



**Utrecht  
University**

# The Ivory Tower Inc.

A critical history of Utrecht University's management  
from WUB to MUB

Thesis History and Philosophy of Science (37,5 EC)  
Written by Floris Boudens, 5645417  
Submitted 8 Jan. 2023

Thesis advisor, dr. Pieter Huistra  
Second examiner, dr. David Baneke



Before the law stands a doorkeeper. A man from the country comes to this doorkeeper and requests admission to the law. But the doorkeeper says he cannot grant him admission now. The man reflects and then asks if he will be allowed to enter later. "It is possible," the doorkeeper says, "but not now."

Franz Kafka in *A Country Doctor*

## Table of Content

Abstract .....	5
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	6
The toolbox .....	10
Sources and method .....	12
Historiography.....	13
Structure .....	17
Chapter 2: The belated breakthrough, 1945 – 1970.....	18
Diversification, growth and proletarianization.....	20
Towards satisfying legislation.....	23
The dialectics of rebellion.....	24
The minister takes control.....	28
Conclusion .....	31
Chapter 3: The WUB as struggle, 1970 – 1986.....	34
The limits of WUB-democracy.....	35
Evaluating, extending and amending the law .....	38
The crises leading to decisive managerial success .....	42
Conclusion .....	44
Chapter 4: The university incorporated, 1986 – 1997.....	46
Limitation of budgets and democracy .....	46
Less government, more market .....	48
The last gasps of democrats .....	50
A new ivory tower?.....	52
Conclusion .....	54
Chapter 5: Conclusion .....	56
Appendix I: List of abbreviations.....	61
Appendix II: Relevant ministers and state secretaries .....	62
Appendix III: Composition executive board (1971 – 1997).....	63
Appendix IV: Chairs university council.....	65
References .....	66
Primary sources.....	66
Secondary literature .....	70

## Abstract

In the late twentieth century Dutch academia reorganised several times. The main argument is that these reorganisations dialectically interact with cultural imaginaries of the university. Efforts to democratise the university run parallel to the conception of the university as ‘community’, whereas managerialisation is congruent with notions of the university as ‘goal organisation’ or ‘enterprise’. Indeed, the university developed as an increasingly managerialist institution. Throughout this history legislative reforms mark turning points, beginning with the *Wet Universitaire Bestuursbervorming* (WUB) and ending with the *Wet Modernisering Universiteitsbestuur* (MUB). Nevertheless, the periods before and between these pivot points are of critical importance, as this is when the optima forma of the university is under discussion, and, parallelly, reconstructions of the academy occur. I have conceptualised the discussion along three different notions of how power should be organised: oligarchy, managerialism or democracy. This thesis is informed by critical social theory. Concepts of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu account for social reproductive tendencies in the academic field, whereas class conflict theory explains social change in that same field. I have argued that the salience of democratic discourse and the proletarianization of the academy are mutually supportive. The WUB aimed to combine democratic and managerial discourses. I have demonstrated, though, that as the WUB-system was constructed, the advantages hang heavily towards the managerial side. Managerialism consolidated evermore as a result of transformations in the financial infrastructure of academia. The ongoing process towards a managerialist university ultimately culminated, and was codified, in the MUB. Contact: [florisboudens@hotmail.com](mailto:florisboudens@hotmail.com)

## Chapter 1: Introduction

The view that it is necessary for several reasons to improve the governability of the universities ... has become commonplace. On how such improvement should be achieved, however, opinions vary.

Hendrik Janssen, 1967.<sup>1</sup>

The chairman of the newly established national ‘academic council’, Hendrik Janssen, concisely summarised an ongoing, contentious, debate about the desired form and purpose of Dutch academia. Before turning to the details of the abovementioned ‘varying opinions’, it is important to note that the debate was not exclusive to the Netherlands. It was held worldwide and – after years of official intransigence – climaxed in 1968. Although the uprisings of that year are canonical in history because they were not contained to the academic world, its most lasting impact was a reorganisation of the academic system.<sup>2</sup> The professorial monopoly of academic governance was broken; professors were dispelled from their so-called ‘ivory tower’. Indeed, *ancien régime* structures were replaced by representative university councils and professional management. The reorganisation of Dutch academic governance structures as a result of the late 1960s protest movements is well-established in historiography.<sup>3</sup> Less scholarly attention goes out, however, to the longer historical trajectory of these debates or the implementation of novel laws; nor are amendments or the ultimate downfall of legislation subjected to systematic research. This thesis aims to address these lacunes. It focuses on developments in the governance structure of one particular academic institution, Utrecht University. Crucially, the main argument is that a dialectic relation exists between a cultural imaginary of the university and the structuring of academic management. The legislator serves as arbiter of the debate and reshapes the governance structure of the Dutch academic system through legislative reform. In short, to fully understand the contemporary university, I argue, warrants scrutinization of twentieth century polemics on the *optima forma* of Dutch academia and its outcomes.

---

<sup>1</sup> A.G. Maris et al. Academic Council, *Rapport van de commissie ad hoc onderzoek zelfstandige taakvervulling van de universiteit en hogeschool*, 1967, 5; Harry F. de Boer, *Institutionele verandering en professionele autonomie: een empirisch-verklarende studie naar de doorwerking van de wet “Modernisering Universitaire Bestuursorganisatie” (MUB)* (Enschede, 2003), 30. Nederlands: ‘De mening, dat het om verschillende redenen noodzakelijk is de bestuurskracht van de universiteiten te versterken, is thans wel gemeengoed geworden. Over de wijze waarop die versterking kan worden bereikt, lopen de meningen evenwel uiteen.’

<sup>2</sup> Hobsbawm reflects on the immediate canonical status of the phenomenon: ‘The year 1968 almost looks as though it had been designed to serve as some sort of signpost’ in: Eric Hobsbawm, ‘1968—A Retrospect’ in *Marxism Today*, vol. 22, no. 5 (1978), p. 130. Perhaps this partly explains why, as Van Berkel writes ‘the 1960s form a myth that just won’t die’, see Klaas van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: vier eeuwen academisch leven in Groningen. Deel III De zakelijke universiteit, 1945 - 2021* (Hilversum, 2022), p. 347. For the claim that the reorganisation of the academic field is the most lasting impact of 1968 see e.g.: Pierre Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus* (Stanford, 1988), p. 39; Jean-Philippe Legois and Alain Monchablon, ‘From the Struggle Against Repression to the 1968 General Strike in France’ in Pieter Dhondt and Elizabethanne Boran (eds), *Student revolt, city, and society in Europe: from the Middle Ages to the present* (New York, 2018), pp 67–78; Dick Howard, ‘In Search of a New Left’ in Vladimir Tismaneanu (ed.), *Promises of 1968: Crisis, Illusion and Utopia* (Budapest, 2010), p. 55. Noteworthy, university reform was typical west of the iron curtain, in the second world students struggled with workers against the status quo in the national political context. See e.g. Sara Katherine Sanders, *The dividing line: myth and experience in Mexico’s 1968 student movement* (La Jolla, 2011), p. 5; Carole Fink, Philipp Gassert and Detlef Junker, *1968, the world transformed* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> H.F. Cohen, *De strijd om de academie: de Leidse Universiteit op zoek naar een bestuursstructuur (1967-1971)* (Meppel, 1975); Pieter Slaman, *De glazen toren: de Leidse universiteit 1970-2020* (Amsterdam, 2021), p. 10; Leen Dorsman, ‘Een kwart eeuw universiteitsgeschiedenis in Nederland’ in *Nieuwsbrief Universiteitsgeschiedenis*, vol 13, no. 2 (2007), p. 55; Willem Frijhoff, ‘Honderd jaar universiteitsgeschiedenis in Nederland’ in *Studium*, vol. 6, no. 3 (2013), p. 202.

As already mentioned the pivot point of those controversies lies in the late 1960s. The resulting *Wet Universitaire Bestuursbervorming* (WUB) is of critical importance.<sup>4</sup> It is therefore necessary to give a historic overview of the Dutch protest movement's activities. Moving beyond the oligarchically governed 'professor's university' was the chief objective of Dutch protest movements from the outset.<sup>5</sup> The unprecedented willingness to question the very principle of academic power manifested as student activism and agitation.<sup>6</sup> In spite of adopting a similar method of protest, such as occupations, these movements were not nearly as radical as their peers abroad. The Dutch student movement rather lagged behind its foreign counterparts: the most portentous year was 1969. The specific character of the Dutch student movement is attributable to the lack of a broader context of conflict, equivalent to, for example, French anti-Gaullism or the Belgian linguistic conflict.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the contemporary political debate on restructuring Dutch academia was well on its way by the late 1960s. The academic community, policy-makers and the general public were already convinced that the time was ripe for structural change.<sup>8</sup> Among other things, the universities lacked coherent governance, transparency and professors carried an excessive burden of management.<sup>9</sup> Through their occupations the Dutch student movement simply intervened in ongoing debates concerning the desired form of academic governance.

---

<sup>4</sup> Ministerie van O&W, *Wet universitaire bestuursbervorming 1970*. (2nd ed., Den Haag, 1980); Harry F. de Boer, 'Van WUB naar MUB: 25 jaar overheidsbeleid aangaande bestuursstructuren' in *THE&MA*, vol. 3, no. 2 (1996), pp 23–27; Boer, *Institutionele verandering en professionele autonomie*, p. 40; Hervé Jamin, *Kennis als opdracht: de Universiteit Utrecht 1636-2001* (Utrecht, 2001), p. 196; Leen Dorsman, 'Professionalisering als probleem. De val van een college van bestuur' in Leen Dorsman and Peter Jan Knegtmans (eds), *Het universitaire bedrijf: over professionalisering van onderzoek, bestuur en beheer* (Universiteit & Samenleving, 6, Hilversum, 2010), p. 64.

<sup>5</sup> Elizabethanne Amsing and Marieke Stuurwold, 'No More Professors: The Peaceful Revolution in the Department of Psychology at the University of Groningen, the Netherlands, 1968' in Pieter Dhondt and Elizabethanne Boran (eds), *Student revolt, city, and society in Europe: from the Middle Ages to the present* (New York, 2018), p. 96; Klaas van Berkel, 'The Sciences after the Second World War' in Klaas van Berkel, Albert van Helden and Lodewijk Palm (eds), *A history of science in the Netherlands: survey, themes and reference* (Leiden, 1999), pp 231–232; Frans Godfroy, Paul Kuypers and Rob. Vermijs, *1969, opstand in het Zuiden* (Utrecht, 2013), pp 40–51; Cohen, *De strijd om de academie*, pp 15–51; Rimko van der Maar, 'De deeltjesversneller. Ton Regtien en de studentenbeweging in de jaren zestig' in Leen Dorsman and Peter Jan Knegtmans (eds), *Keurige wereldbestormers: over studenten en hun rol in de Nederlandse samenleving sedert 1876* (Universiteit & Samenleving, 4, Hilversum, 2008), pp 105–131; Friso Wielenga, *A history of the Netherlands: from the sixteenth century to the present day* (London, 2015), p. 246; Kees Jan Sniijders, 'De Studentenbeweging' in Hermann Walther von der Dunk, Wybo P. Heere and Adriaan Wessel Reinink (eds), *Tussen ivoren toren & grootbedrijf: de Utrechtse Universiteit, 1936-1986* (Maarssen, 1986), pp 149–210; Jamin, *Kennis als opdracht*, pp 192–196.

<sup>6</sup> Students from *Katholieke Hogeschool Tilburg* took the lead. In the spring of 1969 students from Tilburg occupied a university building and exuberantly renamed the institution the 'Karl Marx University', see: Godfroy et al., *1969, opstand in het Zuiden*. Despite its imitative and intensity the Tilburg occupation did not grasp the attention of national media outlets and consequently, did not inspire their peers. Students from Amsterdam eventually did. The occupation of the Maagdenhuis is still well-known. See: Jamin, *Kennis als opdracht*, pp 194–196; Sniijders, 'De Studentbeweging', pp 188–196. For a primary account see: Ton Regtien, *Universiteit in opstand: Europese achtergronden en de Nederlandse situatie* (Amsterdam, 1969), pp 156–157.

<sup>7</sup> This broader context of conflict seems what has caught the interest of many commentators. Consequently, the Dutch phenomenon was almost immediately characterized as 'a little interesting imitation of the Parisian happening.' Hans Righart, *De eindeloze jaren zestig: Geschiedenis van een generatieconflict* (Amsterdam, 1995), p. 258.

<sup>8</sup> Cohen, *De strijd om de academie*, pp 46–51; Amsing & Stuurwold, 'No More Professors', p. 98; Boer, 'Van WUB naar MUB', p. 24; Boer, *Institutionele verandering en professionele autonomie*, p. 45; Godfroy et al., *1969, opstand in het Zuiden*, p. 99; Sniijders, 'De Studentbeweging', pp 179–181; James Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw: Nederland in de jaren zestig* (3rd ed., Amsterdam, 2017), pp 176–178.

<sup>9</sup> Jamin, *Kennis als opdracht*, p. 188; Dorsman, 'Professionalisering als probleem', pp 60–61; Boer, 'Van WUB naar MUB', p. 23; Academische Raad, *onderzoek zelfstandige taakvervulling van de universiteit en hogeschool*, p. 28; J.M. Polak and Commissie voor de Bestuursbervorming, *Gewubd en gewogen* (Den Haag, 1979), p. 6; M. van Gink, van Oort, Polak, de Roon and Walstra, 'De structuur van het wetenschappelijk corps' in *U: Utrechtse universitaire reflexen* (5 Sept. 1969), vol. 1 no. 1, pp 5–6.

Three discernible schools of thought can be identified in that debate: oligarchic, democratic and managerialist views. This categorisation of the debate is congruent with views on how we should distribute power in a normative sense *and* existing power structures. Importantly, then, this conceptualisation allows analysis of both discursive and institutional contexts. That is to say, we could characterise both an opinion about how we should structure the university and a university at a fixed point in time as oligarchic, democratic or managerialist. Having outlined the scope of my framework I shall now briefly elaborate on the concepts. The oligarchic position is rooted in the classic idea of the professor who combines tasks of academic research, education and management. Until 1970, an oligarchic management tradition was manifest in Dutch academia. Power was concentrated in two administrative bodies: the ‘academic senate’ and a ‘college of curators’.<sup>10</sup> The senate was an *assemblée* of professors, responsible for formulating institutional policy. The college of curators, by contrast, expressed the authority of government; traditionally the college checked if senate decisions were in accordance with contemporary legislation.<sup>11</sup> It became increasingly clear that not all professors proved to be good managers. As financial and administrative problems piled up in the second half of the twentieth century, calls for professionalised academic management were increasingly louder.<sup>12</sup> Managerialists addressed that call. The managerial university would have clearly demarcated responsibilities and vertical power structures with professional, full-time management at the top. Finally, democrats aimed to spread power evenly over the entire academic community. The student movement was the most vocal advocate of democratisation.<sup>13</sup> In Utrecht, they first focussed on making the administrative decision-making process transparent, and later demanded participation in it.<sup>14</sup> Collectively organised democrats proved a political agent to be reckoned with. Although political actors in first instance designed a managerial university to replace former oligarchic structures, by the late 1960s the legislator yielded to some democratic demands.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Because of its inherent duality this structure is consistently referred to as a ‘duplex ordo’, see: Cohen, *De strijd om de academie*, pp 19–21; Boer, *Institutionele verandering en professionele autonomie*, pp 28–30; Boer, ‘Van WUB naar MUB’, pp 23–24; Dorsman, ‘Professionalisering als probleem’, pp 60–63; van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 117.

<sup>11</sup> Boer, *Institutionele verandering en professionele autonomie*, p. 16.

<sup>12</sup> Dorsman, ‘Professionalisering als probleem’, p. 63. This claim is still deeply polemicalised. For opposition see: e.g. Chris Lorenz, ‘If You’re So Smart, Why Are You under Surveillance? Universities, Neoliberalism, and New Public Management’ in *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 38, no. 3 (2012), pp 599–629. For relativisation: Leen Dorsman, ‘Over crises en ruïnes: de universiteit in de twintigste eeuw’ in Leen Dorsman, Ed Jonker and Jeroen Koch (eds), *De korte 20e eeuw: opstellen voor Maarten van Rossem* (Amsterdam, 2008), pp 67–78.

<sup>13</sup> Louis Althusser in March 1969 already pointed out, in a letter to Maria Antonietta Macciocchi, that the term ‘student movement’ is technically a misnomer. Althusser argues that the term is ‘overly ambitious’ and ‘inaccurate’. He elaborates that, firstly, in regards to the ‘student’ element that school students and various strata of intellectual workers combined forces with students. Second, and more importantly, he pushes on the term ‘movement’, suggesting that it is derivative from ‘worker’s movement’ which ‘deserves its title ... because it is the Movement of a social class (the proletariat) and furthermore of the only *objectively revolutionary class*. The university students, secondary school students and young intellectual workers do not constitute a class’. See Maria Antonietta Macciocchi, *Letters from inside the Italian Communist Party to Louis Althusser*, trans. Stephen M. Heilman (London, 1973), pp 310–312. Althusser’s first objection seems perfectly legitimate to me, and holds true for the Dutch context unabated, or even to a larger extent. Having said that, I will keep using the term student movement in the following for two reasons: first, it is an actor’s category – something which Althusser readily admits. Secondly, to my knowledge is the is the term unproblematised in historiographical currents. I content myself with simply having pointed towards Althusser’s objections.

<sup>14</sup> Jamin, *Kennis als opdracht*, pp 194–196; Snijders, ‘De Studentbeweging’, pp 174–197.

<sup>15</sup> Chapter 2 will reconstruct the reception of the so-called ‘Rapport Maris’, which essentially outlined a managerialist university. See Boer, *Institutionele verandering en professionele autonomie*, pp 34–36; Cohen, *De strijd om de academie*, pp 21–29; van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, pp 350–354.



Thusly, the lawmaker sought to harmonise both charges on the oligarchs, furthering professionalisation and democratisation of management concurrently. The university was restructured by virtue of the *Wet Universitaire Bestuursbervorming* (WUB). The law passed parliament in 1970 and was effectuated the following year. Although this ushered a new era for Dutch academia, it is important to point out that the law was principally an experiment. The WUB had a temporary validity and needed to be evaluated intermittently. The democratic struggle yielded the formation of an ‘university council’ – an elected representative body. The council co-governed the university in tandem with an ‘executive board’.<sup>16</sup> The council had an extensive *de jure* mandate, from making the budget to outlining the policies on almost everything. The executive board was tasked with daily management, the preparation and execution of council decisions, staffing and housing. I will demonstrate in the following that the executive board had a crucial information advantage. As a result, the executive board would have more agency and would end up eclipsing the university council. Nevertheless, most of the affairs the executive board concerned itself with ultimately related to budgeting, and thus required the council’s approval. Consequently, a common approach to university management was the so-called ‘harmony model’, which sought a consensus between council and executive board. The Utrecht University management soon seemed to rely heavily on the harmony model.<sup>17</sup> I will argue that the relation between the executive board and university council is not so much harmonious, as all the advantages are accrued to the managerialists. Rather, we can describe it as reciprocal, but asymmetric.

My interest lies with reconstructing the social practices; the interplay between power and knowledge, that have produced a specific governance structure. The period this thesis centres, 1945 to 1997, is particularly interesting, because it is characterised by a dialectic between politicisation and reorganisation of the academic field. Because the academic governance structure is contingent on legislation, the periodisation follows legislative turning points: from the historical developments leading up to the WUB (1970) to the *Wet Modernisering Universiteitsbestuur* MUB (1997). Intermittently, in 1986, the *Wet op het Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs* (WVO) was combined with the WUB, which in turn was heavily revised, limiting the council’s rights, while expanding the responsibilities of the board of executives. The MUB is a logical endpoint, because it codified and formalised an ongoing development to a managerial university.<sup>18</sup> For the sake of operability, this thesis is mostly limited to the highest level of academic governance, the bodies that managed the scientific enterprise wholly: the university council and the executive board. Using sources from university media, the student movement, university top-level governance and the legislator, I aim to trace the changes in the academic governance system. The main research question, then, is: **How did governance structures of Utrecht University transform, from 1945 to 1997, parallel to discussions on what the university is, or should be?**

---

<sup>16</sup> Although it lies outside the focus of this thesis, it must be pointed out that the reconstruction of the academy had consequences for smaller organizational units conjointly. A similar co-governing board/council system was created on the level of faculties. The discipline-management was democratised as well. Broadly, academic rights that had previously been linked to the chairholder came under collective control in departments [*vakgroepen*].

<sup>17</sup> Boer, *Institutionele verandering en professionele autonomie*, p. 41; Ministerie van O&W, *WUB*, pp 12–13. See article 17.

<sup>18</sup> Kim. Prudon, *Van WUB tot MUB: geschiedenis van de Universiteitsraad*, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam (Rotterdam, 1998), p. 53; Leen Dorsman and Peter Jan Knegtman (eds), *Het universitaire bedrijf: over professionalisering van onderzoek, bestuur en beheer* (Universiteit & Samenleving, 6, Hilversum, 2010), pp 7–10; Floris van Berckel Smit and A. C. Flipse, ‘Van democratie naar New Public Management: invoering van de Wet modernisering universitaire bestuursorganisatie aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam’ in *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Onderwijsrecht en Onderwijsbeleid*, vol. 32, no. 1 (2020), p. 15; Boer, *Institutionele verandering en professionele autonomie*, p. 56; Boer, ‘Van WUB naar MUB’; Harry de Boer, Leo Goedegebuure and Jeroen Huisman, *Gezonde spanning: Beleidsvaluatie van de MUB* (Enschede, 2005), p. 91.

## The toolbox

Having briefly stated the objective and scope of my thesis, let me now turn to the discursive context that frames it. This thesis is chiefly informed by works of Pierre Bourdieu, and his adherent Pier Carlo Bontempelli.<sup>19</sup> Bourdieu has theorised the relationship between knowledge and power in general, and has examined their relationship in the academic field as a consequence of ‘1968’, more specifically. In doing so he has provided the specific terminology necessary to analyse the specific character of academic power and the perpetual reproduction thereof. In *Homo Academicus*, Bourdieu asserts that self-reproduction mechanisms are constituted by power structures within the university, and are specific to the character of professorial power.<sup>20</sup> Several concepts are important to clearly define to understand the functioning of the reproduction of power in the academic field, as they play a cardinal role in the unfolding of my argument. First, ‘habitus’ signifies a set of social and cultural practices, values, and dispositions that are characterized by the ways social groups interact with their members.<sup>21</sup> Secondly, ‘illusio’ signifies the investments – in terms of time, effort and emotion – of an agent in a particular trajectory, such as an academic career.<sup>22</sup> It represents the motivation to struggle over the stakes of that trajectory, and an acceptance of active competition for the commonly acknowledged prizes. Once illusio is invested in one is ‘taken in by the game’.<sup>23</sup> Crucially, illusio is not only a requirement to participate in the game, but it also legitimises the game’s stakes and rules. It ‘acknowledges the game and its usefulness, legitimising its values and rules’.<sup>24</sup> Bontempelli, following Bourdieu, posits that even adversaries contributed to this legitimisation process, having agreed to disagree with the powers that be.<sup>25</sup> Contrariwise, what was radical about the late 1960s student movement, was the *rejection* of the academic game entirely. Finally, ‘conatus’ refers to the disposition to reproduce the social order along with its power structure. Bourdieu defines the concept as a ‘combination of dispositions and interests associated with a particular class or social position which inclines agents to strive to reproduce at a constant or an increasing rate the properties constituting their social identity, without even needing to do this deliberately or consciously’.<sup>26</sup> A professor, for example, has internalised conatus very strongly, because of its elite social position. However, students and non-professorial academic teachers and researchers can also be endowed with it. The mere presence of these peripheral members of the academic community in directive bodies, whose goal was to perpetuate the current system, was, therefore, by no means a guarantee that the university system would fundamentally transform.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> Bourdieu is primarily known for his ‘field theory’. For Bourdieu, fields are ‘arenas of production, circulation, appropriation and exchange of goods, services, knowledge, status, and the competitive positions held by actors in their struggle to accumulate, exchange, and monopolise different kinds of power resources (capitals).’ See David L. Swartz, ‘Bourdieu’s Concept of Field’ in *Oxford Bibliographies Online*.

<sup>20</sup> Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, pp 21, 84–90; Bryan S. Turner and Chris Rojek, *Society and Culture: Scarcity and Solidarity* (London, 2001), p. 5.

<sup>21</sup> Stephanie Claussen and Jonathan Osborne, ‘Bourdieu’s notion of cultural capital and its implications for the science curriculum’ in *Science Education*, vol. 97, no. 1 (2013), p. 59.

<sup>22</sup> Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, p. xii.

<sup>23</sup> Pierre Bourdieu and Loic J. D. Wacquant, *An invitation to reflexive sociology* (Chicago, 1992), p. 116; Steven Threadgold, ‘Bourdieu is not a Determinist: Illusio, Aspiration, Reflexivity and Affect’, 2019, p. 39.

<sup>24</sup> Pier Carlo Bontempelli, *Knowledge Power and Discipline: German Studies and National Identity* (Minneapolis, 2003), p. 152.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*; Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, p. 172.

<sup>26</sup> Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, p. 172; Bontempelli, *Knowledge Power and Discipline*, p. 155; Steve Fuller, ‘Conatus’ in Michael Grenfell (ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts* (2008), p. 172.

<sup>27</sup> Bontempelli, *Knowledge Power and Discipline*, p. 155.

An important influence on this thesis is Bontempelli's *Knowledge Power and Discipline: German Studies and National Identity*. The work researches development of German Studies in Germany. Using primarily a Bourdieusian toolbox he foregrounds 'the mechanisms of choice and domination operating at every turn in the disciplines history'.<sup>28</sup> Bontempelli describes 1968 as a 'critical process that gained momentum, when the student movement radically questioned all forms of knowledge and all institutions entrusted with its production and reproduction, viewing them as inherently complicitous with power and domination in the bourgeois capitalist system.'<sup>29</sup> Bontempelli asserts that the lower-rank teachers and researchers were essential to the momentum because these 'subaltern figures' had no perspective of an academic career, and therefore were not invested in *illusio*. The relative growth of lecturers and assistants who worked for the university constituted the creation of an 'academic proletariat', which sympathised with the student movement.<sup>30</sup> Although Bontempelli insists he is complementing Bourdieu with Foucauldian theory, I believe what is in fact demonstrated here is the convergence of Bourdieusian analysis and class conflict theory. It is precisely the engagement with class conflict theory that gives Bontempelli a theoretical edge beyond Bourdieu.

Class conflict theory holds that class relations are at the basis of other relationships, including, most relevantly here, political and pedagogical relationships. A classic starting point in class conflict theory is the *Communist Manifesto*, wherein capitalism is constructed as a conflictual, yet adaptive system. The labouring classes are in conflict with the ruling class because they do not own any means of production, i.e. their dependency on the labour market.<sup>31</sup> Under capitalism the owners of capital, the bourgeoisie, have the advantage as the state and legislative authorities naturally tend to their interests. Importantly, this places a burden on the labouring classes to organise collectively. Following Bontempelli, I will argue that the proletarianization of the academic workforce and its student clientele were co-constitutive of the student movement, and therefore the saliency of democratic demands. The successes of the student movement are in no small part attributable to their ability, 'however confusedly' as Hobsbawm stressed, to organise on a class basis.<sup>32</sup> Whereas Bourdieusian concepts address social reproduction in the academic field, class conflict theory explains social change macro-analytically. Moreover, I believe class conflict theory to combine naturally, almost holistically, with the Bourdieuan toolbox.<sup>33</sup> Consider, for example, the concept of *conatus*, defined as 'dispositions and interests' associated with a social position, or *class*, which inclines agents to reproduce their social identity. In sum, in this thesis I will employ the converged theories of class conflict, and Bourdieusian social reproduction because I believe this to be a theoretically fruitful combination that will produce a critical history.

---

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. xxi.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. xii.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 147.

<sup>31</sup> Class conflict theory is at odds with the 'stratification theory', because in that theory class is not viewed as a categorical, but as a continuous variable. Stratification theorists see inequality between social classes as relative and gradational, usually only approximating class by using education or income as the central unit of measurement. See: Lillian Cicerchia, 'Why Does Class Matter?' in *Social Theory & Practice*, vol. 47, no. 4 (2021), p. 605.

<sup>32</sup> Hobsbawm, '1968—A Retrospect', p. 133.

<sup>33</sup> This theoretical point is controversial, as Bourdieu is considered to pose a challenge to Marxism. In an astute and fun-to-read article Michael Burawoy suggests that Marxists have three options when facing a challenger: they can ignore, demolish or critically appropriate the opponent in a broadened framework. All strategies have immanent risks: 'Ignoring ... can also leave one out of touch with emerging intellectual currents. ... Demolition ... risks heaping disrepute onto the critic, and even provoking a belligerent reaction. Finally, neutralizing the opponent by absorption, taking the enemy seriously, can so transform one's own thinking that allies may accuse one of betrayal.' I have opted for the latter strategy. This minimalizes the risks as there are no other marxist university historians with whom I am allied. Michael Burawoy, 'Making sense of Bourdieu' in *Catalyst*, vol. 2, no. 1 (2018), pp 51–87.

## Sources and method

The corpus of primary source material consists of five interrelated types of sources. Firstly, the university press reported on the university council assemblies, executive board decisions, relevant developments in national politics, and served as a platform for the academic community.<sup>34</sup> The *U-blad* is therefore a good source for both newsworthy developments within the academic institution and discourse on the ‘cultural imaginary’ of the university. The newspaper is the most important source, because it reports and platforms all three schools of thought: democratic, oligarchic and managerialist. Secondly, archival sources play a supportive role. The International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, for example, contains sources from the student press, mainly *Trophonios*, the Utrecht student movement, and student union USF. Thirdly, the different schools of thought have all produced brochures, pamphlets and manifests to make their views clear. A good example is ‘Wetenschap en Democratie’, from oligarchic side that was published in 1973.<sup>35</sup> Fourthly, the national government has produced ‘official’ sources. Rapports that led up new legislation, the laws, amendments and evaluations are obviously relevant.<sup>36</sup> The most well-known and important evaluation is *Gewubd en gewogen*, which laid the basis of rigorously amending and ultimately rescinding the WUB. One ‘official’ source deserves a special mention, as the government has declassified documents from the Dutch intelligence agency (BVD) concerning the student movement.<sup>37</sup> These sources are previously unexamined by historians. Finally, quantitative data is gathered from annual university rapporten and budgets.

