 1) and the least poor (tercile 3), while the group of the natives dominates the middle tercile (= tercile 2) (cf. Tab7).

Tab. 7: Distribution of immigrants and natives on the three terciles (Source: STORMA Subproject A1 – Village census 2004)

	Immigration (heads of household)		
	Yes	No	Total
Tercile 1	46%	54%	100%
Tercile 2	35%	65%	100%
Tercile 3	46%	54%	100%

Fig. 3: Comparison of the distribution of poverty of the immigrated and native heads of household (Source: STORMA Subproject A1 – Village census 2004)

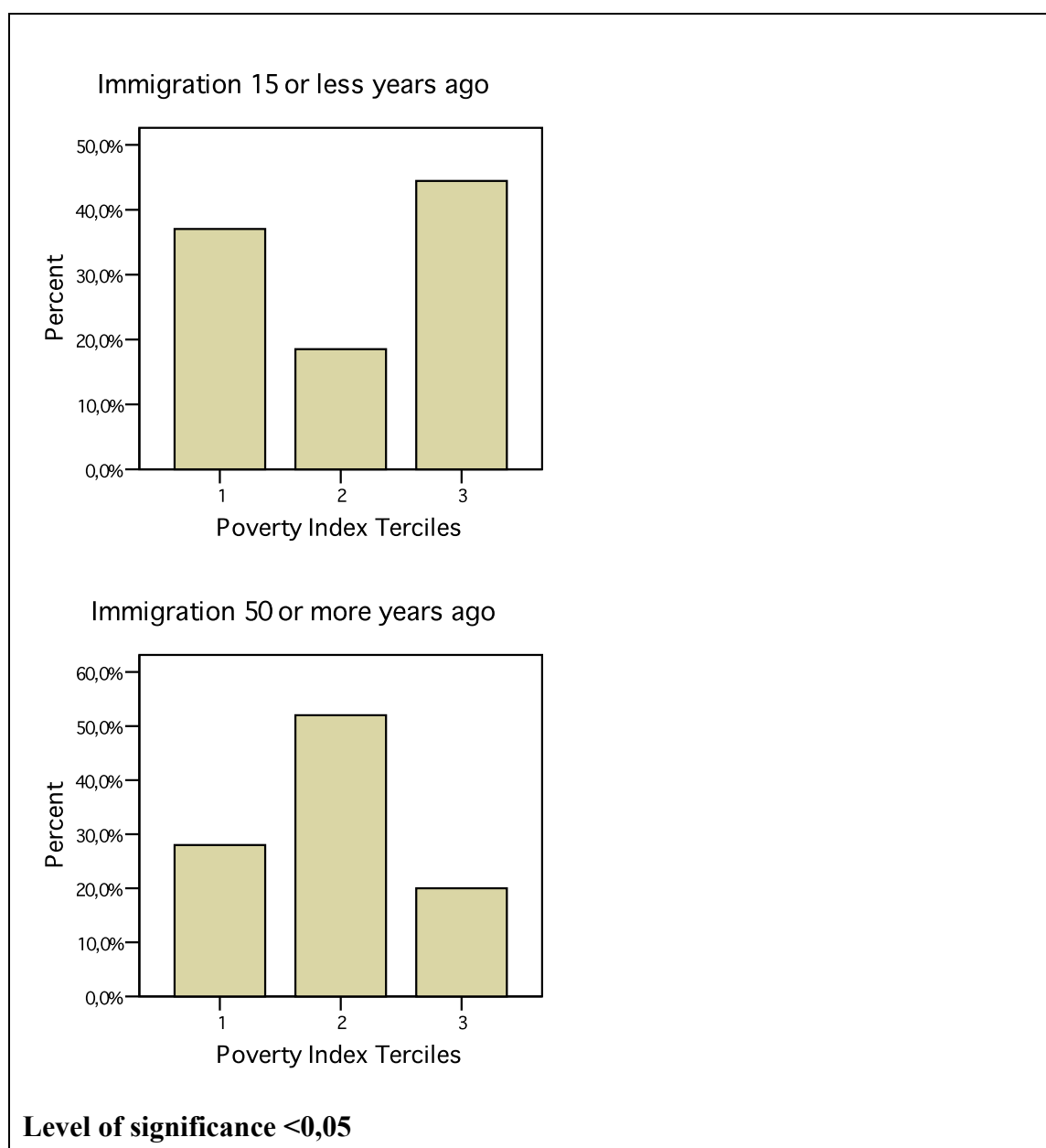
Hence the immigrated households show more extreme positions in the spectrum of poverty distribution, while the locals have a more prominent position in the middle of the poverty distribution and moreover show fewer fluctuations (cf. Fig.3). This allows the conclusion that native households are firmer in their status in the village, while immigrated families have to orientate themselves anew and have to find their position in the village. Additionally, the economic circumstances of their previous place of residence play a role to explain for the relative poverty or relative prosperity.

To illuminate the special position of the immigration households further, a comparison between the immigrated households only among themselves with the criterion „duration of the immigrated household in the place of residence“ is interesting. In the research village a family whose change of place of residence was conducted a long time ago has a different level of poverty in consequence of change of place of residence in recent times. The latter are over proportionally present in the first and last poverty index tercile. Therefore, they tend to be relatively poor or relatively prosperous, while the immigrant families who have lived in the village for a long time are accumulated in the middle tercile (=tercile 2) (cf. Tab. 8 & Fig. 4). These groups however do not show any differences in the average of the poverty index.

Tab. 8: Distribution of the migrant groups (classified according to time of immigration) on the three terciles (Source: STORMA Subproject A1 – Village census 2004)

	Time of immigration (Heads of household)			
	15 or less years ago	16 to 49 years ago	50 or more years ago	Total
Tercile 1	27%	63%	10%	100%
Tercile 2	18%	59%	23%	100%
Tercile 3	33%	60%	7%	100%

Fig. 4: Comparison of groups of migrant families according to time spent in the research village (Source: STORMA Subproject A1 – Village census 2004)



In principle, there are two types of newly arrived immigrants in the village with different migration motives. There are the relatively wealthy, who have immigrated because of pull-factors like marriage or acquisition of land. The second group of immigrants is composed of households who have emigrated from their region of origin because of push-factors. They hoped for an improvement of their living conditions in the research village, but because of their unstable role in the village this wish has not been fulfilled. The households who have immigrated decades ago have meanwhile integrated themselves into the structures of the village and do not tend to be in extreme positions in the poverty-spectrum. The bottom line is that immigrated households tend to either an above or below average poverty status, especially in case of recent

immigration. Native households or long time residents on the other hand rather take a middle position in the distribution of poverty.

Synopsis of multiple cultural factors

The results of this case study are subject to further examination for the analysis of the connection of individual cultural factors with the poverty index: a synopsis of multiple cultural factors is made. The actual role of the ethnicity of the head of household is of special interest here: Does probably the different ethnic affiliation of the head of household play a role when for example the poverty status of the “less educated” or the recently immigrated are analysed?

Methodologically, groups of heads of household are formed (i.e. „tercile 1 – less educated“) on the basis of the poverty index and one cultural factor each (“less educated” or “more educated” as well as “recently migrated” or “migrated a long time ago”). These groups are correlated with the factor ethnicity (only the three main ethnicities in the village are considered: Uma, Moma and Rampi). With this synopsis ethnicity is also only of inferior importance and not significant. This underlines that other cultural factors apart from ethnicity of the head of household are actually responsible for different positions in the poverty spectrum.

This last result reveals that our tested approach of integrating cultural indicators into a statistical calculation scheme can only build the basis for further, especially qualitative research in order to find out why ethnicity plays an inferior role for the relation of poverty and education. As Weber (2006) illustrates with the example of another village of the Lore Lindu region the relationship between poverty, origin and education can never be analysed sufficiently by only using quantitative research methods. In that village statistical calculations provide the result that the people belonging to the autochthonous ethnic group are poorer than those who immigrated from North Sulawesi. On the basis of the quantitative data one can also conclude that the migrants are higher educated than the locals. Thus, our tested method would fit. However, we would not be able to answer the many questions about why this relation exists. Only by adding qualitative data, e.g. from narrative interviews, we can explain that historical influences in the study region as well as in North Sulawesi reaching back to the colonial period and a different shaping of the people’s cultural orientation system are crucial factors influencing the given poverty-education-origin interrelation.

Conclusion

The goal of our study was to develop a method which allows the quantitative combination of the distribution of poverty of households with cultural aspects. The data of a village census from rural Indonesia was used for the operationalization of the variables for poverty (use of a poverty index) and cultural aspects (education and origin). The cultural variables were linked with the poverty index by means of adequate statistical methods. The results of the case study show that the educational level of members of a household has a clear influence on the prosperity status of that household: a higher education results in lower relative poverty. Concerning the collective term „origin“, in the research village, it can be summed up that the ethnicity of the head of household has no considerable impact on the poverty status of that individual household. However, immigration has a significant effect on the poverty

distribution of the village: immigrants, especially those who have moved to the village in the last couple of years, tend to the extreme positions in the spectrum of poverty.

The study presented here cannot claim global validity, which was anyhow not intended. However, the results presented show that such an analysis is principally viable. The study therefore offers a methodical basis for the quantitative link between cultural factors and a poverty index, which can and should be optimized in future. Hereby the case study may form a basis for further research. Especially the variables education and origin are well suited for the transfer of the method to other regions. The final goal of reaching a weighting of cultural factors by generalization presents the most serious challenge in the context of this research approach although it does not have to be exclusively applicable to our research village or the region of Central Sulawesi. Should this however succeed, an important gap in the socioeconomic empirical research could be closed.

This study shows the limits of quantitative approaches in explaining cultural impacts on and relations to other, e.g. economic issues. With our applied method we ended up quickly at a point where additional qualitative data were required for explaining the statistical results in face of the complex interrelation of social, cultural, economic and political factors. Other studies in the research region, which are mainly based on quantitative data, reveal as well that the entire picture of the investigated topic cannot be drawn without additional qualitative data (cf. Steffen-Dewenter et al. 2007, Kreipe and Faust 2007, Priess et al. 2007, Schwarze et al. 2007). Furthermore, qualitative investigation assists with avoiding the inconsiderate production of stereotypes as it offers a view beyond alleged so-called hard facts, which are based on calculated significances from quantitative data. The real life can hardly be forced into a simple black and white scenario that inevitably emerges from statistical significances, which deal with only two categories: it is or it is not. A statistical significant correlation is a welcome result not necessary to be challenged. It is an undeniable hard fact, countable, measurable – an objective truth. This is the main difficulty and danger when mainly concentrating on quantitative analysis for investigating a certain problem.

For improving interdisciplinary scientific research and multi-method approaches two strategies should be aimed: a) expanding the effort of integrating data of usually qualitatively investigated topics into quantitative analysis and modelling, and at the same time b) allocating enough space for the comparatively more time-intensive qualitative research in order to avoid missing important data, which are necessary for explaining and thus better understanding inter-relations and causalities.

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The Myth of Traditionalism in Poor Societies

Gerald Braun

Abstract

Conservative and innovative behaviors exist parallel in all societies. The behavior of people living in Third World countries can be divided into three categories: the traditionalist, the rationalist and the 'modern man'. It is obvious to think that traditional behavior has to be modernized in order to develop the country. But theoretical as well as empirical evidence show that it is necessary to invert the thesis of traditionalism. Therefore it is necessary to analyze the influence of culture on the innovative behavior of a social group. In the text the author makes suppositions regarding the missing innovation adaptations in Third World countries.

Keywords

thesis of traditionalism, innovative behavior, cultural norms, Third World development policy

The young European veterinarian fights his way tediously through the high grass. His task: Vaccinating the *Masai*. It is the end of the rainy season. Finally, he sees the *Masai* settlement on a hill on the far side of the small river. He heads directly to the *manyatas*, wades through the river and arrives breathlessly at the *Masai elders*. The doctor introduces himself, explains his mission and ends with the more rhetoric question: "Are there any questions?" The elders stare at the sky for a long time – as it is typical for them. Eventually, someone says: "Yes, al-malimui (teacher). Why didn't you use the bridge?"

If this story is not true, it has to be made up.¹ (Fuglesang 1984: 42) Conservative and innovative behavior exists in all societies – and as people develop many types of knowledge they also develop many types of ignorance.

Our ideas about human behavior in poor societies can be divided into three categories (see scheme):

Accordingly, there is the type of the traditionalist (who is occasionally idealized as 'noble savage'), the 'confined' rational and the modern man of the industrial civilization; at any rate these are categories that exist in people's heads. Out- or unspoken, there is the idea that traditional attitudes and hostile behavior to modernization are a cause for poverty in the *Third World*. The socio-technological therapy is apparent: traditional values and behavior have to be 'modernized'. This insight is neither new nor trivial (Marx 1984: 12).² Nevertheless it is wrong, at least one-sided. Theoretical as well as empirical evidence suggest that the thesis of traditionalism has to be turned upside-down:

¹ Nevertheless, it is true.

² Eventually, it has been no less a figure than Karl Marx who formulated that "the more industrial developed country ... shows to the less developed country the picture of its own future." (own translation)

Traditional behavior is not the cause for poverty, but poverty is the cause for the so-called traditional behavior. Furthermore, this behavior guarantees secured survival in poor societies. Nothing more - and nothing less.

Table 1:

Perception of the Behavior in Poor Societies			
I. Observer's categories for the behavior analysis			
	Typ A 'Modern Man'	Typ B 'Limited rational'	Typ C 'Traditionalist'
behavior towards western economic values	taking-over 'rational' economic values	limiting needs	extreme resistance
desires, ideas	revolution of the rising anticipation	Imagination of limited goods	oriented status quo
reaction towards the gap between needs and achieved satisfaction level	trying to satisfy growing needs	trying to limit or reduce the needs	gap is not perceived
dominating economic system	individual competition, efficiency oriented	no dominating system, unexplained varieties	communitarian subsistence production, defense of the existing economic system
II. Observer's models for the behavior analysis			
individual models	maximizing	obstacle man	noble savage
models of society	modernizing, industrializing	traditional	primitive
discipline	development economics	sociology, social psychology	social anthropology, ethnology
III. Reactions of the development planner to the observer's models			
strategy of the planner	technical and financial development aid in order to enlarge the productivity among preferred groups	attempt to change the values and cognitive orientation of the obstacle man distribution of information and cheap offers for correctable groups	preservation or isolation of natural conditions destruction of the groups survival measures

Source: following, Hutton, Caroline; Cohen, Robin: African peasants and resistance to change: a reconsideration of sociological approaches in: Oxaal, Ivar; Barnett, Tony; Booth, David (eds.): *Beyond the sociology of development. Economy and society in Latin America and Africa*, London and Boston 1975, p.109.

Culture and innovation in poor societies

Culture, defined as the collective knowledge inventory of a group, has obviously a twofold function: It allows for the group to adjust to its environment in the widest sense and also provides approved measures of survival to its group members. Consequently, collective know-ledge inventories have their merit – admittedly, depending on the specific environment. Formulated the other way round this means, that a priori the general superiority of a certain knowledge set-up cannot be assumed, like for instance the codified and tacit knowledge of modern, technical-industrial civilization. On the contrary, the impressive number of development ruins in poor countries refers to the sometimes highly deficient problem solving competences of northern models and processes. (Braun 1991: 75-86.) Even more: Sometimes they tend to produce more problems than solutions.

Every social system has to face an innovation and an allocation problem; providing it aims at developing itself. (Röpke 1982: pp. 28.)³ It has to enlarge the economic productive forces through:

- the creation and implementation of new knowledge (innovation) (Schumpeter, 1987) and
- accelerated working efforts within the given working time and knowledge (allocation).

Each of those possibilities is to be understood as necessary, both together as sufficient condition of economic development (any way development might be defined).

Economic logic of allocation appears to be widely accepted among developing countries: The homo oeconomicus ('economic man') of the Third World uses, in the framework of given knowledge and available means of production, the existent opportunities in an efficient way.⁴ (Lipton 1982: 259.) The World Bank's complex computer simulations concerning ideal terraces and irrigation systems for growing rice deliver simple results: the ideal way of growing rice is how it has been done for ages in Southeast Asia.

Therefore, the knowledge creation in different cultures moves into the centre of micro and macro development analysis – especially the interaction between cultural, economic and ecological factors in the innovation process. Actually, the innovation problem gained more interest within the last years. A reason for that may be that social engineers are not able to regulate complex societies with the help of mechanical formulas. (Röpke 1980:1) This is equally true for the developing problems of poor countries as well as for the growth weaknesses of highly developed industrialized countries.

Very contradicting assumptions circulate among the innovation oriented interpretation of socio-cultural ways of life in the Third World. (Braun, Fremerey, 1991: 8-10.) With view to the theory of modernization, the frequently observed rejection of new ideas and operations can be interpreted as a result of traditional attitudes. Apart from that the development aid industry is

³ The on hand article owes a lot to this book.

⁴ „There are comparatively few significant inefficiencies in traditional agriculture“.

characterized by an astonishing optimism regarding rapid and constant growth of the innovation level. (Braun 1995: pp. 243)⁵

Both notions dramatically have lost their acceptance. Empirical analyses in poor agricultural societies result in the following presumptions:

The introduction of innovations as a result of development projects does not fail because of traditional behavior, like experts tend to convince us. The contrary is true, it fails because the innovation is rated rationally and is therefore rejected.

The reason: Poor societies with a low level of environmental mastery just allow economic activities with moderate productivity with high yield stability.

In order to survive one has to try:

- to stabilize the moderate output/yield, that means to secure its probability ('safety first').
- to minimize vital life threats instead of maximizing monetary income. This can be done with the help of a diversified income strategy and extended social relations ('risk aversion').
- not to accept innovations which increase the output yield uncertainty, even if its economic return might lie substantially above the one of the traditional production alternative ('innovation scepticism').

In short: People in poor societies have to develop an ethic of subsistence in order to survive. The poor farmer has to be prepared for the worst case in the struggle with nature – comparable to a Prussian general staff officer.

- 1) The cultural systems in poor societies do not generally impede innovative processes but direct them in a positive and survival securing way.

Cultural values only aggravate the implementation of innovations when they threat to destroy traditional, survival securing models of society.

Otherwise innovations from other cultures are absolutely accepted or developed endogenously, respectively. (Elwert 1983: pp. 34)⁶ This seems to be proved by the impressive spreading of innovations in Third World rural areas; the oxcart in South and East Africa, camels with traditional cattle nomads, the pick-up with the Navajos – for mentioning but a few. Often these innovations are unnoticed by outsiders. They present themselves in traditional style because they are easier accepted if they link to the familiar designs of living. (Elwert 1983: 50)⁷

- 2) Especially, in heterogeneous ethnical societies – they are the rule not the exception - single ethnic groups are equipped with a (group-) specific collective knowledge. Thus, the socio-cultural channeled receptiveness

⁵ From my point of view, this calculated optimism is based on the technocratic tabooing of the power relations in many developing countries. With respect to the current situation an autocratic growth of the innovation level can not be expected, independent from how much capital, human resources and technical know-how is transferred to those countries.

⁶ Without denying the general opportunity of innovation transfer by administrative institutions, it seems as if endogenous innovations are enforced quicker and more sustainable.

⁷ Such traditional classification of innovations can entail that a night watch organization, which became necessary due to thievery, behaves like a voodoo religion. (Example of the Zangbeto in Dahomey).

of innovations according to groups and individuals can display significant differences. (Simson 1986: pp.7.) Examples for dynamic minorities are the Chinese in South East Asia, the Sikhs in India and Indians in East Africa.

- 3) Cultural value systems not only govern social interactions, but also the relationships to the ecological environment which is only manageable within limits. Consequently, the range where ecological sound innovations can be implemented is very much restricted. Trespassing these limits by externally forced development projects had devastating effects in many cases, for instance with artificial irrigation, extensive monocultural farming etc. Nonetheless innovations are accepted if they stay within these ecological limits and do not harm the group's survival standards.

Efficient poverty in the post-colonial society

As a result, so-called traditional value systems generally cannot be seen as obstacle for innovations. However, it remains true that cultural systems of poor societies guarantee survival at the best, but barely economic progress: They guarantee efficient poverty.

Quasi-feudal agricultural societies and the repressive structures of the state are indeed stronger obstacles to the unfolding of the innovative potential than alleged traditional behavior. On choosing between "self privileging and legitimizing restrain" (H. Elsenhans, translated by author) the states oligarchs of the Third World select both: enriching and subsidizing urban classes – in both cases to the disadvantage of poor farmers. Most governments put no value to the promotion of the rural backcountry. Rather the opposite is true. They prefer rural elites: civil servants, businessmen and military officers – in order to secure their power. People in East Africa coined a new word for that: the Wa-Benzis, the Mercedes driving clan.

Wide spread fatalism, the retraction into subsistence production and obvious inactivity (even towards developing projects) can therefore be components of a rational defense strategy⁸: "All over the world we find reports which prove that farmers very well know how to keep the administration away with the help of a certain behavior: They agree with everything that is asked of them, they express themselves inconsistently, they pretend to not understand, because everything is too complicated for them. All in all they endeavor to convey the picture of stupidity in order to spare themselves further contact with state representatives." (Elwert 1983: 46, Burkey 1996: 44).

⁸ Very good examples for the peasants' strategies and the national administration can be found with: (Spittler, 1983: p.45-73).

For instance cp. "The simplest explanation of why agricultural extension staff tend to be confined to interaction with the 'progressive' farmers is that the ordinary peasants are not really seeking their cooperation. They know that getting involved with the extension staff is the beginning of a relationship that may lead to government intervention in their farming." (Hyden 1980: 78).

Summing it up polemically:

- The decisions of poor Third World farmers and entrepreneurs about innovations or non-innovations are at least as complex as the decisions of European managers concerning innovative actions. Cultural value systems play a selective and productive role. They provide approved methods of survival.
- In poor societies, innovation resistance seems to be reasonable; in contrast accepting them seems unreasonable. Failures quickly threaten the survival of the group. Innovation success by contrast threatens the continuity of the social shared risk community. Alleged traditional behavior is life-sustaining. It produces efficient poverty – nothing less, but also nothing more.
- From this point of view those experts become problematic groups who implement nonreflective risk-enhancing (instead of risk-reducing) innovations⁹ - and those of the “target group” who unresistingly accept them.

The thesis of traditionalism as an obstacle to development is admittedly unfounded but intellectual and emotional relieving because the victims can be blamed for failures.

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⁹ The basic problem of innovation-oriented development policy can be read as the following: 'How can you motivate conservative, failure accustomed small entrepreneurs who have good reasons for sticking to traditional production methods to implement innovations? Because without innovations these entrepreneurs can survive and produce efficiently but they will stay poor. See (Baldus, Röpke, Semmelroth 1981: 59) they mention an impressing list of risk-averting innovation.

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Irrigation in the World - Challenges for the Future

Peter Wolff

Abstract

One lesson of the present food crisis in many developing countries is that rapid agricultural growth is urgently needed to face the severe crisis currently escalating in these countries. Projections of future irrigation development over the next half century are exercises in "futuresology". But the following is not speculation: Irrigated agriculture around the world, and especially in developing countries, faces extraordinary challenges in the coming decades. On the one hand, it has to provide a major share of the required increases in food and fibre production to meet the objectives of poverty alleviation and development. On the other hand, it is threatened by water shortages arising from accelerated competition of domestic, industrial and other water users. This situation is further worsened by dwindling financial resources available for capital expenditures as the costs of new irrigation schemes increase.

Keywords

Food crisis and irrigation, problems of irrigation, future changes, challenges for the future

Introduction

Commenting on the recent global food shortage Sachs (2008) wrote in the Time magazine: "The world economy has run into a brick wall. Despite countless warnings in recent years about the need to address a looming hunger crisis in poor countries and a looming energy crisis worldwide, world leaders failed to think ahead. The result is a global food crisis. Wheat, corn and rice prices have more than doubled in the past two years, and oil prices have more than tripled since the start of 2004. These food-price increases combined with soaring energy cost will slow if not stop economic growth in many parts of the world and will even undermine political stability, as evidenced by the protest riots that have erupted in places like Haiti, Bangladesh and Burkina Faso. Practical solutions to these growing woes do exist, but we'll have to start thinking ahead and acting globally."

The crisis has according to Sachs (2008) its roots in four interlinked trends. "The first is the chronically low productivity of farmers in the poorest countries, caused by their inability to pay for seeds, fertilizers and irrigation. The second is the misguided policy in the U.S. and Europe of subsidizing the diversion of food crops to produce biofuels like corn-based ethanol. The third is climate change; take the recent droughts in Australia and Europe, which cut the global production of grain in 2005 and 2006. The fourth is the growing global demand for food and feed grains brought on by swelling populations and incomes. In short, rising demand has hit a limited supply, with the poor taking the hardest blow."

Trying to find answers to the question “What should be done?” many suggestions have been and still are being made. Many of these suggestions are unrealistic and ignore that food and nutrition insecurity coincides with a host of constraining circumstances: rampant poverty, use of outdated technologies and a lack of farm-to-market roads and other infrastructure. Similarly, institutional weaknesses and poor access to credit effectively block opportunities to improve land and water use practices. Mental barriers, disenfranchisement and disengagement are major obstacles. Unfortunately these circumstances tend to reinforce each other. Furthermore it has to be considered that food production is inconceivable without water. Each loaf of bread, each vegetable, each fish – indeed every meal – requires substantial volumes of water to produce. Food security depends therefore to a great deal on the availability of water in the soil. Besides optimizing the management of “green” water irrigation will continue to play an important role in ending under nutrition and achieving global food security.

During the second half of the 20th century it became clear that the irrigated sector performs an essential task in meeting the basic food needs of billions of people in the world, especially in Asia. It has provided more than half of the two most important basic staples and close to a third of all food crops. In the future, irrigation farming and gardening will have to provide an even larger proportion of total food supplies, especially in Asia. To achieve this the future will need more than today’s professionalism in drawing up new ideas and relief plans. It requires true decisive action in solving all those problems already identified; it cannot afford to delay taking such action. This paper deals with the problems of today, the challenges for the future and the forces for change.

Problems of Today - Challenges for the Future

Notwithstanding the great importance of irrigation for the production of foodstuffs and renewable raw materials, the sustainability of irrigation farming in developing countries is seriously at stake. Country-wide, regional and seasonal water scarcity in developing countries poses severe problems for national governments and the international development community. The challenges of growing water scarcity are exacerbated by the increasing costs of new water, wasteful use of already developed water supplies, degradation of soils in irrigated areas, depletion of ground water, pollution of water and its impact on human health, and the massive subsidies and distorted incentives which govern water use. Apart from these problems, it is clear that the rapid development in irrigated agriculture in developing countries during the past decades has been achieved with remarkably little change in organisational frameworks, irrigation technologies and the institutional setting of agriculture.

Increasing Cost of New Water

According to Rosegrant (1995) new sources of water are increasingly expensive to exploit, limiting the potential for expansion in new water supplies. If we look at the situation in India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Thailand we find that the real capital costs for the construction of new irrigation systems, on an unweighted average, increased from US\$ 1,744 per hectare in 1966-69 to US\$ 4,385 per hectare in 1986-88. Since then a further increase in costs took place.

All countries show large increases in the cost of investment per hectare over the past decades. In India and Indonesia, the real costs of new irrigation systems have more than doubled since the late 1960s and early 1970s; in the Philippines, costs have increased by more than 50 %; in Sri Lanka, they have tripled; and in Thailand they have increased by 40 %. In Africa, irrigation construction costs have been even higher than in Asia, due to numerous physical and technical constraints. The average investment cost for medium and large-scale irrigation with full water control is estimated at US\$ 8,300 per hectare in 1992 dollars (FAO, 1992). These cost increases, in combination with until recently declining cereal prices, result in very low rates of return for new irrigation construction. Recent food price increases have not changed the situation in respect to the rates of return.

Wasteful Use of Existing Water Supplies

One of the most challenging issues is to generate water savings from present agricultural, household, and industrial water uses. Water use efficiency of irrigation farming in most regions of the developing world typically ranges from 25 to 40 %, while in urban water supply systems often 50 % or more can be considered as direct water losses. These inefficiencies seem to imply a potential for huge savings from existing uses of water. The potential savings of water are not as dramatic as it sometimes appears, because some of the water "lost" from systems becomes beneficial elsewhere. However, the scope for water savings from existing uses remains large.

An immensely difficult challenge will be to improve the efficiency of agricultural water use and maintain crop productivity, while allowing at the same time reallocation of water from agricultural to urban, industrial and environmental uses. Irrigated area accounts for nearly two-thirds of world rice and wheat production, so increases in irrigated output per unit of land and water are essential to feed growing populations. At the same time, because of the limited number of cost-effective new sources of water, the rapidly growing municipal and industrial demand for water will need to be met increasingly by water savings within irrigated agriculture, which generally withdraws 80 % of water diverted for use in developing countries.

Degradation of Irrigated Cropland

The last decade of the 20th century has seen, according to Rosegrant (1995), a significant degradation of existing irrigated cropland. Although data is limited and definitions of affected area vary considerably, estimates of annual global losses of agricultural land due to water logging and salinization range from low figures in the range of 160,000 - 300,000 ha (Tolba, 1978; Barrow, 1991) to estimates as high as 1.5 million ha (Kovda, 1983), with most of the water logging and salinization in irrigated croplands of high production potential.

The FAO estimates that half of the world's irrigated areas are threatened by the three „silent enemies: salinization, alkalinization and water logging. Global accounts of the total area affected by salinity but still in production also vary considerably. El-Ashry (1991), Rhoades (1987), and Kayasseh and Schenk (1989) have come to the conclusion that salinity seriously reduces productivity on 20 to 30 million hectares of irrigated land. Barrow (1991), however, estimates that in the late 1980s roughly 30 to 46 million hectares were in a poor state due to salinization. Thus degradation of irrigated area is a significant and

growing problem, increasing further the pressure on today's irrigated production.

Besides water logging and salinization, loss of irrigated area is also due to reservoir siltation, deferred maintenance, watershed degradation, excessive water allocation and well failure.

Ground Water Depletion

Ground water depletion is another severe problem in irrigated agriculture around the world. Over drafting or mining ground water at a rate higher than the recharge not only increases pumping lifts and costs due to the lowered water table, it also causes land to subside and induces saline water intrusion along coast lines, in addition to other degradations of water quality in the aquifer.

In the United States the equivalent of 4 million hectares, one-fifth of the irrigated area, is irrigated by pumping in excess of ground water recharge (Postel, 1993). The Ogallala aquifer, which stretches from South Dakota to Northwest Texas, has been heavily depleted in its southern portions, where ground water supplies dropped from 550 million acre-feet prior to large-scale irrigation development down to 417 million acre-feet in 1990.

In parts of the North China Plain ground water levels are falling by as much as one meter per year, and heavy pumping in portions of the southern Indian state Tamil Nadu has been estimated to reduce water levels by as much as 25 - 30 m in a decade. In India's western state of Gujarat, over-pumping in the coastal areas has caused saltwater to invade the aquifer, contaminating village drinking supplies (Postel, 1993).

Fossil aquifers, which are typically deep underground receiving little or no recharge, are being utilised for irrigation in some of the most arid regions of the world. Pumping of fossil water constitutes water mining, one-time extractions from a depletable reserve. Egypt and Libya provide examples of extensive use of fossil water for irrigation. Three-fourths of Saudi Arabia's water supply come from non-renewable ground water sources, and this share is expected to rise: Ground water pumping in Saudi Arabia exceeds estimated recharge more than five-fold.

Pollution, Water Quality and Human Health

Pollution of water from industrial effluents, poorly treated or untreated domestic and industrial sewage, seepage of agricultural chemicals, and runoff of mining wastes is a growing problem around the world. The main contaminants found in water include detergents (soap and solvents) all kinds of biocides, wastes, petroleum and other derivatives, toxic metals, radioactive fertilisers and other plant nutrients, oxygen-depleting compounds, and vectors of diseases like hepatitis, typhoid fever, cholera, and dysentery (Anton, 1993).

Because of water scarcity contaminated waste water is very often used for irrigation, creating significant risks for human health and well-being.

Massive Subsidies and Distorted Incentives

Rosegrant (1995) points out, that despite these challenges, most of the world does not treat water as the scarce resource that it is. And this has not changed during the last decade. Both urban and rural water users are provided with massive subsidies on water use. Irrigation water is essentially unpriced. In

urban areas the price of water does not cover the cost of delivery. Decisions on capital investment in the water sector are carried out irrespective of the management of the resource. In Jordan, despite severe water scarcity, present water policies encourage overuse of water, often resulting in unpredictable rationing. Excessive use of irrigation water is encouraged by massive subsidies. Irrigation water allocated by the public sector is priced at only one-tenth of the actual cost of water provided by the private sector (Rosegrant, Gazmuri, and Yadav, 1995). Annual irrigation subsidies at the end of the 20th century are estimated at US\$ 0.6 billion in Pakistan, US\$ 1.2 billion in India, and US\$ 5.0 billion in Egypt.

Whenever water is provided at little or no cost to the user, neither water managers, irrigation farmers, nor urban water consumers have an incentive to conserve water. As a result, this precious resource is deemed undepletable and is applied excessively for all kinds of purposes, leading to water logging, salinization, ground water over-drafting, and return flows degraded by agricultural chemicals and industrial pollutants. In irrigation farming this could cause a weakening of "best management practices", seriously affecting the profitability of the whole enterprise.

Management and Institutional Situation

The management of irrigation systems in many developing countries is characterized by a situation in which the "Irrigation Departments" are isolated from the beneficiaries and make the system run as well as possible with little regard to the basic objective of crop production. For example, Pakistan's irrigated agricultural sector experiences constraints which, according to its National Commission on Sustainable Irrigated Agriculture, are caused mainly by the following three factors:

- 4) A general shortage of good quality canal water, which becomes more pronounced during peak periods of crop water requirement;
- 5) A maintenance-related deterioration of the physical condition of the canal system, which reduces the water delivery efficiency while aggravating the water shortage situation; and
- 6) A centralised and rather static administrative system, which cannot fully cope with the increasing difficulties of effecting both proper operation and maintenance of the physical system, as well as equitable water distribution.

In Pakistan, as in many other developing countries, these constraints are further aggravated by some daunting environmental problems associated with water logging, soil salinity and flow limitations of the conveyance system. The combined effect of these problems amounts to an increasing inequity and declining productivity in irrigation farming. It is clear that, under conditions of resource shortages, equity and productivity are positively correlated.

Irrigation Technology

The employment of new irrigation technology in developing countries is a perplexing issue. Theory tells us that new technologies improve the productivity of an economic enterprise and reduce its cost. Yet while there have been dramatic changes in irrigation technology in Australia, North America and Europe in the past 45 years, little of this development affected, for instance,

Asian irrigation. Technology employed in many recently constructed canal irrigation systems in Asia would be perfectly recognisable to a turn-of-the-century irrigation engineer. Swendsen and Rosegrant (1994) see a principal reason for this lack of technology transfer in the fact that the most important developments in irrigation technology have occurred in the area of water application and not in the area of conveyance and distribution.

In developing countries, especially in Asia where farms are far smaller than Australian or U.S. farms, but where irrigation schemes are often much larger than in Australia or the U.S., there has been little adoption of the sprinkler and drip technologies which are the principal targets of research attention there. In Asia up to now, most needed are improved technologies for water conveyance, delivery and allocation, and not for water application in the field. This requires, according to Swendsen and Rosegrant (1994), a type of research which is vastly different from the agronomy-related research models that have been introduced to the Asian region from abroad. Such new models must be developed, for instance, in Asia involving close linkages between technology assessment and adaptation and system management innovation. In addition, widespread acceptance of new technologies at the main system level requires a more sweeping sectoral policy and institutional change before strong effective demand for them will emerge.

Forces for Change

The Realistic Approach

In considering the near-term future, trends can be extrapolated to provide a sense of anticipated conditions. But extrapolations are far less reliable when dealing with the mid-range and long-term future. In the case of irrigation development, it is useful to identify and examine fundamental forces and to speculate on their implications for change. Svendsen and Rosegrant (1994) have identified four such forces: Competition for water, environmental concerns, (irrigation) technology, economic and political liberalization.

Competition for Water

Water is a finite but renewable resource. What we are concerned with is the timely allocation of the average quantity of fresh water which will be replaced annually in the surface waters and aquifers of a country or region. As we close on the limit imposed by the level of annual replacement, we expect an increasing competition among various water users and costs of exploitation to rise, as already has taken place in respect to the real capital costs for construction of new irrigation systems (see above).

Irrigation creates typically the largest consumptive use of water, but unfortunately its priority of claiming water is always lower than domestic use claims, and its economic productivity does not compare with industrial water uses. Therefore, according to Svendsen and Rosegrant (1994) irrigation will be subject to increasing pressure in order to reduce its consumption, release supplies for competing uses and pay the economic scarcity cost for water, rather than the current highly subsidised prices.

Irrigation Technology

The crucial components of an irrigation system - the operational items - are the structures for regulating, dividing and measuring the flow of water to the various parts of the system. Their type and characteristics largely determine the operability and, subsequently, the manageability of the system. There is a great variety of structures available from simple overflow structures to automatically controlled systems. During the last decades, advances have been made mainly in terms of automation. The application of these devices in the water supply part of an irrigation system provides more flexibility in water management and transforms irrigation management from system down to farm level.

In the developing world a relatively slow growing agricultural population has to feed an exploding number of people, especially citizens of urban and peri urban areas. Therefore, the output of the agricultural labor force has to be increased by the introduction of appropriate technologies, including irrigation technologies which save labor and ease the workload of irrigation. Under no circumstances shall irrigated agriculture any longer be looked upon as having the capacity to absorb all the unemployed masses of people for whom the national system is unable to provide enough employment in other sectors of the economy.

Consumer-oriented production in agriculture is gaining widespread acceptance, forcing farmers to become even more cost and profit concerned managers. The need to increase the agricultural output and to reduce labor, management and resource input expenses will result in a shift towards the development and use of more sophisticated production technologies even in developing countries.

Environmental Concern

Several kinds of environmental issues are of direct concern to irrigated agriculture world-wide. There are direct affects such as watershed deforestation and so-called externalities which result from irrigation or are exacerbated by it, such as rising water tables, salinization of irrigated land, or chemical contamination of ground water. Irrigation development can also be hazardous to public health by providing ideal conditions for malaria and Bilharzia, especially where cropping is envisaged all the year round. Today, however, there are techniques available, that can create disease-free ecological environments in irrigation schemes and minimize other problems of environmental concern (Feyen and Badji, 1993). But the public in many countries becomes increasingly concerned and therefore quite often is opposing irrigation development.

Values placed upon various uses of water are changing according to society's preferences. The increasingly urbanized world will demand water not only for new municipal and industrial uses but also for environmental reasons. The public in the industrial countries as well as in the developing world appreciates much more than in the past the value of free flowing streams, undammed canyons and wetland biotopes. The demand to preserve them will intensify world-wide.

Economic Liberalization

Of the forces for change currently at large in the developing world, according to Svendsen and Rosegrant (1994), none is more significant than "economic liberalization". Recent changes in economic and political philosophy and policy

in Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, South Asia and in most of Africa are profound and will shape the course of economic and political development in these countries for decades to come. Although applied in different forms in different countries, economic liberalization is characterized by market-oriented economic policies, realistic exchange rates, liberalization of international trade, a central role of private initiatives in producing goods and services, reduction of subsidies, and transparency in economic policy instruments, i.e., overt rather than hidden subsidization and taxation. Continued economic liberalization will improve in many cases the relative competitive position of agriculture in the economy. However, liberalization also implies reduction of indirect subsidies to agriculture, exerting further pressure for increasing the efficiency of irrigation and raising agricultural productivity.

Dramatic changes have taken place in Eastern Europe. A well documented example is East Germany: With the re-unification of Germany the economical situation in the eastern part of the country has changed completely. For instance the economics of irrigating fodder crops and cereals, which are the main crops irrigated besides sugar beets and potatoes, became questionable. Following re-unification the irrigated area declined dramatically from more than 520,000 hectares to less than 130,000 hectares today. Similar developments took place in other parts of Eastern Europe. Centrally planned economics had installed a farming system, which rearranged the countryside by creating very large field plots, providing good opportunities for the use of large-scale sprinkler irrigation technologies, like side-roll, centre pivot and linear move systems. Now the machinery lies idle along the roadside, little more than scrap. Due to the tense economic situation in this region nobody even dares to speculate about the time-frame for new investments in irrigation equipment.

Administrative Liberalization?

Environmental concern is a state of mind not easy to reach. When one considers how long it has taken the average citizen in the developed world to adopt at least some essential environmentally sound behavior, it is hardly surprising that the average politician, who is always trying to find a compromise **between** diverging interests, will need even more time to take account of environmental concerns when making policy decisions. One reason has been his simplistic view of the world, where free trade and continuous growth are the central issues to be dealt with exclusively. Therefore, in the past political systems and their administration have served predominantly the economic sector, smoothing business operations and providing the grounds for the highest possible gross national product, since the latter is deemed the most important performance indicator. Unfortunately, this distorted view of a nation's economic power tends to exclude other key variables of human survival and success from consideration. In particular, the strong belief that the stochastic nature of an unhampered production and trade automatically carries the potential of regulating itself always towards more perfection prevents many a contemporary politician from taking a closer look at the fragile nature of our present well-being. Concern over the negative ecological side-effects of economic development and progress is only slowly making itself felt.

In the future, politicians and government officials - no matter who and where they are - have to operate on a higher level of **social competence**. They are elected and put in charge as leaders and public service personnel, who are

obliged to transform society's ideas for a better future. Sustainability is one of the keywords which sets the standards for the international community as a whole. Svendsen (1987) has identified human institutions - a term which covers not only governmental agencies but all sorts of social structures - as "the keys to sustainability". In his words, no piece of infrastructure is stable or sustainable without instructions to operate, repair, adapt and maintain it. This might require unpopular decisions and the will to accept the limits of growth as set forth, for example, by the Club of Rome, especially when reductions in wealth, income and living conditions become inevitable. Unfortunately, this new era does not suit individuals who wish to please everybody with a compromise, but rather those whose integrity allows for clear decisions and prompt execution. However, to invite business oriented characters to venture into typically governmental services, e.g. waste recycling or water delivery, with a profit maximizing philosophy could generate the wrong effects, as demonstrated by many negative examples in Europe and North America.

Administrative tasks like environmental protection and water policies can only be performed right by government initiative. More than ever it will be the duty of the knowledgeable and incorruptible official to create and enforce the appropriate regulations.

As far as irrigated agriculture is concerned, there are three major points of interest: To protect **water quality** is an objective which goes beyond agricultural issues and involves both the individual and governmental supervision. But ensuring sufficient **water quantities** for future generations lies solely in the hands of public authorities. In many cases only painful withdrawal-quota and water rationing will help to solve existing problems. In the past maintaining and improving the **quality of land** has been the responsibility of the land owner. Due to bad irrigation practice, salinization threatens one of the most valuable resources - arable land. At this point, officials truly should think about new regulations which drastically limit the freedom of the private irrigator: The range of possible solutions stretches from demanding an annual "land degradation mortgage" paid by the irrigator, if regular soil probing reveals increasing salinization, to carrying out all water applications in the field by public service, leaving no option to the land owner. The final choice would be to prohibit irrigating at all, forcing the land owner to convert his formerly irrigated fields to dry land farming. On the other hand, large-scale waterlogging could sometimes be attributed to bad planning and supervision by governmental agencies or public services, entitling the private land owner to claim compensation from the authority.

A Social Fiction Approach - Changing the Global Production System

Ian Carruthers, an internationally recognized well known agricultural economist at Wye College, University of London, forecasted in 1994 a switch in the global production base which will lead to the cities of the South (developing countries) producing the bulk of the manufactured goods (industrial and others) and services (e.g., routine banking, insurance, travel, software development, etc.), while the North (developed countries, incl. Australia) supplying the bulk of their food. Local food supplies will increasingly fail to satisfy southern urban demand because the population of the cities will continue to grow rapidly. Expansion of area cropped has virtually come to an end; yield increases now depend mainly on institutional reform and management improvement which will be much more

difficult to achieve than with new wheat and rice varieties and nitrogen fertilizers during the green revolution. Public and private agricultural research in both the North and the South, he argues, will continue to receive diminishing resources, and new biotechnology appears to stumble along with only few practical innovations facing growing consumer resistance. All in all, in his opinion, the prospects for a second phase of the green revolution are remote. He is convinced that the tropical and subtropical developing world will, in about 20 years time, produce the bulk of the manufactured goods, and the temperate world will produce the bulk of the food (Carruthers and Morrison, 1994).

Carruthers and Morrison (1994) conclude *inter alia*:

- 1) "Water problems are central to agriculture's difficulties. Rainfall is inadequate and highly variable. Yet a vibrant agriculture is essential, and, under the assumption of a favourable macroeconomic policy, as land becomes scarcer, technological change in favour of some forms of land and water saving, labor using technology, appears to be the key."
- 2) "At present, irrigated agriculture provides one third of the world's food production. Perhaps two thirds of the future incremental production will come from irrigated land. However, we do not anticipate or call for an increased rate of capital intensive investment in irrigation infrastructure but we do need to see more achieved with what is presently developed."
- 3) "It is thus conceivable that in the next decades we will see increasing incentives for the North's food producers to increase production (perhaps with less subsidy), given that an increasingly urbanized and industrialized South will be in a position to pay for these imports."

What an outlook, indeed - a Morgenthau-Plan for the humid, temperate zones of the earth! Unfortunately, it will only delay the problems of water mining and pollution for a few decades or so, resulting in even worse conditions then. And what, Mr. Carruthers, will happen if social unrest and political conflicts with possible military action arise in such a global setting of division of labor and production means?

Conclusions and Questions

The future needs more than today's professionalism in drawing up new ideas and relief plans. It requires - as simple as it sounds - true decisive action in solving all those problems already identified; it cannot afford to delay taking such action

Projections of future irrigation development over the next half century are exercises in "futuresology". But the following is not speculation: Irrigated agriculture around the world, and especially in developing countries, faces extraordinary challenges in the coming decades. On the one hand, it has to provide a major share of the required increases in food and fibre production to meet the objectives of poverty alleviation and development. On the other hand, water shortages arising from accelerated competition of domestic, industrial and other water users threaten it. This situation is further worsened by dwindling financial resources available for capital expenditures as the costs of new irrigation schemes increase.

In the future, municipal water demand will always be of first priority. It becomes quite clear that world wide a reallocation of water supplies will have to take place. In many cases there will be a transformation of irrigation water sources in favour of domestic and industrial uses. Agriculture and especially the irrigation sector, being at present the main water user, will have to get along with less and less water in the years to come - water that could be increasingly of marginal quality.

However, developing countries are beginning to follow western production philosophies, shifting from land-extensive farming to land-intensive agriculture, well aware that they will in future be dependent on external inputs and on the introduction of cost reducing technologies. But future increases in output will be gained from the same resources, placing an even greater emphasis on yield increases. The critical question which remains un-answered is: Can technology continue to generate the yield increases required in the future? This question is further complicated by concerns about the sustainability of agricultural development in the Third World, the shortage of unoccupied and suitable land, and the availability of adequate water supplies to meet projected future requirements.

The mechanism of poverty and overpopulation is well understood and documented. Nevertheless, we have not been able to adjust the number of people to the population supporting capacity of the land in those regions of the world which are most prone to famine and resource misuse. Technical and economical instruments, like irrigation development and subsidy, have not brought any relief of the tense situation in these often resource lacking, marginal areas, because such measures generate too small an advantage per capita in the long run; in addition, they fail to provide equal opportunities within and among supported regions due to the pronounced variable nature of ecosystems. This causes the "poor guy" to react as always, securing his well-being by a greater number of descendants. Therefore, if we do not want to exert pressure, our only chance is to provide the individual with an outlook for a sustained fair income in order to change his reproduction habit. **But how?** The answer might well be a prize-winning one.

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Frühstück im „Blauen Mondschein“

Lern- und Kommunikationsprozesse im Spannungsfeld zwischen Dorfgemeinden und Reichsgerichten (1550-1790)

Werner Trossbach

Abstract

After the Peasants' War (1524-1526) rural communities in Germany became entitled to draw their feudal lords to court. In practice, however, it was not easy for them to find the way to the courts in charge, the Imperial Cameral Court and the Imperial Aulic Council. The latter was geographically situated in Vienna, at the southern periphery of the Holy Roman Empire. In many cases peasants had to overcome a distance of more than 500 miles to launch a lawsuit at this court. The learning capacities of the peasant communities, however, proved to be fairly high.

In most cases two persons out of the communities were sent to Vienna as so-called "deputies". On the threshold of the Imperial court they tried to get into contact with "important persons". Most of the peasant deputies succeeded to establish so-called "private audiences" with the judges, trying to exert influence on their decisions, sometimes even by offering bribes. Indeed, some of them began to act as a kind of professional lobbyists. They exchanged letters with the communities at home who put all their hopes in the activities of their representatives. Some of the latter, however, were not free from pursuing personal interests. Strife arose, when their efforts failed and – as in the majority of cases – the Imperial Aulic Council ruled against the peasants' desires.

Most of the legal proceedings at the Imperial Cameral Court followed the same formal and informal pathways. By the end of the 17th century, however, the Cameral Court was transferred to Wetzlar, a city in the centre of the Holy Roman Empire. Profiting by the short distances some peasantries from the immediate neighborhood began to appear in large numbers at the seat of the Imperial Cameral Court to underpin their wishes, thereby transforming the usual custom of humble petitioning into a kind of rallying, a new way of political behavior.

