



Marburg
University

**“Not to be governed like this
and in such a way”**

Defending Truth,
Contesting Power,
Imagining the Commoning University

Prof. Dr. Susanne Maria Weber
Universität Marburg, Germany, Susanne.maria.weber@uni-marburg.de
IHEC 2025, Ankara, Turkey

Turning Entrepreneurial – Bureaucratic – Authoritarian?

Shifting Discourses in Science and Academia

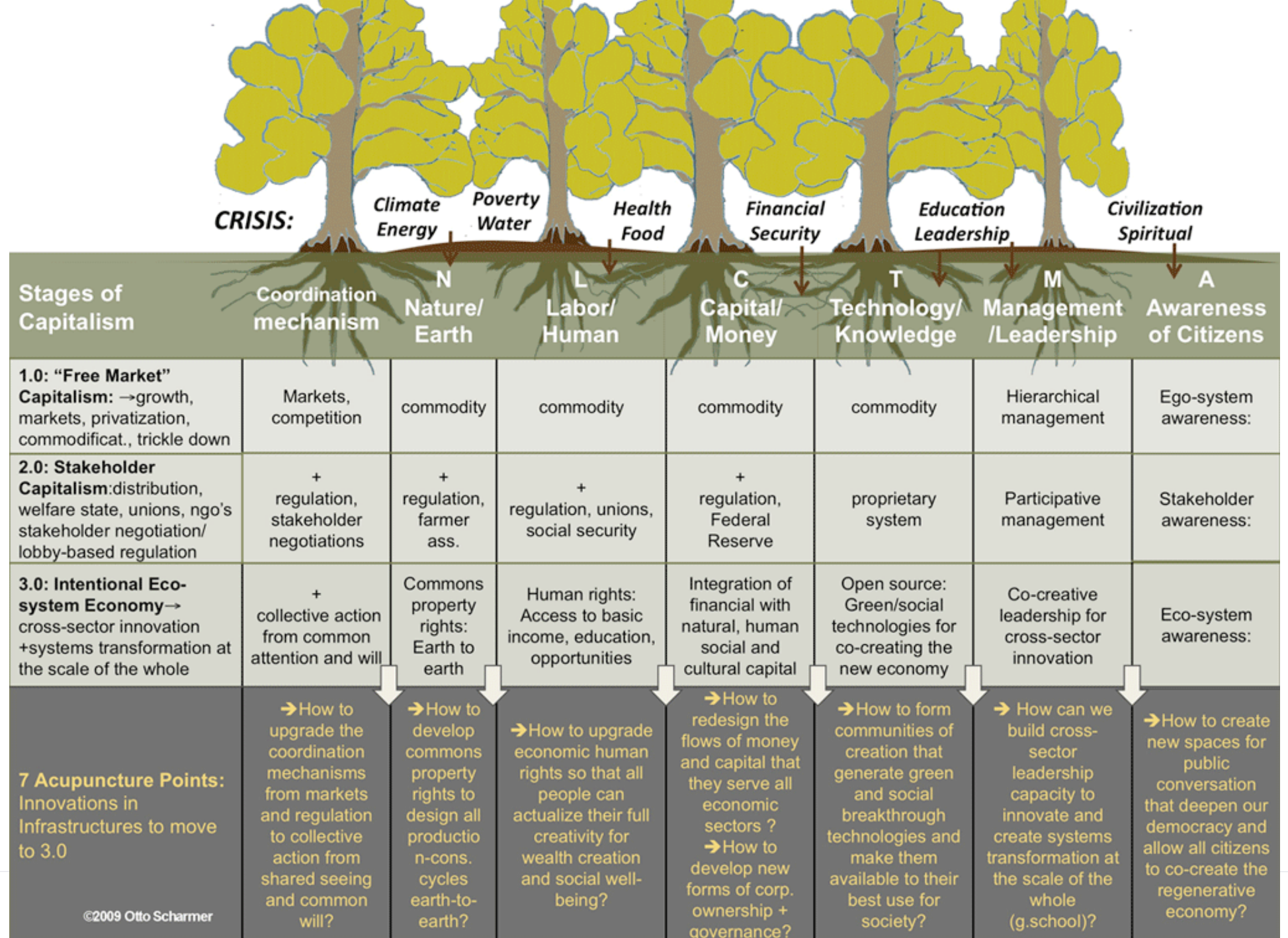
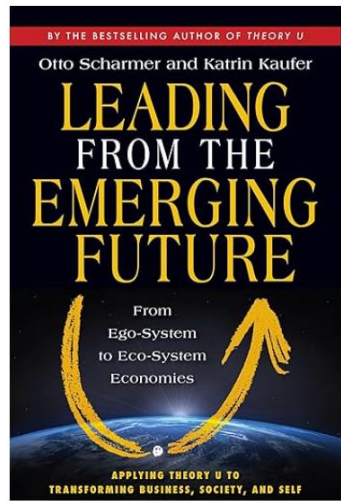
18/19 th century: beginning of the ‚modern‘ sciences: „in solitariness and independence“ (Humboldt)

20th century: period of growth (number of universities, students, professors ...)

Since the 1990´s: „Excellence Strategy“, Gender Mainstreaming

Since the 1995´s: Turning Entrepreneurial (& Bureaucratic)





“Not to be governed like this and in such a way”

1. Shifting into authoritarian governance in Higher Education?
2. “Not to be governed like this and in such a way ...”
3. Parrhesia – speaking truth to power – but how?
4. Commoning from radical imagination to heliotropic practice
5. Imagining the Commoning-University - A pattern approach

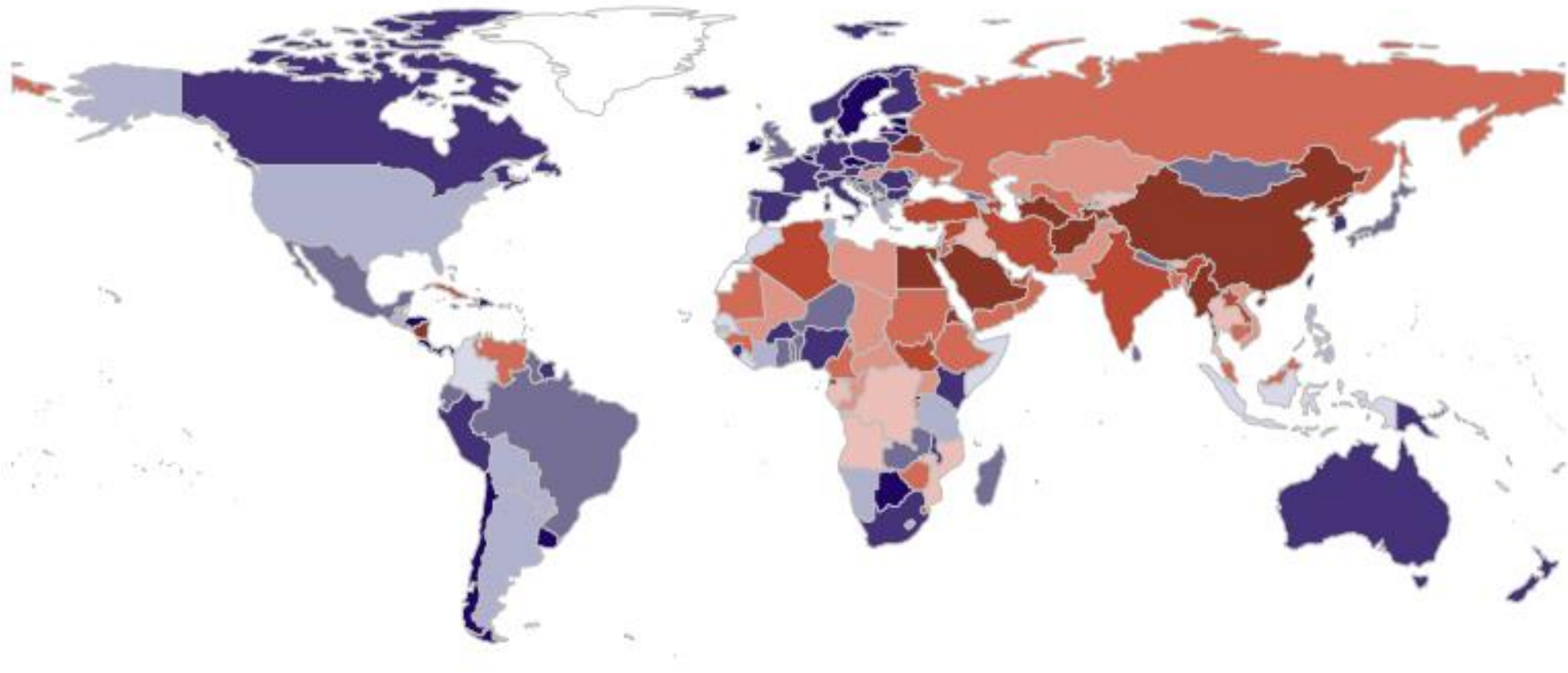
1. Shifting into authoritarian governance in Higher Education?!

- Political Authoritarianism as a problem of countries & states
- global rise of authoritarianism (Salajan & Jules 2024a) and in the USA (Salajan & Jules 2024b)
- antidemocratic trends in economic, political, and social developments
- Dismantling foundations of democratic institutions in the USA (Salajan & Jules 2025)
- contested legal rights and professional autonomy (Sun 2025)
- Academic freedom as a professional and legal right at risk
- autonomy & authority of professors (do research, express views in public without suppression) (Sun 2025)
- academic freedom: foundational principle of legal and institutional frameworks
- principle essential to the functioning of higher education institutions
- academic freedom for knowledge advancement and the public good (Sun 2025)

1. Shifting into authoritarian governance in Higher Education?!

Global Attack on academic freedom – „**Policing** Higher Education Scholars“

- HEI in **existential crisis** (Darian-Smith 2025)
 - **Students & staff** surveilled with cameras and facial recognition software.
 - **Police zip-tie and arrest** students during protests.
 - **Limiting free speech** and **curriculum control**, **denial of tenure** for outspoken faculty
 - Universities (USA) as **epicenters of ideological warfare**
- global trends of rising authoritarianism and **declining academic freedom**.
 - USA, Brazil, Hungary, Germany, India, and the Philippines.
 - **educational conflicts** as struggles over economic, political, & social power.
- vital role of universities in
 - fostering **social responsibility** and
 - **combating the global drift** toward authoritarianism.



