The University in Transition

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Prologue

The coronavirus pandemic proved once again that universities are vibrant, resilient institutions with a strong capacity for adaptation. In just a few days, almost all our courses shifted to remote online teaching, and we were able to continue with much of our research by changing parts of the method or structure, rescheduling tasks, creating flexible lab working hours, and so forth. In addition, the pandemic also, yet again vividly illustrated how vital fundamental-, and particularly also applied research is for society, especially when the research is conducted in an international context. New vaccines, medications and treatment methods were developed and tested at an awe-inspiring pace. Interdisciplinary research took off, as the biochemical, biomedical, and social sciences, and humanities, as well as public administration and economics, all joined together to investigate the complex issues that arise in a global pandemic. Transdisciplinary research, in which knowledge institutions collaborate with not-for-profit institutions and private companies, also played an important role.

At the same time, we also see that in parts of society there is extreme scepticism about the results of scientific research, especially when based on those results citizens' rights and freedoms are being limited. This applies to the government's many measures to combat the pandemic, but also to measures concerning climate change. On social media, alternative truths quickly sprout, reducing scientific knowledge to 'just an opinion'.

Over the past few years, universities have been facing other challenges as well. Academic freedom and institutional autonomy are under threat in many places, even in countries where they had once

seemed unassailable, like the United States. Political parties increasingly express demands that universities, in their education and research, adhere to political and ideological opinions. At the same time, there is also pressure from societal parties to terminate certain collaborations because of ethical and ideological views. University staff are met with the stain of heavy workloads and pressure to perform, in combination with serious competition for funding because of inadequate financing. Particularly the pressure to perform has raised fundamental questions: which results are worth the effort? And for whom do we aim to produce those results? In essence, questions about the legitimacy of the university.

These issues, in turn, raise the question of how the university will develop in the future. To us, an even more interesting question is: how do we *aspire* that the university will develop in the future? This brings up the highly critical question: what is the *ideal* university? This could easily lead to futuristic daydreaming, which would only bring fleeting enjoyment. Instead, we've challenged ourselves to come up with a beckoning perspective that is firmly rooted in reality, and the developments we observe around us every day.

Of course, there is constant thinking about how the university is developing. This has resulted in some interesting publications over the past few years, like the one in the Netherlands by former UU Rector Magnificus Bert van der Zwaan, titled *Higher Education in 2040. A Global Approach,*[1] in which he discusses the higher education system in European and international contexts. There is also the publication by Floris Cohen, with the enticing title: *'De ideale universiteit'* (The Ideal University), in which he largely draws on a number of fundamental principles to design a new university, which in part surprisingly resembles the university as we knew it in the (distant) past.[2] These and many other publications in the Netherlands and abroad have inspired thoughts, and led us to the conclusion that it might be worthwhile to

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[1] Van der Zwaan, B. (2017). *Higher Education in 2040: A Global Approach*. Amsterdam University Press.

[2] Cohen, H. F. (2020). *De Ideale Universiteit: Ontwerp van een Uitvoerbaar Alternatief.* Prometheus.

brainstorm about the future of the university based on developments in its core tasks: education, research, and societal impact. Those core tasks are developing within the context of the most important change in the contemporary academic culture: the trend towards Open Science. In essence, this change is about the university's desire to further embed itself in society by increasing to address major social challenges at local, regional, and global levels in its education and research, but also by giving back more to society.[3] Particularly in this context, how are education and research currently developing?

First and foremost, the university is shaped by its people. As such, it is therefore important for us to consider how the university community is developing today, and how it could ideally develop in the future. Evidently, this means that we should look at how the university is organised. The following considerations give rise to the main themes of this book: education, research, society, community, and organisation. We will complete the whole with a brief historical sketch and an epilogue that synthesizes the main conclusions and beckoning perspectives.

Our modest ambition extends beyond merely describing what we believe to observe: we further aim to describe which future developments we expect and consider desirable. In some cases, we also describe the steps needed to realise certain ideals. And of course, these steps also serve to spark discussion.