Key Words

Early modern period, German peasant communities; legal solutions of rural conflicts

Seit längerem wissen wir, dass nicht alle "deutschen Untertanen" in der frühen Neuzeit Macht und Herrschaft lediglich als passive Objekte ertrugen (Blickle 1981). Der Bauernkrieg (1524 - 1526) blieb zwar einmalig, und damit der Versuch des "gemeinen Mannes", "die Gewalt" im Reich zu erstreiten. Es ist auch richtig, dass das Erlebnis der gegnerischen Übermacht und einer Niederlage, deren kurzfristige Folgen - Hinrichtungen, Vertreibungen, Verstümmelungen, Strafzahlungen (Hohn 2004) - durchaus als katastrophal bezeichnet werden können, zu einer nachhaltigen Desillusionierung beitrug.

In der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts waren jedoch auch in den an schwersten betroffenen Gebieten die unmittelbaren Nachwehen des Bauernkrieges überstanden. Vergessen war "die radikalste Tatsache der deutschen Geschichte" (Karl Marx) damit jedoch nicht. Nicht nur auf Seiten der Obrigkeiten, auch in den bäuerlichen Gemeinden war die Erinnerung lebendig. Noch bis zum Ende des Jahrhunderts fanden sich Personen, die ihr Lebensalter in Befragungen, die ganz andere Dinge thematisierten, mit dem Bauernkrieg korrelierten, sei es, dass sie ihn noch erlebt hatten, sei es, dass ihnen ihre Eltern davon erzählt hatten - ein Indiz dafür, dass das Erlebnis des Bauernkriegs sogar die familiäre Kommunikation und Überlieferung strukturierte (Schunka 2000: 102f.; Trossbach 2000: 218, 223).

Die Verhaltensweisen der Gemeinden, die nach 1550 Konflikte mit ihren Obrigkeiten durchstanden, ließen sich jedoch nicht durch diese Erfahrung leiten, zumindest nicht in einem unmittelbar-affirmativen Sinne. Nach der Niederlage schied ein erneutes gewaltsames Aufbegehren als realistische Alternative aus, wenngleich noch bis etwa 1530 trotzige Äußerungen einzelner und rudimentäre Verschwörungsversuche kleiner Gruppen nachgewiesen sind, die auf eine Neuauflage des Bauernkrieges zielten (Schulze 1980; Schulze / Gabel 1984).

Dass der Unmut weiter bestand, lag daran, dass weder durch die unmittelbare Repression noch durch Einzelzugeständnisse nach dem Bauernkrieg die Konfliktursachen aus der Welt geschafft worden waren. Noch immer war v.a. der Südwesten Deutschlands ein Pulverfass. Noch immer standen wie vor dem Bauernkrieg Ansprüche und Mittel der Herrschaftsträger mit den sich herausbildenden modernen Wirtschaftsstrukturen in eklatantem Widerspruch. Die nur über geringe Machtmittel verfügenden Herrschaftsträger - Klöster, Adel und Städte - wollten ihre zersplitterten Gebiete zwar durch die Transformation in kleine staatliche Gebiete modernisieren, bedienten sich dabei jedoch überkommener Herrschaftsmittel wie der Leibeigenschaft. Die Leibeigenschaft behinderte aber die Entfaltung von Initiative und Mobilität, der wichtigsten Entwicklungskräfte in einem zunehmend durch Gewerbe und Marktbezug geprägten wirtschaftlichen Umfeld wie dem deutschen Südwesten (Trossbach 2008: 246f.).

Im Laufe des 16. Jahrhunderts nahm der Druck auf die ländlichen Gesellschaften sogar weiter zu. Eine globale Klimaveränderung, die "kleine Eiszeit" (Glaser 2001: 176), hatte zu einer Reihe von Missernten und Hungersnöten geführt, der Abgabendruck war nicht vermindert, sondern durch neue Steuern im Horizont der Türkenkriege eher verstärkt worden (Schulze 1978: 67 ff., 191 ff., 348 ff.). Zugleich hatte eine kontinuierliche Zunahme der Bevölkerungszahlen zu Landknappheit und zur Vertiefung sozialer Unterschiede geführt (Trossbach / Zimmermann 2006). In zahlreichen Dörfern kam es zu Konflikten zwischen Bauern und Unterschichten, noch weiter verbreitet waren desperate Reaktionen, die in Hexenjagden gipfelten. Sie zogen eine nachhaltige Zerstörung der ohnehin unter Druck geratenen dörflichen Kohäsionskräfte - Gemeinden und Nachbarschaften - nach sich (Trossbach / Zimmermann 2006).

Es gab jedoch eine Reihe von Gemeinden, die dem Druck durch gemeinsames Aufbegehren gegen die gleichen Kräfte begegneten, die auch im Bauernkrieg bekämpft worden waren. Sie orientierten ihre Handlungsweisen jedoch nicht mehr primär auf gewaltsame Formen, sondern eher auf die institutionellen Möglichkeiten der sich formierenden Staaten, darunter auch solcher Instanzen, die das Reich ausbildete. In einzelnen größeren Flächenstaaten, z. B. in der Kurmark Brandenburg (Enders 1993; Hagen 1985) oder in Bayern (Blickle 2000), konnten sich Bauern schon Ende des Mittelalters an den Landesherrn wenden, wenn sie sich von ihren Grundherren überlastet fühlten. In der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts wurden die Beschwerdewege dann stärker institutionell kanalisiert, in Bayern war der Hofrat, in der Kurmark das Kammergericht damit befasst.

Die Landfriedensbewegung des Spätmittelalters hatte für entsprechende Entwicklungen auf der Ebene des Reiches gesorgt. Ein Meilenstein war die Schaffung des Reichskammergerichts (RKG) im Jahre 1495, und zwar besonders für diejenigen Teile des Reiches, die territoriale Instanzen der Konfliktlösung nicht entwickelten. Aber erst nach dem Bauernkrieg öffnete sich das RKG klagenden Bauerngemeinden. Schließlich wurde Bauern 1548 vom Reichstag die Möglichkeit der Klage gegen einen Landesfürsten verfassungsrechtlich verbrieft.

Bekanntlich sind Rechtsanspruch und Rechtswirklichkeit jedoch zwei verschiedene Dinge. Woher sollten Menschen, die oft nicht lesekundig waren, von den neuen Möglichkeiten wissen, zu denen z. B. auch gehörte, dass seit etwa 1550 neben dem RKG auch der Reichshofrat (RHR), ursprünglich ein Beratergremium des Kaisers, den Anspruch auf höchstrichterliche Befugnisse im Reich durchsetzen konnte? Es gab kein Fach "Reichsbürgerkunde" in den Schulen, und ohnehin waren Schulen nur in wenigen Dörfern vorhanden, etwa in der Umgebung von Augsburg (Kießling 2005). Und wenn es schon nicht einfach war, Dorfbewohner zu einer gemeinsamen Frontstellung gegen ihre Obrigkeit zu bewegen, wie war es überhaupt möglich, eine Klage zu organisieren, die zuständigen Institutionen und die Orte zu finden, an denen sie tagten? Es gelang dennoch, und zwar im wesentlichen deshalb, weil man in einem Gewirr von unstrukturierten Informationen, nebulösem Vorwissen und wechselnden Gerüchten schließlich doch den richtigen Weg fand.

Wie dies in einem Einzelfall geschah, hat ein Advokat überliefert (Schulze 1980: 203ff.), der im Herbst 1598 in Regensburg von "drey oder vier" Bauern aus dem Klettgau aufgesucht wurde, einem der Gebiete im äußersten Südwesten, von denen auch der Bauernkrieg seinen Ausgang genommen hatte. Nach Regensburg hatten sie sich begeben, weil sie wussten, dass dort ein Reichstag stattfand. Als sie eintrafen, hatten jedoch "der Churfürsten, Fürsten und Stend Gesandten nach publicirtem Reichsabschied albereit mehrer Theils" die Stadt verlassen. Dass die Bauern den Reichstag aufsuchen wollten, hing damit zusammen, dass sie sich "sonderlich der Türckensteuer halben so übermässig überlegt und bedrängt" fühlten. Türkensteuern (Schulze 1978) aber - das wussten sie offenbar - wurden am Reichstag beschlossen, und die Überlegung, man könne dort am ehesten erfahren, ob ihr Landesherr, der Graf von Sulz, sie über Gebühr belastet und den Differenzbetrag für sich behalten habe, war sinnvoll, jedoch nicht mehr praktikierbar, da sich der Reichstag bereits aufgelöst

hatte. Der Advokat Dr. Stemper gab ihnen den Rat, in Speyer den öffentlichen Ankläger, den kaiserlichen Fiskal zu konsultieren, um dort näheres über den Steueranschlag der Landgrafschaft Klettgau in Erfahrung zu bringen. Tatsächlich begaben sie sich nach Speyer, suchten dort jedoch nicht den Fiskal, sondern einen anderen Advokaten auf und verklagten ihren Landesherrn am RKG. Die zuständige Institution war gefunden, und der Rechtsweg konnte beschritten werden, auch gegen den Widerstand ihres Landesherrn, des Grafen von Sulz, der die klagenden Bauern als Rebellen behandelte.

Ähnlich sah zehn Jahre zuvor der Lernprozess der Gemeinde Böhmenkirch bei Göppingen (Fink 2004) aus. Um Beschwerden gegen ihre Obrigkeit vorzubringen, begaben sich Abgesandte zunächst nach Innsbruck, zum Sitz der vorderösterreichischen Regierung, "weil" - wie sie später schreiben ließen - "sie vermeint, der Fleck Behemenkirchen stend I(hro). M(ajestät). als Lehensherrn eigentümlich zu. Als sie aber selbst hinkommen und die Sach anders geschaffen befunden", ließen sie sich belehren, dass sie am RHR klagen könnten. Darauf seien sie "auf Prag zuzogen", wo sich unter Rudolf II. der Kaiserhof befand, klagten "daselbst ... nichts anders denn ihre obliegende Beschwerd" und baten "unterthenigst ... um furderliche Hilf" (Schulze 1980: 173ff.). In der Anfangsphase eines Prozesses war man offenbar auf "trial and error" angewiesen.

Dabei nahm man weite Wege auf sich. Klettgau - Regensburg - Speyer; Böhmenkirch - Innsbruck - Prag sind beachtliche Itinerare, denkt man an die Beschwerlichkeit des Reisens in einer Zeit, in der noch nicht einmal Postkutschen in Betrieb waren. Oft war die Suche dadurch erleichtert, dass viele Bauern aus klagenden Gemeinden - anders als die Klettgauer - nicht unbedingt eine Institution, sondern einfach den Kaiser als Person suchten. Der viel gescholtene "naive Monarchismus" (Friedrich Engels), die Vorstellung, der Kaiser persönlich werde sich der "armen Leute" in besonderer Weise annehmen und ihnen zu ihrem Recht verhelfen, war zwar im Grunde illusionär, stellte jedoch einen praktikablen Ausgangspunkt dar. Der Kaiser bildete in dieser Sicht einen Fixpunkt im Geflecht der Reichsinstitutionen, das aus der Ferne und von der dörflichen Basis aus zunächst schwer zu entwirren war. Hatten Bauern schließlich den Aufenthaltsort des Kaiserhofes ausfindig gemacht, wurden sie in der Umgebung des Kaisers aufgefordert, ihre Klagen schriftlich einzugeben, und die Suppliken wurden schließlich an die zuständigen Institutionen, meist an den RHR, weitergeleitet.

Dies gilt auch noch für die Zeit nach dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg, die in zahlreichen kleinen Territorien von Disputen um die Belastungen geprägt war, die mit dem Wiederaufbau von Land und Herrschaft verbunden waren (Theibault 1995). Der regionale Schwerpunkt lag nicht mehr so deutlich wie zuvor im Südwesten, zunehmend wurden auch Kleinterritorien nördlich der Mainlinie von Unzufriedenheit erfasst, deren Herrscher staatliche Befugnisse und eine entsprechende repräsentative Lebensweise anstrebten. Regensburg war erneut ein Kristallisationspunkt, da sich 1654 dort die Reichsstände zur letzten großen Reichsversammlung trafen, bevor diese in einen permanenten Reichstag überging. Auch die Bauern des Gerichts Gründau am Nordwestrand der Wetterau (Trossbach 1987: 211, 238f.) wurden von dieser Versammlung und der kaiserlichen Präsenz angezogen, obwohl sie sich bereits 1652 nach Speyer begeben hatten, um am RKG gegen ihren Landesherrn zu klagen. Aus

der Umgebung des Kaisers erhielten sie den Rat, sich an den RHR zu wenden, der den Kaiser nach Regensburg begleitet hatte. Als der Kaiser und in seinem Gefolge auch der RHR wieder nach Wien zogen, folgten ihnen die Gründauer Bauern, und ihr Prozess blieb bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches in Wien anhängig.

Die zunehmende Einübung in die rechtlichen Möglichkeiten, die das Reich für die Bewohner kleiner, d.h. solcher Territorien bot, die sich nicht von der kaiserlichen Jurisdiktion hatten eximieren können, sorgte in einer letzten Welle von Agrarkonflikten für eine Präzisierung des bäuerlichen Wissens von den Reichsinstitutionen und damit für eine Vertiefung und Verbreiterung bäuerlicher Handlungsmöglichkeiten. Die ersten beiden Jahrzehnte des 18. Jahrhunderts waren von einer Festigung staatlicher Herrschaft auch im kleinterritorialen Bereich gekennzeichnet, verbunden mit einer Steigerung des Repräsentationsaufwandes, der oft die materiellen Möglichkeiten der belasteten Untertanen weit überstieg. Von Konflikten erfasst waren nun endgültig all jene kleinen Territorien in den Schütterzonen der Reichsverfassung, in denen Herrscher ihre Ambitionen überdehnten, vom Niederrhein (Gabel 1995) über die Wetterau, Franken und Thüringen bis in die traditionellen Bauernkriegsgebiete des Südwestens (Zürn 1998).

Der gerichtliche Austrag der Auseinandersetzungen kam nicht allein den Bauern zugute, die meist die klagende Partei stellten. Weitsichtige Beobachter waren sich im 18. Jahrhundert einig, dass durch Vorkehrungen, die von der Forschung als "Verrechtlichung sozialer Konflikte" (Schulze 1980) bezeichnet worden sind, gewaltsame Ausbrüche wo nicht vermieden, so doch minimiert werden konnten und überregionale Zusammenschlüsse wie im Bauernkrieg unwahrscheinlich wurden. Angesichts der Französischen Revolution führte diese Überzeugung bisweilen zu Dokumenten hochgestimmter Selbstzufriedenheit, etwa in der rhetorischen Frage des RKG-Notars Hoscher: "Was für Mittel muß jedes deutsche Volk (!) ergreifen, wenn es Beschwerden gegen die Regierung zu haben, wenn es in seinen unveräußerlichen Rechten gekränkt zu sein glaubt? Sicher nicht Rebellion, nicht Selbsthülfe, da wo ein Obrichter ist, der Hülfe verschafft und verschaffen muß, der den Unterthanen gegen den Herr höret und schützt, und wo ein Volk seine verletzten Rechte wieder erlangen kann, ohne sich dem Verderben eines Bürgerkriegs ... auszusetzen." (Hoscher 1790)

Die Reaktionen der beklagten Landesherren ließen solche Weitsicht meist vermissen, auch im 18. Jahrhundert sahen sie in den Prozessen meist nichts anderes als getarnte Rebellionen, aus ihrer Sicht übrigens nicht ganz ohne Berechtigung. Wenn auch unkontrollierbare Gewaltausbrüche von bäuerlicher Seite meist unterblieben, so hatte doch die schleppende Tätigkeit der Gerichte zur Folge, dass die Prozesse Jahrzehnte dauerten. Zwar erreichten die Bauern eines Territoriums vor Gericht selten ihre Ziele, durch die lange Verfahrensdauer blieb aber der Unmut lebendig und die "Untertanen" demgemäß "schwierig". Viele der kurz nach 1700 begonnenen Prozesse waren tatsächlich noch zur Zeit der Französischen Revolution gerichtsanhängig.

Die bäuerliche Hartnäckigkeit erstaunt umso mehr, als sie schon zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts mit institutionellen Unzulänglichkeiten zu kämpfen hatten. Da das RKG durch interne konfessionelle Auseinandersetzungen von 1703 bis 1711 lahm gelegt war, konnten selbst die Bauern in der Mitte des Reiches, z. B.

in Wetterau und Vogelsberg, vom Umzug des RKG nach Wetzlar nicht profitieren, der nach der Zerstörung Speyers durch die Truppen Ludwigs XIV. beschlossen worden war. Soweit die Prozesse im frühen 18. Jahrhundert begannen, mussten sie in der weit entfernten kaiserlichen Residenzstadt Wien geführt werden, was die klagenden Bauern offenbar nur wenig störte. Der Eifer, mit dem sie sich den Prozessen am RHR widmeten, mag noch immer von einem Rest an "naivem Monarchismus" gespeist worden sein, war man doch in Wien der Person des Kaisers in jedem Fall näher als in Wetzlar.

Aber auch außerhalb seiner Residenzstadt wurden alle Gelegenheiten genutzt, dem Kaiser persönlich nahe zu kommen. Den konfliktfreudigen Bauern in der Wetterau kam zugute, dass sich die designierten Kaiser noch im 18. Jahrhundert persönlich zur Wahl und Krönung in Frankfurt einfanden. Da sie dabei vom RHR begleitet wurden, fanden sich - wie für die Kaiserkrönung Josephs II. 1765 dokumentiert ist (Trossbach 1984) - bäuerliche Gesandte aus den klagenden Territorien der Umgebung in Frankfurt ein. Die Bauern der Karber Mark in der Wetterau konnten im Herbst 1711 einen anderen Coup landen. Sie passten den neu gewählten Kaiser Karl VI. im Frankfurter Stadtwald mit 300 Mann auf der Jagd ab und baten ihn "fußfällig" um Hilfe in ihrem Prozess.

Jagden wurden tatsächlich von Fürsten oft inszeniert, um Untertanen die Möglichkeit zu einer außerordentlichen Kontaktaufnahme zu geben (Blickle 2000: 295). Im Falle der Karber Mark beschleunigten sich die Aktivitäten des RHR danach merklich, wenn auch nur für die zwei folgenden Jahre. Zwar wurde später wieder der gemächliche Gang eingeschlagen, der für diese Behörde charakteristisch war, die Wirkung auf seiten der Bauern war jedoch nachhaltig. Sie blieben davon beeindruckt, dass die kaiserliche Majestät die Gunst gehabt habe, "unß von Mund auß allergndst. zu versichern, daß sie unß erhören und erretten wollen." (Trossbach 1985a: 476) Wenn es sich letztlich auch nur um eine unverbindliche Absichtserklärung gehandelt haben mag, der RHR hatte es noch zehn Jahre nach dem Zusammentreffen im Frankfurter Stadtwald schwer, das letztlich negativ ausgefallene Urteil gegen die Ansicht der Märker durchzusetzen, sie stünden unter besonderem kaiserlichem Schutz.

Die Quellendichte des 18. Jahrhunderts erlaubt darüber hinaus wenigstens in Einzelfällen, zu rekonstruieren, wie Bauern - abgesehen von solchen Höhepunkten - die Mühen der Ebene bewältigten, wie sie z. B. die Organisationsprobleme lösten, die darin bestanden, einen Prozess an einem Gericht zu führen, das beinahe 700 km vom Ort des unmittelbaren Geschehens entfernt residierte. Diese Einblicke lassen erkennen, welche Handlungsmöglichkeiten aus diesen Erfahrungen abzuleiten und welche Lernprozesse möglich waren. Um die Verbindung zwischen den Gemeinden vor Ort und dem Gericht in Wien zu halten, reichte es nicht aus, sich auf den zahlreichen und unterbeschäftigten Juristenstand zu verlassen. Die Einhaltung der gerichtlichen Formalien war eine Seite, eine andere waren genaue Angaben in der Sache. Oft waren lokal fixierte Nutzungen, Gewohnheitsrechte oder Ansprüche umstritten, die nur diejenigen detailliert zu beschreiben wussten, die sie täglich ausübten. Ein Advokat war zwar in den Rechten beschlagen, "in facto" hingegen kaum informiert.

Wie im späten 16. Jahrhundert mussten sich Bauern selbst auf den Weg machen. Johann Jacob Moser, der bekannteste deutsche Jurist des 18. Jahrhunderts, brachte es in seinem lapidaren Stil auf den Begriff: "Wann Unterthanen gegen ihre Landesherrschaft klagen, ist es auch etwas gemeines, daß Deputirte von ihnen nacher Wien geschickt werden." (Trossbach 1987: 211) Da inzwischen eine viel größere Anzahl von Bauern lesen und schreiben konnte (Prass 2000), hielten Gemeinden und Deputierte über ein Medium Kontakt, dessen Gebrauch im 16. Jahrhundert aus dem bäuerlichen Milieu nicht überliefert ist, den Brief. Ihre Schreiben vertrauten die Bauern entweder den inzwischen eingerichteten Postdiensten oder Gewährsleuten an, die zu der immer zahlreicher werdenden Gruppe solcher Personen gehörten, die zwischen Wien und den entsprechenden Regionen unterwegs waren, darunter oft klagenden Bauern benachbarter Territorien.

Manchmal wurden diese Briefe von der Gegenseite abgefangen. Entweder wurden sie dem Gericht dann in einem Schriftsatz vorgelegt oder sie gelangten unmittelbar in das Archiv der beklagten Landesherrschaft. Damit liegen Dokumente vor, die - wenn auch immer noch nur schlaglichtartig - einen genaueren Einblick in das Innere einer Bauernbewegung gewähren, als dies für das 16. Jahrhundert möglich ist. Den Ton gaben in dieser Korrespondenz die Deputierten an, sie bildeten individuelle Profile aus, die eine ausführliche Beschäftigung mit dem Alltag dieser Männer an der Schwelle der Gerichte gerechtfertigt erscheinen lassen. Ihre Erfahrungen und Schachzüge bestimmten entscheidend den weiteren Verlauf des Protestgeschehens.

Wie im 16. Jahrhundert bestand die erste Schwierigkeit in der Überwindung der großen Entfernung, die zwischen dem Heimatort und der kaiserlichen Residenzstadt lag. Es gab kaum ausgebaute Reisewege, keine Straßenschilder, und es ist zweifelhaft, ob die Bauern Landkarten zur Verfügung hatten. Dennoch liegen keine Nachrichten vor, dass ein Abgesandter die kaiserliche Residenzstadt verfehlt hätte. "Was unser Reys anbelangt", schrieb am 13. August 1755 der Deputierte Schadt, der sich aus Unterreichenbach im Vogelsberg zusammen mit einem zweiten Bauernvertreter nach Wien aufgemacht hatte, "die ist beschwährlich und gefährlich gewesen, dann von Wirtzburg biß auf Nürnberg ist ein grosser Wald, da waren Spitzbuben und die wurden ebendenselbigen Tag gejagt." Von Nürnberg ging es weiter nach Regensburg, wo er den dritten August mit seinem Kameraden ein Schiff bestieg. "Und haben mehr Winds Gefahr gehabt ... als an Strudel und Wirbel, den der Wind hat uns zwey mahl getrieben ans Land zu fahren, und haben also fünf Tage gefahren und sind also den 8ten durch des Herrn Beystand glücklich in die Stadt Wien gekommen." (Trossbach 1987: 212)

Zwar war es etwas "Gemeines", Deputierte nach Wien zu schicken, etwas Gewöhnliches war die Wienreise für einen Bauern jedoch nicht. Allein die Probleme der landwirtschaftlichen Arbeit, der Abkömmlichkeit von Haus und Hof, erforderten komplizierte Regelungen, die die Deputierten in Wien wie die Familien zu Hause auf eine harte Probe stellten - materiell wie psychisch. Konrad Luft aus Spielberg im Vogelsberg etwa verlor 1768 auch in Wien seine Aufgaben als Betriebsleiter und Familienvater nicht aus den Augen: "Nun bitte ich euch alle insgesamt, weilen ich ohnmöglich das Heu kan helffen machen, den vor dem Juli ist es nun unmöglich, das ich nach Hause komme, ... das ihr

meiner Frau mehen lasset ... auch gebt meiner Frau 5 fl Gelt, das sie dem Buben Schu kauft." (Trossbach 1987: 213)

In Wien musste zunächst ein Quartier gesucht werden, das man meist am Spittelberg, im alten Lerchenfeld oder in den neu errichteten Vorstädten, der Leopold- oder der Josephstadt, fand, in Gasthöfen, die "Zweifechter", "Zu den drey Hasen", "Schwarzer Mohr" oder "Blauer Mondschein" (Trossbach 1987: 214) hießen. Dort konnte man sich nach "fähigen" Sachwaltern erkundigen. Hatte man bereits einen am höchsten Reichsgericht zugelassenen Advokaten, einen RHR-Agenten, gefunden, führten die ersten Schritte zu ihm. (Trossbach 1987: 220)

Die Agenten waren nicht die einzigen Kontaktpersonen der Deputierten. Es reichte nicht aus, dass ein Prozess gerichtsanhängig war, man musste auch dafür sorgen, dass er seinen Fortgang nahm. Dies geschah durch das sog. Sollizitieren (Fuchs 2002). Dafür einen Agenten zu beschäftigen, war zu teuer. Also drängten sich die Parteien vor dem Gerichtsgebäude und machten die Zuständigen - von den Gerichtsschreibern über die Sekretäre bis hinauf zu den Reichshofräten - immer wieder auf ihren Fall aufmerksam, teils mündlich, teils durch sog. Sollizitierzettel. Hier lag ein Haupttätigkeitsbereich der bäuerlichen Deputierten. Am RKG in Wetzlar sah ein Beobachter 1767 "täglich die Bauern, schaarenweise ... auf die Sollicitatur ziehen." (Trossbach 1985a: 453)

In Wien gelang es den meisten Deputierten, noch weiter vorzudringen, und zwar bis in den Arkanbereich des Reichshofrats, der vor den Parteien eigentlich abgeschottet sein sollte. Dazu muss man wissen, dass der Gerichtspräsident einzelne Reichshofräte mit dem Referat bzw. Koreferat zu einem ausgewählten Fall beauftragte. Ihr Vortrag und Votum im Plenum gab meist den Ausschlag für das Urteil, das mit Stimmenmehrheit gefasst wurde. An sich sollten die Namen von Referent und Koreferent vor den Parteien geheim gehalten werden, darüber hinaus waren sog. Privataudienzen der Referenten mit Parteienvertretern streng verboten. In der Praxis waren sie dennoch üblich geworden. Auch Bauerndeputierten gelang es, Privataudienzen mit Reichshofräten zu arrangieren. Johann Michel aus Wettges im Vogelsberg erzählte seinen Nachbarn nach seiner Heimkehr aus Wien im August 1697, "das er selbst bey dem Herrn Referenten gesprochen, der gahr nicht über ihn gezörnet, sondern Ihme selber gesagt, wie ihre Sach damals gestanden, das er sich demnach nicht scheue, wieder zu dem Herrn Referenten zu gehen, hoffete auch ohne fruchtbare Verrichtung nicht wieder zurück zu kommen." (Trossbach 1987: 222)

Man kann sich vorstellen, welches Ansehen die Deputierten aus solchen Kontakten ableiten konnten. So ist es nicht verwunderlich, dass sie von Wien aus auch Ratschläge gaben, wie sich die Gemeinden zu Hause in konkreten Situationen verhalten sollten. Konrad Luft aus Spielberg im Vogelsberg "befahl" im Jahre 1768, "das jetzo kein Prodocol gemacht wird durch euch (bei den Versammlungen, W.T.) wie vorm Jahr, den es werden durch Gelegenheit jetzt Wege gesucht werden, um uns noch hinwegzuziehen". "Wan den Armen etwan Vieh weg genommen wirth oder Haußrath", was vielfach im Zuge von Pfändungen geschah, die die Obrigkeiten durchführten, um den Gegenwert der während der Prozesse meist verweigerten strittigen Abgaben sicher zu stellen, riet Luft den Betroffenen, "laßet es erst schätzen ..., darzu sie mögen verkaufen

was sie wollen, so behalt euer Schatzung in Händen und die Quittung, werden die Leute haben, was ihnen abgangen ist." (Trossbach 1984: 111)

Geld spielte aber nicht nur zu Hause eine entscheidende Rolle. Das Leben in Wien war "pluedt deur", wie zwei Vogelsberger Gesandte bereits 1684 feststellten (Trossbach 1987: 217). Waren die Gelder, die die Deputierten von zu Hause mitgenommen hatten, zu knapp bemessen, ergab sich eine Situation, die Johannes Keiber aus Großkarben in der Wetterau am 19. März 1719 elegisch schilderte: "Ich hab mein Weib und Kinder verlassen, so muß ich mich hier so kümmerlich ernehren, daß ich mich bald nicht mehr drösten kan, ich habe so ein lang Zeit kein Geldt mehr gehabt, und ich alle Tage übel angesehen werden, wegen meiner Schulden, die ich hier gemacht habe, soll mir mein Herz nicht wehe thun und ich meine Gesundheit nicht pflegen kan, wan ich abents oder zu Mittag will essen, muß ich sehen, daß ich einen guten Freund bekommen, der mir ein paar Groschen leihen thuet." (Trossbach 1987: 217) Immerhin gaben Wiener Vorstadtwirte den Deputierten Kredit, wenn sie ihre Prozessvollmacht vorwiesen.

Ohne Geld waren auch die Aufgaben nicht zu erledigen, die den Deputierten aufgetragen waren. Es gab eine Reihe von Gerichtsgebühren zu bezahlen, das waren aber im Vergleich eher bescheidene Summen. Höher waren die Rechnungen, die die Advokaten stellten. Der Löwenanteil jedoch wanderte in andere Taschen. Die Spielberger Gesandten Peter und Höffner beschworen ihre Gemeinden schon 1684: "Wan ihr ... haben wolt, daß die Sach ans Ente gebracht solte werden, so mießt ihr unß bey Gott mit Gelt ... an die Handt gehen, ... damit wir in einem und andern Ordts spendiren kinen, wehr schmierdt der föhrt wie ihrs selbst gedencken kindt." (Trossbach 1985: 470) Ohne den Einsatz von Schmiergeldern hatte z. B. nicht einmal ein Sollizitator Aussicht auf Erfolg.

Erheblicher waren die Summen, mit denen man versuchte, die Referenten zu beeinflussen. Die bäuerlichen Parteien waren hier klar im Nachteil, denn die Forderungen der hohen Herren überstiegen mühelos die Grenze von 1000 Gulden. Die Folgen mussten die Deputierten ausbaden. Die Gemeinden zu Hause konnten sich kaum vorstellen, welche Summen erforderlich waren, damit die Deputierten ihren Lebensunterhalt bestreiten und die Prozessnotwendigkeiten erledigen konnten. In der Sache kam zwar den Deputierten eine unanfechtbare Autorität zu, die Rechenschaft über die Verwendung der Gelder, die die Gemeinden verlangten, holten aber auch die raffiniertesten von ihnen wieder auf den Boden der Tatsachen zurück.

Nahezu alle Facetten eines Deputiertenschicksals spiegeln sich in der Gestalt von Niclas Diemer aus Bettenhausen bei Gießen wider (Trossbach 1987: 221-251). Bettenhausen gehörte zum Amt Hungen, dessen Einwohner im Jahre 1705 gegen ihren Landesherren, Graf Wilhelm Moritz von Solms-Braunfels, eine Klage auf den Weg gebracht hatten, in der sie sich über die Umwandlung geringfügiger Frondienste in ein erhebliches Dienstgeld und über herrschaftliche Übergriffe auf die Gemeindewälder beschwerten. Außerdem wollten sie - ähnlich wie die Klettgauer 1598 - überprüfen lassen, ob ihr Landesherr die von ihnen verlangten Reichssteuern wirklich in voller Höhe an den Adressaten weiter geleitet habe. Wie in solchen Fällen üblich, war die Klage an einem Reichsgericht, in diesem Fall am RHR, von meist passivem und hinhaltendem Widerstand in den Dörfern begleitet. Verweigerungen von

Steuern und Dienstgeldern führten zu Pfändungen in den Dörfern, die meist kollektiv verhindert wurden. Die Obrigkeit reagierte mit Gefangennahmen und konnte mit Hilfe benachbarter Stände auch Soldaten gegen die widerwilligen Bauern einsetzen.

Niclas Diemer, der mit 3.57 Hektar Ackerland eher zu den kleinen Landbesitzern gehörte, wurde bereits 1707 und 1708 zusammen mit einem weiteren Bauern als Deputierter nach Wien geschickt. Im Frühjahr 1714 erschien er erneut in der kaiserlichen Residenzstadt, zusammen mit einem Gießener Advokaten. Vor Ort hatte sich die Auseinandersetzung durch die Gewaltbereitschaft des Grafen inzwischen zugespitzt. Um Übergriffe der Landesherrschaft zu verhindern, drängten die Bauern verzweifelt auf ein Urteil des RHR. Ihre Sache stand nicht schlecht, denn Diemer hatte einen guten Draht zu dem Referenten des Falles, Reichshofrat Lyncker, gefunden. Die Bestimmung Lynckers zum Referenten war ein Glücksfall für die Bauern, war er doch einer der wenigen Reichshofräte, die sich durch profunde juristische Bildung auszeichneten. Darüber hinaus vertrat er eine konsistente "politische" Meinung, die dem bäuerlichen Anliegen entgegen kam. Es war bekannt, dass er im Reichsrecht eine Möglichkeit sah, den übertriebenen Ambitionen kleinstaatlicher Herrscher zu begegnen.

Die Koalition war jedoch fragil, was sich zeigte, als der Graf von Solms-Braunfels einen Gesandten nach Wien schickte, um mit allen Mitteln eine Wende im Prozess herbei zu führen. Am Jahreswechsel 1714/15 überstürzten sich die Ereignisse. Die Bauern zu Hause konnten nicht verstehen, dass es Diemer in der relativ kurzen Zeit nicht gelungen war, ein Urteil zu erwirken. Diemer wiederum musste erkennen, dass man zu Hause die Arbeit eines Deputierten nicht würdigen konnte. Man meinte lediglich, wie Diemer registrierte, "als dette ich nichts, als mith grossen Leuten Diener über Felt spatzieren gehen 2 bis 3 Tag." Solche Art von Kontaktpflege war aber die einzige Möglichkeit, auf den Gang des Verfahrens Einfluss zu nehmen. So hatte Diemer mit einem Diener des RHR-Präsidenten "etlich mahl ... gefrühstücket, damith er mir geholfen zuhm H Bressedentten zu kommen." Tatsächlich gelang es ihm darauf, eine "Audigenz ... beim H. Reichs Bressedentten" zu bekommen, in der er auf die Gewaltmaßnahmen des Grafen von Braunfels, insbesondere Gefangennahmen, hinwies.

Da sich diese Aktivitäten aber nicht in Gerichtsentscheidungen umsetzen, verloren die Bauern zu Hause die Geduld und das Vertrauen in ihren Gesandten. Sie ließen Diemer fallen, d.h. sie schickten ihm kein Geld mehr. "Ich wehr doch gern wieter nach Haus gangen", teilte er später mit, "aber wegen meiner Schulden habe ich nicht gekönth." Außerdem ordneten die Gemeinden zwei weitere Gesandte nach Wien ab, die dort unabhängig von Diemer agieren sollten. Als die beiden neuen Deputierten in Wien eintrafen, schnitten sie ihren Vorgänger. Sie warfen ihm vor, "ich hette mith g. Herrschafft gehalten und den Prozes verspielt ... ich hette alles beim Achenten lassen ligen, und nichts eingegeben, aber sih wolten sie Sach antters angreifen und woltens es ihn zwey Mohnatten auff einen andern Fus bringen."

Am RHR hatte sich inzwischen durch die Aktivitäten des Braunfelser Gesandten, der auch Bestechungsgelder einsetzte, die Stimmung jedoch gedreht. Auf der Grafenbank des Gerichts begann man sich mit dem Standesgenossen Wilhelm Moritz von Solms-Braunfels zu solidarisieren, von

dort kam ein "ein Wurff", wie Diemer nicht verborgen blieb, und das Verlangen, "man solte g. Herrschafft die Hentte nicht gar auff den Rücken bintten, wihr wehren doch Untterdahnen, es möchten die anttern zwey (Solmser, W.T.) Grafschafften auch noch uffstehen." Das zielte direkt auf den bisherigen Referenten des Falles. Lyncker setzte sich zwar mit dem Argument zur Wehr, er habe nur das Votum einer Kommission referiert, die den Fall vor Ort untersucht habe, der Präsident, den Diemer noch kurz zuvor aufgesucht hatte, nahm dem Referenten aber die Akten aus den Händen und gab sie der Gegenpartei, die sich inzwischen im RHR formiert hatte. Ein neuer Referent sollte Lynckers Angaben untersuchen, und zwar dahin gehend, wie Diemer erfuhr, "ob die Commissari den Bericht vor die Untterdahnen und wietter g. Herrschafft oder ob die Rafferenten das Rafferath zu scharbpf gemacht hätten." Lyncker zog sich darauf gekränkt auf seine Güter nach Schlesien zurück.

In diese heikle Situation hinein kamen nun die von Diemer als ungestüm geschilderten Interventionen der neuen Gesandten. Sie drängten weiterhin auf ein Urteil, ohne die neuen Konstellationen zu begreifen. Die Entscheidung, die darauf am 11. Juni 1715 erging, wies, wie Diemer befürchtet hatte, die Bauernbeschwerden in allen Einzelheiten als unbegründet zurück. Diemer konnte nur noch erklären, das ungeschickte Eingreifen der beiden anderen Deputierten sei "unser Verderben" gewesen. Hätte man hingegen ihm vertraut, "so hettet ihr wohl gebaut und hettet ohne so viel feltiges Lauffen den Hauptspruch erwartet." Aber auch die beiden anderen gaben nicht klein bei. Um sich zu schützen, setzten sie eine Legende in die Welt, mit denen auch in anderen Fällen erfolglose Deputierte versuchten, Fehler und Misserfolge zu verschleiern. Sie behaupteten, das Urteil, das den Gemeinden inzwischen von ihrer Obrigkeit zu Hause publiziert worden war, "seye das rechte nicht".

Das war ein Spiel mit dem Feuer, das die beiden noch dadurch anfachten, dass sie berichteten, die Drohung des Grafen, kaiserliche Soldaten einzusetzen, entbehre jeder Grundlage, da die meisten von ihnen in Ungarn mit der Niederwerfung des Rákoczy-Aufstandes beschäftigt seien. Das Urteil fand bei den Bauern keine Anerkennung, und der Widerstandswille vor Ort wurde so weit gestärkt, dass der RHR beschloss, das Urteil im Amt Hungen durch eine neutrale Kommission unter dem Vorsitz des benachbarten Grafen von Hanau publizieren zu lassen. Bei der Verlesung des Urteils durch Hanauer Beamte, zu der am 28. Oktober 1716 die Gemeinden im Schlosssaal zu Hungen im Beisein des Grafen von Braunfels versammelt wurden, kam es jedoch zu einem in der Öffentlichkeit als unerhört wahrgenommenen Eklat. Viele Bauern waren nicht in Sonntagskleidung, sondern in ihren Arbeitskitteln aus Leinen erschienen, unter denen sie Knüppel verborgen hatten. Als die Kommission mit der Verlesung begann, erhob sich Protestgeschrei, und einige Bauern drangen mit den Knüppeln auf die Beamten zu. Die Verlesung wurde abgebrochen, und Hanauer Militär griff ein, das zuvor in Bereitschaft gehalten worden war, ein Zeichen dafür, dass für die unmittelbar Betroffenen der Übergriff nicht so unerwartet gekommen war wie für die interessierte Öffentlichkeit. Alle im Saal befindlichen Bauern wurden zunächst gefangen gesetzt. Während der größte Teil einige Tage im Schlosssaal eingesperrt wurde, verbrachte das Militär zahlreiche rasch als "Rädelsführer" identifizierte Exponenten des Prozesses auf die Feste Greifenstein bei Wetzlar. Sie wurden in den dortigen Verliesen so lange

gefangen gehalten, bis sie sich unterwarfen. Am Ende hatte die Haft drei Todesopfer gefordert.

Diemer hingegen konnte im Dezember 1716 zu Recht schreiben: "Durch mich wehre die Sach sein lebedag nicht so komen, wen ihr mihr gefolget und die beitten zu Hause gelassen." Er bot zwar an, "ich will solches alles vergessen und will duhn durch Gottes Hilfe, alles was zu duhn ist." Es war ihm aber auch klar: "So lang wir diesen Refferenthen haben, so wertten wihr nichts bessers bekommen, denn er ist von g. Herrschaft schon eingenommen." Für die weiteren notwendigen Schritte fehlte Diemer jedoch der nötige Rückhalt, da die aktivsten Bauern zu Hause durch die Täuschung durch die eigenen Abgesandten, den Militäreinsatz und die Gefangenschaft demoralisiert waren. Diemer selbst war in einer Situation, die ausweglos zu sein schien. Der Graf von Braunfels suchte ihn als einen "Haupträdelsführer", und von den Bauern waren immer noch viele der Meinung, er habe ihnen "nicht treu gedient". Seine Geschichte hat dann einen fast märchenhaften Ausklang. Er wagte sich nicht mehr nach Hause und ließ seine Familie im Stich. Beobachter kolportierten, er sei zum Katholizismus konvertiert und habe in der Gefolgschaft eines Jesuitenkardinals ein neues Leben begonnen. (Trossbach 1987: 246-253)

Auch wenn man nicht den RHR, sondern das RKG als Klageinstanz gewählt hatte, wenn nicht in Wien, sondern in Wetzlar prozessiert wurde, waren bäuerliche Deputierte unentbehrlich, v.a. wenn die Territorien weiter entfernt lagen. Obgleich sicher nicht alle Deputierten eine solche Geschicklichkeit an den Tag legten wie Niclas Diemer, so gab es doch auch in RKG-Prozessen Bauernvertreter wie Hans Heinrich Schneider aus Erndtebrück in der Grafschaft der Wittgenstein, der mit einem RKG-Assessor so kompetent diskutierte, dass dieser den Eindruck wiedergab, der Bauer "wäre gescheit genug gewesen vor einen Rechtsgelehrten." (Trossbach 1985b: 87) Ruben Henrichs, dem Bevollmächtigten der Hachenburger Bauern, wurde 1795 von herrschaftlicher Seite vorgeworfen, er habe sich „der größten Vertraulichkeit und Stunden langer Unterredung“ mit dem Referenten des Falles „gerühmt“. (Müller 2005: 353)

Am RKG boten sich jedoch noch weitere Handlungsmöglichkeiten, insbesondere für Bauern aus der näheren und weiteren Umgebung, die wegen der geographischen Randlage der kaiserlichen Residenzstadt am RHR nicht wahrgenommen werden konnten. Wie sie entwickelt wurden, ist anhand der "Landesprozesse" der Grafschaften Wittgenstein und Wied-Neuwied zu studieren. Die Wittgensteiner Bauern nutzten die leicht zu bewältigende Entfernung, um in großer Zahl in Wetzlar aufzutreten. 1699 erschienen Bewohner des Dorfes Elsoff "in großer Suite", 1722 wurde "das halbe Land" gesichtet, 1731 kam "eine große Anzahl", 1733 allein aus der Gemeinde Banfe dreißig Bauern, 1739 ist erneut von einer "großen Anzahl" die Rede. Wie Planung und Durchführung solcher Besuche aussehen konnte, lässt sich in Ansätzen für das Jahr 1732 erkennen. Am 13. Mai hatten die Wittgensteiner Bauern "vereinbahret, daß weilen ihr Landes Herr gegenwärtig zu Wetzlar wäre, solte Mann vor Mann folgenden Tages auch nach Wetzlar gehen, daselbst sollicitiren und vorstellen, daß Noht vorhanden wäre, weilen sie alle miteinander kämen." Außerdem beschlossen sie, "daß instehenden Montag noch mehrer Leuthe kommen, welche ... nicht ehender weggehen solten, bis sie ihre Sache bey der Cammer heraus bekommen hätten." Der Advokat Dr.

Besserer gab den Bauern den Rat, beim RKG-Präsidenten und dem Referenten, Assessor von Ludolf, "an welchem alles läge", "brav anzuhalten". Tatsächlich wurde bei Ludolf "starck angehalten", allerdings nicht in einer Privataudienz, sondern nächtlicher Weile unter seinem Fenster mit "brav lermen und kreischen". (Trossbach 1985b: 87) Aus dem gemeinsamen Sollizitieren und Supplizieren hatte sich im Grunde eine neue Handlungsform entwickelt, die Demonstration. (Trossbach 1985b; Blickle 2000)

Auch Dorfbewohner aus der Grafschaft Wied-Neuwied, die im gesamten 18. Jahrhundert in endlose Waldprozesse mit ihrem Landesherrn verwickelt waren, bedienten sich, obwohl ihr Weg nach Wetzlar weiter war als der der Wittgensteiner, dieses Mittels. Sie präsentierten in Wetzlar der Öffentlichkeit Anschauungsmaterial, das herrschaftliche Übergriffe auf bäuerliches Gerät dokumentieren sollte, mit denen die Landesherrschaft die Nutzung der Wälder durch die Bauern zu verhindern suchte. Im Mai 1719 wurde berichtet, sie hätten "etl. Räder von wagen, so mann ihnen (als sie Holz aus dem umstrittenen Wald holten, W. T.) solle auf herrsch. Befehl verhaue haben, sambt altem Brennholz anhero geführt, um so hochgräffl. Excellenz desto mehr zu denegiren, daß sie das kayserl. Mandat gar nicht achte." (Trossbach 1991: 132)

Zusammenfassung

Den Bauern der Kleinterritorien des Heiligen Römischen Reiches eröffnete die Klagemöglichkeit vor Reichsgerichten zwischen 1550 und 1800 ein weites Feld von Handlungsoptionen. Die beklagten Landesherrn beobachteten dagegen mit Argwohn, wie die lange Dauer der Verfahren einen einmal geweckten "rebellischen Sinn" konservierte. Klagende Bauern waren anfangs oft nicht frei von "naivem Monarchismus", d.h. sie waren überzeugt, der Kaiser persönlich werde sich als Schirmherr der Schutzbedürftigen für sie einsetzen. Tatsächlich gelang es in einigen Prozessen den Bauern, persönliche Begegnungen mit dem Kaiser herbei zu führen. Die "gute Vertröstung", die sie dabei erhielten, war jedoch kaum von praktischer Relevanz in ihrem Rechtsstreit.

Umso wichtiger war die intime Kenntnis von der Funktionsweise der Institutionen, die sich die bäuerlichen Gemeinden in Lernprozessen aneigneten. Klagten Bauern aus Kleinterritorien in der geographischen Mitte des Reiches, nutzten sie ihren Standortvorteil, um sich im 18. Jahrhundert am RKG in Wetzlar in großer Zahl einzufinden und regelrechte Demonstrationen abzuhalten. In die weiter entfernte kaiserliche Residenzstadt Wien wurden von den klagenden Gemeinden meist zwei Bauern als Deputierte entsandt. Sie erwarben sich oft intime Kenntnisse, zunächst der Prozessformalien. Darüber hinaus wussten sie über den Geschäftsgang Bescheid, z. B. die Frage, wann ein bestimmter Fall behandelt wurde, und zunehmend auch über den Arkanbereich der jeweiligen Institution. Es blieb ihnen nicht verborgen, welcher Richter für einen einzelnen Fall als Referent zuständig war, wie dieser allgemein Untertanenklagen gegenüber stand, welcher Reputation er sich im Gremium erfreute und schließlich, ob er Beeinflussungen, auch materieller Art, zugänglich war. Es gab bäuerliche Gesandte, z. B. Niclas Diemer aus Bettenhausen bei Gießen, die all diese Kenntnisse kombinierten und z. B. zu der Einschätzung fähig waren, wann es ratsam sei, eine Sache zu beschleunigen oder zu verzögern.

Das heißt aber auch, dass die Lernprozesse nicht alle Gemeindemitglieder gleichmäßig erfassten. Den Deputierten z. B. kam im Laufe eines Prozesses immer mehr eine Art Funktionärsstatus zu, verbunden mit dem entsprechenden symbolischen Kapital. Auch die mit diesem Status verbundene Gefahr der Verselbständigung war zahlreichen Bauernprozessen nicht unbekannt. Insbesondere wenn eine prozessuale Niederlage und ein damit verbundenes finanzielles Desaster zu verantworten war, suchten sich Deputierte durch Intrigen aus der Verantwortung zu stehlen. Die Frage, inwieweit sie auch vorher versuchten, partikulare Interessen zu befördern, wird die weitere Forschung zu beschäftigen haben (Weber 1992, Zürn 1998).

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Deutsche Bildungszusammenarbeit auf dem Prüfstand. Chancen und Probleme

Heribert Weiland

Abstract

Education is generally perceived both as a key to development as well as a fundamental human right. Within the framework of the Millennium Development Goals and the Initiative Education-for-All the German government has promised to enhance efforts to reach the international educational objectives. Contrary to these promises bilateral educational cooperation was considerably reduced during the last years. Based on a profound study of the Arnold Bergstraesser Institute in Freiburg in 2007 it is argued here that bilateral educational cooperation has urgently to be enhanced, broadened and directed to more quality oriented assistance. Intensified capacity development becomes extremely important within the new Framework of international cooperation architecture after the 'Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness'.

