

Ambivalence and the politics of knowledge: The struggle for change in German higher education *

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Abstract. This article argues (a) that universities are profoundly ambivalent institutions; (b) that this ambivalence explains a great deal about their behavior that would otherwise remain inexplicable; (c) that one of the most striking manifestations of this ambivalence can be found in universities' attitudes towards change; and (d) that this ambivalence has its roots in a fundamental tension in modern society about the university's purposes. There is good reason to believe that this set of observations holds true for universities everywhere, albeit to different degrees and in different ways. As a case in point, this article focuses on the process of change (and non-change) in German higher education over the past ten years.

Keywords: Higher education, politics of knowledge ambivalence, change.

Ambivalence

Arguing that universities are profoundly ambivalent institutions does not mean, of course, that there is no ambivalence elsewhere; what it does mean, however, is that the realm of higher education reveals, comparatively speaking, an unusually and quite exceptionally pervasive, persistent and unmistakable quality of ambivalence. This ambivalence, furthermore, is not just something that inheres in the culture of academia, but is in turn a function of societal and political contradictions about the role of knowledge and the purposes of the university. Ambivalence begets ambivalence, as it were.

“Ambivalence” is used here in two different, but related and complementary meanings: contradiction and uncertainty. In the first sense, ambivalence is defined, by no less an authority than Merriam–Webster, as “contradictory ... attitudes ... toward a particular person or object and often with one attitude inhibiting the expression of another”; Merriam–Webster cites, as an illustration, an observation by the anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn about the Apache Indians' “ambivalent attitude and behavior toward death”. The second meaning speaks of ambivalence as “uncertainty as to which approach, attitude or treatment to follow”. This article shows how pertinent a

description this is of universities; Merriam–Webster uses instead an observation about the English film which, according to film critic John McCarten, “because of a nervous ambivalence toward its subject matter ... fails to produce the chuckles”. The English film and this paper may, incidentally, have this in common.

However, and once again, nobody says it better and more concisely than venerable old Montaigne: “*Mais nous sommes, je ne sais comment, doubles en nous-mêmes, qui fait que ce que nous croyons, nous ne le croyons pas, et ne nous pouvons défaire de ce que nous condamnons.*”¹

The notion of ambivalence has a rich and varied tradition not only in psychology and psychoanalysis (from Eugen Bleuler in 1910² to Sigmund Freud and the work of Joost Meerloo³ all the way to contemporary scholarship in feminist psychology about “Mothering and Ambivalence”,⁴) but in literary scholarship⁵ and in the social sciences as well.

In the social sciences, Marx, Durkheim and, indeed, Montaigne, have pioneered the concept of ambivalence, if not the term, but one of the particularly influential contributions to the study of ambivalence remains that of Robert Merton, whose work on the ambivalence of professions⁶ is particularly germane to what this article is all about, and will be discussed further below. It has been followed, more or less congenially, by a host of other scholars, including Gary Thom⁷ and Andrew Weigert,⁸ but still remains a major milestone.⁹

In this context, the work of Zygmunt Bauman on “modernity and ambivalence” raises a particularly interesting point in the way it casts the struggle of “exterminating ambivalence” as a “typically modern practice, the substance of modern politics, of modern intellect, of modern life”,¹⁰ only to conclude that, in the wake of modernity, we have learned to “be living at peace with ambivalence”.¹¹ “Once declared to be a mortal danger to all social and political order, ambivalence is not an ‘enemy at the gate’ any more. On the contrary: like everything else, it has been made into one of the stage props in the play called postmodernity”.¹²

Ambivalence and higher education

The argument about the ambivalent quality of universities should not be too difficult to substantiate and has a rather decent pedigree in the literature.¹³ Universities could almost be defined by their own ambivalences, i.e., by their own “contradictory attitudes” towards a wide variety of objects: towards knowledge, society, change, authority, democracy, and – most consequential of all – towards themselves. From

whatever angle one examines universities, there seems to be pervasive evidence of ambivalence – with the one notable exception of a rather unambivalent resistance to outside judgments about the university's ambivalence.