Many people are of importance when it comes to determining the future of the university. The first are the members of the university community itself: its students and staff. Then, of course, there are also politicians, policy makers and opinion leaders. Beyond that, there are many other stakeholders in society who are, to say the least, interested in the functioning of the university and can exert influence at decisive moments, such as during elections. These include public institutions, but also the business community, both of whom are extremely relevant in the Netherlands and abroad.

With this broad audience in mind, we have tried to write a book that is as accessible as possible, with plenty of room for explanation and

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[3] Chapter 2 deals with the development of Open Science in more detail.

examples. As all three of us are affiliated with Utrecht University, and we have drawn extensively on our own experiences, it will come as no surprise that quite a few examples are drawn from how we do things in Utrecht. This, however, does not make it an 'Utrecht vision', nor do we want to set Utrecht University as an example. On the contrary, we believe that the topics we deal with are relevant to all Dutch universities, to at least some extent. High-quality research is, by definition, international, and as such the university world is also by definition an international one. It is a world where the European Union has become increasingly important over the past years, both in terms of policy and for research and education funding. This book will therefore deal with the international, and in particular European-, context in some detail.

This international context obliges us to define what we mean by a 'university': the institutions that are often referred to internationally as 'research universities'. These are not, as is generally thought, universities that give priority to research. They are higher education institutions that conduct research as the basis for their activities, and where research therefore also forms the basis of education, contrary to higher education institutions, where this is not primarily the case. In an international context, these institutions are often referred to as 'universities of applied sciences'. Dutch Higher Professional Education (HBO) fits into the latter category. In practice, the distinction between these two types of institution is not so black-and-white; universities of applied sciences also pay increasing attention to (applied) research. As such, it is understandable that the two types of institutions are increasingly considered to be equal, certainly within the EU. However, there also remains a valuable and defensible difference between institutions that focus on educating people who can generate new, high-quality knowledge, and those that focus on training people who can apply such high-quality knowledge (and also conduct further research into these applications).[4] This book is mainly about what happens at the first type of institution. That being said, much of what we write will

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[4] See also: Vereniging van Samenwerkende Nederlandse Universiteiten – Vereniging Hogescholen (VSNU-VH). (2019). *Position Paper VSNU-VH doorontwikkeling binair stelsel*. Retrieved from: vereniginghogescholen.nl

also be relevant to HBO institutions, especially in the field of education. But modesty also befits us here, for we are not intimately familiar with universities of applied sciences.

Many people have inspired us in this project, amongst whom numerous national and international authors. Equally valuable to us, however, were the insights that close colleagues and students were willing to share. When we started working on the topic, we held three meetings with students and colleagues of whom we were sure they had affinity with, knowledge of and experience in the three main topics we wanted to discuss: education, public engagement, and the university community. Our invitation to participate in what we called 'expert meetings' received an enthusiastic response. We were highly motivated by the participants' input, as well as their engagement. Afterwards, we were told it was a pity that there had not been room for more people to attend, and that the opportunities to meet were limited. There is really no better way to discover that a subject you're working on is so relevant to so many people. We wish to thank all the participants in these 'expert meetings', as well as those who could not attend but provided us with written input. Their names can be found in an appendix.

Entirely in line with the Open Science philosophy, we made the first version of this work publicly available in a digital pre-print version in July 2023, on an open platform provided by the *Publishers of Trial and Error.* This brought us numerous responses, suggestions, and examples. Discussion sessions with colleagues and students about (parts of) the book further enriched our thoughts. In this revised version, we have made corrections and, to some extent, responded to questions and suggestions in reaction to the previous version. We've noticed that the book has sparked a wide range of discussions and perspectives. We welcome this, because our intention was precisely to spark and fuel dialogue. In our opinion, these discussions cannot - and need not - be included in the book in their entirety. The *Center of Trial and Error*'s website provides an open platform for further discussions, and we welcome both critical and empowering feedback and look forward to the evolution of thinking in this area.

As authors, we divided the work among ourselves. Manon Kluijt-mans took on the primary responsibility for the chapters on education

and community. Frank Miedema had primary responsibility for the chapters on the transition to Open Science and those on interaction with society. Henk Kummeling set up the other sections. The final product, however, is the result of an in-depth collaboration, for which we claim joint responsibility. In this context, we would also especially like to thank Maarten Post, who fulfilled the role of critical co-reader. He paid particular attention to the accessibility of the texts, and he made sure that the chapters are somewhat streamlined linguistically, while allowing the signature of each particular author to remain visible. The chapters are obviously related, but we also wanted to ensure that they are each individually easy to read and understand.