Bildung gilt als Menschenrecht und als Schlüssel zur Entwicklung. Die Bundesregierung hat sich entsprechend im Rahmen der Millenniums-entwicklungsziele und der Education-for-All Initiative zu verstärkten Bildungsanstrengungen verpflichtet. Im Widerspruch dazu wurde die bilaterale Bildungszusammenarbeit in den vergangenen Jahren jedoch stark zurückgefahren. Basierend auf einer gründlichen Bestandsaufnahme der deutschen Bildungszusammenarbeit durch das Arnold-Bergstraesser-Institut im Jahr 2007 erfolgt hier eine kritische Auseinandersetzung mit aktuellen Entwicklungen in der bilateralen Bildungszusammenarbeit. Gefordert werden eine Aufstockung und eine Ausweitung der Bildungszusammenarbeit auf mehr Partnerländer. Gerade die Veränderungen der internationalen EZ-Architektur im Gefolge der 'Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness' verlangen nach einem breiteren Bildungsangebot und einem Mehr an Bildungsqualität durch Capacity Development.

Keywords

German Educational Cooperation, Education-for-All, Programme-Based Approaches, Capacity Development

In der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit der Bundesrepublik hat Bildung immer einen hohen Stellenwert eingenommen. Auch wenn Deutschland in der Pisa-Bewertung anfänglich nicht gut abgeschnitten hat, so hat sich die deutsche Bildungszusammenarbeit dennoch international einen guten Namen gemacht. Als besonders attraktives Exportprodukt der deutschen Ausbildungspalette galt über Jahrzehnte das duale Berufsbildungssystem, das allerdings, um auch in Entwicklungsländern gut angenommen zu werden, eine ausreichende Zahl von privaten Ausbildungsbetrieben voraussetzte. Aber auch in den anderen Bildungsbereichen (Primar- und Sekundarschule) hat es viele Programme und Projekte gegeben, die vor allem wegen ihrer gründlichen Planung und

Begleitung zu einem Markenzeichen deutscher EZ wurden. Als pädagogisch besonders beachtenswert sind die Pilotprojekte zur muttersprachlichen Erziehung zu nennen, die leider in jüngerer Zeit wieder zurückgefahren wurden. Uneingeschränkt stark und in neuerer Zeit noch deutlich expandierend ist die Hochschulförderung, ein Sektor, in dem Michael Fremerey als Forscher, Lehrer und als Entwicklungsexperte zugleich eine wichtige Rolle gespielt hat. Er hat durch seine Publikationen die wissenschaftliche Diskussion wesentlich beeinflusst¹ und hat durch sein Engagement im Rahmen des vom DAAD geförderten UNISTAFF-Programms, das er in Witzenhausen in den letzten 15 Jahren verantwortlich leitete, in der praktischen Fortbildung vieler Hochschullehrer aus den Ländern des Südens einen wichtigen Beitrag geleistet.

Allerdings hat die deutsche Bildungshilfe in den letzten Jahren an Rang und Bedeutung verloren. Ein grundsätzliches entwicklungspolitisches Revirement hat zu einer Neuorientierung der Schwerpunkte und der Förderländer geführt. Vor allem durch die in der Paris-Erklärung international vereinbarte Arbeitsteilung der Geberstaaten ist die deutsche bilaterale Bildungshilfe zugunsten anderer Sektoren massiv zurückgeschraubt worden. Sie ist heute nur noch in wenigen Schwerpunktstaaten in größerer Konzentration und damit auch mit spürbarer Wirkung zu finden. Angesichts der langjährigen Erfahrungen deutscher Experten in der bildungspolitischen Zusammenarbeit und des erfolgreichen Engagements im „Capacity Development“ sollte einem weiteren Abschmelzen der deutschen Kapazitäten in diesem Sektor nicht nur entgegen gewirkt, sondern im Gegenteil sogar wieder eine Aufstockung ins Visier genommen werden². Solche Überlegungen stützen sich nicht nur auf den immer noch wachsenden Bildungsbedarf, der sich gerade in den Ländern zeigt, die sich anschicken, die Armutsschwelle zu überschreiten, sondern sie entsprechen auch den ernüchternden Erfahrungen mit den Halbwertzeiten entwicklungspolitischer Entscheidungen und Strategien. Politisch vereinbarte Arbeitsteilungen von heute können morgen aufgrund neuer länderspezifischer Schwerpunktsetzungen schon wieder anders aussehen. Das dann aber vielleicht schon abgebaute, nur schwer zu ersetzbare Know-how, das sich auch in einem schwindenden institutionellen Gedächtnis in den Vorfeldorganisationen niederschlägt, ist nur mit hohen, möglicherweise zeitaufwändigen Ersatzinvestitionen wieder zu beschaffen.

Im Folgenden sollen einige Zentralprobleme der deutschen Bildungszusammenarbeit perspektivisch benannt und zugleich Lösungsvorschläge angedeutet werden. Die vorgetragenen Überlegungen beziehen sich auf eine Studie, die der Autor zusammen mit Kollegen aus dem Arnold Bergstraesser Institut in Freiburg erstellt hat (Adelmann, Hampel und Weiland 2008).

¹ Besonders zu erwähnen sind die Arbeiten zum Themenbereich „Hochschule und Entwicklung“, ein Forschungsgebiet, das Michael Fremerey bereits seit den siebziger Jahre bearbeitet (Hanf, Ammann, Dias, Fremerey, Weiland 1975 und Fremerey 1980, 1999, 2002, 2006 a, 2006 b, 2007).

² Tatsächlich hat 2007 wieder einen Mittelzuwachs der deutschen Bildungszusammenarbeit auf insgesamt 120 Mio. Euro gegeben. Dies hängt mit der vom Parlament gebilligten Erhöhung der deutschen ODA-Mittel zusammen.

Bildung als Schlüssel zur Entwicklung

Bildung ist die Grundlage jeder Entwicklung und stellt damit einen der wichtigsten Engpassfaktoren des wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Fortschritts dar. Dies gilt sowohl für Industrie- als auch für Entwicklungsländer. Eine Vielzahl von wissenschaftlichen Studien belegt, dass ein kritisches Minimum an Bildung eine entscheidende Vorbedingung für Entwicklung darstellt und damit Investitionen in den Bildungssektor hohe private wie auch soziale Renditen nach sich ziehen (Psacharopoulos / Patrinos:2002). Allerdings sind diese bildungsökonomischen Feststellungen über die Bedeutung von Bildung – vor allem im Hinblick auf die immer wichtiger werdende „global knowledge society“ – von Land zu Land unterschiedlich zu bewerten. Denn die Engpassfaktoren sowohl innerhalb des Bildungssektors als auch in Bezug auf andere Wirtschafts- und Infrastrukturbereiche variieren im Rahmen jedes Entwicklungsprozesses. Entscheidend ist jedoch, dass Bildung für sämtliche wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Bereiche, aber auch für die Herausbildung demokratischer Einstellungen eine wesentliche, unverzichtbare Bedeutung hat (Heimbach-Steins 2007:36). Auf dieser Erkenntnis aufbauend und verbunden mit der Überzeugung, dass jeder Mensch einen Anspruch auf Selbstverwirklichung durch Erziehung hat, wurde das Recht auf Bildung nach dem 2. Weltkrieg als ein unveräußerliches Menschenrecht deklariert. Die internationale Gemeinschaft sieht sich grundsätzlich in der Pflicht, derartige normative Ansprüche in Hinblick auf ein zukünftiges, friedliches Zusammenleben der Völker auch durch internationale Bildungszusammenarbeit zu fördern.

Da Bildung eine Schlüsselfunktion für Entwicklung auf allen Ebenen zukommt, sollte der Bildungszusammenarbeit im formalen als auch im informellen Sektor eine zentrale Bedeutung zukommen. Auch wenn im Tagesgeschäft der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit immer wieder andere Sektoren im Vordergrund stehen und temporär wichtiger erscheinen, sollte die Bildungszusammenarbeit (in ihren unterschiedlichen Formen) weiterhin als Schwerpunkt und Basiskomponente betrachtet und ausgebaut werden.

Internationale Verpflichtungen im Rahmen von EFA-FTI

Auch wenn gerade den armen Ländern bei der Umsetzung der Forderung „Bildung als Menschenrecht“ angesichts knapper Ressourcen ein Budgetvorbehalt zugewilligt wird, so zielen die politischen Vereinbarungen von Jomtien und Dakar, aber auch die Millennium-Entwicklungsziele doch auf eine möglichst baldige Erfüllung des „Education for All“ (EFA)-Zieles ab, um die weiterhin bestehenden großen Diskrepanzen zwischen armen und reichen Ländern zu überwinden. Diesem Ziel diene auch die Fast Track Initiative (FTI), die auch von Deutschland aktiv mitgetragen wird. Die jüngsten Einschätzungen zeigen jedoch, dass die anspruchsvollen Ziele ohne erhebliche zusätzliche Anstrengungen nicht erreicht werden – und dass vor allem die Mehrheit der armen Staaten Afrikas deutlich zurückbleiben wird. Die Hilfszusagen, die den EFA-FTI-Abmachungen tatsächlich gefolgt sind, entsprechen – abgesehen von wenigen Ländern (wie z. B. Großbritannien, die nordischen Staaten oder die Niederlande) – bei weitem noch nicht den eingegangenen Verpflichtungen. Insofern hat es zwar durchaus Fortschritte gegeben – höhere Einschulungsraten und steigende Mädchenquoten in den Schulen – doch ist schon jetzt

abzusehen, dass die in Jomtien und Dakar anvisierten Ziele bei weitem nicht erreicht werden können (World Bank: Development Committee 2006).

- ·Seit dem Jahr 2000 ist die weltweite Bildungshilfe zwar anfänglich gestiegen, 2005 aber deutlich zurückgegangen. Bildungshilfe hat bei wichtigen Gebern an Priorität verloren.
- ·In einigen afrikanischen und lateinamerikanischen Ländern sind die Ausgaben für Bildung nicht gewachsen, sondern sogar zurückgegangen (in 65 gestiegen, in 41 Staaten gesunken).
- ·Die für Bildung vorgesehenen Mittel liegen international deutlich unter den für notwendig erachteten Zuschüssen (2,4 statt 11 Mrd. US \$ pro Jahr; allein den FTI-Ländern fehlt mehr als eine Milliarde Euro pro Jahr).

Um die mehrfach verkündeten EFA-Ziele zu erreichen, müssen die großen Geber eine erhebliche Ausweitung ihrer Anstrengungen unternehmen. Deutschland steht in der Pflicht, sich weiter zu den EFA-Zielen zu bekennen und seine Mittel für Bildungszusammenarbeit dementsprechend zu steigern.

Deutsche Bildungszusammenarbeit

Gemäß den ODA-Zahlen scheint die deutsche EZ dem Sektor Bildung eine Priorität einzuräumen (2005: 985 Mio. € = 13,7%). Rechnet man jedoch davon die virtuellen Studienplatzkosten (745 Mio. €) für Studenten aus Entwicklungsländern heraus, relativiert sich diese Zahl sehr schnell. Da weniger als die Hälfte (48%) der verbleibenden 240 Mio. € in die armen Länder (LICs) mit dem größten Bedarf fließen und davon wiederum nur ein Teil für Grundbildung zur Verfügung steht, bleibt die BRD, auch im internationalen Vergleich der Geber, weit hinter den Erwartungen von EFA-FTI zurück. Anders ausgedrückt: Von 1995 bis 2005 nahm die gesamte Bildungshilfe der Bundesrepublik Deutschland um 40% ab, von 399 Mio. € auf 240 Mio. €; die Förderung der Grundbildung sank sogar um 70%, von 187 auf 57 Mio. €. Die für 2007 zugesagte Steigerung des Grundbildungsetats auf 120 Mio. € sollte deshalb lediglich als Zwischenschritt, nicht als Zielpunkt der BZ-Zusagen verstanden werden³. Bisher sind auch noch keine direkten deutschen Beiträge für FTI geflossen.

Noch deutlicher wird der Rückgang der Bildungszusammenarbeit in der Regional- und Länderaufteilung: Von den 1995 noch existierenden 80 Bildungsvorhaben (im Grundbildungs- und Berufsbildungsbereich) gab es 2006 nur noch 50. Die Zahl verringert sich schnell weiter, da viele Bildungsprojekte auslaufen. Die durchaus verständliche Reduktion der entwicklungspolitischen Schwerpunkte hat zu einem überraschenden Kahlschlag des Schwerpunkts Bildung geführt: Unter 189 vereinbarten Schwerpunkten ist Bildung (ohne Berufsbildung) lediglich achtmal vertreten, darunter nur in 3 Staaten im subsaharischen Afrika. Bei einer weiteren Reduzierung droht die kritische Masse, die zur wirtschaftlichen wie inhaltlichen Aufrechterhaltung des Sektors notwendig ist, unterschritten zu werden.

³ Diesen Zahlenangaben liegen Mitteilungen des BMZ und anderer Vorfeldorganisationen aus dem Vergleichsjahr 2007 zugrunde.

Angesichts des enormen Bedarfs an Bildung ist das sichtbare Interesse an Bildungszusammenarbeit in der deutschen Entwicklungszusammenarbeit auffällig niedrig. Dies wird vom DAC und einigen NGOs mit Recht kritisiert und sollte baldmöglichst ins Gegenteil gewendet werden. Es geht hierbei jedoch nicht um ein Zurück zu früheren Zuständen vielfältiger und verstreuter Einzelprojekte, die in ihrer Wirkung mangels Einbindung in größere Zusammenhänge weitgehend verpuffen. Es geht vielmehr um die Erhöhung von gebündelten BZ-Maßnahmen, die von der deutschen Entwicklungszusammenarbeit im Einklang mit den internationalen Verpflichtungen verantwortlich gesteuert werden. Dies erfordert – gerade unter Berücksichtigung der weiterhin bestehenden EFA-FTI-Erwartungen und der im Zuge der G8-Verhandlungen zusätzlich bereit gestellten Mittel – eine klare politische Entscheidung, nicht nur mehr Geld einzusetzen, sondern auch mehr bildungspolitische Aufgaben zu übernehmen. Ein wesentlicher Schritt wäre, die Zahl der Schwerpunktländer für Bildungszusammenarbeit deutlich zu erhöhen. Die hochgeschätzte Zusammenarbeit mit deutschen Bildungsexperten im Bildungssektor in gegenwärtig acht Schwerpunktländern sollte auf 12 bis 15 Staaten erweitert und damit auch die Sichtbarkeit deutscher Bildungszusammenarbeit massiv gesteigert werden.

Zusätzlich zur Erhöhung der BZ-Schwerpunktländer sollte auch in all jenen Ländern, in denen deutsche Entwicklungszusammenarbeit besteht, aber Bildung kein eigener Schwerpunkt ist, geprüft werden, inwieweit Bildungskomponenten sich sinnvoll in bestehende Sektorschwerpunkte einbinden lassen. Durch Bildungskomponenten beispielsweise in den Bereichen Gesundheit, Good Governance oder Krisenprävention könnten fruchtbare Synergieeffekte erzielt werden (Bergmann 2006, Hanf 2007a).

Ganzheitlichkeit der Bildung: LICs vs. MICs ?

Deutsche BZ ist traditionell vergleichsweise stark in den Bereichen Berufsbildung und Hochschulbildung engagiert und hat hier international anerkannte Expertise vorzuweisen. Aus der besonders von der Weltbank initiierten Diskussion und den in den EFA-FTI-Forderungen aufgegriffenen Überlegungen hat sich eine politisch nachdrücklich verfolgte Festlegung auf die Grundbildung ergeben. Diese ist entwicklungspolitisch und bildungsökonomisch durchaus gut begründet, sollte in der Praxis jedoch, bezogen auf das jeweilige Land, immer wieder hinterfragt werden. Denn wie im „Weltbericht Bildung für Alle - 2007“ (UNESCO/BMZ 2007) gefordert, sollten neben der Grundbildung auch Fördermaßnahmen für andere Bildungsbereiche nicht vernachlässigt werden, um dem Bildungs- und Fortbildungsbedarf in mittel- und längerfristiger Perspektive gerecht werden zu können. Gesamtgesellschaftliche Bildungskonzeptionen sind über den Grundbildungsbedarf hinaus notwendig, um Planungen zum Vorschul-, Sekundar- und Hochschulbereich zu ergänzen (Lenhart 2002). Zugleich sind entsprechende Maßnahmen in der Erwachsenen- und beruflichen Bildung vorzusehen.

Im Sinne eines wohlverstandenen Ownership-Prinzips soll das Partnerland in erster Linie selbst über Ziele, Struktur und Funktion seines Bildungssystems bestimmen und entsprechende Bildungspläne vorlegen. Dies schließt in der Praxis jedoch ein, dass in der Bildungszusammenarbeit strategische Programmziele in Abstimmung mit den Geberinstitutionen für die verschiedenen

Subsektoren erarbeitet und festgelegt werden. Dieser Dialog über die zukünftige Ausrichtung und die anvisierte Struktur des Bildungssystems im jeweiligen Partnerland verläuft nicht überall konfliktfrei, da es über die Wege, Instrumente und die Finanzierung für einen optimalen Ausbau der jeweiligen Erziehungssysteme zu Kontroversen kommen kann.

Schon bei der Schwerpunktförderung verschiedener Bildungssektoren treten unterschiedliche Zielsetzungen zutage. Während Fördermaßnahmen zur Grundbildung eher den armutsorientierten Zielsetzungen der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit entsprechen, sind Aktivitäten im Berufsbildungssektor und bei der Hochschulkooperation mehr den wirtschafts- und handelspolitischen Erwartungen zuzuordnen. BZ steht hier in einem Spannungsfeld unterschiedlicher Interessen. Während (Grund-)Bildungsförderung in armen Staaten, den LICs (Low Income Countries) wie z.B. Malawi, klar im Sinne der Armutsbekämpfung steht, fällt die Begründung für eine Bildungszusammenarbeit mit Schwellenländern, den MICs (Middle Income Countries) wie etwa Indien oder Ägypten, die oft selbst über ausreichende Mittel zur Befriedigung der Grundbedürfnisse verfügen, komplexer aus und geht über die Armutsbekämpfung als vordergründiges Legitimationskriterium deutlich hinaus. Derartige Überlegungen spielen zumindest bei den sog. Ankerländern eine Rolle, d.h. bei Staaten, die schon aus außen- und handelspolitischen Überlegungen eine Sonderstellung einnehmen.

In der Mehrheit der Partnerländer der deutschen Entwicklungszusammenarbeit steht im Sinne der armutsbezogenen EFA-FTI-Orientierung die allgemeine Grundbildung im Vordergrund, da es sich um LICs handelt. Um jedoch auch auf längere Sicht Bedarfsgerechtigkeit und Ganzheitlichkeit der Bildungssysteme zu fördern, sollten auch andere Formen der Bildungszusammenarbeit unterstützt und damit eine gewisse Flexibilität vorgehalten werden. Gerade die im Berufsbildungsbereich und der Hochschulkooperation erworbene Expertise sollte auch den armen Ländern verstärkt zukommen und nicht leichtfertig aufgegeben werden.

So wie ein jedes Nehmerland eine eigene, bedarfsgerechte Bildungsstrategie vorlegen sollte, ist auch von den Geberstaaten eine dem Geberprofil entsprechende Human Resource Strategy zu erstellen, die einerseits den eigenen Stärken und Schwächen Rechnung trägt, andererseits aber auch auf die Kohärenz und Interdependenz (Durchlässigkeit) eines modernen Bildungssystems verweisen kann. Ein solches übergreifendes, aktualisiertes Konzept zur deutschen BZ, das die drei separaten Sektorpapiere zur Grundbildung, zur Berufsbildung und zur Hochschulkooperation in einem ganzheitlichen Konzept zusammenführt, fehlt zur Zeit noch⁴. Dass in einem solchen Sektorpapier bildungspolitische und entwicklungspolitische Prioritäten miteinander in Konflikt geraten können, ist Ausdruck des komplexen Zielgefüges der BZ und tut der konzeptionellen Schlüssigkeit keinen Abbruch. Die unterschiedlichen Ziele, Adressaten und Mittel sollten vielmehr transparent gemacht und zu einander in Beziehung gesetzt werden.

⁴ Gegenwärtig wird ein neues ‚Sektorkonzept Bildung‘ vom BMZ in Diskussion mit den Vorfeldorganisationen erarbeitet.

Im Sinne der durch die Parisdeklaration ist des weiteren zu betonen, dass Geberstaaten ihre Förderkonzeptionen eng miteinander koordinieren (alignment) sollten, so dass auch im bildungspolitischen Bereich arbeitsteilige Förderkonzepte für bestimmte Bildungszweige und Ländergruppen erarbeitet werden können. Ein ganzheitliches Konzept zu verfolgen heißt nicht, dass die BRD auch in allen Sektoren selbst aktiv sein muss.

Schließlich sollte die Entscheidung für eine spezifische Bildungszusammenarbeit nicht allein von starren Kriterien wie etwa der Bedürftigkeit, sondern auch von anderen Kriterien abhängig gemacht werden, u.a. von den EZ-Erfahrungen mit verschiedenen Partnerländern und dem Ausmaß an Vertrauensbildung, das zwischen Deutschland und einigen dieser Länder durch langjährige Zusammenarbeit gewachsen ist. Derartige Erfahrungen sind insbesondere für das Capacity Development von besonderer Bedeutung.

Quantität und Qualität

Bei den EFA-FTI-Diskussionen zur Behebung des weltweiten Bildungsnotstandes stehen die quantitativen Aspekte (EFA-Ziele 2 und 3) des Schulzuzugangs (Scholarisationsquoten, Einschulung der Mädchen etc.) im Vordergrund, die qualitativen Ergebnisse (EFA-Ziel 6) der Bildung im Sinne der durch Bildungsmaßnahmen erzielten Wirkungen werden dagegen tendenziell vernachlässigt. Allen neueren Untersuchungen zufolge ist jedoch trotz steigender Einschulungsraten die mangelnde Qualität der Lernergebnisse alarmierend. Die Drop-out Quote liegt bei fast 50% der Eingeschulten und von denen, die die Primarschule zuende führen, verlassen weitere 30% die Schule ohne Abschlussexamen (UNESCO 2005). Das Qualitätsproblem wurde bisher auch in der deutschen Diskussion im Hinblick auf die quantitativen Forderungen und die Schwierigkeiten eines koordinierten Mittelabflusses (PGF-Diskussion) zu wenig thematisiert. Wichtig ist in diesem Zusammenhang ebenso, dass die wesentlichen Ursachen für den mangelnden Lernerfolg bislang nur unzureichend erforscht sind.

Bei den Diskussionen um Erfüllung der EFA-FTI-Ziele sollte die deutsche Entwicklungszusammenarbeit die qualitativen Aspekte besonders betonen. Dazu gehören vor allem Fragen der Lehrerbildung, der Curriculumentwicklung, der guten Bildungsverwaltung, des Monitorings etc. Dies erfordert in der Mehrzahl der Länder kompetente Beratung durch TZ-Agenturen. Die GTZ, InWent, der DAAD und andere deutsche Institutionen haben sich in dieser Hinsicht in der Vergangenheit sehr bewährt und sollten auch weiterhin ihr Know-how in längerfristigen Einsätzen zur Verfügung stellen. Gerade um Qualitätsverbesserungen zu erzielen, bedarf es eines übergreifenden Konzeptes, eines langen Atems und gut etablierter Beratungsstrukturen. Längerfristige Programme haben sehr viel größere Erfolgsaussichten als kurzzeitige TA-Einsätze (Technical Assistance Maßnahmen). Dieser Vorteil sollte, auch im Rahmen von Programmorientierten Gemeinschaftsfinanzierungen (PGF/PBA) als besonderer Vorteil und Erfahrungsschatz deutscher Entwicklungszusammenarbeit genutzt werden.

Bildungszusammenarbeit mit fragilen Staaten und in Krisengebieten

Ein besonderes Problem der Bildungszusammenarbeit zeigt sich in der Zusammenarbeit mit fragilen Staaten, d.h. mit Staaten, in denen die Regierung des Partnerlandes angesichts massiver interner Konflikte das Machtmonopol über das Staatsgebiet verloren hat und somit auch regierungsgesteuerte entwicklungspolitische Maßnahmen kaum mehr stattfinden können. Für den Bildungssektor kann dies massive Folgen haben, weil die staatlich geregelten Erziehungsaktivitäten gefährdet sind (z.B. keine Lehrergehälter mehr gezahlt werden oder die Schulen zu Rekrutierungsstätten für Kindersoldaten werden). Eine weitere Problemgruppe sind autoritär geführte Staaten, in denen der Staatsapparat polizeistaatlich organisiert ist, eine auf das Wohl der Bevölkerung ausgerichtete Entwicklungszusammenarbeit aufgrund von Bad Governance (Korruption, Mangel an Transparenz, Menschenrechtsverletzungen etc.) aber nicht zu rechtfertigen ist. Gerade unter den wenig entwickelten Staaten, die aufgrund aller Armutskriterien als besonders förderungswürdig eingestuft werden sollten, sind beide Problemfälle gehäuft zu finden.

Der entwicklungspolitische Diskurs um die entwicklungspolitische Zusammenarbeit mit fragilen Staaten wird kontrovers geführt (BMZ 2004, Debiel 2007, Weiland 2009). Einerseits geht es darum, sicherzustellen, dass entwicklungspolitische Leistungen ordnungsgemäß verwaltet werden, nicht in dunklen Kanälen verschwinden und ihre Zielgruppe auch erreichen. Andererseits kann Entwicklungszusammenarbeit und gerade Bildungshilfe auch zur Überwindung von prekären Situationen beitragen. Wie empirische Studien zeigen, kann Bildung erheblich zu Good Governance und zu einer Demokratisierung beitragen (Hanf 2007 b). Jedoch sind Bildungsinvestitionen mehrheitlich langfristiger Natur. Ausbildungsprogramme brauchen Zeit. Wenn Schulen und Universitäten aus politischen Gründen geschlossen werden oder nicht mehr finanziert werden können, werden Kinder und Jugendliche für Jahre ihrer Ausbildungschancen beraubt. Der dadurch entstehende Schaden für Individuen und die Gemeinschaft wird auf lange Sicht aufgrund des Investitionscharakters von Bildung sehr viel größer als der zunächst im Vordergrund stehende politische Misstand erahnen lässt. Ohne ein Minimum an Grundbildung der Bevölkerung und ohne ausgebildete Funktionsträger in Politik und Gesellschaft ist es kaum möglich, ein Land nach einem politischen und ökonomischen Kollaps wieder auf einen stabilen, entwicklungsorientierten Weg zurückzuführen. Ähnlich wird die Situation auch von Verantwortlichen der EFA-Initiative gesehen, die auch die fragilen Staaten in ihren langfristigen Entwicklungsperspektiven berücksichtigt. Dennoch, der Zielkonflikt bleibt: Bildungszusammenarbeit mit wenig verlässlichen Regierungen ist ein Risiko und wird im Einzelfall auf ihre Tragfähigkeit genau geprüft werden müssen.

Für die Praxis bedeutet das: Bad Governance kann und soll nicht einfach dadurch entschuldigt oder gar belohnt werden, dass auf den guten Zweck der geförderte Hilfsmaßnahmen beim „Endverbraucher“ verwiesen wird. Insofern kann auf eine ordnungsgemäße Abwicklung der Bildungsförderung nicht verzichtet werden. Dies kann einerseits durch einen, soweit möglich, funktionierenden Kontrollmechanismus vor Ort geschehen. Andererseits sollten – ähnlich wie bei wichtigen Gesundheitsmaßnahmen oder bei Nothilfeinsätzen alle denkbaren

alternativen Kanäle zur Unterstützung von Bildungsmaßnahmen in diesen Ländern genutzt werden. Eine besondere Rolle kommt dabei den NGOs zu, insbesondere den Kirchen oder auch privaten Bildungsträgern (z.B. Elternschulen). Ein besonderes Augenmerk sollte auch den Bildungsmaßnahmen in Flüchtlingslagern gewidmet werden. Gerade hier besitzt die deutsche Bildungszusammenarbeit langjährige Erfahrungen. Deutschland ist hier gefordert, gemeinsam mit anderen Gebern Konzepte für eine langfristig angelegte Bildungshilfe auch in diesen Staaten zu entwickeln.

Neue EZ-Finanzarchitektur: Programmorientierte EZ

Im Zusammenhang mit der „Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness“, die u.a. verstärktes Ownership, Alignment und Geberkoordination vorsieht, haben programmorientierte Ansätze, wie Program Based Approaches (PBA) oder Sector Wide Approaches (SWAPs) bis hin zu Budgetfinanzierungen einen deutlichen Aufschwung erfahren. Programmorientierte Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (PEZ), bei Hinzutreten gemeinsamer Finanzierungsmodalitäten als Programmorientierte Gemeinschaftsfinanzierung (PGF) bekannt, gilt seit einiger Zeit als eine besonders geeignete Form der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit – auch im Bildungssektor. PBAs sind dabei in verschiedenen Stufen, von Projekten im Rahmen eines Gemeinschaftsprogramms über Korbfinanzierung bis hin zur reinsten Form, der sektoralen oder allgemeinen Budgethilfe, denkbar (Klingebiel 2003:6). Insbesondere in Verbindung mit der Fast track Initiative (FTI) scheinen PBAs besonders zur Förderung der Bildung vielversprechend zu sein.

Im Rahmen der Paris-Erklärung hat Deutschland sich verpflichtet, die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit zukünftig stärker nehmerorientiert zu gestalten. So wurde vereinbart, bis 2010 bereits 66% der deutschen Mittel und Maßnahmen als PBAs abzuwickeln. Im Jahre 2006 wurden bereits 300 Mio. € als programmorientierte Gemeinschaftsfinanzierung (PGF) zu verausgaben – mit steigender Tendenz. Im Grundbildungsbereich ist Deutschland über die KfW zur Zeit an 6 PGFs beteiligt (Guinea, Honduras, Jemen, Malawi, Mosambik, Niger). Die Erfolge der Gemeinschaftsfinanzierungen sind noch nicht exakt zu beurteilen, die Diskussion darüber verläuft kontrovers. Es steht zu erwarten, dass bei weiterer Ausweitung von PGF diese Probleme eher noch zunehmen werden, da eine Reihe von Ländern, insbesondere in Afrika, den politischen Reformwillen vermissen lassen oder im Vergleich zu den bereits jetzt in die Gemeinschaftsförderung einbezogenen Länder noch nicht über die notwendigen Kapazitäten zur Umsetzung der PGFs verfügen. Gerade wenn sich Probleme der finanziellen Zusammenarbeit mit unglaublichen Partnern stellen (moral hazard), bietet der PBA-Ansatz jedoch auch große Chancen. Durch koordiniertes Auftreten können die Geber nicht nur den Sektordialog Bildung, sondern auch die Reformbereitschaft der Partner im Sinne von Good Governance voranbringen. Hierzu zählt auch, dass mittelfristig Wege zur Überwindung der finanziellen Abhängigkeit der Partner gefunden werden müssen. Allerdings kann eine massive Gebersteuerung auch mittelfristig zur finanziellen Abhängigkeit der Partner und zur Einschränkung ihrer Ownership führen und damit die Nachhaltigkeit der Maßnahmen deutlich einschränken.

Die Steuerung von PBA verlangt von der Geberseite einen hohen Koordinationsaufwand. Nur bei entsprechender Präsenz vor Ort kann Deutschland neben dem finanziellen auch einen inhaltlich-steuernden Beitrag auf gemeinschaftsfinanzierte Programme ausüben. Um die finanziellen Transfers sachgerecht abzuwickeln, hat die KfW entsprechend begonnen, im Gegensatz zur bisherigen Praxis, Experten in viele Nehmerstaaten zu entsenden.

Bei der inhaltlichen Steuerung kann die GTZ auf eine jahrzehntelange Erfahrung verweisen. Die langjährige Präsenz und das Fachwissen der GTZ vor Ort ist eine der großen Stärken der deutschen EZ, die auch international anerkannt wird. Erfahrungen zeigen, dass die Präsenz von TZ Know-how für die Umsetzung von PGF nützlich ist und so einen Strukturvorsprung deutscher EZ darstellt. Das Modell der deutschen TZ mit ihrem langfristigen Engagement vor Ort ist allerdings nur bedingt kompatibel mit dem Modell der kurzfristigen technical assistance (TA) wie sie den Partnerländern zur Abwicklung von PGF von Seiten der Gebergemeinschaft bereitgestellt wird. In enger Kooperation mit den anderen Gebern muss daher nach Möglichkeiten gesucht werden, das Know-how der GTZ für PBA nutzbar zu machen (in-kind Beiträge, IS etc.). Unter welchen Voraussetzungen die deutsche TZ einen solchen Beitrag leisten kann, muss letztlich im Einzelfall vor Ort ausgelotet werden.

Neben PBA behalten klassische Projekte weiterhin ihre Berechtigung, sie erfüllen drei wichtige Funktionen: Als Pilotprojekte haben sie eine Innovations- und Kontrollfunktion auch in Hinblick auf die inhaltliche Ausgestaltung von PGF-Sektorprogrammen. Sie erlauben des weiteren den Erwerb bzw. das Vorhalten von sektorspezifischem Know-how, das auch für PGF nutzbar gemacht werden kann. Schließlich dienen sie als „Türöffner“, um das Vertrauen des Partnerlandes und der Gebergemeinschaft zu erwerben und so Zugang zu Entscheidungsträgern auch im Rahmen von PGF zu sichern. Es erscheint deshalb sinnvoll auch in PGF-fähigen Ländern den Projektansatz nicht ganz aufzugeben, sondern auf einen Instrumentenmix zu setzen. In einer Mehrheit der Länder Afrikas wird es aufgrund der politischen Verhältnisse nicht zu PGF kommen, hier werden weiterhin geberzentrierte Projekte/Programme (mit anderen Gebern koordiniert) vorherrschen.

Deutschland sollte den PBA-Ansatz im Bildungsbereich unterstützen. Die PBA(PGF)-Fähigkeit der Partner muss jedoch gewährleistet sein. Von einer zu schnellen Erhöhung der Mittel (Ausweitung der Länder) wird deshalb abgeraten. In Fällen der PBA-Beteiligung sollte sich Deutschland vor Ort im Rahmen des Geber- und Sektordialogs intensiv einbringen und seine Präsenz vor Ort verstärken bzw. aufrechterhalten. Die Präsenz der GTZ und KfW sollte hierfür intensiv genutzt werden. Langfristige TZ und CD hat im Rahmen von PBA wie auch eigenständig weiterhin eine Berechtigung. Zudem erscheint es sinnvoll, auch in PGF-fähigen Ländern den Projektansatz nicht ganz aufzugeben, sondern auf einen Instrumentenmix zu setzen. In einer Reihe von afrikanischen Staaten ist PGF aufgrund der politischen Verhältnisse problematisch, hier werden weiterhin geberzentrierte Projekte/Programme (mit anderen Gebern koordiniert) vorherrschen.

Capacity Development als Schwerpunkt der TZ

Der PGF-Ansatz sieht sich mit dem grundsätzlichen Problem konfrontiert, dass der Aufbau neuer PGFs aufgrund politischer Vorgaben momentan sehr schnell vollzogen wird, die für eine erfolgreiche PGF-Abwicklung zwingend erforderlichen Rahmenbedingungen in den Partnerländern (Abwicklungskapazitäten und inhaltliche Reformen) aber bisher meist nicht vorhanden sind. Die mangelnde Kapazität des Partners ist als eines der Haupthindernisse für erfolgreiche PGFs erkannt worden (Frederiksen 2005). Sie kann kurzfristig nur bedingt mit TA überbrückt werden, langfristig bedarf es des Aufbaus entsprechender eigener Kapazitäten in den Partnerländern. CD im Rahmen von PGF stellt deshalb künftig die Hauptaufgabe der TZ dar. CD beschränkt sich dabei nicht nur auf die buchhalterische Abwicklung der Mittel. Um wirkliches Ownership zu erreichen, müssen neben der Finanz- und Bildungsverwaltung auch Meinungs- und Entscheidungsträger (Parlamentarier, Zivilgesellschaft, Erziehungswissenschaftler etc.) auf nationaler und lokaler Ebene in die Lage versetzt werden, am nationalen Bildungsdiskurs teilzunehmen. Die deutsche TZ mit ihrer vor Ort Präsenz und spezialisierten Organisationen scheint hierfür besonders gut geeignet.

Da Capacity Development sich als der eigentliche Engpass in der Abwicklung von PGF herausgestellt hat, sollte CD ein Schwerpunkt der deutschen BZ sein. Die Präsenz vor Ort und die Institutionenvielfalt sollten als komparativer Vorteil hierfür genutzt werden. Beim Aufbau von CD-Strukturen sollte Deutschland international eine Führungsrolle einnehmen.

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Types, Ranks and Profiles: The Patterns and Causes of Diversity in Higher Education

Ulrich Teichler

Abstract

Diversity is viewed as a necessary response to higher education expansion, because students' motivations, talents and job prospects become more varied because the research activities are not extended in tune with the teaching and learning activities. But the patterns of diversity differ strikingly by country. "Vertically": whether other institutional types are established, what role levels of study programmes and degrees play, and to what extent reputational differences of formally the same types of institutions and programmes are perceived, and altogether, whether steep or moderate differences of quality exist. "Horizontally": extent to which substantive profiles come into play: different areas of specialisation, different schools of thought as well as political and religious affiliation, academic vs. professional, theoretical vs. applied emphasis. The existing patterns of diversity never seem to be accepted as corresponding to the needs of society; existing patterns are constantly on the move as a consequence of institutional efforts to upgrade their status, competition for resources, policies of clearly structuring systems, etc. National options vary substantially, and even the recent European option for a convergent system of study programmes and degrees, the Bologna Process, leaves room for subtle variations.

Key Words

Diversification; Types of higher education institutions; Rankings; Academic drift; Bologna Process

Introduction

The key activities of higher education – teaching and learning, research and possibly service – are undertaken in diverse institutional settings. These settings vary according to the tasks and functions, the composition as well as the level and substance of activities, the stages of study programs etc.

In referring to macro-levels of society, the term "*higher education system*" is employed as a rule for all higher education within a country. This customary use of the term underscores, that higher education, in spite of the universalistic nature of some disciplines, manifold activities of international cooperation and exchange and the cosmopolitan attitude of many scholars, is strongly shaped by modes of supervision and funding, organizational rules, curricular practices usually determined within the individual countries and, as one might expect, different between countries. This holds true though in some cases joint institutional setting might be established across borders and though in some countries individual "state", "provinces", etc. with a given country decide about the institutional setting.

The single most obvious element of diversity in higher education is that of *disciplines*. Theories, methods and areas of knowledge develop their specific territories of discourse, and institutions of higher education, as a rule, as sub-divided into disciplinary units which might be called faculties, schools, departments, institutes etc. There is a widespread agreement as regards the categories of classical major disciplinary groups, e.g. theology, humanities, social sciences, natural sciences and engineering, and many categories of individual disciplines are used worldwide, e.g. physics, medicine, history and law. But the classifications of disciplines actually employed vary according to the degree of specification, the epistemological basis and modes of inter-disciplinary arrangements.

The major debates on *diversity* of higher education address variations beyond those of “systems” and “disciplines”. Most analyses are interested in the variations between *institutional segments* of the system in which teaching, learning and research is undertaken: It might be called the “shape”, the “pattern” or the “structure” of the higher education system, whereby attention is paid notably to the types of higher education institutions and programs, the levels of study programs or to the levels and profiles of the individual institutions of higher education or the individual departments. It has to be pointed out, though, that some studies on diversity of higher education include other dimensions as well such as *organizational* differences (e.g. Birnbaum 1983, Huisman 1995), the financial regime of the institutions, i.e. notably the distinction between *public and private* higher education, and the modes of educational delivery (such as *distance education*).

The debate on diversity is among the most popular and among the most controversial in higher education policy because policies in this domain are widely viewed as being very powerful: The shape and size of higher education, though continuously changing incrementally, are often regulated to a substantial extent by external actors, e.g. national governments and parliaments, and these externally driven regulations might have an enormously strong influence on the internal activities within their higher education institutions and thus on the services higher education actually provides to society.

Terms and Classifications

Descriptions of higher education systems employ a bewildering diversity of concepts, terms and dimensions addressed. This even holds true for the term “higher education”. Until about 1950, “*university*” was the term mostly employed. “Higher education” became popular only, when notably politicians aimed to point out that other institutions, not characterized by a close link between teaching and research as the universities, but rather by a predominant teaching function, have much in common with universities. Since about the 1980s, terms such as “*tertiary education*”, “post-secondary education” or “third-level education” gained popularity in debates initiated by international organizations, such as the OECD, and in a select number of countries by underscoring that all education for students beyond the typical age of “secondary education” can be viewed as sharing somewhat of a common function though the level of intellectual ambition and the link to scientific knowledge might vary.

In a recent account of the diversity debates in higher education, Teichler (2008) points out that higher education systems are *described concretely* in most cases according to

- types of higher education institutions or types of programs,
- levels of programs, and
- variations in reputation and prestige and possibly according substantive profiles of institutions and study programs.

In characterizing the differences named, most actors and observers

- sort differences between institutional settings to a varying extent as *vertical* (in terms of levels of quality, reputation, selectivity, etc.) and *horizontal* (in terms of substantive profiles, conceptual “schools” etc.),
- refer to a varying extent to *formal elements*, which are used as descriptors of laws and other regulations and any formal descriptions (e.g. institutional types, levels of programs, official functions of study programs), and informal elements (e.g. “profiles” and “reputation”),
- make a distinction between diversity *within* higher education institutions (“internal”, “intra-institutional” or “program” diversity) or *between* higher education institutions (“external”, “inter-institutional” or “institutional” diversity).

Often, efforts were made not only to classify the dimensions according to which institutional setting are diverse, but also to establish terms describing *the overall character of the higher education system* according to kinds and degrees of variety of the institutional setting. For example, a higher education system might be characterized as

- “*unitary*”, if one institutional type clearly dominates: In the past, Italy was often taken as an example of a system where more or less all institutions were universities and more or less all study programs were long first degree university programs (four years or more);
- “*binary*”, if two major types of higher education are seen as characteristic, such as universities and *polytechnics* in the United Kingdom from the early 1960s to the early 1990s or universities and *Fachhochschulen* (nowadays called “universities of applied sciences” in English since the 1970s) in Germany and since the 1990s in Austria and Switzerland;
- “*multi-level*”, if the variety of the system can be sorted better according to the levels of study programs and according to the types of institutions of higher education than according to institutional types. For example, the French system was often classified according to, first, programs of the first two years of study (bac+2), such as vocational programs at *écoles*, but also the first half of university programs (DEUG) or preparatory classes for *grandes écoles*, second, programs leading eventually to the university degrees, the licence (bac+3), the *maitrise* (bac+4 or bac+5), various professional degrees and the degrees of the *grandes écoles* (as a rule bac+5), and third advanced programs (bac+6 and more). Similarly, the U.S. system is often described as characterized by two-year programs leading to an associate degree, mostly four-year programs leading to a bachelor degree, advanced programs subsequent to a

bachelor leading to a master or doctor degree (as a rule after altogether six years), and finally doctoral programs;

- “*comprehensive*” systems, if diversity is predominantly taken care through intra-institutionally rather than through differences between institutions: This was envisaged but eventually never fully realized through the establishment of a few “*Gesamthochschulen*” (comprehensive universities) in Germany and through the incorporation of some higher education institutions with short study programs into universities in Sweden in the 1970s;
- *recurrent education* system: since the 1970s, various international organisations advocate a substitution of the traditional system of training of highly qualified persons, characterized by a highly structured long pre-career learning phases and mostly occasional and informal in-career learning, by a new system of recurrent education, whereby pre-career education is shorter than customary in the past and in-career education becomes more important and more highly organized. Though the role of “life-long learning” is generally viewed as growing, not a single current country has ever established a recurrent education system with a dominant logic of short pre-career higher education and formalized stages and certificates of life-long education along those lines.

In some countries, specific classifications are undertaken which are to characterize one’s own higher education system without having any international comparison in mind. For example, the Carnegie classification in the U.S., named according to the foundation which had initiated this search for a widely accepted classification, classifies institutions of higher education notably according to their involvement in research and doctoral training into categories such as research universities, comprehensive universities (with selective areas of high-quality research and doctoral programs), four-year colleges, etc.

Any description of the diversity of institutional settings refers to a wider range of *elements somewhat associated to institutional diversity*; e.g. modes of access and admission, different types of students served, various types of academic and professional missions, emphasis placed on a link between teaching and research or predominantly on teaching.

Finally, there are some classifications which do not characterize the homogeneity or diversity of institutional patterns, but rather the *functions* of institutional diversification. The most prominent one of such functional classifications became better known worldwide than any effort to classify institutional settings. The American higher education researcher Martin Trow (1974) coined the words “elite higher education”, “mass higher education” and “universal higher education”. His concept often is misunderstood as directly depicting historical stages of the overall higher education system (i.e. “mass higher education” substituting “elite higher education”). However, Trow has argued that elite higher education is supplemented, when about 15% of the corresponding age group enrol, by mass higher education, and eventually, when about half of the age group enrol, by universal higher education. Mass higher education takes over the function of serving best those students additionally enrolling in higher education institutions and is not at all or at most only to a moderate extent linked with research, thereby “protecting” elite higher education which continues to serve a select student population and is strongly

involved in research. This functional diversification, according to Trow, does not necessarily correspond to an institutional diversification.

Types of Higher Education Institutions and Study Programs

In the early 1950s, about 10% of the corresponding age group were enrolled at institutions of higher education in the United States of America, while the enrolment rate was about 3–5% in most economically advanced countries. But a further growth was obvious, and the view spread soon thereafter, spurred by various studies in the domain of economics of education, that a growing proportion of highly educated persons in the labor market were likely to contribute substantially to economic growth. In the 1960s, additionally, the view became popular that educational expansion would serve both economic growth and the reduction of unequal opportunity in access to advanced levels of education. Moreover, educational systems had become more open in general, and rising percentage of population wanted to enroll.

Most actors and experts came to the conclusion during the 1950s and increasingly during the 1960s that a substantial increase of enrolment rates in higher education was inevitable or even desirable. In Europe, such an expansion was viewed as not being feasible in the relatively costly setting of the existing universities characterized by a close link between teaching and research and by relatively long study programs. Also, the views dominating in the U.S. gradually were accepted in Europe as well that the growing number of students was bound to be more diverse in terms of motivations, academic talents and future job prospects and would be served best by an increasing diversity of higher education. However, the institutional responses chosen in Europe were different from the prevailing pattern of the higher education system in the U.S. Clear distinctions between types of higher education and possibly between the overall duration of study programs became the most popular approach in Europe from the 1960s onward for a considerable period (see Teichler 1988). Three early national reforms are named most frequently in this context.

- “*Polytechnics*” were established in the United Kingdom in the early 1960s. They required in principle the same entry qualifications as universities and had the same types of degree programs, but their level of academic ambition was more moderate and many of the programs had a stronger “vocational” emphasis. It is generally assumed that “polytechnics” have aimed more strongly to become similar to universities than to strengthen their specific profile, and they eventually were named universities in 1992 and thus became free to compete as individual institutions with individual traditional universities instead of the prior competition between whole sectors of the higher education system (see Scott 1996).
- During the 1960s as well, *Instituts Universitaires de Technologie (IUT)* were established in France as specific units within universities offering two-years programs which turned out to be more select and academically more ambitious than the existing programs in post-secondary écoles, but clearly were more applied than university programs. Various of these IUT programs eventually were extended towards three years when a

convergent system of study programs and degrees began to be advocated in Europe in the late 1990s.

- Since 1970, *Fachhochschulen* were established in the Federal Republic of Germany as a second institutional type. In contrast to universities, not 13 years of prior schooling, mostly in academic secondary education, was the required entry quality qualification, but rather 12 years of schooling, possibly including vocational training and schooling. The study programs at *Fachhochschulen* were shorter than at universities; they comprised initially three years plus additional periods of internships and eventually, since the early 1990s, four years including those elements, and the degrees awarded differ between these institutional types. The programs at *Fachhochschulen* were expected to be clearly more applied and less research-based than those at universities. Since about 2000, *Fachhochschulen* began to change curricula towards a bachelor and master structure, whereby most master programs have an applied emphasis, but some programs are designed to be similarly “theoretical” as programs at universities.

Efforts to popularize terms suitable to describe such types of higher education institutions and study programs, for example put forward by OECD, never were generally accepted. “Non-university higher education” which was correctly depicting the political and conceptual starting point, was viewed as too prerogative to that sector. “Short-cycle higher education” (OECD 1973) was certainly pointing out a widespread dimension of distinction, but this was not applicable in all cases and did not underscore the programmatic distinction. “Alternatives to universities” (OECD 1991) correctly underscores that any characteristic of this second type of institution was chosen as delineation to the universities, but, again, the new term did not name the specific characteristics. Eventually, the international organizations began to use abstract terms such as “tertiary type A” and “tertiary type B”.

Three elements of distinction were in forefront of discussions within Europe as far as distinct types within higher education are concerned (see de Moor 1979, Teichler 1988).

- The second type of higher education institution was expected to *concentrate on teaching and learning*. The teaching load of academics at those institutions was substantially higher than that of those at universities. They were not expected and hardly had sufficient resources for research, or they had a more moderate research function with an applied emphasis.
- The study programs were in most cases *shorter*, but not consistently across all countries.
- The study programs had an *applied curricular emphasis*, but again, this distinction was more strongly accentuated in some countries than in others.

Views differed in Europe whether the sectors should be primarily differentiated according to types of higher education institutions or primarily differentiated according to types of study programs whereby some institutions might offer both programs with an “academic” or “theoretical” thrust and those with an applied emphasis. In some instances, varied types of programs under a single

institutional “roof” were advocated as superior because they could offer students a more open choice during the course of study and because one could expect a “cross-fertilization” of the various approaches.