I attach great value to explicating methodology, as history is a methodologically contentious field of study. The first step is source selection. The headlines will be read from three decades of university newspaper, from 1967 to 1997, to select relevant articles, i.e. articles revealing opinion on the *optima forma* of the university or its management, governance affairs of Utrecht University, the relation between the university council and larger political discourse, attitudes to the laws or its evaluation, noteworthy decisions of the university council, and so on. The selection comprises 612 pages, which are subjected to close reading. I have cited 61 articles that were relevant in the unfolding of my argument. A similar discourse analysis approach is undertaken for the ‘official’ sources, though selection is much more straightforward, as I have strived to examine this source type in its totality. I have consulted brochures and pamphlets whenever they were mentioned in the university newspaper, which were close read as well. I have taken notes of my reading of the sources, which is followed by source analysis using the theoretical instrumentaria mentioned above. I have approached archival sources and quantitative data as complementary information, that is to say, I have only searched for them when it was clear that they would probably inform my narrative. The result is historiographically imbedded, that is, related to the scarce existing histories on the subject.

---

<sup>34</sup> The *Digitale Universiteitsblad (DUB)*, the digital successor of the *U-blad* has made the archive of the *U-blad* available on their website. See: <https://dub.uu.nl/nl/archief-utrechts-universiteitsblad-ublاد>

<sup>35</sup> Marinus Broekmeyer, *Wetenschap en democratie: de uitvoering van de Wet Universitaire Bestuursbervorming 1970* (Amsterdam, 1973).

<sup>36</sup> For the most important rapport see: Academische Raad, *onderzoek zelfstandige taakvervulling van de universiteit en hogeschool*. For its explananda I have used the precursory ‘nota Veringa’ published by the student opposition: Stichting NSR-publikaties, *De Wet Veringa: einde van de democratisering*. (Amsterdam, 1970).

<sup>37</sup> BVD, *Inzagedossier Studenten Vak Beweging (SVB), 1964-1969* (<https://www.inlichtingendiensten.nl/groepen/svb>).

## Historiography

This thesis engages with two distinct historiographic strands. Most obviously it is a contribution to the subdiscipline university history generally, and the history of Utrecht University specifically. Among the adepts of the subdiscipline it has become a cliché to point towards the fact that studying and writing its own history has always been a task of the university.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, universities commission historical works to commemorate institutional lustra.<sup>39</sup> The commemorative historiography of Utrecht University comprises two key publications. First, Von der Dunk has published his memorandum in 1986, marking the third centenary of the university. It focusses on the period 1936 and 1986, and has the suggestive title *Tussen ivoren toren en grootbedrijf*, ‘between ivory tower and big business’. Two contributions about the university from 1946 to 1966 and the history of the Utrecht student movement that followed are especially useful for the purpose of this thesis. More recently, Jamin’s *Kennis als Opdracht* marks the 365<sup>th</sup> birthday of the university. The book chapters are ordered chronologically, although tellingly, the chapters are getting shorter as the book progresses, suggesting that there remains work to be done in reconstructing the recent past.

Over the past decades, history of Dutch universities has professionalised beyond its commemorative function. The subdiscipline has then made social and cultural turns respectively.<sup>40</sup> In an historiographical overview in *Nieuwsbrief Universiteitsgeschiedenis* the university historian of Utrecht University, Leen Dorsman, reflects on the last ‘25 years of university history’. In that article he mentions that the latter half of the twentieth century is indeed scarcely researched, partly because of intensifying complexity and partly because of a lack of historical distance.<sup>41</sup> Dorsman has produced several works that relate to this exercise. He edited a series of volumes on the ‘Univeriteit & Samenleving’ with colleague Knegtmans. Mainly relevant here is the volume on the ‘academic enterprise’. Dorsman himself has written several useful articles. The first details the introduction of cross-curricular educational courses, the so-called ‘Studium Generale’ programmes, in Dutch academia after the Second World War.<sup>42</sup> The second relates to the development academic disciplines between 1815 and 1985. Dorsman described how societal demands shifted from highly specialised to broadly educated academic graduates, in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Utrecht University replied to this demand by forming ‘general’ [*algemene*] studies, such as literary studies or general social sciences.<sup>43</sup> The last article centres the 1982 resignation of the UU board of executives. Dorsman argues that the event was caused by underlying problems in the governance structure of the university.

Some historical accounts discuss elements of Utrecht University. For example, three faculty histories of the university exist. The work about the faculty of Science by Patricia Faasse is

---

<sup>38</sup> Pieter Dhondt, *University jubilees and university history writing: a challenging relationship* (Leiden, 2015), p. 1.

<sup>39</sup> Dorsman, ‘Een kwart eeuw universiteitsgeschiedenis in Nederland’, p. 43; Dhondt, *University jubilees and university history writing*, p. 4.

<sup>40</sup> Klaas van Berkel, ‘Wetenschapsgeschiedenis en universiteitsgeschiedenis nieuwe stijl’ in *TGGNWT*, vol. 5, no. 2 (2012), pp 89–95; Frijhoff, ‘Honderd jaar universiteitsgeschiedenis in Nederland’, p. 197.

<sup>41</sup> Dorsman, ‘Een kwart eeuw universiteitsgeschiedenis in Nederland’, p. 55.

<sup>42</sup> Leen Dorsman, ‘Studium Generale: een mislukte doorbraak (1945 - 1960)’ in Leen Dorsman and Peter Jan Knegtmans (eds), *Universitaire vormingsidealen. De Nederlandse universiteiten sedert 1876* (Universiteit & Samenleving, 1, Hilversum, 2006), pp 55–68.

<sup>43</sup> Leen Dorsman, ‘Van OB 1815 naar WHW 1985: van “geleerde stand” naar “zelfstandige beoefening der wetenschap”. Het hoger onderwijs en de disciplines’ in Peter Jan Knegtmans and Leen Dorsman (eds), *Van Lectio tot PowerPoint: over de geschiedenis van het onderwijs aan de Nederlandse universiteiten* (Universiteit & samenleving ; 8, Hilversum, 2011), pp 125–126.

part of the ‘Universteit & Samenleving’ series and is the only faculty history that transcends the quality of amateur history. The second contribution to faculty historiography bundles articles about the history of the social sciences. The faculty of Geoscience has commissioned a historical work on account of its 125 years of existence.<sup>44</sup> Such faculty and disciplinary histories invariably cover issues of governance, and debates of its *optima forma*. Some articles discuss the developments of disciplines or certain events. For example, the article by Bert Overbeek about the abolishment of classical languages in the 1980s has been helpful.<sup>45</sup> Finally, Kees Ribbens wrote a book about the history the university newspaper, the *U-blad*, and its precursors. Interestingly, the history of university media can be described as parallel to the history of university management. The post-war ideal of ‘civitas academia’ was expressed and further by the first university magazine *Sol Ilustitiae* since 1946. The 1960s were characterized by tensions between faculty members and students. Fed up, the students decided to publish their own newspaper in 1964, *Trophonios*. In the eventful year 1969 *Sol Ilustitiae* and *Solaire Reflexen* merged. The resulting *U-blad* was increasingly loyal towards university administrators, perhaps offsetting the managerialist era.<sup>46</sup>

Only in the last two years have substantive contributions been made to the history of Dutch academia post-1970. First, the work *De Glazen Toren* by Pieter Slaman describes the history of the University of Leiden from 1970 to 2020. The author has chosen to write chapters along thematic lines such as research, education and, most useful for the purposes of this thesis, management.<sup>47</sup> Slaman’s title, the ‘glass tower’ is a play on ‘ivory tower’, signalling the democratic turn in university management. The concept is borrowed from Elaine Showalter, who was in turn inspired by the modernist architecture of Malcolm Bradbury’s fictive University of Watermouth in *History Man*.<sup>48</sup> One manager of the University of Leiden referred to Showalter’s concept while reflecting of the recent past during a *dies natalis* speech.<sup>49</sup> Importantly, though, both have used the glass tower metaphor to describe the cultural imaginary of the university *specific* to the 1970s. Outside of this decade the metaphor quickly falls apart. I would even argue that the notion of the ‘glass tower’ is more descriptive of democratic demands of the late 1960s and early 1970s, or a general atmosphere during that time, than it was of the actual character of academic management. Closer to the truth would be to say that management over the ivory tower professionalised, whereafter professional managers were forced to, temporarily, invite students and staff in, but assumed full control in the following decades when the ivory tower incorporated.<sup>50</sup> Hence my title.

---

<sup>44</sup> B.C. de Pater, *Minnaars der aarde, ver van huis en haard: over 125 jaar geowetenschappen aan de Universiteit Utrecht* (Utrecht, 2004).

<sup>45</sup> A.B. Overbeek, ‘De afschaffing van de studie klassieke talen aan de RU Utrecht 1982/86’ in *Utrecht University Repository* (2009).

<sup>46</sup> Kees Ribbens, *Universitaire journalistiek tussen onafhankelijkheid en informatievoorziening: Een geschiedenis van het U-blad* (Utrecht, 2003), pp 12–51.

<sup>47</sup> Slaman, *De glazen toren*, pp 122–160.

<sup>48</sup> Elaine Showalter, *Faculty towers: the academic novel and its discontents* (Philadelphia, 2005), p. 49.

<sup>49</sup> Paul van der Heijden, ‘Werken aan de Universiteit. Diesoratie ter gelegenheid van de 438e dies natalis op vrijdag 8 februari 2013 in de Pieterskerk’.

<sup>50</sup> My judgement is congruent with Van Berkel’s, who writes: ‘The image of the ivory tower is invoked by academic managers who want something, but it is no more than a rhetorical trick to highlight the attractiveness and inevitability of their ideas. A historian like Slaman should have seen through that trick.’ Nederlands: ‘Het beeld van de ivoren toren wordt altijd van stal gehaald door bestuurders die iets nieuws willen, maar het is niet meer dan een retorische truc om de aantrekkelijkheid en onvermijdelijkheid van hun ideeën te vergroten. Een historicus als Slaman had die truc moeten doorzien.’ See: Klaas van Berkel, ‘Review Pieter Slaman, *De glazen toren*. De Leidse universiteit 1970-2020. De ritmiek van de Leidse universiteitsgeschiedenis’ in *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, vol. 135, no. 1 (2022), pp 154–155.

The second major contribution to post-war university history is the third and last book in a series on Groningen University, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit* by Klaas van Berkel. The book covers the period 1945 to 2021 and is extremely thorough. *De Universiteit van het Noorden: de zakelijke universiteit* extensively and carefully relates the history of Groningen University to developments in national politics, but does not overlook themes such as the spatial structure of the academy, scientific achievements or student interests. Furthermore, the book offers a considerably critical analysis of the historical developments. The work therefore constitutes a laudable, very welcome contribution to the historiography, without which writing this thesis would have been much more cumbersome. Van Berkel's analysis of academic democracy is interesting in contrast to Slaman's construction; he writes institutional democracy can be characterised as an 'intermezzo' in a longer process towards a more business-like university [*verzaking*].<sup>51</sup> I strongly concur, and would add that the 'democratic' element of the intermezzo is not to be overestimated. The WUB might have created *de jure* democratic participation but a close reading of the sources has revealed that the executive board in practice slowly but steadily eclipsed the university council and ultimately, by grace of the lawmaker, fully subsumed control of academic management. Noteworthy, Van Berkel seems hesitant to engage with theory, as he writes he 'cannot deny that some [sociological theories] might have played a role on the background in my interpretation of the recent history of Groningen University'.<sup>52</sup>

The most important point of divergence between my account of late twentieth century Dutch university and earlier ones, then, is that my thesis deliberately and explicitly engages with critical social theory. Indeed, Bourdieusian concepts help explain the social reproduction of power in the academic field, whereas class conflict theory reveals the underlying class character of power conflicts in that same field. Noteworthy, this thesis introduces Marxian thinking into university history, a historiographical tradition where such thinking has been absent *tout court*. My theory-laden interpretations contribute new insights to the nascent historiography on the late twentieth century Dutch university. Furthermore, I have examined different sources, either because they are specific to Utrecht, such as the *U-blad*, Utrecht university council or sources from the USF; because other university historians have not cited them, such as the declassified intelligence. My argument vis-à-vis academic democracy is aligned with Van Berkel's, though specific in the sense that I argue that there were always significant limits to the democratisation of Dutch academia, and the advantages are accrued to the managerialists.

There are also interesting similarities between my account and the other two. Slaman, for example, argues that Leiden University is the 'ideal place to search for the consequences of structural changes since 1970 ... [because] the criticisms of the 'ivory tower' ... hit the classic universities [Leiden, Groningen, Utrecht and Amsterdam (UvA)] the hardest.' These institutions lacked the allure of applied science practiced in Delft or Wageningen, and the tradition of social emancipation of Amsterdam (VU) and Nijmegen.<sup>53</sup> It is certainly an interesting fact that all substantial historic accounts of the late twentieth century university in the Netherlands centre the 'classic' institutions. Though I would argue that updating the histories of the other institutions is of equal importance. Throughout the history this thesis describes the difference between the institutions has become smaller and smaller until it ultimately became completely neglectable.

---

<sup>51</sup> van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 10.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 10–11. Emphasis added.

<sup>53</sup> Slaman, *De glazen toren*, p. 11.

According to Van Berkel all universities in the Netherlands aim to relate themselves to the public as ‘research universities’.<sup>54</sup>

The second historiographical tradition this thesis contributes to is the history of the student movement. As the most important voice of democratisation the student movement takes centre stage early in this thesis, its subsequent receding is of critical importance to understanding the primacy of the managerialists over the contemporary university. Floris Cohen cleverly combines this historiography to university history in his book about the implementation of the WUB in Leiden, which carries the suggestive title, *de strijd om de academie*, ‘the battle for the academy’. Hugo Kijne has written a book about the student movement which follows the decade from its genesis to the height of its organisational and political power, until its ultimate decline, from 1963 to 1973. The work was commissioned and published by the student union of Amsterdam (ASVA).<sup>55</sup> Agnes van Steen has offered an interpretation of those same developments, specifically about the rise and fall of the student movement in Leiden. Her article is tellingly titled, ‘a breach in the ivory tower’.<sup>56</sup> In Chapter 2 an influence from the Berliner student movement will become important. This influence is the main subject of Jan Schopman, who has examined the historical roots of the radical student movement, which lie in Nijmegen.

The third historiographical discussion this thesis participates in, albeit very modestly, is the history of ideas. In the former half of this thesis the history of socialism is relevant in relation to the history of the student movement. It is worthwhile to discuss my objections to James Kennedy’s *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw*. The thesis of Kennedy is that the far-reaching societal transformations of the 1970s were in principle caused by ‘conservative and oligarchic elites who were, for both ideological and pragmatic reasons, willing to adjust to significant social and cultural changes.’<sup>57</sup> I argue, by contrast, that those ‘significant social and cultural changes’ are in fact constitutive of the societal transformation and, importantly, arose from below. Historical analysis should accordingly work towards making those bottom-up changes salient. In the latter half of the twentieth century the rise of neoliberalism is of cardinal importance. Again interesting is the intersection between this historiographical strain and university history. VU historian Ab Flipse and Floris van Berckel-Smit research the implementation of the MUB in Amsterdam and ask to what extent that legislation has resulted in a specific form of the managerialist ideology: ‘New Public Management’. Van Berckel Smit and Flipse are particularly interested in the discussion that accompanied implementation of the legislation, and take university media as their primary source.

Finally, there is literature from auxiliary disciplines from which can be borrowed. Relevant here is the Centre for Higher Education Policy Studies (CHEPS). Of the involved scholars, Harry de Boer – who has written extensively on the effects of different models of governance – is the only with a historical approach. His PhD-thesis focuses on the effects of the MUB. The first chapter is dedicated to the history of university management, which is even the first historical account of the late twentieth century Dutch university.<sup>58</sup> De Boer concludes that chapter with the insight that discussions about governing the university keeps coming back to the key concepts: administrative power, professional autonomy, degree of democracy and the concentration of

---

<sup>54</sup> van Berkel, ‘Review Pieter Slaman, De glazen toren’, p. 154.

<sup>55</sup> Hugo Jakob Kijne, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse studentenbeweging, 1963-1973* (Amsterdam, 1978), p. 7.

<sup>56</sup> Agnes van Steen, ‘Een bres in de ivoren toren. De Studentent Vakbeweging (SVB) in Leiden (1963 - 1969)’ in *Jaarboek der sociale en economische geschiedenis van Leiden en omstreken*, vol. 24 (2012), pp 123–194.

<sup>57</sup> See Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw*, pp 30, 177.

<sup>58</sup> Boer, *Institutionele verandering en professionele autonomie*, pp 13–68.



responsibilities. ‘The *perception* and *appreciation* for these key concepts changed from time, place and person. Ultimately, however, their relationship determine the set-up, acceptance and effectiveness of a certain governance situation.’<sup>59</sup> In other words: social acceptance of university management is required to make it an effective organization. One other work could be mentioned which compares mergers in Dutch and Australian academia and health care services.<sup>60</sup>

### Structure

When I started this project my aim was to take the protest movement of the late 1960s as a starting point and reconstruct what had happened consequently at my *alma mater*. I soon realised that understanding the prehistory, the historical build-up, of this specific era in the history of Dutch academia was crucial.<sup>61</sup> I ended up departing decades earlier, at the end of the Second World War. Chapter 2 is therefore dedicated to describing and understanding the conditions that led to the WUB, from 1945 to 1970. In that chapter I reconstruct how discussions about academic management were tied up with the notion of the academic community, and how the student movement was constituted and intervened in that discussion. The chapter ends with the implementation of the WUB. The following is structured along legislative lines. The third chapter centres the WUB-era from 1971 to 1986. I will show how the WUB was struggled against from various directions from the outset and how the board could minimize the agency of the university council. Governmental evaluation of the WUB leads to the conclusion that the university is not a community, but an organisation that works towards a specific goal. Indeed, the term ‘*doelorganisatie*’ is symptomatic of changing views. The cultural imaginary turned away from the notion of the ‘academic community’, which put pressure on institutional democracy also. Budget-cuts, I will argue, form a catalysts for the managerialisation of Dutch academia. In the fourth chapter I will show how the notion of the university as a business is entangled with the downfall of democracy at Utrecht University. The manager’s power would become virtually uncontested. The conclusion concludes.

---

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 68.

<sup>60</sup> Leo C.J. Goedegebuure, *Mergers in higher education: A comparative perspective*. (Enschede, 1994).

<sup>61</sup> Others have reached the same conclusion, see e.g. Dorsman, ‘Professionalisering als probleem’, p. 60; van Berkel, ‘Review Pieter Slaman, De glazen toren’, p. 155.

## Chapter 2: The belated breakthrough, 1945 – 1970

Unity, direction, speed, cohesion, that is what our university administration lacks: ‘efficiency’ as the Americans say.

Johan Huizinga, 1922.<sup>62</sup>

Beginning this story in 1968 is actually starting *in media res*. In order to understand contemporary transformations of the Dutch academy we have to go back to the second quarter of the twentieth century. Discussions about the nature of academia already took place throughout the interbellum.<sup>63</sup> The experience of the Second World War, however, created profound urgency for reflection of the academic system.<sup>64</sup> Indeed, after the war the idea that the academy should fundamentally change finally gained momentum. Rector magnificus, J. Boeke, on the occasion of the solemn reopening of Utrecht University in 1945 projected that the calling of the university was to be threefold: ‘on the one hand she has to promote the autonomous practice of science, in addition, to provide education for positions for which the law requires or desires academic training; ... [finally,] to help preserve and cultivate the spiritual [*geestelijke en zedelijke*] property ... and to give their students a share in this property’.<sup>65</sup> With this speech, Boeke testified to prophetic insight. A national committee for ‘reorganisation of higher education’ in 1946 commended that the threefold purpose of the university in fact was ‘academic research’, ‘labour market oriented education’ and ‘fostering citizenship’.

Shortly after the liberation, progressive Dutch intellectuals proclaimed a fundamental renovation of the social system, of which the universities are an expression. They declaimed communal values and aimed especially to ‘break through’ the pillarisation of the Dutch political landscape. Following the *zeitgeist*, Utrecht University put forward the idea of a close-knit academic community that serviced society at large, an idea of the university that had become commonplace in the post-war era.<sup>66</sup> Boeke forecasted that ‘there will be a true university community of teachers, students and others’.<sup>67</sup> Attempting to construct such an academic community, or *civitas academia*, was without precedent.<sup>68</sup> Several projects took shape that testified to the community ideal. A few examples: in January 1946 the first university magazine appeared. *Sol Iustiae* explicitly strived for ‘united, tantamount cooperation [*eendrachtige gelijkwaardige samenwerking*] between all members of the university community’.<sup>69</sup> Community-building also centred the foundation of a ‘Studium Generale’. This cross-curricular program offered ‘general’ education, that was deemed to be a panacea for disciplinary fragmentation.<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup> Johan Huizinga, *Verzamelde werken. Deel 8. Universiteit, wetenschap en kunst* (Haarlem, 1951), p. 23.

Nederlands: ‘Eenheid, richting, vlotheid, samenhang, dat is het, wat er in ons universiteitsbestuur ontbreekt: ‘efficiency’ op zijn Amerikaansch.’

<sup>63</sup> Dorsman, ‘Studium Generale’; S. Y. A. Vellenga, ‘De uitdaging van crisis en bezetting, 1936 - 1946’ in Hermann Walther von der Dunk, Wybo P. Heere and Adriaan Wessel Reinink (eds), *Tussen ivoren toren & grootbedrijf: de Utrechtse Universiteit, 1936-1986* (Maarssen, 1986), pp 23–48.

<sup>64</sup> Vellenga, ‘De restauratieve façade’, p. 41.

<sup>65</sup> J. Boeke, ‘Rede in den Dom te Utrecht den 24ste september 1945’ in *Jaarboek der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht 1945-1946* (Utrecht, 1946), p. 12.

<sup>66</sup> C. Bol, ‘De restauratieve façade, de jaren 1946 - 1966’ in Hermann Walther von der Dunk, Wybo P. Heere and Adriaan Wessel Reinink (eds), *Tussen ivoren toren & grootbedrijf: de Utrechtse Universiteit, 1936-1986* (Maarssen, 1986), pp 59–83; Jamin, *Kennis als opdracht*, pp 184–188.

<sup>67</sup> Bol, ‘De restauratieve façade’, p. 59; Jamin, *Kennis als opdracht*, p. 184.

<sup>68</sup> Jamin, *Kennis als opdracht*, pp 184–186.; Dorsman & Knegtman (eds), *Het universitaire bedrijf*, p. 25.

<sup>69</sup> Ribbens, *Een geschiedenis van het U-blad*, p. 14.

<sup>70</sup> Dorsman, ‘Studium Generale’, p. 58.

Against the backdrop of these progressive longings the desire for changes in the structures of the academy was expressed. According to many, the pre-war organisational structure was outdated. It consisted of a ‘college of curators’ on the one hand, and an ‘academic senate’ on the other. Curators were semi-professional administrators, who dealt primarily with financial, employee and real estate management and represented governmental authority.<sup>71</sup> They were appointed by the minister of science policy. The senate comprised an assembly of all professors and was chaired by the rector magnificus; the concerned themselves with academic affairs. This structure is characterised in the literature as ‘duplex ordo’ because of its bi-polarity.<sup>72</sup> Slaman draws a useful analogy here, and conceptualises the opposite polars as ‘mind and matter’ [*geest en zaak*].<sup>73</sup> Professors controlled the senate, the institution of mind, making it an oligarchic constellation. Curators were representatives of the bourgeoisie: ‘captains of industry’, dignitaries, legal experts and politicians.<sup>74</sup> Immediately upon the end of the war some students explicitly expressed their desire for democratisation of the university. The issue was raised in particular by students who were active in the resistance. They were disappointed with the lack of resistance efforts of their professors. Leader of the student resistance, Albert Andrée Wiltens, spoke after Boeke: ‘The civitas academia has the right to be heard, she will be assembled by the bureau of the academic senate in the future.’<sup>75</sup> Noteworthy, then, the wish for democratisation and the social construction of a ‘academic community’ were mutually supportive.

Gradually it became clear that a ‘breakthrough’ would not occur immediately after the war. The projects that had serviced the ideal all failed. Academy administrators twice attempted to establish a university council with advisory rights, conform Andrée Wiltens’ plea, in 1947 and 1957. Both attempts failed because of students’ disinterest.<sup>76</sup> So, the first formulations of academic democracy turned out to be transient. Pre-war (oligarchic) structures *grosso modo* persisted. The development of university media and cross-curricular education are indicative of this development as well. The Studium Generale did not even remotely accomplish what the programme aimed to, chiefly because the Studium exclusively offered non-obligatory courses and lectures.<sup>77</sup> Again, peripheral interest of students caused the project to be unsuccessful. Finally, the *Sol Iustiae* was not an united effort of the academic community. Although the editorial board was reflective of the diversity in the civitas, students primarily filled the pages.<sup>78</sup> In this instance, professorial disinterest seemed to be the main obstacle. Taking stock of these examples, we must draw the preliminary conclusion that the breakthrough and corresponding academic community-building and democratisation efforts failed.

Indeed, the ‘academic community’, the civitas, reverted to familiar, pre-war structures. The organisation of is illustrative. The student fraternities, the ‘corpora’, were considered to be the representatives of students and student interests on the basis of tradition and seniority.<sup>79</sup>

---

<sup>71</sup> Peter Jan Knechtmans, ‘De rector of een directeur? Over macht en voorrang aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1945 - 1955’ in Leen Dorsman and Peter Jan Knechtmans (eds), *Het universitaire bedrijf: over professionalisering van onderzoek, bestuur en beheer* (Universiteit & Samenleving, 6, Hilversum, 2010), p. 26; van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 117.

<sup>72</sup> Dorsman, ‘Professionalisering als probleem’, p. 61; Boer, *Institutionele verandering en professionele autonomie*, p. 28.

<sup>73</sup> Slaman, *De glazen toren*, p. 123.

<sup>74</sup> van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, pp 122–124.

<sup>75</sup> Albert Andrée Wiltens, ‘Toespraak van den Heer Andrée Wiltens’ in *Jaarboek der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht 1945-1946* (Utrecht, 1946), p. 27.

<sup>76</sup> Jamin, *Kennis als opdracht*, p. 187.

<sup>77</sup> Dorsman, ‘Studium Generale’, p. 64.

<sup>78</sup> Ribbens, *Een geschiedenis van het U-blad*, p. 20; Bol, ‘De restauratieve façade’, pp 60–62.

<sup>79</sup> Bol, ‘De restauratieve façade’, p. 62.

During the war, student resistance was organised by the ‘council of nine’, which consisted of representatives from the various corpora.<sup>80</sup> After the war the assembly was transformed into the Dutch Student Council (NSR), advisor to the government. Local fraternities, united in so-called ‘grondraden’ – in Utrecht the Utrechtse Studenten Faculteiten (USF) – selected representatives for this advisory body. Significantly, access to the corpora was expensive. The corpora, the USF and the NSR were therefore mostly run for and by bourgeois students, the lion’s share of students at the time.<sup>81</sup> It has been suggested that the difference between the ‘engaged’ students of the 1960s and the prototype 1950s ‘frat’ student, is that the latter was ‘apolitical’.<sup>82</sup> Using Bourdieusian concepts a different interpretation presents itself, namely that this figure had interiorized *conatus*. That is to say, this student was not so much apolitical, as invested in reproducing the social order, including its (class) privileges. Illustrative is the exclusion of a new student association ‘Prometheus’ in the USF, because it was principally inclusive in its membership. An appeal to tradition informed the decision to exclude Prometheus.<sup>83</sup> In short, having surveyed post-war student organisation we can suggest that the contemporary academy was introverted, more or less external to the rest of society.<sup>84</sup> The concept of the *civitas* presupposed a narrow definition of community, which excluded the labouring classes.

### **Diversification, growth and proletarianization**

This was about to change, as the university fundamentally changed in the years immediately following the war. Relevant here is the mushrooming academic population. The number of students tripled from 1945 to 1970, as graphed in Figure 1. The composition of the university not only changed quantitatively but qualitatively as well. Large numbers first-generation students, that is, mostly proletarian students, presented themselves.<sup>85</sup> Their introduction in the university was a result of the social policies during the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>86</sup> The academic workforce also proletarianized to considerable extent. The increase in the number of students was not matched by an increase of professorships, which made it necessary to increase the number of lower-rank teachers and researchers, without any perspective of an academic career, i.e. not invested in *illusio*.<sup>87</sup> The relative growth of lecturers and assistants constituted the creation of an ‘academic proletariat’.<sup>88</sup> All in all was the academic population of 1970 a fundamentally different one than that the one Boeke addressed in 1945. Understanding the quantitative and qualitative transformation of Dutch academia is crucial for understanding the crisis of the late 1960s.<sup>89</sup> I will argue, more specifically, that the concept of the ‘academic community’ was redefined by a set of (class) emancipatory practices, which ran parallel to efforts to democratise the university.

Important here, is that by the 1960s the proletarianization of students had an effect on students organisation. Most notably, the Studenten Vakbeweging (SVB) or ‘student

---

<sup>80</sup> van Steen, ‘Een bres in de ivoren toren’, p. 125; IISG, wjk, “‘In het studentenverzet is niemand omgekomen’”. Interview met verzetsman mr. A.J. Andrée Wiltens in *Trophonios* (4 May 1965), jg. 1 no. 27, pp 1–2. Catalogue no. ZF 31174.

<sup>81</sup> Hermann W. von der Dunk, *Voordat de voegen kraakten: student in de jaren vijftig* (Amsterdam, 2013), pp 15–16.

<sup>82</sup> van Steen, ‘Een bres in de ivoren toren’, p. 123; Bol, ‘De restauratieve façade’, p. 75.

<sup>83</sup> Bol, ‘De restauratieve façade’, p. 72.

<sup>84</sup> van Steen, ‘Een bres in de ivoren toren’, p. 124.

<sup>85</sup> Snijders, ‘De Studentbeweging’, pp 152–153.

<sup>86</sup> van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 77.

<sup>87</sup> Before the war approximately 60 scientists were employed at Utrecht University, in 1960 almost 900. Jamin, *Kennis als opdracht*, p. 190.

<sup>88</sup> Bontempelli, *Knowledge Power and Discipline*, p. 147.

