

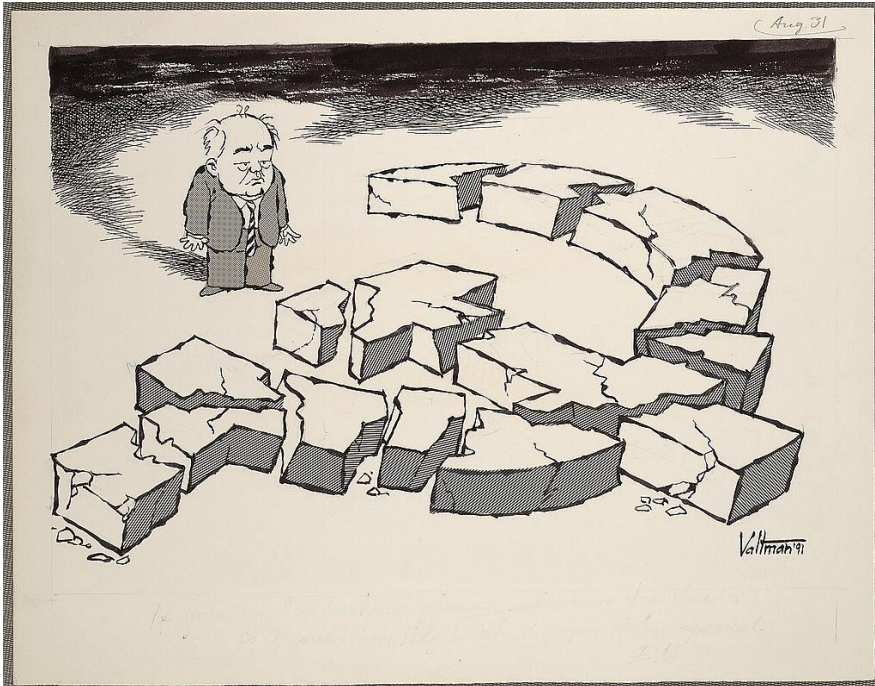


Centre for Global
Higher Education

27 October 2022

Transitology (academic and practical)

Transitology has failed to unpack the complexity of why the development paths of former Soviet countries diverged so dramatically & what is to be done in countries which retain authoritarian regimes and/or remain at low levels of economic development. Many scholars are not comfortable with the teleological perspective of transitology that assumes liberal democracy to be the single destination of historical progression.



This 1991 cartoon from Edmund S. Valtman shows Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev looking in dismay at a stone hammer and sickle that represents the Soviet Union shattered into many parts.



Dialectical thinking recognises chaotic, contradictory forces within institutions and societies.

When old ways of doing things are challenged, a new state of balance emerges and the tensions are temporarily resolved. Existing systems try to resist changes. Change and continuity, chaos and order, system breakdown/stagnation, and transformation are all dynamics of dialectical process.



Contents

Introduction

Post-Soviet Transformations
The Soviet University: Pre-Soviet to Post-Soviet
Methods, Evidence, Language, and Terminology
Spaces, Times, and Places

1. Anatomy of the Soviet University

The Formation of the Soviet University
Institutional Autonomy and Academic Freedom
Organisational Separation of Education and Research
Expansion of Access to Universities
International Cultural Diplomacy

2. Marketisation of Universities

Two Radical Changes
Beginnings of Marketisation
Marketisation of Universities' Educational Activities
Marketisation of Universities' Research Activities
Universities in Marketised Systems of Higher Education

3. Internationalisation of Universities

Cross-Border Flows in Higher Education
Internationalisation of Universities' Educational Activities
Internationalisation of Universities' Research Activities
Universities in Internationalised Systems of Higher Education

4. Academic Liberation

Models of University Governance
Autonomy from the State
Rector Feudalism
Academic Freedom
Functions, Missions, and Freedoms

Conclusion

Change and Continuity
Purposes and Functions
Flagship Institutions
National, International, and Global
The Future of the Past



Anatomy of the Soviet University

- Expansion of access to universities
- Organisational separation of higher education and research
- Expansion of international cultural diplomacy
- Restricted institutional autonomy and academic freedom



The Public Education Act of the USSR reads as follows: ‘in our country, for the first time in the history of mankind, a genuinely democratic system of public education has been established’.