For example, six comprehensive universities were established in Germany according such to a logic of *institutional integration* in the 1970s. However, an *institutional segmentation* of different curricular models became by far more popular in Europe because intra-institutional differentiation seemed to status gaps more apparent to the actors than diversity under separate institutions “roofs”.

This does not mean, though, that inter-institutional diversity became a stable system feature. Certainly, the “non-university” institutions often were praised publicly by politicians and employers. These advocates and the non-university institutions themselves claimed that this second sector should be accepted as “different, but equivalent” to universities. Often, these institutions placed their graduates more quickly on average on the labor market than the universities and in some cases with equal career chances as university graduates, but on average not on equal terms with university graduates of the same fields of study. Actually, the second type of higher education institutions constantly tried to redefine its role through partially underscoring its specifics and concurrently by trying to move closer to the universities in various respects (teaching load, teachers’ salaries, research function, etc.) (cf. Taylor et al. 2008).

Almost silently, as far as the overtones of higher education policy debates are concerned, a third type of institutions and study programs emerged. According to OECD statistics, the entry rates to tertiary education increased in economically advanced countries from less than 40% on average in the 1990s to more than 60% in the middle of the first decade of the 21st century. This includes in some countries up to about one third of persons enrolled in “tertiary” programs not being considered “higher education”. These programs require in some countries the same number of years of prior schooling as university programs, in some countries somewhat less of prior schooling, and in some countries these are advanced vocational training programs, often following a first vocational training program, e.g. technician training programs subsequent to, for example, car mechanic training programs. In some countries, these new tertiary institutions and programs seem to have contributed to a change of system logic of tertiary education as a whole, while in other countries they remained a completely separate sector only firming under the common label of “tertiary education” in international educational statistics.

Levels of Study Programs and Degrees

Intra-institutional diversity according to teaching and learning, though, had a long tradition in a substantial number of countries as regards levels of study programs. In contrast to countries such as Germany, the Netherlands or Italy, where long university programs existed the degrees of which were viewed as equivalent to Anglo-Saxon master degrees, Anglo-Saxon countries had a second level of study programs, i.e. master programs subsequent to bachelor programs, and Northern European countries had upper “*kandidat*” programs subsequent to lower “*kandidat*” programs in some fields of study. Similarly, students in France could leave higher education in some fields with a “licence” after three years of study or could go on to a four or five-years “*maîtrise*”. These

stage systems of study programs and degrees had different functions in the various countries. In France and Northern European countries, one could leave the system with the lower degree notably if one wanted to become a teacher outside the sector of the academic secondary schools. In the United Kingdom and Japan, the first degree was generally viewed until recently as the normal entry qualification to all high-level occupations, while an advanced degree might have been helpful, but was not an entry prerequisite to more advanced careers. In the U.S., however, a master or professional degree gradually became the entry qualification for the high-level careers in many occupational areas while the bachelor opened up only the second-ranking career avenues.

In the late 1990s, ministers in charge of higher education – initially from four countries in the Sorbonne Declaration in 1998 and thereafter from 29 countries in the Bologna Declaration of 1999 – called for the establishment of a convergent stage system of study programs and degrees in Europe within about a decade. In fact, many institutions of higher education established Bachelor programs in subsequent years – often for a period of three years, but some up to four years – and subsequent master programs – most often for a period of two years, but some for one or for one and a half year. This move towards a convergent structure was primarily advocated in these declarations in order to make higher education in (continental) European countries more attractive for students from countries of other parts of the world (the majority of which had a stage system of study programs and degrees), and in order to facilitate intra-European – mostly temporary – student mobility. Universities were called to arrange the Bachelor programs in a way that they turn out to be a meaningful entry qualification for employment rather than a *de facto* interim qualification for study up to a master. This was pointed out, because suspicion was widespread initially that this new level of university qualification would be viewed as alien both by university professors and by employers.

As a consequence, stages of study programs and degrees certainly became the single most important formal dimension of diversification more or less all over the world. It remained an open question, though, whether diversification by types of higher education institutions would persist thus underscoring horizontal differences by the substance of the study programs and the competences strived for or even be strengthened, or whether diversity by type of higher education would gradually erode as a consequence of the increased emphasis on levels. Since almost a decade after the signing of Bologna, not a single European country with a two-type or multi-type structure has discontinued the formal distinctions according to institutional types similar to the British policy of 1992 to rename “polytechnics” as “universities”.

The various official policy documents published in the so-called Bologna Process do not address explicitly the issue whether the establishment of a convergent system of stages of study programs and degrees was expected to have any implication for horizontal diversity according to profiles of study programs. These documents only point out that the policy in favor of structural convergence should not exert pressure for curricular convergence among national higher education systems. The respective diversity within national higher education, in contrast, is not addressed at all.

Similarly, the official Bologna policy documents do not address explicitly the issue whether a certain degree of informal vertical diversification could be

viewed as supportive to the objectives of the Bologna Process. Some experts, however, point out that the aim of facilitating intra-European temporary mobility can be achieved best, if vertical stratification among higher education institutions is kept within bounds. For the more highly stratified national higher education systems are, the smaller is the number of higher education institutions in a single “zone of mutual trust” in which the universities are willing to consider the quality and substance of study programs at partner institutions on equal terms with their own ones (see Teichler 2008). In contrast, the “Lisbon Process” in the European Union of increasing research expenditures in order to make the European economy “the most competitive in the world” seems to be in favour of an increased stratification of higher education and research institutions (see van Vught, van der Wende and Westerheijden 2002).

Informal Diversity: Ranks and Profiles

Higher education systems traditionally differed substantially according to the extent of informal vertical diversity. In the United States of America and in Japan, the range of quality and reputation between the universities at the top and at the bottom was always extreme as compared to European countries. Thereby, research, graduate education and to some extent the quality of entering undergraduate students were seen as the most salient dimensions of vertical distinction in the U.S. In Japan, in contrast, most emphasis was placed on the entry level of students and the careers of the graduates, while quality differences in research were emphasized to a lesser extent. In the United Kingdom, a few universities were viewed as clearly excelling both in research and in the quality of study programs. In France, the top grandes écoles were viewed as far superior to the other institutions as far as graduate careers were concerned, while hardly any research was undertaken traditionally at these institutions.

Other higher education systems were characterized by some degree of hierarchy according to institutional reputation, though clearly flatter than the above named countries, e.g. Australia, Canada or Sweden. Finally, Germany is generally viewed by experts as the large economically advanced country with the flattest reputational hierarchy among universities. Even today, scholars at average level universities in Germany succeed in raising about two-thirds of the research funds – weighed by discipline – as those at the top ten universities.

Some decades ago, most actors and experts were so much accustomed to the existing vertical differences within their countries that they tended to consider the patterns within their own country as more or less adequate. There was critique, for example in Japan and France, as regard the destructive competition of young people to enter the most prestigious institutions, and in the U.S. that the lower-level colleges had a “cooling-out” function for the ambitious learners with disadvantaged socio-economic, ethnic and educational background on the one hand, and in Germany regarding lack of concentration of resources for costly research at universities, but by and large the various systems were accepted within their national policy discourses. In Japan, one was proud that the extreme competition for to entry to higher education had contributed to a relatively open access of students from lower socio-economic background and that it socialized the students to put much effort into learning and work. In the U.S., one believed that the system is relatively open for ambitious students. In

Germany, the flat hierarchy was reinforced by many mechanisms – among others by the rule that junior staff never was promoted internally to professorial ranks, but rather was forced to be mobile; one noted that the flat hierarchy contributed to a good dispersion of highly qualified professionals all over the regions.

Since about the late 1970s, we note a gradually rising popularity of a steeper stratification of the higher education system in Europe. The belief began to spread among experts that top quality in research was achieved more easily through a higher degree of concentration of resources and top scholars in a small number of institutions.

Since the 1990s, the *Zeitgeist* of higher education policy clearly moved towards a stronger popularity of steep differences between higher education institutions as far as academic reputation is concerned. Efforts to evaluate the various functions of higher education spread as a possible means of reflecting possible improvements and as a means of control. The individual institutions gained autonomy as far as detailed governmental supervision is concerned in exchange for stronger societal pressures to provide evidence of success. Competition for resources and reputation increased. The growing global interconnectedness of researchers increased the importance of the international arena of academic reputation. Altogether, the term “knowledge society” seems to underscore the societal relevance of academia, but concurrently the term “knowledge economy” even more strongly underscored the expectation that higher education should strive for more visible immediate utility.

As regards diversity of higher education, this led to an increased race to be visible in ranking lists of “world-class universities”. Notably, a British newspaper and a Chinese university were most successful in the first years of the 21st century in gaining public attention of the ranking lists they published of top universities all over the world. In select countries, ranking lists based on a wider set of credible criteria of quality differences were published in order to justify differential resource allocations, to inform the public and possibly to stimulate competition for success, for example in Australia and the United Kingdom. In other countries, politicians moved towards a more differentiated funding system of higher education institutions in order to increase the vertical diversity among higher education institutions, for example in Germany since 2005 through a special funding scheme for top segments of research clusters, graduate programs and universities, the so-called “*Exzellenz-Initiative*”.

The advocates of a fierce race for ranks stimulated by such world-wide “league tables” usually claim that

- economic and technological success of a country increasingly becomes dependent on cutting-edge breakthroughs in knowledge; therefore, investments have to be concentrated at the apex of the systems;
- ranking lists contribute to a degree and mode of competition which is beneficial for quality enhancement;
- the top institutions increasing play – to use the vocabulary of soccer – in an international “champion league”;
- ranking lists increase the transparency for all actors and consumers and thus lead to rational and quality-reinforcing choices;

- critics of rankings would only over-criticize the validity of indicators employed in rankings.

Rankings are in fact controversially discussed in the public; often, the crude measures are criticized in this framework of producing unfounded fame and blame. There are also many critical voices among higher education researchers and science researchers as regards the quality of international rankings (e.g. Dill and Soo 2005). We also note activities, in reverse, among key actors and experts of ranking studies to increase the quality of rankings (see the overview in Sadlak and Liu 2007).

According to many critiques voiced, the vertical stratification policies seem to have a number of often not explicitly named assumptions (see Teichler 2008):

- that the existing institutional diversity is a good mirror of the diversity of students;
- that the students learn best in relatively homogeneous environments,
- that the individual universities are really holistic and have profound cross-departmentally fertilizing effect;
- that the society has a demand for a lower number of good researchers in higher education than of good teachers;
- that research ideally is highly stratified according to quality; and
- that motivations are stimulated best through a high degree of inequality.

The critics of ranking publications and of steering policies to stratify higher education more steeply do not confine themselves to methodological questions, but rather challenge the rationales of the stratification policies and point out intended and unintended dysfunctional effects (see for example the arguments collected in Altbach 2004, 2006, Teichler 2008).

Accordingly, transparency of quality seems to be increasingly endangered by increasing advertising activities of higher education institutions, data fake and competition to be visible in the measurement of quality rather than striving for the enhancement of quality as such; moreover, rankings as a rule seem to reinforce prestige hierarchies of the past and thus protect privileges and supports “labelism” of institutions and “credentialism” rather than open competition and meritocratic reward. The emphasis on rivalry and fierce competition certainly does not enhance quality across the system, but rather leads to the underutilization of potentials of creative cooperation and discourages those who are not the most successful ones in the race for top ranks. The rankings put so much emphasis on the research that they invite to a neglect of the quality of teaching. Moreover, the rankings put so much emphasis on vertical differences that they discourage horizontal diversity according profiles of research approaches and study program and merely stimulate imitation behavior of the seemingly best institutions.

Beyond these widespread critical arguments, there are three possible more fundamental issues at stake in the current ranking information policies and actual vertical stratification policies:

- Do the achievements of individual scholars and research units really become increasingly dependent on its local higher education environment? Or could one assume the opposite: that the new media, the growing internationalization of networks, the growing opportunities to meet each other, to study abroad etc. make academic quality of individuals and teams more independent than ever from their local surroundings?
- Similarly, does the overall quality of teaching, learning and research in the higher education system grow through the stimulation of fierce competition of the apex of the system? Or does it only lead to moderate quality increase at the top along substantial losses at lower levels, thus having an overall effect of quality?
- Does the progress of the knowledge society really depend primarily on cutting-edge successes at the top? Or are we in need of a “fundamental knowledgeization” of the society of a whole, the “wisdom of the many”, and a “mass knowledge society”?

Most studies on the quality of rankings and most efforts of to improve the quality of rankings are interesting within the mind-sets of their advocates. But they are irrelevant for cross-cutting questions about possible benefits and detriments of ranking and stratification policies.

The Causes of Diversity

The public discourse as well as the literature aiming to analyze the institutional patterns of higher education systematically, as a rule, do not merely address the facts, the configuration of the system and its change, but also try to explain the causes for the developments observed. Most of these considerations published can be described as a straightforward pragmatic reasoning regarding the strengths and weaknesses of certain institutional configurations of the systems, such as: the more (inter-institutionally) diverse higher education institutions within a higher education system are, the better they serve the varied motives, talents and job prospects of students, or an alternative argument: the less diverse institutions within a higher education system are (and possibly diverse intra-institutionally), the more chances they offer for all students to opt during the course of study for different levels of ambition and for different profiles of expertise.

But we note very sophisticated arguments as well, both, on the part of the actors and the scholars analyzing higher education systems. Some secondary analyses have been made of the types of explanatory models.

The organizers of an expert conference on Diversity and Convergence in Higher Education held in 1993 in Turku (Finland) came to the conclusion that there are three major “theoretical perspectives on diversity” and that these three perspectives were represented by the three keynote speakers of that conference (see Meek et al. 1996):

- The “*internal perspective*”: According to Burton Clark (1996), “it is the academic discipline engine that invariably drives higher education institutions and systems to differentiation”. The “uncontrolled drive towards ever-increasing disciplinary specialization is not always obvious; it often results in incremental or what Clark terms ‘unannounced cumulative change’. But it is these changes ... that ultimately shapes higher education institutions and systems, making them evermore complex in an environment where operational diversification is far more important than nominal integration...” (Meek et al. 1996: 207). The authors argue that, according to Clark, “subject parturition, program affiliation, subject dignification and subject dispersion” all contribute to an increase of diversity (ibid.: 213).
- The “*systemic perspective*”: According to Guy Neave (1996), the patterns of the higher education system are strongly affected by the actors, notably those on national and supranational levels. Neave names various “forces that work for and against homogenization or integrity”, and “no higher education institution or system moves inevitably towards either homogenization or diversification” (Meek et al. 1996: 207). These authors point out that Neave does not name contradicting forces, but also ambivalent realities rather than a clear trend in one direction: “whether a particular system is ‘diverging or converging is largely a function of where we focus our attention’” (ibid.: 208). Neave argues that governments often aim to decrease diversity, while other actors might contribute to increased diversity or variable configurations.
- The “*environment perspective*”: According to Frans van Vught (1996), higher education institutions are “located within a supra-system consisting of the social, political and economic environment” (Meek et al. 1996: 209-210). Institutions of higher education “constantly survey the environment to identify opportunities and risks with respects to obtaining the resources ... Those institutions that ‘read’ the environment correctly survive, those who do not perish” (ibid.: 210). In principle, a varied environment, thus, leads to increased diversity, while an isomorphic and uniform environment encourages a decrease of diversity. Van Vught views national governments as very strong actors in Europe mostly opting for homogeneous systems or types of higher education and thus contributing to a low degree of diversity.

The authors of the above named study point out that the various countries analyzed – also the various European countries – “are themselves substantially divergent in terms of national approaches to diversity” (ibid.: 234). The various theoretical efforts to explain the extent of diversity within the various national systems of higher education helped to “provide a better understanding of the complexity surrounding questions of diversity and convergence in higher education” (ibid.), but there might be more questions raised than answered in such analyses of the various explanatory models and of the various national cases.

In a synthesis of the debates and analyses of the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s, Ulrich Teichler (1998: 480-482) points out that various scholars have opted for “*developmental theories*” in their efforts “to explain the dynamics of

structural change in higher education". "Four developmental theories are most frequently employed.

- The '*expansion and diversification*' theory ... had the strongest impact on the public debate. Accordingly, the expansion of higher education creates a pressure for diversification because the needs of the learners and other potential users of the services of higher education become more varied and because, as many actors believe, these varied needs might be more readily met through a certain 'division of labor' among institutions ...
- A second type of theory, '*drift theories*', also became very popular. Types of higher education institutions are not necessarily very faithful in pursuing the goals they were expected to pursue when they were initially established. According to these theories, different types of higher education institutions are eager to pursue their initial mission at most for a short period after they had been newly founded or upgraded. After some period, they begin to consider themselves as competitors to other types of higher education institutions. ...the almost universal 'academic drift' ... Similar reasoning, although with different expectations, was frequently employed in the 1980s. Many experts suggest that the tight labor market for graduates from purely academic fields had triggered a trend of 'vocational drift', 'vocationalism' or 'professionalism'.
- A third type of approach might be called '*flexibilization theories*'. ... In contrast to the first theory, they point at weaknesses in segmented institutional types serving clearly distinct needs. Over time, soft models and broad ranges might be superior ... Accordingly, late selection in pre-career education, permeability of educational careers, compensatory measures for the disadvantaged, soft diversified structures of higher education, and the establishment of a life-long education system contribute to a soft system in three respects: no decision in the educational career would be considered as definite, the model could satisfy both the advocates and critics of educational expansion, and it would finally facilitate rapid adaptations, if major problems occurred.
- Finally, we note '*cyclical theories*' of the structural development of higher education. According to these theories, certain structural patterns and policies come and go in cycles. For example, opening up of educational avenues and a reduction of the differences between varied types of institutions and programs might be on the agenda at times when a shortage of graduates is felt, whereas segmentation and hierarchization of higher education is favored or just taking place, when fears of over-supply or 'over-education' dominate the scene ...".

Moreover, we notice explanatory efforts with regards to the *role and potentials of higher education policy* to shape the long-term movements of the higher education system. Teichler (1988) argued that most policies are a mixture of

- '*idiosyncratic approaches*', where emphasis is placed on the persistence of characteristics of national systems of higher education system,
- '*functional approaches*', according to which the higher education system in all modern societies is confronted with similar challenges and is on the search of the universally optimal response, and

- *'political' approaches*, according to which actors have ample room to which actors can opt for elitist or egalitarian solutions, for extreme or moderate vertical diversity, for a strong role of academic or utilitarian norms, etc.

In a recent analysis of diversity of higher education, Frans van Vught (2008: 153-154) argues that organizational theories are the most crucial ones in explaining policies and trends regarding diversity in higher education. He points out three theoretical perspectives: the population ecology perspective (thereby referring to Hannan and Freeman), the resource dependency perspective (Pfeffer and Salancik), and the institutional isomorphism perspective (DiMaggio and Powell):

- "The population ecology approach is based on the Darwinian evolutionary point of view. ... the population ecology approach concentrates 'on the sources of variability and homogeneity of organizational forms... In doing so, it pays considerable attention to population dynamics, especially the processes of competition among diverse organizations for limited resources such as membership, capital and legitimacy'....";
- "The resource dependency perspective stresses the mutual processes of interaction between organizations and their environments. According to this approach, organizations on the one hand are dependent on their environments (which primarily consists of other organizations) but on the other hand these organizations are also able to influence their environments ...";
- "The institutional isomorphism approach stresses that in order to survive, organizations have to adapt to the existence of and pressures by other organizations in their environment. These adaptation processes tend to lead to homogenization, as organizations react more or less similarly to uniform environmental conditions. Isomorphism is a constraining process that forces organizations to resemble other organizations that face the same set of environmental conditions ...".

Drawing from these concepts, van Vught (2008: 20) formulates two "propositions" which he considers relevant for the current developments of higher education systems: (1) "The larger the uniformity of the environmental conditions of higher education organizations, the lower the level of diversity of the higher education systems. (2) The larger the influence of academic norms and values in a higher education organizations, the lower the level of diversity of the higher education system."

Obviously, all the conceptual frameworks named are fruitful in pointing out elements possibly contributing to the changing extent of vertical and horizontal diversity in higher education. Not a single one, however, could claim to come close to a "theory of diversity in higher education".

Concluding Observations

National higher education systems cannot be completely uniform. They have to serve different motives, talents and job perspectives of their students. Not all institutions of higher education and not all their sub-units can serve teaching

and research equally. There are quality differences, and there has to be room for a diversity of aims and paradigms in teaching and research.

The increase of student enrolment and the growth of research activities seem to reinforce the views that diversification, i.e. constant growth of variety both according to the level of quality and reputation and to substantive profiles of research and study programs was the best solution. Already in the 1960s and 1970s, many experts and actors considered a highly diverse higher education system, such as the U.S. higher education system, was the “modern” response. However, deficits of such a model were pointed out as well; various options of diversification were chosen, and incremental trends did not necessarily move toward increased diversification. Actually, various European countries favored diversity primarily according to types of higher education institutions and established “polytechnics”, “IUTs”, “Fachhochschulen” or similar institutions often with shorter and more applied programs than university programs and with initially only a marginal research function.

National systems of higher education seem to keep certain characteristics for a long period, but are characterized as well by a constant “unrest” of those sectors or institutions which are not at the apex of the reputational hierarchy. In highly regulated systems, we noted collective efforts towards upward mobility, while in less regulated systems, individual institutions try to upgrade their status.

Obviously, growth of student numbers and research activities seems to call for increased vertical and horizontal diversity. In contrast, internal competition within higher education tends to undermine horizontal diversity and to contribute to imitation behavior according to the success dimensions of the most highly reputed individual institutions or institutional types in order to increase the likelihood of upward mobility. In contrast to Martin Trow’s initial expectation that elite higher education needs protection in the process of higher education expansion, horizontal diversity and programmatic profiles other than those popular at top institutions need protection in order to secure diverse services of higher education to society.

Evidently, a certain degree of segmentation within higher education is viewed as necessary to ensure pride in and care of distinct profiles of study programs. But segmentation is viewed as creating barriers as regards the permeability if students wanted to correct their educational research choices and when academics want to embark into new activities. Therefore, the political debate on the strengths and weaknesses of different models of diversity is driven by a permanent search for a “soft system”, i.e. a create mix between stability and flexibility.

The debate about the strengths and weaknesses of various constellations of patterns of the higher education systems differs, if prime attention is paid to the research function of higher education, from the debate, if teaching and learning are in the foreground. By and large, steep vertical stratification of higher education is more often claimed to be beneficial for research than for teaching and learning.

In recent years, the variety of different national options as regards the pattern of their higher education systems seems to diminish. On the one hand, we note that most European countries move towards the establishment of a convergent system of study programs and degrees, thereby aiming to make the levels of

study programs and degrees the single most important dimension of institutional diversity. On the other hand, institutions of higher education increasingly view themselves as competitors in the race for high quality and reputations amidst trends and policies to create more steeply stratified national higher education systems or even to move towards an even more steeply stratified “world higher education system”.

At any moment of major changes and reforms of the institutional patterns of the higher education system, sweeping statements are made about the miraculous strength of certain models. Neave (2006: 246), for example, pointed out that the policies prevailing in various European countries of advocating diversity primarily through varied institutional types were “woefully unsubstantiated”. Similarly, the current efforts to reinforce competition for “world-class universities” and to create a more steeper vertical diversity are based on empirically not well founded claims and even of disinterest in asking key questions about the strengths and weaknesses of this model as compared to alternative models, i.e. a lower extent of vertical diversity and a stronger element of horizontal diversity. Certainly, clear evidence about the strengths and weaknesses of such complex models cannot be expected, but an improvement of the knowledge base and of the rationality of discourse is not completely out of sight.

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Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Steuerung in der organisierten Anarchie Hochschule

Volker Jahr

Abstract

Traditional management theories cannot be applied to educational institutions without carefully considering whether they will work in that unique academic setting. From a structural as well as from a behavioural point of view we observe many defensive routines and organizational obstacles, especially micropolitical processes, which prevent interventions into faculties from being successful. The garbage can model of organizational choice, which was developed in the context of universities, provides deep insights in these processes. If we accept the implication of universities as organized anarchies, the consequence is that we can only try to manage garbage cans. There is no governance of a faculty based on objective scientific results or planned change. Interventions in such a system are highly ridden with prerequisites. The author suggests that under these circumstances an ironic approach is most likely to bear fruit.

Gewöhnliche Managementtheorien lassen sich nicht ohne weiteres auf die Hochschule als Organisation übertragen. Aus struktureller und handlungstheoretischer Perspektive können eine Vielzahl an Widerständen und Hindernissen formuliert werden, die verhindern, dass zielgerichtete Interventionen in universitäre Fachbereiche Erfolge zeitigen. In erster Linie sind hier mikropolitische Prozesse zu nennen. Das speziell am Beispiel der Hochschule entwickelte Mülleimer-Modell eignet sich besonders gut zur Erklärung solcher Prozesse. Wenn wir das Bild von Hochschulen als organisierten Anarchien akzeptieren, lautet die Konsequenz, dass Organisationsentwicklung den „Mülleimer“ entwickeln muss, weil es eine auf objektiven wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse oder rationaler Planung beruhende Steuerung von Fachbereichen nicht gibt. Eine solche Intervention ist jedoch höchst voraussetzungsreich. Der Autor vertritt die These, dass eine ironische Herangehensweise dabei die größten Erfolgsaussichten hat.

Keywords

Garbage can model, micropolitics, organizational development in the university setting, ironic approach

Hochschulen als spezifische Organisationen

Die moderne Organisationstheorie mit ihrer großen Zahl an Veröffentlichungen hat sich immer wieder auch des spezifischen Organisationstyps Hochschule als Gegenstand angenommen. Da in der Literatur im allgemeinen das moderne westliche, auf das Überleben auf dem Markt ausgerichtete Wirtschaftsunternehmen der Maßstab ist, an dem die organisationstheoretischen Kategorien aufgestellt werden, wird die Hochschule fast durchweg charakterisiert als Organisation, der zumindest teilweise pathologische Züge anhaften. So werden Hochschulen bezeichnet als „organisierte Anarchie“

(March et al.), „loosely coupled system“ (Weick), „formierte Anarchie“ (Pellert), „paradoxe Bürokratie“ (Preißer) oder sogar als bloße „Ansammlung von 200 Einzelunternehmern, die sich eine Heizungsanlage teilen“.

Während die europäische Hochschulforschung eher an der Gesamtgesellschaft und ihrem Verhältnis zur Institution Hochschule orientiert ist, setzt die US-amerikanische Hochschulforschung an Individuen und Institutionen an. Gemeinhin lassen sich vier Modelle unterscheiden, nach denen Hochschulen organisiert sind. Diese Modelle gelten auch für den Fachbereich als Untersuchungseinheit. Das bürokratisch-hierarchische Modell wurde unter soziologischen Gesichtspunkten wegweisend definiert durch Max Weber. Es erklärt noch am ehesten interne Phänomene der Officialverwaltung der Hochschule bzw. des Fachbereichs sowie in Teilen Erscheinungen, die bei Kontakten der Verwaltung mit anderen Subsystemen der Organisation Hochschule auftreten. Das Kollegialmodell geht davon aus, dass Entscheidungen des Fachbereichs in der Runde gleichberechtigter Lehrender nach ausführlichen inhaltlichen Diskussionen schließlich einvernehmlich im Konsens aller Beteiligten getroffen werden. Beide Modelle erweisen eher Phänomenen Referenz, die sich auf der formalen, offiziellen Ebene abspielen und stellen in der Realität zumindest im Fall des Kollegialmodells oftmals nur eine Wunschvorstellung dar.

Jüngere Ansätze in der Hochschulorganisationsdebatte entstanden folglich aus der Einsicht heraus, dass die beiden genannten Modelle viele Ereignisse, die sich real abspielen, nur höchst unvollkommen erklären können. Daher fasst das politische Modell Organisationen als Gebilde auf, in denen verschiedene Interessengruppen um Machtpositionen streiten. Mikropolitische Ansätze versuchen zu zeigen, dass Macht nicht nur in der Zuschreibung zu bestimmten Funktionsträgern existiert, die diese in den festgelegten Hierarchien exerzieren, sondern dass es auch eine nicht-personengebundene, interpersonelle Macht gibt, die relativ schnell zwischen einzelnen Personen oder Gruppen fluktuieren kann. Eine Steigerung im Hinblick auf die Nichtprognostizierbarkeit des organisationalen Verhaltens erfahren die organisationstheoretischen Ansätze schließlich mit dem explizit am Beispiel Hochschule entwickelten anarchischen Modell. Hochschulen werden hier als „organisierte Anarchien“ aufgefasst, in der Entscheidungen scheinbar zufällig zustande kommen, je nachdem wie der imaginäre „Mülleimer“ (garbage can) zu bestimmten Zeitpunkten mit Akteuren, Entscheidungsgelegenheiten, Problemen und Lösungen gefüllt ist.

Das anarchische Modell korrespondiert eng mit dem strukturtheoretischen Modell des „loosely coupled system“, das Karl Weick am Beispiel von Organisationen entwickelt hat, die sich der Erziehung widmen und durch Mehrdeutigkeit in ihren Zielen und unklare Technologien gekennzeichnet sind. Eine besondere Bedeutung kommt im Zusammenhang mit Hochschulen außerdem dem „organizational slack“ zu, der nicht ausgeschöpfte Dispositionsspielräume in Organisationen bezeichnet und situativ verschieden ausfällt. In der Organisation Hochschule ist der Gebrauch direkter Sanktionsmacht zudem weitgehend tabuisiert. Leistung und Belohnung sind relativ entkoppelt, Sanktionen funktionieren daher nur als Vorenthalten von Gratifikationen.

Vor dem Hintergrund der geschilderten Besonderheiten der Organisation Hochschule, die teilweise sogar pathologische Züge aufweist, kann der Optimismus, was gelingende Interventionen und Steuerungsversuche angeht,

nur sehr verhalten ausfallen. Vielmehr existieren zahlreiche „defensive routines“ (Argyris) und Flaschenhälse, die der Intervenierende zu beachten hat, soll ein möglicher Erfolg seiner Intervention nicht von vornherein zum Scheitern verurteilt sein.

Strukturelle Hindernisse beim Versuch der Steuerung der Organisation Hochschule

Die Hochschule gestattet es weniger als andere Organisationen, dem schwierigen Versuch des Wandels individueller Einstellungen dadurch zu entgehen, dass man einfach die Organisationsmitglieder austauscht: Allerdings steht dem erschwerten Austausch in Gestalt der Freiheit von Lehre und Forschung und der lebenslangen Beschäftigungsgarantie einerseits die lose Kopplung andererseits gegenüber, die es gestattet, einzelne Individuen bei Steuerungsversuchen einfach zu übergehen, ohne dass Funktionsverluste der Organisation drohen.

Eine lockere Kopplung ist für die Organisation Hochschule deshalb vernünftig, weil in ihr nicht nur Entscheidungen gefällt werden, sondern sie noch eine Vielzahl anderer Funktionen hat. Lose Kopplung federt hier Inkonsistenzen ab und erleichtert Veränderung, indem sie Kontroversen legitimiert und die Erforschung neuer Umwelt-Nischen stimuliert. Dies erlaubt es beispielsweise, ein alternatives Fachgebiet zunächst als „Spielwiese“ neben den konventionellen einzusetzen, welches sich mit diesen nicht unbedingt funktional ergänzt, ohne dass dies unmittelbar negative Konsequenzen zeitigen würde.

Die Frage, ob Hochschulen und Fachbereiche als deren Substrukturen zu lernenden Organisationen werden können, die sich zu einem hohen Grad selbst steuern, ist zunächst ebenfalls skeptisch zu sehen. So definieren beispielsweise DiBella und Nevis (1998: 25f.) drei essentielle Kriterien, die erfüllt sein müssen, damit man von einer lernenden Organisation sprechen kann: Diese muss erstens über die Zeit neue Fertigkeiten, Werte und Verhaltensmuster auf der Basis von Erfahrungen mit ihrer Umwelt entwickeln. Zweitens muss das auf diese Weise Erlernte Gemeingut eines kollektiven Bewusstseins werden und drittens muss sichergestellt sein, dass das Erlernte auch dann in der Organisation verbleibt, wenn einzelne Individuen, auch solche, die für die Lernprozesse maßgeblich verantwortlich zeichnen, die Organisation verlassen. Aufgrund der dargestellten losen Kopplung ihrer Bestandteile sowie der Mehrdeutigkeit bzw. Unklarheit ihrer Ziele ist es für den spezifischen Organisationstyp Hochschule sehr unwahrscheinlich, auch nur eine dieser Bedingungen zu erfüllen. Zwar sind in der Praxis an zahlreichen Stellen Elemente von Organisationslernen feststellbar, von einer lernenden Organisation im oben genannten Sinne kann jedoch allenfalls für einzelne Bestandteile eines Fachbereichs gesprochen werden, nicht aber für den Fachbereich als Ganzes.

Aber auch was Hochschulen allgemein angeht, ist Skepsis angebracht, ob diese zu lernenden Organisationen werden können, und wenn ja, unter welchen Bedingungen? Sie hätten aber zumindest einen Startvorteil gegenüber Wirtschaftsunternehmen: Dort ist die lernende Organisation lediglich Mittel zum Zweck (des Überlebens am Markt gegen die Konkurrenz), hier dagegen gibt es (zumindest theoretisch) die Möglichkeit, weitgehend frei von ökonomischen Zwängen Elemente der lernenden Organisation zu erproben bzw. die lernende

Organisation als Zweck zu realisieren. Tatsächlich zu beobachten sind an Hochschulen jedoch in jüngerer Zeit praktisch ausschließlich Ansätze, die auf eine stärkere Ökonomisierung und Bemessung von Leistungen und Aufgaben der Hochschulen setzen.

Akteursbasierte Hindernisse beim Versuch der Steuerung der Organisation Hochschule

Die kollektive Sphäre, in denen die Entscheidungen eines Fachbereichs getroffen werden, ist gekennzeichnet durch eine Kombination kollegialer Prozesse für Routineentscheidungen und politischer Prozesse für Entscheidungen, die in den Augen der Akteure Relevanz für die zukünftigen Entwicklungen des Fachbereichs besitzen. Beide Arten von Prozessen, insbesondere jedoch die politischen, sind wiederum gekennzeichnet einerseits durch garbage can-Einflüsse, die den zu hohen Partizipationskosten und dem mangelnden Interesse einiger Organisationsmitglieder geschuldet sind, andererseits aber auch durch analytische Einflüsse, die selbst in den scheinbar chaotischen Abläufen noch eine gewisse Logik bewirken.

Wichtige Entscheidungen beispielsweise zur Stellenentwicklungsplanung werden vorrangig aus politischen, nicht aus rationalen Gesichtspunkten getroffen, selbst wenn empirische Planungsdaten zum Sachverhalt vorliegen, was selten genug der Fall ist. Sind diese gegenteilig, werden sie ignoriert, sind sie positiv, werden sie instrumentalisiert.

In der Organisation Hochschule sind die Unsicherheitszonen (vgl. Crozier/Friedberg 1993) und damit die Zonen, in denen man ein Machtvakuum konstatieren kann, größer als in anderen Organisationstypen. Gleichzeitig ist aufgrund unterentwickelter Motivationsstrukturen in Routinesituationen der Wille der durchschnittlichen Akteure gering, sich dieser zu bedienen. Dies ändert sich nur in existenzbedrohenden Situationen oder wenn sich ein einzelner Akteur bzw. eine kleinere Gruppe entschlossen daran macht, diese Bastionen einzunehmen. Hieraus ergibt sich ein erster Hinweis auf erfolgreiche Strategien zur Intervention, die den eigenen Interessen dienen, ohne explizit die Interessen der Gesamtorganisation zu verfolgen.

Aber selbst für den Akteur, der in der mikropolitischen Auseinandersetzung einen Teilerfolg verzeichnen kann, ist aufgrund der „bounded rationality“ und der Nichtvorhersehbarkeit und Nichtplanbarkeit zukünftiger Ereignisse und Entwicklungen unter Umständen nicht viel gewonnen: So ist mit der Besetzung einer Professur mit einer der einen Gruppe genehmen Person noch keineswegs etwas über die tatsächliche weitere Entwicklung gesagt. Vielmehr stellen die oben geschilderten Berufungssituationen das Paradebeispiel für die (fehlende) Kontrolle von Unsicherheitszonen und damit die Machtlosigkeit im Kontext der Hochschule dar, da man hier quasi „die Katze im Sack kauft“ und der kooptierte Kollege sich womöglich gänzlich anders ins zukünftige Spiel einbringt als von seinen Befürwortern im Berufungsverfahren erwartet.

Akteure in der Organisation Hochschule als Beobachter zweiter Ordnung

In den Interviews mit zentralen Akteuren in einem universitären Wandlungsprozess, die der Verfasser im Rahmen seines Dissertationsvorhabens geführt hat, hat immer wieder der Grad an Selbstreflexivität überrascht, den die Interviewpartner in Bezug auf ihre Rolle in den Auseinandersetzungen aufwiesen. Seitens der Befragten ist eine ausgeprägte Fähigkeit zur kritischen Auseinandersetzung mit der Institution, in der man arbeitet und der eigenen Rolle, die man darin spielt, zu verzeichnen. Man ist sich des Charakters der Organisation bewusst, ohne ihn jedoch ändern zu können oder ändern zu wollen.

Auch Mikropolitik ist nicht eine bloße analytische Kategorie des (wissenschaftlichen) Beobachters, sondern den Beteiligten in den Auseinandersetzungen durchaus gegenwärtig, was sich in der Reflexion darüber und im Vokabular bei der Schilderung der Ereignisse zeigen lässt. Die Akteure benutzen überwiegend „Spiel“-Vokabular und fassen das Geschehen auch so auf. Selten ziehen sich die Konflikte bis auf die persönliche Ebene. Trotzdem schafft man es nicht, sich über die eigene Rolle zu erheben, sondern spielt mit.

In systemtheoretischer Terminologie lässt sich mit Blick auf die hohe Selbstreflexion der eigenen Rolle behaupten, dass der Grad an Beobachtung 2. Ordnung in der Hochschule vermutlich stärker ausgeprägt ist als in anderen Organisationen, da ihre professionellen Mitglieder mehrheitlich selbst dem Wissenschaftssystem entstammen. Dies hat eine paradoxe Konsequenz für Versuche, in die Organisation und die in ihr stattfindenden Wandlungsprozesse beispielsweise mittels Maßnahmen zur Organisationsentwicklung positiv gestaltend zu intervenieren. Einerseits sollte die Einsicht in die teilweise pathologische Funktionsweise der Hochschule als Organisation deren Mitglieder einsichtiger sein lassen, was die Notwendigkeit „therapeutischer“ Eingriffe angeht. Andererseits sind das Bewusstsein darüber, wie sich Hochschule als Organisation darstellt, und die entsprechenden Konsequenzen daraus, populär gesprochen „zwei Paar Schuhe“; oder, um es mit Rainer Paris zu illustrieren:

„Ignoranz und Dummheit sind in Machtkämpfen häufig gute Waffen, das Problem ist: Sie lassen sich schwer simulieren.“

Das sarkastische Zitat impliziert, dass der auf Ausgleich und das Gemeinwohl der Organisation bedachte Teilnehmer in der mikropolitischen Arena den Kürzeren zieht gegenüber dem in Bezug auf die Organisation ebenso reflektiert agierenden und in zweiter Ordnung beobachtenden Akteur, der sich jedoch der besonderen strukturellen Gegebenheiten der Hochschule rein egoistisch bedient.

Um vor einer solchen Haltung nicht zu kapitulieren, verlässt der Text an dieser Stelle die Ebene der Analyse und betritt notgedrungen die instrumentelle. In den beiden folgenden Abschnitten sollen daher zunächst einige Ratgeber vorgestellt werden, die auf der Basis der Analyse der spezifischen Besonderheiten der Organisation Hochschule tatsächlich Taktiken und Handlungsanweisungen im Sinne eines „Change Agent's Guide to the University“ entwickelt haben, wie man, je nach Sichtweise, sich der Besonder-

heiten der politischen Arena oder der organisierten Anarchie Hochschule virtuos bedient, um größtmögliche Interventionserfolge im eigenen Interesse zu verzeichnen. Diesen der gängigen Management-Literatur nicht unähnlichen Thesen werden schließlich einige Bedenken des Verfassers eine solche Vorgehensweise betreffend gegenüber gestellt, wobei die Auffassung vertreten wird, dass sich die Machbarkeit erfolgreicher Interventionen in die Organisation Hochschule in einem nicht-egoistischen, auf die Gesamtorganisation ausgerichteten Sinn wenn nicht als unmöglich, so doch als höchst voraussetzungsvoll darstellt.

Wie von Eigeninteresse dominierte Interventionen in der Organisation Hochschule aussehen können

Was den Versuch eines gestalteten Wandels in Organisationen angeht, gibt es zwei Möglichkeiten: Entweder versucht man, die Organisationspraxis so verändern, dass sie den vernünftigen Annahmen der klassischen Entscheidungstheorie entspricht. Diese Alternative verspricht angesichts der Komplexität und Dynamik der Organisation Hochschule und ihrer Umwelt geringe Erfolgsaussichten, denn beide können nicht zielgenau und bürokratisch gesteuert werden. Die zweite Möglichkeit besteht darin, die politische Konfliktsituation bzw. die Mülleimer-Situation hinzunehmen und durch taktisch geschicktes Verhalten zu nutzen.

An herkömmlichen Gegenstrategien, um sich verselbständigenden mikropolitischen Phänomenen vorzubeugen oder ihnen entgegenzuwirken, werden in der Management-Literatur genannt:

- Bündelung der Gestaltungskompetenz in der Organisationsführung, die durch die geschickte Nutzung einer eigenen Mikropolitik und das Ansammeln interner Informationen (z.B. Wissen um Besonderheiten der Mitarbeiter, um deren Verbindungen untereinander ...) ergänzt wird
- Offenlegung von Entscheidungswegen
- Berichtswesen und Controlling, um Transparenz bezüglich des Erreichens und Erfüllens von Vereinbarungen und Zielen herzustellen
- klare Kommunikationswege mit klaren Ansprechpartner, um Informationen zu bündeln
- klare Regelung von Kompetenzen und Befugnissen
- offenes Austragen von Konflikten.

Diese Strategien versagen aber größtenteils im Fall der mehrdeutigen anarchischen Organisation Hochschule, in der es die strukturellen Bedingungen nicht erlauben, Kompetenz in der Führung zu bündeln, ein effektives Berichtswesen zu etablieren usw. bzw. in der dort, wo dies doch gelingt, entsprechende Anstrengungen sanktionslos unterlaufen werden können.

Sieben Regeln für "Effective Change Strategies" und acht Regeln für die Leitung in der organisierten Anarchie Hochschule

Baldrige (1975: 14ff.) legt aus seiner Perspektive der Hochschule als politischer Arena sieben Regeln für Erfolg versprechende Strategien organisationalen Wandels fest:

- 1) A Serious Assessment of Needs is Necessary
- 2) Proposed Changes Must Be Relevant to the History of the Organization
- 3) Organizational Changes Must Take the Environment into Account
- 4) Organizational Change Must Affect Both the Organizational Structure and Individual Attitudes
- 5) Changes Must Be Directed at Manipulable Factors
- 6) Changes Must Be Both Politically and Economically Feasible
- 7) The Changes Must Be Effective in Solving the Problems That Were Diagnosed.

Die genannten Faktoren können als notwendige Faktoren für denjenigen interpretiert werden, der erfolgreich Wandel in einer Hochschule implementieren will. Sie legen ihren Schwerpunkt auf die zu schaffenden Rahmenbedingungen, die den Wandel erleichtern.

Doch lassen sich auch Handlungsanweisungen finden, die direkt an die Akteure in solchen Prozessen adressiert sind: In ihrer Arbeit „Leadership and Ambiguity“ formulieren Cohen und March (1974: 207) als Handlungsanweisung für amerikanische College-Präsidenten „eight basic tactical rules for use by those who seek to influence the course of decisions in universities or colleges“, die sich um kurze Interpretationen erweitert im Deutschen etwa folgendermaßen anhören:

- 1) Nimm dir Zeit. Zeit als knappes Gut findet irgendwann als Lösung eine günstige Entscheidungsgelegenheit.
- 2) Habe Ausdauer. Siege und Niederlagen hängen zum Teil vom Zufall ab. Beharre auf der Durchsetzung deiner Ideen und sieh Ablehnung lediglich als vorübergehenden Zustand an.
- 3) Tausche Status gegen Inhalt. Sachfragen sind manchmal nur vorgeschützt und können gegen Reputation, Gesichtswahrung etc. eingetauscht werden.
- 4) Ermögliche Opponenten die Teilnahme, denn die Frustration des Mülleimer-Entscheidungsprozesses dämpft ihre Erfolgserwartungen.
- 5) Überlaste das System: Wer viele Projekte einbringt, dessen Chancen steigen, dass ein paar behandelt werden, vielleicht sogar in seinem Sinne.
- 6) Sorge selber für die Mülleimer und lenke für dich irrelevante Probleme und Lösungen deiner Opponenten auf ungefährliche Entscheidungsgelegenheiten um.
- 7) Agiere lieber in kleinen Schritten, die nicht so viel Aufmerksamkeit der Opposition auf sich ziehen. Segle die Organisation, anstatt mit ihr Rennboot zu fahren.
- 8) Interpretiere die Geschichte der Organisation so, dass sie konsistent erscheint mit deinen gegenwärtigen Handlungen. Steuere die Definitionen dessen, was geschieht und geschah, weil sich daraus günstige Präzedenzfälle und Regeln ableiten lassen.

Systemische Intervention

Gegenüber einem allzu großen Gestaltungsoptimismus in Bezug auf organisationalen Wandel in komplexen Organisationen ist jedoch Skepsis geboten. Maßnahmen zur Organisationsentwicklung, die nicht nur an den Individuen ansetzen, sondern einen Wandel der ganzen Organisation im systemischen Sinne erreichen wollen, stoßen bei der lose gekoppelten, teilepolitischen und teileanarchischen Organisation Hochschule mit ihren mehrdeutigen Zielen und Verfahren an ihre Grenzen. Trotz eines hohen Grades an Selbstreflexion der Akteure verlassen diese ihre Rollen selten. Auch sind situative "Flaschenhälse" wie die Ausstattung mit Räumen, Mitteln und Personal, die Anzahl an Personen in den jeweiligen Konfliktarenen, der Habitus von Einzelpersonen etc. nicht zu unterschätzen.

Es kann in der Hochschule durchaus funktional sein, sich möglichst wenig bemerkbar zu machen und seinen Dienst nach Vorschrift zu versehen, denn mit einem solchen Verhalten sind weniger als in anderen Organisationen negative Sanktionen verbunden. Es droht allenfalls der Verlust von Macht und Einfluss, Arbeitsplatz und Existenz stehen in der Regel nicht zur Disposition. Dagegen hat oftmals gerade derjenige, der gestaltend aktiv wird, neben seinem eingebrachten Zeitaufwand Sanktionen oder zumindest Widerstand zu befürchten.

Auch das Verständnis von Entscheidungen als nicht-zweckgerichtet und ungeplant, das Mintzberg und Waters anhand empirischer Studien von Managementprozessen in Unternehmen ableiten, besitzt für die „organisierte Anarchie“ Hochschule mit all ihren erwähnten Kennzeichen (einschließlich ihrer nicht vorhandenen professionellen Manager) allemal eine noch größere Erklärungskraft.

Akzeptiert man, dass Hochschulen zumindest zu erheblichen Teilen durch garbage can-Prozesse gekennzeichnet sind, ist eine mögliche Konsequenz hieraus, dass eine adäquate Organisationsentwicklung auch immer nur garbage can-Organisationsentwicklung sein kann.

Allgemein lassen sich in der Organisation Hochschule drei Ebenen der Bearbeitung von Problemen mittels Organisationsentwicklung unterscheiden. Auf der Ebene des Personals bildet der spezifische professorale Habitus und die schlichte Tatsache, dass aufgrund fehlender Hierarchien kein Professor zur Teilnahme an entsprechenden Maßnahmen gezwungen werden kann, ein Hemmnis. Auf der Ebene der Interaktionen ist zu beachten, dass sich die "Hinterbühne" mit ihren Bündeln und Kungelrunden einer wirksamen Bearbeitung entzieht. Als dritte Ebene lässt sich die Systemische identifizieren.