One person who certainly deserves our special thanks is Claire Stalenhoef, who was a UU student in the Legal Research Master's programme when the first version was written. She helped collect and compile research material, and also coordinated the expert meetings. Claire provided valuable substantive feedback, and also ensured that we kept the student perspective in mind as well. The same goes for Manar el Amrani, who took over her responsibilities halfway through the project. Claire and Manar 'orchestrated' the author team, which was certainly a challenge given the writers' distinct schedules. With seemingly inexhaustible enthusiasm and attention to detail, they definitely got their jobs done.

We would also like to thank Eva ten Hoor, who supported the writing team in the revision from pre-print to final version. Our thanks also go out to Robert Smith and Hanneke Olivier who arranged for the eagerly awaited English translation. And, of course, the entire team at the Centre of Trial and Error who made it possible to publish this book on an open platform. Both the Dutch and English versions are available on their website.

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A Brief History of the University

1 • IN THE BEGINNING…

The university, as an institution, has a long history. It traditionally began in the year 1088, with the founding of the University of Bologna.[5,6] But the origins of the university actually go back much further, to the year 859, when the University of Al-Qarawiyyin was founded in Fez, Morocco.[7] Since then, the institution has enjoyed an extraordinarily successful rise in Europe and the rest of the world.[8] All this time, the justification for the institution of the university as such has never been called into question. The same can't be said for the *idea* of the univer-

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[5] To avoid misunderstanding: this was not the year that *science* was born. Science arose much earlier, in other parts of the world such as China, Egypt, Babylonia, and, of course, Greece. There were also various teaching systems, some more organized than others, e.g. the school of Aristotle. See: Cohen, H. F. (2010). *How Modern Science Came Into The World: Four Civilizations, One 17th-Century Breakthrough* (pp. 3-4). Amsterdam University Press.

[6] The founding dates of universities are actually the subject of several historical myths. For example, Rüegg & De Ridder-Symoens demythologise the foundation of the University of Bologna: "no such event took place in 1088"; see Rüegg, W. & De Ridder-Symoens, H. (1994). *History in Europe, Vol I* (p. 4). Cambridge University Press.

[7] Hoque, M. N. & Abdullah, M. F. (2021). The World's Oldest University and its Financing Experience, a Study on Al-Qarawyyin University (859-990). *Journal of Nusantara Studies*, *6*(1), 24-41. doi.org/10.24200/jonus.vol6iss1pp24-41

[8] The World Higher Education Database (WHED), compiled by the International Association of Universities and UNESCO, includes data on more than 20,000 universities (including approx. 5,000 in Europe), and more are added every year. See: whed.net

sity, however. What purpose should the university actually serve? The answer to that question has always been subject to debate and revision, even up to the present day.[9]

In Europe, universities initially offered education in theology for the benefit of the Catholic Church, under the patronage of a secular ruler.[10,11] The founding of the University of Leiden in 1575 illustrates how the creation of a university often also had political motivations, and was primarily considered in the context of state government and political identity. William of Orange deliberately intended Leiden to serve as an alternative to other, more Catholic-oriented universities. One of the new university's missions was to train resilient and discerning citizens, 'so that the enemy would never again impose his searing tyranny and oppression of religion, or the liberties of the country, whether through force or through cunning'. To make that possible, training was needed not only 'in the right knowledge of God', but also in 'the liberal arts and sciences'.[12] Universities had already become imbued with the understanding that society, as well as central and local administration, needed more than just theological knowledge. Professional training had already been offered to doctors and lawyers, and for administrators in general.[13,14] Even then, these courses were not merely education aimed at a specific profession, at least in the early phase. It is striking how many medieval universities had a similar basic curriculum for all study programmes. This included general education and language mastery, with a special focus on proficiency in Latin,

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[9] See also the aptly titled collection of essays: Verbrugge, A. & Van Baardewijk, J. (Eds.). (2014). *Waartoe is de Universiteit op Aarde?* Boom.