- Academic Freedom Index (AFI) Update 2025 (Kinzelbach et al 2025).

1. Shifting into authoritarian governance in Higher Education?!

Academic Freedom – to be indexed and monitored ...

- Academic Freedom Index (AFI) Update 2025 (Kinzelbach et al 2025).
- overview of the state of academic freedom across 179 countries.
- Compared to 10 years ago
- [Academic Freedom World Map](#) shows AF levels vary greatly across the world
- excluded closed autocracies from the analysis.
- [Declining](#) Academic freedom in [34 countries](#)
- Only [8 countries](#) show a [rise of academic freedom](#)
- [anti-pluralist parties in government have lower levels of academic freedom](#)
- relationship between anti-pluralism and academic freedom: [Argentina, Poland & the USA](#)

1. Shifting into authoritarian governance in Higher Education?!

Do academic studies politicize students?

- Do Students become people with a greater willingness to participate and engage in participatory behavior?
- **Potsdam Student Panel** and the Potsdam Graduate Study, cross-sectional analyses with third-variable control of various indicators of participation are carried out on the duration of studies.
- In addition, the same causal effects to be estimated are examined using fixed effects panel regressions.
- Study concludes that Potsdam students **do not become more politicized during their studies** than they already were before starting their studies (Harles & Kohler 2025).

1. Shifting into authoritarian governance in Higher Education?!

Narcistic-authoritarian orientational patterns in (german) students? (Gimbel & Buchmann 2023).

- How to address authoritarian social-character in **teacher training** through aesthetic approaches related to the profession?
- vocational and business education and technology didactics at **Siegen University**
- **qualitative indicators** reveal students' latent narcissistic-authoritarian attitudes
- attitudes as a specific expression of the **current social character**.
- **socialized latent narcissistic-authoritarian attitudes** need to be recognized and addressed in teacher training.
- raising awareness through **aesthetic approaches** necessary
- adhere to the **democratically constituted educational mandate**.

1. Shifting into authoritarian governance in Higher Education?!

The role of the university for establishing „political patronage“ (Turkey)

(Alemdaroğlu 2022).

- Increasing access to higher education - a threat to authoritarian regimes?
- Do universities cultivate critical citizenry & oppositional politics?
- Turkey contradicting this assumption
- Universities' important role in nationalist indoctrination, elite reproduction, & class inequality.
- universities in authoritarian regime of Turkey intensifies and consolidates authoritarian rule.
- Universities are functional by
 - extending political patronage to new clientele
 - fortifying control and coercion among students and academics (Alemdaroğlu 2022).

1. Shifting into authoritarian governance in Higher Education?!

- “Ideas behind bars: the “**carceral state**” and struggles for AF in India” (Bala et al 2025)
- dual pressure of neoliberal policies and religious nationalism of caste-supremacist political ideologies.
- caste oppression, neoliberal capitalism, and state repression,
- carcerality extends beyond prisons to social, political, and epistemic exclusion.
- critical role of education in carceral spaces
- prison as a broader system of “**carceral governance**” that relies on carceral methods for controlling the most marginalised sections of its population.
- prisons as spaces of intellectual resistance, knowledge production and solidarity-building (Bala et al 2025).

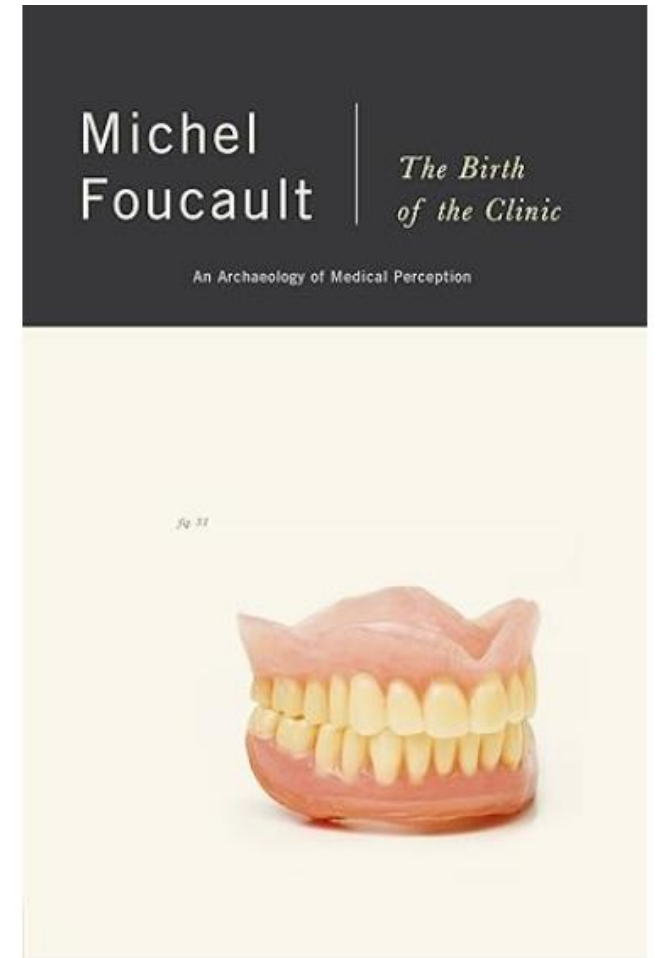
1. Shifting into authoritarian governance in Higher Education?!

„Algorithmic Authoritarianism“ (Oguz 2025; Xue et al 2025).

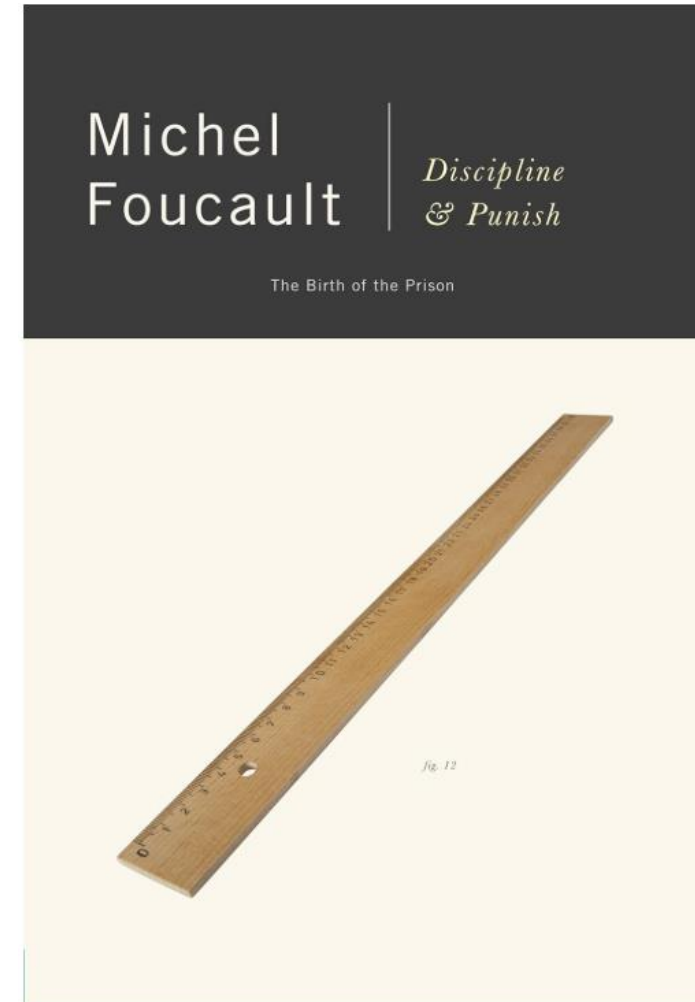
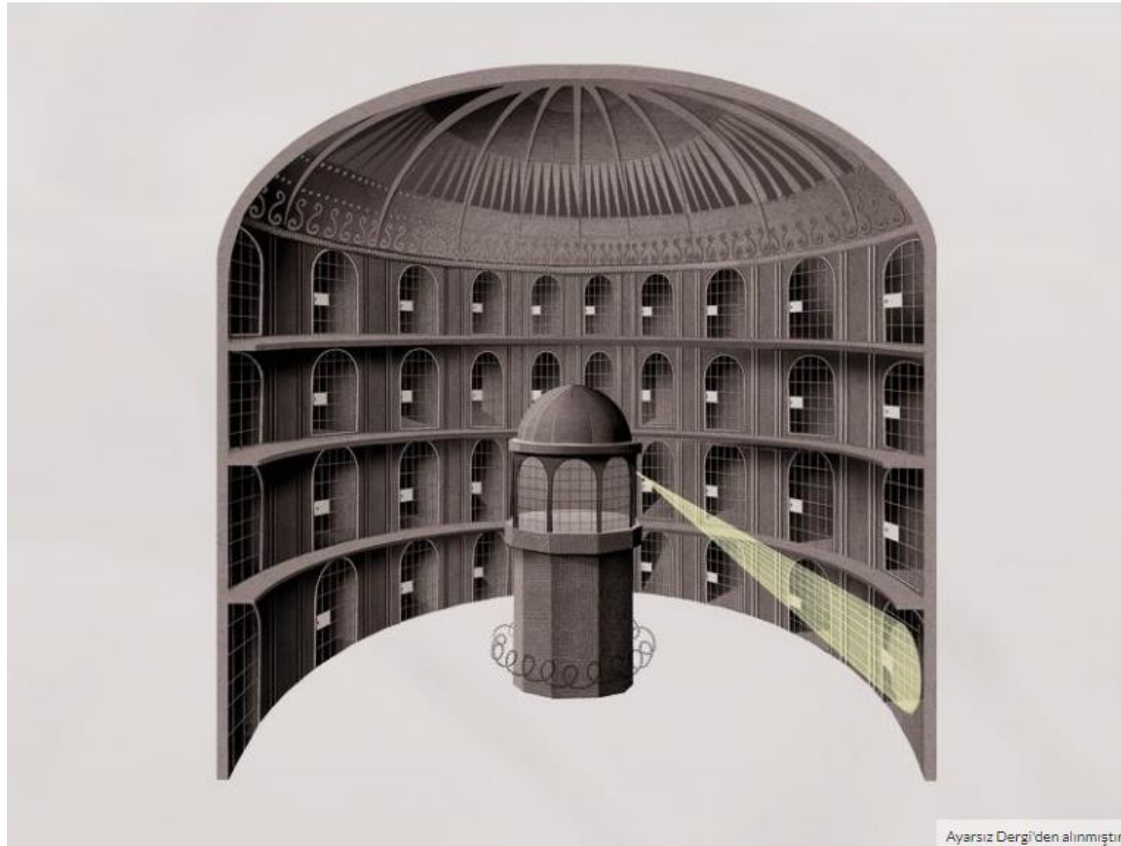
- AI systems **consolidate institutional control** across education, warfare, and digital discourse.
- shared recursive **architecture** in which algorithms
 - mediate judgment,
 - obscure accountability,
 - **constrain moral and epistemic agency** (Oguz 2025; Xue et al 2025).