As one looks at universities in different settings, there is ambivalence

- about the relative priority of teaching and research,
- about the proper relationship between the university and the state, or between the university and business,
- about what and whom to include and to exclude from the pursuits of the university,
- about how centralized or decentralized the structures of decision-making should be,
- about how democratic or how authoritarian a university's governance should be,
- about the relative importance of the autonomy of the individual scholar and the autonomy of the institution,
- about how national or international an institution the university should be,
- about how regulated or deregulated the life of the university and its members should be,
- about the importance or obsolescence of disciplines,
- about the relative virtues of the status quo and of change, or of freedom and order,

to mention just a few.

It might be instructive to imagine for a moment a similar degree of ambivalence in any other social institution. Imagine courts of law were similarly ambivalent about what does and does not constitute admissible evidence. Imagine even remotely similar degrees of ambivalence in traffic, in public transportation, in an orchestra, or in space travel – and it becomes clear how exceptionally ambivalent an institution the university is, and how important it is to appreciate this ambivalence if one really wants to understand how and why universities behave as they do.

This article takes a closer look at some of these instances of ambivalence, and uses these examples as stepping stones to the further question of why this might be so. Examples will be drawn primarily from the German system of higher education, partly because this author has looked at German universities particularly closely for some time now, from both the inside and the outside,¹⁴ and partly because – from looking at a number of other university systems – there is reason to believe that German higher education is both a

reasonably representative and a particularly instructive variant of the general pattern.

It should be emphasized that this piece does not address the question of whether or not, and on what grounds, ambivalence may be good or bad, functional or dysfunctional for institutions of higher education. This disclaimer includes resisting the temptation to suggest that ambivalence about its own goals and purposes could serve as a wonderful mechanism of defense for an institution such as a university that tries to avoid accountability for its results and accomplishments: as long as there is ambivalence about exactly what an institution is supposed to accomplish, it makes little sense to hold it accountable for whether or not it has achieved its goals.

It has already been pointed out that there is a respectable tradition in the social sciences of dealing with ambivalence as a characteristic of social organizations – a tradition that, in Robert Merton’s words, is based on the “premise that the structure of social roles consists of arrangements of norms and counter norms which have evolved to provide the flexibility of normatively acceptable behavior required to deal with changing states of a social relation”.¹⁵ Surely not only Merton can think of many situations in higher education that require that kind of flexibility.

In fact, Merton himself is quick to make the connection to academia when he applies this notion of “potentially conflicting pairs of norms” to scientists and scientific institutions, and comes up with a whole series of such conflicting pairs of norms.¹⁶

Quite in keeping with Merton’s basic argument, all those who have tried to make sense of the institution of the American university presidency owe a great debt to Michael Cohen and James March for their classic study on “Leadership and Ambiguity: The American College President”.¹⁷ Who with some experience in American (and, indeed, German) higher education would not resonate to the following observation: “The college president has more potential for moving the college than most people, probably more potential than any one other person. Nevertheless, presidents discover that they have less power than is believed, that their power to accomplish things depends heavily on what they want to accomplish, that the use of formal authority is limited by other formal authority, that the acceptance of authority is not automatic, that the necessary details of organizational life confuse power (which is somewhat different from diffusing it), and *that their colleagues seem to delight in complaining simultaneously about presidential weakness and presidential willfulness.*”¹⁸

Ambivalence and the German university

It would go beyond the scope of this article to provide an extensive introduction to the nature and the peculiarities of German higher education.¹⁹ Suffice it to highlight the following points that are particularly germane to this article's argument:

1. German higher education is much more of a "system" than anybody would ever dream of claiming American higher education to be; it operates under system-wide norms and regulations and features a considerable degree of homogeneity across institutions.
2. It is essentially a public system, with the vast majority of funds being provided straight from (state) government budgets, and with fairly encompassing control over the use of those funds by the state bureaucracy. There are a few private institutions, all small and most of them highly specialized in business administration, computer science and other easily marketable subjects; their number is growing, but they remain a marginal phenomenon. Also, except for these private institutions, public higher education is entirely tuition free.
3. It's a federal system where the 15 states have largely exclusive jurisdiction over higher education, with some considerable participation by the federal government through such channels as supporting university investments, research funding, and student support.
4. German reunification, which had seemed to offer a unique opportunity for substantially redesigning key social institutions, such as the university, did in fact, and to the bewilderment of many observers, *not* produce any major change in German higher education. However, just when that historic opportunity appeared to have been missed, a significant movement towards university reform got underway and has, over the past six or seven years, generated a great deal of change.²⁰

Against this background, this case study focuses on four areas of ambivalence that appear to be particularly pronounced (and instructive) in the German case.

1. ambivalence about autonomy,
2. ambivalence about change,
3. ambivalence about inclusion and exclusion,
4. ambivalence about universities as national or international institutions.

Ambivalence about autonomy

Universities everywhere have traditionally and persistently been adamant about the importance of their being autonomous, typically meaning the rights of the individual scholar to be free of outside interference in his or her performance of academic duties in teaching and research.

In a remarkable accomplishment of living with contradiction, the university (at least in its prevailing European incarnation) has for an extended part of its history been able to reconcile this firm insistence on autonomy with the persistence of an institutional relationship between the university and the state that was both utterly non-autonomous and characterized by more or less total dependence on both the regulatory and providential tutelage of the state over the university – with the one notable exception, of course, of not directly interfering with the individual professor's "autonomy".

This traditional contradiction is very much at the heart of the kind of ambivalence in the contemporary German university that this article is interested in pursuing. For reasons which have been analyzed elsewhere,²¹ there has been, over the last ten years or so, a significant political move in the direction of a more autonomous relationship between state and university, and in the direction of the conception of a university, by now enshrined in the higher education laws of several German states, that possesses a rather high degree of institutional autonomy and self-determination, in some instances all the way to significant control over budgetary and personnel matters.

One of the main arguments of the advocates for this degree of institutional autonomy²² has been the need for the university to mobilize its own resources more effectively behind a set of institutional goals and priorities that respond more adequately to the society's need for knowledge and training; the notion of more sharply defined "institutional profiles" has loomed large in these debates.

This kind of strategy is obviously on a collision course with the staunch advocacy of professorial autonomy in the traditional sense. What, under the old regime, the authority of the state had no right to interfere with – namely the rights and privileges of the individual professor – clearly is now at least as much in jeopardy by "the university's" efforts to marshal synergies and mobilize its own resources by imposing a certain degree of direction and purposiveness on the aggregate of its intellectual resources.²³

The ambivalence that results from this development is obvious: "autonomy", long a unanimous and unambiguous battle cry for

professorial rights, has suddenly become a two-sided sword and a highly ambivalent political agenda. Institutional autonomy competes with individual autonomy. Two different outcomes – the independence of the university from the state’s bureaucratic tutelage and the freedom of a professor’s research and teaching – are competing with one another in a political setting in which one is perceived to be inimical to the other: more autonomy from the state is seen (quite correctly) as giving the university’s leadership more of a mandate to marshal the institution’s resources behind the university’s mission and thus to encroach somewhat upon the professors’ unlimited right to his or her own academic agenda. At the same time, the unfettered exercise of the individual faculty member’s autonomy is seen as undermining the very degrees of freedom that the university has gained in the battle for greater autonomy from the state.

The somewhat paradoxical outcome of all of this is a rather ambivalent attitude on the part of the professoriate towards the notion of greater university autonomy from the state, and even a tendency to rather retain the considerable, but more distant and not very activist authority of the state as the lesser evil compared to the rather close and possibly quite enterprising authority of a university president or dean to whom the state has delegated considerable decision-making authority.