[10] Verbrugge, A. (2014). De Universiteit en de Zorg voor de Hoogste Kennis. In Verbrugge, A. & Van Baardewijk (Eds.), *Waartoe is de Universiteit op Aarde?* (p. 208). Boom.

[11] Van der Zwaan, B. (2017). *Haalt de universiteit 2040? Een Europees Perspectief op Wereldwijde Kansen en Bedreigingen* (p. 32). Amsterdam University Press.

[12] Quotes obtained from: Van Stipriaan, R. (2021). *De Zwijger: Het Leven van Willem van Oranje* (p. 441). Querido Facto.

[13] Verbrugge, A. (2014). De Universiteit en de hoogste zorg voor kennis. In A. Verbrugge & J. van Baardewijk (Eds.), *Waartoe is de universiteit op aarde?* (p. 209). Boom.

[14] Langereis, S. (2021). *Erasmus: Dwarsdenker: een Biografie* (p. 87). Bezige Bij.

rhetoric -speaking and writing with persuasive power-, and logic.[15,16] The emergence[17] and embrace of Aristotelian logic in particular, which focused on autonomous systematic thinking, ensured that universities began to function more independently from ecclesiastical and secular authority. This development was reinforced during the Renaissance that followed the Middle Ages. By drawing on sources from classical antiquity and focusing on the best literature of the time, the moral dimension of education shifted. The formation of virtuous people was still the priority, but virtue was defined not so much in the eyes of God, rather than in terms of aptitude to fill responsible positions in society and public life.[18] The rise of humanism, with its focus on the value of human beings, critical thinking and evidence, and its wariness of theological dogma, has had enormous significance in this regard.

2 • ENLIGHTENMENT

During the Enlightenment period of the eighteenth century, a fundamental change took place: thinking became dominated by 'reason'. Science, and with it, universities, definitively freed themselves from religious norms, and even some secular norms, by focusing entirely on objectivity.[19] Two principles arose that are still considered to be core values of universities today: independence and neutrality.[20] This period also witnessed the rise of civic culture; church and nobility no

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[15] Van Bommel, B. (2014). De Teloorgang van Algemeen Menselijke Vorming. In A. Verbrugge & J. van Baardewijk (Eds.), *Waartoe is de universiteit op aarde?* (p. 175). Boom.

[16] Cohen, H. F. (2010). *How Modern Science Came into the World: Four Civilizations, One 17th-Century Breakthrough* (p. 81). Amsterdam University Press.

[17] Cohen, H. F. (2010). *How Modern Science Came into the World: Four Civilizations, One 17th-Century Breakthrough*(p. 79). Amsterdam University Press.

[18] Van Bommel, B. (2014). De Teloorgang van Algemeen Menselijke Vorming. In A. Verbrugge & J. van Baardewijk (Eds.), *Waartoe is de universiteit op aarde?* (p. 176). Boom.

[19] That is a label we affix from a largely retrospective point of view, as we often interpret historical developments through concepts that were little- or unknown at the time.

[20] Van der Zwaan, B. (2017). *Higher Education in 2040: A Global Approach* (p. 34). Amster dam University Press.

longer set the tone, but rather 'ordinary' citizens. The organisation and actions of the state became objects of analysis and criticism. Much more attention was paid to 'the people', their history, language, and ideology, and this had practical consequences for the university and university graduates' role in society. In the words of Verbrugge, they increasingly became incubators for journalists and revolutionaries.[21]

3 • BILDUNG WITH RESEARCH

This brings us to another milestone in the history of university development, namely that of 'Bildung'. A tremendous amount of ink has been, and still is being, spilled on the idea of Bildung from different (idealistic) perspectives. Here, we follow the line set out previously by Francot and De Vries.[22] They point to the work of Horlacher, in which Bildung is seen as a holistic concept aimed at realising a better society; economically, morally, and politically.[23] University education was considered to be vital for the realisation of this ideal. The ideal of Bildung is forever linked to the academic and statesman Wilhelm von Humboldt, who argued that the most important function of the university is to unite students in a community dedicated to science, and to secure their total freedom to exchange knowledge and insights and develop themselves in an environment steeped in science, without being subject to coercion or constrained by direct purposes.[24]

Von Humboldt was given the opportunity to put his ideas into prac-

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[21] Verbrugge, A. (2014). De Universiteit en de hoogste zorg voor kennis. In A. Verbrugge & J. van Baardewijk (Eds.), *Waartoe is de universiteit op aarde?* (p. 209). Boom.