2. “Not to be governed like this and in such a way ...”

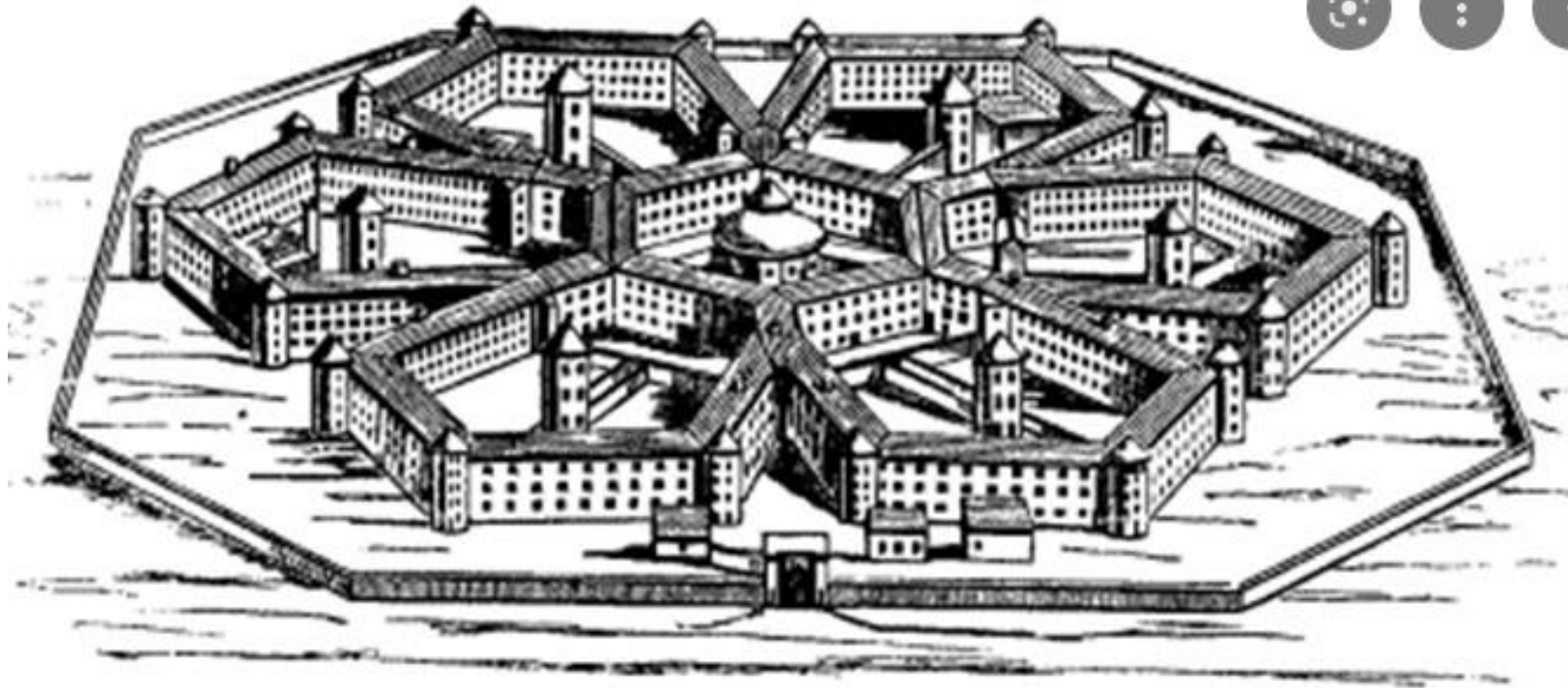
„The critique of the power (...) cannot be restricted to the (...) institutions (...). The question is: How are these power relations rationalized? (...) To pose this question is the sole way, that hinders other institutions to take their place with the same goals and the same effects“ (own translation of Foucault 1988:66)



2. “Not to be governed like this and in such a way ...”



2. “Not to be governed like this and in such a way ... ”



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF MILLBANK PRISON.
(Copied from a Model by the Clerk of the Works.)

2. “Not to be governed like this and in such a way ...

Critique as ...

- being governed “not like this”, “not in this way” and “not in such a way” (Foucault 1992)
- ... reversing relations by an enlightenment-oriented critique
- ... “the art of not being so governed” (Foucault 1992, p. 13)
- ... will to oppose (unreflective) obedience with rights
- ... “not wanting to be governed” means “not accepting as true what an authority says is true” or prescribes (Foucault 1992, p. 14).
- ... paying attention to the “relations between power, truth, and the subject” (ibid., p. 15)
- ... “de-subjection.”
- ... maturity, determination as elements of an enlightened and critical attitude (ibid., p. 17)

3. Parrhesia – speaking truth to power – but how?

My role—and that is too emphatic a word—is to show people that they are much freer than they feel, that people accept as truths, as evidence, some themes which have been built up at a certain moment in history, and that this so-called evidence can be criticized and destroyed. ... All my analyses are against the idea of universal necessities in human existence. (R. Martin, 1988, Truth, Power, Self: an interview with Michel Foucault, in: L. Martin *et al.* (Eds) *Technologies of the self*, pp. 10–11)

(Peters 2003: 207)

3. Parrhesia – speaking truth to power – but how?

- Truth-telling as an Educational Practice of the Self
- Foucault, Parrhesia and the ethics of subjectivity (Peters in Oxford Review of Education, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2003)
- Foucault's changing notion of truth in relation to the changing practice of education within the socio-political sphere.
- Genealogical analysis of truth telling as a set of educational ethics and practices
- Parrhesia as an ethical way of life - a mode of existing in the world

In Parrhesia,

- the speaker makes clear, what she or he believes
- Parrhesia is linked with truth – knowing the truth and conveying it to others
- Moral courage is needed, as there is a risk or danger in telling the truth
- Parrhesia is linked to criticism – as the parrhesiastes have the duty to tell the truth (Peters 2003:213)

3. Parrhesia – speaking truth to power – but how?

Socrates, the *parrhesiastes*, can ‘speak freely because what he says accords exactly with what he what he thinks, and what he thinks accords exactly with what he does.’

- Truth telling as roots of our academic cultural practices and conceptions
- shaping our subjectivities and relevant for the present exercise of power and control
- Education for democracy – historical ideals into living practices
- Ethical self-constitution and applied professional ethics in academia and in (higher) Ed.

(Peters 2003:215ff)

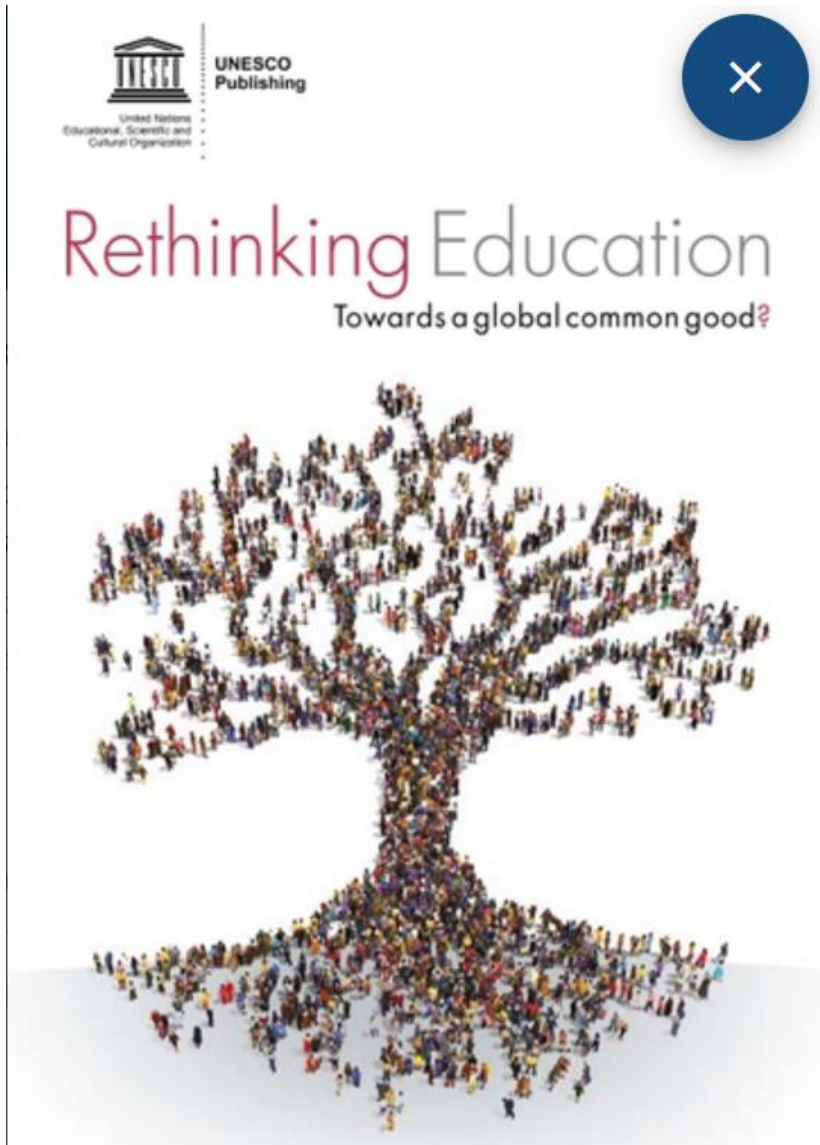
3. Parrhesia – speaking truth to power – but how? Transformational Truth-telling and Heliotropic approaches to change

- “Towards an [Aesthetics of Study](#)” (Vlieghe 2023)
- risk of getting stuck in a critical perspective
- The university as a completely ruined institution
- We need to start *asking into imagination*, *what a university can be* (rather than what it *cannot* be (critical) or what it *ought* to be (idealistic) approaches.
- **Tap into the [potential of existing academic practices](#) and to flesh out their [future possibilities](#), so as to make a [new beginning](#) for the university conceivable.**