Autonomy and Freedom

“The task of a Communist educator is [. . .] principally that of Stalin’s engineer – of so adjusting the individual that he should only ask those questions the answers to which are readily accessible, that he shall grow up in such a way that he would naturally fit into his society with minimum friction [. . .] Curiosity for its own sake, the spirit of independent individual enquiry, the desire to create or contemplate beautiful things for their own sake, to find out truth for its own sake, to pursue ends because they are what they are and satisfy some deep desire of our nature, are [. . .] damned because they may increase the differences between men, because they may not conduce to harmonious development of a monolithic society”

Isaiah Berlin (1949) ‘Democracy, Communism and the Individual’



<https://nsk.triproom.ru/blog/akademgorodok/>



<https://rus.azattyq.org/a/31613538.html>



Soviet Universities Established in Pre-Soviet Times

23 out of 69 Soviet universities were pre-Soviet

- 16th - 17th cc - Vilnius University (1579), Ivan Franko National University of Lviv (1661), and Tartu University (1632)
- 18th c - two universities by Russian monarchs— Saint Petersburg State University (1724) and Lomonosov Moscow State University (1755). Russian emperors founded Kazan (1804) and Tomsk (1878). Four new universities emerged in Ukraine: V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University (1804), Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1834), Odesa I. I. Mechnikov National University (1865), and Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University (1875).
- Early 20th c - Tbilisi State University (1918), Yerevan State University (1919), and Baku State University (1919). University of Latvia (1919) and Oles Honchar Dnipro National University (1918). Seven new universities were established in Russia: Saratov State University (1909), Southern Federal University (1915), Lobachevsky State University of Nizhni Novgorod (1916), Perm State University (1916), Voronezh State University (1918), Irkutsk State University (1918), and Samara University (1918).

Former Soviet Universities

- 40 in Russia
- 10 (+2) in Ukraine
- Three each in Belarus and Uzbekistan
- Two each in Georgia (+1) and Kazakhstan
- One each in the rest of the countries



Linking Models of University Governance with Autonomy and Freedom

- Three models of university governance: supremacy of state authority, Anglo-American market model, and Humboldtian academic self-rule
- What is meant by university autonomy?
- What is meant by academic freedom?
- How much autonomy/freedom have former Soviet universities been 'granted'/'given'?
- How has academic freedom been interpreted in former Soviet countries?



Autonomy from the State

Looking at different example

Estonia, Latvia, & Lithuania

Russia & Belarus

Tajikistan

Ukraine and Armenia

Financial autonomy

Academic activities



Rector Feudalism



The rector of LMSU Viktor Sadovnichiy who has held this post since 1992



‘Surprisingly enough, we have learned that it is not only the despotic regimes that constrain our freedom. When in the old days, East European scholars were not able to exercise their freedom to travel, publish, or hold discussions with colleagues abroad because of political control, abolishing the political control has not always brought much freedom. [. . .] It takes a certain amount of courage to step out of the prison. Developments in East European higher education in the 1990s indicate that **many choose to stay in the cell even if the door is open.** This is particularly unfortunate when there are those who use their administrative or symbolic authority to prevent others from leaving.’ (Tomusk, [2004](#), p. xiv)



Academic Freedom



<https://pin.it/6r8spBE>

Academic Freedom Index

- 'A status' countries (1.0 - 0.8) - most European and North American countries, **Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Moldova.**
- 'B status' countries (0.8 - 0.6) - Japan, Kenya, Lebanon, **Armenia.**
- 'C status' countries (0.6 - 0.4) - Brazil, Ethiopia, Malaysia, **Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Ukraine.**
- 'D status' countries (0.4 - 0.2) - Bangladesh, Hong Kong, Qatar, **Russia, and Uzbekistan.**
- 'E status' countries (0.2 - 0.0) - China, Cuba, North Korea, Turkey, UAE, Saudi Arabia, **Azerbaijan, Belarus, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan** (Kinzelback et al., 2021)