[22] Francot, L. & De Vries, B. (2010). Adieu von Humboldt? Over Domme Organisaties en Slimme Mensen. In L. J. Dorsman & P. J. Knegtmans (Eds.), *Het Universitaire Bedrijf: Over Professionalisering van Onderzoek, Bestuur en Beheer* (pp. 74-7). Verloren.

[23] Horlacher, R. (2004). Bildung – A construction of a History of Philosophy of Education. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, *23*(5/6), 409-26.

[24] Francot, L. & De Vries, B. (2010). Adieu von Humboldt? Over Domme Organisaties en Slimme Mensen. In L. J. Dorsman & P. J. Knegtmans (Eds.), *Het Universitaire Bedrijf: Over Professionalisering van Onderzoek, Bestuur en Beheer* (pp. 75-6). Verloren.

tice as a senior official in Prussia's Ministry of the Interior. To this day, the foundation of the University of Berlin (now known as Humboldt Universität) in 1810 is considered one of his most important legacies. But his ideas are just as pertinent today. A few elements deserve special attention. First is the idea, which actually dates back to the Enlightenment, that education should be free from state interference. It is also important that education should focus on individual, inner self-development, such that individuality should be developed through the exchange of experiences with others. Social bonds and interaction are therefore crucial in education. Finally, and this cannot be emphasised enough, because it is often left out of discussions about the ideal university education, according to Von Humboldt the university should guarantee an optimal climate for Bildung precisely through the union of education and research.[25]

Von Humboldt's enduring significance lies in this institutionalisation of the combination of education and research in the university. At the same time, the university developed from a disseminator of existing knowledge into an institute in which new knowledge was acquired. He saw this combination of education and research as the distinguishing feature of the university.[26] As we will illustrate below, this essential combination in Von Humboldt's thinking has occasionally been forgotten in the years that followed.

4 • RESEARCH WITHOUT BILDUNG?

Today, *Bildung* is mainly seen as an anachronistically romantic ideal for education. But people often forget that an essential component of Von Humboldt's ideal of *Bildung* includes scientific research. Some say that the founding of the University of Berlin mainly marked the rise of the 'research university'. Expanding knowledge became the university's primary mission.

[25] Francot, L. & De Vries, B. (2010). Adieu von Humboldt? Over Domme Organisaties en Slimme Mensen. In L. J. Dorsman & P. J. Knegtmans (Eds.), *Het Universitaire Bedrijf: Over Professionalisering van Onderzoek, Bestuur en Beheer* (p. 76). Verloren.
[26] Van der Zwaan, B. (2017). *Higher Education in 2040: A Global Approach* (p. 35). Amsterdam University Press.

"The university's primary task became providing the financial, logistical and other resources that facilitate the production of new knowledge. Starting in the late 19th century, research seminars, graduate schools, specialised research institutes and laboratories were created at almost all European and American universities", according to Van Bommel.[27] This development continued into the twentieth century. Knowledge also expanded in the natural sciences, biomedical sciences, agriculture, and engineering. This was enthusiastically encouraged by governments, especially after World War II.[28]

According to Van Bommel, nothing has changed our perspective on academic training more radically than this redefinition of the university as a research institute:

> *"The academic status of modern university teachers rests not on their ability to form students intellectually and morally, but on the 'innovations' or 'discoveries' they have to their credit."*[29]

Although Van Bommel's point is debatable[30], it is undeniably true that general education gradually received less and less attention from universities. This has had consequences for the status and role of the social sciences, and especially the humanities[31], which had played such a dominant role at universities in the past, especially in the context of general education. The loss of status of these research areas was further exacerbated by the fact that they were able to make less obvious

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[27] Van Bommel, B. (2014). De Teloorgang van Algemeen Menselijke Vorming. In A. Verbrugge & J. van Baardewijk (Eds.), *Waartoe is de universiteit op aarde?* (p. 178). Boom.