3. Parrhesia – speaking truth to power – but how? Transformational Truth-telling and Heliotropic approaches to change

- Post-criticality and the pursuit of an empirical philosophy of education (Schildermans, Vlieghe, Wortmann 2024)
- epistemology, methodology, ethics **beyond deconstruction** and denunciation
- explore **affirmative, engaged methodologies that prioritize proximity to educational practices over detached critique.**
- how post-critical methodologies can foster **meaningful connections between theory and practice.**

4. Commoning from radical imagination to heliotropic practice



<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000232555>

4. Commoning from radical imagination to heliotropic practice



Open Library of Humanities

Andre Pusey, 'Towards a University of the Common: Reimagining the University in Order to Abolish It with the Really Open University' (2017) 3(2): 1 *Open Library of Humanities*, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.16995/olh.90>

THE ABOLITION OF THE UNIVERSITY

Towards a University of the Common: Reimagining the University in Order to Abolish It with the Really Open University

Andre Pusey

Leeds Beckett University, GB

a.pusey@leedsbeckett.ac.uk

The autumn of 2010, in the UK, was characterised by a series of protests against the proposed tripling of university tuition fees and the removal of the Education Maintenance Allowance (EMA). These protests were set within a broader international background of contestation around universities and higher education reforms. This article focuses on the activities of a group, which emerged within this context, called the Really Open University (ROU), and its efforts to engender a reimagining of the university. Specifically, this article argues that the activities of the ROU were attempts to create new, radical imaginaries of the university and were linked to broader efforts to re-conceptualise knowledge production and pedagogy. The central point is that ultimately the ROU's invitation to 'reimagine the university' was a provocation to abolish the university in its capitalist form, through a process of reimagining the university, exodus from the university machine and the creation of a university of the common.

(Pusey 2017)

4. Commoning from radical imagination to heliotropic practice

Higher education as a **gift and as a commons** (Wittel 2018)

- **market economy** and a **gift economy**.
- Education can survive without a market, but where there is no gift there is no education.
- **regimes** of higher education as **public good** the gift gets obscured by the provision of a **service by the state**.
- In regimes of higher education as a **private good** (e.g. higher education in the UK) the gift gets even more obscured, obviously so.
- education is a **common good** (e.g. the recent rise of the **free universities**)
- **strengthen the gift-like character of education** (Wittel 2018)

4. Commoning from radical imagination to heliotropic practice

- a map of the three-element conceptual set of the common (the common good, the commons, and the common) in reference to HE
- three concepts are discussed regarding six dimensions of HE
 - ontology,
 - politics,
 - ownership,
 - governance,
 - benefits, and
 - finance
- a systematic view of HE through the lenses of the common
- Analyzing and designing an alternative for HE.

(Szadkowski 2018:250)

4. Commoning from radical imagination to heliotropic practice

Table 1. ~TC~

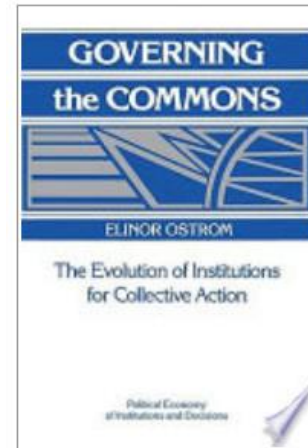
Dimension	Education as the commoning activity of the care of the self	Modern school institutions
<i>Onto-epistemology</i>	Relational onto-epistemology	Individualistic onto-epistemology
<i>Type of education</i>	Common education	Enclosed education
	Open activity	Closed activity
<i>Main dimension of education</i>	Relation	Institution
<i>Point of depart</i>	Equal relation	Disciplinary and hierarchical
<i>Space</i>	Place education	Non-place education
<i>Context</i>	Contextual education	Decontextualised education
<i>Tenet</i>	Diversity	Normalisation
<i>Deep logic</i>	Common good	Market – bureaucracy logics
<i>Main Goals</i>	Self-formation with one-self, the others, the community, and the environment	Individualisation
	Creation of new ways of being and living, learning, etc.	Evaluation of the past content
	Main goal: how to live together	Main goal: what to learn individually

Source: Own elaboration.

(Collet-Sabé & Ball 2022:906)

4. Commoning from radical imagination to heliotropic practice

- Commons – as „living social structures, in which humans deal with their common problems in a self organized way“ (Helfrich / Bollier 2019:20)
- Common**ing** as a practice of cultivating and caring for the relationships that exist around the production of shared resources“ (Moore 2018:16)
- Commoning as a process and way “how the ‘great transformation’ can succeed” (Helfrich & Bollier 2019: 97).

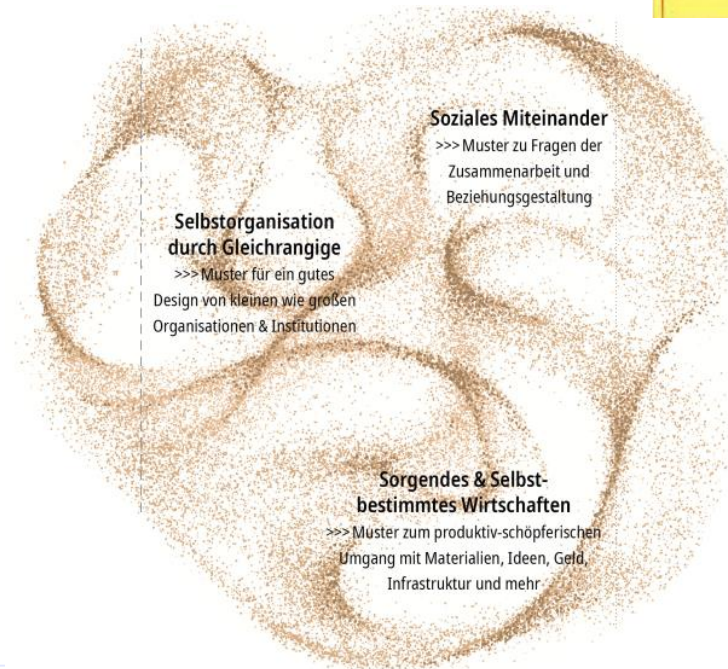
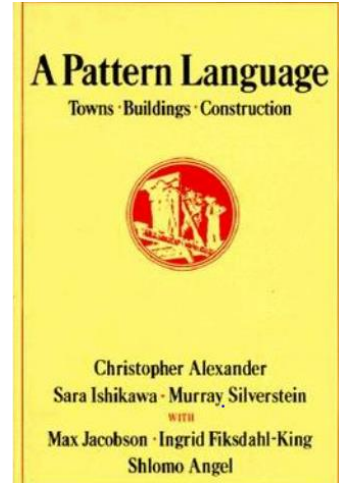


5. Imagining the Commoning-University - A pattern approach

- Following Christopher Alexander, **patterns** are understood as tools
 - supporting liveliness
 - flexible & applicable
 - Describing practices of successful problem solution, which will always appear in comparable contexts
 - interplay of context, problem and solution

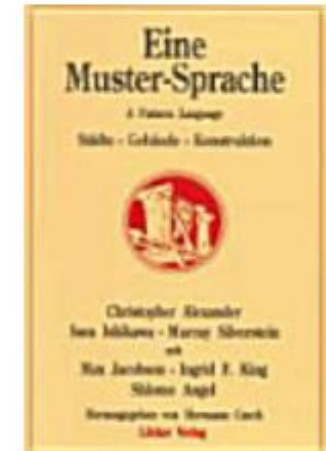
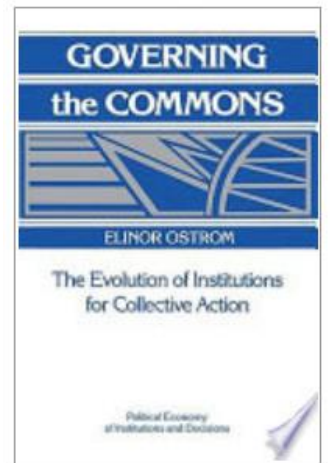
Silke Helfrich:

- to be found in 400 interviews worldwide
- To be found in 33 pattern cards as a start



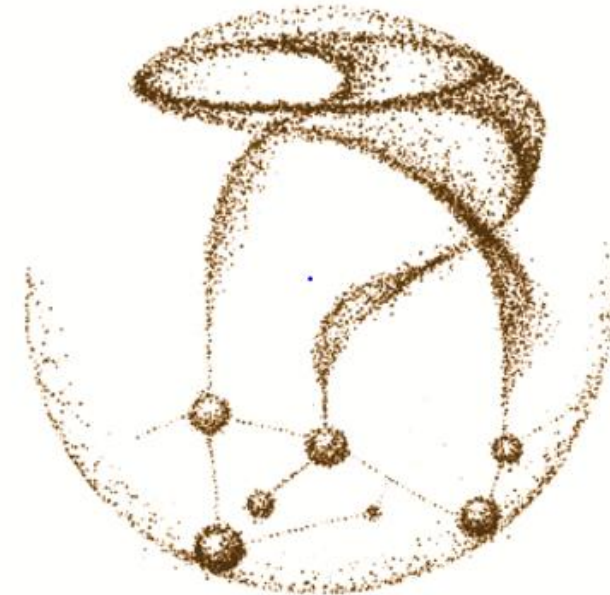
5. Imagining the Commoning-University - A pattern approach

- 'Pattern Language of Commoning'
- **Image – Language Card Deck** (33) based on 400 interviews
- grounded in the works of
 - the Nobel laureate and economist **Elinor Ostrom** (1990)
 - the architect **Alexander** as 'inventor' of pattern languages (Alexander 1999; Alexander 2004)
 - and by **Helfrich & Bollier** (2019).