Ambivalence about change

In a slightly different sense, the situation that has just been described can also be cast as a profound ambivalence in the contemporary German university towards change. There is, on the one hand, a diffuse general belief in the intellectual inevitability and, indeed, desirability of change as a result of the ongoing process of inquiry and expanding knowledge. At a considerable level of abstraction, there appears to be a consensus that new knowledge is likely to generate new reality, that discovery, invention and understanding are bound to alter and improve human lives and the conditions under which human beings interact with one another and with their physical and social environment.

At the same time, however, universities are notable for their resistance to change,²⁴ particularly when their own institutional arrangements and conditions of work are concerned. Some of this resistance has to do with fear of the unknown, some with concern over losing acquired rights and privileges in the process of structural change (a situation for which the German language has coined the inimitable

and untranslatable term “Besitzstandswahrung”), but there is more to it than that.

This author’s anecdotal, but patently representative, experience during the 1990s at the helm of a newly established German university²⁵ is pertinent here, particularly with regard to efforts to move away from some of the hallow traditions in German higher education²⁶. The experience is a case in point of precisely the kinds of arguments that have already been mentioned: the concern on the part of the faculty over losing the prerogatives that one had just so arduously acquired, or simply apprehension over entering uncharted territory and departing from time-honored ways in which, for example, lawyers had always been trained, etc. One of the mantras which was heard in the university senate time and again was “but this is the way we have always done it in ...” – and one would fill in Cologne, Heidelberg, or Berlin.

But there was and is a more serious kind of resistance to change that, on the part of some of its advocates, reflects a genuine ambivalence between the value of change and innovation and the value of professional legitimacy. The argument goes roughly like this: It’s a good idea to innovate and to change an institution, but in doing that, we run the risk of moving our university out of the mainstream of respectable academia, and put not only the reputation of our faculty, but also the chances of our students and graduates in jeopardy.

This is both a serious and a very instructive kind of ambivalence. It is, for those familiar with the history of German higher education in the 1960s and 1970s, forever associated with the fate of the University of Bremen which, as the prize it had to pay for rather boldly moving ahead into new directions of academic training (including the training of lawyers), was ostracized and marginalized in the academic world in ways that have even survived some of the innovations that triggered it.²⁷

Without a doubt, this is an awkward choice for a university to make, especially a new and unknown one. Does one seize on the chance of a new beginning, and risk not being taken seriously in the community of established and reputable universities? Does one try to distinguish oneself by being different, or by being particularly faithful to the existing institutional precedents, and what are the institutional and professional costs of either strategy? It is not surprising that, in situations like this, universities tend to “play it safe” and sacrifice change on the altar of academic respectability.

Ambivalence about inclusion and exclusion

A third kind of ambivalence in higher education has to do with the issue of inclusion and exclusion. This is an issue that tends to be more acutely perceived at American universities, but has begun to haunt the German university as well as it undergoes a process of further and more competition-based differentiation.²⁸

There is by now, albeit to a different degree, in both systems of higher education a basic tension between the conflicting goals of openness and selectivity, of giving as many people as possible a chance vs. selecting the ones for whom academic success can most safely be predicted.²⁹ At least some of the current preoccupation in Germany with the introduction of consecutive degree programs of the BA/MA kind³⁰ reflects this tension and attempts to solve it, just as at least some of the American debate about affirmative action³¹ is rooted in this kind of ambivalence.