[28] Miedema, F. (2022). *Open Science: The Very Idea* (p. 1). Springer.

[29] Van Bommel, B. (2014). De Teloorgang van Algemeen Menselijke Vorming. In A. Verbrugge & J. van Baardewijk (Eds.), *Waartoe is de universiteit op aarde?* (p. 178). Boom.

[30] The importance of education as a primary task of the university, including the significance it should have for academic careers, has (once again) been widely endorsed in recent years. That was already the case in some places even before the emergence of Open Science. See Chapter 3.

[31] This division of fields of science is actually a later innovation.

or spectacular discoveries, which in turn had negative consequences for their funding. We will return to this topic later on in the book.

In addition to the issue of the relationship between the different areas of science, people began to pay more attention to the relationship between teaching and research as core university tasks. Teaching became a 'burden', in part because university careers were mainly built on the basis of research performance. This development has contributed to an existential crisis in the university world. But there are several interrelated facets to this crisis that should be taken into consideration.

5 • PRELUDE TO FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS FOR THE UNIVERSITY

The university's nature and significance changed substantially in the 1960s, as its doors opened to students who no longer solely came from the 'upper class'. Finally, intelligent students from all walks of life could benefit from the best education, which also gave access to the best, or at least highest-paid, jobs in society. The result was a massive influx of students. This had a relatively short-term effect and a long-term effect. The short-term effect was a growing focus on social problems, national politics, and the state of the world. This in turn led to demonstrations, occupations, protests and demands to reform curricula, and the discontinuation of contacts with universities in countries with a dubious human rights record.[32] With the rise of neoliberalism in the 1980s, this type of idealism became less iconic. What remained, was the question of how to govern a rapidly growing university, which included groups with new and different ambitions. Before, the university had been characterised by professors' self-governance, with the assistance of a few part-time professional administrators. The professionalisation and democratisation of university governance were necessary, but they remain a difficult combination to this day.[33]

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[32] For a recent reflection, see Kennedy, J. (2022). *Back to the Sixties? Community Engaged Learning and The Future of the University* [Inaugural lecture]. Utrecht University. Retrieved from: uu.nl

[33] See also Chapter 6, Section 2.

The influx of students also led to the emergence of an extensive support apparatus. Such bureaucracy naturally brought with it rules, procedures and accountability obligations.[34] This development was further reinforced by the fact that the necessary funding of the universities lagged behind the influx of students, so universities had to think even more in terms of efficiency. This was compounded by the Dutch government's implementation of a succession of austerity measures starting from the 1980s. The time in which to complete a degree was limited and, under pressure from the government, some study programmes were scrapped.[35] Eventually, the Dutch government only financed the nominal duration of studies, making every 'long-term student' a burden on universities, not only in terms of financial resources, but also a threat to the quality of education due to the dilution of resources. The pressure on research funding was increased, as research funds were removed from direct government funding and put into a separate organisation, initially called the Organisation for Pure Scientific Research (Organisatie voor Zuiver Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek), which was re-named the Dutch Research Council (Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek, NWO) in 1988. Researchers could then bring in research funding by competing according to conditions set by NWO.

These developments, certainly also in the Netherlands, had major consequences for universities' internal functioning. Inadequate government funding forced universities to think of ways to increase efficiency, which in turn led to economies of scale, centralisation, and further bureaucratisation.[36] This all resulted in questions about what room was left for academic independence and freedom and the professional autonomy of individual staff members.

The funding shortage also led to a search for other financial sources,

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[34] On the consequences of that reporting obligation, see: Van de Donk, W. (2023). *Bakens en beweging, Over universiteiten* [Speech] (p. 13). Tilburg University.

[35] The first is the result of the Two Phase Structure Act, and the deletion of courses was based on the paper 'Selective shrinkage and growth'; more on this in Chapter 6, Section 2.