Neuberger (1995b: 285ff.) unterscheidet hier drei Interventionstechniken: Die erste Gruppe der rationalen Verfahren, die gelingende Interventionen versprechen, wenn der Eingreifende nur die nötigen Kompetenzen hierzu erworben hat, sind im Kontext der Hochschule aus den genannten Gründen sowie des hohen Maßes an "Gegenkomplexität" auf der intervenierten Seite wenig Erfolg versprechend. Auch der machtvolle Einsatz von Druck, Zwang und Drohung birgt in der Hochschule für die Leitung stets die Gefahr unbeabsichtigter Nebenwirkungen und unkalkulierbarer Ergebnisse. Als dritte Gruppe nennt Neuberger "normativ-reedukative" Ansätze, die auf die Schaffung eines von Offenheit und Vertrauen charakterisierten Klimas setzen, aber ebenfalls in den Fällen an Grenzen stoßen, wenn die Beziehungen zwischen den

verschiedenen Gruppen in der Organisation durch Missverständnisse und Feindseligkeiten belastet sind und diese sich ohne Sanktionen befürchten zu müssen der Teilnahme an etwaigen Maßnahmen verweigern können. Speziell für die Organisation Hochschule sieht Neuberger daher den einzigen eventuell praktikablen Weg in einer "systemischen Beratung oder Organisationsentwicklung" (ebd.: 290), die durch einen Methoden-Mix gekennzeichnet ist. Die theoretischen Grundlagen und Voraussetzungen einer systemisch inspirierten Intervention hat hierzulande Helmut Willke am detailliertesten entwickelt:

Die Ironie der Intervention

Die Konzentration auf akteursorientierte Rezepte überschätzt die Möglichkeiten, andere Personen oder die Strukturen, in die man eingebunden ist, zu verändern. Strategisches Handeln ist Intervention in ein komplexes System, der Erfolgswahrscheinlichkeit einer solchen Intervention in nicht-triviale Systeme, so kann man mit Helmut Willke (etwa 1991, 1992, 1994) heute wissen, sind enge Grenzen gesetzt. Willke hat seine Interventionstheorie ursprünglich am Problem der Zivilisierung der Macht entwickelt. In seiner staats-theoretischen Veröffentlichung geht er von der Annahme aus, dass das Problem der Einheit moderner Gesellschaften nicht auf Kosten und nicht gegen Differenzierung und Autonomie ihrer Teile zu bewerkstelligen ist (1992: 317). Hierbei wird die systemtheoretische Beobachtung von personal verstandenen Subjekten als Einheiten kommunikativer Selbstreferenz übertragen auf gesellschaftliche Teilsysteme, was ebenso zulässig ist wie die Übertragung auf Organisationen. Den Versuch einer Intervention, die der Komplexität der intervenierten Systeme nicht gerecht wird, werden diese, in Luhmannscher Terminologie, lediglich als "Rauschen" wahrnehmen:

"Noch einmal ist zu betonen, dass schon die Ausgangslage für korrigierende Interventionen in autonome Systeme eine paradoxe ist: Sie zielen auf nichtintendierbare Intentionen. In einem ganz strengen Sinne ist es unmöglich, intentional in ein operativ geschlossenes System einzugreifen. Denn dieses spielt nur seine eigene Melodie und kann nur eigene Musik hören"

In einer solchen konsequent systemischen Betrachtungsweise kann eine Intervention in ein komplexes System nur in Form einer Kontextsteuerung Aussicht auf Erfolg haben. Die Kontextbedingungen des intervenierten Systems müssen dergestalt beeinflusst werden, dass dieses Informationen wahrnimmt, die es aufgrund seines eigenen Operationsmodus veranlassen, anders zu handeln (Willke 1994: 76ff.). Man kann also Bedingungen, nicht aber das Verhalten ändern, oder anders ausgedrückt, komplexe Systeme lassen sich konditionieren, aber nicht determinieren.

Moderne komplexe Organisationen haben „hinter dem Rücken der Akteure“ eigenständige Realitäten erzeugt, die nicht mehr auf die Handlungen von Personen allein zurückzuführen sind (Willke 1994: 159). Hier gehen System- und Handlungstheorie wieder Hand in Hand. Mikropolitik passiert, so ein Ergebnis der empirischen Untersuchung im Rahmen der Dissertation des Verfassers, ohne den expliziten Willen der Akteure. Die Folge für die Organisationsberatung ist, dass sie durch die Person hindurch auf die hinter der Person wirkenden Kommunikationsstrukturen blicken muss. Ein möglicher

Ansatz sind systemische Selbstbindungen, die die innere Maßlosigkeit selbstreferentiell geschlossener Operationsweisen zügeln. In der Organisation Hochschule, der bis auf wenige Ausnahmen ein relevanter Umweltdruck und wirksame Sanktionsmechanismen fehlen, woraus eine (in bestimmten Situationen durchaus funktionale) organisationstypische Beharrlichkeit resultiert, sind diese jedoch schwer zu fixieren.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich festhalten, dass Vorstellungen von der gelingenden Intervention in oder gar erfolgreicher Steuerung von Hochschulen bzw. Fachbereichen erhebliche Skepsis entgegengebracht werden muss. Eine weitere Denkfigur Willkes, die als kleine Konsolation abschließend rezipiert werden soll, ist die Feststellung, dass die übrigen Teilsysteme vom Staat respektive die Organisation vom Organisationsentwickler erwarten, dass er ihre Probleme erfolgreich intervenierend löst. Dessen eigene Erkenntnis der Machtlosigkeit seines Unterfangens bringt ihn in eine Position einer "skeptischen Ironie", die Willke beim Sozialphilosophen Richard Rorty (1992) entlehnt. Dessen auf das Individuum gemünztes Zitat

„Die Einsicht, dass die Geltung der eigenen Überzeugungen nur relativ ist, und dennoch unerschrocken für die einzutreten, unterscheidet den zivilisierten Menschen vom Barbaren“

übersetzt Willke in die Termini der zeitgenössischen sozialwissenschaftlichen Systemtheorie:

„Die Einsicht, dass die selbst-referentiellen Semantiken komplexer Systeme nicht vereinbar sind, und dennoch unerschrocken für wechselseitige Abstimmung einzustehen, unterscheidet den ironischen vom tragischen Beobachter.“ (1994: 321)

Eine Intervention in die Organisation Hochschule wird demnach aus einer in diesem Sinne ironischen Position des Intervenierenden, der sich nicht nur der Tatsache des eigenen partiellen Nichtwissens bewusst ist, sondern auch der in seinem Interventionsgegenstand bereits angelegten Vergeblichkeit seines Unterfangens, eher erfolgreich sein als der Versuch, rationale Planungen oder gar Kontrollen in der Organisation Hochschule zu implantieren.

Kleines persönliches Nachwort – Der Organisationsflüsterer:

Studium und Beruf haben es mit sich gebracht, dass ich bislang an drei verschiedenen Hochschulen in insgesamt fünf verschiedenen Organisationszusammenhängen längere Erfahrungen mit der Hochschule als Organisation machen konnte/durfte/musste. Um die oben hypothetisch herausgearbeiteten Bedingungen für die höchst voraussetzungsvollen Interventionen in die Organisationsform Hochschule zu erbringen, bräuchte es, so mein sich mit jeder Station weiter verfestigender Eindruck, analog zum „Pferdeflüsterer“ aus dem Film mit Robert Redford, den Idealtypus eines „Organisationsflüsterers“. In den nunmehr zwanzig ununterbrochenen Jahren der Tätigkeit in Hochschulen ist mir dabei niemand über den Weg gelaufen, der diesem Idealtypus näher gekommen wäre als mein Doktorvater Michael Fremerey und mit ihm die Kollegen im mittlerweile leider fast komplett in den Ruhestand verabschiedeten ISOS in Witzenhausen. Dafür vielen Dank!

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Can Memetics Resolve the Tragedy of the Commons?

Emilia Nercissians, Saman Amirpour Amraii

Abstract

The problem of social dilemmas stemming from the prevalence of externalities in the emerging socioeconomic system is investigated. The common wisdom that public goods and other externalities call for central planning and social control by political power is disputed. A game theoretic analysis is presented to support the conjecture that civil society is capable of resolving the tragedy of commons and explain the coexistence of different subcultures.

Key words

subcultures, cooperation, evolutionary stable

Introduction

Modern market economy based on commodity production has proved to be an extremely adaptable self-organizing system. Neoclassical theories, despite being criticized on various grounds over an extended period, still provide inspiration not only for system theoretically oriented sociological stances, but also in such varied fields as artificial intelligence and computational theory. The hidden hand of market self organization, it has been claimed, ensuring system level rationality and efficiency from the blind forces of competition and struggle among economic elements, has been the main factor for the achievement of continued development and adaptability during the modern era (Nercissians: 2004).

Theory holds that equilibrium prices in competitive markets represent accurate evaluations of the relative usefulness of society's scarce human and nonhuman resources. Economies are a paradigmatic example of emergent systems. With no single director or goal, an economy manages to organize the actions of billions of people in tens of thousands of different occupations. The rationalization of individual actions has been, according to this view, the result of the dominance of commodity relations over natural and traditional economies prevalent in precapitalist modes of economic activity. The presence of externalities, a side-effect on others following from the actions of an individual or group, however, are thought to threaten market based self organization. A public good, in contrast to a private good, is non-depletable. This means that, when it is used by one person, what is available to others is not depleted in quality or quantity. In the presence of externalities and public goods competitive market equilibrium could not be expected to yield socially efficient resource allocations and policy correctives are said to be needed to fix most inefficiencies of market economies. Public goods, for example, are thought to impose costs or benefits on outside the marketplace and their effects are only partially reflected in prices and the market transactions and so the market mechanism fails to reveal consumer preferences in social wants. Market failure is the standard

economic rationale for government intervention. This provides the grounds for neoliberal thinking that calls for a mixed economy involving central planning and political intervention for reversing market failures caused by different externalities.

Our study has been motivated by the fact that externalities and public goods seem to become prevalent in our era. Many social theorists hold that we have entered a new period that can be characterized by the convergence of economic and cultural spheres, increasing dependence on knowledge, omnipresence of computer and communication networks, and high levels of environmental risks (Lucas and Nercissians 1987, 2003). In this new era, since the vast majority of productive and consumptive acts are social, it follows that they will involve externalities. The balance between public and private goods and roles has changed during the past decades. It would seem that knowledge is a public good and has positive externalities (Coleman 1988; Putnam and Alone 2000). The absence or non-enforcement of property rights for resources with open-access characteristics can lead to use of the resource at rates that exceed the social optimum because individuals have no incentive to conserve the resource because there is no assurance that other users will do likewise. Will civil society become incapable of regulating individual actions in this new era when knowledge capital, social capital, and cultural capital seem to become the most important preconditions for development? Do we have to live under increasing levels of social control and compliance to plans enforced by political power?

Game Theory

Game theory is the mathematical theory of collective decision making, in which two or more players have choices of selecting their actions (strategies); where the outcome depends on all the strategies; and where each player has a set of preferences defined over the outcomes. A game involves various interactions between individuals, where each individual tries to act in an economically rational manner. There are many games that are called non- zero- sum. The gain of one decision maker in such games is not necessarily achieved at the cost of others' loss. Depending on decisions made, it may be possible for all agents to win or lose. How can cooperation emerge in a game? It can be shown theoretically that the equilibrium outcome and the optimal outcome, if both existent, need not be the same. For example in a non- zero- sum cooperative game involving conflicts, if all agents cooperate, the outcome would be socially optimal in the sense of Pareto. But that possibility would not happen in the absence of external forces since some agents will be able to improve their take by defecting. This fact seems to be providing further theoretical justification for the failure of market forces and the need for political intervention (Huberman and Glance 1994).

Prisoner's Dilemma

The prisoner's dilemma is a kind of game. Two or more agents involve in it and they have to choose whether they want to cooperate with other players or to defect. Based on their own choice and others' choices, each player receives a reward (or punishment). In this type of game, the reward of mutual cooperation is high, but the reward of defection while receiving cooperation from the opponent is even higher. So there is a temptation for defection while hoping for

receiving cooperation from others. For example, soldiers in a war are in a PD game. If a soldier stands in the front line, he will increase the chance of winning in the war. But if he does not cooperate while others stand in the line, he will gain more benefit, as there is a less chance of getting injured in the combat by not cooperating in the strike. Also, as the role of one soldier is negligible in the whole war, the chance of winning will not change that much by the defection of this particular soldier. If, however, all soldiers think in the same way – i.e. rationally – no one will remain in the front line. In fact, if players act rationally, there will be no cooperation in the PD game. But if the PD game is played iteratively, the situation may change. Now, there is a fear of revenge and the shadow of future can force the players to cooperate (Huberman and Glance: 1994).

Evolutionary Stable Strategies

An ESS is a set of rules of behavior that, once adopted by members of a group, is resistant to replacement by an alternative strategy (Amirpour et al: forthcoming). For example, consider a society of people which play a PD game with each other. Assume that they always cooperate. Now, if a new person emerges in this society which never cooperates with others, he will propagate rapidly in the gene pool of the society as he receives the benefits of cooperation from the others while he does not pay anything as he always defects. Thus, after a while the society changes from cooperative people to defective people. On the contrary, in a society of defective people, if a cooperative one emerges, he will be extinct rapidly because he gains no reward while others gain more. In this example, a full defective society is an ESS while the full cooperative society is not (Aminpour et al: forthcoming).

Commons, Public Good and Externalities

A commons is a shared resource that every one can use. Internet, open source software and scientific knowledge are some examples of commons. If a good cannot be charged for or it is difficult to charge for it, then it is a public good. A lighthouse is a famous example of the public good. Public goods have non-excludability and non-rivalrous consumption. Non-excludability means that one cannot exclude non-payers from the benefits of the good, e.g. if a ship does not pay for the lighthouse, it cannot be excluded from using the service. Non-rivalrous consumption means that if one uses a commons, it doesn't diminish someone else's opportunity of using it. If we do an action, which affects other people but the benefits and costs do not reflect in the market, that action is an externality. For example, one's car makes pollutions but no one charges him for the costs that he has imposed on others. In fact, it's impossible to do so. If everyone can get together and agree on a contraction, then they can use the commons without any problem but these agreements are hard to be established and also people usually do not consider them. The tragedy arises when using public goods turn into a prisoner's dilemma. In this situation, people want to use the benefits of commons but do not contribute in producing or maintaining them. For example, we like to use the benefits of clean air, but we don't share our part with the society (by fixing our old car).

As this is a PD game, if all the people act rationally, no cooperation will arise in the society. In old societies, people were only responsible for their own countries. Also, the government was only responsible for maintaining protection and good economy for its own civilians. The people and the government were in agreement upon these things and there was no need to worry about other people in other countries. Nowadays, people have new demands. They expect from their governments to act ethically in relation with other nations, they believe in human rights and they want to keep the environment from pollution and misuse. As a result, governments are facing a variety of different needs and beliefs. On the other hand, people are not prepared to make the required sacrifices for these common goods. They expect others to do so.

Therefore, a PD game arises where on the one hand, no one cooperates for saving common goods and on the other hand, everyone expects to benefit from them. For example, an open encyclopedia like Wikipedia is a common good. People prefer just to use it and not to contribute to expanding it. But if no one cooperates in the project, the encyclopedia will not grow. Different ideas have been suggested for dealing with commons tragedy. Using marketing is one of the solutions. In this manner, commons are altered into personal properties. For example, Zimbabwe has allowed the ownership of elephant herds. Since then, number of elephants has increased in this country. On the other hand, Uganda has banned the possession of elephant herds and opposite results have been achieved. The main shortcoming of this method is that it is not always possible to change commons into personal property. Another solution is in the use of religion and morality. Although this was an efficient solution in the past societies, nowadays it is hard to obligate people in obeying the rules of religion. Government is another suggestion for the tragedy of common goods. But they rely on bureaucracy and usually they don't serve customers well as it seems to have been regular problem in communist regimes. Another method is in preventing non-payers from using the service or tiding public goods to the selling of private goods. For example, cable TVs try to limit their broadcasting for only those who have paid for the service and shopping malls offer free parking lots. These methods are also not applicable to every situation.

Memetics, Viscosity, and Cultural Diversity

Richard Dawkins (1999), in the book of "the Selfish Gene", defines memes as "a unit of cultural transmission, or a unit of imitation". Ideas, Fashions and behavioral patterns are some examples of memes. He also mentions "Just as genes propagate themselves in the gene pool by leaping from body to body via sperms or eggs, so memes propagate themselves in the meme pool by leaping from brain to brain via a process, which, in the broad sense, can be called imitation." This idea is based on the brain's ability to imitate. For example, when we hear a new idea, we can accept it or not. By accepting it, a copy of that idea comes into existence in our brain. When we speak about our idea with someone else, we are trying to propagate our memes. Also, this propagation is prone to mutation. In fact, memes are highly mutative as our copy of the original meme is usually different from it in some aspects. Thus, the rules of evolution can be applied to memetics too. A society can be regarded as a pool of memes.

When a new idea emerges in the pool, it propagates through the means of imitation. If it receives higher fitness values – i.e. people imitate it more frequently – then it will survive. But as society is made up of different games, the influence of other memes has a vital role in the acquired fitness value. It means that a single meme can do well in the presence of some other particular memes and the same meme can score low in their absence. For example, in a society of defectors, a cooperator meme cannot survive as it gains no score in the non- zero- sum game designated as the prisoners' dilemma (PD). But if it emerges in a colony of cooperators, it can survive for a while and it has the chance of propagation through the meme pool.

But how can sub-cultures (colonies) emerge in a society? Dawkins (1999) suggests a viscosity in the propagation of memes. This viscosity results in more survival chances for new memes because the new meme has to compete only with its neighbors, not the whole society. This idea has been simulated in a PD game (Aminpour et al: forthcoming).

In this paper, a society of agents is created. These agents live in a grid world. The game consists of iterative turns. In each turn, an agent must decide between cooperation and defection with its immediate neighbors. The same decision is made by the neighbors regarding the agent. At the end of each turn, a credit is calculated for each agent. This credit assignment obeys the rules of a PD game. As a result, if an agent cooperates with a particular neighbor and the neighbor answers back with cooperation too, then both agents receive a high credit. But if the neighbor defects in response to the received cooperation, the defector gains more credit while the cooperator receives nothing. At the end of each turn, agents evolve based on the rules of Darwinian evolution. The more an agent gains credit in a turn, the more it has chance of survival (Unemi et al.: 2003).

In order to provoke the agents for cooperation, each agent has a set of beliefs. These beliefs form the chromosomes' structure and dictate the behavior of the agent. They consist of four ideas:

- 1) If a neighbor has cooperated with the agent in previous turns
- 2) If a neighbor has defected against the agent in previous turns
- 3) If a neighbor has more credit than the agent
- 4) If a neighbor has less credit than the agent

This set of beliefs has some similarities with what can be observed or inferred in a real society. People usually consider past record as an important factor for loyalty. Also, the amount of resources which are in the possession of a person, result in different risk probabilities and thus alter the behavior of the possessor.

In each turn, by using the Sugeno Integral as the information fusion tool and these beliefs as the basis for action selection, an agent decides between cooperation or defection with other neighbors (Sugeno 1977, Marichal 2000).

The main idea of the paper (Aminpour et al.: forthcoming) is based upon the viscosity of memes in propagation in the meme pool. It means that an agent affects and is only influenced by its neighbors. So if a new meme (idea) emerges in the society, it must only compete with its neighbors, not the whole society. This gives the agent a chance of survival. The paper shows that by using the idea of viscosity, new ideas can survive in the meme pool and shift

the majority of memes toward their own interests. This results in a cultural diversity and prevents the community from sticking to defection ESS deadlocks. The same thing can happen in a society in order to solve the problem of commons tragedy. By allowing subcultures to survive, a dynamic meme pool arises. This dynamicity prevents the society from behaving rationally and sticking to defection deadlocks. Thus, new ways of cooperation emerge in the system.

Conclusions

Social Dilemmas result from the situation in which a group shares a common output and towards which each individual must decide to contribute or not. Traditionally, common resources have mainly referred to the immediate problems of irrigation or grazing; but in recent times we increasingly become more aware of factors like knowledge, and environment as common resource. Our society and all of its institutions are in continuous processes of transformation. We must become able not only to transform our institutions in response to changing situations and requirements, but we must invent and develop institutions which are learning systems: systems capable of bringing about their own continuing transformation (Senge, 1990). Cooperation, social cohesion, and norms of reciprocity are aspects of culture that determine the overall economic well-being of a community. Social capital is a term developed primarily by sociologists to describe features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. Origins of social capital are complex and rooted in culture. Individuals create or contribute to social capital when they cooperate for the common good. Groups that learn to solve complex nested collective action dilemmas can harness more resources and create a larger pool of wealth and spread more widely than groups that fail. In order to create social capital or develop norms of reciprocity for individuals, there are certain prerequisites such as common goals and shared work or recreational experiences. The main argument presented in this paper has been to demonstrate via evolutionary game theoretic analysis, that economic rationality does not necessarily encompass myopic neglect of the advantages of cooperative action. There is no need for central and political intervention for promoting cooperation. Civil society through selecting rational actions in evolutionary sense is capable of sustaining and developing cultural diversity, subcultures of solidarity and mutual trust that can be reinforced by the experience of benefits obtained through cooperative strategies.

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Smart Environments, Road to Autonomous Life in Future Social Organization

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Abstract

Despite recent technological progress resulting in high risk levels, it is possible to reduce causalities by scientific and technological advances. On the other hand, the same progress has resulted in life elongation and considerable population aging especially in advanced countries. Many elderly and disabled persons can still be able to live independently. This paper introduces the concepts of “smart environments” and “ambient assisted living” and their capacity to solve such problems and reduce natural and man made hazards while improving the quality of future living.

Key words

smart environments, risk society, intelligent systems

Introduction

Human beings in the contemporary world face several threats originating from different sources. Some of these hazards are natural, such as e.g. environmental catastrophes whereas others have technological sources (Beck: 2002). On the other hand, modern human life is mostly depending on several human made technologies such as e.g. satellites, computers, and power transmission lines. Dependence upon these technologies has increased to such levels that life without these facilities is no longer deemed possible. Therefore, natural threats to these technologies such as space weather hazards which are caused by solar activity mostly during storm time (Mirmomeni and Lucas: 2008), in addition to large economic losses represent also threats to modern human life. It can be said that modern society has become a “risk society” (Beck: 2002) in the sense that it is increasingly occupied with dealing with, avoiding and managing dangers that it itself has produced (Beck: 2002). It has become very difficult to predict and prevent such disasters. In addition, by a continual increase of average lifetimes and high level of catastrophic incidences resulting in loss of vital capabilities, there is an increasing number of people with disabilities all around the world suffering from diminished physical and mental abilities. Hopefully, most of these people can continue independent lives if an autonomous intelligent environment exists in order to adapt conditions to their needs. In addition, technological progress makes life easier for human beings. Recent achievements have resulted in life elongation and considerable population aging in advanced countries. In these countries there is a considerable number of elderly people who are still capable to live independently. Thus, the creation of technologically enhanced environments that respond to human requirements automatically is a necessity.

Modern societies can be seen as increasingly connected and automated societies. "Smart environments" exemplify this trend by linking communication and computing infrastructures to everyday settings and commonplace tasks (Das and Cook: 2006). People are voracious for technological products helping them to raise the quality of their everyday life. They should be equipped with these products in their professional, personal, transport, as well as living environments. Concepts like *home automation*, or *smart homes* are diffusing in the industry, while expressions such as *pervasive computing*, *ubiquitous computing*, *nomadic computing*, *ambient intelligence*, *context-aware computing*, *augmentation of the real world*, and *ambient assisted living* indicate academic research topics. Smart environments should be fully controllable to answer human's future expectations. It is obvious that control of such environments is a multi objective task.

To our understanding, a smart environment is a small world where network-enabled devices work continuously and collaboratively to make lives of inhabitants more comfortable. A smart environment can be defined as one that is able to autonomously collect and apply knowledge about the environment and adapt to its inhabitants' preferences and requirements in order to improve their experience (Das et al.: 2002).

This paper consists of five sections. The characteristics of our modern societies are discussed in section two. Section three introduces smart environments as an urgent necessity for modern societies. The main features of smart environments are presented in section four. The last section contains the concluding remarks.

A New Aeon

It is increasingly being theoretically elaborated that we have entered a new era. New paradigms like post-industrialism, post-modernity, information society, new nomadism, ambient intelligence, digital economy, risk society, and hyper-complex world system (Nercissians and Lucas: 1999, Lucas and Nercissians: 2004, Lash: 1990, Rheingold: 1994) have emerged. The main trends of the contemporary era are intrinsically linked to technological progress and the corresponding social and cultural transformations. Information technology and the internet constitute the cutting edge of that driving force, assisted by biotech, nanotech, and an array of other technological domains that have transformed everything including genetic and material elements into programmable or configurable wares. Everything has become a cyborg: a "cybernetic organism", a hybrid of machine and organism, a creature of social reality as well as a creature of fiction (Haraway: 1991, Nercissians and Lucas: 2005). This process of boundary confusion can be viewed as identity pollution. Identities are no longer considered as given and fixed. In addition, there are greater possibilities for framing identities situationally. Knowledge items, cultural goods, etc, are increasingly becoming economically significant commodities (Nercissians and Lucas: 1999, 2005). A tertiary economic sector: the sector of intangibles is rising to prominence. In addition to the importance and technology intensity of this new sector, much of the trade is going to take place in the virtual world. We are entering the era of digital economy. Services, information items and the

other products in this sector have to be custom or semi- custom designed. Business is also moving from product- centricity to customer centricity.

These paradigm shifts can only be carried out by increasing modularization of the design and massive reusability of the parts (Lucas 2000, 2003, and 2004). New design techniques are developed in order to respond to the needs posed by qualitative transformations of technology as well as the accelerating speed of those transformations and diminishing technology cycles that have become comparable not just to the “life cycles” of the products, but to “time to market periods” as well (Lucas 2000, 2003). Development is becoming more important than planning. Design is increasingly becoming a composition process. Instead of thinking how to construct a subsystem to carry out a given designer’s idea, the focus is on how tasks can be carried out by the existing parts or even what new tasks can be carried out by them. The system composition out of constituent parts draws upon the “discourse metaphor”. Messages passing between objects, describing interfaces via description languages, languages for modeling, capture of requirements and specifications, architectural descriptions, and most notably, agent communication languages that are based on speech act and communicative action theories rather than conventional linguistics (Lucas 2003, 2004, Haraway 1991), are examples of this linguistic turn. Important shifts have also occurred in social and intellectual spheres. Convergence of economic and cultural spheres is perhaps the most significant change. With the rise of the tertiary sector in the economy, cultural goods are increasingly traded as commodities. But at the same time, goods and services are not being consumed merely because of their use values, but also because of their semiotic associations especially in marking identity. This culturalization of the economy takes place in a parallel manner to the economization of the culture, until they become one and the same (Nercissians and Lucas 1999).

We may conclude the analysis by noting that that the totality of meaning is progressively being diminished as it is increasingly acknowledged that what we have is an infinite play of signification. Signifying elements connote rather than denote. Meaning, function, and essence are only constructed through local interactions. Intelligence emerges through massive scale connections between different modules and subsystems. Use of pattern languages, originally proposed in the field of architecture by Christopher Alexander (1977) is now viewed as a general paradigm for developing unified theories. Like many other system development methods, it has later been adopted by the computer software community and from that domain migrated to other disciplines as well (Gamma et al. 1995). Patterns are solutions to recurring problems in design that must be tailored to a particular variant of the problem that is, however, never exactly a repetition of the same problem to which a good solution has already been found. What they capture is “best practices” achieved in past experience. Alexander (1977) views houses, cities, and other designed whole systems as living entities whose parts are highly adapted to their environmental conditions. Designers can use the pattern oriented approach so as to construct things that are nurturing to human beings, and to do it in a way that could be almost automatic and available to all, as if their designs follow a genetic code. Pattern oriented design as laid out by Alexander follows biological metaphors. If later pattern- oriented designers have not yet fully adopted that technique, it does not mean that it has escaped the attention of system designers altogether. Artificial neural networks, genetic algorithms, and other biologically motivated computing

techniques have become very popular and successful in the past two decades. They have also changed our understanding of machine intelligence in a very radical manner. For the first time, a machine can be constructed with enough faculties to be capable of discovering solutions to problems that its own designer could not solve. Using the biological approach, hard and soft systems are developed along one, two, or even all three, the ontogenetic, phylogenetic and epigenetic axis.

Recent research (Nercissians and Lucas 2005) has focused on augmenting biological metaphors with sociological and psychological motivations. Intelligence can emerge from the interaction of simple parts. Sociological analogy can therefore be very helpful for achieving good designs. Behavioral and cognitive inspirations are also needed for achieving intelligent performance in ambient assisted living environments. Future environments can be viewed as smart living entities where different sensing and actuating devices, all possessing adequate processing and autonomous decision making power, function like parts of an organism working together so as to achieve a collective goal. Machines and human agents constitute the body parts of that *cyborg*. Context aware technologies can be utilized to create new meanings and provide new functionalities via re-composition of existing subsystems. The users in smart environments become empowered because they have the capability of alternative "readings" for the same system through the process of re-composition and re-contextualization (Nercissians 2000, Nercissians and Lucas: 2005).

Smart Environments for Assisted Human Living

The outcome of the comprehensive integration of computer technology into our everyday lives is characterized by a ubiquitous computing paradigm which is difficult to anticipate. While considerable effort has been undertaken to analyze the possible private hazards of ubiquitous and pervasive computing systems, many other socially relevant issues remained largely ignored or unresolved. The public can be absolved for either disregarding or exacerbating the risks involved in ubiquitous computing. A substantial analysis of ubiquitous computing implications has not yet been presented by the scientific community and a sufficient effort to seek the dialogue with the society in general has not yet been attempted. Automation in an environment can be viewed as a cycle of observing the state of the environment, analyzing its state together with task goals and outcomes of possible actions, and acting upon the environment to change the state. In a smart computing paradigm, sensing or observing of an environment is a bottom-up process. Sensors and other physical devices continuously monitor the environment and collect information through a communication and network infrastructure. Then, the information is stored in a database or information repository component, mined and processed into more useful knowledge (e.g. action models, patterns) which is then used for intelligent decision making and subsequent actions. Action execution flows top-down. The decision action is communicated to the service modules (information and communication) which record the action and communicate it to the physical world by controllers (actuators), thus changing the state of the environment and triggering a new perception (Das and Cook 2006). The most important feature of smart environments is their possession of a degree of autonomy, and their

capacities of adaptation to environmental changes and communication with humans in a natural way (Das and Cook 2002). Intelligent automation can considerably reduce the amount of manual interactions required by the users, increase their productivity, and enhance their quality of life. These capabilities can also supply additional features such as detection of unusual or anomalous behavior for health monitoring and home security. The most essential feature is the ability to control devices remotely and automatically, and to be able to communicate via computer and mobile networks. By plugging devices into simple power-line controllers can help turn lights, coffee makers, and other appliances on or off in much the same way as couch potatoes or switch television stations with a remote control. Middleware can additionally be employed to program sequences of device activities and capture device events. This capability allows inhabitants, especially people with disabilities, to be free from the requirement of physical access to devices. Moreover, device communications allow data sharing to help build more informed models of the prevailing and undesirable circumstances.

In addition, Smart environments are usually also equipped with networked tools and devices that provide intelligent capabilities. As a result, environments can accommodate dynamic adjustments based on sensor monitoring and can customize behaviors to the particular surroundings of the users. Low-level control of devices offers fine-tuning in response to changing conditions, such as the luminosity of rooms by adjusting window blinds as the amount of daylight coming into a room changes. Networks of sensors can share data and offer information to the environment. For example, a Smart Sofa can identify individuals based on the weight and thus customize device settings around the house. Through interactive cameras, inhabitants away from home can view the location of security or fire alerts; similarly remote caregivers can check on the status of their patients or family. Full automation and adaptation of smart environments rely on the software itself to learn, or collect information that allows the software to improve its performance with experience. Specific features of recent smart environments that meet these criteria incorporate predictive and automatic decision-making capabilities into the control paradigm. Contexts (mobility or activity) of inhabitants as well as of the environment can be anticipated with good accuracy based on observed activities and known features. Models can also be built of user patterns that can be used to customize the environment for future interactions. For example, an intelligent car can collect information about the driver including typical times and routes to go to work, cinema, bank, restaurant, and store preferences, and commonly used gas stations.

Combining this information with data collected by the person's home and office as well as available further details on movie times, restaurant menus and locations, and sales at various stores, the car can provide recommendations based on the learned model of activity patterns and preferences. Similarly, building device performance model can allow the environment to optimize its behaviors and performance. For instance, smart light bulbs may alarm expiry time, letting the factory deliver replacements before the need is critical. To complement predictive capabilities, a smart environment will be able to decide on how to automate its own behaviors in a goal-oriented manner. An outer circuit could control device settings and timings; it could also select suitable

methods of achieving a goal, such as predicting where the user is heading and turning on lights in each room entered by the person.

One feature that separates smart environments from environments that are user controllable is the ability to model inhabitant behavior. Such a user model can be used in order to customize the environment to achieve goals such as automation, security, or resource efficiency. User models can also make a basis for detecting anomalies and changes in user behavioral patterns. The environment can then tune itself to these changing patterns. Context (e.g. location and activity) awareness is indeed a key in building smart environments. For example, the embedded pressure sensors in the Aware Home (Orr and Abowd 2000) capture inhabitants' footfalls, and the smart home uses these data for position tracking and pedestrian recognition.

Conclusion

This paper discussed paradigmatic shifts in contemporary societies which were surrounded by several threats and risks. After that, as output of such shift paradigms, "smart environments" were introduced, presenting them as an urge for the emerging world. Our own research efforts in this direction have resulted in the development of some useful patterns, which constitute a language for designing new smart environments. The first pattern is data driven prediction and alerting with the help of a neurofuzzy net (LoLiMoT). To cater for the needs of people it is first of all important to proactively detect those needs. Second is a brain emotional learning based intelligent controller (BELBIC), which can be used for actuating the motor devices and effectors in the environment using bounded rationality. Other patterns like singular spectrum analysis, information theoretic routines for feature selection and attentional modulation, context awareness tools, active perception, and information fusion operators have also been developed. Application areas have ranged from prediction and alerting/prevention devices for space weather extreme events, epileptic seizures, strokes, etc. to HVAC, motor drive, network congestion, navigation, robot motion, home appliances, and other control systems (Mirmomeni and Lucas 2008, Nercissians and Lucas 2005, Mirmomeni et al. 2007, Jamali et al. 2007).

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PUEDES¹: Linking University and Enterprise - An Emerging Central-American Experience

Matthias Wesseler

Abstract

Linking university and enterprise has become an issue of growing scientific interest. Within the UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development and with reference to the UN Millennium Development Goals, the PUEDES program was designed to contribute to the university's relevance in Central America. Since the history of many public Central-American universities is determined by bloodstained tensions toward the private sector, PUEDES is seen as a far-reaching initiative to engage in trust building, and in designing new forms of constructive interactions where both sides strengthen their commitment to sustainable development.

The core issue of the PUEDES pilot projects is not knowledge transfer from university to economy, but interface of university and society as an untapped source of generating valid knowledge to strengthen the emergence of sustainable knowledge societies.

Keywords

University : enterprise cooperation, post-academic science, coaching, tacit potential, knowledge societies, Central America

“The institutions of higher education need to establish a closer and more active relation with their contexts. Quality is linked to relevance and responsibility for the sustainable development of the society.” (Declaration of the Regional Conference on Higher Education in Latin America, CRES, 2008, D.5)

„Knowledge has ceased to be something standing outside society, a goal to be pursued by a community of scholars dedicated to the truth, but is shaped by many social actors under the condition of the essential contestability of truth.“ (Delanty 2001)

Are these ideas a threat to the university - or an opportunity?

Introduction: The Courage to Experiment

If the validation of our academic work is at stake, maybe, we could also try to experiment a little with the ‘poetry’ of our scientific writing.

The wind is gone now. The surface of the lagoon of Fyns Hoved, Danmark, where we are renting a summerhouse, got clear - like a mirror. Clouds and

¹ PUEDES: Programa Universidad Empresa para el Desarrollo Sostenible

seagulls and the small hills from the other side are reflected in the brilliant water. Yesterday everything seemed to be so different: All the water thrown up into white horses and heavy rain was falling during the whole, gray day. You can't neglect the visibility of change out here. Tomorrow, how will the wind be, the sea and the sky – and my mind (and my wife's, of course)?

I sometimes wished that my understanding of all the emerging changes in higher education were as simple. When I look back at all the time invested in reading, the many conferences attended, the universities visited in Boston, Berkeley, Palo Alto, Moscow, Singapore, Tokyo, Zürich and many other places, - and most important of all, the enlightening dialogues with the ISOS team and other colleagues around the ISOS programs (Amini 2006, Fremerey 2008), I see a somewhat confusing complexity: So many new concepts have emerged, new insights are won, especially from brain research, innovative strategies have been developed and supposedly valid curricula designed, accredited and implemented: The meaning of 'quality and relevance', our almost sacred guards, shifted from focusing on 'pure science' toward compromising with sustainable development and the emerging post-academic knowledge societies and their needs.

In September 2007, in Guatemala Antigua, our new program started: PUEDES, "Programa Universidad Empresa para el Desarrollo Sostenible". The Central American University Rectors' Conference, CSUCA, together with GTZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit) and the Institute for Socio-cultural Studies - ISOS, University of Kassel, joined forces to promote a challenging experiment in order to promote linkages between university and enterprise, and thus to contribute to strengthen the university's relevance for sustainable development.

Central American universities were invited to design pilot projects which related an academic interest with an entrepreneurial need of enterprises. Both parties were supposed to cooperate closely and to draw tangible conclusions for their respective work.

The initiative to launch this program has a long history of university cooperation in Central America, supported by German institutions such as DAAD and GTZ, and our Institute, ISOS, amongst others. Most recently, the UniCambio program, 2001 – 2007, was geared to strengthen quality management for change within universities. More than 50 university colleagues from public and private universities from 12 countries committed themselves to reinforce their competences for the management of quality and change. The universities of Leipzig and Kassel, together with five Central-American universities and with the support from GTZ and DAAD, cooperated to run the program. UniCambio was followed by a DAAD supported initiative (DIES) to design and implement modules to build further capacity for innovative management and curriculum development in Central-American higher education. Furthermore, DAAD and ISOS engaged themselves to promote an active alumni network, GUCAL, with the purpose to respond to immediate training needs of university colleagues in Central-American countries.

All these activities - necessary, committed and evidently successful as they are, were focusing their work on the inner dimensions of quality within universities. The dimension of external relevance, however, requested so urgently by the UN Millennium Development Goals, by the UNESCO World Declaration on Higher

Education (1998), and most recently and with renewed emphasis by the Regional Conference on Higher Education in Latin-America, CRES (2008), was somewhat neglected or at best taken for granted as kind of an implicit result which almost automatically would emerge when the explicit goals of the activities had been met.

One of the very basic lessons learned from all these cooperative efforts which emerged out of the UNISTAFF program (Fremerey 2008) has been: Content is always bound to context, to its history and to its emotions. And - just like the water of the Fyns Hoved lagoon – when contexts change also contents and their meanings will change – and vice versa. Change in higher education is always difficult to observe and to understand: We don't know, I believe, that we don't understand when we don't understand. Finally, we also learned, that we all live in an era of accelerating change which we need to respond to, but that we also are able to take the courage to influence change and to shape it toward a more just and human world.

The Challenge: Trust in the „Tacit Potential“ of Universities

PUEDES' overall goal is to contribute to the university's relevance. Since the history of many public Central-American universities is determined by blood-stained tensions toward the private sector, PUEDES is seen as a far-reaching initiative to engage in trust building, and in designing new forms of win-win interactions where both sides strengthen their commitment to sustainable development. PUEDES' expected results will be:

- Seven pilot projects supported which invigorate the interaction between public universities and the private sector, generating tangible impacts for the universities themselves and the cooperating enterprises.
- An innovative knowledge-management approach promoted in order to tap the “tacit” resources of the cooperating partners to create potentials of relevant knowledge and competences.
- The role of universities strengthened within the process of the political integration of Central America.

The core issue is not knowledge transfer from university to economy, but interface of university and society as an untapped source of generating innovative knowledge in order to promote the emergence of sustainable knowledge societies.

From the beginning it was clear that PUEDES would not be a program without controversies. There is on the one hand the ongoing global debate on the changing purpose of universities within the context of the emerging 'knowledge societies' with all its internal tensions and battles amongst the scientific community itself. On the other hand, university and enterprise are representatives of a very different kind of cultures, different modes of thinking and mind sets, different visions and forms of communicating that might contribute to make cooperation difficult. Finally, since PUEDES covers prominently also the dimension of sustainable development, both universities as well as companies may not feel their specific commitment directly related to overall issues of development and its sustainability. There is evidence (Wasmuth 2007, Crespo and Dridi 2007) that universities could do much better to promote sustainable development through opening up to the needs of their

societies and environments. It is however controversial if this should be done at all, and through linking with enterprises in particular.

For decades, especially in Central-America, the autonomy of the universities had been defended against any supposed attacker from the government, the military or “the economy”. In many countries there had been fights for years. Many university students and professors have been killed, but also policemen and soldiers lost their lives during these struggles. The climate within the universities was – and in many institutions still is, not at all positive in favour of an opening toward development issues and toward the economy specifically. The proliferating private universities with their continuously growing numbers of students keep of course closer links to the “market” of their graduates, contributing thus to deepen the gap to the “true” public universities allegedly serving the truth and the supposedly sacred values of the society.

In midst of these tensions, CSUCA, which represents the 19 leading public Central-American universities, had started several years ago a new initiative SICAUS (Sistema Centro-Americano de Relación Universidad-Sociedad; Central-American System Relating University and Society) which tried to establish closer relations between university and ‘society’. Most of these activities had found some rather marginal place in their universities where some committed colleagues tried to open cooperative projects.

Beyond these particular phenomena of the Central-American university scene, there is for decades now a growing quarrel emerging on the fundamental purpose of universities, reaching from the entrepreneurial university discourse toward the debate on research as the unique ‘competitive advantage’ of true universities. The claim for “valid knowledge” (Williams 2007) as the most dangerous “threat” to universities seems however to gain momentum. In this turmoil of arguments, the needs of sustainable development are transforming themselves from an unnecessary burden into strategic resources for the universities: “Validity by utility” (Gough and Scott 2007).

In Europe currently, there is an attempt to solve that controversy by searching for a new kind of differentiation amongst universities, some rather more inclined towards research and traditional academic values while others rather may find their profile and ‘identity’ committed toward immediate social responsibility and market needs. Both positions certainly mark an explicit shift of focus of attention away from the, for centuries unquestioned, body of academic values. And both may have their legitimate lines of arguments. What seems to matter most, however, is the concrete context a university decides to commit itself to, even if this commitment is in part experimental and goes beyond the narrow territory of traditional scientific propositions.

Linking university and enterprise within PUEDES has its focus clearly on the university side: It is the university which is invited to open its doors, to strengthen its relevance for sustainable development and to start communicating and learning beyond the traditional boundaries of the alma mater. Certainly the same may be true also for the cooperating enterprise. The debate on corporate social responsibility is just one of the indicators that many companies have started to think beyond their efforts of immediate benefit maximization. PUEDES however is not looking primarily to the company and its relevance for sustainable development. The program is geared to support universities, based on tangible pilot projects, to intensify a relevant learning

process which may affect not just certain details of teaching or research, but also the policies of curriculum development, of research management and the university's structures themselves. So, from the very beginning it was clear that it was not just an exercise in transfer, like supporting the setting up of transfer centers where universities try to disseminate their knowledge to the local industry, but PUEDES understood itself as an experimental endeavor geared to mutual learning and development.

In summary, based on the encouraging experiences of the UniCambio program it was felt that universities could gain a lot to improve not just their social and economic relevance through opening up to the productive sector, but also to enhance the scientific quality of its work. There was the concrete experience (Alfaro, Fischer-Ramirez, and Wessler 2007) that an enormous institutional 'tacit potential' of universities might become much more explicit through an interface with the potential of enterprises and their culture. Basically, it was this evidence-based trust that universities could do much better in research and in teaching if they opened up to link creatively with the productive sector, which made us start the PUEDES experiment. Universities, the cooperating partners believed, could become dynamic learning organizations and improve tangibly their quality and relevance for sustainable development.

The PUEDES Start: Toward a Science of Doing

Moving from a 'scholarship of discovery' towards a 'scholarship of application' and finally towards a 'scholarship of co-evolution', is a long journey. Equally, taking practice as a powerful source of cognition is still a challenge within the traditional university system. This is changing: "Linking emerges as an indispensable requisite for both, the university and the productive sector" (Padilla López 2004). Some authors even talk about a paradigm shift where universities go beyond the classical values of the logic of 'pure' sciences and move toward a 'post-academic science' whose validity includes dimensions of application and relevance (Gough and Scott 2007).

It took a rather long time, almost two years, to design the reliable frame of reference for the program PUEDES. There was a long series of mutual consultations, of draft proposals and discussion papers before finally the three partners, CSUCA, GTZ and ISOS, could agree upon a binding version.

The core element of this version was the approach to produce – on an experimental basis - concrete evidence for Central-America that universities could cooperate with enterprises with an essential mutual benefit and in the same way contribute to sustainable development. The focus on concrete pilot projects would avoid, we thought, a major discussion on fundamental theories and principles, it would however require a strong point on empirical evidence, certainly not easy to organize for within a complex context of mutual learning and change. Therefore the innovative dimension of promoting the necessary learning through 'coaching', which already proved to be very effective in the UniCambio program, was included to complement the core activities of PUEDES:

- Support for concrete cooperative pilot projects (up to 20.000 US\$ each).
- Explicit mutual learning inspired and reinforced through coaching.

To set these elements into action the following agenda with its corresponding milestones had been decided upon:

Sept 2007	Planning workshop (Antigua/Guatemala)
1. Mid Sept/Mid Oct 2007	Formulation of project announcement, TOR for pilot projects, invitation for project proposals
2. End January 2008	Deadline for pilot project proposals: Visibility / Criteria for selection
3. March 2008	Announcement of selected pilot projects; contracts with pilot project units (1 st embursement of funds, via CSUCA)
4. May 2008	Take-off workshop (May, 13 – 16), together with SICAUS team and coaches
5. End October 2008	Pilot project interim reports (2 nd embursement of funds)
6. March 2009	PUEDES Meeting – Reports of pilot projects progress, together with SICAUS teams and coaches
7. September 2009	Completion of pilot projects
8. October 2009	Final pilot project reports; 3 rd final embursement of funds
9. End of 2009 or Beginning 2010	International conference – Dissemination of PUEDES and pilot project results (possibly together with DIES / GUCAL)
10. March 2010	Documentation / Project publication

Table 1: PUEDES Milestones, as identified by September 2007

By the end of October 2007, in close cooperation with the SICAUS, a “Convocatoria” was sent to the CSUCA universities and applications for PUEDES pilot projects were invited.

The Pilot Projects: Diversity of Approaches

The reality of PUEDES started with a surprise: We got much more applications for pilot-projects than we had expected: 49 applications, most of them excellent ones, out of which only seven could be selected for financial support. Innovation seems to beget innovation, and motivation begets motivation.

The following list of criteria had then been identified to decide on the selection of the pilot projects:

- Quality of the proposal (max 30 scores: Internal coherence of pilot project proposal, relevance of the pilot project’s focus on sustainable development, MDG’s, internal efficiency / feasibility to be expected, adequacy of resources planned, staff, time, budget etc., reputation of institutions / organizations / experts involved).
- Involvement / commitment of core stakeholders (max 20 scores: Involvement of students, of university authorities, of partner’s authorities, and involvement of potential other core stakeholders).

- Relevance / sustainability of expected results (max 30 scores: impact on participating university / universities, impact on productive sector partner / s, impact on project team, visibility of results).
- Special identity of the pilot project proposed (max 20 scores: Basically an open category, for example: the special profile, focus on gender equity, potential risks, originality, complexity, especial political involvements etc.).

As expected the selection was difficult. A special challenge was an additional 'political' criterion of "balance of participating countries" (CSUCA). Since there were applications from seven countries, only one out of each country could be selected. This caused tensions, amongst the team, but also – and especially – amongst the participants of the Take-off Workshop, as it came out later. The fundamental theoretical debates we tried to avoid by focusing on an 'experiment', came in again on behalf of our selection of pilot projects.

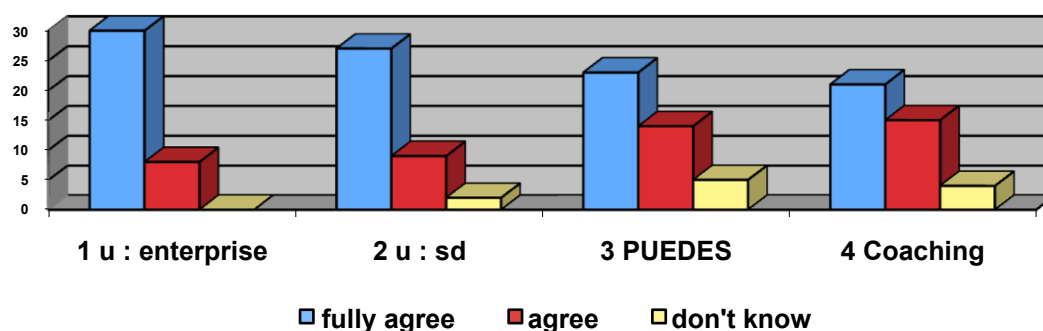
Here is the list of the selected pilot projects with their university partners and their external purposes:

- 1) "Cooperation between the academy and producers to produce *Jatropha Curcas* (Barbados nut) with bio-energetic purposes"; University San Carlos, Guatemala: Strengthening sustainable agriculture.
- 2) "Promoting an entrepreneurial spirit in Nicaragua"; four universities of Nicaragua (UNAN-León, UNAN-Managua, UNA-Nicaragua, UNI): Building relevant entrepreneurship competences.
- 3) "The deep water carcinofauna (cursteceans) and its sustainable exploitation in the Central-American Pacific: A regional initiative"; three universities from Costa Rica (UCR), El Salvador (UES) and Nicaragua (UNAN-León): Researching deep water ecology in the Pacific Ocean.
- 4) "123 Print. An easy way: Development of a automatic print facility with participation of students"; Faculty of Economic Sciences, UCR: Fostering student entrepreneurial activities.
- 5) "Strengthening small agricultural enterprises en Honduras"; UNA-Honduras: Reinforcing efficiency of medium and small enterprises.
- 6) "Strengthening entrepreneurial capacities of small and medium enterprises in Estelí"; UNAN-Managua: Capacity building to strengthen medium and small enterprises.
- 7) "Towards an dynamic interaction between university and enterprise, increasing productivity and competitiveness in Panamá"; four universities of Panamá (UTP, UP, UNACHI, U. Latina): Promoting innovative university : enterprise interaction.