4. Commoning from radical imagination to heliotropic practice

- To organize „at the same footing“ & based on trust for
 - Social togetherness
 - Political self governance
 - Care-economy
 - Connectedness to nature
- Trust as a social process
 - based on trust-building attitudes
 - and practices, which support building trust
- Patterns & Pattern Language of Commoning (PLC) support both



5. Imagining the Commoning-University - A pattern approach



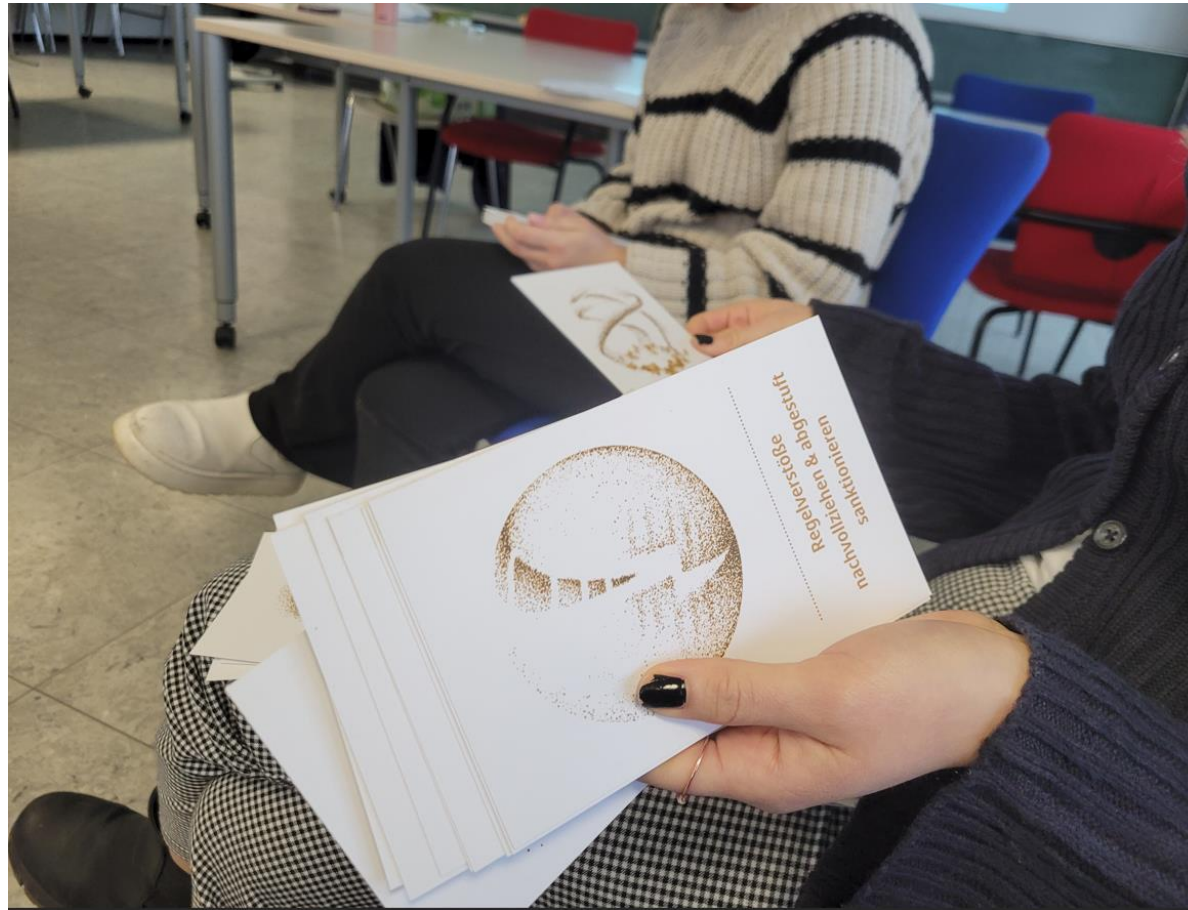
To reflect on own Governance



Eigene Governance reflektieren [source](#) 



5. Imagining the Commoning-University - A pattern approach



5. Imagining the Commoning-University - A pattern approach

- Experience based image card deck intends to ...
 - shift attention from self-focus to the whole
 - engage visual imagination
 - Re-direct consciousness
 - support deep reflection
 - articulate experience in process

In order to ...

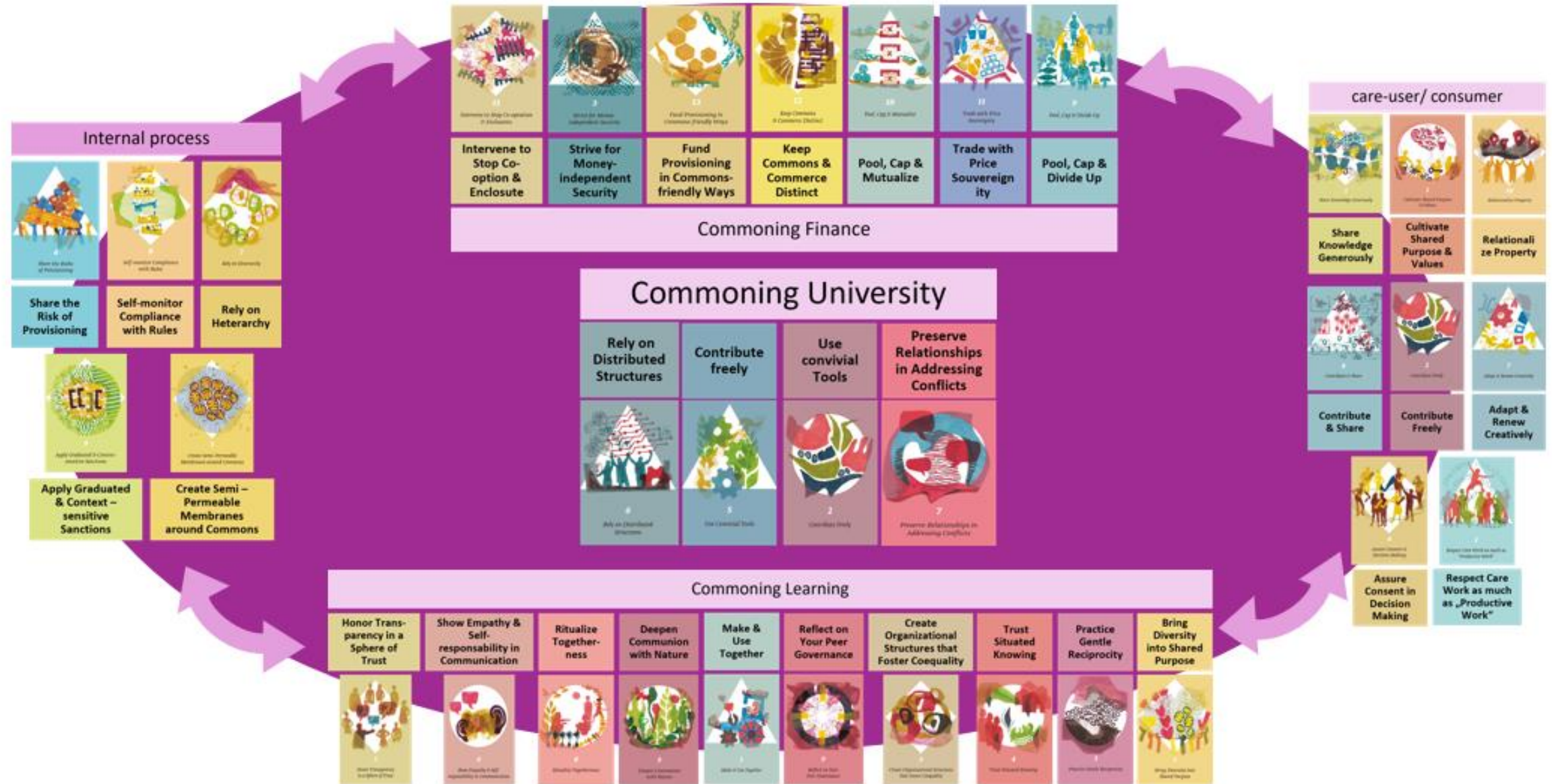
- become co-creators of the system
- Explore collective imaginaries in transformation
- clarify the transformation taking place



5. Imagining the Commoning-University - A pattern approach



AECED
aesthetic and embodied
learning for democracy



Commoning University

- Rely on Distributed Structures
- Contribute freely
- Use convivial Tools
- Preserve Relationships in Addressing Conflicts