Self-censorship

Political culture



<https://www.gppi.net/project/assessing-academic-freedom-worldwide>



The Future of the Past: Concluding Thoughts

De-Sovietisation

Change from inside

Purposes of universities

Innovative / experimental
institutions

Flagship institutions

Change agents

Collective action

Trust



Further reading by the author = can be accessed on

https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Maia_Chankseliani

Chankseliani, M., Fedyukin, I and Froumin, I (eds). (2022). *Building Research Capacity at Universities: Insights from Post-Soviet Countries*. Palgrave Macmillan

Lovakov, A., Chankseliani, M., & Panova, A. (2022). Universities vs. Research Institutes? Overcoming the Soviet Legacy of Higher Education and Research. *Scientometrics*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11192-022-04527-y>

Chankseliani, M. (2022). International Development Higher Education: Looking from the Past, Looking to the Future. *Oxford Review of Education*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03054985.2022.2077325> (Open Access)

Chankseliani, M., Lovakov, A., & Pisyakov, V. (2021). A Big Picture: Bibliometric Study of the Quantity, Quality, and Impact of Academic Publications from Post-Soviet Countries. *Scientometrics*, 126(10), 8701-8730. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11192-021-04124-5> (Open Access)

Chankseliani, M., & McCowan, T. (2021). Higher Education and the Sustainable Development Goals. *Higher Education*, 81(1), 1-8. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-020-00652-w> (Open Access)

Chankseliani, M., Qoraboyev, I., & Gimranova, D. (2021). Higher Education Contributing to the Local, National, and Global Development: New Empirical and Conceptual Insights. *Higher Education*, 81(1), 109-127. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-020-00565-8> (Open Access)

Chankseliani, M. (2021). The politics of exporting higher education: Russian university branch campuses in the “Near Abroad”. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 37(1), 26-44. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2020.1789938>

Chankseliani, M., Gorgodze, S., Janashia, S., & Kurakbayev, K. (2020). Rural Disadvantage in the Context of Centralised University Admissions: A Multiple Case Study of Georgia and Kazakhstan. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 50(7), 995-1013. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2020.1761294>

Kot, V., Yemini, M., & Chankseliani, M. (2020). Triple Exclusion: Life Stories of Jewish Migrant Academics from the Former Soviet Union at a Contested University under Siege. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 76. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2020.102191>

Chankseliani, M., & Wells, A. (2019). A Big Business in a Small State: Rationales of Higher Education Internationalisation in Latvia. *European Educational Research Journal*, 18(6), 639-655. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1474904119830507>

Chankseliani, M. (2018). The Politics of Student Mobility: Links Between Outbound Student Flows and the Democratic Development of Post-Soviet Eurasia. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 62, 281–288. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2018.07.006>

Chankseliani, M., & Silova, I. (Eds.). (2018). *Comparing Post-Socialist Transformations: Purposes, Policies, and Practices in Education*. Oxford: Symposium Books.

Chankseliani, M. (2017). Four Rationales of HE Internationalisation: Perspectives of UK Universities on Attracting Students from Former Soviet Countries. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 22(1), 53–70. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315317725806>

Chankseliani, M. (2017). Charting the Development of Knowledge on Soviet and Post-Soviet Education through the Pages of Comparative and International Education Journals. *Comparative Education*, 53(2), 265–283. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050068.2017.1293407>

Chankseliani, M. (2015). Escaping Homelands with Limited Employment and Tertiary Education Opportunities: Outbound Student Mobility from Post-Soviet Countries. *Population, Space and Place*, 22(3), 301–316. <http://doi.org/10.1002/psp.1932>

Chankseliani, M. (2014) Are We Using Friedman's Roadmap? A Comparative Analysis of Stimuli of Private School Enrolments in Post-Soviet Countries, *International Journal of Educational Development*, 38, 13–21. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2014.05.005>

Chankseliani, M. (2013). Rural Disadvantage in Georgian Higher Education Admissions: A Mixed-Methods Study. *Comparative Education Review*, 57(3), 424–456. <https://doi.org/10.1086/670739>

Chankseliani, M. (2013). The financial burden of attending university in Georgia: Implications for rural students. *Prospects: Quarterly Review of Comparative Education*, 43(3), 311-328. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11125-013-9274-x>



You can order the book online at
www.oup.com with promotion code
AAFLYG6 (30% off)

Email: maia.chankseliani@education.ox.ac.uk

Follow on Twitter: [@MChankseliani](https://twitter.com/MChankseliani)