Another challenge appeared through the participation of the SICAUS members at the take-off workshop. Some of them felt sort of neglected and not adequately recognized in their work they had been committed to over years. The invitation of the SICAUS colleagues was meant originally to strengthen the cooperation between PUEDES pilot projects and their respective university SICAUS group, however this contact appeared to become another challenge for PUEDES.

On the other hand, the cooperation between pilot project coordinators and their counter parts from enterprises seemed to gain a very constructive and sometimes inspiring start. In general, and in spite of the heterogeneity of the group, the take-off workshop was well received and the necessary pilot project contracts could be signed (CSUCA and pilot project coordinators).

Table 2: Evaluating the Take-off Workshop (n=40)



Degree of perceived relevance of (1) the link between university : enterprise; (2) link between university : sustainable development; (3) PUEDES; (4) Coaching.

The workshop's quantitative evaluation reflects some of the existing challenges in the fields of the perceived relevance of PUEDES and, especially, of the coaching offer. The qualitative results locate the observed doubts especially amongst the SICAUS members. Taken that this group is already a distinctive support group for university : society linkages, these results may reveal some of the less visible barriers PUEDES pilot projects may encounter within their universities. On the other side the declining relevance of the four different items (Table 2) seem to reflect the general perception within the scientific community, where (1) linkages between university and enterprise are recognized as valuable while an orientation towards sustainable development (2) is less valued, and concrete projects like PUEDES (3) and even more the coaching approach (4) receive some doubts. Anyway, the colleagues gathered at the take-off workshop at Guatemala Antigua showed an overall positive attitude towards the innovations discussed.

The Support: Coaching to Strengthen Mutual Learning

The core of PUEDES is an attempt to strengthen learning and the development of potentials beyond the everyday comfort zone of the academic routine (Knoll 2006). This is perceived as a special challenge, difficult and promising in the same way, but possibly needing some special attention within the highly complex cooperative context of the pilot projects: Will pilot project teams be able to clarify their responsibilities? Will they be able to acquire additional resources when needed? Will they overcome resistances? Will they be able to

strengthen their self-confidence and transform conflicts into constructive potentials? Will they find appropriate and effective ways of innovative leadership? Will the teams discover ways and use adequate means to handle stress and potential symptoms of fatigue during their journey with the cooperating partners of the productive sector? These were just some of potentially serious concerns which have been expressed in the preparatory phase.

Therefore PUEDES invited the pilot project coordinators and their teams to make use of a special offer to get support from coaching. This is an innovative approach which for many years now gained special recognition in the productive sector, particularly when challenging changes are at stake. Coaches do not – necessarily – be experts in the scientific field of the corresponding pilot project. They do not teach. They rather support an existing readiness potential for individual as well as institutional development processes. The underlying concept is – amongst others – that every task is not only a challenge to be resolved, but it is also an opportunity for continuous learning and competence development, and for the empowerment of abilities to do what is needed.

The decisive bases for the growing importance of coaching also in the university sector are:

- recent research in neurosciences which prove the self-regulation of the brain;
- emerging needs for accelerated deep learning in the 'knowledge societies';
- increasing evidence of positive impacts in the professional field.

Therefore it was no surprise when the German Rectors Conference in its policy paper on quality in teaching and learning from April 2008 said, that "above all, offering coaching could contribute to facilitate the development of the professors' competences".

While during the UniCambio program the realized coaching activities received almost exclusively positive responses (Pletsch-Betancourt and Hidalgo 2007), this innovative instrument to support learning and development processes needs still more attention – and concern - in an university setting in Central-America. Some colleagues showed serious doubts about the effectiveness and even the meaning of such an offer within an ongoing pilot project.

The PUEDES program therefore set out to design a special approach for the coaches to be active in the context of the pilot projects, trying to find answers for the following questions – and beyond:

- Does coaching has an impact in identifying the internal and external journey of the project, reflecting also potential innovations and the 'un-imaginable' within a context of feasibility and efficiency: Where are we going?
- Does coaching facilitate the process of discovering mental and material resources to run the journey efficiently: How?
- Does coaching focus on solutions, strengths and resources, and not just on problems and weaknesses?

- Does coaching respect the “scientific” context with its habits of researching and teaching, with its relatively hierarchical structures and its longing for individual and institutional autonomy?
- Does coaching recognize the value of the rigor of scientific logic and in the same way show a high esteem for the creative ‘tacit’ potential of the unknown, emerging in the practical linkage with the productive sector and the need for sustainable development?

To support the successful work of the invited coaches, an additional training and dialogue workshop was realized at the end of September in 2008 in Guatemala Antigua in order to identify the specific crucial challenges within the PUEDES context, to find a common frame of reference for coping with them, respecting the particularities of each pilot-project and its context, and to strengthen the competences of the individual coach.

The final indicator of the quality of the coaching will be the evidence of the felt benefit the pilot projects’ coordinators and their teams perceive after completion of their work.

Conclusion

First experiences in running the PUEDES program prove its relevance and attractiveness to the higher education sector. A PUEDES representative has been invited by UNESCO to the Regional Conference on Higher Education in Latin America (CRES, Cartagena, Colombia, June 2008, in preparation of the 2009 World Conference: “The New Dynamics of Higher Education”). To meet the growing quest for valid knowledge, universities start to understand that a pro-active opening to the productive sector will offer effective opportunities to generate innovative potential for research, teaching and services: That is, knowledge for our best future possibility to promote sustainable development.

I am finishing this article far away from the quiet Fyns Hoved lagoon and its changing waters. In these days, late September 2008, we are getting informed about the Wall Street disaster and its emerging potential impacts not only on the US economy, but also on many other nations – and their people - worldwide. There seem to be no ready-made solutions, and international experts declare this helplessness as another symptom of the most pressing crisis of traditional discipline based knowledge systems...

The PUEDES pilot projects – in the context of the emerging knowledge societies and their sustainable development - will contribute a modest body of experience on how the interaction between universities and the productive sector can be approached effectively. I trust, it will be a friendly and joyful experience – and certainly a surprising one.

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UNISTAFF Chemistry: the Role of Directing and Co-ordinating

Siawuch Amini

Abstract

In a previous evaluation the author has made the statement that there must be something like a “Chemistry” of UNISTAFF for understanding its success story. The indicators for the chemistry were felt but not mentioned in details. The following paper is trying to make some assumptions that may help to clear up this chemistry. The paper is based partly on observation of the author and partly taken from the first results of an empirical research conducted as a tracer study which is in process.

The paper focuses on exploring the role of synergetic leadership and governance of the institution ISOS as a learning environment and coordination of UNISTAFF as a learning organization. It is about to explain its special characteristics that are embedded in a liberal concept and in tolerant governance with post-modern ideas, collegial mind and good will without which the chemistry would not occur and all mentioned indicators in this report would remain fruitless.

Key words

learning environment, diversity, trust, networking, tacit knowledge

Introduction

University Staff Development program (UNISTAFF) is a training course of two months for improving teaching and learning, curriculum development and evaluation, for improving university management, organizational development, leadership, governance and change, for improving research and knowledge management, knowledge processing and business processing and finally for quality assurance in higher education (Amini, Fremerey, Wesseler 1999, 2000, 2006) The course is a training program tailored for staff coming from African, Asian and Latin American countries.

It takes place once a year at the Institute for Socio-Cultural Studies (ISOS), University of Kassel – Witzenhausen directed by Michael Fremerey. Since 1994 the ISOS has carried out successfully 15 UNISTAFF courses with about 300 participants from 29 countries. In its unique characteristic, UNISTAFF is known as an effective program for improving personal abilities, institutional development and quality and performance of higher education institutions. The search for the reasons of the success of the program is an important challenge, especially because of the unique characteristics of its learning environment.

UNISTAFF: A Learning Environment

The distinction theory (Luhmann 1990, 2000) understands learning as a process of differentiation of *self* and *non-self*. Among a large number of definitions for learning, this definition seems to fit into an attempt for the explanation of the processes of learning in UNISTAFF. The distinction between self and non-self goes beyond the process of cognitive learning which actually is mainly focused on getting information that is structurally determined and may lead to internalized values within the frame of socialization. Important as the cognitive learning is, in a worst case, it may lead to a homogeneous goal-oriented non-creative and non-innovative group of people thinking and acting in the same way. The distinction of self and non-self seems in the first view to produce a chaos situation and may refer to individualism, to disturbance, destruction and anarchy with high complexity. However, at the same time it produces innovation, creativity, confidence and trust and leads to social capital (Taylor 2002) crucial to change and development. The following paper will try to examine these assumptions by analyzing UNISTAFF as a specific learning environment.

The diversity as a basis for learning

Participants of UNISTAFF are individuals with different cultural background. They come from different countries and consequently have different biography and socialization. In addition to this, they have different educational background coming from different disciplinary fields. They speak different mother tongues and even the English language as the common language of the course is not the same, not only on the base of different levels of English language abilities, but also in terms of jargons, items and words with different meaning and context. The gender is another aspect of differentiation; the expectations etc. demonstrate a complex situation. How can learning take place in such a complex situation? This is one of the major challenges to the organization of learning in UNISTAFF.

According to the distinction theory the complexity here can be taken as a great chance to be improved and extended to make the diversity even more complex and not to be reduced to achieve a simple situation within which information exchanged remain at a level of cognitive learning for all individuals and does not move to a new layer of a dynamic process of learning.

Improving diversity and complexity is a big challenge for the staff at the same time. The workload is high because of the necessary reflection on diverse individual expectations of participants due to their different experiences and their knowledge background.

Structure and function

From the above mentioned theses it should have been clear that the functions play a dominant role against the structure. Within the system theory, the so-called functional-structural approach refers to functions in the determination of the structure. The contribution of the elements of the system to the dynamic structure, its stability and change are the condition sine qua non. UNISTAFF

participants and their contributions to the genesis of a certain course structure have played a crucial role. Due to this the trial to understand the success story of UNISTAFF from any estimation based on a structuralism approach may hardly reflect its real philosophy. In previous studies concerning the evaluation of UNISTAFF, the question of its so-called “chemistry” (King 1999) remained almost unanswered because all explanations have put the structure first and have tried to analyze the functions. The fact that UNISTAFF has taken the construction of a certain structure by supporting the individuals’ functions and not the other way round has been felt, but not methodologically analyzed.

Space for acquiring tacit knowledge

UNISTAFF has put emphasis on a hidden curriculum and on the context. It involves the importance of tacit knowledge, the potentials, the abilities, the skills and emotions of the participants as individuals seriously. Based upon dialogue and field building, the socialization, externalization, combination and internalization takes place in a process of learning. The externalization of tacit knowledge takes place in an open system within which the explicit knowledge is not deterministic, but rather dispositional. This means that the association of the cognitive knowledge and the tacit knowledge made explicit, bear a potential of professionalism in any kind of environment that individuals may face in future. The enlargement of the information and the association of knowledge gained make a meaningful selection of information relevant to any structure for anticipating and generating desired changes.

Shared meaning

Fostering the diversity and individuals’ self-organized model can lead to a system of individualism with a high complexity that cannot easily determine a solid structure. That is a major reason why functionalist conceptions and *real* constructive approaches are uneasy and not practiced in learning environments. If learning is understood as the distinction between self and non-self, so it could be assumed that the more distinction leads to more learning. The basic for this learning is any kind of information shared. For this distinction the need for information to distinct from non-self is necessary. The tautological basic to this is that the dependency is required for the independency (*paradoxon*). The more information is shared and got, the more individuals distinct themselves from non-self and the more they need information from non-self. This is the basic for shared meaning. The shared meaning does not mean to achieve a common goal or to come to a common vision and mission, but to achieve the independency in dependency. This is the synergetic effect and the *real* network.

Individual and social capital

The training program focuses on improving individual capital in terms of learning skills and abilities to do things which are needed (competences) in activities related to university, like teaching and learning, research organization, university management and organization (Williamson 1993). However, the training program UNISTAFF is very much concerned about development of social capital in terms of sharing knowledge, processing knowledge in favour of the

institution (focuses on how an organization, either higher education system or private sector identifies, creates, captures, acquires, shares and leverages knowledge). This seems to be one of the major strengths of the training program. To achieve the development of social capital the increasing trust (Misztal 1996; Nielson 2003; Raiser 1999; Ruuskanen 2003; Ganesan 1997; Buskens, 2002; Canesan 1997) as a basis for social order (Burt 1992) and a lubricant of co-operation (Gulati 1995) plays a crucial role. Increasing trust itself is a difficult task which can be achieved indirectly. The networking as a tool plays hereby a fundamental role.

Quality and evaluation culture

The quality of UNISTAFF training program is embedded in the development of an evaluation culture. The fitness for purpose, the stakeholder satisfaction and other indicators for quality are discussed in close relation to internal evaluation. The participants are actively involved in facing critically the quality which is structurally and externally defined and try to bring it into a balance with the activity of individuals, say from a functional approach. Self-evaluation is seen as a basic for quality assurance in higher education, especially for supporting the decision-makers and policy makers to anticipate necessary changes required in the era of competitiveness and globalization.

Internal evaluation is seen as a basis for improvement and assuring quality.

Networking

The networking (Larson 1992; Uzzi 1997) is one of the strongest tools for increasing trust, managing distrust and regulating the political and scientific control. It helps to involve readiness for placing resources into the hands of others by taking the aspects of pay-off or interests into consideration. The action is attributed to communication at the network level; learning is expected to have its own dynamics. The dynamics of the interactions are assumed to "self"-organize the roles that are attributed to the actors. The actors (learners) carry the network at the nodes while the links of the network span an architecture which develops additional complexity in terms of its recursive interactions. The architecture of relations can be considered as a structure containing the expected information of the network's further development (Leydesdorff 1994). It is obvious that the communication within UNISTAFF network goes beyond the communication of individuals as a dynamic process on a second layer. Examples are the Networks INDOSTAFF, GIAN and REAL, which are all involved in improving Higher Education Management

Empirical findings

In order to examine the hypotheses above, we refer to the feedbacks of the alumni of UNISTAFF. In a tracer study conducted in 2008¹, the participants (n=106) of UNISTAFF were asked to rank the importance and relevance of the

¹ The tracer study has been conducted by Fremerey/Amini early this year. The analysis of the results is in process. In this paper only a few results by a random part of respondents are taken into account for empirically relevant aspects.

following abilities for fulfilling their activities at the workplace and to rank the impact of the program in achieving those abilities. The hypothesis here is that the abilities gained by participants are embedded in the indicators above.

The summarized results are shown in the table below:

Category/Abilities	Total named category	Total named impact	Achieved percentage
Personality	41	43	104.90
Accomplishment abilities	47	42	89.30
Persuasion abilities	16	17	106.25
Emotional abilities	25	25	100.00
Social abilities	25	42	168.00
Scientific abilities	65	52	80.00
Self-confidence	59	50	84.75
Management abilities	77	69	89.61
Rationality	32	28	87.50
Efficiency	45	41	91.11
Communicative abilities	46	41	89.13
Maintaining relationship	36	35	97.22

The figures in the table show that the participants rate highly the value of the category of “Management abilities”, mostly followed by scientific abilities and self-confidence. Taking these expectations in relation to the impact of UNISTAFF program, the management abilities reach the level of 90%, the scientific abilities at the level of 80% and the self-confidence at the level of 85%. The social abilities, persuasion abilities and improving personality reach levels higher than the levels of expectations. Especially the social abilities which refer to social interaction in terms of sharing and getting go far beyond the expectations. Generally, it can be said that the highest absolute values concerning the impact of the program lie in getting managerial abilities, followed by scientific abilities and finally self-confidence. This empirical finding as part of the tracer study underlines the specific role of UNISTAFF program in preparing a learning environment that is not focusing on getting cognitive knowledge, but knowledge in context of those aspects discussed above.

Another aspect relevant for underlining the empirical evidence is the qualitative statements of the participants in the tracer study. Many statements refer to general impacts of UNISTAFF program which can be assumed under getting more confidence after participation; the majority of these competences are

stated and valued positively in relation to the three modules “Organizational Development”, “Teaching and Learning”, “Research and Knowledge Management”. Selected statements among a large number are mentioned here:

“Before I participated in UNISTAFF I felt I was an average lecturer at my university. UNISTAFF opened me up, made me more confident of my abilities and gave me more ability to contribute to my university.”

UNISTAFF has given me a new understanding when approaching my work in the university and even outside when I do personal thing, especially in organization development. I have also influenced the younger generation of lecturers who are more receptive to change.

(It has given to me the) ability to make colleagues understand why you want certain things to happen in a different way”

“Curriculum development especially what to consider when developing new academic programs, enhanced my pedagogical skills and shown me how to conduct research, identify the research problem, personal organization at work focus on development of my career”

“I became more confident as a teacher-researcher. I was willing to take risks and try new ideas and approaches in teaching. I also saw numerous research possibilities in higher education. Now I research on higher education management as well as the scholars...”

“I gained knowledge and confidence in conducting empirical research and conceptual research, and as significant result, I have been a consistent paper presenter in international conferences/seminar-workshop since 2001...”

Application

Many statements are mentioned in terms of applicability of learnt skills. The applicability which is mentioned in more than 60 cases out of 107 different statements go in different directions relevant to participants’ specific challenges at their workplace. Methodologically, it is difficult to reduce them in a frame of a category. This would mean that the diverse application of the learnt abilities and skills are dispositional and verify our thesis above.

Here are a few as representatives:

“I applied different aspects of my UNISTAFF experience throughout my university life”

“I applied what I learnt in the organization of department under my responsibility. Also, I applied it on a process of curricular changes we were already planning. I really understood what internalization of the universities meant and created policies according to international requirements”

“I apply the method of active learning into teaching; apply the principles of shared vision and work based on competence into teamwork development”

“I can apply the theory from UNISTAFF in my work in the university”

Improvement

The applied skills refer to what was improved in UNISTAFF program. Among a variety of improved items, the following may reflect some representatively:

"I improved international networking with scholars worldwide. Use of the knowledge in personal life and continue with my career with research internationally"

"Improved my ability, knowledge and attitudes towards research management and organization"

"Improved my approach to teamwork and initiation and management of change in the university"

"Improved my skills in teaching and governance"

"Improving my abilities in writing research proposals and management"

"Improving my leadership skills and ability on how to empower people, those values were delivered through examples given by Prof M. Fremerey and ISOS organization".

Learning

It is evident that inputs in the areas where it is required are not neglected in the course. A lot of skills and abilities have been learnt by giving lectures. However, those lectures are in the majority of cases combined with intensive discussions and critical feed-backs and finally workshops within which the participants could exchange experiences and knowledge, especially in terms of the meaning of the items its applicability for different workplaces.

"I learnt about workshop planning at university level. I remember a variety of educational techniques during the seminar. Short trip to the forest by the group and sharing personal experiences"

"I learnt alot from UNISTAFF training to develop main training subjects and approaches offered by institution (IESD-BU) to our clients either from internal or external origin"

"I learnt alot from UNISTAFF training to develop many training subjects and approaches"

"...learnt to understand people as human beings since the human behaviour is the main ingredient to take into account when we are leading"

"I learnt about research management-research (that) has to contribute to career growth. I liked the teachings simulations which expanded my teaching strategies to go beyond the lecturers I was used to..."

Change

It is evident that changes are necessary in higher education institutions. However, the specific changes anticipated or generated by participants are quite diverse and with different priorities and impact. The knowledge to generate changes without serious negative effects for individuals (structural changes) is the basic approach for effective changes:

"Enabled me initiate change in the faculty and helped me in building consensus over proposed changes. Also helped me to manage very rebellious staff"

"It provided a new perspective to induce the university change into learning organization"

"I got more confident on proposing new ideas, new approaches and start change (when even needed)"

"It encouraged me lead and ask for support from colleagues to implement significant changes in a short time"

"It gave me a big transformation professionally"

"I have brought some changes in the University of El Salvador, in order to improve research management and assessment. Besides, I have been collaborating in building up a system for quality assurance in higher education in Central America"

"Advocacy to change culture in the university but difficult with the different orientation in the university itself"

UNISTAFF provision

UNISTAFF has provided participants to develop their competences in different directions related to the above mentioned indicators.

"It has exposed me to opportunities of international travelling and communication"

"It helped me to feel more confident with my new position"

"It helped me to improve in my advisory role to academic staff and student"

"It improved the way I approach teaching and learning. I am more facilitative and relaxed than before"

"It linked me to doing related work beyond my country"

"It made me articulate and confident in whatever I teach both formally and informally"

"It made me critical but rational"

"It made me realize the importance of ICT in higher education, especially in enhancing"

"It opened my point of view in managing to become a learning organization"

"It opened my point of view in managing university to become a learning organization"

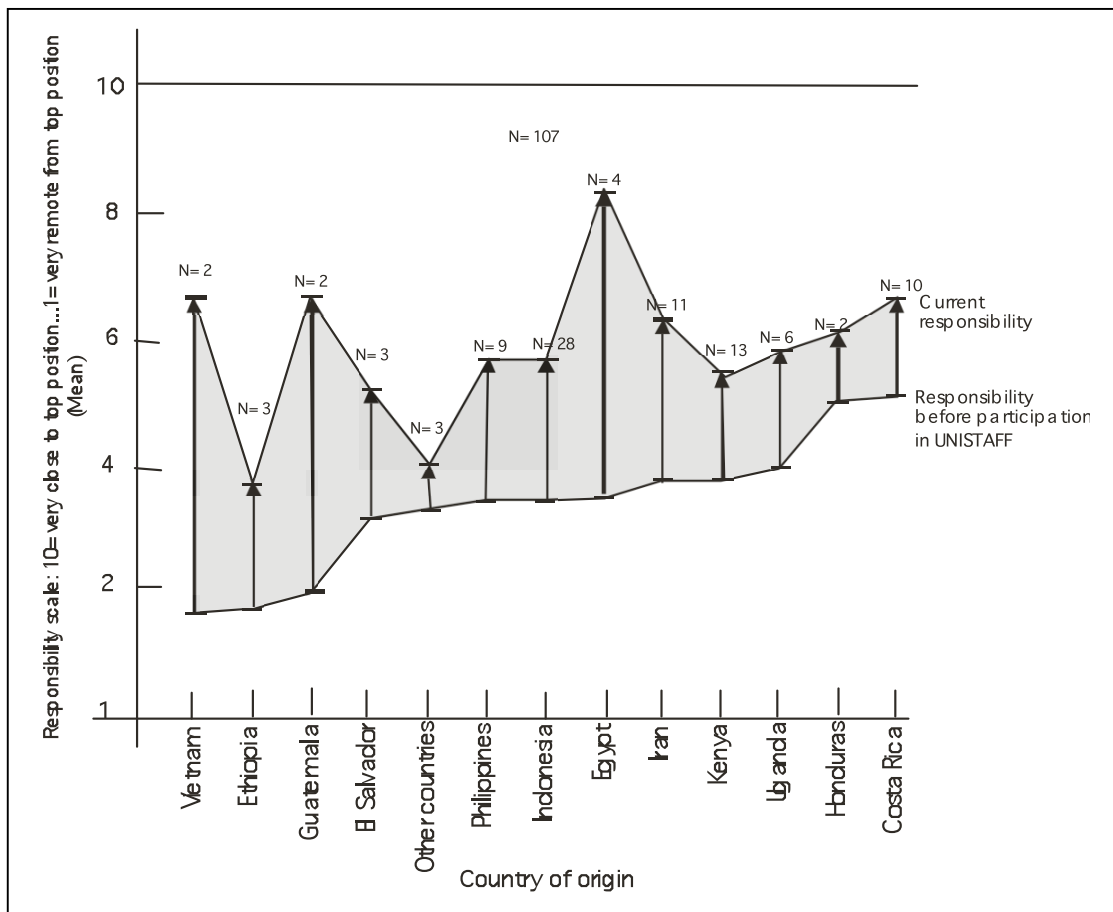
"It opened my broad network with DAAD management in Germany and in my country. It was recognized in national level in my country"

"It opened up a world of sharing knowledge, networking with those of common interest"

"It set basis for our two 4 year development (plan) and gave me valuable managerial skills as a Dean"

Career planning

The following table shows the career planning of the participants in terms of their responsibilities before the participation in UNISTAFF and after the participation.



in UNISTAFF in relation to top management in the corresponding institutions on a scale between 1 and 10 (one= the highest and 10 the lowest distance to top-management. Now the career planning can be seen as a continuous process in time. The impact of UNISTAFF is rated very highly by 32.7 %, highly by 48.6 %, more or less by 13.1% and lowly by 2.8% of the respondents. Furthermore, the 33.6% of respondents value the impact by more than 50% and 52.8 % of them rate the impact between 31 – 50%. Only 12.1 % of respondents rate the impact by less than 10%.

Case: Research and Knowledge Management

The basic assumption in offering a curriculum is that in the majority of cases the structure of the university is made responsible for the quantity and quality of research in universities. The participants claim a set of constraints that do not allow strengthening research activities. Concerning the time allocation, the participants give a low value of research activities, but in more than 80% they would like to do more research. The structure however is only partly responsible for research activities. In discussions during the module Research Management, it became clear that system of the measurement of quality in the process of research and the control system in the research process and the lack of skills of participants are responsible for the research activities as well.

Managing the control system of research quality is the major aspect in the curriculum. A function that needs not only an overview of the research topics and methodological and scientific background, but also the ability to understand the research policy, gain knowledge about funding organizations, reliability and validity of criteria for quality and the fairness of reviewers (scientometrics). Almost 80% of participants explain that UNISTAFF has changed their attitudes towards research.

"I became more confidence as a teacher-researcher. I was willing to take risks and try new ideas and approaches in teaching. I also saw numerous research possibilities in higher education. Now I research on higher education management as well as the scholars"

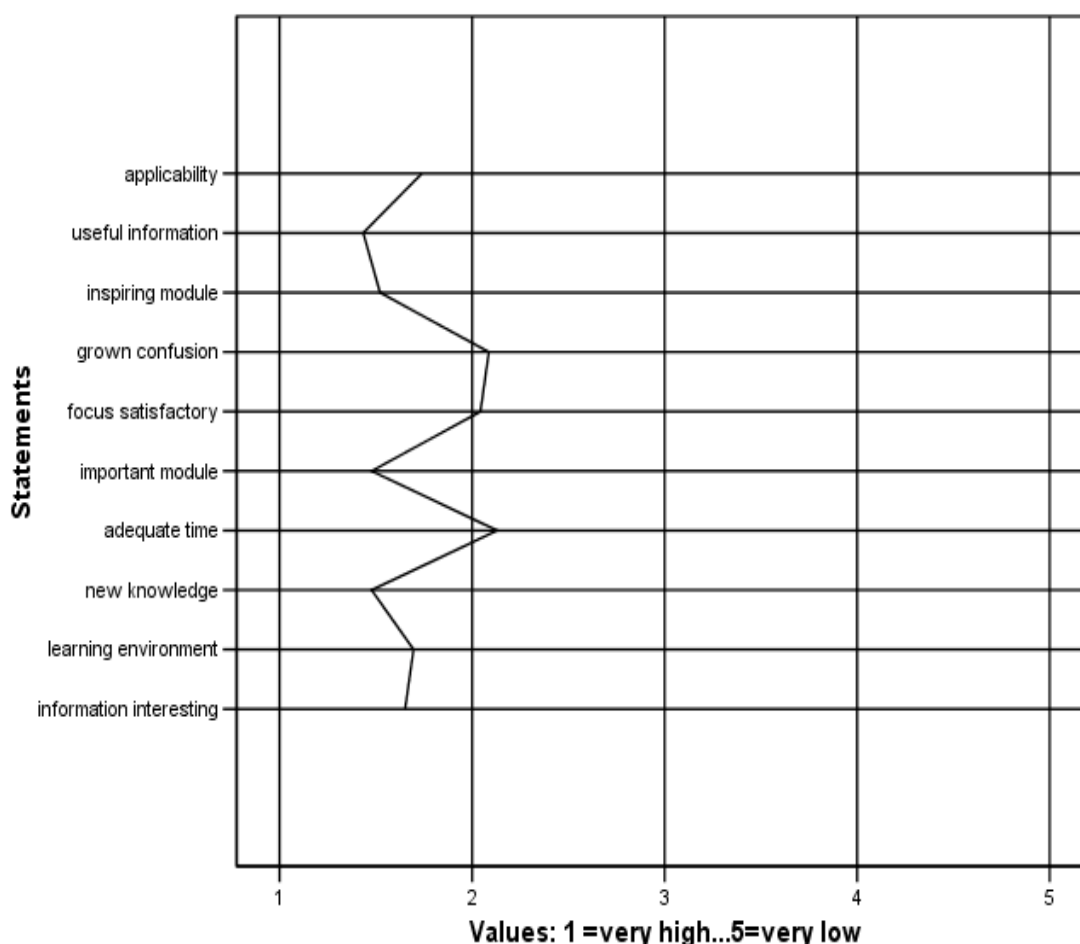
"I gained knowledge and confidence in conducting empirical research and conceptual research, and as significant result, I have been a consistent paper presenter in international conferences/seminar-workshop since 2001 to present through acceptance of abstract"

"I learnt so much to run national and international networks in the context of higher education development"

"It opened up a world of sharing knowledge, networking with those of common interest".

The curriculum of Research Management module involves improvement of confidence, trust and networking relevance to knowledge processing and business processing. The latter is specifically important for participants with low income and important for income generating in the universities. Special emphasis is put on the potentials of the participants in achieving performance.

Evaluation



Need for Organization

One of the major factors for achieving all those goals is certainly a person who is coordinating and enabling an atmosphere which allows creativity and innovation based upon trust and confidence. A manager and leader with a clear vision who not only believes in participants' abilities, but also in the abilities of the persons with whom he is working is the basic for something which is called the chemistry of the training program.

Michael Fremerey has not only contributed to organizational development in theory, but also has practiced organizational development in ISOS and in UNISTAFF. Beyond all factors that try to explain the chemistry of UNISTAFF, this factor is certainly the most important one.

Conclusion

The positive feedbacks of the alumni to UNISTAFF program are embedded in a set of indicators which determine a specific learning environment with certain chemistry.

The success story is certainly to a large extent depended on the attempts to prepare, to organize and maintain a learning environment, a context within which creativity, innovation, trust, confidence, new thinking combined with

corresponding skills can lead to internationally required and desired changes and within which the personality can grow. This is a managerial ability, a leadership itself which is neglected often as a crucial basis for personal development. Such a leadership provides learning not only cognitively, but in context: Learning from each other and learning together within a network of excellence.

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Knitting Academic Networks for Universities: The Case of Central America

Alicia Eugenia Vargas-Porras

Abstract

This article focuses on the importance of integration between Central American universities. It presents the actual human development situation of countries in the region and the challenges imposed upon higher education in building up knowledgeable societies for a demanding and complex world. In this context, the importance of networks is presented as a way to improve universities in the region. The case of the academic network GUCAL XXI (Latin American University Group towards Quality) is discussed as well as the actions and partial results of a project on capacity building which is being developed. Some lessons learnt through the experience of the network are also mentioned.

Key words

Higher education, academic networks, knowledgeable societies, quality management

A Common History of University Linkages in Central America

The interest for integrating Central American universities goes back to the end of the 1940 decade when, after strong and heavy dictatorships in Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador, and an on going one in Nicaragua, the First Central American University Congress was carried out in San Salvador in September 1948, and some principles and general guidelines for common academic development were established. The Declaration of Principles for Central American Universities claimed for closer ties among universities, despite the physical, administrative and academic variety of institutions in Central America. Autonomy was considered a key issue for the development of universities in a region where civil society had to confront the authoritarianism of dictatorships as well as strong oligarchic interests. Humanism and the enhancement of culture were also main concerns in order to build up human potentialities and Universities were since then, recognized as key institutions for the benefit of the collectivity. A Central American University Confederation was established as a result of the 1948 Congress, aiming to conjugate resources for restructuring the Central American region through peaceful ways and to work towards the cultural, political and economic unity of the region (Sol 1996, CSUCA 1959).

The First Central American University Congress is of historic value because its integrationist vision materialized in the creation of the Central American University Superior Council (CSUCA) which has promoted, since then, the academic development of the region.

Until the 80's, Central America was, in general, an area of wars and turmoil and the universities were also victims of repression and genocide for lifting up voices against the obsolete socioeconomic structures and the foreign intervention in the region. Efforts came from those institutions in backing up the search for peace and the demands for democracy and social justice. The academic community supported the Central American President's Accord known as Esquipulas II, which was signed in 1987, where peace and negotiation were embraced aiming to end with the problem of war.

For several decades and up until now the Central American University Superior University (CSUCA) has played a key role in the Central American academic integration through a variety of programs and actions but still, at present times, the situation of Central American people demands a more active role from the academic community.

New and Old Challenges for Universities

Central America is still recognized as a region of great disparities, although in the last twenty years, the region was able to improve in three important transitions: from war to peace; from authoritarian regimes to democratic political systems, and from war economies to open economies. Today the region is more conscious of its needs and potentials, but at the same time it faces the dilemma of trying to push progress and human development in the countries, amidst difficult national constraints and new and narrow international conditions. As it is mentioned in the "State of the Region" (Proyecto Estado de la Nación 2008), Central America counts with several strong points such as an strategic location, several nodes of commercial trade, a rich biodiversity, renewable energy resources, and so far it has acquired a major political stability as well as a large experience (not fully used) of regional integration. However, there is a need for developing national and regional political agreements as well as modernizing estates and implementing coordinated public policies for regional actions to promote national interests in each country.

Central America has an estimated population of 41,3 million people (2007) but four million have migrated to other countries, inside or outside the region, searching for better opportunities which they could not find in their own countries. The *tertiary sector* (financial services, tourism and commerce) is at the moment the most important work activity, while the first sector (agriculture and live stock, and mining extraction) has lost ground and barely conforms more than 10% of the gross domestic product (GDP). This situation could be a disadvantage in times of world economic recession, where the majority of the people in Central America could face a restriction in their incomes due to the shrinkage of the tertiary sector but, at the same time, will have to face a food crisis with a limited and depleted first sector.

The Central American universities confront difficult challenges in their quest for improving progress in the region. According to the study published regarding the state of the region for human development (Proyecto Estado de la Nación 2008), the working force of Central America is relatively young (29% is younger than 25 years old) and women are increasingly participating, actually conforming 38% of the labor force. There were 42.3% new jobs generated during the period 2001 and 2006, but mainly in activities that are not of the first sector and that are intensive in productivity. Regarding education and work, it is

important to indicate that only 12% of the working force have some level of post-secondary education (24% in Panama, 6.5% in Guatemala) and workers with those levels of education receive an income that is four times (Costa Rica) and eight times (Panama and Honduras) the income perceived by workers without education.

With the exception of Costa Rica and Panama, the countries' populations in the region are mainly poor, exposed to bad nutrition and lacking education, which limits their adequate labor and social development. Although life expectancy has improved in the entire region, only in Costa Rica, Belize and Panama it is above 75 years of age (average for both genders). Public expenses in health were 114 dollars average per capita for the year 2005 in Central America, an insufficient amount for improving health and life expectancy.

Interregional gaps regarding the human development index (HDI)¹ are evident, despite the fact that between 1975 and 2005 all Central American countries showed a slow but sustained growth. It is reassuring to state that, during the last decade (1995-2005) this improvement accelerated in all countries (except Belize). In Nicaragua and El Salvador, the increment was superior to the previous two decades (1975-1995) when civil wars diminished progress in the region and Guatemala was also able to improve the HDI despite an internal severe war problem. However, there are important differences between countries. Costa Rica and Panama (in that order) are considered by the United Nations, as countries with high human development. Belize comes close but El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras and Guatemala have very similar low levels and are classified among medium level countries, occupying four of the five lowest positions in Latin America. This shows that, despite the efforts and improvement, those countries have not been able to make a difference in the Latin American context.

The following table shows data on human development in the region as well as each country's position in the world.

¹ Since 1991 the United Nations Development Program publishes the Human Development Index for all countries in the world, which is based on three basic dimensions: The fulfillment of a long and healthy life measured through birth life expectancy, the access to education which considers the alphabetization rate in adults and a combined gross rate for enrollment in primary, secondary and tertiary education and the enjoyment of a suitable level of live, measured by the gross national product per capita in dollars and adjusted by the parity of acquisition power.

Table 1. Central American Index of Human Development by Country, 2007

Country	Human development index		Life expectancy at birth		Rate of adult alphabetization		Enrollment in primary, secondary and tertiary education		Gross domestic product per capita	
	Position	Value	Position	Years	Position	% of 15 years or more	Position	%	Position	Product per capita in US dollars
Belize	80	0.778	40	75.9	95	75.1	52	81.8	81	7.109
Costa Rica	48	0.846	24	78.5	37	94.9	90	73.0	61	10.180
El Salvador	103	0.735	86	71.3	89	80.6	100	70.4	100	5.255
Guatemala	118	0.689	99	69.7	105	69.1	111	67.3	107	4.568
Honduras	115	0.700	103	69.4	90	90.0	95	71.2	118	3.430
Nicaragua	110	0.710	77	71.9	93	76.7	99	70.6	116	3.674
Panama	62	0.812	47	75.1	49	91.9	58	79.5	77	7.605

Source: UNDP, 2007 and 2008.

Proyecto Estado de la Nación (Costa Rica) 2008:183

As it can be seen, analphabetism is a problem in the region, and this situation does not seem to be improving since countries with low educational rates also invest less in health and education. In that respect, Guatemala and El Salvador do not exceed the investment of a five percent of GDP for both aspects while Costa Rica and Nicaragua, have a higher expenditure on health (5.1 and 3.9 percent of GDP respectively in 2004) and education (five per cent for Costa Rica and four per cent for Nicaragua) in 2003 (Gutiérrez 2008).

The situation of the Central American countries imposes a stronger compromise on the universities, due to the fact that a very small percentage of the population is able to obtain a university degree (only 12% of the working force in the region has some level of postsecondary education). As it has happened with the rest of Latin American countries, Central America must be a player in the global market where higher education is crucial in facing the challenge of competitiveness. The access, production and dissemination of knowledge is meant to be of main concern for universities as well as the social responsibility of reaching out, as much as possible, to the different groups of society in order to help close the widening gap caused by inequity and barriers towards the access of resources that a majority of the population faces.

Building knowledge based societies

Universities are organizations that work with knowledge and, during the last decades of the 20th century, there was an increasing concern for the creation, legitimating and distribution of knowledge as the fundamental way to development. However, during the 80's, universities confronted severe questioning about the pertinence and efficiency of their contribution to society, at a time when several other groups also engaged in the production of knowledge (industrial groups, different organizations, and non traditional knowledge based groups).

There has been lately an increasing interest in the management of knowledge, which means a recognition and value of the capacity of people to innovate, create, and be able to deal with a complex world full of uncertainties and changes. Education and the access (and management) of information have become, more than ever, important assets for people in order to succeed in an interlinked and confusing world, where there is an explosion of scientific production never experienced before.

This knowledge-based society is possible thanks to a complex system of technologies: Satellites, cell phones, internet, robots. The cyberspace has become a common place for millions of people who every day interact, learn, do business, relate to others, seek information, carry out licit and illicit activities, through virtual ways. We now talk about a symbolic economy, virtual sex, and distance education. What is virtual is real and what is real is virtual (Pérez-Lindo 2006).

The possibilities of interconnections in this globalized world enable a wide range of ways for accessing, building up and distributing knowledge in a non synchronic and frontierless world. As Friedman (2006)² points out, the world is now "flat", and acts as a great global network that enables anybody (organizations or people) to access knowledge and communication in a free and ample way.

Friedman states that the world's history has faced three levels of globalization. *Globalization 1.0* took place from 1492 to 1800 and was characterized by *states and muscles* since the dynamics of global interaction was based on the strength of horses, men and wind power. Empires and religion were imposed in a "globalized" way and people competed and seek for new opportunities through their country's actions. *Globalization 2.0* took place from 1800 to the end of the 20th century. The world started to "shrink" thanks to better ways of mobilization, first with the train and steamboats and later on through the telegraph, telephone, personal computers, satellites, optic fiber and later on through the world wide web. As communication became simpler, material goods

² Friedman's analysis of the "three globalizations" is important to consider, especially because the third level of globalization is of concern for higher education. However, it is important to mention that the author leaves out the political analysis of the global situation, the hegemonic forces coming from powerful groups which impose their interests upon national governments, the complex situation of a world where inequality is a common trend, even within developed countries. His analysis mainly focuses on the situation from the point of view of "America", meaning by that the scope of the United States.

were easy to be transported but also information and virtual goods were able to be delivered. Corporations expanded their markets and were able to increase employment beyond frontiers and people then *entered the globalized world mainly through the multinational companies* that were established. But at the dawn of the 21st. century, *Globalization 3.0* started and the world became small and flat for common people who were able to generate collaboration, learn, compete, communicate, work and be linked to the world by his or her own means. There were several forces that enabled this flattening of the world: From the moment that “Windows” and “Netscape” became possible and navigation through Internet was accessible for common people, an immense variety of linkages, networks and platforms became available through personal computers. The combination of technology enabled people to communicate, not only in a written form but also through images, music, videos, and in a synchronic and non synchronic way. Free software opened up new possibilities for learning, producing and communicating. Working, education and all kinds of human activities were since then, displaced in time and location and new forms of collaboration and networking become a common and useful way for work and interaction. During this last stage, each person is actually able to *enter globalization by his or her own individual means*, through a personal computer.

Globalization 3.0 focuses on the individual power which imposes new challenges for education and universities. People must now deal with technology and have to understand the value of the never ending task of learning, as well as the ethical issues of being responsible for a wider impact of his or her own individual actions. For developing countries, like the ones in Central America, the challenge for education is immense. Although there is free software, a new way of (technological) illiteracy is being recognized within the countries and, even more so, among countries. Besides the problems previously stated for Central America (regarding poverty, health and education), people in the region are now facing the danger of lagging more so behind due to the technological gap. Presently, very few people have access to internet, although the situation seems to be improving, judging from the following data presented by Muñoz-Varela (2008).

Table 2. Internet users in Central America (per 1000 inhabitants)

	Costa Rica	Belize	Panama	El Salvador	Honduras	Nicaragua	Guatemala
1998	0.85	1.10	0.27	0.14	0.02	0.16	0.08
2004	235	124	94	87	322	23	61

(Adapted from Muñoz-Varela, 2008.)³

As it has been stated, Central America is a region of largely unresolved human problems but, at the same time, it faces very complex demands coming from a globalized world where technology is playing a main role for the development of

³Data used by Muñoz-Varela is cited as: PNUD (2000). Informe sobre Desarrollo Humano 2000 and PNUD (2006) Informe sobre Desarrollo Humano 2006

societies. There are disparities among countries but also there is a common history of efforts developed within the region, coming mainly from CSUCA.

Universities cluster the educated elite in each country and therefore, their graduates and academic community must face the ethical duty and the responsibility of reaching out to the world for the benefit of the society as a whole. With the outspread of *globalization 3.0*, new ways for reaching out are available for academic people, making it more feasible for them to carry out the ethical duty of improving the situation in their own societies. In that respect, academic networks also started to become important vehicles for the exchanging, enrichment, enhancement and dissemination of knowledge between academic communities. The conformation of academic networks has been widespread in Central American during recent years, complementing the regional efforts carry out by CSUCA, for the improvement of education in the area.

A Convergence of Interest for Building up Academic Networks

The interconnected, dynamic and changing world demands new and flexible ways of communication. Therefore, it is not by coincidence that networks have become a common and fruitful way of getting people in touch with each other. For the academic world, networks represent a valuable way for building up knowledge and team working, exchange ideas, seek solutions to problems, strengthen personal and organizational relationships, and learn from each other. Networks are valuable spaces for interacting in a more flexible, efficient and fast way but they also constitute a new type of arrangement for the university, which is a very traditional and hierarchical organization⁴.

Academic networks and university life

Academic networks are open systems⁵ and as such, they may disrupt the stable and traditional university life. As open systems, networks have a dynamic interaction with the environment which can be considered as a threat to the static organization of the university, which tends to perpetuate its structure, criteria, “parcels of knowledge”, methods, traditions, and goals. As open systems, networks demand flexibility in order to adjust, respond and propose quickly to the changes in the environment, and this may cause some disruption in the traditional academic life supported by a rigid organization. Also, to guarantee continuity in the service, an open system needs to produce results that are needed and accepted by a related group of people. To do so they must openly exchange information, as a feedback to the activity that is being carried out. This openness can be sometimes questioned by internal groups at the university who could consider the incursion of other actors in the institutional activities as a threat to academic life.

⁴The theory on academic organizations recognizes the universities as political organizations with power derived mainly from the most important tasks carried out by them, related to knowledge. Due to the limitation of space, this concept is not being developed in this paper and the university is being mentioned only as a hierarchical organization.

⁵ The basic theoretical framework on open systems is being taken from Chiavenato (1992).

Despite these challenges, the synergic effect of networks is evident. Each participant in a network expects some gains from the association with others but also he or she gives a contribution for the benefit of others. By doing so, a multiplicative effect develops, where the combination of resources, potentialities and interactions of people produce an effect that is higher than the addition of individual contributions. As a result, a synergic effect takes place and the outcomes can be highly satisfying for the participants.

Meeting common interests

The synergic effect of networks is being recognized worldwide especially as a resource for academic growth. In the study “Towards Knowledge Societies” UNESCO⁶ (2005) emphasizes on the opportunities associated with the expansion of information and societies, putting emphasis in the importance of sharing knowledge at the international level. The report recognizes that the wealth of a nation depends on its ability to produce, exchange, and transform knowledge and, although the 21st century presents an increasing expansion of knowledge and the possibility of sharing it, there are important obstacles related to the digital divide which also produce a knowledge divide and tend to separate countries with good educational system, research facilities and development potential from countries that are affected by other conditions and are also hit by the migration of qualified professionals (brain drain). This is especially the case in Central American and, in this context, the emergency of university networks is considered as a way to enrich academic activities regarding the generation, dissemination and diversification of knowledge as well as producing the global interaction needed for the enrichment of societies and institutions of higher education.

Academic institutions are not being eclipsed by networks, points out the study published by UNESCO. However, “... the expansion and diversification of jobs, of knowledge and of the disciplines underlying them, mean that hierarchical structures must be supplemented by decentralized structures organized along network links” (UNESCO 2005:93).

For developing countries like the ones in Central America, the enhancement of academic work through networks mean a good opportunity for the development of academic institutions at a relatively low cost, since they can only profit from existing technologies and benefit from the synergic effect produced by academic linkages.

“Networking enables developing countries to establish a higher education system or to improve its quality without having to wait to secure large investments or to be in a position to make long-term commitments. It is easier for those countries to link up to network structures that are themselves linked to other institutions or existing networks within the framework of regional or international cooperation –public or private. Whenever this is economically possible, the different discipline-specific networks can provide hubs around which durable, geographically localized institutions of higher education can be built.” (UNESCO 2005:93).

⁶ UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Similar interest was deeply expressed at the Regional Conference for Higher Education for Latin America and the Caribbean carried out in Colombia in June 2008, under the coordination of the UNESCO International Institute for Higher Education for Latin America and the Caribbean - IESALC. With the participation of 3500 academic representatives from different countries of the region, the Conference offered a space for the analysis of the future of higher education, its challenges and opportunities in the region. The Declaration of the Regional Conference (IESALC/UNESCO 2008) gives an urgent call to decision makers to recognize higher education's contribution to the development of the region and to pay attention to the challenges and threats faced by the countries which, if they are not properly attended, will enhance the differences and contradictions that constrain development in Latin America and the Caribbean.

In a world where knowledge, science and technology play a key role for the development of societies, the institutions of higher education are considered as an important asset for the generation of wealth, the strengthening of cultural identities, social cohesion, actions against poverty and hunger, prevention of climate change and coping with the energy crisis as well as the promotion of a culture of peace. The Declaration of the Regional Conference of IESALC/UNESCO also recognized that the common history of regional integration –such as the one carried out in Central America - can be strengthened through networks as a way to share scientific and cultural potential in the solution of strategic problems which go beyond frontiers and which demand united efforts among universities and States. “Academic networks at the national and regional level are strategic interlocutors with governments. At the same time, they are the indicated actors for articulating local and regional identities in a significant way and collaborate actively in overcoming strong asymmetries that are present in the region and the world...” (IESALC/UNESCO 2008:7).

This trend for building up academic networks, stated by UNESCO and IESALC, is also in tune with the interest of several groups of university people who participated in training programs sponsored by the German cooperation. For several years, German Universities (mainly the University of Kassel and the University of Leipzig), with the support of agencies for academic cooperation such as DAAD and GTZ, have been carrying out programs which aimed to improve management and quality in higher education in Central America. Those programs have been the *Latin America University Staff Development Program* (UNISTAFF), the *International Program towards Quality Management and Change in Higher Education* (UniCAMBIO), and the *Training Course on Innovative Self Evaluation Methods* (CAMINA).

The trainees were chosen among people working in middle positions at universities who were able to permeate decision making and implement measures to improve quality management, evaluation, curricular planning and research management in higher education. Each one of those alumni, during the training course, had to develop a project to be carried out at his/her own university in order to attend a specific problem and, by doing so, improve the institution. There have been around 130 alumni coming from more than 35 public and private institutions of higher education mainly in Central America who are actually occupying an array of positions such as rectors, vice rectors, deans, school directors, coordinators of evaluation or research centers,

teachers in charge of different types of committees, curricular and evaluation advisers as well as academics directly involved in teaching, research and social extension at their universities. Also, some of these alumni hold important positions in organizations related to Higher Education development such as CSUCA, CCA, ACAP, and ACESAR⁷ among others.

With the interest of giving sustainability and a multiplicative effect to the knowledge acquired, an academic network was established by a group of alumni from those programs, which was aimed to impact several Latin American countries but, for geographic proximity and historical reasons, it has mainly grow and develop in Central America. The aim has been to strengthen the institutions where those alumni work, and contribute to the development of the region.