6

*Rely on Distributed
Structures*



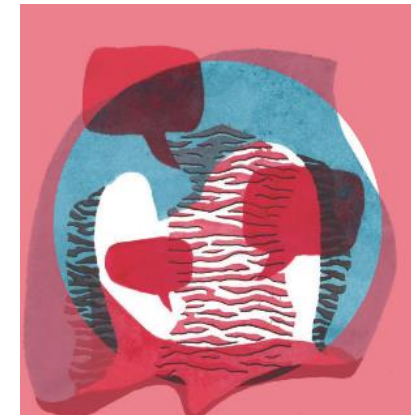
5

Use Convivial Tools



2

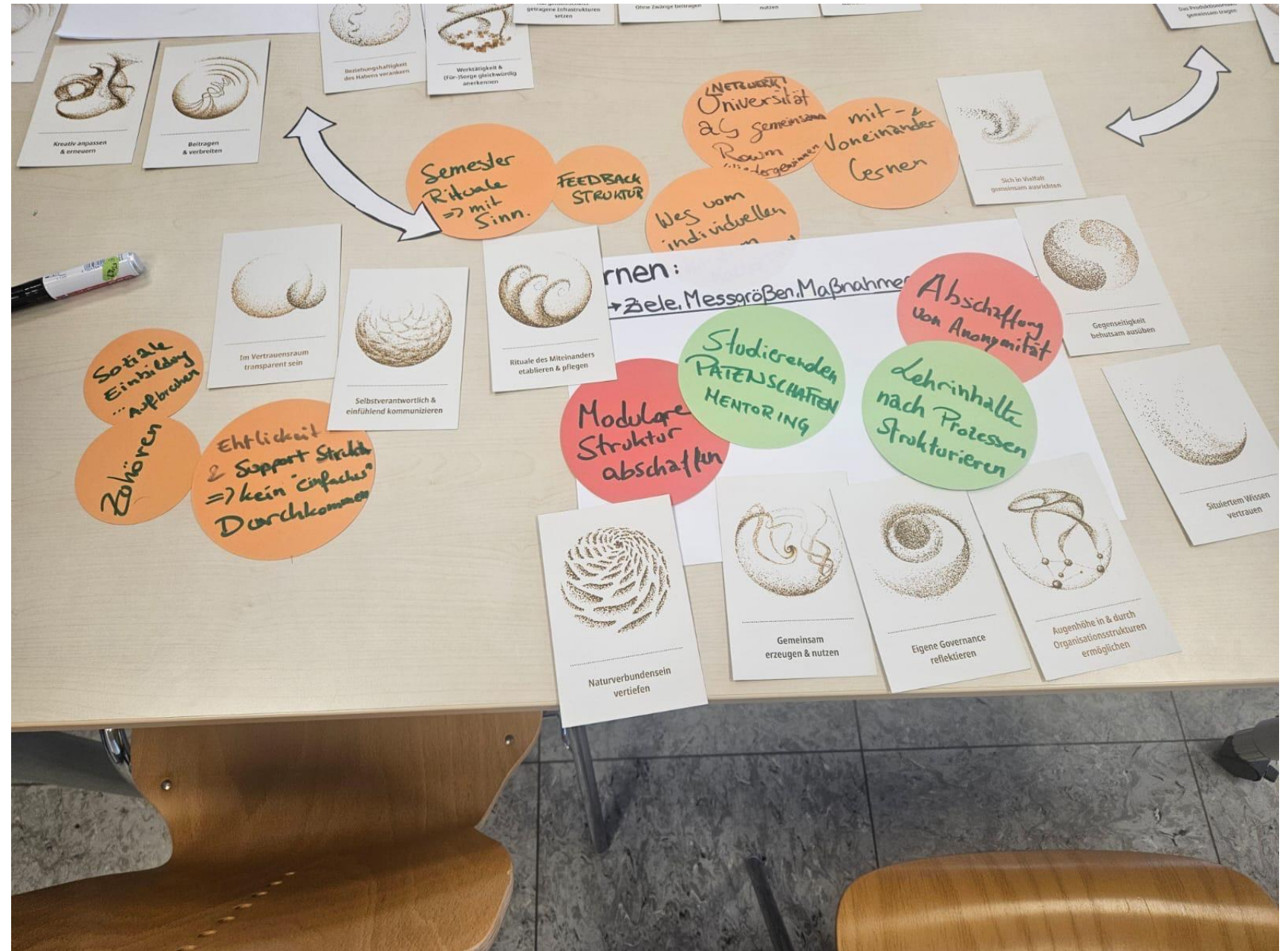
Contribute Freely



7

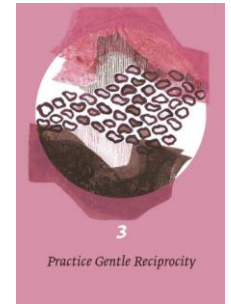
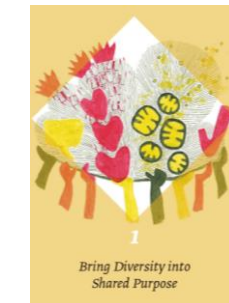
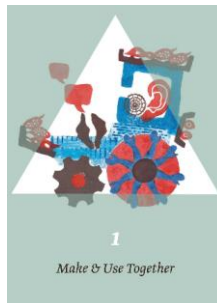
*Preserve Relationships in
Addressing Conflicts*

CAT 2 – LEARNING



Learning

- Honor Transparency in a Sphere of Trust
- Show Empathy & Self-responsibility in Communication
- Ritualize Togetherness
- Deepen Communion with Nature
- Make & Use Together
- Reflect on Your Peer Governance
- Create Organizational Structures that Foster Coequality
- Trust Situated Knowing
- Practice Gentle Reciprocity
- Bring Diversity into Shared Purpose



Learning

- DO's: Student partnerships – Mentoring
- DO's: Organize training content by process
- DONT's: Abolish modular structure
- DONT's: Enforce against anonymity

DONT's:
Abolish
modular
structure

DONT's:
Anonymity

DO's:
Organize
training
content by
process

DO's: Student
partnerships –
Mentoring

CAT 2 – Learning

Learning

Network:
Reclaiming the
university as a
shared space

learning with
and from each
other

Turning away
from the
individual
towards the
collective

ORANGE:

- break down social conceit
- Listening
- Honesty and support structures – no easy way through
- meaningful Semester rituals
- Feedback structure(s)
- Network: Reclaiming the university as a shared space
- learning with and from each other
- Turning away from the individual towards the collective

LISTENING

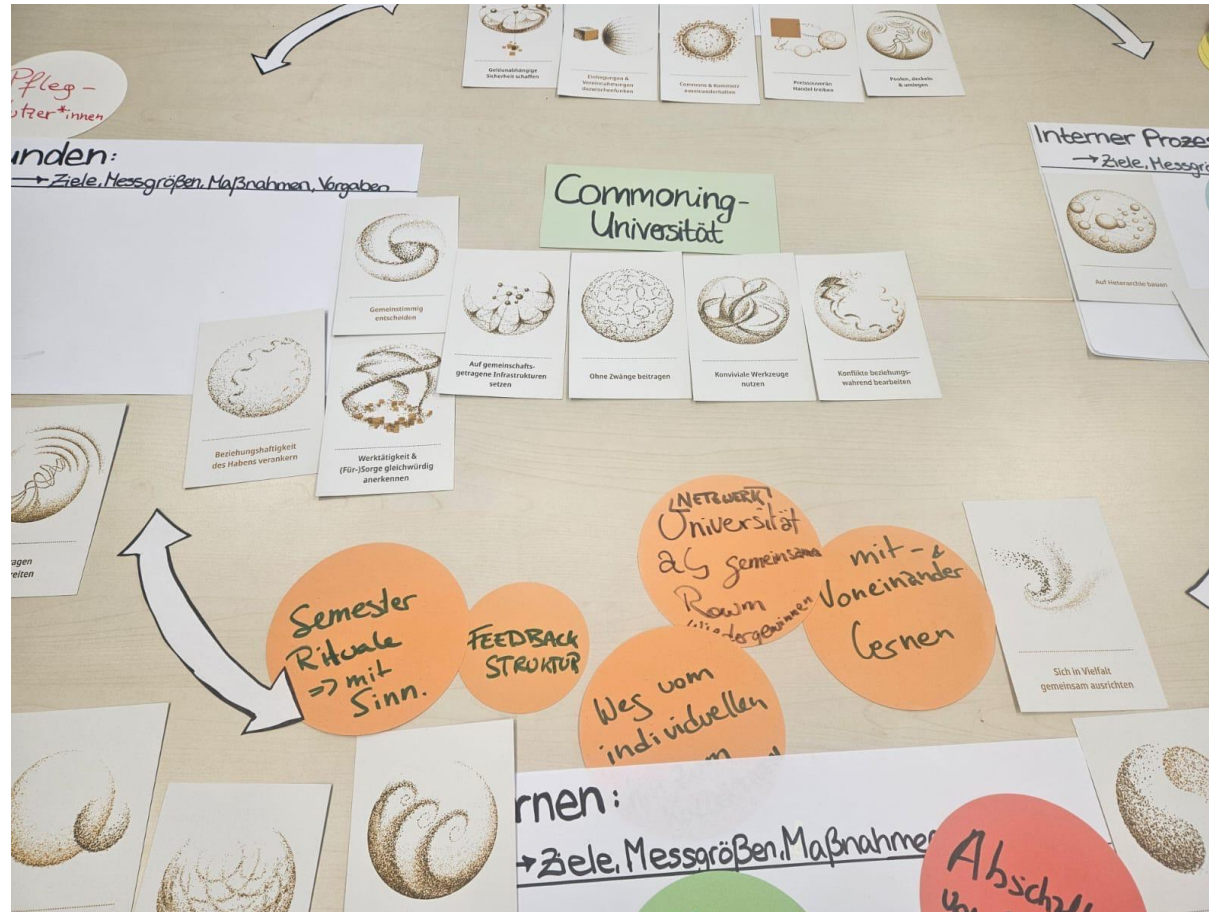
Honesty and
support
structures –
no easy way
through

break down
social conceit

meaningful
Semester
rituals

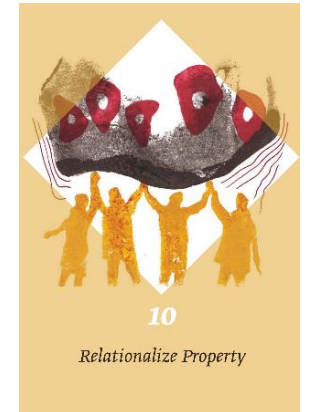
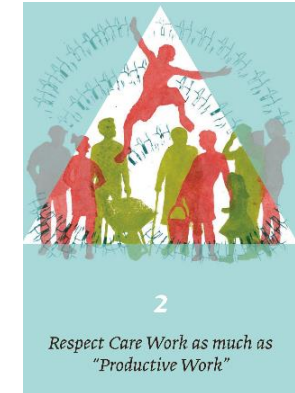
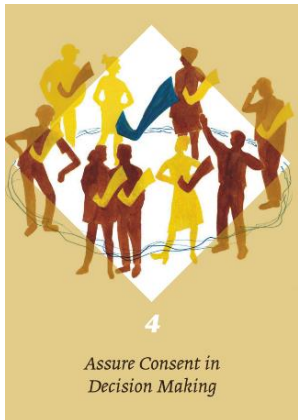
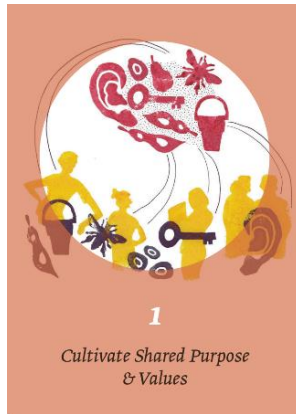
Feedback
structure(s)