[36] Van der Zwaan, B. (2017). *Higher Education in 2040: A Global Approach* (p. 61). Amsterdam University Press.

such as the business community. In the 1980s, the concept of the 'entrepreneurial university' emerged in the Netherlands. In acknowledgement of science's practical importance for society, people began to argue that the university should do more with its scientific knowledge. Critics soon saw this as a form of kowtowing to the business world.[37,38] This was of course not so surprising, considering the context of the austerity-driven Lubbers cabinets in government at the time. While attention to greater social relevance is not entirely inappropriate in principle (about which more later), from the outset the context of the funding issue coloured the quest for external funding as a threat to the university's academic values.

In the field of research, seeking external funding has become the driving force. This is true in general, whether the funding comes from the government or businesses. But it applies especially to funding in the form of NWO and European Research Council (ERC) grants, which have become very dominant for individual career prospects - and are perceived as prestigious. Such funding is often allocated thematically, with the result that certain researchers, themes, and disciplines are less likely to receive funding. This has led to an imbalance in the funding of research fields, with medical, technical, and natural sciences attracting by far the largest share of funding in the Netherlands and around the world. In the Netherlands, for example, 70% of the academic staff are employed in these fields.[39,40]

The quest for external funding, including private funding, has made

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[37] See Alexander Rinnooy Kan's fascinating speech at the opening of the academic year of the University of Twente on September 5, 2011, entitled: *Naar een ondernemende universiteit: u nadert uw bestemming?* As the spiritual father of the term 'entrepreneurial university', he mentions the former rector of the UT, Prof. Harry van den Kroonenberg, who first used the term in a 1985 article. Of course, this development also tied in to the emerging neoliberal thinking in the West, with UK Prime Minister Thatcher and US President Reagan as important political predecessors.

[38] We actually agree with Dorsman that the focus on efficiency which accompanies neoliberal thinking is not inherently a bad thing. The concern is mainly how to prevent its excesses. See: Dorsman, L. (2023). *Universiteit in Crisis? De universiteit Utrecht 1986-2021* [Inaugural lecture] (p. 32). Utrecht University.

[39] Miedema, F. (2022). *Open Science: The Very Idea* (p. 7). Springer.

[40] Van der Zwaan, B. (2020). The Transformative Power of the University. In L. E.

the university a highly competitive environment. Under the influence of neoliberalism, which emerged in the 1980s, and the ideas of New Public Management, which sought to control quality by formulating it in terms of measurable units, certain 'metrics', such as the Hirsch index[41], became dominant measures for the allocation of research funding.[42,43,44] All this has led to a certain culture of publication and assessment, which not only limited the scope for setting one's own research agendas, but also created an academic 'king of the hill' competition; those with the most and the highest awards sat at the top of the hill, and were seen as leaders whose example had to be followed. It has also contributed to a sense of loss of autonomy, increased workload, and also sometimes feelings of unsafety within the research domain. The leadership culture has also been explicitly identified as a cause.[45,46] In many fields of research, but again especially in the medical, technical, and natural sciences, the main incentive for scientists became to start their own research group as soon as possible, and to make it as successful as possible in terms of numbers of publications, financial resources and staff. This all affects the relationships between individuals. Universities became more characterised by a culture in which academic status and age dominated decision-making processes. In this context,

Weber & B. van der Zwaan (Eds.), *The University at the Crossroads to a Sustainable Future* (p. 233). Association Glion Colloquium.

[41] A discipline-dependent indicator, which aims to measure the scientific impact of someone's publications by the number of citations of an article.

[42] Lorenz, C. (2014). Feiten Fiksen, Over Tellen, Meten en Zeker Weten. In A. Verbrugge & J. van Baardewijk (Eds.), *Waartoe is de Universiteit op Aarde?* (p. 77 et seq.). Boom.

[43] See also Chapter 2.

[44] Dorsman, L. J. & Knegt, P. J. (2010). *Het Universitaire Bedrijf: Over Professionalisering van Onderzoek, Bestuur en Beheer* (p. 8). Verloren.

[45] The Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW). (2022). *Rapport Sociale Veiligheid in de Nederlandse Wetenschap.* knaw.nl/publicaties/sociale-veiligheid-de-nederlandse-wetenschap-van-papier-naar-praktijk-0, in which the organisational structure and its power differentials are considered to be important causes for social unsafety.