Building up the Academic Network “Latin American University Group towards Quality” (GUCAL XXI)

The actions towards the establishment of a Latin American academic network were triggered by the concern that UniCAMBIO was coming to an end. There was also the urgency to find ways for returning knowledge acquired by former trainees on the short courses previously mentioned, as well as to facilitate interaction among groups and institutions of the region. With those purposes in mind, the academic network GUCAL XXI (Latin American University Group towards Quality) was created as an academic network in November 2005, by a small group of alumni representing six Central American countries (Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama) and three South American countries (Peru, Argentina and Ecuador). During the years 2006 and 2007, national chapters were developed in Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama and, in 2008, the initiative for a new chapter in Mexico took place. Also, since 2005 there has been some interest in joining efforts with GUCAL XXI by people from Peru, Argentina and Ecuador.

GUCAL XXI was established as a network with neither lucrative purposes nor political orientation. It is integrated by the voluntary affiliation mainly of alumni who had participated in the three training programs supported by DAAD, GTZ and the German Universities of Kassel and Leipzig, as well as other people who are interested in the area of quality management and change in higher education.

The mission of GUCAL XXI is to offer a space for the exchange, collaboration and professional and personal development of its members, in order for them to implement concrete actions towards the improvement of quality in higher education, both in the public and private sectors.

⁷ CSUCA: Central American University Superior Council

CCA: Central American Accreditation Council

ACAP: Central American Postgraduate Accreditation Agency

ACESAR: Central American Accreditation Agency for Higher Education Sector of Agricultural Food and Natural Resources

The network aims to promote continuous improvement in Higher Education through the development of activities related to quality management and university change, with the participation of members of the network and the institutions of higher education that decide to be involved with the network.

GUICAL XXI has a set of specific objectives related to:

- Conform and strengthen national chapters
- Develop projects towards the improvement of quality in higher education through the articulation of national chapters and the participation of its members
- Promote interuniversity articulation through the members of GUICAL XXI at the national, Central American and Latin American levels in order to enhance the effects and impact of the actions taken by the network
- Sustain different initiatives of GUICAL's members aiming to strengthen the human talent available in the region
- Support quality management and change, both in private and public institutions and related organizations of higher education in Latin America
- Influence public policies in relation to quality in higher education
- Seek and manage resources coming from internal and external cooperation agents in order to carry out the means, principles and objectives of GUICAL XXI.

GUICAL XXI regional organization and national networks articulation

Flexibility and a coordinated independence among the network's national chapters have been important aspects in the organization of GUICAL XXI. At the beginning, the network was created through a Constituency Act and a defined set of by-laws. It also had a directive body conformed by persons from different countries who were meant to orient and take decisions at the regional level. However, with the creation of network chapters in each country, those groups became the most important nucleus for developing activities at the national level and for coordinating efforts at the regional level and therefore, a new "structure" was developed.

Each national chapter has its own set of guidelines, which are of course in tune with the goals and general guidelines of the regional network. At the same time each chapter is organized the way they prefer (people may work through committees with different but "harmonic" purposes, or they may have a more traditional coordinating board), but there is always a person responsible for coordinating efforts in each country. The coordination at the regional level is done by a general coordinator, a secretary and a treasurer from a same country, who occupy those positions for a two year period, after which the coordination moves to a different country. Also, the by-laws have yield to more general guidelines that orient the members in the activities to be carried out in a more flexible way.

Each national chapter can coordinate activities with other chapters, in a one to one basis but there are also activities for the region which are to be coordinated by the regional coordinating body.

The potentialities of the network, as an important agent for change in the region, have been recognized by CSUCA. Through the initiative of CSUCA's authorities, during the Regional Meeting carried out in Leon, Nicaragua on the 26th of April 2007, all the rectors from member universities (more than 40 Central American institutions of higher education) agreed to *recognize and support the creation and development of the network GUCAL XXI and the activities that it may organize for the benefit and support of the processes of evaluation, management and accreditation of quality that are of interest to the CSUCA university members*. The relationship between the network and CSUCA has been of mutual support.

After the establishment of GUCAL XXI some actions were carried out by a few national GUCAL networks. However, there was the need to establish an integrated effort that would bond the networks in the region, give a common meaning and purpose to the members of the different groups and continue with the effort of building up unity and quality in Central America. With the help and valuable support from the people of the Institute for Socio-Cultural Studies at Kassel University, a project was structured and presented for funding to the DAAD under the support given by the German cooperation gives to strengthen alumni networks. The results have been amazing.

Central American Networks in Action

There is a concern expressed lately in Central American forums regarding the situation of the region. During the discussion previous to establishing the CSUCA's third Regional Integration Plan for Central American Higher Education for 2004-2014, it was confirmed that development indicators were not improving in the region and that the structural situation of Central American societies continued to be characterized by wide problems of poverty, inequality, exclusion, discrimination, demographic growth as well as transversal problems related to environment depletion, poor governmental ability and weak democratic institutionalization. Universities, because of their own geostrategic potentials as well as their wealth of human talent and natural and cultural diversity were considered as important agents for the creation and implementation of actions for the integral development of Central American societies. The last Regional Integration Plan also recognized the challenges imposed by the accelerated expansion of scientific and technological knowledge as well as demands for university graduates and the need for a wide diversification of higher education opportunities and a closer link between universities, different groups of society and the state. (Muñoz-Varela, 2008)

Part of the compromise assumed by alumni of DAAD training programs was to help improve conditions in the region through actions taken at the university level. With that purpose and the support of people from Kassel University's Institute of Socio-Cultural Studies, the seed for a proposal to energize the alumni networks in Central America was planted in March 2006. From there on, a core group of GUCAL-XXI –with the help of people from ISOS - worked on the guidelines for a project to be presented to DAAD for funding. The project for “*Capacity Building of DAAD Alumni Academic Networks in Central American Universities*” was finally approved by the German cooperation in April 2007 for a three year period (2007-2009). The results of the first year are presented in the next section.

The main objective of the project is: "To strengthen the regional GUCAL XXI Network as well as the National GUCAL networks in six Central American countries, with the purpose of tangibly contributing to enhance quality management and university relevance". While planning the project, three important inputs were taken from the previous training programs (UNISTAFF, CAMINA and UniCAMBIO): A horizontal relationship among colleagues, the enriching experience of improving institutional quality starting at the individual and group level through the design and execution of projects, and the coaching methodology lived especially through UniCAMBIO.

The Project for the Development of Network Capacity Building (DECARA for its words in Spanish) is coordinated by a core group of five people which were the proponents of the initiative, but decisions are taken in consultation and with the agreement of the general (regional) coordinator and the six managers of each national chapter.

In seeking to enhance quality management and change, DECARA strengthens three lines of work:

- Academic improvement on the basis of projects that are designed and implemented at different universities by people who are actually working as advisers or middle range decision makers in those institutions.
- Building up alumni and other participant's capacities through the process of designing and implementing projects at different universities, with the support of GUCAL's members who use the coaching methodology in accompanying the people on their projects.
- Disseminating lessons learnt by exchanging experiences and strengthening individual and institutional growth between Central American GUCAL members and projects participants.

These lines of work are developed through national training workshops (one in each country for a total of 6 per year) and follow up by actions using the coaching methodology. The starting point was a Regional Meeting held in July 2007 in Costa Rica.

Accomplishments of the project on Capacity Building Project, after one year of activities

The First Regional Meeting was carried out for three days and summoned a total of 35 participants from Central America, Peru and Germany and special guests coming from CSUCA, DAAD as well as Costa Rican universities authorities.

The meeting accomplished the following purposes:

- An initial training of GUCAL people from all Central American countries in the coaching methodology, in order to enable them to accompany future projects in their own countries. The activities carried out strengthened coaching, discursive practices in coaching, leadership and team working.
- Agreements on actions to be taken for the development of DECARA and for the strengthening of GUCAL national chapters in each country
- Decisions on the future of GUCAL XXI as a Latin American academic network.

To disseminate knowledge, there were also four conferences opened to the public and given by three experts from Germany and one from Costa Rica, in the topics of linkages between higher education and society, networking, and lessons learnt from training programs.

After this First Regional Meeting, the GUCAL people went back to their own country and continued working towards the development of DECARA as well as in the organization of a workshop. One important action taken by national chapters was the visit to authorities (Deans, Rectors or Vice Rectors of Academic Affairs) in a wide variety of the country's institutions of higher education, in order to explain the purpose of the network as well as the importance of DECARA for universities. Authorities were invited to identify one or more projects that would enhance quality at their institution and to select the people who would carry out those projects. GUCAL's members offered to accompany people in the development of those institutional projects, starting with the planning of them. There was also some cooperation requested from universities in terms of time allocation for people doing projects and providing the needed resources for the planning and implementation of the project. The response of the university authorities was, in general, very good.

There was one exception to this scheme in the case of Nicaragua, where the GUCAL people decided to carry out themselves projects at an institution of higher education, using the coaching methodology. By doing so, the National Chapter aimed to motivate the GUCAL members and to generate changes in their places of work, but fewer new people integrated to the network.

Once projects were selected, each national chapter organized their own workshop with the main purpose of planning the projects and developing mutual trust between the participants and the people from GUCAL's national chapter. All workshops also had two GUCAL people from other Central American countries that gave conferences open to public and also shared the experiences lived at their own chapter.

Funds from DECARA were assigned to each chapter in order to cover the expenses of the workshop but there was also a very good support from national universities in terms of time allocation for people, materials, services and especially building facilities since almost all of the workshops were carried out at institutions of higher education.

The impact of the project DECARA in Central America, after a year of activities, can be summarized as follows:

- There were 66 projects which were started in order to attend specific needs at 33 different Central American Universities, in areas of quality management and change.
- 104 new people became involved in carrying out those projects in their own institutions of higher education
- 25 GUCAL people assumed the compromise of accompanying the projects using the coaching methodology.
- A core group of 10 people gave support to DECARA in Central American countries (Vargas, 2008)

Further information on results can be found in the memoirs of the workshops and of the First Regional Meeting, placed at the website www.redgucal.org. It is

important to indicate that there is a tangible attention to local needs through the projects that are being carried out, which are focused on areas such as: University training and human development, attention to local demands and specific community needs, career evaluation, accreditation and improvement of quality for careers, programs and institutions, research development, improvement in the use of technologies, tracing studies, employability, and student's admission among others.

DECARA has successfully continued during the year 2008 and another six national workshops are being carried out in Central America during the second part of the year. A Second Regional Meeting is programmed for November 2008 to be carried out in Copan, Honduras in order to evaluate the results obtained so far through DECARA and the twelve previous workshops, discuss the organization and new activities of the network and give new training on coaching to the GUCAL people who are actually accompanying the projects.

The interaction of GUCAL's national chapters

DECARA is serving as a platform for attending local needs and strengthening universities in the region but it is also enhancing the national networks' own dynamics and the interrelation between the national GUCAL chapters.

Networks are systems that link together people and organizations and, by doing so, they contribute to the coordination and joint action of the members and their institutions. However, the relationships among the members of networks are not hierarchical, as in regular institutions. There is a high degree of creativity within the network due to its own flexibility and less structured way of organizing. This has been the case through the development of DECARA since all national chapters have used different strategies for contacting institutions, establishing agreements from different foreign universities in support of DECARA's objectives, organizing national workshops, getting different types of support from other GUCAL national chapters, and sharing experiences for enhancing the projects being carried out through DECARA.

As of now, after over a year of activities, GUCAL national chapters are consolidating and diversifying their actions but there is a sense of growing together among members and also the hope of being able to attend at least some of the urgent needs in the region and, most especially, to improve quality and change at different universities.

There is a culture of *giving and receiving* being established in GUCAL in an atmosphere of empathy and respect, where participants profit from the enriching experience of sharing different kinds of knowledge with others.

As a conclusion, it is important to mention some actions taken by GUCAL that are improving its growth and potentiality.

Towards healthy networks

In the experience of starting GUCAL XXI and working within it, there have been constraints coming from some people at universities. A network is an open system, a flexible and loose organization which does not go in tune with the rigid structures of the university, as it was previously mentioned. For that reason, *informing and involving decision makers* has been of main concern for the network. In the case of GUCAL, the main support came through CSUCA

and also from several university authorities. In the case of Panama there was an important back up form the Ministry of Education, in Guatemala through agreements between Vice Rectors of Academic Affairs, and in Costa Rica an important support was given by the Rectors Council.

Communication has been also crucial for the growth and enrichment of GUCAL. Being an open system, it has been necessary to use all possible mechanisms to spread discussions and take decisions on how to reach common goals but also on how to share expectations, possibilities, problems and solutions. In the case of the GUCAL, telephone conversations and on place meetings are not often feasible since people are located in different countries, but other alternative have been used for communicating being the most common one the use of *electronic mails*, communicators like Skype or Messenger, and also *virtual sessions* using universities resources.

In a more formal way, an *electronic bulletin* is being produced and sent to people at various institutions and organizations with the purpose of informing the members and stakeholders about the activities carried out by the national networks as well as future events and other relevant information.

An important tool is the website, a window for the world to see what GUCAL does in the region. The site www.redgucal.org displays memoirs, bulletins, documents and news about the different events carried out by GUCAL.

Other than that, there are human aspects essential for a healthy growth of a network which has to do with *caring for internal and external relationship*. As stated by Egger “The relationships among members are the arteries constituting the network, and they should be cared for attentively”. (Egger 2006: 81). There is a sense of belonging in GUCAL’s members which is probably due to a common culture that was promoted by taking part in similar training activities and sharing mutual interests. Members know each other and nurture the relationships by seeking opportunities for working together, keeping in touch and taking opportunities to invite each other in different events, as much as possible. A sense of friendship and belonging is being built.

In nurturing relations there is also the need to consider external stakeholders. University authorities, government officials, civil society groups, and regional organizations among others, need to know what the network does and participate as much as possible in the activities, which is a major concern for the network.

Monitoring and mutual support is a central issue. Accountability, screening and reporting the results that have been achieved in the network are part of the transparency that it must have. In that respect, GUCAL strengthened the need to document the activities carried out throughout DECARA or other actions and, for that reason, a memory of each Regional Meeting and national workshop has been prepared and placed in the website. Special concern is given to financial reports for each activity, which have specific guidelines for its preparation.

Looking to the future

GUCAL XXI, as an academic regional network and through its national chapters, is strongly taking off. There are links being developed not only with organizations related to higher education (ministries of education, rectors councils) but also with CSUCA, in a joint effort to improve the situation of the

region. This has been the case with the support given by GUCAL members to accompany projects which are developed through the Business-University Program for Sustainable Development carried out in Central America by CSUCA, since there is a sense of awareness among GUCAL members, about the challenges that our developing countries face.

The idea of focusing on actions that can be done to improve specific conditions at universities is replacing the old way of lamenting for the lack of resources and paralyzing actions until things improve. Now, it is the other way around. There is awareness of the problems faced by the Central American region, such as the underdevelopment of research infrastructure, the “brain drain” of our people towards wealthy countries, the digital divide, the constraints for the production and development of new knowledge, the deprivation of discovery and innovation, the reduction of state funding, the urgency to fulfill the expectations and needs of a growing population. But also, at the same time, there is a growing certainty that change starts at the personal level, which means that individual persons can make a difference by taking specific actions within their range of possibilities, in solving specific problems. In that respect, through GUCAL, people are proposing solutions, implementing changes and improving particular situations, aware of the challenge faced by universities in coping with the complexity and demands of the world. Perhaps all those are aspects that help explain why the GUCAL people are willing to invest valuable time in doing voluntary work for preparing and carrying out activities of mutual support, like the projects being done at different universities but also, at the same time, they keep on thinking about the future and trying to find new threads to keep on knitting the network with.

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Dare you speak your truth?

On the relevance of personal attitude for Organizational Learning in Intercultural Contexts

Reinald Döbel

Introduction – Scientific knowledge and personal learning

In the early 1980s, in the library of some government office in Malaysia, I came across an evaluation study for the World Bank which started with a quote from a senior official: “We do not want any regurgitated pap.” I was electrified by the bravery of the author who – in my view – delivered on this request by expressing in this report his own “unregurgitated” truth. The author was Robert Chambers who became a leading figure in the movement towards participatory approaches in development.

I felt equally electrified when, at a workshop for agricultural scientists and government officers in Zambia in 1992, one of the participants came back from a workshop on participatory methodologies in Nepal with this story: “At the end of the workshop, we were all given a booklet. All its pages were blank save one. On it was written only one sentence: Always use your own best judgment.”

As scientists, we are accustomed to put a lot of our own best judgment into a careful methodological screening of our observations and interpretations: Without the backing of solid evidence we rarely express what we believe to be the truth – unless we belong to those who believe that “truth” is no more than a *construction* of our own minds, of the methods we use, and of the web of interactions we are involved in¹. But whether we use objectivist, constructivist or deconstructivist methods, most of us most of the time believe in the superiority of *scientific* descriptions and conclusions over the descriptions and conclusions members of the non-scientific public produce in everyday life. It appears to me that the claim to the superiority of the scientific path to knowledge over other ways of acquiring knowledge rests on taking away trust in the veracity of the scientist’s “simple” perception, and on placing this trust instead in the scientist’s “methodically validated” perception, or in the methods themselves.

It is certainly true that a systematic, methodically thought out check on observations and interpretations makes them more reliable and therefore increases the intersubjective validity of descriptive and explanatory statements about some aspect of reality – the “propositional knowledge” produced by science. We live in a world where the media constantly remind us of the superiority of scientifically validated judgment - down to the most intimate details of our own character, and of our choices of food, work, leisure, and partner: Magazines like “Psychology Today” invite us to take tests and base our decisions on the results, rather than on our “own best judgment.” Taking such a test, we are supposed to be truthful about ourselves – and expected to accept

¹ For a well known exposition of the constructivist view see Watzlawick (1981)

the expert verdict in the interpretation about our personal information. To the extent we take this seriously, we devalue our personal knowledge about ourselves and replace it with what is presented to us a scientific knowledge.

At the same time, we also live in a world which has become too complex and too fast-paced to be able to always act on validated knowledge. Action itself adds to the complexity and speed of the situation. There is both more available knowledge than we can handle and there is a discrepancy between the knowledge we need *now* and what is available *now*.

Is there a way to reconcile this seemingly unbridgeable gap between the intuitively appealing invitation to act on the basis of our “own best judgment” and the scientific doubt in its accuracy? I think there is: *Expose* your own “best judgment” to the best judgment of others so that “my truth” and “your truth” may correct each other. We may never attain the absolute certainty Descartes was after, but if we do not stop at the first best agreement between us, if we continue to expose “our truth” to yet other truths in a spirit of inquiry, we have a good chance for getting as close as is humanly possible. In my experience, this attitude works in practical life as well as in science – at least in the social sciences where qualitative research has long been accepted as a complement to inquiries conducted with statistic rigor. *Their* results – and other published “truths” – can also be compared with “our truth,” and we get a “triangulation” in the sense it is used in participatory approaches: To look at the same thing from different perspectives. I think that a triangulation which involves mutual openness for each other’s personal truths comes close to Habermas’ “ideal speaking situation” as far as equality between participants concerned, but differs from it because the truths are simply allowed to “emerge” in a spirit of open dialogue (Bohm 1996; Isaacs 1999), i.e. without entering a contest about which one is superior. I also think that this triangulation is an appropriate answer to Devereux’s (Devereux 1967) call to take both the theories of indigenous people as well as the psychological reactions of the anthropologist observer (his “countertransference”) more seriously, and to Bourdieu’s *Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). It is also a method which is easily understood across cultures, even though members of some cultures may be less willing to openly express their “personal truths” in interaction: The attitudes of sincerity and openness are universally understood, even if they are not equally valued everywhere. In my experience the juxtaposition of “consensus truths” emerging from this triangulation with published theory sometimes allows to discover overlaps sufficiently wide to consider a specific area of knowledge “settled” – for the time being. The area I want to cover here in a rather summary manner is the relationship between personal and organizational learning, particularly in intercultural contexts.

Organizational contexts and personal learning: how hierarchy blocks personal truths and creativity

It is characteristic for all organizations that they have a purpose – that the actions of its members are co-ordinated to achieve some specified goal, to serve some specified purpose. Organizations exist to *Get Things Done* (Fairtlough 2005). Following Max Weber, it was widely accepted that bureaucratic organizations are more efficient in this endeavor, because they are governed by rationality: non-human resources are apportioned to human

members strictly according to their qualification to use them most efficiently for the specific tasks they are assigned to, and these specific tasks have been designed to complement each other in achieving the overall goal. Individual human learning ends when people reach the maximum capacity of their specific role, beyond which they cannot go because they are limited by the resources apportioned to them as well as by the capacity of related roles to absorb what they produce. Bureaucracy becomes, in Weber's own words, an "iron cage."

The ribs of that cage consist of the knowledge of how things work: How certain materials and actions produce certain effects because of known cause-effect relationships, and how different processes and actions work more effectively when co-ordinated. Human beings are only relevant insofar as they are needed to design the system in its rational subservience to the overall goal, and insofar as they are needed to carry out the co-ordinated tasks leading to that goal.

Assuming that goal itself is rational – or at least widely accepted – and the knowledge behind the design of the system is real, there is little place either for learning or for using one's "own best judgment," except, perhaps, at the very top of the hierarchy of decisions. Because that is the only place where, according to some writers (Fairtlough 2005: 18), *any* learning takes place: "Everyone else obeys orders." The necessity of hierarchy for rational organization, however, is a widely shared belief which probably most management writers defend. It is only through a system of subordination and superordination that an organization can ensure that the decisions of one member "reach" other members, and that conflicts between members at the same level of hierarchy can be resolved: by referring the decision to a higher level (Baecker 1999: 10). As this writer insists, "it is not persons who need to be coordinated, but decisions" (Baecker 1999: 10). For these reasons he concludes: "Whoever says 'organization' must also want hierarchy" (Baecker 1999: 15). Even a writer whose experiences as a manager in a major corporation led him to advocate the usefulness of alternative ways of organizing - "heterarchy" and "responsible autonomy" - applauds the attractions of hierarchy: "Familiarity, naturalness, prevention of chaos, discipline, leadership, use of scarce talent, personal motivation, personal identity, and clarity; this is a formidable list of advantages for hierarchy." (Fairtlough 2005: 42).

These words suggest that the "cage" of hierarchy may even provide comfort to its inhabitants. At the same time, a cage is a rather inflexible structure. This makes it difficult to adapt to a changing environment and may endanger the very survival of the organization: When the goals and the ways of working do not fit into this environment any more and when the organization is incapable of finding new goals and learning new ways of reaching them. This danger has found increasing recognition in recent decades, in the field of management as well as in the field of development. Tom Peters' *Liberation Management* talked about the "Necessary Disorganization for the Nanosecond Nineties" in its subtitle (Peters 1992) and devoted a full chapter to the topic "Beyond Hierarchies." Peter Senge started a full-scale management fashion about the "Learning Organization" with his *Fifth Discipline* (Senge 1990, Senge 1999, Senge et al. 1994). In the field of development, the 1990s saw a rapid expansion of participatory approaches all over the world, with Robert Chambers and the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) as something of an epicenter. All these approaches sought to create both a space for personal learning at all

levels of the organization and a way to make this learning productive for the goal of the organization, or – in the case of development – the goal of the community. All approaches agree that hierarchy's insistence on the knowledge the organization has already gained inhibits both the personal and the organizational learning: When organizational incentive systems reward people for behavior along the lines of the "tried and tested" they are discouraged from searching for alternatives. They may even keep silent about obvious ones. As a young Malaysian agricultural official once told me: "If I see my boss make a mistake, I will not tell him. And my friends at the same level will not tell him either: It is his responsibility."

One might argue with Hofstede (1991) that this episode should rather be seen in the light of a cultural difference: Of the greater "power distance" exhibited by Asian cultures: Whatever someone with more authority decides is unquestioningly accepted. One might also suspect that the Malaysian's attitude was a reaction to the organizational culture he worked in, or, even more specifically, a reaction to the attitude of his superior. Any of the four features required for the coordination of means and ends – the essence of organization according to Fairtlough (2005: 20) - can be seen as causal influences on the young Malaysian official's attitude: "system", "culture", "leadership" and "power."

In practice, these four features cannot be neatly distinguished. As Robert Chambers, reviewing the learning experiences of an international workshop on participatory approaches, puts it:

„Two strong working conclusions stand out as basic and likely to last. They are that:

- sustained participation in development demands transformations in three domains: methods and procedures; institutional cultures; and personal behaviour and attitudes. All three are needed. Each reinforces the others. Each represents points of entry for change.
- Of these, personal behaviour and attitudes are crucial. Participation is about how people interact. Dominating behaviour inhibits participation. Democratic behaviour to enable and empower encourages it. For those with power and authority to adopt non-dominating, empowering behaviour almost always entails personal change." (Chambers 1998: xv)

For this reason, Chambers called for a "reversal" between the "uppers" and the "lowers," with the "uppers" deliberately seeking to "empower" the "lowers." Similarly, Fairtlough (2005: 26) emphasizes that the four factors "strongly influence each other." In order to be effective, "an organization should have systems that are enabling, rather than coercive, culture that is trustful not toxic; leadership that serves the whole organization rather than just the interests of the leaders; and power that is accountable rather than domineering or manipulative." (Fairtlough 2005: 27)

While I agree to these suggestions, I find it important to emphasize one insight about hierarchy which only the systemic perspective developed by sociology could provide: Having in place a *system* of *habitual* subordination and superordination works as an amplifier for whatever conscious or unconscious tendencies the "uppers" possess. Because the intentions of "lowers" are twisted in the direction of *wanting* to support whatever the "uppers" want. This makes it easier for the "lowers" to follow their own goals: It is easier to obtain a favor by

reinforcing what the “upper” wants to hear, than by contradicting him or her. It is easier for the young Malaysian not to tell his boss about the mistake, thus avoiding the danger of incurring his anger – unless this particular boss had demonstrated earlier that he would reward such honesty.

The contribution of the “lowers” to how hierarchies operate was also impressed on me by a Ugandan local church leader who, in a reflective moment, remarked: “Maybe we ourselves contribute to the corruption of our government officials we complain about: we have accepted it as normal that we bring a gift to any official - in return for having a request granted. He does something good for us, so we return something to him. We do not think that it is actually simply his job to issue licenses, for example. We think we have to give him something extra for his effort.”

This attitude obviously affects those who are in the position of the “uppers”, as is indicated by an equally reflective statement by Daniel Goeudevert who rose almost to the top of the hierarchy of one of the most well-known German automobile manufacturers: “The higher you rise in the hierarchy, the stronger the tendency that the windows will turn into mirrors. Less and less is it possible to see what’s outside, more and more you just see yourself, and from the outside one cannot look inside either. And sometimes the mirrors are placed there by others.”²

Despite the obvious difference in culture and situation, both these statements look at the *interface* between “uppers” and “lowers.” And across cultural differences *and* the difference in perspective between “uppers” and “lowers,” they both agree that the “twist” introduced by hierarchy affects not only the “lowers” but also the “uppers.” It affects the “uppers” precisely in the direction of the flaw of hierarchy mentioned earlier: The deviation of the “lowers” from their “truth” - according to their “own best judgment” - distorts the perception of reality by the “uppers” and will therefore lead to less than appropriate decisions with respect to that reality. This mechanism therefore inhibits the organizational learning of hierarchies precisely at the point where it counts most: At the top, where the rational deployment of means for the achievement of ends is decided on.

Five hundred years ago, Machiavelli warned of the dangers of this mechanism in chapter 23 of *The Prince*³: “How flatterers should be avoided.” Stating that “courts are full” of flatterers, he described it as difficult for princes to guard against this “pest”: “Because there is no other way of guarding oneself from flatterers except letting men understand that to tell you the truth does not offend you; but when every one may tell you the truth, respect for you abates” (Marriott 2004). It is remarkable how Machiavelli touches the vulnerable point of hierarchy even while supporting the hierarchical position of the prince: The prince needs access to the truth in order to protect himself – and his policy – from the distortions of the flatterers. But allowing everyone access to him and listening to everybody’s truth will destroy the “respect” for him – his very position.

² Despite some effort I failed to locate the original source for this quote

³ First published in 1532

Machiavelli therefore advises the prince to “choose the wise men in his state” to be his councillors. These alone should be at liberty to tell him the truth: “With these councillors, separately and collectively, he ought to carry himself in such a way that each of them should know that, the more freely he shall speak, the more he shall be preferred; outside of these, he should listen to no one, pursue the thing resolved on, and be steadfast in his resolutions. He who does otherwise is either overthrown by flatterers, or is so often changed by varying opinions that he falls into contempt.” To avoid falling “into contempt” he ought to restrict even these councillors’ telling him the truth: They should talk only of “those things of which he inquires, and of none others; but he ought to question them upon everything, and listen to their opinions, and afterwards form his own conclusions.” (Marriott 2004)

Long before Machiavelli, ancient Chinese writers warned of advisors who were skilled in winning the sovereign’s trust – only to use this trust to manipulate him into acting according to their designs (Jullien 1999: 49). While these writers also stressed the need for proper information at the apex of the despotic hierarchy – through a system of everyone informing on everyone else – they were also confident that the system *itself* was efficacious enough to work without the deliberate intervention of the sovereign. Fear of punishment and self-interest – hope for reward – were considered fully sufficient to secure the sovereign’s full authority by the mere fact that he occupied the position at the apex of the hierarchy: “Because the slightest insubordination will be reported immediately, [the sovereign] does not even have to use force in order to oppress. The art of government ultimately consists solely in allowing the others to contribute to one’s position without occupying oneself with that. Rather, one creates the conditions for the others to do it for oneself” (Jullien 1999: 14, translation R.D.). As Jullien notes, this system worked well to maintain the emperor’s power – for a limited time: It was inadequate to deal with the external threat of Mongol invaders, who ended the Ming Dynasty, took over the throne, and reduced the corruption which had come to prevail (Jullien, *passim*).

One may say that maintaining the power of the top is simply not a worthwhile goal for any organization: it needs to have some purpose in relation to its environment. Modern empirical sociological studies of organizations have shown that Weber’s description of organizations as rationally serving *one* purpose is inadequate to capture the reality of most organizations: They generally serve a number of purposes at once, not least among them the purpose of ensuring their survival as an organization (Joas 1992: 221 f.). “Rationality” then becomes a matter of being able to effectively achieve a multiplicity of goals at the same time – and this may demand criss-crossing lines of authority and delegation, and a distributed and changing network of knowledge for the co-ordination of means and ends: This presents the rational or “business case” for moving away from strictly hierarchical organizations – a move which has indeed taken place particularly in the USA where the last decades of the 20th Century saw numerous experiments in organizational redesign, introduced and led by management “heretics” (Kleiner 1996).

An important element in most of these approaches was the discovery that the achievement of organizational goals depends not least on the “commitment” of the organization’s members to the achievement of these goals. Like truth, this can ultimately not be enforced but rests on a perceived congruity between

personal goals and organizational goals. To some extent, commitment springs from the freedom to make one's own decisions and to exercise this mysteriously undefinable "own best judgment": only then will people apply the full potential of their abilities "to the job" – precisely because it has become more than a "job": It has become a matter of passionate engagement. In addition to this individual increase in personal motivation, new approaches to organize communication between different people working on the same task led to an experience of open exchange and coordination which left many participants with a feeling of enthusiasm they had not believed possible in a work context: In their experience, "work" meant to be reduced to a cog within a larger mechanism.

A cog has no "agency" – and because human beings do not like to be deprived of their natural agency, they had indeed to be pushed by coercion or pulled by "incentives" to function as cogs. As researcher Chris McGregor found, most managers indeed acted on the assumption that people need to be controlled and supervised, because they basically hate work, are motivated by fear and desire, and are not very bright and easily gullible. Most managers believed that "human nature is basically corrupt," and therefore "a managers' task is to force them to work as if they were recalcitrant machines" (Kleiner 1996: 46). McGregor not only believed that this "Theory X" was false, but also found that the most successful managers believed in a different "Theory Y" which holds that "work, in its noblest sense, is built into human nature. People can't be goaded, cajoled, threatened, or even bribed with money into giving their hearts and souls to an enterprise. But if placed in a situation that honestly calls for a commitment, people will rise to the occasion." (Kleiner 1996: *ibid.*).

Successful managers, then, would create situations which presented people with an opportunity to "rise to the occasion" – situations which challenged people to learn, to act based on their own responsible decisions, and to cooperate in ways meaningful according to their own judgment. The "genius" of management would consist in finding ways to create situations which not only fulfilled these conditions, but also contributed to the organization's goal – which remained to make a profit in whatever area of business it was engaged in. Going further, they would attempt to create what Fairtlough, much later, calls an "enabling system" and an "enabling culture" rather than the more typical "coercive system" and attending "coercive culture." In a coercive system, "Big Brother is watching you, hoping to catch you out," while in an enabling system rules and communication procedures provide information in order to prevent careless mistakes." (Fairtlough 2005: 21) In a coercive system, the information flow is set to measure divergence from standards set by the "uppers" – and will not change unless the "uppers" decide so -, while in an enabling system the information flow is determined by what both "uppers" and "lowers" need to know in order to use and possibly expand their capacities. In an enabling system the rules for communicating information themselves reflect a learning process: They are flexible enough to incorporate individual learning.

A coercive *culture*, according to Fairtlough, is characterized by "an ambiance of fear, favouritism, malicious gossip, and dishonesty," while an *enabling* culture allows for "frankness, mutual respect between all, shared commitment to goals, loyalty and fun" (Fairtlough 2005: 22).

Openness, learning, fun, enthusiasm, and creativity usually go together. And they may combine with commitment. I see this as the common denominator of

the experiences of the movement of organizational change after World War II in the US⁴ and of the movement for participatory approaches in development. These elements occur together in the writings reviewed for this essay *and* in the experiences of practitioners of participatory approaches in Zambia I had an opportunity to observe. This *experience* seems to be close to or sometimes identical to what was named “Flow” by psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1990, Csikszentmihalyi & Csikszentmihalyi 1988): A focused absorption into a meaningful activity which leaves behind a feeling of personal satisfaction. Csikszentmihalyi also wrote about the close relationship between “flow” and “creativity” (Csikszentmihalyi 1996). Though neither creativity nor these positive feelings form part of the descriptions of the learning models Chris Argyris proposed to provide an intellectual framework for understanding the experiences participants made in his workshops dedicated to introducing the practice of reflective learning⁵, one may take the description of Peter Senge’s own experience as an indication that the workshops provided the right conditions for such experiences:

Despite having read much of his writing, I was unprepared for what I learned when I first saw Chris Argyris practice his approach in an informal workshop... Ostensibly an academic presentation of Argyris’s methods, it quickly evolved into a powerful demonstration of what action science practitioners call ‘reflection in action’.... Within a matter of minutes, I watched the level of alertness and ‘presentness’ of the entire group rise ten notches – thanks not so much to Argyris’s personal charisma, but to his skilful practice of drawing out... generalizations. As the afternoon moved on, all of us were led to see (sometimes for the first time in our lives) subtle patterns of reasoning which underlay our behaviour; and how those patterns continually got us into trouble. I had never had such a dramatic demonstration of own mental models in action... But even more interesting, it became clear that, with proper training, I could become much more aware of my mental models and how they operated. This was exciting. (Senge 1990: 182 f.)

Similar experiences and outcomes are reported by practitioners of later approaches, such as “Appreciative Inquiry” (Cooperrider et al. 2000) and “Open Space” (Owen 1997a, 1997b). In fact, my participation in a workshop using “Open Space *Technology*” laid to rest the suspicion I had harbored on account of the word *Technology*: I experienced how adherence to a few simple rules – the “technology” aspect - could indeed create a space in which meaning, fun, participation, and engagement went together in the review and planning of the *Forest, Trees and People* programme of the FAO.

⁴ Art Kleiner (1996: 34 ff.) provides some fascinating details about the beginnings of this movement, which originated in the activities of social psychologist Kurt Lewin who, being Jewish, migrated to the US from Berlin in 1933. There, he was involved in the founding of the Research Center for Group Dynamics at MIT and the founding of the National Training Laboratories. These and the “T-groups” seem to be on the roots of the “humanistic” organizational change movement (Smith 2001b)

⁵ For a quick introduction to Argyris’ work and difference between “model I” and “model II” see the encyclopedia provided by *infed*, the *informal education homepage* (Smith 2001a)

Without reference to AI and Open Space, Molzberger (2002), in a personal review of his own experiences with teams and networking in SMEs in Germany, summarized his observations thus:

As a software consultant I had been assigned to projects with excellent assets in terms of finances and the professional qualifications of its participants. And yet, the result had been a total catastrophe. In one government project I had been involved over a several years in making a mess of about a billion Deutsche Mark.

And then there were those other projects where everything went marvellously well. I had witnessed software teams rising above themselves and delivering a result the value of which was approximately thirty times the value you would normally use in your calculations. Especially the quality of the concepts and products developed reached a new dimension. Participants in these projects did not feel rushed or exploited. On the contrary: This performance was achieved in a relaxed and joyful manner. It almost appeared easy. The participants were enthusiastic about the common goal and felt well and satisfied (Molzberger 2002, transl. R.D.).

According to Molzberger, the one factor which decides whether a project ends in frustrating failure or spirals up into this productive enthusiasms he terms “synergy,” is the “maturity” of participants. More specifically, Molzberger attributes the achievement of synergy to the presence of “integrity”: personal integrity facilitates trust and trust facilitates the kind of open and flexible networking necessary to achieve the “high synergy” which leads to such exceptional successes as the one described above (Molzberger 2002).

Based on such experiences, Molzberger’s own enthusiasm led him to start a company specializing in trustbuilding for companies and thus became part of that movement of change in the business world – a movement which developed a wealth of tools for organizational change to counter the stifling effects of management decisions governed by “Theory X” which were amplified by faithful reliance on hierarchies for the implementation of these decisions. As exemplified by Molzberger, who collaborated with the Bavarian government in a program to increase the competitiveness of the regional economy, the majority of researchers and business consultants never questioned the purpose of business as such and the concentration of power in the hands of senior management. Heretics they may have been, they still served the same god. The social scientists supporting this “humanistic” movement of change in management were therefore considered to have remained *Servants Of Power* by at least one of their own kind (Baritz 1960).

The experiences in experiments in alternative ways of organizing capitalist production may parallel those of participants in participatory development approaches – the reversal of roles between “uppers” and lowers” advocated by Robert Chambers, and practiced in various forms of participatory action research (Selener 1997), did not occur. I take it as an indication of the strength of hierarchies that Sun Tzu’s treatise *The Art of War* enjoys considerable

popularity in the business community⁶: There is no more strictly hierarchical position than that of a general at the head of an army.

Hierarchy also continued to exercise the influences described in historic times, despite the changed rhetoric about the supreme value of employees, of personal development, of empowerment (sometimes), of customer service and others – terms displayed in value statements, company philosophies and corporate responsibility reports: I follow Art Kleiner's "core group" theory (2005) in believing that a company as an organization will only serve these values if those at the top – the "uppers" – *genuinely* wish to do so: If, for example, they have adopted "servant leadership" (Greenleaf 2002) not only as public relations stunt, but as a way of life and if they therefore *embody* the integrity mentioned as crucial by Molzberger. Only then will the power they wield thanks to their position in the hierarchy *and* their deliberate exercise of leadership incline the organization's learning capacities towards this goal.

Kleiner takes into account the organizational changes of recent decades – and the advances of theory – by replacing the top of the formal hierarchy with a "core group." This group includes some but not necessarily all of the top people in the hierarchy, plus some others who exercise real influence. Whatever the character and orientation of this core group, it sets the organization's direction:

The organization goes wherever its people perceive the Core Group needs and wants to go. The organization becomes whatever its people perceive that the Core Group needs and wants it to become. If a goal is perceived as irrelevant to the Core Group, then it will not be reached, no matter how worthy it is, how ardently it is advocated, or even how stringently it is mandated by law or regulation. ... If a goal is perceived as close to the heart of the Core Group, then the organization will get there, come hell or high water. Moreover, ... the Core Group nearly always becomes an unconscious microcosm of the whole. If Core Group members think or act in a particular manner, or with particular attitudes, those percolate throughout the hierarchy. If Core Group members are cold to each other and to employees, then the whole organization becomes like a frozen wasteland. If the Core Group somehow warms up, then a little Santa's Workshop begins to develop amidst the tundra (Kleiner 2005: 8).

The core group also determines whether speaking one's truth is acceptable or not:

Back in the 1980s, when writing mission statements was just an infant management fad, a division of Exxon Oil Company held an employee conference to announce their new "core values." Enshrined as number one on the list was this simple sentence: "The customer comes first."

That night, the division executives met for dinner, and after a few drinks, a brash young rising star named Monty proposed a toast. "I just want you to know," he said, "that the customer does not come first." Then Monty named

⁶ The popularity can be gauged from the number of editions published in recent years as well as the votes of thanks published at *Sonshi*, a website dedicated exclusively to Sun Tzu and his modern applications (Sonshi 1999-2008)

the president of the division. "He comes first." He named the European president. "He comes second." And the North American President. "He comes third." The Far Eastern president "comes fourth." And so on for the fifth, sixth, and seventh senior executives of that division, all of whom were in the room. "The customer," concluded Monty, "comes eighth."

Said the Exxon retiree who told me the story: "There was an agonized silence for about ten seconds. I thought Monty would get fired on the spot. Then one of the top people smiled, and the place fell apart in hysterical laughter. It was the first truth spoken all day" (Kleiner 2005: 3).

In the retiree's memory, it was the *smile* from within the core group which broke the ice: Those who were in this context the "lowers" took it as a sign that Monty's truth was acceptable and agreeable to the "uppers."

Unspoken truths, however, do not allow an organization to learn. Locked in individual people's brains, sometimes reinforced by circulation in gossiping circles, these truths are never exposed to a reality check: In truth, they remain *assumptions*. As such they constitute what Bushe (2001a) calls the "interpersonal mush" which dominates communications and decision-making in most organizations despite being "one of the most debilitating realities of human association" (Bushe 2001: 29). I had heard of a lack of trust towards superiors and unspoken truths in many casual conversations, but did not find these experiences reflected in the social science literature before coming across Kleiner and Bushe⁷.

As an organizational consultant, Gervase Bushe worked with Appreciative Inquiry (AI). While most groups responded very positively to this approach of focusing on *positive* exceptions as a basis for planning organizational change to turn these exceptions into "normality," he also experienced groups which remained blocked, until unspoken resentments were allowed to surface (Bushe 2001b). Bushe concluded that systems characterized by strong hidden resentments would resist AI until these resentments were allowed to surface and were forgiven (Bushe 2000: 100). He proceeded to develop an approach he termed "clear leadership" (Bushe 2001a), which focuses the attention of leaders on getting around the effect of hierarchy described above – an effect Bushe attributes to the fact that "most of us learn to duck and cover around authority. We learn to try and figure out what the authority wants us to say or do and then say or do that when they are around" (Bushe 2001a: 27). Unless the interpersonal mush which develops as a result is checked, organizations fragment into different subcultures, members – *especially leaders* – are deprived of seeing the result of their actions, and a general environment of distrust and cynicism develops (Bushe 2001a: 34 ff.), an emotional climate dominated by anxieties – an optimal breeding ground for the "hierarchy effect":

Here's a typical scenario: a subordinate is giving his unconsciously anxious boss an update on a project. There is bad news. The boss is getting anxious as she hears the bad news and, without being aware of what she is doing or why, begins to tell the subordinate how to fix the situation without

⁷ With the exception of Crozier and Friedberg (1979), who describe how the deliberate attempt of specialists to keep their specialist knowledge to themselves constitutes a source of power.

really understanding it. Each time the subordinate tries to tell the boss that he has already tried her fix or give her more information she interrupts again with more problem-solving. After a while the subordinate just stops telling her what he really thinks and feels and wants. After assuring his boss that everything will work out he leaves feeling frustrated, unsupported, and demoralized. The boss, oblivious to what has gone on, thinks she has done a good job of getting her subordinate back on track. And the interpersonal mush is thicker than ever (Bushe 2001a: 95).

In my view, the material presented above justifies the interpretation of this story as an illustration of how the interaction between personal attitudes and the formal authority that goes with hierarchies drive personal learning underground – and thus create what Bushe calls an “organizational unconscious” (Bushe 2001a: 37). The story can be read as a paradigmatic example of how organizational learning is *prevented*. Bushe’s concise definition of organizational learning: “Organizational learning happens when two or more members inquire together and produce knowledge that leads to a change in their patterns of organizing. It is the change in patterned relations that makes learning organizational and not simply individual” (Bushe 2001a: 41).

Bushe does not complain about this state of affairs – which he sees as “normal” in most organizations –, however; nor does he see it as a *necessary* effect of hierarchy, as a sociologist is inclined to. Instead, he looks to the determining factors for the exceptions he has experienced – companies and teams where people were able to work together in the “synergic” patterns described above – and in each case finds “clear leaders”: Leaders who clearly “tell others what is going on in themselves”, and who at the same time “try to understand how the world looks from the perspective of other people” (Bushe 2001a: 34). So Bushe concludes that “it’s not the structure, technology, market, product, or service that makes the difference. It’s interpersonal clarity” (Bushe 2001: 35).

As we saw above, however, hierarchy has a tendency to amplify not just what leaders consciously want but also what they *really* want – and the latter more than the former. Bushe’s positive examples therefore demonstrate that *these* leaders did indeed express “their truths” and this attitude “percolated down the hierarchy” (as Kleiner put it) to create an *organizational* climate of clarity which fostered effective organizational learning and goal achievement: They were *helped* by hierarchy – either because they were on top themselves or because those still above them did not interfere. We - the reader and myself - are left to wonder whether this non-interference meant tacit support or passive tolerance: Whether the “clear leaders” Bushe worked with were encouraged to “speak their truth” and pursue their project of organizational clarity – or, on the contrary, needed courage to speak up more in the manner of “rising star” Monty in the Exxon meeting.

Without the “core group’s” support for clarity, the learning tools offered by Bushe – such as the mutual exploration of “mental maps” – will suffer the same fate which participatory approaches have suffered as they became “mainstream”: mechanical application will replace the attitude of sincere intention necessary for success. Above, I quoted Chambers (1998: xv) with respect to the necessity of the “right attitude.” In its absence, the seeming success of widespread adoption of participatory approaches may turn into a “new tyranny” (Cooke and Kothari 2001) which creates precisely the

“interpersonal mush” described by Bushe: while official documents pay lip-service to participatory goals, and participatory methods are indeed applied (mechanically), the actual *contents* of these documents reflect decisions taken by “core groups” *before* formally participatory consultations took place⁸.

Taken together, the rarity of documented and *institutionalized* instances of *working* “synergies” in business organizations and administrative bureaucracies, and the fate of participatory approaches when they were “scaled up” from the purely local level, demonstrate *both* the power of hierarchy – as a transcultural structural constraint - *and* the continued “magic” of approaches which aim at reconciling *organization* – the rational coordination of means and ends - and the requirements of “human nature.”⁹

These requirements include what human beings need in order to be able to learn, individually and together. It is part of my “truth” that human beings are inherently capable to learn – joyfully and cooperatively: That the capacity for “organizational learning” - as understood by the movement culminating in the concept of the learning organization, and as expressed in Bushe’s short definition quoted above - is simply one of the basic faculties of the human species. It is equally part of my “truth” that the exercise of this faculty is severely restricted in most organizations by a misapplication of the mechanism of hierarchy. This misapplication is often the result of a lack of understanding of the mechanism of hierarchy – a lack of the *sociological* knowledge of how interpretations of “uppers” and “lowers” influence each other and shape expectations and actions to create the “visible” hierarchies -, but often also a result of the deliberate application of its principles based on a deficient view of “human nature” – a view first fully expressed in Europe by Thomas Hobbes and still active in what McGregor called “Theory X”, and also a view which *mistakenly* claims the status of “scientific knowledge” although it is in fact a prejudice resulting from the specifically *European* experience with the use of hierarchies to serve *only* the needs of the power elite¹⁰ - until rather recently. Despite the liberating effects of the enlightenment period, the French (and other) Revolutions, and “modernization” in general, the traces of the old

⁸ For a quick overview over both the criticism of participation in *The New Tyranny?* (Cooke and Kothari 2001) and the attempt to defend the transformative potential of participatory approaches against this criticism in a later publication (Hickey and Mohan 2004) see the review essay of Christens and Speer (2006)

⁹ The term „human nature“ is put in quotation marks because on one hand I find it indispensable as a reference to those physiological and psychological reactions and “reachings out” to the surroundings which are common to *all* human beings. These are both more flexible and more encompassing as the conservative use of the term – particularly in its Darwinistic and Neo-Darwinistic form – has allowed for. For this shortcoming the prevailing use of the term has been widely and rightfully criticized. Unfortunately, this criticism has associated the term so closely with its abusive use for the justification of oppressive regimes that presently whoever uses the term is likely to be suspected of wanting to support anti-emancipatory intellectual and political currents.

¹⁰ The most important source for this rather sweeping claim is Krippendorff’s description of the origins of statehood and administration in Europe (Krippendorff 1985). Of the other ingredients, the work of Foucault and Bartlett’s book “The Making of Europe” deserve mention.

experience can still be detected both in theoretical defenses of hierarchies – such as “Theory X” – and in attitudes towards authority noted by Bushe as obstacles to organizational clarity. I mention this point because I have not met many people who see this continuity. More often the specifically European liberation is believed to be paradigmatic for mankind – a liberation of Europe has the *duty* to spread to other cultures still in the shackles of “tradition.” It seems to me that the contradiction between the belief in the value of “liberation” and the remnants of old theoretical and emotional orientations contribute to the hostility which sometimes greets Western attempts to foster democracy and participation in “developing” countries. The mistaken belief in the “avantgarde” role of the European experience of “enlightenment” and “liberation” probably also contributes to many cultural misunderstandings in development practice: Experts holding this belief as part of their unreflected “theory-in-use” – i.e. in their “cultural subconscious” – see a “missionary” role for themselves to bring this liberation also to other cultures. They then tend to overlook existing democratic practices and potentials, and to act in ways which contradict the “espoused theory” of the equal value of all cultures which belongs to the core of the development discourse.