Care-User

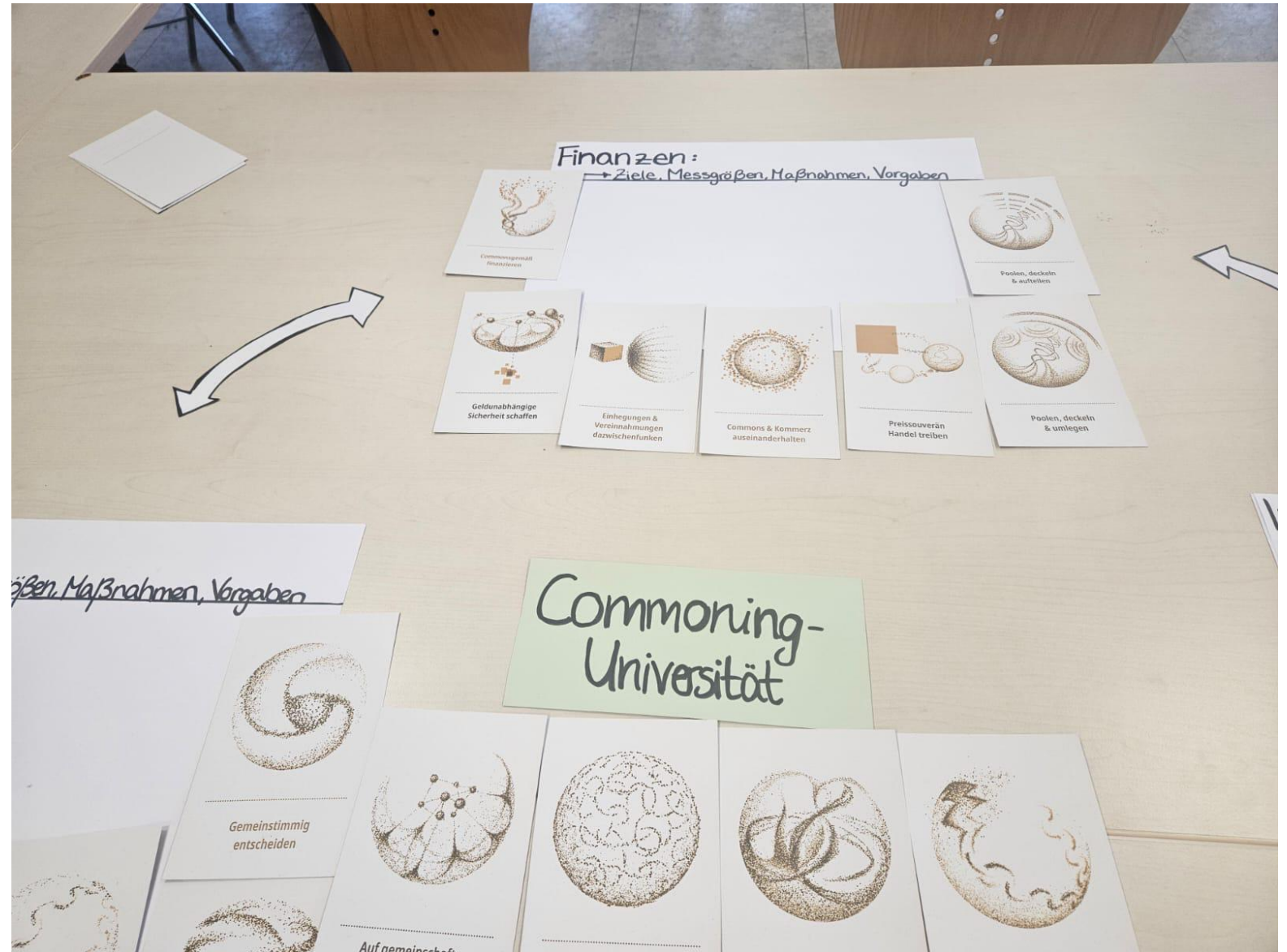


Care-user (not consumer)

- Cultivate Shared Purpose & Values
- Share Knowledge Generously
- Adapt & Renew Creatively
- Assure Consent in Decision Making
- Contribute & Share
- Relationalize Ownership
- Respect Care Work as much as „Productive Work“
- Contribute Freely

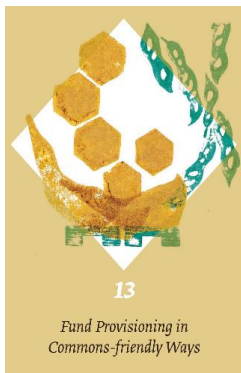


CAT 4 – COMMONING FINANCE

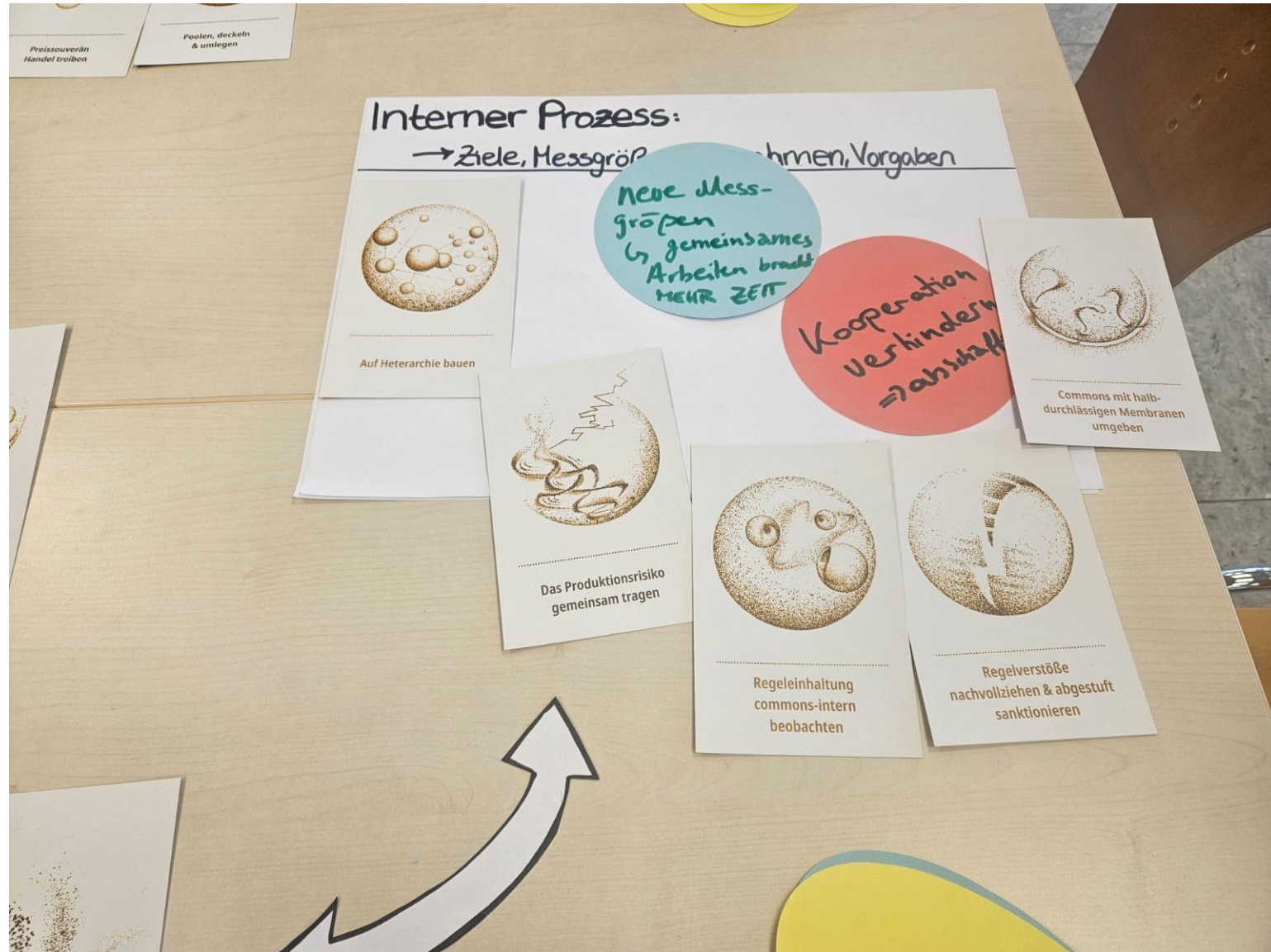


Commoning Finance

- Intervene to Stop Co-optation & Enclosure
- Strive for Money-independent Security
- Fund Provisioning in Commons-friendly Ways
- Keep Commons & Commerce Distinct
- Pool, Cap & Mutualize
- Trade with Price Sovereignty
- Pool, Cap & Divide Up

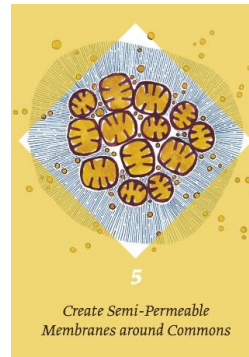
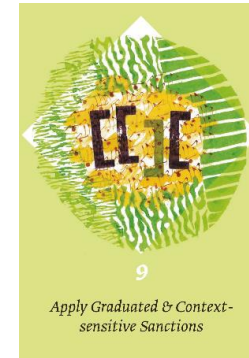
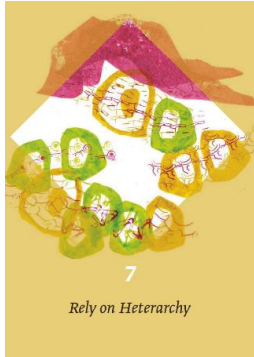