<sup>89</sup> Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, p. 130; Bontempelli, *Knowledge Power and Discipline*, p. 147.

movement/union', was created in 1963. The Dutch intelligence agency BVD followed the SVB very closely, as it was suspected of communist influences. The movement presented itself as a democratic, and indeed proletarian alternative for the corpora. Their main demands were (1) to ameliorate the material conditions of students, such as lower tuition fees; (2) to democratise student representative organisation, such as the NSR and the USF; and (3) to academia at large.<sup>90</sup> All these goals are indicative of the proletariat emancipating itself in Dutch academia. The SVB was effective. Its founding congress was on 29 June 1963, yet by October of that year it had already succeeded in democratising the NSR, breaking the monopoly of the corpora.<sup>91</sup> The SVB would participate in NSR and USF elections. The BVD noted that 'momentarily [1964], membership is estimated at 3500 ... meaning 7% of Dutch students. However, the influence of the SVB extends far beyond its direct support, as evidenced by the results of the most recent elections for the local 'grondraden' of the NSR [e.g. the USF]. On average 20 to 25% voted for an SVB candidate.'<sup>92</sup> The arrival of the student movement, a syndicalist approach to student organising, is essential to understanding the late 1960s democratisation actions.

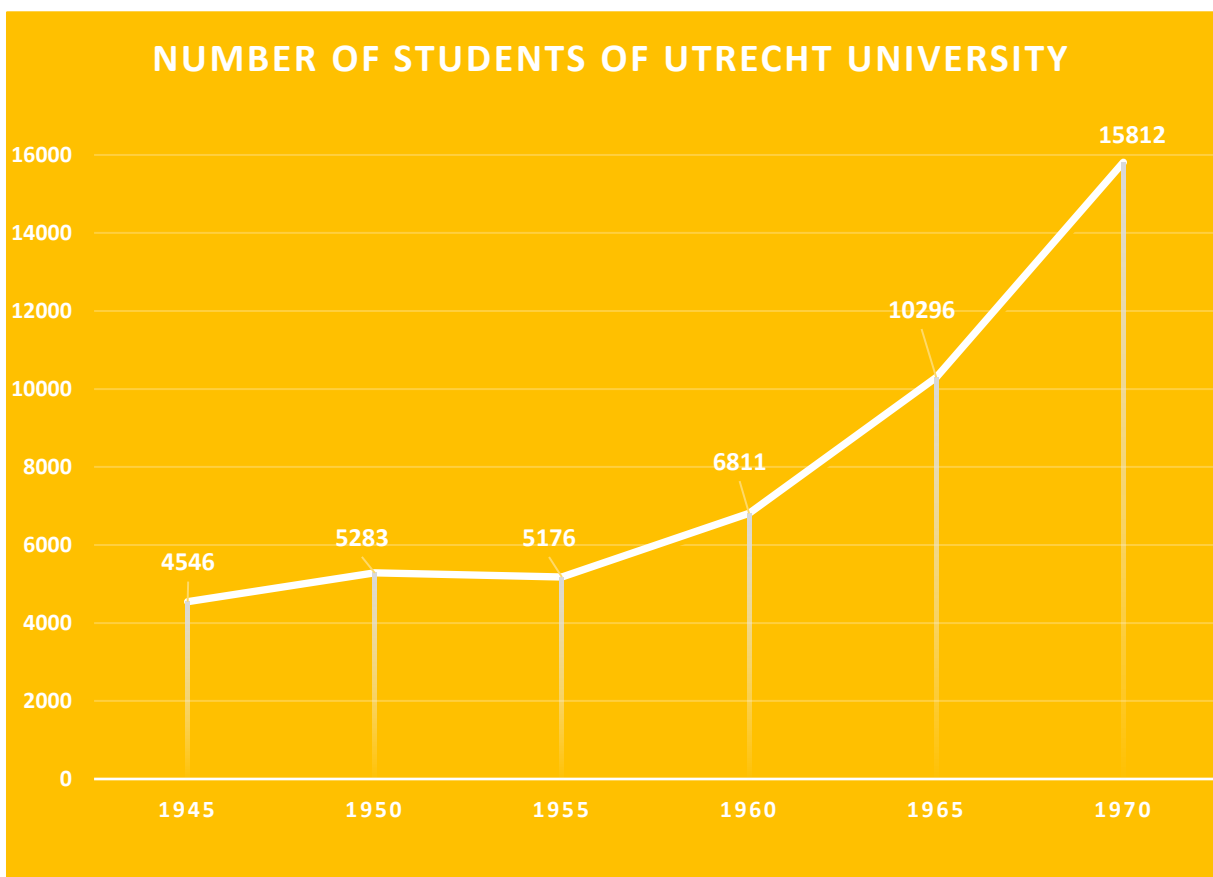


Figure 1 Graph of number of enrolled students at Utrecht University 1945 – 1970.

<sup>90</sup> BVD, *Inzagedossier SVB*, p. 9.

<sup>91</sup> van Steen, 'Een bres in de ivoren toren', p. 124; BVD, *Inzagedossier SVB*, p. 11; Kijne, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse studentenbeweging, 1963-1973*, p. 43.

<sup>92</sup> BVD, *Inzagedossier SVB*, p. 12. Nederlands: 'Thans wordt het ledental geschat op 3500, ... Dit betekent, dat ca 7 % van de Nederlandse studenten thans lid is van de Studentenvakbeweging. De invloed van de SVB strekt zich evenwel ver buiten de directe aanhang uit, getuige de uitslagen van de jongste verkiezingen voor de plaatselijke grondraden van de NSR. Van het aantal studenten, dat aan deze verkiezingen deelnam, bracht gemiddeld 20 a. 25 % zijn stem uit op een SVB-candidaat.'

In the next section of this Chapter I will describe developments in relevant legislation. Before turning to legal developments, however, it is worthwhile to point out that the metamorphosis of Utrecht University also occurred in a scholarly, educational and spatial sense. New disciplines of scholarship developed, often annexing nearby academic territory. Most notably, the faculty of social sciences manifested itself in 1963.<sup>93</sup> Existing faculties branched out too, in accordance with the time. For instance, the faculty of law introduced international law, and the faculty of Letters developed the study of smaller languages and cultures such as Turkish or Slavic.<sup>94</sup> Overall, scholars reverted to the pre-war culture of specialisation.<sup>95</sup> As already noted, this tendency towards furthering specialisation would later result in the hybridisation of scholarship. It is the *raison d'être* of general social sciences and literary studies.<sup>96</sup> In any case, scholarly diversification meant that Utrecht University also fragmented spatially. Certain disciplines required specialized equipment and their own spaces. Ultimately, the university buildings in the city centre became overcrowded and the construction of university buildings on the Uithof commenced. Figure 2 shows the spatial fragmentation of Utrecht University. It stands to reason that the formation of an ‘academic community’ was limited by such fragmentation. In sum, the growth and diversification of the academic enterprise, related developments in class relations, disciplinary fragmentation and housing issues significantly complexed academic governance.

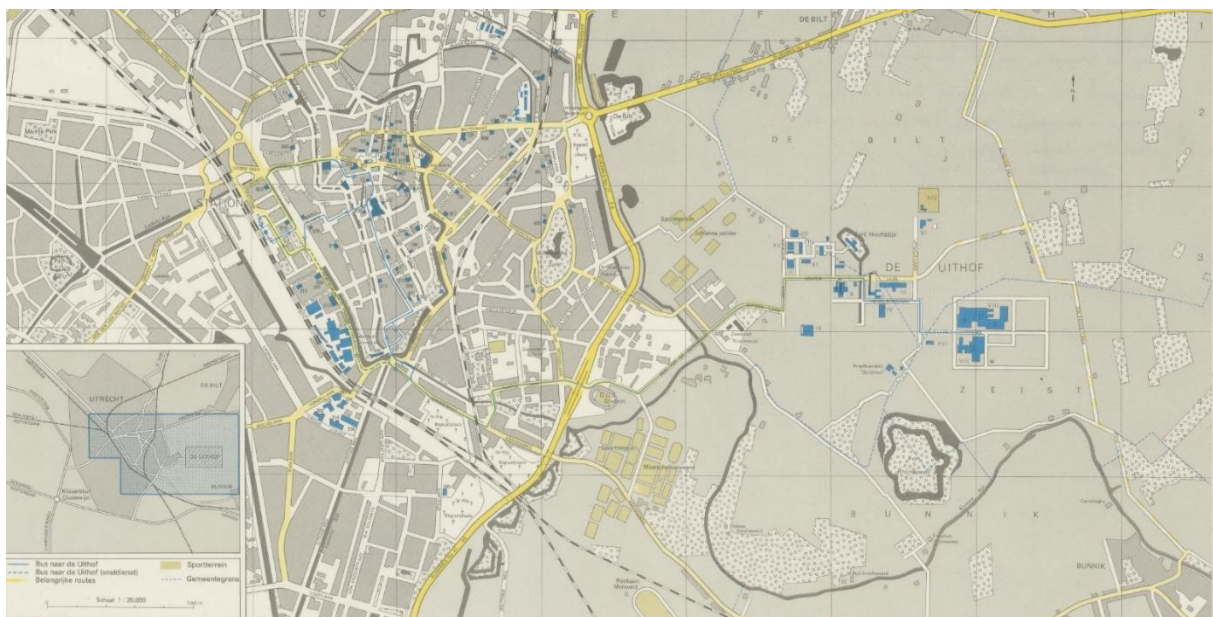


Figure 2 Map of Utrecht in 1971, university real estate is marked in blue.

<sup>93</sup> Jan van Teunenbroek, ‘De bestuurlijke geschiedenis’ in Willem Koops, Henk van Rinsum and Jan van Teunenbroek (eds), *De sociale wetenschappen in Utrecht: een geschiedenis* (Hilversum, 2005), p. 23.

<sup>94</sup> Wybo P. Heere, ‘De Faculteit Der Rechtsgeleerdheid,’ in *Tussen Ivoren Toren & Grootbedrijf: De Utrechtse Universiteit, 1936-1986*, ed. Hermann Walther von der Dunk, Wybo P. Heere, and Adriaan Wessel Reinink (Maarssen, 1986), 339; M. van Rooijen, ‘De Faculteit Der Letteren,’ in *Ibidem*. 451.

<sup>95</sup> Berkel, ‘The Sciences after the Second World War’, p. 230; Patricia Faasse, *Profiel van een faculteit. De Utrechtse bètawetenschappen 1815-2011* (Universiteit & Samenleving, 9, Hilversum, 2012), p. 111.

<sup>96</sup> Dorsman, ‘Het hoger onderwijs en de disciplines’, pp 125–126; Peter Selten, ‘De geschiedenis van de Algemene Sociale Wetenschappen’ in Willem Koops, Henk van Rinsum and Jan van Teunenbroek (eds), *De sociale wetenschappen in Utrecht: een geschiedenis* (Hilversum, 2005), pp 260–261.

## Towards satisfying legislation

Due to the massification and complexification of the university, the desire to increase the efficiency of management became more poignant. Key discussions about the structure of the university thus intensified. Mathematician Hans Freudenthal noticed that a legislative change was presupposed: 'The ... internal structure of the university and its relationship with society has been the subject of much discussion for ten post-war years. When I take stock, something strikes me: all of these aspirations seemed to be aimed at *one* goal, a new higher education law.'<sup>97</sup> Indeed, academic actors signalled the need for change, but importantly, were not autonomous from government. Therefore, changes were ultimately the resultant of legislative interventions. For example, the efficacy of the Senate was subjected to debate for decades.<sup>98</sup> This matter gained urgency as the number of professors increased. Therefore, the Senate of Utrecht University concentrated its power to a few senators. The resulting *Senatus Contractus* (SC) can be considered a precursor of the executive board. The SC became a model for other universities in the Netherlands.<sup>99</sup> The precise nature and responsibilities of the SC, however, remained intangible until the lawgiver formalised them in 1955.<sup>100</sup> Another example gradual reorganisation, cemented by the legislator are the first attempts to involve other academic staff members in managerial decision-making. The SC set up a committee in 1957 that in 1959 advised the installation of a 'staff-convent'. The convent was to have advisory rights only. The committee stressed that it was undesirable to let non-professors be 'in any way whatsoever a co-governing or co-deciding instance at the university.'<sup>101</sup>

The first major piece of legislation since 1876 was the *Wet op het Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs* (WVO), which took effect in 1960. Three implications of this law need to be highlighted. Firstly, the WVO transformed Dutch academia in legal entities. There has been a debate about the extent of autonomy this actually created. The historiographical consensus is that this autonomy would remain a dead letter until the second half of the 1980s, when public institutions became marketed.<sup>102</sup> Secondly, the law, formalised a pivotal administrative function: that of the university secretary.<sup>103</sup> The secretary advised the college of curators, took care of the executions of curatory decisions and was key in bridging the college of curators and the academic senate. That bridge remained necessary because, thirdly, the WVO did *not* alter the bi-polar mode of management. The desired monistic structure would be introduced with the WUB. The *Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid* (WRR) even spoke of 'maintaining or even strengthening the nineteenth-century [duplex ordo] model.'<sup>104</sup> Retrospectively we can state that the WVO was already outdated when it took effect.<sup>105</sup>

Throughout the 1960s debates concerning academic management were increasingly polemical. In November 1965 the academic council installed a committee that investigated to what extent solutions could be found within the WVO and the corresponding bipolar

---

<sup>97</sup> Hans Freudenthal, 'Vrijheid en Verantwoordelijkheid' in *Universiteit en Hogeschool*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1955), p. 295.

Freudenthal berated this one-dimensional focus on a legislative intervention and thought that the university should take responsibility as an institution instead.

<sup>98</sup> Bol, 'De restauratieve façade', p. 63; Jamin, *Kennis als opdracht*, pp 187–188; Freudenthal, 'Vrijheid en Verantwoordelijkheid', pp 298–299.

<sup>99</sup> van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 133.

<sup>100</sup> Jamin, *Kennis als opdracht*, p. 188.

<sup>101</sup> Bol, 'De restauratieve façade', p. 70.

<sup>102</sup> Boer, *Institutionele verandering en professionele autonomie*, pp 25–26; Dorsman, 'Professionalisering als probleem', p. 62.

<sup>103</sup> Dorsman, 'Professionalisering als probleem', p. 61.

<sup>104</sup> Boer, *Institutionele verandering en professionele autonomie*, p. 26.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

management structure. The committee delivered its findings two years later: such a solution didn't exist, the law needed to change again.<sup>106</sup> The committee, chaired by ir. A.G. Maris, nevertheless drew up an advisory rapport that pleaded for course the abolishment of the dualistic 'duplex ordo'. It needed to be replaced with a singular professional governing body. The so-called 'rapport-Maris' reached this conclusion by drawing a comparisons between the university and a business.<sup>107</sup> Although the commission conceded that universities do not turn profit, and do not have relevant product quality control, it was more interested in the similarities.<sup>108</sup> Both institutions necessitated central, homogenous leadership that guaranteed 'unity in policy', clearly demarcated responsibilities and obligations for each organ, and clear communication. The rapport-Maris inexorably deemed the century old oligarchic traditions of academic management to be ill-equipped for these tasks. The professorial monopoly on administrative power needed to be broken, instead professional managers should run the university. Maris proclaimed the end of the 'professor's university' [*professorerenuniversiteit*], which was rooted in the classic idea of the professor being authoritative in the fields of research, teaching and management. Contrariwise, in Maris' conception of the university, what we might call a 'manager's university', put the *ancien régime* on its head. Professors in that view are staff who execute policies that were drawn up by managers and their bureaucratic apparatus.<sup>109</sup>

The managerialist essence of the rapport-Maris, tied up with the analogy of the university as a business, touched on a sore spot of oligarchs. The academic senates of the various universities, and former minister Diepenhorst, voiced the oligarchic view. They vehemently rejected the rapport when it was first discussed in the academic council in January 1968. Cohen argues that oligarchs wanted to intervene less radically, and feared that centralisation would undermine the autonomy of the faculties. My argument would complement that oligarchs wanted to keep their far-reaching autonomy and responsibilities. Interestingly, curators were much more sympathetic towards the plans of Maris.<sup>110</sup> This might serve as a reminder that professors were, to a very large extent, committed to reproducing the academic social order and its power structure; professors have interiorized conatus very strongly. Eventually the chairman of the academic council concluded that the Maris-rapport would serve as a starting point in a developing discussion.<sup>111</sup> The academic council would be forced to reject the rapport wholly later that year. Because of the widespread condemnation, Slaman concludes that 'it was the wrong rapport at the wrong time.'<sup>112</sup>

### The dialectics of rebellion

Having surveyed the response from oligarchs, let us now turn to the reaction of democrats. Several historians even argue that the lack of acknowledgement of the democratic demands in the Maris-rapport was a decisive moment in the radicalisation of Dutch student movement.<sup>113</sup> The activities of the movement certainly had a dialectic dynamic and the reaction to the Maris-rapport was especially relentless. For example, the Utrecht student newspaper *Trophonios*, had published elements from the confidential concept-rapport in November of 1967

<sup>106</sup> Academische Raad, *onderzoek zelfstandige taakvervulling van de universiteit en hogeschool*.

<sup>107</sup> Cohen, *De strijd om de academie*, p. 22.

<sup>108</sup> van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 352; Cohen, *De strijd om de academie*, p. 22.

<sup>109</sup> van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 353.

<sup>110</sup> Cohen, *De strijd om de academie*, p. 26.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Slaman, *De glazen toren*, p. 126.

<sup>113</sup> Cohen, *De strijd om de academie*, p. 33; Boer, *Institutionele verandering en professionele autonomie*, p. 37; Sniijders, 'De Studentbeweging', pp 174–175; Jamin, *Kennis als opdracht*, p. 194; van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 355; Polak & Commissie voor de Bestuurshervorming, *Gewuld en gewogen*, p. 23.



with the primary intention to chastise it. Noteworthy, this forced the academic council to publish the Maris-rapport before the council could form a definitive judgement on the rapport. The student movement in Utrecht had therefore forced national political agents to publish their managerialist views that still needed improving, in order to criticise the result. The editorial board of *Trophonios* did not mince words, and compared the proposed administrative structure to a 'colonel's regime'.<sup>114</sup>

Was the Maris-rapport decisive in the radicalisation of the student movement? The argument can be made that the student movement's commitment to democracy, and its parallel resistance to the Maris-rapport was, in fact, not a singular moment in time. Instead, the radicalisation can be seen as a process; as a result of a longer development, from the formulation of the goal of intuitional democracy in 1963, in the direction of radical ideological positions such as Marxism and, to a lesser extent, anarchism.<sup>115</sup> Indeed, the argument here is that the radicalisation of the student movements occurred because its demands concerning the university were part of a broader socialist ideological framework. Most importantly, then, was the adoption of a socialist orientation by the student movement in 1967.<sup>116</sup> The Nijmegen chapter of the SVB, and later the wider organisation were inspired by a student organization of Marcusean persuasion from Berlin called the *Kritische Universitat* (KU), 'critical university'.<sup>117</sup> The *Kritische Univerisiteit* posited that a democratised university was an 'experimental space for new democratic relations, in order to democratise society as a whole'.<sup>118</sup>

By the late 1960s the student movement had a radical socialist orientation and mobilised its adherents exceptionally well. Little wonder, then, that the student unions attacked the managerialist views in the Maris-plan. This attack was instrumental to propagandise their views on the democratisation of society generally and the university specifically. The SVB organised a seminar in Nijmegen on the Maris-rapport, which led to the publication of a critical brochure *Universiteit en onderneming*. The authors argue that Maris' blueprint is modelled after a large industrial company: a small commanding board at the top, with executive personnel under it. 'This requires cooperation with management. Hence the pseudo-democratic consultative bodies: they serve [as a platform where it is possible] to vent [about] labour unrest, dissatisfaction.'<sup>119</sup> The pamphlet served as the theoretical underpinning of nationwide student protests of the late 1960s.<sup>120</sup> But more importantly, opposition to the plans of the commission-Maris created the opportunity to combine theory and praxis, and therefore served as an accelerant.

---

<sup>114</sup> Snijders, 'De Studentbeweging', p. 175.

<sup>115</sup> Although the SVB formulated university democracy as one of their aims in 1963 its main concern in the first years was to democratize student life, that is to say, to annex power from the corpora. van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 286. The demands for institutional democracy were centered after the socialist turn in 1967, which should therefore also be central in any explanatory account of the student movement's stakes in the debate surrounding the desired form and nature of the university.

<sup>116</sup> Slaman, *De glazen toren*, p. 126; van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 355; Kijne, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse studentenbeweging, 1963-1973*, pp 83–89; Jan Schopman, *Kritiese universiteit: de ruk naar links in de Nijmeegse studentenbeweging* (Nijmegen), pp 26–28.

<sup>117</sup> van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 357; Cohen, *De strijd om de academie*, p. 29; A. van der Meiden, 'Turbulentie en herordening, 1966 tot heden' in Hermann Walther von der Dunk, Wybo P. Heere and Adriaan Wessel Reinink (eds), *Tussen ivoren toren & grootbedrijf: de Utrechtse Universiteit, 1936-1986* (Maarssen, 1986), p. 105.

<sup>118</sup> Schopman, *Kritiese universiteit*, p. 74.

<sup>119</sup> Hughues C. Boekraad, Michel J. van Nieuwstadt, Ton Regtien and Henk Sips, *Universiteit en onderneming. Een analyse van het rapport Maris* (Nijmegen, 1968), p. 20. Nederlands: 'Hiervoor is nodig een saamhorigheid met het management. Vandaar de schijndemocratische overlegorganen: zij fungeren als ventiel voor arbeidsonrust, ontevredenheid.'

<sup>120</sup> Schopman, *Kritiese universiteit*, p. 73.

In Utrecht, meanwhile, the radical ideas of the SVB did not seem to catch on quickly. *Trophonios* published fairly critical responses to *Universiteit en onderneming*, especially regarding the idea that it was possible to democratise the university in order to democratise society at large: ‘Unfortunately, society will not allow it, and one has to change *her* first, if there’d ever be a democratic university.’<sup>121</sup> At the end of the academic year 1968/1969 however, tensions between democratic and the other schools of thought rose. Such tensions were seemingly adverted when the academic senate decided that a university council should be installed wherein every section, i.e. students, scientific staff and non-scientific staff, were represented.<sup>122</sup> Academic management would become accountable to this council. The national government, however, did not make preparations to provide a legal basis for institutional democracy. By this time, the student movement had started to use civil disobedience methods, such as occupations and sit-ins. Higher administrators often rejected such activist methods, and called for ‘civility’. My argument is that these calls were ideological, and served to pacify the dissent of democrats.<sup>123</sup> For example, the college of curators stressed it was willing to speak to every concerned actor and even democratise to a certain extent, on the condition that the negotiations ‘proceed in an orderly manner with a [student] representation’.<sup>124</sup> Also illustrative are the words of the secretary of the university, Dr. Schamhardt, on the occasion of the 1970 New Year’s speech, he underscored that students had become unyielding: ‘A curious point in the democratisation actions is the fact one is very intolerant, one has to agree with the students or the conversation stops.’<sup>125</sup>

Between May and October 1969 the Utrecht student movement, inspired by their peers, started setting ultimatums. The student movement in Tilburg gave the starting signal for further escalation, followed by Amsterdam. The board of the USF came to the occupation in Tilburg to study civil disobedient methods.<sup>126</sup> In Utrecht the first priority that was formulated was to make the Senate and College of Curator meetings public. Making the Senate meeting of June 18, and the curator meeting of June 20 public became the first objectives.<sup>127</sup> Curators quickly yielded, but Senate wished to deliberate privately. The senate meeting was consequently postponed to July 2. On June 20, the USF organised an alternative general assembly to discuss and decide on future political tactics. A motion to formerly demand public Senate and Curator meetings, and another to turn the Utrecht University Hall (Academiegebouw) into a temporary ‘discussion centre’ passed.<sup>128</sup> The term ‘discussion centre’ clearly is a euphemism for ‘occupation’. Using such euphemistic language testifies to the effect of calls for civility. The occupation was even permitted for 24 hours and even extended by secretary Schamhardt.<sup>129</sup> The discussion centre reconfirmed the objectives from June.

---

<sup>121</sup> IISG, jk, ‘Studentenakties. Niet te veel verwachten’ in *Trophonios* (8 Nov. 1968), jg. 5 no. 9, p. 1. Nederlands: Dat zal die maatschappij helaas niet toestaan, en men zal eerst háár moeten veranderen, wil er nog ooit een democratische universiteit ontstaan’.

<sup>122</sup> Jamin, *Kennis als opdracht*, p. 195; Snijders, ‘De Studentbeweging’, p. 176.

<sup>123</sup> Something similar happened in Leiden, see: Slaman, *De glazen toren*, p. 127. For a primary account in Utrecht see: Delpher, J.V.M. van Spaandonk, ‘Prof. mr. J. Van der Ven, Utrecht: Hervorming universiteit in overleg, niet met mes op tafel’ in *Algemeen Handelsblad* (Amsterdam, 3 July 1969), p. 4.

<sup>124</sup> Snijders, ‘De Studentbeweging’, p. 179.

<sup>125</sup> H. Schamhardt, ‘Toespraak van de Secretaris van de Universiteit op maandag 5 januari tijdens de Nieuwjaarsbijeenkomst van het universiteitsbureau’ in *Jaarboek der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht 1969-1970* (1970), p. 26.

<sup>126</sup> Snijders, ‘De Studentbeweging’, p. 181.

<sup>127</sup> BVD, *Bulletin 44, 20 juni 1969* (<https://www.inlichtingendiensten.nl/studentenbulletins/bulstud044-bvd.pdf>).

<sup>128</sup> Snijders, ‘De Studentbeweging’, p. 188.

<sup>129</sup> The fact that the secretary apparently was in charge of such decisions speaks to the central position this figure had in academic management before 1970.

The vital issue had thus become the accessibility of senate meetings. President-curator Van Lynden van Sandenburg suggested that students were allowed to have one representative per faculty at future meetings, accepting some, while simultaneously putting limits to democratic demands. The SC concurred, postulating the policy that students were welcome to send representatives on two conditions, (1) that the students would not use violence, and, more importantly that, (2) students would not participate in decision-making.<sup>130</sup> Here we see, again a strong contractus on the side of professors. The USF rejected the conditions of the SC, referring to the motions that demanded full access to senate meetings. I follow Bontempelli in his judgement that this rejection of *illuſio*, the refusal to ‘play the game’, was unique to the late 1960’s student protest movements. On July 2 1969 students entered the University Hall in order to attend the Senate meeting. Students first fought guards and attempted to enter the building, every time a professor did. Later students realised that they could enter via the back of the building. Figure 3 is a beautiful photograph of this moment. One bystander watches as several USF members climb through the window in order to attend the senate meeting. The rector furiously ended the meeting right after it started. The SC drew the conclusion that it was best if the academic senate would simply not deliberate again.



*Figure 3 Students break into the University Hall in order to attend the Senate meeting of July 2 1969.*

---

<sup>130</sup> HUA, ‘292-1 Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, senaat en rector, 1.1.1.29 Notulen van vergaderingen van de senatus contractus, 1968 nov.-1970 sept’, minutes 12 Jun. 1969, p. 8.

## The minister takes control

Minister Veringa was well-aware of the fact that the idea that university structures should fundamentally change sooner rather than later had gained momentum. He formulated the ambition to create a new governance structure before the end of his term (1967 – 1971). After the Maris debacle he sought advice from the various academic institutions. In Utrecht, a commission lead by prof. Van Unnik was tasked with answering the questionnaire that was drawn up. To appease rebellious democrats several students were included in the commission, including the chairman of the USF. Answers were due by July 15 1969. The events of May, however, had convinced Veringa that it was necessary to intervene in the debate. The legislator acted as arbiter of the debate in the hopes of ending it before it spiralled out of control.<sup>131</sup> In June he presented the so-called ‘nota Veringa’. The document was foundational of the ensuing *Wet Universitaire Bestuurs hervorming* (WUB) which would pass parliament in 1970 and take effect in 1971. The students in the commission-Van Unnik were furious, and resigned from their position out of protest. The commission had become pointless, they argued, as Veringa had moved the discussion to national parliament.<sup>132</sup>

Several elements from the WUB need to be highlighted for the intents and purposes of this thesis. First and foremost, Veringa had compromised between managerialists and democrats. The seemingly diverging goals were combined by Veringa in the introduction: ‘Expanded participation will benefit work relationships, the sense of responsibility will broaden and this will contribute to a better functioning of the university.’<sup>133</sup> In other words, democracy was expected to make academic management more efficient. Importantly, the university was seen by the minister as ‘*doelgemeenschap*’, a ‘goal-community’, combining notions of the academic community and the notion of organisation that should strive for certain goals, such as academic research and education, as efficiently as possible.<sup>134</sup> Depending on one’s own view on the university Veringa’s proposal was seen as either a clever balance between two extremes or an impossible compromise that was doomed to fail.<sup>135</sup>

How did the WUB change the university? The college of curators and academic senate were abolished, an executive board and university council came in their place. Three to five professional managers presided over the executive board; Utrecht University opted for a five-member board. The council appointed two and the Crown appointed three board members, including the Rector Magnificus. The council appointed its own chair, usually from their midst. Councilmembers belonged to one of four sections: scientific staff (min. 1/3), students (max. 1/3), non-scientific staff (max. 1/3) and ‘representatives of society’ (min. 1/6). By defining these sections the professorial monopoly formally ended and the ‘academic community’ was provided a legal basis. Note that these minima and maxima aimed to contain the power of non-professors, and the system was thus designed to secure a certain contactus. On top of all that, the seats should preferably spread evenly over the various faculties. Contrary to the strict division between the college of curators and senate, the board and council were co-governing entities. The new construction therefore constituted a *simplex ordo*, a monistic structure. Veringa highlighted the

---

<sup>131</sup> van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 387.

<sup>132</sup> Editorial board, ‘Studenten uit commissie bestuursvorm’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (12 Sept. 1969), vol. 1 no. 2, p. 7. When I have found anonymous writing in the sources I have ascribed it to the editorial board.

<sup>133</sup> Stichting NSR-publikaties, *Wet Veringa*, p. 11.

<sup>134</sup> According to Van Berkel the Minister officially regarded the university as *doelorganisatie* but organised the university as a community, *leefgemeenschap*. See: van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 388. The minister himself used the word *doelgemeenschap*, which converges the two concepts in one term. See: Stichting NSR-publikaties, *Wet Veringa*, p. 11.