[46] Naezer, M., Van den Brink, M. C. L. & Benschop, Y. (2019). *Harassment in Dutch Academia: Exploring Manifestations, Facilitating Factors, Effects and Solutions.* Landelijk Netwerk van Vrouwelijke Hoogleraren. Retrieved from: lvhn.nl

some also argue that universities have developed from a democracy into a gerontocracy, in which vested interests predominate, with the resulting serious risks for innovation.[47]

The difference in external financial incentives and accountability regimes made it seem logical to separate teaching and research organisations within the university. That undermines one of Von Humboldt's ideals: linking research and education based on the idea that academics are formed by acquiring new knowledge. This organisational division has had major consequences for university HR policy and the relationships between staff members. As careers were built on research performance, for many teaching became a 'burden' that you had to 'buy out of' if at all possible. For a long time teaching became work for the 'junior employees', who took on the bulk of the work on temporary contracts, without time for research. It was easy to predict that this would create dissatisfaction among teachers, and that it would affect the quality of academic education.

One development that unmistakeably had major consequences for the university is the trend towards internationalisation. In a way, this trend returns the university to its roots, because universities originally had strong international ties - at least in Europe - with considerable mobility among both students and staff, facilitated by the fact that they shared a common language: Latin. In the nineteenth century, universities became more nationalistic, with more focus on their own history and language.[48] This has only changed in recent decades, in part because the European Union, in an effort to promote European unity, began to encourage student exchanges through programmes such as ERASMUS.[49] But a much more important motivation was the realisation that research is by definition universal, and that its quality and development benefit enormously from international contacts and

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[47] Miedema, F. (2022). *Open Science: The Very Idea* (p. 11). Springer.

[48] Verbrugge, A. (2014) De Universiteit en de hoogste zorg voor kennis. In A. Verbrugge & J. van Baardewijk (Eds.), *Waartoe is de universiteit op aarde?* (p. 210). Boom.

[49] And with TEMPUS ('Trans-European Mobility Scheme for University Studies'), this ambition for exchange extended far beyond Europe. See: European Commission. (1990). *Trans-European Mobility for University Studies (TEMPUS)*. CORDIS – EU research results. Last edited: May 30, 1990 Retrieved from: cordis.europa.eu

cooperation. That even applies to disciplines that ostensibly have a primarily national frame of reference, like law or language studies. Here, too, appearances can be deceiving. Much of the research that takes place in these fields has an international context and international significance.

This 'internationalisation' has had positive effects on the quality of education and research. In many disciplines, an ' international classroom' contributes enormously to students' understanding and academic education and development.[50] The effects of internationalisation on the quality of research are even less controversial. One area of debate remains, however, that internationalisation should not only result in international publications; that there should still be plenty of room for research that pays attention to specific national, regional, or local issues.[51]

Internationalisation also has some less positive effects. The influx of more students puts even more pressure on the teaching organisation, exacerbated by the fact that EU students are allowed to enrol under the same (financial) conditions as Dutch students. Only non-EU students (or to be precise: non-EEA students) may be charged higher fees.[52] Internationalisation has further intensified competition between researchers. International collaborations between universities were mainly motivated by success in that competition, as measured by the 'metrics' discussed earlier. As a result, official collaborations are largely limited to the 'high-ranked' universities based on the Western model which is discussed in Chapter 2. In-depth collaborations with universities from developing countries are rare. This is all the more

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[50] Sawir, E. (2013). Internationalisation of Higher Education Curriculum: The Contribution of International Students. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, *11*(3), 359. doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2012.750477

[51] Wilkinson, R. (2013). English-Medium Instruction at a Dutch University: Challenges and Pitfalls. In A. Doiz, D. Lasagabaster & J. M. Sierra (Eds.), *English-Medium Instruction at Universities: Global Challenges* (p. 324). Blue Ridge Summit: Multilingual Matters.

[52] For the broader financial and economic perspective, see: Bolhaar, J., Kuijpers, S. & Nibbelink, A. (2019). *Economische Effecten van Internationalisering in het Hoger Onderwijs en MBO*. Centraal Planbureau. Retrieved from: cpb.nl