There is, however, yet another kind of ambivalence in terms of inclusion or exclusion, and that pertains to the inclusion or exclusion of certain kinds of knowledge from the purview of the university. One of the more conspicuous manifestations of this issue were the curricular wars over the shape and content of the undergraduate curriculum at many of the US' universities and colleges in the 1980s.³²

That, however, is only the proverbial tip of a much larger iceberg. The real issue was, and continues to be, the much more fundamental question of the legitimacy of different kinds and traditions of knowledge, and of the grounds on which such legitimacy is established and claimed. The future of interdisciplinary programs is as much part of that issue as the debate about the "culturality" of knowledge,³³ the questions raised by feminist epistemology,³⁴ the growing debate about the "governance of science",³⁵ or the notion of a relationship of reciprocal legitimation between knowledge and power.³⁶ In that more fundamental sense, the debate is far from over and is one of the more fundamental sources for the ambivalence of the contemporary university, in Germany as elsewhere.

Ambivalence about universities as national or international institutions

It is remarkable how ardently scholars will profess the internationality and universality of scholarship, and how intensely at the same time universities as institutions are beholden in so many ways to national

frames of reference. Here lies another source of ambivalence that makes it difficult for universities to come to terms with what they are, especially at a time when the relevance of national frames of reference is increasingly subject to questions.³⁷ Here again, German higher education serves as an instructive case in point.

It is, of course, true that knowledge and scholarship transcend national boundaries; but it is equally true that, especially where its teaching and training function is concerned, a university's mission (and in particular a German university's mission) is circumscribed in major ways by nationally defined standards, rules and regulations – from the training of lawyers to the training of teachers and from the entrance requirements for civil service positions to the equilibration between certain educational achievements and public salary scales. When it comes to defining desirable or legitimate outcomes of a German university education, the nation state is alive and well, and has developed the recognition of such outcomes in career and income terms into a veritable art form.³⁸

The ambivalence regarding national and international frames of reference in higher education is exacerbated, however, by the increasingly transnational quality of the politics of knowledge. This refers not only to the general transnational quality of the production, dissemination, and utilization of knowledge, but more specifically to the growing international traffic of ideas and prescriptions about what universities are, and ought to be. There have been historical antecedents for this kind of traffic, as in the role that German university concepts have played in the development of higher education in the US in the 19th century,³⁹ but nothing compares to the pervasiveness with which models of higher education have started to travel around the world in the last quarter of the 20th century. This latter traffic has been remarkably one-way in that it has essentially promulgated – with more or less success – certain traits of US higher education in other parts of the world: privatizing higher education, achieving more differentiated systems, creating entrepreneurial universities, fostering competition both within and between institutions – all of these and others have served as maxims for the reform discourse in many countries, with an implicit or often explicit reference to the model nature of American higher education.⁴⁰

This development has some paradoxical elements. First, as national systems of higher education go, the US “system”, for all its obvious accomplishments, is probably the most idiosyncratic and least “comparable” system in today's world; few other systems have an even remotely similar degree of differentiation and selectivity, and the existence

of a prestigious private sector in higher education is almost unique in the world. Second, and the constant invocation of American models for higher education reform elsewhere notwithstanding, the US system stands out internationally as being remarkably devoid of any significant system-wide reform in recent times,⁴¹ especially when compared to the rather sweeping winds of change that have transformed, or are in the process of transforming, higher education in such countries as the UK, the Netherlands, Austria, or Germany.

Partly as a result of these paradoxes, and partly as a reflection of a more diffuse distrust of American precepts, the invocation of US models in the higher education reform discourse in such countries as Germany has typically engendered a considerable, and mounting, degree of controversy. It would be worth a separate paper to trace this controversy in the German case, from its fairly innocuous beginnings in meetings of German and American university administrators⁴² to more recent indictments of the “infatuation with America” (“Amerikaseligkeit”⁴³) in the reform discourse – notably well before the onset and the ramifications of the Iraq conflict.

Whence ambivalence?

These instances have been selected from a much wider range of possible examples in order to illustrate the rather pervasive element of ambivalence that seems to characterize the cultural habitat of academia in general, and in Germany, in particular. There are other examples, such as the ambivalence about the meaning of institutional democracy in higher education, or about whether or not the university should involve itself in social issues, or the ambivalence over centralization and decentralization in academic governance. All of these, taken together, do indeed convey the image of an institution that is profoundly at odds with itself.