<sup>135</sup> van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 388.

importance of unity in management.<sup>136</sup> There was still a certain division of labour, but responsibilities regarding to general management and education and research were now shared. The duties of the board related to housing, human resources, central administration, communication and contracting. The council had the lead in student facilities, determining the budget and, importantly, all other matters the law did not mention. Contrary to senatorial and curatorial gatherings, council meetings were public. Essentially, the power balance in the Dutch university was restructured. Not permanently, however: the law was valid until 1982 and required evaluation periodically.<sup>137</sup>

The student movement objected to the WUB. Several pamphlets were produced to give a form to the opposition. *De wet Veringa: Einde van de democratisering* argued that, because the law meticulously dosed influence over the different sections (students, scientists, non-scientist staff) and faculties, ‘political interest [are] interwoven into an untangleable knot with the private interests of sections and faculties.’<sup>138</sup> Indeed, the ‘corporative structure’, the logic of the separate sections with its own interests, bothered the students, because this, they thought, reproduced the social order. The student movement wanted to experiment with either direct democracy or direct elections (‘one man, one vote’) in a singular body of governance without limits to its agency. The WUB, by contrast, rejected outright the possibility of direct democracy. Moreover, the movement objected to the proposed power concentration at the executive board. Veringa’s law, it was suggested was so much informed by the Maris-rapport that it was basically ‘Maris with councils’, or ‘Maris dressed up’.<sup>139</sup>

It was generally acknowledged that Veringa attempted to pacify the democratic struggle by institutionalising and channelling it. This nevertheless bears further examination. First, it is worthwhile to point out that Veringa explicated these intentions in the memorandum of the WUB: ‘The last months ... many, specifically students, have very high expectations of radical governance reform. It therefore seemed desirable ... to clearly demarcate the limits within which reform efforts should be made.’<sup>140</sup> The explicit goal of the governmental intervention was to set limits to the progressiveness that students were so vocal in espousing. As a result, notions such as ‘democracy’ were contingent on the terms of the legislator. Figure 4 satirises Veringa’s desire to ‘clearly demarcate the limits’ of democratism. The caption reads, ‘in their structure they can do a whole lot’, the picture . The cartoon cleverly used the form of the cartoon and its limitation as a metaphor for the limitations on the form of academic democracy. The cartoon, published by the *Volkskrant*, seems informed by the brochure *Universiteit en onderneming* as science, business and government are interconnected in one structure.

The USF followed the student movement in their opposition to the WUB. The union prophetically foreshadowed: ‘There is a very good chance that the university parliament, known as the university council, will prove powerless against the bundled mass of administration,

---

<sup>136</sup> Stichting NSR-publikaties, *Wet Veringa*, p. 22. See explanatory memorandum of article 21.

<sup>137</sup> Boer, *Institutionele verandering en professionele autonomie*, pp 40–41; Dorsman, ‘Professionalisering als probleem’, p. 64; Prudon, *Van WUB tot MUB*, p. 8.

<sup>138</sup> Stichting NSR-publikaties, *Wet Veringa*, p. 31.

<sup>139</sup> van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 389.

<sup>140</sup> G.H. Veringa and P.J. Lardinois, ‘Nota bestuurshervorming universiteiten en hogescholen’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (19 Sept. 1969), vol. 1 no. 3, bijlage, pp 1–6. Nederlands: ‘De laatste maanden vooral heeft de snelle openvolging der gebeurtenissen in de universitaire wereld er toe geleid dat de verwachtingen op het gebied van radicale bestuurshervormingen van velen, in het bijzonder van de studenten, zeer hoog zijn gespannen.. Het leek ons [Veringa en collega Lardinois] daarom wenselijk, duidelijk de grenzen af te bakenen, die ter bescherming van de belangen van onderwijs en wetenschappen aan het hervormingsstreven moeten worden gesteld.’

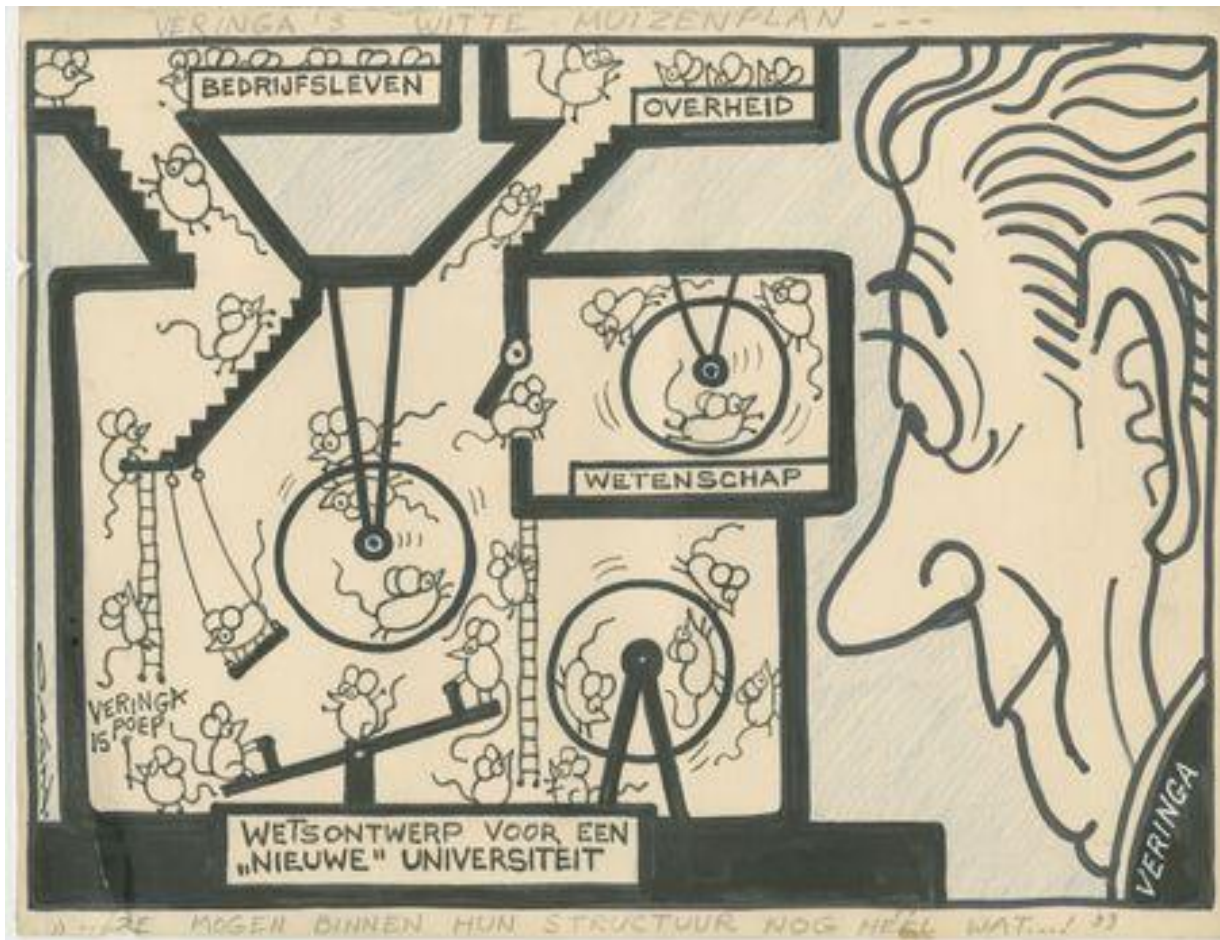


Figure 4 Cartoon by Opland titled 'Veringa's white mice plan'. The caption reads: 'in their structure that can do a whole lot'.

[bureaucratic] apparatus and ministry. This will not only be the result of the information backlog from which the council will suffer, but especially because of the structural relationship between the elected council and the appointed board. The council will soon see its task not as determining policy, but as controlling [the board's policies]. Thus, the council members will not feel responsible for the university and the way is cleared for narrow-minded advocacy.<sup>141</sup> The USF appointed a workgroup to flesh out its concerns to the WUB which are bundled in a little-known pamphlet *De integratie van de universiteit in het kapitaliese stelsel*. The pamphlet related their criticism of Veringa's law to a larger critique of the capitalist system.<sup>142</sup> As already sketched in their initial comment, they argued that the minister, the college of deans and the executive board hollowed out any chance genuine democratization. Participating in the council system would therefore be 'pointless'. Noteworthy, the USF opposed 'parliamentarism' on principle.<sup>143</sup> In light of the

<sup>141</sup> Wouter Koning, 'USF-commentaar op de nota Veringa' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (19 Sept. 1969), vol. 1 no. 3, bijlage, pp 20–22. Nederlands: 'De kans is heel groot dat het universiteitsparlement, universiteitsraad genoemd, machteloos zal blijken te staan tegenover de gebundelde massa van bestuur, apparaat en ministerie. Dit zal niet alleen het gevolg zijn van de informatie achterstand waaraan de raad zal lijden, maar vooral ook van de structurele verhouding van de gekozen raad en het benoemd bestuur. Al gauw zal de raad zijn taak niet als beleidsbepalend, maar als controlerend opvatten. Op die manier zullen de raadsleden zich niet verantwoordelijk voelen voor de universiteit en is de weg vrij voor een bekrompen belangenbehartiging.'

<sup>142</sup> IISG, USF werkgroep, *Veringa, Posthumus of Mc.Kinsey, of: De integratie van de universiteit in het kapitalistiese stelsel* (Utrecht, 1971). no. Bro 1511/13.

<sup>143</sup> van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 389.

parliamentarist law by Veringa's design we can call that a highly radical rejection of both *illuſio* and *conactus*. Indeed, the councils would be boycotted by the radical democrats. *Trophonios* even wrote that everyone participating in the councils system 'belongs to the group of yes-men'.<sup>144</sup>

That boycott would not be successful, as, importantly, the SVB dissolved in 1969. The movement served its function as the initiator of class conscious student organization, but in later years failed to harmonize opinions about the course of the movement. By late 1968 'many no longer considered the SVB to be representative of the student opposition: the most important political actions were indeed led by SVB members, but not initiated by the SVB as an organisation.'<sup>145</sup> The BVD noted that actions would no longer occur under 'SVB flag', because other organisations took credit that were either more radical, such as the *Kritische Universiteit*, or more moderate like the 'movement for democratising the universities'.<sup>146</sup> The SVB became immobilized after disagreements rose about how to position itself in this new landscape. Other national student organisations suffered the same fate. The NSR, for example, went bankrupt after financial mismanagement.<sup>147</sup> In absence of the SVB or NSR as important platforms, radical democrats oriented on the USF and other 'grondraden'. These organisations unified in a new national organization, the Landelijk Overleg Grondraden (LOG) from 1971 to 1985. The LOG became the most important representative of students on the national stage, the USF would play that role locally.

## Conclusion

In essence, this chapter reviewed the historical context which gave rise to the politicisation and transformation of academic structures from 1945 to 1970. The subject was initially raised as part of a broader desire to transform the social system shortly after liberation. Indeed, the construction of an academic *civitas* was an expression of that desire. I have argued that the desire for democratisation runs parallel to notions of the academic community. However, the first construction of an academic community turned out to be transient, as the post-war enthusiasm for a breakthrough quickly faded. In due course, as what I have called a 'belated' breakthrough, the view that the pre-war, oligarchic mode of academic governance was outdated became commonplace. Maris proposed a managerialist university to replace the oligarchic 'professor's' university.

I have argued that intensified calls for democratisation in the 1960s and the proletarianization of the academy were co-constitutive. Proletarianization brought certain emancipatory practices that mediated and reconstructed the concept of the academic community. As an example, I have demonstrated that the privileged position of the corpora was symptomatic of a narrow definition of the academic 'civitas'. These exclusionary practices were brought into question. The student movement addressed the feeling that the narrow *civitas* needed expansion and democratisation. Indeed, the student movement can be seen as an attempt of working class students to claim a place in the academic community, which required rearticulation of the concept.

The legislator arbitered the debate; ultimately the structures of academia are dictated by legislation. Minister Veringa sought to compromise with democratic demands in order to domesticate and pacify their radicalism. The WUB is a fruit of that compromise. The law also

---

<sup>144</sup> IISG, ld, 'Veringa rechts laten liggen' in *Trophonios* (27 Feb. 1970), jg. 6 no. 17, p. 1.

<sup>145</sup> Nederland: 'Zo achtten velen de SVB niet meer representatief voor de studentenoppositie: de belangrijkste politieke acties werden wél door SVB-leden geleid, maar niet door de SVB als organisatie geëntameerd.'

<sup>146</sup> BVD, *Inzagedossier SVB*, p. 58.

<sup>147</sup> van Steen, 'Een bres in de ivoren toren', p. 176.

furthered managerialism, the wish to democratise academic governance was coextensive with the desire to increase its efficiency. In the text Veringa constructed the notion of ‘doelgemeenschap’, or goal community, to express the managerial-democratic university. Although, the semi-democratic power structures that emerged throughout the academy were unprecedented, there were also systems in place to guarantee *illusio* and *conatus*. The professor was formally dethroned by democrats and managers. In the next chapters I shall describe how and why control over the university would increasingly lie with the managers.



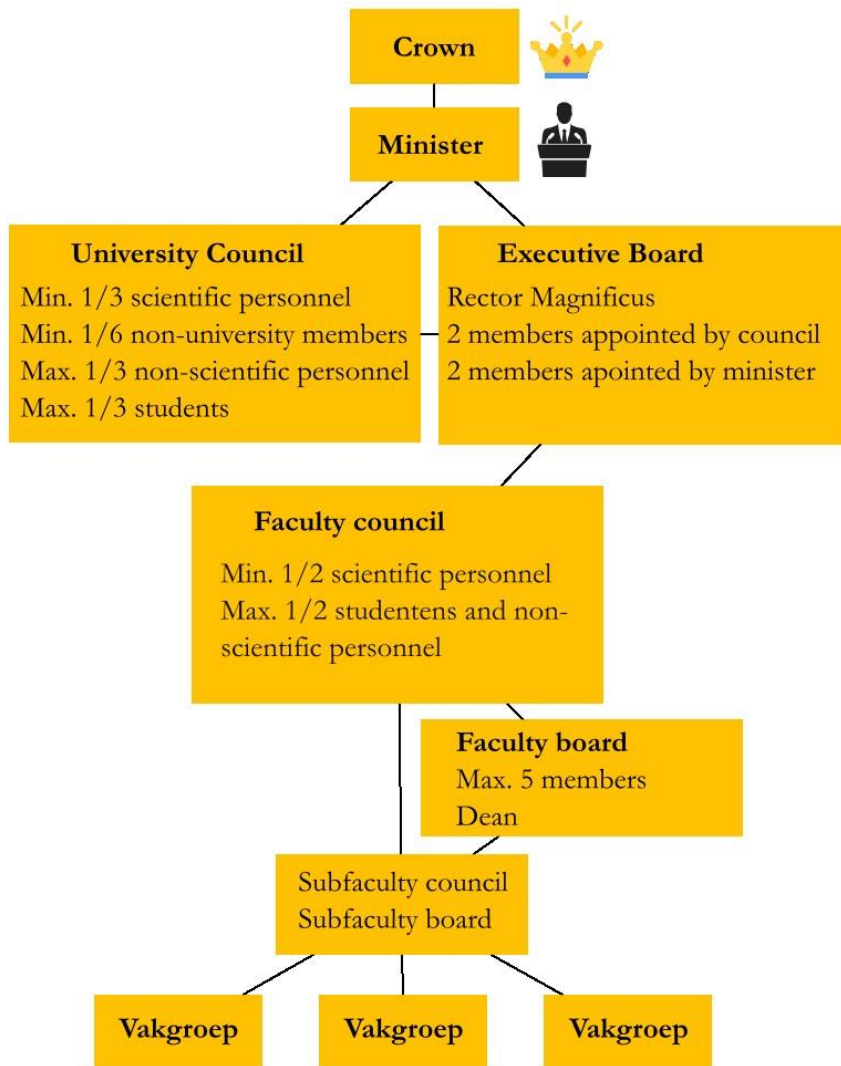


Figure 5 Organogram of the university 'under WUB'.

### Chapter 3: The WUB as struggle, 1970 – 1986

The whole system of the Minister can only resemble actual governance as long as there is no conflict. ... But as soon as there is a serious clash of opinions, it turns out that the university council is inarticulate, that it does not have the means to push its insights through.

Marcus Bakker, 1970.<sup>148</sup>

The transition from former *duplex ordo* institutions, professorial college and senate, to the new council and board, was gradual and slow. Until January 1972, both regimes existed coextensively. *Ancien régime* powers did not leave the opportunity unused to further their unabashedly managerialist vision of how the reorganised system of university governance should function. Secretary Schamhardt, for example, cautioned against the excessive time-consuming nature of parliamentary procedure: 'In the future decision-making will have to spend more time on disagreeable reactions to it. This is an automatic consequence of democracy in my opinion.'<sup>149</sup> Another point of interest here is the composition of the executive board. When the Rector Magnificus, at the occasion of the first council election, was asked if there was room in the executive board for a recent graduate, he responded in the negatory. Executive board members appointed by the minister, according to him, 'should have a career in governance'.<sup>150</sup> The council could appoint two other board members. Crucially though, the council's appointees were to be selected from the scientific staff with a permanent contract, often professors. The council could not fire the board. The executive board, then, by design is endowed with a strong *conatus*, a tendency to reproduce or strengthen the social order.<sup>151</sup> In this case, the executive board reproduces both its managerial and professorial privileges. Such privileges previously were provided to curators or former members of the *Senatus Contractus*.<sup>152</sup> Unsurprisingly, then, there were many former curators in the executive board. Perhaps it is because of the board's *conatus* why Secretary Schamhardt, who later would become a board member himself, pushed to maximise the responsibilities of the board. According to him the university council should delegate all of its responsibilities in daily management to the executive board and its officials. Only then, 'something good can come out of it.'<sup>153</sup>

---

<sup>148</sup> *Handelingen Tweede Kamer der Staten Generaal* (4de vergadering - 22 september 1970), p. 122; also cited in: Cohen, *De strijd om de academie*, p. 162; C. Fasseur, 'Van speeltuin tot bedrijf. Het bestuur van de universiteit' in Henk Jan de Jonge and Willem Otterspeer (eds), *Altijd een vonk of twee: de Universiteit Leiden van 1975 tot 2000* (Leiden, 2000), p. 9. Nederlands: 'Het hele systeem van de Minister kan alleen maar lijken op een echt bestuur zolang er geen conflict bestaat; ik bedoel niet een of ander geharrewar over personen, maar een werkelijk conflict over de gang van zaken op de universiteit. Maar zodra er wel een werkelijk serieuze botsing van meningen is, blijkt, dat de universiteitsraad onmondig is, dat hij niet beschikt over de middelen om zijn inzichten door te zetten.'

<sup>149</sup> Editorial board, 'Universitaire perikelen bij de jaarwisseling 1971-1972' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (7 Jan. 1972), vol. 3 no. 19, p. 3.

Nederlands 'om tot besluitvorming te geraken zal in de toekomst meer tijd gemoed zijn met alle vervelende reacties daarom. Ik meen dat dit een automatisch gevolg is van de democratisering.'

<sup>150</sup> Editorial board, 'Prof. dr. F. v.d. Blij: gehoopt op veel meer!' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (14 May 1971), vol. 2 no. 35, Verkiezingsbijlage no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>151</sup> Bontempelli, *Knowledge Power and Discipline*, p. 155.

<sup>152</sup> In Leiden the continuity was even greater, the former president-curator became the chairman of the executive board. Fasseur, 'Van speeltuin tot bedrijf', p. 7. In Groningen the president-curator led the executive board until his unexpected passing in June 1972, van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 398.

<sup>153</sup> H. Schamhardt, 'Tussen de tijden' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (8 Jan. 1971), vol. 2 no. 19, p. 2.

Nederlands: 'Indien de Universiteitsraad zich bezig gaat houden met het beleid op langere termijn en de dagelijkse zaken overlaat aan het College van Bestuur kan er iets goeds uitkomen.'

Immediately after the implementation of the WUB important agents argued that democratisation should be minimised, and instead pushed a managerialist agenda. The minor democratic gains that were guaranteed by the WUB were thus struggled against as soon as they were established. The argument that will be developed in this chapter is that this pattern will prove pervasive. The democratic responsibilities of the university council are struggled against from various directions, with the goals to maximise the agency of the executive board. As the centre of university management came to lie with the executive board the argument could then be made that its de jure mandate was incongruent with its de facto responsibilities, with the aim to extend the former. This process plays a role in the shift from a democratic-managerial to an exclusively managerial system. The harmony model inadvertently quickened the transition. As the communist politician Marcus Bakker prophetically pointed out, the council was ineffective when its aims were contrary to those of the executive board. As the executive board governed full-time and had access to a bureaucratic apparatus the consensus-based *modus operandi*, mostly worked in the favour of the board.<sup>154</sup>

### **The limits of WUB-democracy**

Let me briefly assess what was left of the student movement and its political positioning. After the SVB dissolved, efforts were made to politicise the *grondraden*, in Utrecht the USF. The BVD characterised the orientation of the union as ‘Marxist’, signalling a strong class awareness.<sup>155</sup> The USF continued to oppose the WUB. Even though Utrecht University was on the precipice of implementing the law, the union would not yield its opposition. In collaboration with its peers in Amsterdam, the USF would boycott the first council elections. Figure 6 shows the militant poster the student unions spread. The rhetoric of academic administrators, by contrast, was an expression of conatus; it assumed the WUB and their privileges in it. Consonantly, they publicised first council election, without drawing attention to the decision-making power of the council. The slogan was ‘leave no seat vacant’, which aptly summarises the stance. Figure 7 shows the appurtenant poster, which contrasts nicely with the student union boycott-poster, both in content and form. The election-boycott contributed to a student turnout of a measly 9%. This was considerably lower than elsewhere, though discussions started immediately what was ultimately achieved.<sup>156</sup> The aim to cancel the elections had failed. Moreover, doubts were casted about causality: the boycott was probably aided by a general lack of interest among students. Even though the student section of the council remained incomplete for a short period of time, it was also true that several union members had disregarded the boycott to run for council.

The USF briefly considered participating in the following council elections. Radical students had argued for some time that optimally resisting undesirable governmental decisions required university council activity. Moreover, student results in faculty councils needed to be safeguarded, the practice of ‘numereus fixus’ opposed and more principled discussion needed to be furthered.<sup>157</sup> In 1973 the USF first formulated its ambition to run for council: ‘a parliament ... at least offers an opportunity to propagate your ideas.’, chairman of the USF said.<sup>158</sup> However,

---

<sup>154</sup> Schamhardt also addressed the issue, he said political imitative of the council, that was exercised in its various committees was untenable as this task is overly time-consuming for council-members who are not excused from their work. Schamhardt, ‘Tussen de tijden’.

<sup>155</sup> BVD, *bericht De Studentenoppositie in Nederland*, 1974, p. 16

(<https://www.inlichtingendiensten.nl/ambtsberichten/studentenoppositie.pdf>).

<sup>156</sup> Bernt Feis, ‘Wie is er nu geboycot?’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (18 June 1971), vol. no. 20, p. 1.

<sup>157</sup> Leonard van Valen et al., ‘Studenten in u-raad’ in *Utrechtse Universitaite Reflexen* (23 Mar. 1973), vol. 4 no. 30, p. 3.

<sup>158</sup> A.v.S., ‘Studenten wijzigen allicht tactiek: meebesturen in de universiteitsraad’ in *Utrechtse Universitaite Reflexen* (22 Dec. 1972), vol. 4 no. 19, p. 1.

their ambitions were postponed due to preoccupation with opposing the rising tuition fee.<sup>159</sup> Indeed, the USF designed another boycott-tactic, this time aiming to prevent students to formerly register and pay the indebted amount. The two boycotts are interrelated in two ways. Firstly, the union unilaterally decided to exclude tuition-fee boycotters from elections. Opposition to council system thus necessarily continued. Secondly, the USF felt betrayed by the university council. After an occupation of the Academiegebouw the demonstrators were met by police intervention, on the explicit invitation of the executive board. The union was asked to speak before the university council, which it used as an opportunity to chastise the council for allowing this to happen in the first place and to reiterate its position on the limited effect of parliamentary politics: 'Little is left of the council's limited room for manoeuvre. The actions of the executive board should have raised questions with the council... Any initiative seems absent.'<sup>160</sup> The USF would finally participate in council elections from 1973 under the name Progressieve Studenten Organisatie (PSO).<sup>161</sup>

The accusation that the council lacks much political initiative rings true, and is illustrative of the council's limited agency. The first council primarily tasked itself with adequately implementing the new governance structure and functioning properly, other affairs had to wait until a new chairman presented himself in 1972 and the council professionalised. The chairman saw room for improvement, specifically in terms of the executive board's willingness to recognise the council's position. The executive board should be more willing to prepare the council's meetings properly. Even when properly executed, it puts the board in a better information position relative to the council, which makes one councillor conclude that 'the council often takes a passive stance towards the board ... because the board has thoroughly examined the affairs, but the council has not.'<sup>162</sup> More important is the board's willingness to execute council-decisions: 'I have the impression', the chairman said in an extensive interview, 'that the board instinctively acts as if it is still 1968 ... One does not always seem to realise sufficiently that the decisions of the council have to be carried out without further ado, if they are not presented to the Crown for

---

Nederlands: 'Welke kritiek je ook op een parlement kunt hebben, het biedt in ieder geval gelegenheid je ideeën te propageren en je vanuit daaruit te verzetten tegen maatschappelijke structuren.'

<sup>159</sup> Minister de Brauw had raised the tuition fee from f200,- to f1000,- in 1972. In reaction to this raise the USF occupied the administration office, and boycotted paying the tuition fee. The action continued for years. A.v.S., 'Solidariteit' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (8 Aug. 1972), vol. 4 no. 2, p. 1; A.v.S., 'usf bepleit boikot 1000 gulden' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (8 Aug. 1972), vol. 4 nr. 2, p. 3; Piet van Asseldonk, 'USF doet niet mee!' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (2 Mar. 1973), vol. 4 nr. 27, p. 3.

The action was nationally coordinated and was carried out elsewhere too, see Slaman, *De glazen toren*, p. 132; van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 568.

<sup>160</sup> The USF could not convince the council to suspend registration of students, and chose the position of the executive board. This was, according to aforementioned councillor Blok, illustrative of 'insufficient forming of an [independent] opinion' of the council. See, A.v.S., 'Verklaring USF in URaad' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (29 Sept. 1972), vol. 4 nr. 2, p. 3; Editorial board, 'drs. L. Blok, lid Universiteitsraad. Meningsvorming onvoldoende' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (9 Feb. 1973), vol. 4 no. 24, pp 5, 7.

Nederlands: 'De herstruktureringplannen en het gedrag van ex-minister De Brauw laten van de beperkte speelruimte voor de raden weinig over. ... Het optreden van het kollege van bestuur eind augustus had vragen op moeten roepen bij deze raad. En hoewel er vragen gesteld zijn door de heer Blok over de houding van het kollege van bestuur is de u-raad niet eerder bijeen gekomen om te praten en te beslissen over de hele materie met betrekking tot de kollegegelden dan vandaag. Ieder initiatief lijkt afwezig.'

<sup>161</sup> BVD, *Inzagedossier SVB*, p. 16.

<sup>162</sup> Editorial board, 'dr. M.F. Kramer, lid Universiteitsraad. U-raad vaak achter' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (9 Feb. 1973), vol. 4 no. 24, p. 3.

Nederlands: 'Het vermoeden lijkt niet helemaal ongegrond, dat de raad zich vaak alleen maar passief opstelt tegenover het CvB ... doordat het CvB zijn zaakjes wel grondig heeft bekeken maar de raad niet.'

annulment.<sup>163</sup> So, in the early days of the WUB the executive board would oftentimes take the liberty to surpass the council in matters of urgency. The council would then be faced with a *fait accompli*, as frustrated it could at times be, there was simply no possibility of reversing the board decision. This tendency strengthened over time, to the point where the board was unanimously condemned by the university council in 1984. The chairman underscored the uniqueness of the unity: ‘in the six years I am chair I have never witnessed anything like it’.<sup>164</sup>

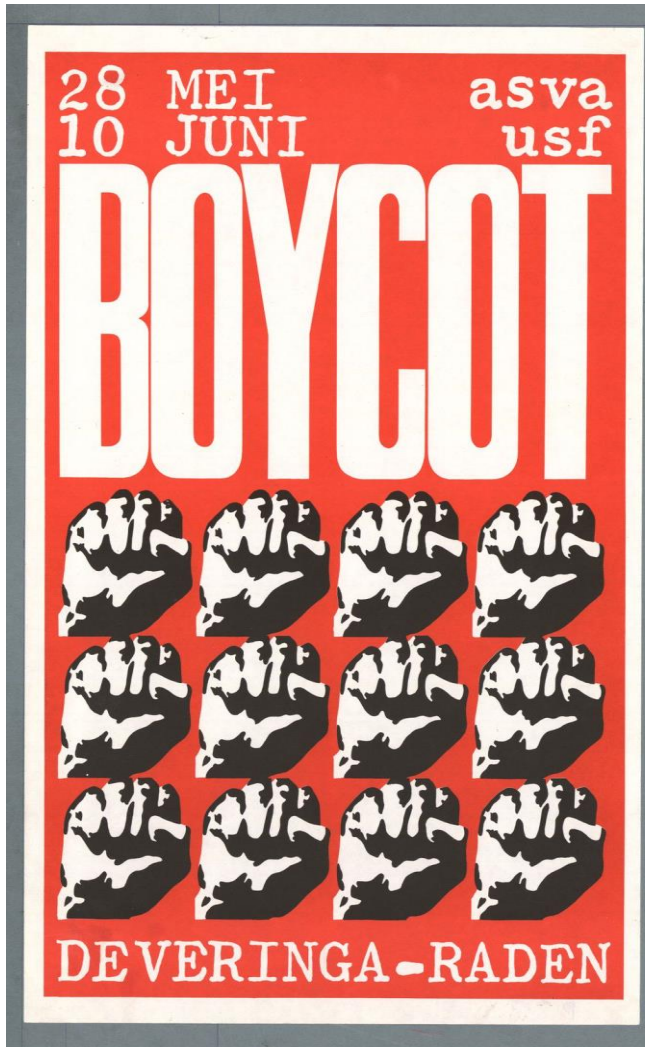


Figure 6 Boycott-poster of the USF in collaboration with its Amsterdam counterpart ASVA.