Intercultural contexts and personal learning – avoiding fear and building trust

One of my most fundamental intercultural experience is the personal openness and welcoming attitude I encountered in Asian as well as African countries, a welcoming openness which contradicted my expectations, expectations formed in part through my reading of theories of underdevelopment and cultural evolution fashionable during my formative years as a student in the 1970s. Contrary to expectations raised by fascinating theories positing language as closed systems – meaning that the speakers of different languages inhabit different and never fully compatible worlds – I also encountered interpersonal understanding of subtle inner experiences across cultural barriers. I therefore brought some trust in the possibilities of intercultural understanding into the research project on *Language, Gender and Sustainability*¹¹ into which I was recruited by Prof. Fremerey, where one of my tasks was to look at leadership issues in local development.

With this trust I tried to use “interviews” as opportunities for genuine conversations in which I allowed myself to sometimes simply express my own views. This led to some exchanges which have become important points in the “triangulation” about what it means to be human and about the relationship between human nature and learning, hierarchy and leadership, and structure and agency: In the light of these bits of conversation – which I trust were experienced as exchanges of *meaning* not only by myself – I would say that the greater success of managers following “Theory Y,” as compared to those following “Theory X,” occurred simply because “Theory Y” is closer to “human nature.” For the same reason participatory approaches and networking – *where engaged in with sincerity and with as much integrity as available* – regularly

¹¹ The project ran from 2003 to 2007 and was financed by the Stiftung Volkswagenwerk. For details see <http://lagsus.de/>

lead to more enthusiasm, commitment, and better results. It also conforms to human nature that the opposite may happen where “uppers”, enticed by reports about their effectiveness, attempt to use such approaches to manipulate people into delivering this higher output: human beings inherently dislike being manipulated and they are better in detecting such manipulation than “Theory X” would assume – and the result is a learning which protects the learner and harms the learning of the organization. In that sense, the climate of “openness” which plays an important part in Senge’s characterization of a “learning organization” is the openness *required* by “human nature” as a precondition for learning together.

One of the main preconditions for this openness – and for the expression of other desirable human capacities like trust and creativity – is the absence of fear¹². As mentioned by Bushe, considerable levels of –mostly unacknowledged – anxiety characterize most present organizational systems. One of the most surprising insights from my conversations with ordinary people and local leaders in the course of the LAGSUS project was that traditional “good” leaders in the Napu valley in Indonesia need fear as an instrument of control as little as good traditional leaders among the Herero in Namibia.

My fascination with this topic began in the Napu valley in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia, where a retired local headman from a family with generations of experience in headmanship, confidently asserted that a good leader has no need for people fearing him. What I found so remarkable was that this was the first and most important item he mentioned when I asked him what a good leader was like. And he behaved in a way which made it credible to myself and to my Indonesian research assistant that he had followed this principle during his several terms of office. Through contrast with situations where the leadership did not follow this principle it became clear that this principle was indeed a determining factor for trust in local leaders which affected their performance. To set the record straight: While trust in leaders was important enough to deserve its own word in one of the local languages, other stories from the recent historic past show that the aristocracy ruling the area often acted contrary to this model of good leadership (Döbel & Hunowu 2008).

The importance of the personal attitude of the actual leader also became clear in Namibia. I once congratulated a traditional headman for stressing the importance of listening to the views of women and even of children before making a decision – and told him that I found that remarkably different from the suggestions of a European like Niccolo Machiavelli who, as I said, had recommended the use of fear. To my amazement, the headman paused for a moment – and then concurred: “Actually, without some fear it is difficult to do your job as a headman: People will not follow.”

Later, I talked to another well-respected and successful local leader about the need for fear. He turned to his father, the previous headman, and both were astonished. No, they assured me, a good leader does not need to use fear. I then remembered another meeting between the first headman and the villagers

¹² The debilitating effect of fear on the normal functions of the human emotional and intellectual system has more recently been described in detail by biologist and neuroscientist Gerald Hüther (1998).

in his area, which I had had a chance to attend. That meeting centered around cattle thefts which had occurred in the area and what people could do to track down the thieves and to prevent future thefts. During that meeting, the headman himself had been under attack because his sons had not honored a community agreement not to use a certain area for grazing. It was also alluded that theft control might be easier without this infringement. At the end of the meeting the headman had expressed his opinion that such openly confrontational behavior towards him was disrespectful and inappropriate.

The other side of the fear-coin is indeed respect and listening: The respect the leader shows for those s/he leads, and the understanding s/he develops for their concerns through listening. As an ideal, this was mentioned by virtually everyone I asked in the course of dozens of interviews in Namibia, Uganda, and Indonesia. The need for listening is also a core point in the reversal of “uppers” and “lowers” advocated in the participatory approaches: The “uppers” are expected to develop an understanding of the experience of the “lowers.”

This principle seems to have been part of the philosophy and practice of leadership in Southern Africa. According to Chiku Malunga (2006), indigenous African leadership, based on the principles of *Ubuntu*¹³ - a Bantu view on what it means to be human -, was “more participatory than would appear from the outside,” because leaders were selected from among several possible candidates according to strict criteria, and even hereditary rulers often needed public approval. The selection criteria included the understanding of “human nature” and human relationships, and competence in conflict resolution – qualifications which were mentioned often as characteristics of “good leaders” in my own interviews in both Uganda and Indonesia. Malunga (2006) quotes Nelson Mandela, whose grandfather had been chief of the Thembu people:

“Everyone who wanted to speak could do so. It was democracy in its purest sense. There may have been a hierarchy of importance amongst the speakers, but everyone was heard ... Only at the end of the meeting as the sun was setting would the regent speak. His purpose was to sum up what had been said and form some consensus among the diverse opinions. But no conclusion was forced on those who disagreed.”

The procedure of encouraging everyone to speak out also belongs to the ideal of *musyawarah* in Indonesia. According to an elder informant, its purpose in historical times had been to actively encourage particularly the less influential people – the “lowers” – to speak their mind. It is only on the strength of my own “best judgment” of the personal qualities of *some* of those leaders I have spoken to that I accept this as a possibly accurate description of a reality, rather than simply the manipulative ideology as which modern Indonesian social

¹³ The five principles of *Ubuntu* are:

sharing and collective ownership of opportunities, responsibilities and challenges;

the importance of people and relationships over things;

participatory decision making and leadership;

patriotism; and

reconciliation as a goal of conflict management. (Malunga 2006)

scientists view *musawarah*. For them, *musyawarah* is synonymous with the abuse of the term during the Suharto regime: During that time, people were called for a *musyawarah* whenever they were expected to publicly approve decisions already taken by the local power holders.

Similarly, I accept the possibility that *Ubuntu* is more than an idealistic reconstruction of the past on the strength of the admission of economist Xavier Sala-i-Martin that he does not understand why King Seretse Khama, who became Botswana's first President, did not use the diamonds found in his own tribal area to enrich himself, but made sure that the diamond revenues were diverted to useful investments, and thus contributed to Botswana's comparatively favorable economic development. Sala-i-Martin notes that Seretse Khama insisted on democratic principles and accountability in his country and contrasts his behavior with that of other African leaders (Snowden 2006). I am not as perplexed as Sala-i-Martin: I think Seretse Khama indeed consciously followed the indigenous tradition of leadership mentioned by Malunga and illustrated with the story about Nelson Mandela's grandfather. I also see Seretse Khama's and Nelson Mandela's success as leaders in the same light as the success of managers following "Theory Y", or the success of business leaders working on the basis of a vision beyond mere business, as reported by Csikszentmihalyi (2004) or Greenleaf (2002): These leaders work on the basis of a vision of the human being as potentially rich in capabilities and basically willing to contribute their gifts to others' wellbeing, directly or through some form of "cause."

It is, however, not the vision *per se* which is the essential element for the success. Rather, it is the *attitude* of the leaders: An attitude of respect for the people working with them, and an *embodiment* of this vision. As Csikszentmihalyi summarizes his interviews with successful business leaders:

Probably the most important principle of organizational behavior that emerged from the interviews was the importance of trust, which is brought about by respect. Any group of people working toward a common goal is held together by a combination of two motives: self-interest and common interests. The former can be bought by external incentives: pay, promotion, prestige. The latter motive, common interest, must be earned through a demonstration of respect for the value of the members of the team. Workers will not place themselves at the service of a leader's vision unless they feel that the rules of the organization are fairly applied, that their contribution is recognized, and that their integrity is respected.

To achieve this end, managers must invest a great deal of their psychic energy in monitoring and enhancing the well-being of the group. And before all else, they have to develop self-discipline based on self-knowledge, which will prevent them from acting capriciously and selfishly. Whenever a leader cuts corners, shows favoritism, is unfair or thoughtless he undermines the common interest of the group. If this happens often enough, the only motive keeping the organization coherent will be self-interest. This not only lowers morale but increases the operating costs of the organization, because a greater amount of extrinsic incentives will be needed to keep people performing their tasks. (Csikszentmihalyi 2004: 200)

Conclusion – The practical consequence of formal science changing its views about human nature: Engagement in positive change

I have taken the convergence of historically and culturally divergent sources on the topic of leadership and hierarchical organization, specifically in their effect on learning, commitment to task achievement, and joy in actually performing these tasks, as an indication that there is such a thing as “human nature” – and that this human nature is not as small, deficient and egoistic as suggested by popular and scientific theories since Thomas Hobbes. I have tried to show that an organizational practice relying on hierarchy and based on such a deficient view will tend to produce behavior which confirms this deficient view, while trust in a more positive view will bring forth behavior which confirms that positive view. The European experience has been and still is dominated by a Darwinistic view of evolution which posits that from societies down to the individual gene it is the “survival of the fittest” which reigns supreme – and this has been taken as a justification for egoistic and forceful insistence on taking maximum advantage of any situation: What is in effect simply ruthlessness was given an appearance of almost moral justification by referring to the biological “nature” of human beings.

My own views had inclined me towards the positive view for some time now – and I am therefore delighted that the most recent publications coming from neuroscientists and biologists confirm this positive view (Bauer 2006, 2007, 2008; Hüther 1999, 2006). I am delighted because my reliance on my own judgment with respect to what I saw as evidence in printed material about participatory approaches and alternatives in business and administration did not seem to carry weight in conversations with those who believed in the superiority of the rigor of the natural sciences. Now I can appeal to this very rigor: Joachim Bauer shows in some detail how the “Darwinists” – those who used Darwin to justify ruthless competition, aided by dominating and controlling behaviors and institutions, if necessary – actually misinterpreted him by neglecting all his views which could not be streamlined to the “survival of the fittest.” The biological reality, however, presents us not with the “war of all against all,” but with a picture of cooperation and mutual assistance – down to the level of the genes (Bauer 2008) – a picture which conforms to views expressed in *Ubuntu* and other cultural theories. In the case of China and India, these views have been published long before the method of publication was even known in Europe.

I also find it encouraging that these scientists have realized the importance of their findings and are engaged in contributing to what I noted earlier as the “movement” for positive organizational change. In Germany, organizational psychologist Michael Kastner organized a conference on “cultural synergies and cultural conflict” in 2005¹⁴, where he presented a model for developing an organizational culture which incorporates the findings of neurobiologists like Gerald Hüther, and integrates insights quoted in this paper – without referring to other cultures. Kastner sees his “Vertrauensfehlerlerninnovationsgesundheitskultur” (a culture of trust, of learning from mistakes, of innovation, and of health) as a means for peaceful cooperation in the achievement of organizational goals.

¹⁴ The Program is still available on the Conference website at: <http://www.kultursynergien.de/>

For me, coming across such information is an additional confirmation of the results of previous “triangulations” – and in that sense also a confirmation of trusting what I believed to be my “own best judgment” with respect to human nature and preferable approaches to organization – because they “felt” both more humane and more likely to yield good results. Coming back to the title, I would like to end with an ambiguous note: While an organizational culture such as that proposed by Michael Kastner, or a chief like Nelson Mandela’s grandfather may make it easier to speak one’s truth and to stick to one’s “own best judgment,” nobody can ever be *sure* that one’s truth will be well received. I have written this piece to encourage the *scientific* reader of this text to pay more attention to intuitions such as feeling “electrified” and to personal observations not always validated by method: exposing *these* “truths” to public scrutiny in my opinion adds to the relevance of (social) science – and makes for more interesting conversations. I am aware, however, that career incentives and personal inclinations often make this look risky. Whether it is worth taking this risk remains a decision for which no one can rely on anything else than one’s “own best judgment.”

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Diversity and Managing Diversity in International Master Programs in the Field of Agricultural Sciences¹

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Abstract

The growing number of international master programs goes along with a growing cultural diversity of students. The main thesis of this article is that the growing diversity of students includes both important challenges and particular benefits for teaching and learning in the higher education context and aims to explore these challenges and benefits on the example of master programs in the field of agricultural sciences by means of the diversity management concept.

Key Words

International Master Programs; Internationalization; Benefits; Challenges; Diversity Management

Introduction

The competition of higher education institutions all over the world to attract the best mobile students, graduates and young scientists is significantly increasing. The last Policy Paper of the German Ministry for Education and Research (BMBF) on the internationalization of science and research², various initiatives of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the German Rectors' Conference³ as for example GATE, a joint initiative of DAAD and HRK to internationally promote Germany as an attractive location for study and research, and last but not least the mission statements of German higher education institutions leave no doubt that internationalization can be regarded one of the most important goals of higher education at many levels.

The number and percentage of international students at German universities has constantly increased during the last decades. The percentage has been rising slowly from nearly six percent to about eight percent in 1996. From 1997 on, a further increase to more than 12 percent of international students being enrolled in 2007 can be observed. About three quarters of

¹ This article can be regarded as a kind of "interim report" of my dissertation. I would like to avail of the opportunity of thanking Michael Fremerey as my supervisor for his advice, support, and critical remarks and for always being receptive to my questions.

² <http://www.bmbf.de/pot/download.php/M%3A10941+Strategy+of+the+Federal+Government+for+the+Internationalization+of+Science+and+Research/~pub/Internationalisierungsstrategie-English.pdf>

³ <http://www.daad.de/hochschulen/internationalisierung/05181.de.html>

them (9,5%) were “Bildungsausländer”⁴, i.e., they did not obtain their university entrance qualification in Germany (cf. HIS/DAAD www.wissenschaft-welt offen.de/daten/1/1/3). Germany belongs therefore to the top-five of countries receiving international students, hosting less than the United States and the United Kingdom and more than Australia and France (cf. DSW/HIS 17th Social Survey), even though as regards total numbers, not percentages (cf. HIS/DAAD www.wissenschaft-welt offen.de/daten/4/5/1)

In the framework of the Bologna Process higher education institutions in Germany have established a growing number of internationally oriented master programs offered exclusively or predominantly in English. Currently, 433 international study programs at master level can be found via the homepage of the DAAD, of which 39 programs are offered in the field of Agricultural Sciences, Forestry and Nutritional Sciences.

The constantly growing number of international students and international study programs suggests that internationalization of studies in Germany is on a positive way as regards quantitative aspects. But do the international students study successfully? Are they well integrated at their German universities? And how does the internationality of the students affect learning and teaching? Do the universities achieve to make use of the growing internationality of the students in a positive way?

This article discusses approaches to these questions on the example of international master programs in agricultural sciences. It is based on first results of interviews with lecturers and coordinators of five study programs offered at different German universities.

Aspects of Teaching and Learning in Intercultural Contexts

The growing cultural diversity of students is certainly one of the most important challenges to higher education. Increasing numbers of students who are studying temporarily for one or two semesters abroad, e.g. in the framework of the ERASMUS Program, an increasing number of international students studying for a whole degree and the integration of international students who have attained their university entrance qualification in the same country should be reason for the universities to reflect upon issues of interculturalism and how this interculturalism can be used to foster and broaden learning of the students.

It is obvious that international study programs with their heterogeneity of students require more efforts and resources from faculty, staff and lecturers than study programs which are not mainly taken by international students: the need of a more intensive counseling and guidance as regards both scientific and social matters, e.g. support in visa application processes, financing of studies, accommodation and social integration of the international students, integration of heterogeneous previous knowledge, an internationally oriented curriculum and last but not least the fact that the language of instruction is in most cases neither the mother tongue of the lecturer nor the students are

⁴ Statistics in Germany differentiate between international students who have gained their university entrance qualification in Germany (Bildungsinländer) or outside Germany (Bildungsausländer), whereas only the latter are considered as internationally mobile students

examples for a variety of challenges which international study programs have to face. Accordingly, critical voices can be heard that is difficult, if not impossible, to reach the same scientific standard of nationally oriented study programs in international study programs.

On the other hand, interaction of students from heterogeneous backgrounds is expected to have a positive influence on learning and personal development:

„A university composed of racially and ethnically diverse students [...], a curriculum that deals explicitly with social and cultural diversity, and interaction with diverse peers produce a learning environment that fosters conscious, effortful, deep thinking“.

(Gurin online resource 1999: para. 17)

The promotion of international student exchange has always been guided by the conviction that studying abroad, having to adjust to a new (learning) environment and interaction with members of other cultures broadens the students' minds by making them look over their own nose. International experience is expected to foster soft skills such as problem-solving abilities, creativity, adaptability and knowledge on and openness towards different cultures in general and the host culture in particular. Furthermore, it is assumed that the study abroad period has a positive effect as regards contents and methodological knowledge as well, if the host institution offers teaching on a higher level or an area for specialization not offered at home.

Last but not least, it is supposed that an international student body will be beneficial for the institutions itself. As not all students will be able or willing to spend a study period abroad, institutions aim to internationalize studies at their home campus to offer all students some international experience and the positive learning effects expected from this experience. Such efforts to offer the majority of non-mobile students the possibility to learn in an international context can be summarized under the term "internationalization at home" (Crowther et al 2000).

Internationalization of studies means encounters of students, lecturers and staff members from diverse cultural backgrounds with differing ways of thinking and feeling and differing learning and working styles. At the same time, also their motives to enroll and expectations towards learning contents are diverse. According to Otten (Otten 2000: 16), it should be differentiated between three groups of persons interacting in an international context, which have to adapt and learn to behave successfully in the intercultural environment:

- International students coming to a foreign country to study for several years and students who already live in the respective country, but have a migration background. In addition to the classification of Otten, students coming for one or two semesters in the framework of an exchange program shall be mentioned here
- Local students of the respective institution studying together with the international students and who might have the possibility to profit from this experience
- Lecturers and staff of the institution dealing with the international students in their daily work

International students need to adapt and adjust when coming into the new host culture. They have to build up new relationships, learn to interact with people from the host culture, have to find adequate solutions for accommodation and to cover living costs and learn to act in the new learning environment. The adjustment process is in most cases a stressful one and should not be underestimated. As Bennett describes,

"We arrive overseas with a well-established hierarchy of assumptions, values, and beliefs. The chances are excellent that we will be in an environment where things may look familiar, but they don't operate in familiar ways. Indeed, perhaps nothing will even look familiar. In either case, world view, including our view of ourselves, is assailed by verbal, nonverbal, physical, and psychological stimuli. If we cling to our own world view, we may experience an untenable state of cognitive inconsistency." (Bennett 1998: 218).

This experience is the often-cited "culture shock" (cf. Oberg 1960, Bennett 1998). The symptoms of a culture shock, as Bennett outlines, might vary from person to person, but often include an exaggerated concern for health and cleanliness, the fear of being robbed or cheated, a feeling of withdrawal and helplessness as well as physiological reactions (Bennett 1998: 217). In other words, if the international student in a culture shock does not manage to overcome these symptoms as soon as possible, severe problems to study successfully and, at the worst, a premature return back home will be the consequence. But how to "cure" a culture shock? According to Oberg, "The answer is get to know the people of the host country" (Oberg 1960 reprinted 2006: 145). This basic advice of 'getting in contact' and to 'overcome a culture shock' can be found on various homepages of international offices or other pages for advice on international student exchange, like the following extract illustrates:

- *Be aware of the signs, including the physical symptoms.*
- *Soon after arriving, explore your immediate environment. Having taken advice on personal safety, walk around and get to know your neighbourhood. Create a mental map of your surroundings.*
- *Be courageous and introduce yourself to your neighbours. If you live in university accommodation, these are likely to be other students who feel just the way you do.*

(...)

(<http://www.intstudy.com/articles/ec184a13.htm>)

However, international students tend to stay within their own cultural groups and often have difficulties to mingle with local students or other international students from other cultural groups. For example, only about half of former ERASMUS students surveyed in 31 participating countries in the framework of an evaluation study⁵ stated that they would have had frequent contacts to local

⁵ Source: The Professional Value of ERASMUS Mobility VALERA. Survey conducted by INCHER_Kassel 2005/06. Question A14: To what extent did you have contacts to

students during their stay abroad. And even if there are contacts – is contact alone enough for intercultural learning?

Unlike the experience of international students, the role and experience of the host culture representatives, the local students and the lecturers has so far rarely been a topic of research, even though they can be regarded as “key representative of their culture” (Otten 2000:17). The local students and teachers are therefore most important for the integration of the international students and the picture they get from the host culture.

It is assumed that the local students themselves have the possibility to profit to a great extent from an internationalized learning environment – the whole concept of *internationalization at home* is based on this assumption. Similarly, it is expected that local students can be of great help for international students to integrate successfully in both academic and social matters. Even though, it seems that interaction between international and local students can to some extent be characterized by its *limitedness in quantity and quality*. Like the findings of the VALERA survey at European level, Bargel describes that the majority of German students do have little contacts to international students, even if there is a considerable number of international students enrolled (Bargel 1998). Similarly, results of a survey of the international office at Leipzig University in Germany suggest that the surveyed international students have most often contacts to friends and acquaintances from their home country, followed by contacts to other international students. The international students mention contacts to German students only at fourth position, even though they state that they would wish to intensify both frequency and quality of contacts to German students (cf. International Office Leipzig University 2006: 99ff). But how can *internationalization at home* take place without or only very limited interaction between local and international students?

The local lecturers have to deal with particular challenges to meet diverse needs and expectations of students in international groups. The degree to which they achieve to handle these challenges successfully certainly is a major factor for the success of both international and local students in an international study program. Teekens (2000, 2004) discusses the demands lecturers of international classrooms have to meet and the qualifications they need in detail. She points out that, while so far responsibility for teaching in international classes often has been taken over by “highly motivated individuals” who have been “drawn into it as a result of personal and professional interest that often stems from their own previous international experience and personal relationships” (Teekens 2004: 35). But she argues that in the course of an increased internationalization more and more lecturers will have to get involved. The needed qualifications which Teekens identifies are extensive and range from the ability to teach in a foreign language, to deal with cultural differences and diverse learning styles to knowledge on foreign education systems and labor market requirements. The article concludes that the lecturers are too often

local/domestic students at your host institution of higher education? The project report can be found at

<http://ec.europa.eu/education/erasmus/doc/publ/evalcareer.pdf>

left alone with these demands without adequate institutional support (Teekens 2004).

Trice (2003) delivers an analysis of views and attitudes towards international students in four different departments of a research-oriented university in the USA. The study aims to identify challenges and benefits of international students according to members of the surveyed departments. Apart from often heard benefits such as broadening the mind of the domestic students and providing an international perspective to the curriculum, the study identifies other beneficial aspects for the department: a high academic standard of the international students, which even pushes the domestic students to deepen their academic skills and the need of the department for skilled research assistants. Skilled international students often take these jobs, according to the interviews. Furthermore, the department members reported international co-operations, which could be realized because of connections of the international students in their home countries. The interviewed department members also state that the presence of international students leads to a higher ranking and reputation of the department.

The study by Trice identifies challenges such as language problems, segregation, adequate funding and diverse expectations towards the contents of the study programs. Furthermore, the interviewed department members explain the need to keep enrolment of international students limited to a certain number, so that domestic students feel comfortable which they might not, according to this concern, if the numbers of international students would go beyond a certain percentage. Some stated that they would prefer domestic students in their research groups, because international students tended to overtake more positions in the industrial area, while a position in research would be more favorable for their supervisors' academic reputation (Trice 2003).

It is likely that some of the benefits, like providing an international perspective to the curriculum, and some of the challenges like language problems, lacking integration, funding and differentiating expectations towards the curriculum are viewed, expected and experienced by members of German institutions of higher education, too. But all named positive and problematic aspects can be taken into account for a frame of reference, which benefits might be achieved and which potential problems might have to be addressed.

Theoretical Approach

This study aims to identify approaches to the following questions:

- How do institutions of higher education in Germany realize an internationalization of studies?
- How can the growing internationality of the students be used for the benefit of both students and institutions of higher education?

The working hypotheses to examine are therefore the following:

- Due to the growing internationality of studies, higher education institutions have to meet the challenge to review both the content and the structure of their curricula and to create and an international learning environment

- Internationality of students, if integrated successfully, offers particular benefits for institutions of higher education, namely the gain of intercultural competences which are a key qualification of constantly growing importance because of a growing globalization. Learning in a multicultural context also offers the possibility of synergetic effects through opening new ways of learning and access to new contents of learning
- If challenges are not met adequately and higher education institutions do not realize possible benefits, there is an emerging risk of disintegration of international students. This disintegration can lead to intercultural tensions, frustrations and failure as regards both international and domestic students as well as to frustration for the local lecturers.

The diversity management approach, a concept from the field of business management aiming to positively use the heterogeneity of a workforce for the well-being of a company or an organization offers a theoretic framework for the analysis of these questions. This concept shall here be adapted to the university context.

Diversity Management

The concept of diversity management comprises various approaches of organizations to deal with the heterogeneity of their members. The approaches range from non-discrimination and equal opportunities to an active use of diversity to foster the success of the organization. As Clutterbuck describes:

„At one extreme, diversity can be seen as a means of overcoming injustice – righting wrongs – and at the other as a means of enhancing individual and group contribution to the organization’s goals.“ (Clutterbuck 2002: 55).

Thomas/Ely condensed the various approaches to three paradigms. The *discrimination-and-fairness paradigm* adheres to the avoidance of discrimination, equal opportunities and support of women and minorities. The *access-and-legitimacy paradigm* goes one step further: it aims to profit from particular characteristics of their members, which are employed explicitly for a specific purpose because of specific competences stemming from cultural or social background. Nowadays, there is a tendency of using the term diversity management according to a broadened concept, which perceives diversity as a particular asset. The *learning-and-effectiveness paradigm* of Thomas/Ely is based on this understanding. Diversity is seen as a strategic resource for the development of learning, creativity and growth of an organization. The organization makes use of its heterogeneity to rethink procedures and strategies. The quintessence of the approach is organizational learning. The concept of diversity management according to this paradigm therefore goes far beyond non-discrimination and equal opportunities.

The *learning-and-effectiveness paradigm* shall here be complemented by the concept of *cultural synergy* by Adler (2002), which, similarly to the learning and effectiveness paradigm „recognizes both the similarities and differences among cultures that compose a global organization and suggests that we neither ignore nor minimize cultural diversity, but rather view it as a resource in designing and developing organizational systems.“ (Adler 2002: 116).

Cultural synergy, according to this approach, is developed in three steps. First, differences and commonalities of the involved cultures are identified. In the second step, an interpretation and integration of the different possibilities is realized on the basis of the assumption that an aim can be achieved via many ways. Finally, in the third step, a way to a solution or an aim is developed, which takes all concerned cultures and their ways into account. The synergetic effect therefore lies in an identification of new, alternative possible solutions. During this process, cultural differences and commonalities are identified, analyzed and combined in a new way. The basis of this approach is the competence of the involved persons to realize and handle these differences. However, *cultural synergy* should not be understood in the sense of the sometimes overloaded, even superlunary expectations, which are often contributed to this term. Rather, it should be seen as a pragmatic and practical approach to handle heterogeneity effectively. Freely adapted from Aristotle, the whole *can* be more than the sum of its parts – if the parts are well integrated. This added value can be seen in the identification of new approaches and ways on the basis of the cultures involved.

Preconditions for Diversity Management

Thomas/Ely describe preconditions to a shift towards the learning-and-effectiveness paradigm, which shall be adapted to the context of higher education institutions. These preconditions form the basis for a guideline to the empirical study: First, heterogeneity needs to be appreciated – on all levels, from the leadership of the university, throughout the departments, faculty, the management of the study programmes to the students. The leadership sets the frame for this appreciation. Likewise, both challenges and opportunities have to be recognized and it has to be clearly understood that integrating different perspectives is a long and difficult process. All involved persons must feel valued so that they feel committed to their tasks and encouraged to contribute their perspective. High performance has to be expected from everyone. Expecting that performance of some groups or individuals will be of lower standard than others “too often becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy” (Thomas/Ely 1996: 86). Last, a climate of dialogue and a clearly understood and accepted mission should be in place.

Possible Benefits

Positive outcomes of diversity management can be a higher motivation and satisfaction, an improved flexibility and creativity, better chances to attract minorities and a higher productivity (cf. Stuber 2002: 29ff and Vedder Online: para. 5). In the higher education context, one might therefore expect higher motivation and satisfaction for both students and (teaching) staff members, improved study achievements, lower drop out rates and in particular a higher attractiveness of the institution for international students.

The diversity management concept provides a broad range of indications as for preconditions to benefit of cultural diversity in the context of higher education and what possible benefits could be. Even though, it provides only little evidence *how, in what way*, these positive effects might develop. The concept of cultural synergy by Adler complements the diversity management concept in this regard, because it delivers approaches through which processes positive effects might be created in higher education contexts.

Cultural synergy according to Adler means finding new, alternative ways of acting and approaching problems on the basis of the involved cultures. All persons involved will have more options than in the beginning of the process, but these options are still in tune with their culture. Applied to the university context, cultural synergy would mean exploring alternative ways of learning and teaching, which might present an added value in many regards: acquiring of key competences, access to new academic contents and in particular the development of intercultural competence. In the university context, the particular challenge is that the students do not only come from different academic cultures with different learning strategies, but that furthermore the previous knowledge will often be very diverse and that important general conditions such as financial matters are difficult and insecure. It is obvious that synergetic effects under such premises are difficult to achieve.

Both diversity management and the concept of cultural synergy provide indications which preconditions might be crucial to make positively use of a growing cultural diversity in higher education and deliver starting points to analyze if and which positive effects can be achieved. This study therefore aims to analyze in how far approaches of managing diversity and cultural synergy are being implemented at higher education institutions in Germany and whether they actually have the potential to lead to the assumed added value of cultural diversity among students.

Research Design and Methods

Five international master programs in the field of agricultural sciences offered at four different universities in Germany are the topic of this study. Even though diversity management refers to the whole of an organization, the scope of this study will be limited to the students, lecturers and responsible persons in the faculty or department offering this program, in other words, a small part of the whole organization university.

The target groups are all students of the international master program and the members of the department or faculty directly involved in academic and organizational aspects of the program. The study therefore aims to address international and local students of the study program, members of the teaching staff, those who are scientifically responsible and those who are involved in the management of the program.

To take the different characteristics of the target groups into account, the study is based on different empirical approaches and different steps are made. International and local students are addressed by a questionnaire survey to cover a broad range of questions, to include as many students as possible and to allow for a comparison between different characteristics such as study program enrolled, home region, motives to study in Germany etc. The aim is to include all students currently enrolled in the program. Lecturers and persons involved in the management of the study program are asked whether they would be willing to participate in guideline interviews. As there is only little research available on experience and attitudes of lecturers in international study programs, a qualitative approach shall make sure that as many aspects as possible which move the lecturers and other responsible persons are included. Nevertheless, to ensure for some comparability, the interviews follow a guideline. The aim is to conduct interviews with about five lecturers in each

study program and with all persons bearing scientific or organizational responsibility for the study program.

Characteristics of Study Programs and Students

All study programs are explicitly internationally oriented and offered in English, but dealing with different foci of tropical agriculture, resource management, organic agriculture, food production and food consumption. Furthermore, the study programs differ substantially as regards the time they have been established: Some study programs are still very new and produce the first graduates right now, while others look back on a long tradition and have been developed on the basis of already well established programs offered previously in German. An analysis of the impact of these differences will be topic of next steps. It has not yet been taken into account in the presentation of first results in this article but they should be mentioned here to avoid the impression of equal study foci and conditions.

The majority of students in all study programs come from developing and newly industrialized countries with a varying number of students from industrialized countries and local students from Germany. Even though one might get the impression that the students form a homogeneous group because of generalizations by the interview partners and the author of this article, they of course are not. First, the composition of the student's home countries varies from study program to study program and here most often also over the years. Second, the backgrounds of the students are most diverse in many regards: culture, academic background, gender, family, scholarship (or non-scholarship), previous international experience, and motivation to study in Germany, to name just a few. These differences and their implications will not be taken explicitly into account in the course of this article, but will be topic of further analysis in the next steps. Nevertheless, they should be kept in mind by looking at the first results given here.

Limitations

The design of the study implies certain restrictions. As the data is collected in the framework of master programs in the field of agricultural sciences at German universities only, it has to be doubted that the results will be generalizable to master programs of other fields of study and to master programs offered in different national settings. Nevertheless, it might be possible to draw some conclusions as to which challenges and which opportunities are likely to occur in other settings, too.

Preliminary Results of the Interviews with Faculty Members

The results presented here are as first approaches to the topic. First, not all interviews have been conducted yet – only about two thirds – and a more detailed analysis and comparison of the results still needs to be done. There is no claim of completeness. The findings presented here are first impressions selected from notes which have been taken during and after the interviews and are supposed to deliver a first insight to the problems to be analyzed in the next steps.

High motivation and generally positive attitudes towards international study programs

All responsible persons and all lecturers except one, who have been taking part in the interviews so far, seem to see the presence of the international students very positively and conduct their classes with high motivation. Only one lecturer appeared to be somewhat disappointed as regards lack of support for the high workload of teaching international classes from the faculty, but overall, attitudes seem to be highly positive. This impression might occur because the persons taking part in the interviews did so on a voluntary basis and it therefore might be assumed that teaching staff with more reserved or even negative attitudes would not be willing to take part. Nevertheless, as likewise up to now, there could no negative explicit or implicit hints be noticed as regards motivation or attitudes of other colleagues, it can be concluded that at least a good part of the teaching staff of the surveyed programs is very open towards international programs and highly motivated to teach, supervise, support and counsel as best as possible. The self-image of the interviewed persons underlines this impression. The overall majority highlights that they regard themselves as internationally oriented, fluent and open, not surprisingly even more often if their research focus is clearly internationally oriented. However, the implications of these attitudes still have to be analyzed in detail in the next steps and will have to be correlated to the attitudes and experience of the students.

The overall majority of the persons interviewed therefore do not see the crucial problems to international study programs *within* the study programs, but as regards problems arising from factors at many different levels *external* to the study program.

Opportunities and Challenges for Teaching and Learning

As for positive effects of the internationality for the students, the interviewees often articulate the possibility to discuss and integrate different and new perspectives in their sessions. They perceive a broader approach to contents and perspectives, the possibility to see beyond one's own nose and profiting from first-hand experience of students from other regions as most important benefits of internationality in the study programs, in fact for both students and lecturers. Furthermore and not surprisingly, the interviewed persons underline the development of socio-communicative skills and international competences as a very important asset of the international setting. This observation is somewhat put into perspective because there might be a tendency in the interviews that lecturers of fields within social sciences in the broad multidisciplinary field of agricultural sciences notice these positive aspects more often than lecturers in the field of natural sciences.

But above all, the overall majority of the interviewed persons underline that the problems facing agriculture and nutrition nowadays are global by definition and therefore can only be considered in a global context, which makes internationally oriented study programs in this field indispensable. This supposition, of course, cannot be regarded as a benefit or opportunity in its core meaning. But if the interviewed persons are convinced that internationality of study programs in this context is essential, the motivation to conduct programs successfully will probably be on a very high level and accordingly, problems

arising from the internationality will be handled with patience and care. Furthermore, it might be assumed that the lecturers could transfer this assumption and the possibly implied patience and willingness to cope with challenges to the students. This, on the other hand, certainly represents an asset.

Asked for challenges and problems of the internationality of the courses, the interviewees most often name the heterogeneity of the academic background, the heterogeneity of previous knowledge and language problems. To some extent, they perceive these challenges as inherent to the international composition. Nevertheless, they also link the problems to difficulties in the selection process to evaluate the significance of previous degrees and certificates, the relevance of professional experience and the appropriateness of English language competences. Even though the selection processes in the surveyed study programs are diverse - and the implications of this diversity will have to be analyzed further in the next steps of the study -, it is widely stated that expected competences and actual competences do not always match and that the selection process could generally be improved, which is difficult to realize due to financial and time constraints.

Furthermore, there is stated a lack of time for adequate counseling, which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, and that the shortness of the program impedes effective academic and social integration. Many interviewed persons point out that due to a tight schedule of modules to be completed and the short time for most students between the arrival at their university and the start of the study program – some students, often because of visa problems, even arrive *after* the start of the semester – there is not enough time for the students to adjust neither academically nor socially to the new environment. In one study program, the interviewees state very good experiences with an integration course, which is offered two months prior to the start of the first semester. Even though the students are not obliged to participate, most students seize the opportunity to take part in the course, probably also because the responsible persons urgently recommend it. The course is financed via third party scholarships for the scholarship holders, but all newly enrolled students are invited to participate. Topic of the course is basic knowledge of German, but also cultural events, to get to know city and region and an introduction to academic aspects including the attendance in defenses of master theses. The reported experience with this course is very positive and seems to be a good possibility to reduce problems from the beginning on, even though timely and financially intensive.

Support within the University

During the interviews, there could be observed a growing concern of the scientific staff members for lacking resources, a growing pressure for success in research, delivering of publications and of competing for third party funding. At the same time, they articulate that teaching performance is not or not adequately taken into consideration in evaluations. As it is evident that international study programs require even more time and resources per student than other study programs, it can be assumed that these study programs come even more under considerable strain, first, to justify why they should need more resources per individual student than others; second, as they require more resources, these study programs suffer even more from restraints.

The overall majority of the staff who is scientifically and organizationally responsible for the surveyed study programs sees the support within the university, from colleagues and administration not directly involved in the study programs, quite critical. Attitudes and feelings range from resignation, where it is articulated that the support could be better, but that it is unrealistic to expect more and that one therefore has to make the best out of the current situation up to a strong feeling of disappointment and frustration. The described problems form a great variety, which again varies from institution to institution. To name some examples, there is a range from missing places for international students in the student residences, official letters from the university administration to international students in German, which they in most cases do not understand, to a lack of financial support to employ support staff and incomprehension for the high investment as regards time and effort which lecturers and organizers have to provide.

The overall feeling of the interviewed persons might be described as a kind of incomprehension why support from within the university is much less as the perceived need even though internationalization is named as one of the top priorities of the university. The attitudes from colleagues and administration not directly involved in the study program are often seen as too indifferent towards different requirements to guide international students or expectations from international students, which can be manifested in small, seemingly unimportant issues if graduation ceremonies or even robes should be needed to the central question whether it is justified that international students should require more time for support and advice.

Surrounding Conditions for International Students in Germany

Some indications lead to the assumption that the environment for international students outside the university context in Germany is not always as supportive as the official statements and information to international students might suggest. In the interviews conducted so far with persons scientifically and organizationally responsible for the international master programs, they often name problems for example with the local governments in visa processes when decisions seem to be taken somewhat arbitrarily or when processes last inappropriately long.

The Views of the Students

The questionnaire survey of students enrolled in the five surveyed master programs is still under way and an analysis, which could be presented here, not yet available. Instead, I would like to outline some remarks and recommendations from students of two of the surveyed master programs developed in the framework of a seminar on intercultural communication. The students, most of them in the first semester of the program and at the university for about two or three months, reflected upon their experiences of the first months and developed recommendations for other international students for their start into a study program at this university. Furthermore, they developed recommendations for the university how the start of international students could be facilitated. The students formed four intercultural working groups to work on these 'guidelines' and thereafter presented their results to the whole seminar.

Interestingly, the results of all four working groups have been somewhat similar and deal primarily with social integration and improved communication between all groups of different international students, local students, newly enrolled students and students of other semesters and also university staff.

All groups strongly underline that the international students should inform themselves extensively on the new country and its people beforehand, on its culture, climate, and food and to be open after arrival to get to know as many aspects as possible. Furthermore, they emphasize the necessity to learn German prior to arrival, at least at a 'survival' level. Even though the program is taught in English, out of their own experience they see a strong need for basic knowledge of German in both everyday issues *and* at the university to communicate especially with administrative staff members. Additionally, they highlight the advice for international students to get in contact to local German students. They point out that the local students can be of huge help in managing the first months, because they know culture, climate and procedures at German universities. At the same time, they formulate the advice to talk English instead of the native language and to mingle with other international students from other cultural groups. Finally, all working groups articulate the suggestion to newly enrolled students to take part in *extra-curricular* activities.

The students see a strong need on the part of the university to foster communication among local students and international students on the one hand and among senior and new students to make integration and first steps for the new students easier. They give a few suggestions how this could be realized, e.g. 'buddies' of senior students for the newly enrolled students, invite senior students to special events to inform about extra-curricular activities and to take newly enrolled students with them. Furthermore, they would welcome meetings with general information on Germany as well as on special events and days in Germany: "What is *Nikolaus*?"

Some formulate the need for more information and announcements in English. They report that most of information and official letters they receive from the university administration is in German, even though German knowledge is not required for enrollment: "But luckily, my neighbor speaks German well enough and translated the letters to me". The students in the working groups see communication with administrative staff of the faculty and student service facilities difficult because they often do not have a common language, so that they report to feel uncomfortable. Finally, they point out that more student tutors to guide them and function as contact person would be helpful to introduce them to both academic and everyday life.

Excursus: The University Staff Development Program (UNISTAFF)

Since 15 years, the Institute for Socio-cultural Studies (ISOS) of Kassel University offers an interdisciplinary training program for staff from universities in Latin America, Africa and Asia: the University Staff Development Program (UNISTAFF) directed by Michael Fremerey. The participants of this program are diverse on many levels: They come from various cultural backgrounds, disciplines, higher education systems and academic cultures and, moreover, their professional experience and position and at their institutions shows very different characteristics. A particular goal of the UNISTAFF program is to create

a learning environment which fosters mutual learning based on the diversity of the participants (Amini 2009, Fremerey 2008).

Positive feedback from evaluation studies⁶, close positive contact to alumni over years after the participation in the program and interviews conducted by the author of this study with UNISTAFF participants of two years suggest that the diverse backgrounds indeed supports learning of participants and can even be regarded as crucial for the success of the program. The participants point out that the participation in the program was beneficial for them as the sharing of experience broadened their mind; they gained new skills and finally developed more self-confidence helping them to reach their goals (Amini 2009). In interviews with UNISTAFF participants conducted by the author of this article in 2006 and 2007, possible positive and negative effects of diversity have been addressed, while the positive effects always seemed to be predominantly according to the statements of the UNISTAFF participants. Asked for the reason *why* these positive effects could occur, overall, the interviewed participants underlined two aspects:

- In their point of view, the *learning environment* was crucial. They highlighted the atmosphere of sharing and constructive discussion in the sessions created by the facilitators, which is complemented by joint extra-curricular events as excursions and cultural evenings.
- Furthermore, the interviewed participants underlined the importance of the *motivation* and *high commitment* of participants and the *experience* they already bring with them.

Even though the UNISTAFF Program and its participants differ in many regards from the master programs in agricultural sciences and the enrolled students, e.g. staff training course of one semester for experienced university staff vs. master program; agricultural sciences, food and nutrition vs. interdisciplinary program. Nevertheless, the experience and principles of the UNISTAFF Program can be interesting for next steps of the study presented in this article by providing suggestions for opportunities and challenges of managing diversity in the context of higher education.

Conclusion and Perspectives

Finally, I would like to mention one question which asked a local German student enrolled in one of the master programs in a personal discussion: “I have the impression that the scientific level in the master program is lower than in other, non-international master programs. So what else does this internationality offer?” (own translation from German into English). This question has to be considered very carefully because of its broad implications. It touches the basic theses of this article. First, is this assumption true for the study program of the student who did the statement? Is it true for other international master programs? And if the statement would be true, could the reason just lie in the very nature of internationality or should these programs be redesigned? And if

6 King/Wenz-Hornberger conducted in 1999 and Amini/Fremerey conducted in 2008 (Amini 2009, first results in this volume)

the scientific level would indeed be lower, what would be the answer to the second question? Is there an added value that the internationality offers? And how can this added value be achieved?

Up to now, there have been no remarks from the interviewed lecturers that the academic level in general would be lower than in non-international oriented master programs. They underline that the performance of the students is diverse, some point out that often more support is needed but on the other hand, excellent students deliver excellent results. There seems to be a great variety from student to student and from study program to study program, which will have to be explored further in the next steps.

To draw some first conclusions as to what crucial challenges and possible opportunities of internationality in master programs of agricultural sciences might be, the preliminary results presented here shall be reviewed in relation to the basic requirements of the Learning-and-Effectiveness-Paradigm.

The overall majority of the interviewees highlight the absolute necessity to focus on issues and relations addressed in the study programs in an international context as they point out that these problems cannot be approached locally or regionally. It seems that they see the presence of the international students very positively. Their answers suggest that lecturers, organizers and scientific responsible persons conduct the study programs with high motivation and commitment, even though these conclusions still need to be put in relation to the answers given the questionnaires by the students. The interviewed persons note both difficulties, such as heterogenous previous knowledge, difficult integration into the new academic culture, but at the same time, crucial benefits like broadened discussions and new first-hand knowledge are considered as important assets. According to the learning-and-effectiveness paradigm, this attitude is one precondition for managing diversity successfully: Being aware of the difficulties and being prepared for a difficult process, but at the same time welcoming and appreciating diversity.

However, while the interviewees utter no or only very little complaints about their direct colleagues in the study programs, the support from responsible persons not directly involved in the study programs is often perceived as disappointing as regards financial matters and understanding for the particular requirements of international study programs. This attitude, on the other hand, will be fatal according to the learning-and-effectiveness paradigm, because support, appreciation and patience towards difficulties have to be present *throughout the whole organization*. One basic requirement is the feeling of being valued. It is obvious that in the long run, if the people responsible for the study programs do not feel that their work is valued in the university, the preconditions for international study programs will get even more difficult.

In many interviews the concern can be heard that the selection process could be improved. It seems to be a major problem that there are often some students whose actual previous knowledge or English skills do not match with the certificates they have handed in for admission. Naturally, it is a difficult task for lecturers to support these students in bridging their knowledge gap on the one hand without lowering the level for the other students. At the same time, for some study programs the concern is articulated that not enough students apply for admission to make an adequate selection possible. It seems that a huge proportion of the students being admitted finally do not enroll because of, as it is

supposed, visa and financing problems or because the students applied for several study programs in different countries and the study program was not their first choice. These questions are addressed in detail in the questionnaires for the students and will be analyzed in the next steps.

Diversity management assumes that, if diversity is managed well, it fosters motivation and is able to deal with heterogeneous preconditions. However, one of the major outcomes with the interviews of the UNISTAFF participants (cf. Excursus: UNISTAFF Program) was that the motivation and experience they bring in are crucial for the success of the program. One might conclude that the truth for international master programs lies somewhere in between: that the students must be able to start at a certain academic level and to communicate adequately in English. Furthermore, that they must bring in a high motivation to study successfully to cope with the still given heterogeneity and to learn from it. However, the precondition would be that enough students with adequate previous knowledge apply for admission, that they bring high motivation for the study program in which they finally enroll – that they do not enroll because they have not been admitted elsewhere – and, of course, that the students being admitted actually enrol in the program.

Improved offers for social integration have been one of the major recommendations of the student working groups. Even though their recommendations refer only to one university, others might ask themselves the question if their offers already cover the needs formulated by the students or not. Better language skills on both sides – German for incoming students, English for administrative staff, but also teaching staff, are core points. Likewise, the students saw the need for better communication between local and international students for which the students suggest fixed events and offers and point out that international students could in this way also profit in their studies because they can learn ways and procedures at a German university from the local students. Furthermore, in this closer contact lies an important opportunity for local students to gain intercultural experience. At Bonn University, for example, local students have the possibility to receive a certification on these kinds of activities. Like this, both international students and local students could profit by supporting each other.

Both in the UNISTAFF program and in one of the surveyed study programs are integrated extensive offers for a close social integration. As the participants of the UNISTAFF program outlined and also according to the experience of the organizers of the master program, these activities in their view are most important for successful learning and finally foster academic integration. Similarly, the students in the working groups articulated the wish for closer contacts and integration. Even though these first results will still have to be analyzed in more detail in the next steps of the study, it can be concluded that the social context is of particular importance for international study programs.

Personal Note

I would like to include a short personal note on this occasion: The learning environment created in the UNISTAFF program with its "Witzenhausen chemistry" can certainly be regarded as an example of best practice for managing diversity successfully. I am convinced that the basis for the mutual learning in this intercultural interdisciplinary context lies in the commitment of Michael Fremerey and of course his colleagues Siawuch Amini and Matthias Wessler, the facilitators of the Program, who are embracing and appreciating the diversity and different perspectives of the UNISTAFF participant, not to forget Marianne Schmutzler, who is co-ordinating all administrative and organizational matters of the Program with warmth and kindness.

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