The question is: why would this be so?

At least one answer to this question has to do with the last part of the argument that was stated at the outset of this article: the ambivalence of universities is a fairly accurate reflection of the fact that both the state and society tend to have profoundly ambivalent orientations towards higher education. The major dimension of this ambivalence has to do with the kinds of purposes that state and society consider appropriate for the university; this dimension varies – or rather: oscillates – between reaffirming the independence of the university in its pursuit of

knowledge and invoking the right of society to have the university contribute to the solution of a society's problems. This is probably true in the US as well as in Germany and other countries, except that in the US the state, as in everything else, plays much less of a role in articulating norms regarding the purposes of higher education – notable exceptions, such as affirmative action, notwithstanding.

Faced with this contextual ambivalence about its own purposes, the universities themselves see no particular reason to overcome what for them seems to be a natural – or at least very comfortable – tendency towards an academic and cognitive culture that is in its turn profoundly ambivalent about its own identity and purpose. Under these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the university has developed into the kind of profoundly ambivalent institution that this article has sought to describe.

The ambivalence of society towards its universities is something that figured already in Robert Merton's concerns.⁴⁴ It has to do with the tension between society's deeply rooted respect for scholarship and scholars, on the one hand, and a similarly deep-seated doubt whether they really deserve the perks, the freedoms and the resources they receive.

There is, however, a more subtle and more recent kind of ambivalence in the society's perception of its universities, and that has to do with different conceptions of knowledge and its utility. Here there reigns, on the one hand, the time-honored notion of the academy as the place where knowledge is being pursued for its own sake. On the other hand, there prevails – in its crassest form – what has come to be known as the notion of shareholder value. In this kind of ambivalent perspective, scholars are at once seen as independent high priests of knowledge, or as public servants of whom certain outcomes are expected. In Germany in particular, one would find a sizeable accumulation of views on either side of this continuum, even though the scale seems to have recently tipped in favor of the shareholder value side.

As far as the state is concerned, its ambivalence toward universities is even more pronounced and, in some instances, quite bizarre. In the German case and in some other European countries, the state constantly vacillates between regulation and deregulation, between control and autonomy, between the high-risk/high-gain dynamic of reform and the relatively comfortable and safe maintenance of the status quo.

But beyond that, there is a kind of ambivalence that seems to border on downright duplicity. Here I am coming back to the German variant

of the issue of autonomy, where I had already pointed out a fairly conspicuous movement in the direction of letting universities handle their own affairs more independently of the state. That, ostensibly, would go for the management of financial resources as well, and there is talk and quite a bit of action about block grant budgets – “Global-haushalte” – in which universities would receive a certain amount of money to do with as they see fit. That sounds, at first sight, like a fairly reasonable implementation of the principle of autonomy. Except for one thing: in every case of globalizing university budgets that I know about, universities lose a sizeable chunk of the money they had before. The question is whether there is really a political concept of greater institutional autonomy at work – or just a skilful minister of finance having found another way of balancing a precariously imbalanced budget? The correct answer is probably, both of the above, and amounts to yet another indication of the profound ambivalence with which the state views universities.

One other thought needs to be added to this reflection on the relationship between the state and universities, hopefully without the risk of becoming an accessory to yet another conspiracy theory. For beyond the question of specific policies like block grant budgets, there is something quite delicate about this relationship between universities and the state. That delicacy has to do with what, in some of my earlier work, I have described as a relationship of reciprocal legitimation between knowledge and power.⁴⁵ In this relationship, knowledge and power legitimate each other such that knowledge becomes an important source of legitimacy for a given order of political authority (as in the role of scholarly expertise in establishing the credibility of government policies) while, at the same time, an important part of the legitimacy of certain kinds of knowledge derives from political decisions about qualifications for professional employment, standards of public contracting, and the acceptance of expertise. If this is so, it imposes such a significant burden on the relationship between state and universities that it might well account for at least some of the ambivalence of the relationship: While the state depends on the university at least in part for generating and sustaining the legitimacy of its authority, the university in its turn depends on the state at least in part for the legitimation of its knowledge product.