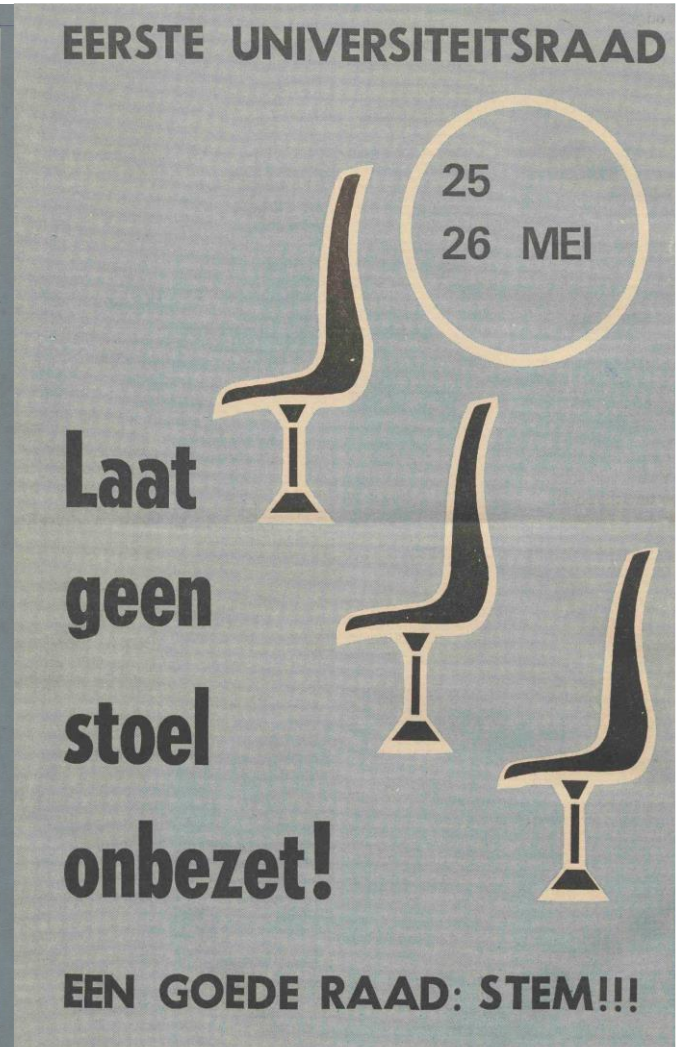


Figure 7 Campaign in the university newspaper. Caption: leave no seat vacant ... vote!!!

<sup>163</sup> Mac. E., ‘dr. J. Mansfeld. Moeizaam en geduldig weven aan andere structuren’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (3 Nov. 1972), vol. 4 no. 12, pp 1–2.

Nederlands: ‘Beter zou het kunnen, dacht ik, ten aanzien van de voorbereiding van de Raadsvergaderingen, als ook ten aanzien van de uitvoering van de Raadsbesluiten ... Ik heb de indruk dat men in het C.v.B. toch een enkele keer instinctief te doen alsof men – nouja, nog in 1968 is. ... Men schijnt zich nog niet altijd voldoende te realiseren dat men de besluiten van de raad zonder meer uit te voeren heeft, als men ze tenminste niet voor vernietiging bij de Kroon voordraagt.’

<sup>164</sup> Simon Kooistra, ‘Haalt de U-raad 1985? College plaatst U-raad bij herhaling voor het blok’ in *U-blad* (13 Jan. 1984), vol 15 no. 18, p. 5.

To the end of improving the council's preparedness, or, arguably, to achieve basic competence, the council established a miscellaneous collection of commissions.<sup>165</sup> As the commissions allowed more specialised and principled discussion they soon subsumed considerable political agency from the council. While reflecting on their term and the relation to commissions former councillors without exception claim that commission proposals were rubber-stamped by the university council. Councilmember Blok summarised the issues aptly: 'Anyone who has ever attended a council-meeting may have been surprised at the ease with which problems were forwarded to the executive board [and] at the ease with which proposals made by the committee were adopted.'<sup>166</sup> At the start of the academic year 1973/1974 this process was so advanced that the new chairman Van der Bergh accused his predecessor to have delegated the council's decision-making rights to commissions. He nevertheless pre-empted that accusation with stressing the importance of commissions 'we have to do it with the commissions. ... But I admit, there is room for improvement. As a consequence of preparing in the commissions very important affairs were rubber-stamped by the council. That can't be, perhaps there is a role for the chairman there.'<sup>167</sup> It is doubtful that Van der Bergh succeeded in his ambition, as an article in the *Universiteitsblad* about the 'long road of council decisions' showcases: 'even the less superficial spectator can get the impression the university is not governed by the council but by a handful of specialised clubs.'<sup>168</sup> Interestingly, the commissions were customarily composed of councilmembers, but this was not a prerequisite. The primary concern with appointments was a matter of expertise, and therefore it was not unusual for former councilmembers to remain in function.<sup>169</sup> This lack of fresh blood, of course, strengthened the councils tendency towards conatus. Importantly, the commissions were explicitly and unequivocally untransparent: journalists from the *Universiteitsblad* or other interested parties could not attend commission meetings.

### Evaluating, extending and amending the law

What exactly were the experiences with the WUB in Utrecht after a few years? The best most involved parties had to say is that they preferred it to not having it. The WUB was considered 'a step forward'.<sup>170</sup> They argued that the system could potentially work, although even

---

<sup>165</sup> This tendency towards commission-formation lead to the conclusion that 'there is a need for a commission to investigate which commissions, with which powers, are desirable'. UUA, University council, *Verslag van de tweede vergadering van de eerste universiteitsraad op 31 augustus 1971* 1971, p. 3. The 'commission of commission' that was the result, advised the council to install a presidium for daily management of the council and commissions for long term planning, budgeting, personnel affairs, student affairs, housing and an editorial board for the university newspaper 'U'. UUA, University council, *Verslag vergaderingen van de commissie voor de commissies op 12 en 14 oktober 1971* 1971; UUA, Commission of commissions university council, *Verslag van de bijeenkomst van de commissie voor de commissies op 1 maart 1972* 1972; UUA, Commission of commissions university council, *Voorstel voor de universiteitsraad inzake de vorming van een presidium* 1972; Editorial board 'U', 'Grote zorgen bij de start van het nieuwe collegejaar' in *U: Utrechtse universitaire reflexen* (10 Sept. 1971), vol. 3 no. 4, p. 3.

<sup>166</sup> Editorial board, 'Meningsvorming onvoldoende', p. 7.

<sup>167</sup> Willem Kuipers, 'U'-gesprek met nieuwe voorzitter U-raad. Uitgesproken progressieven bleven weg - waarom?' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (8 June 1973), vol. 4 no. 39, p. 5.

Nederlands: 'We moeten het met de commissies doen. ... Als gevolg van de voorbereiding in de commissies gingen soms hele belangrijke zaken als hamerstuk door de raad.'

<sup>168</sup> B.K., 'de voorgebakken friet van de u-raad' in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (30 Mar. 1979), vol. 10 no. 30, p. 7.

Nederlands: 'Door dit commissiewerk ... kan ook de minder oppervlakkige toeschouwer de indruk krijgen dat de universiteit niet door een raad bestuurd wordt, maar door een aantal gespecialiseerde klubjes'

<sup>169</sup> Maurits Schmidt, 'Commissiewerk zinniger dan vergaderen in de universiteitsraad. Studenten kijken terug op universiteitsraadswerk' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (22 Feb. 1974), vol. 5 no. 26, pp 8-9.

<sup>170</sup> Erik Hardeman, 'de WUB in Utrecht. ervaringen positief, vooral met onderwijs, minder met vakgroepen' in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (7 Dec. 1979), vol. 11 no. 17, p. 8.

these judgements accentuate the problems inherent to its current functioning.<sup>171</sup> Professor Steenbeek, scholar of state law, who was invited to reflect on the WUB system at the occasion of the 338<sup>th</sup> *dies natalis* of the university in 1973, started his speech by highlighting that the central issue with his filed was a tension between authority and freedom. The professor argued that the WUB presupposed that the three different sections (scientific, non-scientific personnel and students) are of equivalent value, ‘but not actually each other’s equal’. The WUB, according to him, was fit to advance institutional democracy ‘because the law - albeit of necessity to varying degrees - confers decision-making power on all those who belong to the academic community ... while simultaneously making inequality functional.’<sup>172</sup> The WUB in other words, reproduced *ancien régime* power structures, the council system has a powerful disposition of *conatus* by design. The argument here is that the ‘decision-making power’ of the council is not to be overestimated, as it relinquished much of it to its commissions and the executive board. So, the system was far from perfect. The chair of the council had to work over-time to navigate the various, sometimes contradicting, interests of the council factions and sections. On top of that the interests of the council and executive board had to be harmonised somehow. The departing chair Van der Bergh said: ‘When the WUB came in effect, I thought you had to give it a fair chance. But a top structure fails if it requires so much work to prevent it from derailing.’<sup>173</sup>

Little wonder then, that there was also outright criticism of the WUB. An Amsterdam scholar, Marinus Broekmeyer, infamously asserted that the WUB’s was excessively democratic, at the expense of ‘professors and scientific staff with permanent contracts’. The brochure, entitled ‘democracy and science’, argued that only the latter groups should be involved in making decisions about education, and in appointing committees, making it an oligarchic position.<sup>174</sup> Thirty-two of the over 200 signatories of the brochure, came from Utrecht.<sup>175</sup> The brochure marks a pivot point in the discussions about the implementation of the WUB for several reasons. Firstly, the pamphlet was highly influential, the national newspaper *NRC Handelsblad* published it wholly, driving up debates about turning back the WUB. The evaluating committee led by Jim Polak and later the lawmaker would take over several of its recommendations that restricted democracy in faculties and departments. Secondly, the pamphlet organised opponents of the WUB within academia, which had been more or less taboo up until that point. Eventually there were thousands of adherent of Broekmeyer, who started a quarterly magazine *Wetenschap en Democratie* to address the shortcomings of the WUB.<sup>176</sup> Finally, and interestingly, opposition to the brochure had tipped over the radical student movement. In the face of new threats from the oligarchic treaty-Broekmeyer the union now proclaimed its unambiguous adherence to the WUB. ‘From the side of the scientific staff (Broekmeyer-group etc.) we increasingly hear that the WUB

<sup>171</sup> S.J. Groenman, ‘Je zou wel gek zijn als je in de U-raad gaat zitten’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (21 Apr. 1972), vol. 3 no. 32, p. 1; R.D. and Ch.G., ‘PSO redelijk tevreden over een jaar werken in de universiteitsraad’ in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (14 Mar. 1975), vol. 6 no. 29, p. 5.

<sup>172</sup> Rob Dettingmeijer, “Democratie binnen WUB kaders mogelijk”. Prof. mr. J.G. Steenbeek houdt diesrede’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (5 Apr. 1974), vol. 5 no. 32, p. 9.

Nederlands: ‘ik meen omdat de wet - zij het noodzakelijkerwijs in verschillende mate - beslissingbevoegdheid legt bij al diegenen die behoren tot de universitaire samenleving ... terwijl daarin tevens de ongelijkheid functioneel is gemaakt.’

<sup>173</sup> Frank Geradts, ‘scheidende voorzitter u-raad: “als er maar besluiten vallen”’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (14 Mar. 1975), vol. 6 no. 29, p. 4.

Nederlands: ‘Toen de WUB in werking trad vond ik dat je die een faire kans moest geven. Maar een topstructuur deugt niet als er zoveel werk voor moet worden verzet om ontsporingen te voorkomen.’

<sup>174</sup> Broekmeyer, *Wetenschap en democratie*.

<sup>175</sup> Roet Soeter, ‘Actie tegen “misbruik” democratisering. In Utrecht 32 sympathisanten van Broekmeyer’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (16 Nov. 1973), vol. 5 no. 14, p. 1.

<sup>176</sup> Hans Daalder, *Universitair panopticum. Herinneringen van een gewoon hoogleraar* (Amsterdam, 1997), pp 146–148.

should be revised to give them more responsibilities', the USF reportedly acclaimed.<sup>177</sup> The union identified one other danger for the 'democratic gains' that the law had brought: 'from the side of the government it is the commission Polak who through legislative interpretation wants to mitigate institutional democracy'.

The commission-Polak, responsible for reporting on the implementation and the evaluation of the WUB, noted that by 1974 the law was implemented 'to a reasonable degree' at the top-level. Implementation at middle management, however, was still ongoing and the departmentalisation process was only halfway completed.<sup>178</sup> The commission therefore asked to extend the validity of the WUB and, by extension, the deadline of its evaluation.<sup>179</sup> State Secretary Klein prolonged the WUB to 1982, but also proposed thirty legislative amendments. Several affairs, such as personnel and economic management, were now clearly marked as the board's responsibility, wherein the university council had no say. Furthermore, the executive board would have the authority to subsume control of management of faculties if necessary, side-lining the faculty council completely. This 'repressive control' was chastised by the USF and PSO, who pointed out that the executive board already takes too much liberty intervening in lower democratic bodies.<sup>180</sup> Finally, in departmental boards, the number of students was maximised at one sixth. The last two amendments were ideas of Broekmeyer, which were applauded by the commission Polak. The intervention resulted in alarmist headlines in the *Universiteitsblad*, such as 'Klein pushes back democracy further and further' and 'cabinet rolls back democratisation in new bill'.<sup>181</sup> The USF was also worried: 'By robbing the lower councils of the WUB-structure of their influence it becomes possible to implement a pyramidal [governance] structure.'<sup>182</sup>

Polak and representatives from Utrecht University management quarrelled almost immediately. Polak's commission had advised the minister negatively on the establishment of governance regulations in which the executive board could delegate certain of its responsibilities. The paragraph was designed to further the harmony model, but was overruled because the law was very explicit about the 'exclusive competence' of the executive board.<sup>183</sup> Polak, who came to Utrecht to discuss the decision, declare his legalist position: 'It's about what the law says.'<sup>184</sup> Secretary Korff felt that the commission was making the executive board 'jump through hoops' to demonstrate knowledge of administrative law, and that the experimental nature of the WUB warranted some leniency. The executive board appealed the decision to the minister directly, who sided with the commission and provided jurisprudence. The university council and the executive board had no choice but to accept the amendments that the commission Polak had suggested.

---

<sup>177</sup> Piet van Asseldonk, 'Studentenoppositie bekeerde zich tot de WUB. Vooral links kritiseerde de radendemocratie' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (22 Feb. 1974), vol. 5 nr. 26, p. 11.

<sup>178</sup> Polak and Commissie voor de Bestuurshervorming, *De Mate van Invoering van de WUB* (1974), 5.

<sup>179</sup> van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 431.

<sup>180</sup> As an example they pointed to taking guardianship [*curatelestelling*] by the executive board of the subfaculty Psychology. I have written an article about this unprecedented involvement of the executive board lower in the organization. See Floris Boudens, 'Paradigmawisseling als probleem. De subfaculteit Psychologie onder curatele, 1975 – 1979' in *Historisch Tijdschrift Aanzet*, 38 (2023) forthcoming.

<sup>181</sup> D.H. and W.K., 'Klein dringt democratisering steeds verder terug' in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (28 Feb. 1975), vol. 6 no. 27, p. 1.

<sup>182</sup> J.V., 'kabinet draait democratisering terug in wetsontwerp WUB' in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (19 Sept. 1975), vol. 7 no. 6, p. 1.

Nederlands: Door de lagere raden in de WUB-struktuur van hun invloed te beroven wordt het mogelijk een pyramidale struktuur door te voeren.

<sup>183</sup> Willem Kuipers, 'Voorzitter u-raad voorziet conflict met Den Haag. Eenheid van bestuur en beheer bepleit' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (7 Sept. 1973), vol. 5 no. 4, p. 1.

<sup>184</sup> Willem Kuipers, 'Botsing bestuurders en juristen. Commissie-Polak in Utrecht' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (5 Oct. 1973), vol. 5 no. 4, p. 7.



Despite getting off on the wrong foot Utrecht University mostly stayed off the radar of the commission. It had implemented the law relatively fast, and no further issues arose.

The final report *Gewubd en gevogen* was delivered in 1979. What it listed as characteristic for university management on the highest level of the university was *a large distance* in relation to the governed and high degree of *complexity*.<sup>185</sup> Decision-making processes were unwieldy [*omslachtig*]. The crux here is the relationship between the board and council, which was described as a delicate [*wankele*] balance of political power. Importantly, there was no clarity about the extent to which the board was obliged to inform the council.<sup>186</sup> The council, according to the commission, would use its budgeting power to push it means through, opposing itself to the executive board. Because the council did not have the power to remove board member the result were crises of governance. The Polak had reported on the workings of university management had far-reaching political consequences. *Gewubd en gevogen* laid the foundation of the WWO which would replace the WUB in 1986.<sup>187</sup> Importantly, Polak characterised the university as *doelgemeenschap*, ‘goal organisation’, removing communality from the previous conception of ‘doelgemeenschap’, leaving only the managerialist element. Figure 8 satirizes the managerialism of the commission Polak, and the contemporary minister Pais. The latter says to the other: ‘a good nice weight Jimmy [Jim Polak], he [dog as allegory of the WUB] cannot go forward any more’. The student movement stands in the background to ask indignantly ‘what are you doing to my dog?’



Figure 8 Cartoon by artist Albo Helm satirizing the managerialism of the commission Polak and minister Pais.

<sup>185</sup> Polak & Commissie voor de Bestuurshervorming, *Gewubd en gevogen*, p. 69.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>187</sup> Rudolf Gerardus Louw, *Het Nederlands hoger onderwijsrecht: een thematisch commentaar op de Wet op het hoger onderwijs en wetenschappelijk onderzoek* (Meijers-reeks, MI 193, Amsterdam, 2011), p. 432.

As the commission-Polak was notoriously formal-legal in its approach, the academic council thought it wise to deliver its own evaluation.<sup>188</sup> Their commission consisted of one delegate per university. The executive board had nominated three university council members. This decision was much to the dissatisfaction of the student movement, meanwhile organised in the PSO, which argued that the board had passed over democratic bodies lower in the organisation.<sup>189</sup> This is one of many examples of the board taking matters into its own hands. The academic council commission most important contribution to the debate was criticising Polak's committee for advising on legislative changes before the WUB was fully implemented.<sup>190</sup> The council's commission did not do much more, so that the *Ublad* concluded that 'the evaluating commission paradoxically hardly dares to undertake an evaluation.' The academic council, even agreed with Polak on the point of 'repressive control': 'it is a normal affair in complex organisations such as universities that lower organs can be reprimanded.'<sup>191</sup>

### **The crises leading to decisive managerial success**

The organization was about to become more complex. In 1977 the government announced it would not invest more in higher education than it already did, marking an important turning point in government spending. Budget-cuts posed a number of problems. In Utrecht the executive board took the drastic preliminary measure to completely freeze recruitment over the summer months, to buy time to reconfigure its spending. That decision is again illustrative for the limited role of the council in university management. The board only asked the university council to accord the decision two weeks after it was already in effect. The PSO produced a motion that rejected the decision. Chairman of the executive board Schamhardt claimed that the board would be put in an 'impossible position' if the motion passed, and hinted that the board would ask the crown to annul it if it passed. In spite of widespread displeasure, at least reportedly, in the Utrecht academic community about the decision and the undemocratic sequence of events the university council ended up according the board's financial strategy. Even if it wouldn't have, the board had other measures to its disposal to bypass the council.<sup>192</sup> Very little is left of the revolutionary elan from the late 1960s at this point, institutional democracy is in large part a paper construction. Governmental rebudgeting turned out to be a massive operation, taking years, that redistributed finances at the expense of Utrecht University.

On top of the financial crisis Utrecht University management had to deal with an internal crisis of governance. The executive board had become dysfunctional in the early 1980s. Minister Pais had appointed boardmembers against the advice and will of the university council.<sup>193</sup> The minister insisted that the rest of the board was unexperienced and that Anthonie Wattel, who was Rector Magnificus of the University of Groningen for years, would bring some much-needed managerial experience. The Rector Magnificus had fallen ill in the first half of 1981.<sup>194</sup> So, the circumstances in this particular board were volatile. The problem was that the executive board

---

<sup>188</sup> Kuipers, 'Botsing bestuurders en juristen'.

<sup>189</sup> R.D., 'studenten boos op CvB over instelling WUB commissie' in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (29 Nov. 1974), vol. 6 no. 16, p. 1.

<sup>190</sup> Ch.G., 'Akademische Raad fel gekant tegen wijzigingen in WUB' in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (1 Oct. 1976), vol. 8 no. 8, p. 5.

<sup>191</sup> J.V., 'prof. Maas: geen alternatief' in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (24 Oct. 1975), vol. 7 no. 11, p. 9.

Nederlands: Het is een normale zaak dat in ingewikkelde organen als die van universiteiten lagere organen op de vingers getikt kunnen worden.

<sup>192</sup> B.K., 'Utrecht de dupe van wonderlijk rekenwerk' in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (16 June 1978), vol. 9 no. 40, p. 1.

<sup>193</sup> Editorial board, 'minister negeert benoemingsadvies Kroonleden CvB' in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (17 Aug. 1980), vol. 11 no. 1, p. 1; B.K., 'zetel van Wattel staat al klaar' in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (31 Aug. 1980), vol. 11 no. 3, pp 1–2.

<sup>194</sup> Dorsman, 'Professionalisering als probleem', p. 54.

had become indecisive, in a time that decisiveness was much-needed because of the financial situation. The relationship between the executive board and the rest of the organization was rapidly deteriorating. The board took ad hoc measures to save money, described as ‘austerity panic’, only to rescind them later.<sup>195</sup> This resulted in uncharacteristically sharp condemnations of the board’s leadership by faculty board members such as ‘panicky, negligent and incredible’. The university council passed a motion of censure, and decided on a closed meeting on how to deal with the situation. However, the board was more or less powerless to do anything about the situation.<sup>196</sup> One councilmember resigned from his commission positions and wrote a letter in which he expressed his lack of confidence towards the board. The executive board, according to him, frequently violates democratic rights of the council: Council decisions are ignored or the possibility of a say in concept-decisions is withdrawn. In any case, the executive board had asked the ministry for advice. They send former executive board member and minister Trip to examine the situation. His findings were so damning that the executive board resigned *en bloc* in 1982.

How do we explain the fall of the executive board? Dorsman argues that there were underlying problems in the governance structure of the university caused by the WUB: ‘it was inevitable that the implementation of the WUB would lead to difficult situations’.<sup>197</sup> My argument would be that the underlying problem was caused by a discrepancy between the de jure democratic mandate of the council and its limited democratic practices. The half-hearted democratisation of academic management, a more or less managerialist *modus operandi* combined with absenteeism or incompetence on the side of the executive board has created the conditions that led to the fall. The executive board is ultimately the only agent that really mattered, even vis-à-vis its own position. As Polak also notes, ‘in a crises of trust the executive board cannot be recalled. In practice it has happened that individual members of the board have resigned after a confrontation with the council.’<sup>198</sup>

Meanwhile, financial problems piled up. The first cabinet Lubbers (1982-1986) would intensify budget cutting, most notably asserted in the nota *Taakverdeling en Concentratie* (TVC), ‘Task-reallocation and Concentration’.<sup>199</sup> Minister Deetman approached his political task quite cunningly. Deetman asked the universities to come up with a plan to cut hundreds of millions of guilders themselves, adding that he would make harsh decisions himself if needs be.<sup>200</sup> Utrecht University sacrificed several small disciplines that were not turning profit, attracting enough students or had other organizational issues. Among the sacrificed disciplines were a lot of small humanities disciplines, such as classic languages, Portuguese, Italian, Slavic languages, Scandinavian languages and archaeology.<sup>201</sup> These abolitions did not result in much protest. More sensitive was the future of the faculty of dental medicine, which eventually had to be abolished as well. The university newspaper rumoured that the executive board had made the choice to save

---

<sup>195</sup> B.D., ‘Financiële zorgen universiteit: “Het jaar 1982 wordt heel moeilijk”’ in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (28 Aug. 1981), vol. 12 no. 1, p. 7; B.K., ‘Bezuinigingen gaan voorlopig niet door’ in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (25 Sept. 1981), vol. 12 no. 5, p. 1.

<sup>196</sup> B.K., ‘Raad veroordeelt paniekvoetbal van CvB’ in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (16 Oct. 1981), vol. 12 no. 8, p. 1.

<sup>197</sup> Dorsman, ‘Professionalisering als probleem’, pp 60, 64.

<sup>198</sup> Polak & Commissie voor de Bestuurshervorming, *Genubd en gewogen*, p. 73. Nederlands: ‘Het college kan in een geval van een vertrouwenscrisis niet worden afgezet. In de praktijk is het voorgekomen dat individuele leden van het college van bestuur na een botsing met de universiteitsraad ontslag namen.’

<sup>199</sup> The translation is of Goedegebuure, *Mergers in higher education*, p. 5.

<sup>200</sup> L. Ginjaar, O.J. de Jong, D.H.W. de Boer, H.J. Heerren and C.C. van de Watering, ‘TVC-informatie van het College van Bestuur’ in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (25 Feb. 1983), vol. 14 no. 24, p. 10.

<sup>201</sup> Overbeek, ‘De afschaffing van de studie klassieke talen’, p. 1.

pharmaceutical sciences at the expense of dental medicine.<sup>202</sup> The executive board vehemently denied doing this, and would later go to court in an attempt to keep dental medicine. The university lost that case, which raises a point about the agency of the institution. Decision-making had become completely untransparent by now. The various universities had to make decisions themselves, and did so in closed negotiations. The universities were welcome to include councilmembers in their negation and advisory panels, which Utrecht University did.<sup>203</sup> The final decision, however, lay at the level of the executive boards in first instance and the minister in last instance. Democracy has been overruled by the need for 'efficient', and more frugal financial management.

Ever since the publication of *Gewubd en gevogen* political efforts started to revise the governance structure of Dutch academia again. The idea was to combine the WUB of 1970 and WWO of 1960 into one new law. The new WWO was aimed to pass parliament in 1981 but its discussion kept getting postponed, it came in effect in 1986. The council would shrink to 25 seats, with max 8 students and non-scientific personnel, and 9 for scientific staff. The bullen disappeared. The executive board would shrink to three members. Importantly, the members that were appointed by the council were abolished, reducing the influence of the council over the composition of the board to zero. The student movement hardly responded, 'a mass uprising from students seems unlikely to us', the chairman of the national student union said.<sup>204</sup> The executive board became the chief executive, unless explicitly a council's responsibility, reversing the demarcation of responsibilities as outlined in the WUB. This marked the end of an experiment with democracy and the beginning of an exclusive managerial system.

## Conclusion

The WUB was always a compromise between democratic and managerialist discourses. In this chapter I have demonstrated that as the WUB system was constructed, the advantages hang very heavily towards the managerial side. There were several reasons for this. Firstly, oligarchic and managerial interests aligned, which political agents tended to pursue. The radical student movement, forefront of the democrats, shifted its focus to other affairs such as affordability of higher education. As a result of a certain dialectical relation, opposition to the Broekmeyer-brochure, they later accepted a role in the WUB-council system. They could not extend democracy from within the system, because it was designed for their influence to be modest, and other power structures to be reproduced or strengthened. Furthermore, political practices of the university council relinquished much political agency, either to its untransparent commissions or the executive board. The rapport of the commission-Polak, crises of governance and financial scarcity the idea that management decisions needed to be made more efficient took root. The current functioning of the WUB was deemed insufficient to do so. The WWO'86 was the outcome. Next chapter is dedicated to describing the workings and response to this piece of legislation, until it was revised again in 1997.

---

<sup>202</sup> Editorial board, 'De achterkant van de politiek: wat ging er fout met tandheelkunde?' in *U-blad* (11 Nov. 1983), vol. 15 no. 12, p. 16.

<sup>203</sup> Overbeek, 'De afschaffing van de studie klassieke talen', p. 7.

<sup>204</sup> Editorial board, 'Demokratisering zonder strijd ten onder' in *U-blad* (9 Dec. 1983), vol. 15 no. 16, p. 3.

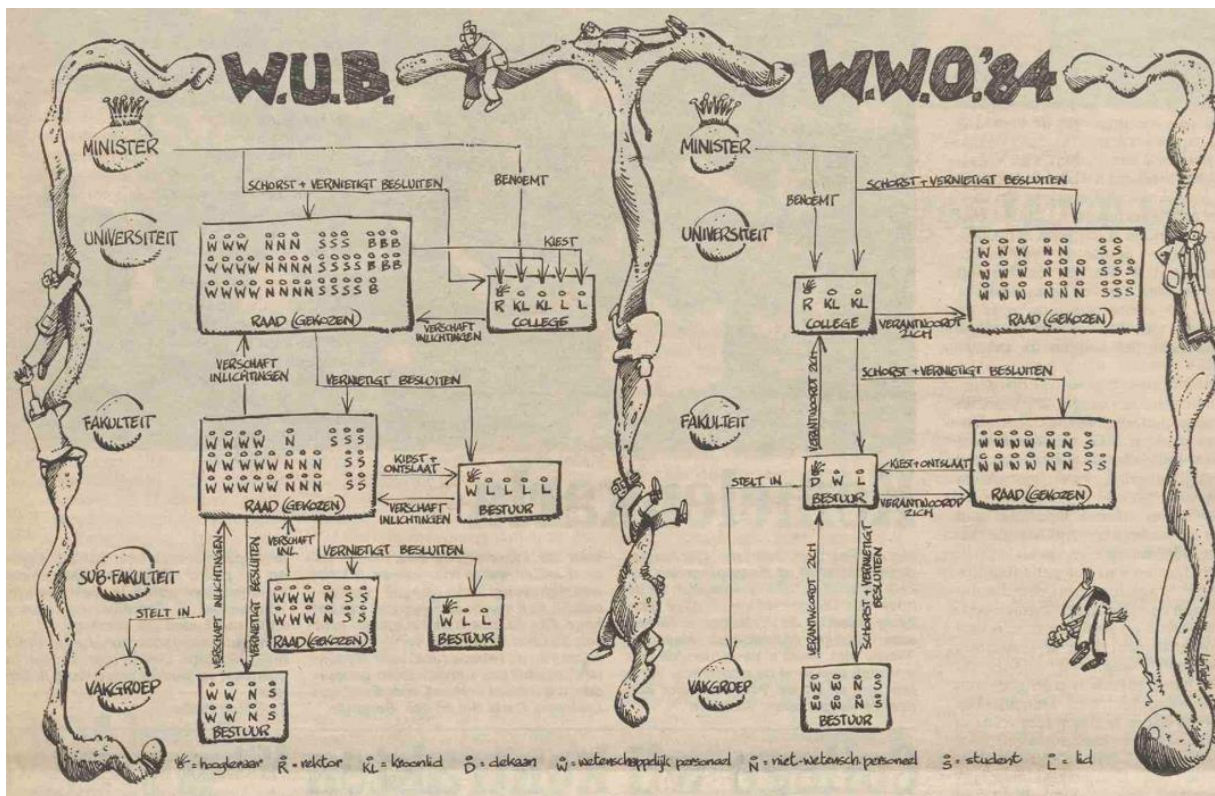


Figure 9 changes in the governance structure of the university as result of the WWO'86.

## Chapter 4: The university incorporated, 1986 – 1997

Universities must adopt a more entrepreneurial attitude. More than is the case now, they should be prepared to make choices, to take risks with an eye on improvement and innovation, and to accept the consequences - for better or worse.

A. Th. van Delden & M. Geldens, 1987<sup>205</sup>

The WWO'86 changed the 'nature of the game'. For the first time, the managerial habitus became central to academic management. The government transferred responsibilities of structuring the academic organization to the universities.<sup>206</sup> The increase of autonomy, however, was counterweighted by a limitation of the budget. Subsequently, the executive board of Utrecht University reorganised thoroughly. New technocratic tools were developed, which mainly constituted quantification of academic management. New ways to distribute the increasingly scarce financial means emerged. In public discourse, the university was compared to a company, or enterprise (*onderneming*), more than anything else. Unlike entrepreneurial power structure, though, residual democratic elements remained. The most important democratic mandate of the university council was still to approve the budget. By the 1990s institutional democracy was increasingly seen as an impediment for efficient governance. Calls for the abolition of the university council became louder. Combined efforts from democrats and some oligarchs, could no longer organise effectively against the incorporation of the university. On the contrary, the student movement increasingly invested in *illusio*; was taken in by the managerial game. Class discourses all but disappeared. This chapter centres the perishing of democracy as a viable alternative, both in the discursive and institutional sense. Contrariwise, managerial apparatuses, instruments and tenets developed and expanded until they ultimately became hegemonial.

### Limitation of budgets and democracy

Governmental policy during the period this chapter engages with, 1986 to 1997, is driven by political and financial expediency.<sup>207</sup> Indeed, one austerity operation literally followed the other without cessation. The two ministers Deetman and Ritzen were soon feared by many academics. At the beginning of the academic year 1986/1987, Deetman introduced a bill entitled *Selectieve Krimp en Groei* (SKG). The SKG was the minister's second piece of legislation designed to save money by merger or amalgamation of disciplines, following the *Taakverdeling en Concentratie* (TVK). In Utrecht, the future of various disciplines and even faculties was uncertain. The Ministry suggested that some disciplines could merge with its equivalent from other universities. That is to say, to be abolished in Utrecht and strengthened elsewhere. The faculty of medicine, various social sciences (psychology, pedagogy and educational sciences) and smaller disciplines from the humanities all faced and feared abolition. Some protest rose from the students from these disciplines. Importantly, the primary goal of this protest wave was not to reverse the budget-cuts, but to give the universities the agency on how to execute them. The statement by the PSO-fraction, still the voice of the student movement, is exemplary. 'If cutbacks *have* to be made in education, it seems fair that the universities should not be left out of harm's way.

---

<sup>205</sup> A.Th van. Delden et al., *Naar een ondernemende universiteit* (Utrecht, 1987).

<sup>206</sup> Dorsman, 'Professionalisering als probleem', p. 62; Ferdinand Mertens, 'Hoger Onderwijs Autonomie en Kwaliteit (Hoak) nota 25 jaar' in *THE&MA*, vol. 18, no. 3 (2012), pp 61–66.

<sup>207</sup> Goedegebuure, *Mergers in higher education*, p. 74.

However, the way it is being cut now is mismanagement.<sup>208</sup> Much unlike was the case in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the student movement was invested in *illusio*, following and reproducing the internal logic of managerialist discourse.

In line with budget limitations institutional democracy was also limited. For starters, negotiations for Deetman's bills were secret, and this time also excluded the university councils. The board of executives and minister held summits to discuss how the budget cuts would be distributed among the universities. When journalists enquired about the future of the faculty of medicine, the rehearsed answer was 'no comment'.<sup>209</sup> Because of these restrictions it also harder for the historian to reconstruct and interpret what happened. The board did feel it owed the university council an explanation. From this retrospective 'accountability', we can ascertain that it seems that the goal of the executive board in these negotiations was to save as many disciplines as it could. Perhaps it wanted to prevent losing another prominent discipline, after having lost dental medicine in the first round. The executive board succeeded in their objective. Ultimately, educational sciences had to go to Amsterdam.<sup>210</sup> The board did manage to save the medical faculty and pedagogy by spreading the budget cuts evenly over the entire organization; psychology had to give up its biggest department of clinical psychology.<sup>211</sup> The university council had asked the board to describe how the confidential negotiations had reached this conclusion. The explanation was that the minister had given the board the choice between losing the department of clinical psychology or the entire discipline. The chairman had to defend himself from allegations that he had yielded for blackmail: 'The rebuttal of chairman Veldhuis boiled down to the fact that the meeting was a matter of give and take, whereby – as the discussion progressed – the willingness of the minister to give decreased', the university newspaper summarised, adding: 'Social sciences had the misfortune to be the last on the agenda'.<sup>212</sup>

The university council was especially concerned with the newly established studies general social sciences and general letters. That is where the money from the *Groei* (growth) part of the SKG was to be reinvested in. The idea, as already briefly discussed, was that the universities delivered too many specialists for job market. To counterbalance this tendency, universities stimulated the education of more generalists. The university council made the case that a general social sciences program could hardly be expected to succeed if the various social sciences were forced out of the institution. The faculty of letters was even more frustrated by the SKG, because it was hit heavily and the discipline felt that the university did not do enough to help. That way the integration of the faculty and the expansion of general letters would be a dreary task. The chair of the faculty board was available for the *U-blad*: 'The choice to cut so heavily on Letters was one of the Utrecht institution itself. After all, unlike at other disciplines or at the faculty of Medicine in Utrecht, the cutbacks are not spread over the other faculties'.<sup>213</sup> The faculty felt,

---

<sup>208</sup> Armand Heijnen, 'Wél bezuinigen, niets sluiten. Protest tegen bezuinigen' in *U-blad*, (3 Oct. 1986), vol. 18 nr. 7, p. 4. Nederlands: 'Als er dan toch moet worden bezuinigd, lijkt het rechtvaardig dat de universiteiten niet buiten schot blijven. Echter, de wijze waarop nu wordt gesneden, is onbehoorlijk bestuur.'

<sup>209</sup> Bert Bakker, U.P. and R.P., 'Geheim beraad in Zeist: Medicijnen zou dichtgaan' in *U-blad* (29 Aug. 1986), vol. 18 no. 2, pp 1–2.

<sup>210</sup> A.H and R.P., 'Voorlopige redding voor psychologie en pedagogiek' in *U-blad* (21 Nov. 1986), vol. 18 no. 14, p. 3.

<sup>211</sup> A.H., 'U-raad eist ruimte voor vernieuwingen' in *U-blad* (3 Apr. 1987), vol. 18 no. 30, pp 3, 5.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5. Nederlands: 'Het weerwoord van CvB-voorzitter drs. J. Veldhuis kwam erop neer, dat het overleg een kwestie is geweest van geven en nemen, waarbij – naarmate het gesprek vorderde – de bereidheid van de minister om te geven, afnam' ... 'Sociale wetenschappen had de pech als laatste te zijn opgevoerd op de agenda'.

<sup>213</sup> *Idem.* Nederlands: 'De keuze om zo fors te bezuinigen op Letteren is er een geweest van de Utrechtse instelling zelf. Immers, hier is niet, zoals bij andere instellingen of zoals bij de Utrechtse Geneeskunde, de bezuiniging verdeeld over de andere faculteiten.'

furthermore, that it drew the short straw in the ‘distribution model’ of the institution. The executive board said it would take the concerns of the faculty ‘into account’, without further elaboration. The university council stressed that it would only approve future budgets if the position of the general studies was ‘irrefutably’ guaranteed.

But in practice the manoeuvrability of the university council had become extremely limited. One council-member, Lex Heerma van Voss, explained the situation to the *U-blad*. He was interviewed on account of being in the council as a researcher in the 1980s after being one as a student in the 70s. He identified three key issues with the functioning of the university council. Firstly, ‘more and more decisions are not taken by the university council itself. ... Many decisions transcend the level of one university.’ Deetman’s budget cuts operations are a good example of this. Van Voss suggested that a democratic intra-university organization could be the solution. The reality was that the academic council, who had played this role to some extent in the past, had abolished itself in .... The only supra-academic organization was the newly established Vereniging Samenwerkende Nederlandse Universiteiten (VSNU), which unified the various executive boards. The second limitation of the council was implemented by the WWO’86: ‘The balance of power between the board and the council has changed enormously in favour of the board’<sup>214</sup> Finally, when reflecting on what has changed since Van Voss was on the council last time he said: ‘the university council discusses a lot about documents, but no one checks whether decisions are actually implemented on the work floor. I regularly make decisions of which I, as an employee, should be aware of its implementation, but of which I don’t see anything.’ And so, the university council had become more or less inconsequential. It had some de jure power left, but de facto it was easy for managers to disregard its decisions.

### **Less government, more market**

The idea that not the government but the market should be the arbiter of change, became politically *en vogue*. Consonantly, the idea of the university as an enterprise entered public discourse in the second half of the 1980s. The driver of this development was Alexander Rinnooy Kan, Rector Magnificus of Erasmus University in Rotterdam. He chaired a conclave of academics and ‘business leaders’ which developed a brochure entitled *naar een ondernemende universiteit*, ‘towards an entrepreneurial university’. Rinnooy Kan’s thinktank proved influential, as among them was the future Minister Ritzén. The pamphlet started with the observation that ‘in line with the student revolts of the 60s former public appreciation for the university has turned to impatience and irritation’.<sup>215</sup> It is true that the cultural imagination of the university council system was rooted in the notion of ‘boundless meetings’.<sup>216</sup> The expansion of the number of pages needed for minutes might attest to this sentiment.<sup>217</sup> The pamphlet pointed towards the

---

<sup>214</sup> Mieke Zijlman, ‘Universiteitsraadslid Lex Heerma van Voss: “Ik beschouw mezelf als amateur”’ in *U-blad* (29 May 1987), vol. 18 no. 36, p. 9. Nederlands: ‘Steeds meer besluiten neemt de uraad niet zelf. ... Veel besluiten ontstijgen het niveau van één universiteit. ... Wat ik mis is een democratisch gekozen orgaan op dat niveau. ... De krachtenverhouding tussen het college en de raad is ontzettend in het voordeel van het college veranderd. En de U-raad discussiert veel over de tekst van stukken, maar niemand controleert of beslissingen op de werkvloer ook worden uitgevoerd. Ik neem geregeld beslissingen waarvan ik als werknemer de uitvoering zou moeten merken, maar waarvan ik niks terug zie.’

<sup>215</sup> Delden et al., *Naar een ondernemende universiteit*, pp 9–10. Nederlands: ‘In het verlengde van de studentenrevoltes van de jaren zestig is de eerdere publieke waardering voor de universiteit omgeslagen in ongeduld en irritatie.’

<sup>216</sup> Dorsman, ‘Professionalisering als probleem’, p. 60.

<sup>217</sup> While minutes of a council meeting in the early seventies fitted on 10 pages, by the 1990s it easily took four times as much space. It is hard to make strong conclusions on the basis of this fact though. Undoubtedly the minutes-taker professionalised. It is, I believe, true that meetings nevertheless got more and more dragged out. It stands to reason that this happened in part because the power of the council dwindled and councillors aimed to persuade the executive board instead.



budget-cuts as an illustration of lacking public support of the universities. Faced with financial scarcity, universities would be forced to make choices. These material priorities would reflect the ‘profile’ of the institution. The brochure identified the governance structure as a key problem in making ‘profiling’ choices effectively. ‘Far-reaching independence at the professional basis of the university, in combination with a time-consuming council democracy, prevent incremental adjustments.’<sup>218</sup> Interestingly, Rinnooy Kan and consorts suggested that academic management was dictated by tradition: ‘Even during the cutbacks ... the [management] culture of collegiality, compromise and committees have barely been affected.’<sup>219</sup> An entrepreneurial attitude, defined as a willingness to make choices independently and take risk, would be the panacea for the constraints of tradition. The financial portfolio should diversify. Among other things, universities should be allowed to attract money on the capital market. Noteworthy, in the entrepreneurial university the faculty becomes the centre of academic management as it is better equipped to make decisions that accentuate the ‘profile’.<sup>220</sup>

Relevant agents in Utrecht gradually and hesitantly embraced the idea of the entrepreneurial university. Chair of the executive board, Jan Veldhuis, responded to the rapport. He warned against being guided by vogue: ‘we must avoid falling for another trend. After the ivory tower was in fashion, the ‘engaged’ university came and now we have the corporate, entrepreneurial university. That's a little too fashionable for me.’<sup>221</sup> With this judgement Veldhuis inadvertently summarised the historic developments this thesis describes, the dialectical relation between changes in academic management and conceptions of the university Veldhuis seemingly refused to contribute to the social construction of the incorporated university, even though the executive board under his leadership had become more business-like in their management style. The chairman pointed out, for example, that being able to attract money from the capital market would be a big improvement. When the *U-blad* interviewed boardmember Van Vucht Tijssen in 1993 she underscored: ‘several years ago we switched to a more business-like approach to management.’<sup>222</sup> Indeed, in her view the university should a ‘mixed company’, indicating a transition from a public to a semi-public institution. Congruent with Rinnooy Kan’s plea the university should diversify its cash flow. The so called ‘third cash flow’ (the others being governmental investments and semi-public subsidiaries) should grow considerably. Van Vucht Tijssen projected that, in order for the university to be financially healthy the share of research paid by ‘the market’ should double, from 15% to 30%. The *U-blad* concluded that Van Vucht’s words constituted an ‘Utrechter plea for the entrepreneurial university’. As figure 10 demonstrates, the university in fact was increasingly dependent on the ‘third cash flow’, non-government spending. This constituted a quarter of the total budget at its height.

---

<sup>218</sup> Delden et al., *Naar een ondernemende universiteit*, p. 10. Nederlands: ‘Verregaande zelfstandigheid aan de professionele basis van de universiteit, in combinatie met een tijdrovende radendemocratie, staan incrementele bijstellingen in de weg.’

<sup>219</sup> Idem. Nederlands: ‘Zelfs de bezuiniggrondes ... hebben de [bestuurs]cultuur van collegialiteit, compromis en commissies nauwelijks aangetast. De bestuurlijke omvangsvormen weerspiegelen nog steeds de intieme tradities van de ivoren toren.’

<sup>220</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>221</sup> B.D., ‘Pleidooi voor een ondernemende elite-universiteit’ in *U-blad* (11 Sept. 1987), vol. 19 no. 3, p. 4. Nederlands: ‘we moeten voorkomen dat we in een nieuwe modegril vervallen. Na de mode van de ivoren toren, kwam de geëngageerde universiteit en nu krijgen we dan de bedrijfsmatige, ondernemende universiteit. Dat is me iets te modieus. Ik verdup ’t om dit tot hoofdlijn te maken.’

<sup>222</sup> Erik Hardeman, ‘Collegelid van Vucht Tijssen pleit voor “gemengd bedrijf”’: “De Utrechtse universiteit is financieel gezond” in *U-blad* (1 Apr. 1993), vol. 24 no. 30, p. 7. Nederlands: ‘we zijn sinds enkele jaren overgestapt naar een zakelijker aanpak van de bedrijfsvoering.’

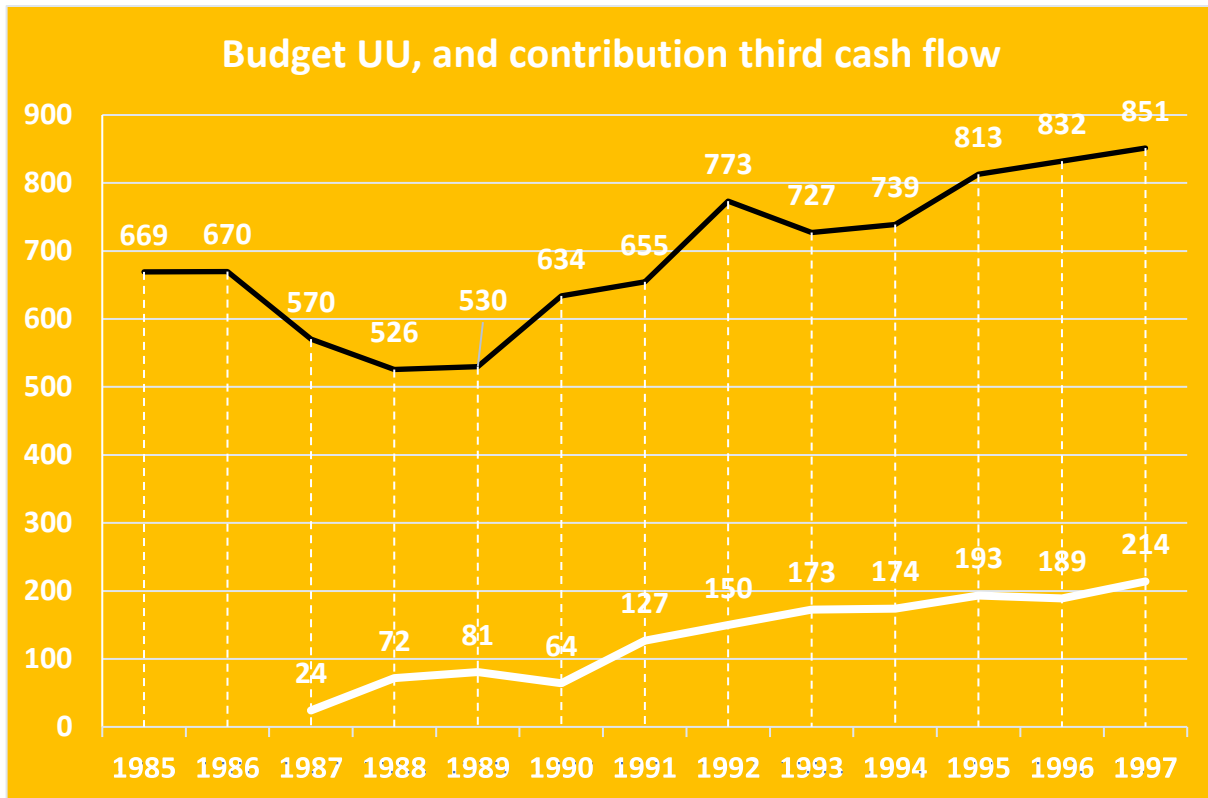


Figure 10 Budget Utrecht University and contribution third cash flow thereof in millions of guilders, 1985 – 1997.

### The last gasps of democrats

The comparison of the university to an enterprise is remarkably similar to the Maris-rapport back in 1967. Then, both democrats – spearheaded by the student movement – and oligarchs protested *en masse*. Whatever happened to opposition to the idea of university-as-enterprise? In suggesting an answer to this question it must be noted that some democrats still opposed this idea but failed to organise effectively. In Utrecht, for example, the USF split after ideological discussion. In other words, the student movement had dropped its socialist orientation, after which Marxists left the organisation.<sup>223</sup> Relevant here is the forthcoming demise of real existing socialism and the subsequent social-liberal turn of former social-democratic parties. Neoliberalism had become hegemonial.<sup>224</sup> This was not only reflected in the conceptualisation of institutes of higher learning in a ‘market’, but had consequences for the student movement. As student politics neoliberalised, class interests were no longer pursued. This is in alignment with the idea of the university as enterprise where students ‘consume education’ – exclusively for themselves, as an investment in their future.

Diverging political tactics emerged in the student movement. The national student union had to reinvent itself after the councils became less powerful and the *Landelijke Overleg Grondraden* (LOG) became obsolete. The ‘restarted’ national student union was called the *Landelijke studentenvakbond* (LSVb). The LSVb characteristically combined parliamentary activity and

<sup>223</sup> Herman Radstake, ‘Roeland Harm, voorzitter van USF: “Liever de maatschappij ten onder aan onderwijs dan onderwijs aan de maatschappij”’ in *U-blad* (30 Oct. 1987), vol. 19 no. 10, p. 9.

<sup>224</sup> Bram Mellink, Merijn Oudenampsen and Naomi Woltring, *Neoliberalisme: een Nederlandse geschiedenis* (Amsterdam, 2022), p. 185.

activism, although historically the union was always plagued by this schism. It had close ties with the USF and the PSO. It is worth noting that the implementation of the WWO'86 could not mobilise the students. Back then a spokesperson for the union declared: "The minister has made convenient use of the many active students that temporarily dozed off."<sup>225</sup> The LSVb, nor the USF ever campaigned for re-democratisation of academic institutions. Willingness for mass-demonstrations did make a short revival because of the miserliness of ministers Deetman and Ritzen. Cuts in student grants were the *casus belli* of a new wave of student protests.

New was the *Interstedelijk Studentenoverleg* (ISO), which had a faction in the Utrecht university council called Brug. Their approach to student politics was pragmatism, and so it was often reactive to political agents such as the minister in a national context or the executive board in the university. Indeed, in the university council Brug rarely took political initiative and limited itself to following and responding to the broad lines.<sup>226</sup> In the national orientation, these organisations chose to lobby instead of participation in activism. "We don't take to streets with banners ... [but send representatives to the minister] to explain why the plans are bad."<sup>227</sup> The LSVb also participated in that lobbying strategy, albeit hesitatingly and to a lesser extent.<sup>228</sup> The argument here is that the student movement became more and more in illusion and endowed with *conatus*, which in turn is the result of declined class awareness. To lobby is to accept and reproduce status quo power structures, and try to work within them, instead of trying to democratise them. The specialized knowledge that some student-lobbyists gathered was sometimes even viewed as significant cultural capital. Indeed, by the late 1980s *illusio* was so persuasive that some students from the LSVb and ISO were even asked to work for the university administration.<sup>229</sup> And so the student movement had become too ineffective to seriously oppose the managerialisation of the university. On the contrary, agents in the movement were even incentivised to play the game of policy-makers and the executive boards.

Professional academics who opposed managerialism have not succeeded in organising effective resistance to the managerial agenda either. In 1993 they published a pamphlet authored by Chris Lorenz called *van het universitaire front geen nieuws*, 'no news from the university front'. The pamphlet contained a critical analysis of the governmental interventions in academia from the prior decade and was co-signed with several academics who 'voiced their concern in the media'.<sup>230</sup> Lorenz' hope that the pamphlet would be mediagenic and would generate a shift in public discourse did not come true. Indeed, of all pamphlets and brochures discussed in this thesis in would prove the least consequential. Nevertheless it is an interesting source for analysing opposition to the manager's university. Lorenz aimed to place the reorganisation of Dutch academia in historical context: 'A [historical] coherence exists of a new vision of the welfare state, which has dominated politics from the late 1970s, and within which conception education as

---

<sup>225</sup> Herman Radstake and Remco Pols, 'Vijf jaar LSVB' in *U-blad* (27 May 1988), vol. 19 no. 35, p. 11. Nederlands: "De minister maakt handig gebruik van het tijdelijk inslapen van een heleboel actieve studenten"

<sup>226</sup> Erik Hardeman, 'Verkiezingen U-raad. PSO: initiatieven nemen. Brug: pragmatische aanpak' in *U-blad* (29 Mar. 1990), vol. 21 no. 29, p. 11.

<sup>227</sup> Herman Radstake, 'Verkiezingsforum met Brug en PSO. Studentenfracties klagen over desinteresse achterban' in *U-blad* (22 Apr. 1988), vol. 19 no. 30, p. 3. Nederlands: Brug staat niet bekend als een partij die 'met spandoeken en bakstenen de straat op gaat', zegt Bart van der Worp. De Brug gelooft voldoende in de democratie om te proberen de Tweede Kamer en de minister te beïnvloeden. Op een vraag uit de zaal hoe Brug dat denkt te doen, antwoordt hij dat de Brug regelmatig vertegenwoordigers naar de minister stuurt "om uit te leggen dat de plannen slecht zijn."

<sup>228</sup> Bert Determeijer, 'Jaap de Bruijn, voorzitter van bijna failliete LSVB: "We moeten niet azen op een groot schip met geld"' in *U-blad*, (2 Nov. 1989), vol. 21 no. 11, p. 5.

<sup>229</sup> HOP, 'LSVB contra Deetman' in *U-blad* (7 Oct. 1988), vol. 20 no. 7, p. 1.

<sup>230</sup> Chris Lorenz, *Van het universitaire front geen nieuws* (Baarn, 1993), p. 5.

business has developed.<sup>231</sup> This judgement is strikingly similar to Van Berkel's account that university democracy should be viewed as an 'intermezzo' in an ongoing process of managerialisation [*verzakeelijking*] of academia.<sup>232</sup> The argument of Lorenz' pamphlet was that the 'institutional autonomy' resulted in a bureaucratisation of the university, since having more agency in policy-making necessitates more administrative personnel who prepared and enforced policy.<sup>233</sup> Efforts to maximise their own agency [*bestuurlijke armslag*] are congruous with efforts to abolish the university councils, 'relics of representative democracy'. Nevertheless Lorenz also points out that the council system did not function properly. The bureaucratisation process had already started, and influenced the council: 'mathematically packaged distribution models and impenetrable administrative prose had the same effect on many elected members of the representative councils as a fragmentation bomb. As a result, the enthusiasm to stand for election for those councils quickly declined.'<sup>234</sup>

### A new ivory tower?

In the neoliberal political context discussions about the abolition of the university council system arose. Specifically, academic management needed to be more efficient. The university councils were forced into a defensive position. University council parties noticed their voters to have become disinterested in academic politics.<sup>235</sup> Advocates of the university council insisted that the council still performs a controlling function. They pointed out that among the critics are people 'who have an interest in being followed as little as possible.'<sup>236</sup> Following the zeitgeist councilmembers even argued that they contributed to efficient management of the university, and that managerialist arguments were therefore invalid. Nevertheless, councilmembers felt that their position was precarious and they felt a need to address it. Discussion meetings and congresses were organised to weigh the various arguments and entertain the question how long the university council was expected to exist. Interestingly, such congresses defended the WWO'86. They argued against another reorganisation of the academic governance structure, as reorganisations were time-consuming.<sup>237</sup> Ultimately, councilmembers did not convince relevant political actors of their view.

As has been the case continually throughout this thesis, the lawmaker served as the arbiter of transformations of academic governance structures. In 1997, minister Ritzen introduced the *Wet Modernisering Universitaire Bestuursorganisatie* (MUB). In this law the ongoing process towards the managerialist university culminated and codified. The university council remained, but was

---

<sup>231</sup> Ibid., p. 10. Nederlands: 'Deze [historische] samenhang bestaat uit de nieuwe visie op de verzorgingsstaat, die vanaf het einde van de jaren zeventig de politiek is gaan domineren, en de daarbinnen ontwikkelde opvatting dat het onderwijs als een bedrijf moet worden beschouwd'

<sup>232</sup> van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 10.

<sup>233</sup> Lorenz, *Van het universitaire front geen nieuws*, p. 15.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid., p. 21. Nederlands: 'Wiskundig verpakte verdeelmodellen en ondoordringbaar bestuurlijk proza hadden op veel gekozen leden van de representatieve raden in bestuurlijk opzicht hetzelfde effect als een fragmentatiebom. Het animo zich voor die raden verkiesbaar te stellen was daardoor al snel gedaald.'

<sup>235</sup> For example, one student party declared: 'Even when faculties reorganised, *'the moment students should get nervous about the future of education'*, students reportedly don't approach the parties.' See: Radstake, 'Verkiezingsforum met Brug en PSO. Studentenfracties klagen over desinteresse achterban'. Nederlands: 'Maar zelfs bij de reorganisatie van de Rechtenfaculteit, *"hèt moment dat studenten nerveus zouden moeten worden over de toekomst van het onderwijs"*, kwamen 'ze' niet op ons af, klagen de studentvertegenwoordigers.'

<sup>236</sup> Fractie NWP, 'Haalt de U-raad 1995?' in *U-blad* (8 Dec. 1994), vol. 26 no. 16, p. 5. Nederlands: 'Je kunt er donder op zeggen dat een deel van die critici bestaat uit mensen die er baat bij hebben zo min mogelijk op hun vingers gekeken te worden'. Compare to Kooistra, 'Haalt de U-raad 1985? College plaatst U-raad bij herhaling voor het blok'.

<sup>237</sup> M.C. Engelsman-Postma and L.J. Roborgh, *De rol van de Universiteitsraad in het universitair bestuur* (Leiden, 1989), pp 81–88.

demoted to advisory body.<sup>238</sup> The lawmaker now chose to give all decision-making power to the executive board. The prerogative of the university council now consisted of approving the yearly ‘institutional plan’ and the ‘multi-annual budget’.<sup>239</sup> There were two models for relating the advisory university council to the powerful executive board ‘under MUB’. In the ‘undivided’ council system the different sections of students, non-scientific staff and scientific staff remained represented in a singular twenty-four seat council. In the ‘divided’ council-system the different sections could each split from the others and create their own councils to which the executive board spoke separately. The fact that Ritzen made this fragmentation possible suggests that nothing was left of the old notion of ‘academic community’. Instead there were consumers and producers of academic research and education, plus supporting staff, who had conflicted interest in a marketed environment. The MUB created a new ‘Supervisory Board’. The members were appointed by the minister and are typically representatives of the bourgeoisie, specifically leaders of big business and semi-public organizations.

The effectuation of the MUB marked the end of an era. *U-blad* journalist Erik Hardeman reported the last pre-MUB university council meeting.<sup>240</sup> The attendees could not resist contemplating on the eventful decades past, nor could the journalist.<sup>241</sup> Student Kasper Driehuis reflected in his ‘farewell speech’: ‘The WUB ... has created a better university. The last few years we might have followed the executive board blindly, but still we have tried to play our democratic role.’<sup>242</sup> Rien de Bie, with a fourteen year service record the nestor of the council, identified the moment the university council fully and irreversibly committed to the so-called ‘harmony model’. The turning point, de Bie argued in his speech, were the budget cuts operations of minister Deetman: ‘That is when it dawned on us that we had to fight *with* each other to preserve the university.’<sup>243</sup> As is discussed in Chapter 3, the harmony model already entered the Utrecht University council system in the 1970s. What De Bie had identified, in reality, was the moment when the university council had become wholly under the influence of *conatus*. The disposition to reproduce the power system, including managerial privileges, was indeed widespread since the mid-1980s. Also relevant here, is the fact that the implementation of the MUB at Utrecht University ran smoothly. The executive board predicted that, since the power balance had already tipped to them, the MUB would not constitute a ‘general cultural change’.<sup>244</sup> Utrecht University opted for the ‘undivided’ council system, a commission for evaluating the implementation of the MUB noted that, ‘both sides emphasised that the undivided model best relates to the consensus-based management culture in Utrecht.’<sup>245</sup>

The task to further reflect on the effect of the MUB-system is one of future historians. Some remarks that relate it to the abovementioned nevertheless can be made. Firstly, it is interesting to note that a ‘university council’ remained in existence even though it is now an

---

<sup>238</sup> van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 689.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 690.