Thus, for a whole variety of reasons, both society and the state are rather ambivalent in their relationship to, and their conception of the purposes of, the university. Is it at all surprising, then, that universities have developed ambivalence into an art form of their own, and that

universities define themselves in ways that maximize the strategic utility of ambivalence for the pursuit of their own goals?

It works very nicely: If universities do not like the troubles and frustrations of social involvement, they insist that their primary task is the disinterested search for truth. If, on the other hand and under different circumstances, the search for truth seems too ascetic and unrewarding, the involvement in the social issue *du jour* may provide a welcome distraction.

If lucrative contracts or grants from outside the university beckon, it is useful to remind everybody that the state has to leave the university with enough discretion to avail itself of such opportunities. If, at less opulent times, the effort to raise outside resources under the competitive conditions of the open funding market appears to be too burdensome, the role of the state as the legitimate provider of the university's wherewithal is duly emphasized.

Nor can the universities necessarily be blamed for making use of these degrees of freedom that their environment so invitingly grants them. They act, in some sense, perfectly rational. If state and society had similarly ambivalent attitudes about civil aviation or public utilities (and, as we know, sometimes they have), airlines and utility companies would probably do the same, or at least try.

Is this a bad situation or a good situation, or does it matter? Is what Stephen Frosh says about the relationship of fathers to their children – "Certainty is almost always destructive; ambivalence has many positive attributes."⁴⁶ – true for universities as well? Is, in a situation where markets become more important than state patronage, ambivalence no longer "the enemy at the gate", as Zygmunt Bauman claims?

The answer, unfortunately, is far from clear.

At its best, ambivalence in academia provides the very space for alternative answers without which the process of inquiry would remain a rather sterile affair.

At its worst, ambivalence provides a comfortable excuse to avoid asking the hard questions and finding the hard answers.

There is, alas, ambivalence even in analyzing ambivalence.

Notes

- * An earlier version of this text was originally prepared for presentation at a SCANCOR conference on "Universities and the Production of Knowledge" at Stanford University, April 25–26, 2003.

1. Montaigne (1998, p. 461) (“But we are, I know not how, of two minds in ourselves, which is why what we believe we do not believe, and cannot disengage ourselves from what we condemn”).
2. Cited by Merton (1976, p.3).
3. Meerloo (1954).
4. Such as Hollway and Featherstone (1997).
5. See, for example, the work of Susan Cole (1985) on rituals of mourning in the literature of different cultures, Shanta Dutta on Hardy (2000), or Dagmar Ottmann on Tieck (1990).
6. Merton (1976, Part 1, pp. 3–105).
7. Thom (1984).
8. Weigert (1991).
9. See also, for a particularly illuminating study of ambivalence in the context of the German political culture, Ralf Dahrendorf’s classic on “Society and Democracy in Germany” (1965).
10. Bauman (1991, p. 7).
11. *ibid.*, p. 15.
12. *ibid.*, p. 279; see also Smart (1999).
13. See, among many others, Cohen and March (1986). In another realm of educational policy analysis, I have made use of the notion of ambivalence in connection with the issue of centralization and decentralization (Weiler 1993).
14. Weiler (1996, 1998a, 2001a, 2001c).
15. Merton (1976, p. 31).
16. Merton (1976, pp. 33–34). Some time ago, this author had occasion to reflect on the experience of six years as head of an institution of higher education in Germany, and came up with a remarkably similar list of contradictions (or ambivalences) in the life of a university (see Weiler 2001c).
17. Cohen and March (1986).
18. Cohen and March (1986, pp. 197–198) (emphasis supplied).
19. See, for more extensive treatments, Daxner (1999); Enders et al. (2002); Fallon (1980); Mittelstraß (1994); Rothfuß (1997); Teichler et al. (1998); Weiler (1998a, 2001a).
20. This somewhat peculiar sequence of non-developments and developments deserves, and has received, a more detailed treatment than is possible here: Weiler (2001c); see also Müller-Böling (2000); Stifterverband (2002).
21. Weiler (1999, 2000).
22. Such as Müller-Böling (2000); Daxner (1999).
23. See Enders (1998, p. 59 and *passim*); cf. Altbach (1996).
24. What Mittelstraß calls their “structural inability to change” [*“Reformunfähigkeit”*], 1994, p. 17.
25. Viadrina European University at Frankfurt (Oder) – a new, post-unification university about 60 miles east of Berlin, right on the Polish-German border and set up with a special mandate for both interdisciplinary and international scholarship, the latter particularly with a view to cooperation with Poland and the rest of Central Europe. As a new university, established at a time of rather momentous social and political change in that part of the world, the Viadrina was meant by its founding parents to be a “reform university”.
26. Weiler (1996, 1998b, 2001c).