<sup>240</sup> Erik Hardeman, ‘Een tijdperk is voorbij’ in *U-blad* (25 Sept. 1997), vol. 29 no. 5, p. 6; Ribbens, *Een geschiedenis van het U-blad*, p. 61.

<sup>241</sup> Or the historian, for that matter.

<sup>242</sup> Hardeman, ‘Een tijdperk is voorbij’. Nederlands: ‘de WUB ... heeft een betere universiteit gecreeerd. De laatste paar jaar hebben we weliswaar behoorlijk aan de leiband van het college gelopen, maar tóch hebben we onze democratische rol proberen waar te maken.’

<sup>243</sup> *Idem.* Nederlands: ‘Toen ... drong tot ons door dat we ... mét elkaar [moesten vechten] voor behoud van de universiteit.’

<sup>244</sup> C. Datema et al., *De kanteling in het universitaire bestuur: Rapport van de klankbordgroep invoering MUB* (Heerlen, 1998), p. 37.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39. Nederlands: ‘Van beide zijden werd ras onderkend dat het stelsel van ongedeelde medezeggenschap zich veruit het best verhoudt met de op consensus gerichte bestuurscultuur zoals die in Utrecht was gerealiseerd’.

advisory council. Managerialists have cleverly reproduced the language of the WUB-era, without reproducing their former meaning. Secondly, it is worth pointing out that it is unprecedented that managerial power is without checks and balances.<sup>246</sup> The Maris-rapport, which aroused so much opposition in the 1960s, did not propose to concentrate nearly as much power with managers as the MUB has done. Finally, and related to the previous, the ‘tower’ issue bears repeating. As is well-established at this point, the WUB ended the professor-led ‘ivory tower’, that is to say the classic university including the professorial monopoly of governing it. Elaine Showalter has constructed the ‘glass tower’ to describe the democratic aura of the 1970s *professorroman*, an analogy Pieter Slaman used for his history of Leiden University 1970 – 2020.<sup>247</sup> The argument here is that university history from 1986 onwards – and arguably even earlier – is not analogous with a glass tower. The concentration of power in a small board of managers, answerable only to the minister, seems to me to suggest that the construction of another ivory tower, which incorporated, would be more appropriate.

### Conclusion

Whereas during the WUB-era we could, to a limited extent, speak of a ‘power balance’ between the board and the council, during the decade leading up to the MUB power had shifted to the executive board. The argument that has unfolded in this chapter was that ministerial frugality was one of many facets that can be identified in a long, intensifying process of managerialisation of university management and the hegemony of the discourse about it. The idea of the marketed university got firmly rooted in public discourse by the early the 1990s. As the managerial habitus became at the centre of academic politics, the student movement got taken in by the managerial game. The Bourdieusian concepts of illusion and conatus are well demonstrated by the lobbying strategy. The pamphlet of Lorenz and consorts attributed the fact that academic democracy was short-lived exclusively to developments in national politics. Whatever the case, opposition to managerialism could not be organised effectively in the 1990s, contrary to earlier periods. I have hypothesised that this is related to the demise of socialism both in geopolitics and the Dutch student movement. As the university was subjected to market dogmas the idea that ‘democracy’ was detrimental to its governance efficiency became central. The MUB is the last of the legislative interventions that this thesis covers. The university council remained, although its rights had been abolished.

---

<sup>246</sup> Van Berkel characterises the MUB system as ‘power without countervailing power [*macht zonder tegenmacht*]’ van Berkel, *Universiteit van het Noorden: De zakelijke universiteit*, p. 678.

<sup>247</sup> It is good to note that Showalter has organised her book chronologically by decade ‘because of the importance of academic time’, and that the notion of the ivory tower was typical of only the 1970s, even in that decade one character in *Changing Places* by David Lodge ‘approaches the university as if it were a corporation’ Showalter, *Faculty towers*, p. 63.

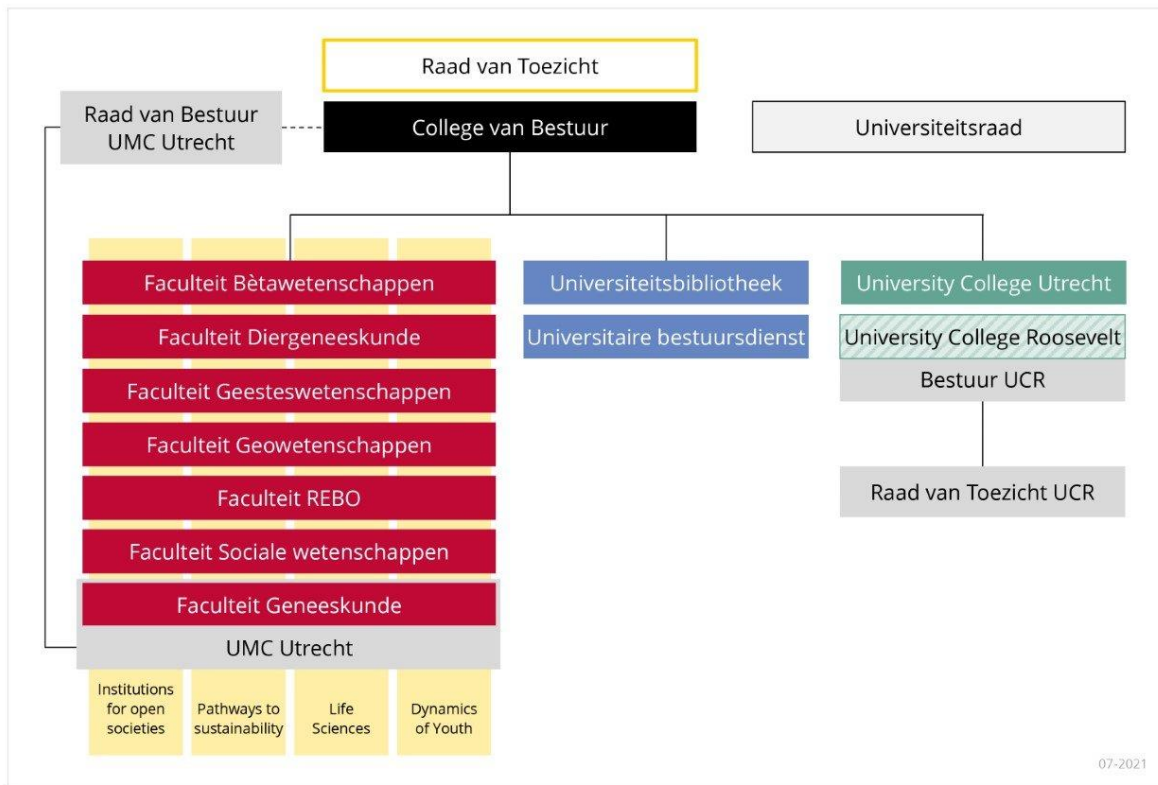


Figure 11 Current organogram of Utrecht University.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

The reason why 1968 (with its prolongation into 1969 and 1970) was not the revolution, and never looked as though it would or could be, was that students alone, however numerous and mobilizable, could not make one alone.

Eric Hobsbawm, 1994.<sup>248</sup>

In essence, this thesis has argued that historical developments in the organisation of management and polemics concerning the *optima forma* of Dutch academia are to be understood dialectically. This is especially true in regards to the late twentieth century university, because parallel politization and reorganisation of the university occur frequently. I have conceptualised that debate in three different notions of how power should be organised: the oligarchic, managerialist or democratic university. I have chosen to focus on Utrecht University for various reasons. The main reason though, admittedly, is that this institution is my own alma mater. This both facilitated pragmatic access to sources, and constituted the possibility to research a subject close to me. This latter point is important because it increases my understanding of the material. The choice to focus on Utrecht University is also historiographically relevant, as the history of this institution hardly extended beyond the 1980s. The main research question was therefore: How did governance structures of Utrecht University transform, from 1945 to 1997, parallel to discussions on what the university is, or should be? The aim of this last chapter is to suggest an cogent answer to this question, to demonstrate once more the efficacy of the theoretical tools I have employed in doing so, and finally, to make several suggestions for further research.

The aggregate theoretical power of Bourdieusian concepts and class conflict theory, was demonstrated especially fruitfully in Chapter 2. The idea of the academic civitas, the academic community, has been prevalent ever since 1945, and parallelly the notion of institutional democracy arose. Yet, those first articulations of democracy turned out to be transient, and would not materialise until the 1960s. I have shown that, in fact, the proletarianization of Dutch academia was relevant in answering my research question. As an example I have shown that prior to the early 1960s, the bourgeois corpora had a monopoly on being the representative of students, both locally and nationally. In contrast with the suggestion that the 1950s frat student was 'apolitical', I have theorised that this student was in fact endowed with *conatus* strongly because of its elevated social position. The SVB that was established in 1963, and was, by contrast, a syndicalist organisation, which challenged the monopoly of the corpora. Successfully so, as the structures of student representation quickly democratised. Similarly, the growth of the student clientele was not matched in a growth of professorships, which therefore constituted the proletarianization of the academic workforce. In increasing rate such workers did not have the prospect of a successful academic career. This meant that, for the first time, many academic workers were not invested in *illusio*. My argument is that the 'academic proletariat', both students and workers, sought emancipation in the university, and that these emancipatory practices mediated the notion of the academic community. Because the concept was now shaped by emancipatory demands, the reconstructed 'academic community', actually created some democratisation of academic structures.

---

<sup>248</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991* (London, 1995), p. 298.



Additionally, there is a meta-theoretical point to be made here, namely that apparently theory is not only produced by professional theorists. The reinvention of theoretical constructs can even occur by actors that are excluded from academia. I have demonstrated an example of class emancipation in academia, which reconstructed elements in a theoretical debate. Other forms of exclusion come to mind, such as sexism, racism, homophobia or transphobia. In short, some historic actors with interesting theoretical insights were for a long time excluded from academic knowledge production. This is a fairly obvious point to make, and yet philosophers and theorists, particularly those of science, have not always been good at recognizing that these emancipatory struggles not only inform or disrupt theoretical discussions, but actually create theory and knowledge themselves. We have to work to make their contributions more salient and further investigate how emancipatory practices mediate knowledge production and theorisation. If we continue to fail to do so we are blocking ourselves from learning from ‘actors on the ground’, which will result in epistemological limitations. This theoretical insight justifies my focus on the student movement in this thesis. My argument has been that the student movement, by organising as a collective, has created space, in both theoretical and political discussions.<sup>249</sup>

Throughout my thesis, the law has been the institution of agency in structuring Dutch academia. When the replacement of former oligarchic structures had become paramount, managerialist and democratic views were ultimately combined in the WUB. This law was informed by the conceptualisation of the university as *doelgemeenschap*, ‘goal community’, merging notions of community and efficiency. Chapter 3 has centred the implementation of the WUB which constituted the materialisation of democratic/managerialist structures. I have demonstrated that there was an effort to minimise institutional democracy before and after the implementation of the WUB, parallel to efforts to maximise the agency of the executive board. These efforts were considerably successful. The tasks of taking political initiatives and making final decisions were often delegated to commissions or the executive board. The WUB was evaluated by the commission Polak. The report Polak drew up was, I have argued, managerialist at its core. The executive board had already gained several *de jure* responsibilities in prior amendments, Polak lay the groundwork for further managerialist legislation within the existing structure. The executive board from WWO’86 onwards, had both *de jure* and *de facto* primacy in academic management. The university was conceptualised by Polak as *doelorganisatie*, ‘goal organisation’, removing the communal element, leaving an exclusive focus on efficiency.

Reorganisations of the academic system mediated discussions about its *optima forma*. Importantly, the attitude of the student movement regarding the council system was initially dismissive. After a failed boycott, the PSO presented itself as the radical democratic voice, voicing criticism of the WUB-system from within. Noteworthy is the positioning of oligarchs in the debate, which is highly responsive to contemporary power currents. Oligarchs had initially sided with democrats in their opposition to the managerialist rapport Maris in the late 1960s. After implementation of the WUB they started to push an anti-democratic agenda at the benefit of managerialists. Broekmeyer was the most notable challenger of the WUB. Interestingly, as the oligarchic criticisms of the WUB unfolded, the student movement’s position to it changed to a defensive one. Setting aside its criticisms towards contemporary democratic deficits, it was now argued that the law was an improvement on the oligarchic *ancien régime*. The student movement had slowly but steadily interiorised *conatus*, a tendency which apparently intensified in the face

---

<sup>249</sup> For this point also see: Robin Celikates, ‘Radical Civility: Social Struggles and the Domestication of Dissent’ in Julia Christ, Kristina Lepold, Daniel Loick and Titus Stahl (eds), *Debating critical theory: engagements with Axel Honneth* (Lanham, 2020), pp 83–94.

of novel opposition to the status quo. The managerialists benefited most from these developments.

Managerialism consolidated ever more as a result of transformations in the financial infrastructure of academia. The government wished to decrease its investments, indeed Ministers Deetman and Ritzen were politically motivated to cut academic budgets when possible. Moreover, political actors had become convinced that market principles should be central to financing the public sector. Consonantly, the university was increasingly seen as a 'company'. The WWO'86 had already pushed the nucleus of academic management towards the executive board, this tendency was accelerated in these years (1986 – 1997) wherein the university became marketed. The budget-cut operations and accompanying undisclosed intra-university negotiations had frustrated the functioning of academic democracy. Later, the idea that the university would be better off without any democratic elements became commonplace. The MUB sought to codify the managerialist university. The Bourdieusian tools have demonstrated their usefulness one more time, when the student union helped implementing this law after initial opposition to it. In short, democratic decision-making processes and institutions would become increasingly unpopular, and were ultimately unpopular and were finally abolished.

I have several suggestions for further research. The most obvious recommendation for future university historians would be to describe the history of the period 1997 to the present, the university under MUB. This era was outside of the scope of this thesis, and the histories of Van Berkel and Slaman have only briefly touched on it. Another angle for further research is to closely examine the histories of institutions or events that have made an appearance in this thesis. To my knowledge there is no substantive history of the national student council, the academic council, the VSNU or the LSVb, all of which have played an interesting role in voicing and lobbying for the opinion of segments of the academic community, and have had some agency in shaping the contemporary university. Likewise, the influence of the rapport Polak, and the resulting formation of the WWO'86 is not properly recognized in university history, nor do historical accounts exist of the budget cuts operations of the 1980s such as the TVC and SKG. It might be fruitful, and as it pertains to the latter suggestion even necessary, to complement an examination of the written sources with an oral history approach. These histories are not central to the university historian because the locus of these histories is between the academy and the legislator. I hope to have demonstrated sufficiently the complex, reciprocal yet asymmetrical relationship between these entities, which justifies focussing on an intermediate institution.

Histories of most other Dutch institutions do not yet cover the periodisation this thesis centred, which should also be addressed. It is true that, as Slaman pointed out, that the classic universities were hit the hardest by the frugality of the late 1980s and 1990s – which would justify a focus on the recent past of the University of Amsterdam (UvA) in addition to the research of Slaman, Van Berkel and myself. Yet, I would argue that describing the very establishment of specialised institutions such as the 'Universities of Technology' in Delft, Eindhoven and Twente, or 'Medical Universiteits' in Maastricht and Rotterdam are worthy of scholarly attention in their own right. It is also interesting that this period brought the depillarization, *ontzuiling*, of Dutch society, but that it is not yet researched how this affected the traditionally religious institutions in Amsterdam (VU), Radboud University in Nijmegen or Tilburg University, who surely had to adapt to the time, without wanting to concede their religious profile entirely. Other institutions of higher learning, the hogescholen, or business and private schools, are absent in historiography *tout court*. To address these lacunas would be an interesting historical endeavour, because their role had to be redefined after the establishment of abovementioned institutions.

An exciting research avenue to be explored is the history of faculties. While it is true that the focus on the central administration is interesting because it provides a bird's eye perspective on the academy, we would do well to keep in mind that the university is essentially a federative organisation. The various faculties know distinct customs, cultures, policies and paradigms, worthy of scholarly attention in their own right. Importantly, the generally accepted triad of academic tasks: research, education and service to society, are constituted in the faculty. Studying faculty history would therefore further related historiographical currents. Firstly, it would expedite recent attempts to better integrate the disciplines of university history and history of science.<sup>250</sup> Contributions to this integrated field currently remain limited to biographies. Faculty histories would transcend the level of individual scholar, while relating to university history more naturally. The formation and reformatting of the disciplinary landscape would also be best researched on the faculty level. During the WUB-era, for example, it were the faculty councils, and not the university council, who arbiters the demarcation problem. Secondly, I would argue that faculty history similarly enables the integration of university history and the history of education. This particular disciplinary intersection has often been plagued by presentism, which I believe could be overcome by placing the history of academic teaching in the context of faculty history.<sup>251</sup> In short, contemporary hyperspecialisation and fragmentation clearly justify a faculty history approach, which would enable fruitful combinations with adjacent disciplines.

Writing a faculty history that includes the last academic task, to serve society, could build on my own research. More specifically, such an endeavour could include late twentieth century emancipatory ideals and practices. I have broadly described the process of class-emancipation in the 1960s, and argued that this rearticulated the 'academic community'. To describe this phenomenon in the context of the faculty would result in a far more detailed account. Furthermore, in the last quarter of the twentieth century, universities have taken up emancipation themselves, creating commissions, policies and 'diversity officers'. Though these actors usually report to central management, the faculties have to actualize emancipation. An inquiry to what extent they have succeeded would be most interesting. Moreover, academic service to society could be constructed economically. The historian could examine how people enter and exit the academy, and how this process is mediated by stakeholders outside the university. To my knowledge, little scholarly attention goes out to the intra-academic relations that are important in hiring practices or public relations that convince students to enrol; nor are employer's interest in alumni or the dynamics of sponsored research subjected to systemic research. I would argue that, again, studying the 'input' and 'output' relations to society take form in the faculty, and not the central level.

Most faculties of Utrecht University do not have its own history. The history of Science is well-covered, the history of the social sciences, however, is not written by historians and is plagued by disciplinary pigeonholing. The history of geosciences jubilee is momentarily being complemented with a history on faculty colonial relations. There is work on the history of medicine, but these do not cover the latter half of the twentieth century and are generally focussed on the horizontal dimension of the discipline and not its institutional context. The history of medicine, and related to this thesis the history of dental medicine, would be interesting when placed in relation to society. The history of the faculty of Veterinary Medicine would be especially relevant because it is the only faculty in the Netherlands of this nature. Finally, I want

---

<sup>250</sup> Dorsman, 'Een kwart eeuw universiteitsgeschiedenis in Nederland', p. 56.

<sup>251</sup> Pieter Dhondt, 'University History as Part of the History of Education' in Pieter Dhondt (ed), *University jubilees and university history writing: a challenging relationship* (Leiden, 2015), p. 240.

to stress the importance to developing the history of the humanities. Compared to the history of science, the history of the humanities is in its infancy. The creation of history of humanities books, journals, societies and courses are obviously indicators that this field is developing, though I would argue that, again, little attention goes out to the institutional context and the relation with university history. Moreover, there is contemporary tendency towards integrating the histories of various intellectual areas into one broader 'history of knowledge'. I believe this trend is to be resisted by historians of the humanities, because the subdiscipline barely had time to form and institutionalise. My argument is that a good way to contribute to this developing discipline is to write the history of the faculty of humanities. Such a project would make much of undiscovered intellectual history salient.

Finally, I want to call for more Marxian university history. My own contribution to it has admittedly remained very modest. The main challenge is that marxist historiography is traditionally focused on political history, social-economic history or 'history from below'. Outside of these historiographical traditions, (orthodox) Marxists are virtually absent. My argument is that this focus is too narrow, and that it is worthwhile broadening it to include, for example, history of science, culture and congruously, universities. The daunting task to pioneer befalls to the person to account for a marxist history of the university. I will give a few suggestions for an angle these pioneering projects could have. University histories of the *longue durée* could describe how the university changed parallel to transformations of the mode of production, i.e. the emergence of capitalism. In recent history, the proletarianization of the university, which I have only touched upon, could be subjected to substantive historical research. For example, it would be interesting to describe the increasingly 'precarious' labour conditions in academia as a result of proletarianization of the academic workforce. Alternatively, the precise mechanics, nature and function of academic research funded by capital is an interesting scholarly venture. Marxist histories would not simply constitute an alternative technique for interpreting the past of the academy. Its normative stakes are much higher; it is an integral part of our understanding of, and therefore our liberation from, exploitation and oppression.

## Appendix I: List of abbreviations

ASVA	Algemene Studenten Vereniging Amsterdam
BVD	Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst
HUA	Het Utrechts Archief
IISG	Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, International Institute of Social History
ISO	Interstedelijk Studenten Overleg
KU	Kritische Universität, Kritische Universiteit
LOG	Landelijk Overleg Grondraden
LSVb	Landelijke Studentenvakbond
MUB	Wet Modernisering Universiteitsbestuur
NSR	Nederlandse studentenraad
PSO	Progressief Studentenuverleg
SC	Senatus Contractus
SKG	Selectieve Krimp en Groei
SVB	Studentenvakbond
TVC	Taakverdeling en Concentratie
USF	Utrechtse Studenten Faculteiten
UU	Utrecht University
UUA	Utrecht University Archive
VSNU	Vereniging van Samenwerkende Nederlandse Universiteiten
WRR	Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid
WUB	Wet Universitaire Bestuurshervorming
WVO	Wet op het Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs

## Appendix II: Relevant ministers and state secretaries

Period	Cabinet	Minister	State Secretary
1945 - 46	Schermerhorn-Drees (RKSP, SDAP, VDB)	G. van der Leeuw (SDAP)	*
1946 - 48	Beel I (KVP, PvdA)	J.J. Gielen (KVP)	*
1948 - 51	Drees-Van Schaik (KVP, PvdA, CHU, VVD)	F.J.T. Rutten (KVP)	J.M.L.T. Cals (KVP)
1951 - 52	Drees I (KVP, PvdA, CHU, VVD)	F.J.T. Rutten (KVP)	J.M.L.T. Cals (KVP)
1952 - 56	Drees II (PvdA, KVP, ARP, CHU)	J.M.L.T. Cals (KVP)	A. de Waal (KVP)
1956 - 58	Drees III (PvdA, KVP, ARP, CHU)	J.M.L.T. Cals (KVP)	A. de Waal (KVP)
1958 - 61	Beel II (KVP, ARP, CHU)	J.M.L.T. Cals (KVP)	R.G.A. Höppener (KVP)
1961 - 63	De Quay (KVP, VVD, ARP, CHU)	J.M.L.T. Cals (KVP)	G.C. Stubenrouch (KVP) H.H. Janssen (KVP)
1963 - 65	Marijnen (KVP, VVD, ARP, CHU)	T.H. Bot (KVP)	J.H. Grosheide (ARP)
1965 - 66	Cals (KVP, PvdA, ARP)	I.A. Diepenhorst (ARP)	H. Grosheide (ARP)
1966 - 67	Zijlstra (KVP, ARP)	I.A. Diepenhorst (ARP)	H. Grosheide (ARP)
1967-71	De Jong (KVP, VVD, ARP, CHU)	G.H. Veringa (KVP)	H. Grosheide (ARP)
1971-72	Biesheuvel I (KVP, VVD, ARP, CHU, DS'70)	C. van Veen (CHU) M.L. de Brauw (DS'70)	C. Schelfhout (KVP)
1972-73	Biesheuvel II (KVP, VVD, ARP, CHU)	C. van Veen (CHU)	C. Schelfhout (KVP)
1973-77	Den Uyl (PvdA, KVP, ARP, PPR, D'66)	J.A. van Kemenade (PvdA)	G. Klein (PvdA)
1977-81	Van Agt I (CDA, VVD)	A. Pais (VVD)	Klaas de Jong Ozn. (CDA)
1981-82	Van Agt II (CDA, PvdA, D66)	J.A. van Kemenade (PvdA)	W. Deetman (CDA)
1982-82	Van Agt III (CDA, D66)	W.J. Deetman (CDA)	A. Hermes (CDA)
1982-86	Lubbers I (CDA, VVD)	W.J. Deetman (CDA)	N. Ginjaar (VVD)
1986-89	Lubbers II (CDA, VVD)	W.J. Deetman (CDA)	N. Ginjaar (VVD)
1989-94	Lubbers III (VVD, PvdA)	J.M.M. Ritzen (PvdA)	J. Wallage (PvdA, resigned) R. in 't Veld (PvdA, resigned) J. Cohen (PvdA)
1994-98	Kok I (PvdA, VVD, D66)	J.M.M. Ritzen (PvdA)	A. Nuis (D66, until 1995) T. Netelenbos (PvdA)

\* The post of State Secretary exists since 1948

NB From 1945 to 1965 the ministry was called 'Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences' (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen, OK&W), from 1965 to 1994 'Ministry of Education and Sciences' (), 1994 to the present-day of 'Education, Culture and Science'.

### Appendix III: Composition executive board (1971 – 1997)

Academic year	Chair	Rector Magnificus	Other boardmembers
1971 – 1972	C.J.A. de Ranitz	Sj. Groenman	J.Th.G. Overbeek
1972 – 1973	F.H.P. Trip	Sj. Groenman	J.Th.G. Overbeek, C. Romijn, H. Schamhardt
1973– 1974	J.Th.G. Overbeek (acting)	Sj. Groenman	J.Th.G. Overbeek, H. Schamhardt, F. van der Blij
1974 – 1975	A.W. Siewertsz van Reesema	Sj. Groenman	J.Th.G. Overbeek, H. Schamhardt, W.H.G.L. Linssen
1975 – 1976	A.W. Siewertsz van Reesema	Sj. Groenman	J.Th.G. Overbeek, H. Schamhardt, W.H.G.L. Linssen
1976 – 1977	A.W. Siewertsz van Reesema	A. Verhoeff	H. Schamhardt, W.H.G.L. Linssen G.J. Leppink A. Verhoeff
1977 – 1978	A.W. Siewertsz van Reesema	A. Verhoeff	H. Schamhardt G.J. Leppink A. Verhoeff C.C. van de Watering
1978 – 1979	A.W. Siewertsz van Reesema	A. Verhoeff	H. Schamhardt G.J. Leppink A. Verhoeff C.C. van de Watering
1979 – 1980	H. Schamhardt (acting)	A. Verhoeff	H. Schamhardt G.J. Leppink A. Verhoeff C.C. van de Watering
1980 – 1981	C.C. van de Watering (acting) A. Wattel	M.A. Bouman	D.H.W. de Boer H.J. Heeren C.C. van de Watering
1981 – 1982	A. Wattel	M.A. Bouman	D.H.W. de Boer H.J. Heeren C.C. van de Watering
1982 – 1983	L. Ginjaar	O.J. de Jong	D.H.W. de Boer H.J. Heeren C.C. van de Watering
1983 – 1984	L. Ginjaar	O.J. de Jong	D.H.W. de Boer J. Rosenberg J.H.L. de Vries
1984 – 1985	L. Ginjaar	O.J. de Jong	D.H.W. de Boer

			J. Rosenberg J.H.L. de Vries
1985 – 1986	L. Ginjaar	O.J. de Jong	J. Rosenberg J.H.L. de Vries H.A. van Peperzeel
1986 – 1987	J.G.F. Veldhuis	J.A. van Ginkel	J. Rosenberg J.H.L. de Vries H.A. van Peperzeel
1987 – 1988	J.G.F. Veldhuis	J.A. van Ginkel	J. Rosenberg H.A. van Peperzeel
1988 – 1989	J.G.F. Veldhuis	J.A. van Ginkel	J. Rosenberg H.A. van Peperzeel
1989 – 1990	J.G.F. Veldhuis	J.A. van Ginkel	J. Rosenberg H.A. van Peperzeel
1990 – 1991	J.G.F. Veldhuis	J.A. van Ginkel	J. Rosenberg H.A. van Peperzeel
1991 – 1992	J.G.F. Veldhuis	J.A. van Ginkel	J. Rosenberg H.A. van Peperzeel B.E. van Vucht Tijssen
1992 – 1993	J.G.F. Veldhuis	J.A. van Ginkel	B.E. van Vucht Tijssen
1993 – 1994	J.G.F. Veldhuis	J.A. van Ginkel	B.E. van Vucht Tijssen
1994 - 1995	J.G.F. Veldhuis	J.A. van Ginkel	B.E. van Vucht Tijssen
1995 – 1996	J.G.F. Veldhuis	J.A. van Ginkel	B.E. van Vucht Tijssen
1996 – 1997	J.G.F. Veldhuis	J.A. van Ginkel	B.E. van Vucht Tijssen



## Appendix IV: Chairs university council

1971	H.M.J. Scheffer
1972 – 1973	J. Mansfeld
1973 – 1975	S.G. van den Bergh
1975 – 1983	P.G. de Haan
1983 – 1991	P. Sanger
1991 – 1997	C.T.M. Kuijpers-Groensmit

## References

### Primary sources

#### *Images*

- Front page      Nationaal Archief, Anefo, 'Professor Lanjouw (rector magnificus) en de voorzitter van het college van curatoren, graaf Van Lynden van Sandenburg' (Utrecht, 23 June 1969), catalogue no. 922-5590.
- Figure 1      *Jaarboek der Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht* 1945-1946 p. 199; *Jaarboek der Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht* 1950-1951 p.156; *Jaarboek der Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht* 1955-1956 p. 177; *Jaarboek der Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht* 1960-1961 p. 149; *Jaarboek der Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht* 1965-1966 pp 164 – 165; *Jaarboek der Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht* 1970-1971 pp 206 – 207.
- Figure 2      Univeriteitsbibliotheek Uithof (UBU), Bijzondere collecties, Plattegrond van een gedeelte van de stad Utrecht met universiteitsgebouwen, Catalogue no. 40695672.
- Figure 3      Het Utrechts Archief (HUA), L.H. Hofland, 2 July 1969, Catalogue no. 126832.
- Figure 4      International Institute of Social History (IISG), Opland, 'Veringa's witte muizenplan...', 20 February 1970 in *de Volkskrant*, Catalogue no. BG C23/667.
- Figure 5      Inspired by: Kim Prudon, *Van WUB tot MUB: geschiedenis van de Universiteitsraad, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam* (Rotterdam, 1998), 8.
- Figure 6      IISG, Kafak, 'Boycot de Veringa-raden', 1970, Catalogue no. CSD BG D66/510.
- Figure 7      *U: Utrechtse Univeristaire Reflexen* vol. 2 no. 35 Verkiezingsbijlage no. 2 (21 May 1972), p. 8.
- Figure 8      Albo Helm, *Utrechts universiteitsblad* vol. 15 no. 18 (15 Sept. 1978), p. 3.
- Figure 9      Lin Tabak, 'WVO wordt werkelijkheid. Nadruk in universiteit verschuift naar doelmatigheid' in: *U-blad*, vol. 16 no. 32 (3 May 1995), p.6.
- Figure 10      *Gewijzigde begroting 1985*, p.3; *Aangepaste begroting 1986*, p.25; *Aangepaste begroting 1987*, p.19; *Gewijzigde begroting 1988*, p. 21; *Gewijzigde begroting 1989*, p.12; *Gewijzigde begroting 1990*, p.15; *Gewijzigde begroting 1992*, p. 42; *Gewijzigde begroting 1993*, p.4; *Gewijzigde begroting 1994*, p.16; *Gewijzigde begroting 1995*, p.18; *Jaarboek 1996, Jaarboek 1997*.
- Figure 11      <https://www.uu.nl/organisatie/bestuur-en-organisatie>

#### *Archival sources*

- BVD, *bericht De Studentenoppositie in Nederland*, 1974  
(<https://www.inlichtingendiensten.nl/ambtsberichten/studentenoppositie.pdf>)
- , *Bulletin 44, 20 juni 1969* (<https://www.inlichtingendiensten.nl/studentenbulletins/bulstud044-bvd.pdf>)
- , *Inzagedossier Studenten Vak Beweging (SVB), 1964-1969*  
(<https://www.inlichtingendiensten.nl/groepen/svb>)
- Delpher, van Spaandonk, J.V.M., 'Prof. mr. J. Van der Ven, Utrecht: Hervorming universiteit in overleg, niet met mes op tafel' in *Algemeen Handelsblad* (Amsterdam, 3 July 1969), p. 4.
- HUA, '292-1 Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, senaat en rector, 1.1.1.29 Notulen van vergaderingen van de senatus contractus, 1968 nov.-1970 sept', minutes 12 Jun. 1969, p. 8.

- IISG, wjk, “In het studentenverzet is niemand omgekomen”. Interview met verzetsman mr. A.J. Andrée Wiltens’ in *Trophonios* (4 May 1965), jg. 1 no. 27, pp 1–2. . Catalogue no. ZF 31174.
- , jk, ‘Studentenakties. Niet te veel verwachten’ in *Trophonios* (8 Nov. 1968), jg. 5 no. 9, p. 1.
- , ld, ‘Veringa rechts laten liggen’ in *Trophonios* (27 Feb. 1970), jg. 6 no. 17, p. 1.
- Utrecht University Archive (UUA), Commission of commissions university council, *Verslag van de bijeenkomst van de commissie voor de commissies op 1 maart 1972* 1972.
- , Commission of commissions university council, *Verslag vergaderingen van de commissie voor de commissies op 12 en 14 oktober 1971* 1971.
- , University council, *Verslag van de tweede vergadering van de eerste universiteitsraad op 31 augustus 1971* 1971.
- , University Council, *Voorstel voor de universiteitsraad inzake de vorming van een presidium* 1972.

***University newspapers (1969-1974: Utrechtse universitaire reflexen; 1974-1983: Utrechts universiteitsblad; 1983-1998: UBlad)***

- A.H and R.P., ‘Voorlopige redding voor psychologie en pedagogiek’ in *U-blad* (21 Nov. 1986), vol. 18 no. 14, p. 3
- A.H., ‘U-raad eist ruimte voor vernieuwingen’ in *U-blad* (3 Apr. 1987), vol. 18 no. 30, pp 3, 5.
- A.v.S., ‘Solidariteit’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (8 Aug. 1972), vol. 4 nr. 2
- , ‘usf bepleit boikot 1000 gulden’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (8 Aug. 1972), vol. 4 nr. 2, p. 3.
- , ‘Verklaring USF in URaad’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (29 Sept. 1972), vol. 4 nr. 2, p. 1.
- , ‘Studenten wijzigen allicht tactiek: meebesturen in de universiteitsraad’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (22 Dec. 1972), vol. 4 no. 19, p.1.
- van Asseldonk, Piet, ‘Studentenoppositie bekeerde zich tot de WUB. Vooral links kritiseerde de radendemocratie’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (22 Feb. 1974), vol. 5 nr. 26, p. 11.
- , ‘USF doet niet mee!’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (2 Mar. 1973), vol. 4 nr. 27, p. 3.
- B.D., ‘Pleidooi voor een ondernemende elite-universiteit’ in *U-blad* (11 Sept. 1987), vol. 19 no. 3, p. 4.
- , ‘Financiële zorgen universiteit: “Het jaar 1982 wordt heel moeilijk”’ in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (28 Aug. 1981), vol. 12 no. 1, p. 7.
- B.K., ‘zetel van Wattel staat al klaar’ in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (31 Aug. 1980), vol. 11 no. 3, pp 1–2.
- , ‘Bezuinigingen gaan voorlopig niet door’ in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (25 Sept. 1981), vol. 12 no. 5, p. 1.
- , ‘de voorgebakken friet van de u-raad’ in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (30 Mar. 1979), vol. 10 no. 30, p. 7.
- , ‘Raad veroordeelt paniekvoetbal van CvB’ in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (16 Oct. 1981), vol. 12 no. 8, p. 1
- , ‘Utrecht de dupe van wonderlijk rekenwerk’ in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (16 June 1978), vol. 9 no. 40, p. 1.
- Bakker, Bert, U.P. and R.P., ‘Geheim beraad in Zeist: Medicijnen zou dichtgaan’ in *U-blad* (29 Aug. 1986), vol. 18 no. 2, pp 1–2.
- Ch.G., ‘Akademische Raad fel gekant tegen wijzigingen in WUB’ in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (1 Oct. 1976), vol. 8 no. 8, p. 5.
- D.H. and W.K., ‘Klein dringt democratisering steeds verder terug’ in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (28 Feb. 1975), vol. 6 no. 27, p. 1.
- Determeijer, Bert, Jaap de Bruijn, voorzitter van bijna failliete LSVB: “We moeten niet azen op een groot schip met geld” in *U-blad*, (2 Nov. 1989), vol. 21 no. 11, p. 5.

- Dettingmeijer, Rob, “Democratie binnen WUB kaders mogelijk”. Prof. mr. J.G. Steenbeek houdt diesrede’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (5 Apr. 1974), vol. 5 no. 32, p. 9.
- E., Mac., ‘dr. J. Mansfeld. Moeizaam en geduldig weven aan andere structuren’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (3 Nov. 1972), vol. 4 no. 12, p.2.
- Editorial board, ‘De achterkant van de politiek: wat ging er fout met tandheelkunde?’ in *U-blad* (Utrecht, 11 Nov. 1983), vol. 15 no. 12, p. 16
- , ‘Demokratisering zonder strijd ten onder’ in *U-blad* (9 Dec. 1983), vol. 15 no. 16, p. 3
- , ‘dr. M.F. Kramer, lid Universiteitsraad. U-raad vaak achter’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (9 Feb. 1973), vol. 4 no. 24, p.3.
- , ‘drs. L. Blok, lid Universiteitsraad. Meningsvorming onvoldoende’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (9 Feb. 1973), vol. 4 no. 24, p. 5,7.
- , ‘Grote zorgen bij de start van het nieuwe collegejaar’ in *U: Utrechtse universitaire reflexen* (10 Sept. 1971), vol. 3 no. 4, p. 3.
- , ‘minister negeert benoemingsadvies Kroonleden CvB’ in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (17 Aug. 1980), vol. 11 no. 1, p. 1.
- , ‘Prof. dr. F. v.d. Blij: gehoopt op veel meer!’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (14 May 1971), vol. 2 no. 35, Verkiezingsbijlage no. 1, pp 1–2.
- , ‘Studenten uit commissie bestuursvorm’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (12 Sept. 1969), vol. 1 no. 2, p. 7.
- , ‘Universitaire perikelen bij de jaarwisseling 1971-1972’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (7 Jan. 1972), vol. 3 no. 19, pp 3–4.
- Feis, Bernd, ‘Wie is er nu geboycot?’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (18 June 1971), vol. no. 20, p. 1.
- Fractie NWP, ‘Haalt de U-raad 1995?’ in *U-blad* (8 Dec. 1994), vol. 26 no. 16, p. 5.
- Geradts, Frank, ‘scheidende voorzitter u-raad: “als er maar besluiten vallen”’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (14 Mar. 1975), vol. 6 no. 29, p. 4.
- Ginjaar, L, O.J de Jong, D.H.W. de Boer, H.J. Heerren and C.C. van de Watering, ‘TVC-informatie van het College van Bestuur’ in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (25 Feb. 1983), vol. 14 no. 24, p. 10.
- van Gink, M., van Oort, Polak, de Roon and Walstra, ‘De structuur van het wetenschappelijk corps’ in *U: Utrechtse universitaire reflexen* (5 Sept. 1969), vol. 1 no. 1, pp 5–6.
- Groenman, S.J., ‘Je zou wel gek zijn als je in de U-raad gaat zitten’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (21 Apr. 1972), vol. 3 no. 32, p. 1.
- Hardeman, Erik, ‘Collegelid van Vucht Tijssen pleit voor “gemengd bedrijf”: “De Utrechtse universiteit is financieel gezond”’ in *U-blad* (1 Apr. 1993), vol. 24 no. 30, p. 7.
- , ‘de WUB in Utrecht. ervaringen positief, vooral met onderwijs, minder met vakgroepen’ in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (7 Dec. 1979), vol. 11 no. 17, p. 8.
- , ‘Een tijdperk is voorbij’ in *U-blad* (25 Sept. 1997), vol. 29 no. 5, p. 6
- , ‘Verkiezingen U-raad. PSO: initiatieven nemen. Brug: pragmatische aanpak’ in *U-blad* (29 Mar. 1990), vol. 21 no. 29, pp 10–11.
- Heijnen, Armand, ‘Wél bezuinigen, niets sluiten. Protest tegen bezuinigingen’ in *U-blad*, (3 Oct. 1986), vol. 18 nr. 7, pp 1, 4.
- HOP, ‘LSVB contra Deetman’ in *U-blad* (7 Oct. 1988), vol. 20 no. 7, p. 1.
- J.V., ‘kabinet draait democratisering terug in wetsontwerp WUB’ in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (19 Sept. 1975), vol. 7 no. 6, p. 1.
- , ‘prof. Maas: geen alternatief’ in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (4 Oct. 1975), vol. 7 no. 11, p. 9.
- Koning, Wouter, ‘USF-commentaar op de nota Veringa’ in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (19 Sept. 1969), vol. 1 no. 3, bijlage, pp 20–22.
- Kooistra, Simon, ‘Haalt de U-raad 1985? College plaatst U-raad bij herhaling voor het blok’ in *U-blad* (13 Jan. 1984), vol. 15 no. 18, p. 5.

- Kuipers, Willem, "U'-gesprek met nieuwe voorzitter U-raad. Uitgesproken progressieven bleven weg - waarom?" in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (8 June 1973), vol. 4 no. 39, p. 5.
- , 'Botsing bestuurders en juristen. Commissie-Polak in Utrecht' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (5 Oct. 1973), vol. 5 no. 4, p. 7
- , 'Voorzitter u-raad voorziet conflict met Den Haag. Eenheid van bestuur en beheer bepleit' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (7 Sept. 1973), vol. 5 no. 4, p. 1.
- Obbink, Hanne, 'Nieuwe LSVb-voorzitter Robert Giesberts: "Studenten moeten mondiger worden"' in *U-blad* (30 Aug. 1990), vol. 22 no. 2, p. 7.
- R.D. and Ch.G., 'PSO redelijk tevreden over een jaar werken in de universiteitsraad' in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (14 Mar. 1975), vol. 6 no. 29, p. 5.
- R.D., 'studenten boos op CvB over instelling WUB commissie' in *Utrechts universiteitsblad* (29 Nov. 1974), vol. 6 no. 16, p. 1.
- Radstake, Herman and Remco Pols, 'Vijf jaar LSVB' in *U-blad* (27 May 1988), vol. 19 no. 35, pp 10–11
- Radstake, Herman, 'Roeland Harm, voorzitter van USF: "Liever de maatschappij ten onder aan onderwijs dan onderwijs aan de maatschappij"' in *U-blad* (30 Oct. 1987), vol. 19 no. 10, p. 9
- , 'Verkiezingsforum met Brug en PSO. Studentenfracties klagen over desinteresse achterban' in *U-blad* (22 Apr. 1988), vol. 19 no. 30, p. 3.
- Schamhardt, H., 'Tussen de tijden' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (8 Jan. 1971), vol. 2 no. 19, pp 2–3.
- Schmidt, Maurits, 'Commissiewerk zinniger dan vergaderen in de universiteitsraad. Studenten kijken terug op universiteitsraadswerk' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (22 Feb. 1974), vol. 5 no. 26, pp 8–9.
- Soeter, Roet, 'Actie tegen "misbruik" democratisering. In Utrecht 32 sympathisanten van Broekmeyer' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (16 Nov. 1973), vol. 5 no. 14, p. 1.
- van Valen, Leonard, Clemens van Neerven, Jan Pieter van Soest, Paul van de Ven, Jan Wolter Wabeke, Johan Wempe, Wouter van Loon, Pieter Mul and Ben van Welie, 'Studenten in u-raad' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (23 Mar. 1973), vol. 4 no. 30, p. 3.
- Veringa, G.H. and P.J. Lardinois, 'Nota bestuurshervorming universiteiten en hogescholen' in *Utrechtse Universitaire Reflexen* (19 Sept. 1969), vol. 1 no. 3, bijlage, pp 1–6.
- Zijlman, Mieke, 'Universiteitsraadslid Lex Heerma van Voss: "Ik beschouw mezelf als amateur"' in *U-blad* (29 May 1987), vol. 18 no. 36, p. 9

### ***Pamphlets, brochures, speeches, evaluations, rapports and laws***

- Academische Raad, *Rapport van de Commissie ad hoc onderzoek zelfstandige taakvervulling van de universiteit en hogeschool*, 1967
- Andrée Wiltens, Albert, 'Toespraak van den Heer Andrée Wiltens' in *Jaarboek der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht 1945-1946* (Utrecht, 1946), pp 22–38
- Boeke, J., 'Rede in den Dom te Utrecht den 24ste september 1945' in *Jaarboek der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht 1945-1946* (1946), pp 7–22
- Boekraad, Hughues C., Michel J. van Nieuwstadt, Ton Regtien and Henk Sips, *Universiteit en onderneming. Een analyse van het rapport Maris* (Nijmegen, 1968)
- Broekmeyer, Marinus, *Wetenschap en democratie: de uitvoering van de Wet Universitaire Bestuurshervorming 1970* (Amsterdam, 1973)
- Datema, C., F.A. van Vught, H.P. Patoir, C.T.M. Kuijpers-Groensmit, M.M. Otto, O.M. van der Gaag and S.M.C. Nuijten, *De kanteling in het universitaire bestuur: Rapport van de klankbordgroep invoering MUB* (Heerlen, 1998)

- van Delden, A.Th., M. Geldens, E.M.H. Hirsch Ballin, L.F. Ploeger, R.O. Prins, A.H.G Rinnooy Kan, J.M.M. Ritzen, J. de Ruiter and A. van der Zwan, *Naar een ondernemende universiteit* (Utrecht, 1987)
- Engelsman-Postma, M.C. and L.J. Roborgh, *De rol van de Universiteitsraad in het universitair bestuur* (Leiden, 1989)
- van der Heijden, Paul, 'Werken aan de Universiteit. Diesoratie ter gelegenheid van de 438e dies natalis op vrijdag 8 februari 2013 in de Pieterskerk'
- Ministerie van O&W, *Wet universitaire bestuurs hervorming 1970*. (2nd ed., Den Haag, 1980)
- Polak, J.M. and Commissie voor de Bestuurshervorming, *De mate van invoering van de WUB: Verslag van het inventarisatieonderzoek invoering WUB* (De mate van invoering van de WUB, 1, Den Haag, 1974)
- , *Gewubd en gevogen* (Den Haag, 1979)
- Regtien, Ton, *Universiteit in opstand: Europese achtergronden en de Nederlandse situatie* (Amsterdam, 1969)
- Schamhardt, H., 'Toespraak van de Secretaris van de Universiteit op maandag 5 januari tijdens de Nieuwjaarsbijeenkomst van het universiteitsbureau' in *Jaarboek der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht 1969-1970* (1970), pp 24–28
- Stichting NSR-publikaties, *De Wet Veringa: einde van de democratisering*. (Amsterdam, 1970)
- USF werkgroep, *Veringa, Posthumus of Mc.Kinsey, of: De integratie van de universiteit in het kapitalistische stelsel* (Utrecht, 1971)

## Secondary literature

- Amsing, Elizabethanne and Marieke Stuurwold, 'No More Professors: The Peaceful Revolution in the Department of Psychology at the University of Groningen, the Netherlands, 1968' in Pieter Dhondt and Elizabethanne Boran (eds), *Student revolt, city, and society in Europe: from the Middle Ages to the present* (New York, 2018), pp 96–112
- van Berckel Smit, Floris and A. C. Flipse, 'Van democratie naar New Public Management: invoering van de Wet modernisering universitaire bestuursorganisatie aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam' in *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Onderwijsrecht en Onderwijsbeleid*, vol. 32, no. 1 (2020), pp 15–28
- van Berkel, Klaas, 'The Sciences after the Second World War' in Klaas van Berkel, Albert van Helden and Lodewijk Palm (eds), *A history of science in the Netherlands: survey, themes and reference* (Leiden, 1999), pp 229–235
- , 'Wetenschapsgeschiedenis en universiteitsgeschiedenis nieuwe stijl' in *TGGNWT*, vol. 5, no. 2 (2012), pp 89–95
- , *Universiteit van het Noorden: vier eeuwen academisch leven in Groningen. Deel III De zakelijke universiteit, 1945 - 2021* (Hilversum, 2022)
- , 'Review Pieter Slaman, De glazen toren. De Leidse universiteit 1970-2020. De ritmiek van de Leidse universiteitsgeschiedenis' in *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, vol. 135, no. 1 (2022), pp 154–155
- de Boer, Harry, Leo Goedegebuure and Jeroen Huisman, *Gezonde spanning: Beleidsevaluatie van de MUB* (Enschede, 2005)
- de Boer, Harry F., 'Van WUB naar MUB: 25 jaar overheidsbeleid aangaande bestuurstructuren' in *TH&MA*, vol. 3, no. 2 (1996), pp 23–27
- , *Institutionele verandering en professionele autonomie: een empirisch-verklarende studie naar de doorwerking van de wet 'Modernisering Universitaire Bestuursorganisatie' (MUB)* (Enschede, 2003)

- Bol, C., 'De restauratieve façade, de jaren 1946 - 1966' in Hermann Walther von der Dunk, Wybo P. Heere and Adriaan Wessel Reinink (eds), *Tussen ivoren toren & grootbedrijf: de Utrechtse Universiteit, 1936-1986* (Maarssen, 1986), pp 59–83
- Bontempelli, Pier Carlo, *Knowledge Power and Discipline: German Studies and National Identity* (Minneapolis, 2003)
- Boudens, Floris, 'Paradigmawisseling als probleem. De subfaculteit Psychologie onder curatele, 1975 – 1979' in *Historisch Tijdschrift Aanzet*, vol. 38 (2023) (forthcoming)
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *Homo Academicus* (Stanford, 1988)
- Bourdieu, Pierre and Loïc J. D. Wacquant, *An invitation to reflexive sociology* (Chicago, 1992)
- Burawoy, Michael, 'Making sense of Bourdieu' in *Catalyst*, vol. 2, no. 1 (2018), pp 51–87
- Celikates, Robin, 'Radical Civility: Social Struggles and the Domestication of Dissent' in Julia Christ, Kristina Lepold, Daniel Loick and Titus Stahl (eds), *Debating critical theory: engagements with Axel Honneth* (Lanham, 2020), pp 83–94
- Cicerchia, Lillian, 'Why Does Class Matter?' in *Social Theory & Practice*, vol. 47, no. 4 (2021), pp 603–627
- Claussen, Stephanie and Jonathan Osborne, 'Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital and its implications for the science curriculum' in *Science Education*, vol. 97, no. 1 (2013), pp 58–79
- Cohen, H.F., *De strijd om de academie: de Leidse Universiteit op zoek naar een bestuursstructuur (1967-1971)* (Meppel, 1975)
- Daalder, Hans, *Universitair panopticum. Herinneringen van een gewoon hoogleraar* (Amsterdam, 1997)
- Dhondt, Pieter, *University jubilees and university history writing: a challenging relationship* (Leiden, 2015)
- , 'University History as Part of the History of Education' in Pieter Dhondt (ed.), *University jubilees and university history writing: a challenging relationship* (Leiden, 2015), pp 233 – 249
- Dorsman, Leen, 'Studium Generale: een mislukte doorbraak (1945 - 1960)' in Leen Dorsman and Peter Jan Knegtman (eds), *Universitaire vormingsidealen. De Nederlandse universiteiten sedert 1876* (Universiteit & Samenleving, 1, Hilversum, 2006), pp 55–68
- , 'Een kwart eeuw universiteitsgeschiedenis in Nederland' in *Nieuwsbrief Universiteitsgeschiedenis*, vol 13, no. 2 (2007), pp 43–56
- , 'Over crises en ruïnes: de universiteit in de twintigste eeuw' in Leen Dorsman, Ed Jonker and Jeroen Koch (eds), *De korte 20e eeuw: opstellen voor Maarten van Rossem* (Amsterdam, 2008), pp 67–78
- , 'Professionalisering als probleem. De val van een college van bestuur' in Leen Dorsman and Peter Jan Knegtman (eds), *Het universitaire bedrijf: over professionalisering van onderzoek, bestuur en beheer* (Universiteit & Samenleving, 6, Hilversum, 2010), pp 53–72
- , 'Van OB 1815 naar WHW 1985: van "geleerde stand" naar "zelfstandige beoefening der wetenschap". Het hoger onderwijs en de disciplines' in Peter Jan Knegtman and Leen Dorsman (eds), *Van Lectio tot PowerPoint: over de geschiedenis van het onderwijs aan de Nederlandse universiteiten* (Universiteit & samenleving ; 8, Hilversum, 2011), pp 115–128
- Dorsman, Leen and Peter Jan Knegtman (eds), *Het universitaire bedrijf: over professionalisering van onderzoek, bestuur en beheer* (Universiteit & Samenleving, 6, Hilversum, 2010)
- von der Dunk, Hermann W., *Voordat de voegen kraakten: student in de jaren vijftig* (Amsterdam, 2013)
- Faasse, Patricia, *Profiel van een faculteit. De Utrechtse bètawetenschappen 1815-2011* (Universiteit & Samenleving, 9, Hilversum, 2012)
- Fasseur, C., 'Van speeltuin tot bedrijf. Het bestuur van de universiteit' in Henk Jan de Jonge and Willem Otterspeer (eds), *Altijd een vonk of twee: de Universiteit Leiden van 1975 tot 2000* (Leiden, 2000)
- Fink, Carole, Philipp Gassert and Detlef Junker, *1968, the world transformed* (Cambridge, 1998)
- Freudenthal, Hans, 'Vrijheid en Verantwoordelijkheid' in *Universiteit en Hogeschool*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1955), pp 295–301

- Frijhoff, Willem, 'Honderd jaar universiteitsgeschiedenis in Nederland' in *Studium*, vol. 6, no. 3 (2013), pp 197–206
- Fuller, Steve, 'Conatus' in Michael Grenfell (ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts* (2008), pp 171–182
- Godfroy, Frans, Paul Kuypers and Rob. Vermijs, *1969, opstand in het Zuiden* (Utrecht, 2013)
- Goedegebuure, Leo C.J., *Mergers in higher education: A comparative perspective*. (Enschede, 1994)
- Heere, Wybo P., 'De Faculteit der Rechtsgeleerdheid' in Hermann Walther von der Dunk, Wybo P. Heere and Adriaan Wessel Reinink (eds), *Tussen ivoren toren & grootbedrijf: de Utrechtse Universiteit, 1936-1986* (Maarsse, 1986), pp 335–347
- Hobsbawm, Eric, '1968—A Retrospect' in *Marxism Today*, vol. 22, no. 5 (1978), pp 130–136
- , *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991* (London, 1995)
- Howard, Dick, 'In Search of a New Left' in Vladimir Tismaneanu (ed.), *Promises of 1968: Crisis, Illusion and Utopia* (Budapest, 2010), pp 55–64
- Huizinga, Johan, *Verzamelde werken. Deel 8. Universiteit, wetenschap en kunst* (Haarlem, 1951)
- Jamin, Hervé, *Kennis als opdracht: de Universiteit Utrecht 1636-2001* (Utrecht, 2001)
- Kennedy, James, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw: Nederland in de jaren zestig* (3rd ed., Amsterdam, 2017)
- Kijne, Hugo Jakob, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse studentenbeweging, 1963-1973* (Amsterdam, 1978)
- Knegtmans, Peter Jan, 'De rector of een directeur? Over macht en voorrang aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1945 - 1955' in Leen Dorsman and Peter Jan Knegtman (eds), *Het universitaire bedrijf: over professionalisering van onderzoek, bestuur en beheer* (Universiteit & Samenleving, 6, Hilversum, 2010), pp 25–36
- Legois, Jean-Philippe and Alain Monchablon, 'From the Struggle Against Repression to the 1968 General Strike in France' in Pieter Dhondt and Elizabethanne Boran (eds), *Student revolt, city, and society in Europe: from the Middle Ages to the present* (New York, 2018), pp 67–78
- Lorenz, Chris, *Van het universitaire front geen nieuws* (Baarn, 1993)
- , 'If You're So Smart, Why Are You under Surveillance? Universities, Neoliberalism, and New Public Management' in *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 38, no. 3 (2012), pp 599–629
- Louw, Rudolf Gerardus, *Het Nederlands hoger onderwijsrecht: een thematisch commentaar op de Wet op het hoger onderwijs en wetenschappelijk onderzoek* (Meijers-reeks, MI 193, Amsterdam, 2011)
- van der Maar, Rimko, 'De deeltjesversneller. Ton Regtien en de studentenbeweging in de jaren zestig' in Leen Dorsman and Peter Jan Knegtman (eds), *Keurige wereldbestormers: over studenten en hun rol in de Nederlandse samenleving sedert 1876* (Universiteit & Samenleving, 4, Hilversum, 2008), pp 105–131
- Macciocchi, Maria Antonietta, *Letters from inside the Italian Communist Party to Louis Althusser*; trans. Stephen M. Heilman (London, 1973)
- van der Meiden, A., 'Turbulentie en herordening, 1966 tot heden' in Hermann Walther von der Dunk, Wybo P. Heere and Adriaan Wessel Reinink (eds), *Tussen ivoren toren & grootbedrijf: de Utrechtse Universiteit, 1936-1986* (Maarsse, 1986), pp 95–133
- Mellink, Bram, Merijn Oudenampsen and Naomi Woltring, *Neoliberalisme: een Nederlandse geschiedenis* (Amsterdam, 2022)
- Mertens, Ferdinand, 'Hoger Onderwijs Autonomie en Kwaliteit (Hoak) nota 25 jaar' in *TH&MA*, vol. 18, no. 3 (2012), pp 61–66
- Overbeek, A.B., 'De afschaffing van de studie klassieke talen aan de RU Utrecht 1982/86' in *Utrecht University Repository* (2009)
- de Pater, B.C., *Minnaars der aarde, ver van huis en haard: over 125 jaar geowetenschappen aan de Universiteit Utrecht* (Utrecht, 2004)
- Prudon, Kim., *Van WUB tot MUB: geschiedenis van de Universiteitsraad, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam* (Rotterdam, 1998)
- Ribbens, Kees, *Universitaire journalistiek tussen onafhankelijkheid en informatievoorziening: Een geschiedenis van het U-blad* (Utrecht, 2003)
- Righart, Hans, *De eindeloze jaren zestig: Geschiedenis van een generatieconflict* (Amsterdam, 1995)



- van Rooijen, M., 'De Faculteit der Letteren' in Hermann Walther von der Dunk, Wybo P. Heere and Adriaan Wessel Reinink (eds), *Tussen ivoren toren & grootbedrijf: de Utrechtse Universiteit, 1936-1986* (Maarssen, 1986), pp 448–466
- Sanders, Sara Katherine, *The dividing line: myth and experience in Mexico's 1968 student movement* (La Jolla, 2011)
- Schopman, Jan, *Kritiese universiteit: de ruk naar links in de Nijmeegse studentenbeweging* (Nijmegen)
- Selten, Peter, 'De geschiedenis van de Algemene Sociale Wetenschappen' in Willem Koops, Henk van Rinsum and Jan van Teunenbroek (eds), *De sociale wetenschappen in Utrecht: een geschiedenis* (Hilversum, 2005), pp 251–272
- Showalter, Elaine, *Faculty towers: the academic novel and its discontents* (Philadelphia, 2005)
- Slaman, Pieter, *De glazen toren: de Leidse universiteit 1970-2020* (Amsterdam, 2021)
- Snijders, Kees Jan, 'De Studentenbeweging' in Hermann Walther von der Dunk, Wybo P. Heere and Adriaan Wessel Reinink (eds), *Tussen ivoren toren & grootbedrijf: de Utrechtse Universiteit, 1936-1986* (Maarssen, 1986), pp 149–210
- van Steen, Agnes, 'Een bres in de ivoren toren. De Studenten Vakbeweging (SVB) in Leiden (1963 - 1969)' in *Jaarboek der sociale en economische geschiedenis van Leiden en omstreken*, vol. 24 (2012), pp 123–194
- Swartz, David L., 'Bourdieu's Concept of Field' in *Oxford Bibliographies Online*
- van Teunenbroek, Jan, 'De bestuurlijke geschiedenis' in Willem Koops, Henk van Rinsum and Jan van Teunenbroek (eds), *De sociale wetenschappen in Utrecht: een geschiedenis* (Hilversum, 2005), pp 23–64
- Threadgold, Steven, 'Bourdieu is not a Determinist: Illusio, Aspiration, Reflexivity and Affect', 2019, pp 36–50
- Turner, Bryan S. and Chris Rojek, *Society and Culture: Scarcity and Solidarity* (London, 2001)
- Vellenga, S. Y. A., 'De uitdaging van crisis en bezetting, 1936 - 1946' in Hermann Walther von der Dunk, Wybo P. Heere and Adriaan Wessel Reinink (eds), *Tussen ivoren toren & grootbedrijf: de Utrechtse Universiteit, 1936-1986* (Maarssen, 1986), pp 23–48
- Wielenga, Friso., *A history of the Netherlands: from the sixteenth century to the present day* (London, 2015)