27. Other newly founded universities like Konstanz and Bochum featured more moderate degrees of innovation, and were thus, and by being more circumspect in their public posture, spared the fate of Bremen.
28. This author had an instructive experience recently with a bi-national seminar of American and German specialists in higher education, which was to deal with the issue of “democratization in higher education” and had given the participants relatively free reign in how to define that issue for purposes of their own contribution to the seminar. It was interesting that almost all of the American participants defined the issue of democratization in terms of access to higher education, while almost all of the German participants defined it in terms of university governance and structure. There clearly is, at least at this point in history, a considerably greater preoccupation in the US than in Germany with questions of equity, which also reflects, of course, the much more differentiated nature of the US system of higher education. This is likely to change, and there will be probably once again much more concern with access in German higher education as soon as Germany will have, as now seems inevitable, both tuition fees and more university control over student admissions.
29. Rothfuß (1997, pp. 155–221).
30. Wissenschaftsrat (2000).
31. Bowen and Bok (1998).
32. Berman (1992); Carnochan (1993).
33. Böhme and Scherpe (1996, pp. 7–24); Geertz (1983).
34. Harding (1986).
35. Fuller (2000).
36. Weiler (2001b).
37. Teichler et al. (1998, pp. 79–96); Wächter (1999).
38. Pertinent in this connection is the (true) story of the process of hiring two new faculty members at Frankfurt (Oder) – after all, at a university with a special international mandate. One of the two professors came from the University of Munich and one from the University of Warsaw. For an extended transitional period, German civil service regulations permit newly appointed professors to claim the reimbursement of travel expenses to regularly visit their families as long as they still live in their old location (“Familienheimfahrten” is the official bureaucratic term for it). Thus, the professor from Munich was regularly paid the airfare for going home to Munich over the weekend. For faculty whose families reside abroad, however, the official rules specify that travel can only be reimbursed to the nearest German border station. For our colleague from Warsaw, inasmuch as Frankfurt (Oder) is situated already on the German–Polish border, this meant that his reimbursement was limited to the taxi ride from the university to the railway station in Frankfurt (Oder) – but only, of course, if he could prove that he had unusually heavy books and papers to carry, because otherwise he was only entitled to the cost of public transportation.
39. Fallon (1980).
40. Clark (1998); Muller (1996); Weiler (2002).
41. Notwithstanding such developments as the groundswell of curricular innovations that Martha Nussbaum (1997) reviews.
42. Müller-Böling et al. (1998).

43. In the words of one of the most prominent (and thoughtful) critics of this kind of infatuation, the former state secretary of higher education for the state of Saxony, Hans Joachim Meyer.
44. Merton (1976, pp. 32ff).
45. Weiler (2001b).
46. Frosh (1997, p. 52).

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