CAT 5 – internal Process



Internal process

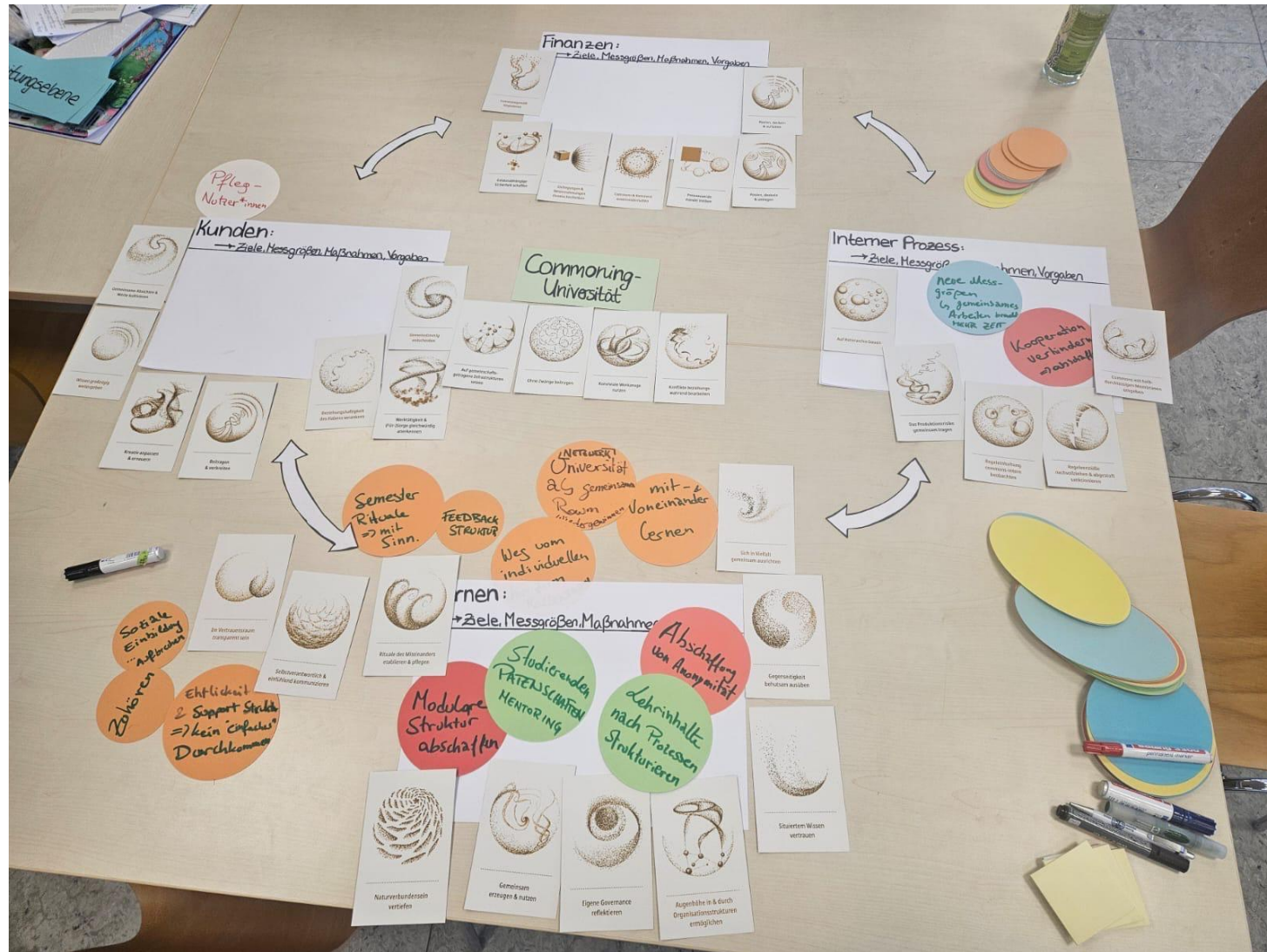
- Rely on Heterarchy
- Share the Risk of Provisioning
- Self-monitor Compliance with Rules
- Apply Graduated & Context – sensitive Sanctions
- Create Semi – Permeable Membranes around Commons



DO's:
New parameters
- Working
collectively
requires time

DONT's:
Abolish what
prevents
cooperation

5. Imagining the Commoning-University - A pattern approach



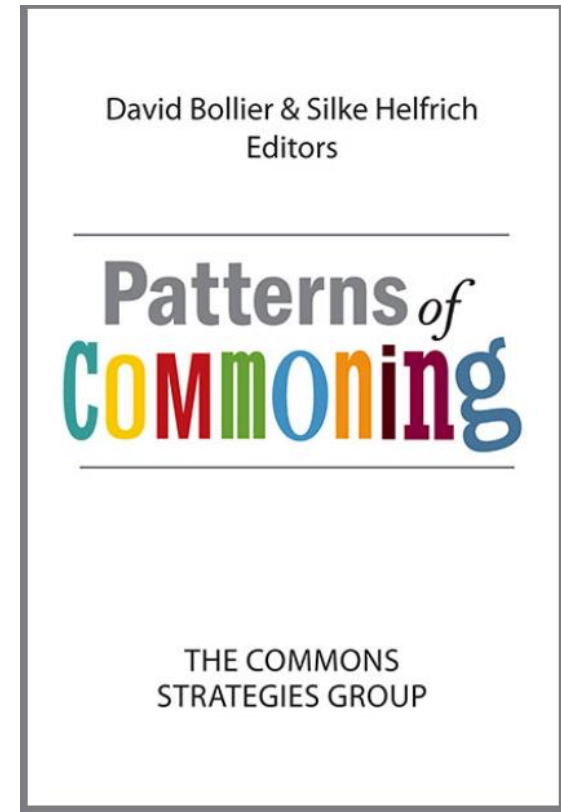
5. Imagining the Commoning-University - A pattern approach



(René Magritte: Le faux miroir 1929)

5. Imagining the Commoning-University - A pattern approach

- Resources: Enough for all by **Sharing**
- Human being: **Cooperation**
- Human-Nature Relationship: The one existing **through the other**
- Agents of Change: Communities and **Networks**
- Focus on: Common use, **Commoning**
- Core Questions: What is **needed** for life / living?
- Governance: horizontal, **bottom up**, consensus
- Social relationships: **Decentralisation**
- Ownership: collective use and **common responsibility**
- Access to rival resources: collectively define rules of access
- Rights of use: Principle of **fairness** for all
- Knowledge production: cooperative, diverse, **plural**
- Results: maintenance, reproduction,
- Society: **Reciprocity**



(Helfrich/Boell Stiftung 2012:67f)

5. Imagining the Commoning-University - A pattern approach

- Pattern Language of Commoning as **collective ‘boundary object’** (Star & Griesemer 1989)
- Creating heterotopian **‘counter-spaces’** (Foucault 1998: 26)
- re-envisioning society formulating **‘counter-strategies’** (Weber 2018a)
- And organizational discourses – and the **“orders of the gaze”** – of **“speakabilities and visibilities”** – and
- Against authoritarian trends – re-imagining in **Viscourses** (Knorr-Cetina 2001)
- **Creating new paths toward alternative universities** beyond global blueprints (Kurtoğlu 2019)
- In an **organizational education design research approach** (Weber 2014)

5. Imagining the Commoning-University - A pattern approach

. . . by the term “apparatus” I mean a kind of a formation, so to speak, that at a given historical moment has as its major function the response to an urgency. The apparatus therefore has a dominant strategic function . . .

Foucault in Agamben 2009
„What is an Apparatus“



Marburg
University

Thank you for listening!

Prof. Dr. Susanne Maria Weber
Dept. Of Education
Research Group Innovation – Organization – Networks
Philipps-Universität Marburg
Susanne.maria.weber@uni-marburg.de

35032 Marburg
www.uni-marburg.de

<https://www.bollier.org/podcasts>

FRONTIERS OF COMMONING



More about Commons and Commoning

Bücher >



Patterns of
Commoning
2015



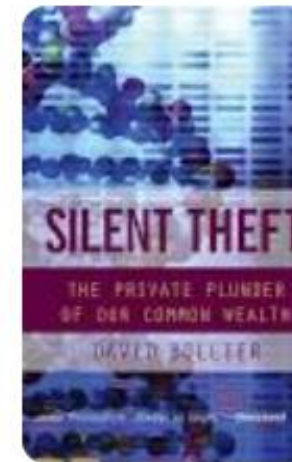
Free, Fair, and
Alive: The...
2019



Die Welt der
Commons:...
2012



Frei, fair und
lebendig - D...
2019



Silent theft
2002



Think Like a
Commoner: ...
2014

Bibliography

- **Agamben, G. (2009).** *What is an apparatus? and other essays* (D. Kishik & S. Pedatella, Trans.). Stanford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781503600041>
- **Alexander, C. (1999).** The origins of pattern theory: the future of the theory and the generation of a living world. *IEEE Software*, S. 71-82.
- **Alexander, C. (2004).** *The Phenomenon of Life: The nature of Order, Book 1: An Essay of the Art of Building and the Nature of the Universe*: California, Berkeley.
- **Alexander, C., & Ishikawa, S. (1995).** *Eine Muster-Sprache*. Wien: Löcker Verlag.
- **Ball, S. J. & Collet-Sabé, J. (2021):** Against School. an epistemological critique *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*. 1 July 2021. DOI:[10.1080/01596306.2021.1947780](https://doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2021.1947780) Corpus ID: 237777989
- **Bollier, D. & Helfrich, S. (2019).** *Free, Fair, and Alive: The Insurgent Power of the Commons*. New Society Publishers.
- **Bortoft, H. (1999).** *Imagination Becomes an Organ of Perception*. Interviewed by Otto Scharmer, London, July 14, 1999. Retrieved on May 19, 2019 from: https://www.presencing.org/aboutus/theory-u/leadership-interview/henri_bortoft
- **Castoriadis, C. (1975).** *Gesellschaft als imaginäre Institution. Entwurf einer politischen Philosophie*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- **Collet-Sabé, J. & Ball, S. J. (2022):** Beyond School. The challenge of co-producing and commoning a different episteme for education. In: *Journal of Education Policy*. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/02680939.2022.2157890>

Bibliography

- **Collet-Sabé, J. and Ball, S.J. (2024)** 'Without School: Education as Common(ing) Activities in Local Social Infrastructures – An Escape from Extinction Ethics', British Journal of Educational Studies, 72(4), pp. 441–456. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00071005.2023.2298776>.
- **Dardot, P. & Laval, C. (2019).** Common: On Revolution in the 21st Century. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- **European Parliament (2025):** Directorate-General for Parliamentary Research Services, Maassen, P., Jungblut, J., Martinsen, D. and Øvrebø, V., Academic Freedom Monitor 2024 . Part II, Analysis of de facto state of academic freedom in the EU – Country overview, European Parliament, <https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2861/4684244>
- **Foucault, M. (1981):** Archäologie des Wissens. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp
- **Göhlich, M.; Novotný, P.; Revsbæk, L.; Schröer, A.; Weber, S. M.; Yi, B. J. (2018):** Research Memorandum Organizational Education. In: Studia Paedagogica. 23 (2), pp. 205–215.
- **Haraway, D. (2001).** Situiertes Wissen. In S. Helfrich (Hrsg.), Dis/Kontinuitäten: Feministische Theorie. Opladen: Leske + Budrich
- **Helfrich, S. und Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung (2012).** "Commons. Für eine neue Politik jenseits von Markt und Staat". Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.
- **Helfrich, S. & Bollier, D. (2020).** Frei, Fair & Lebendig. Bielefeld: transcript.
- **Helfrich, S. & Petzold, J. (2021).** Commoning oder wie Transformation gelingt. Auftakt einer Mustersprache. Neudenu/Eberswalde.
- **Ignatieff, M. (2024)** The Geopolitics of Academic Freedom: Universities, Democracy & the Authoritarian Challenge. Daedalus; 153 (2): 194–206. doi: https://doi.org/10.1162/daed_a_02074
- **Kinzelbach, K., Lindberg, S. I., Lott, L., & Panaro, A. V. (2025).** Academic Freedom Index 2025 update. Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg & V-Dem Institute. <https://doi.org/10.25593/open-fau-1637>

Bibliography

- **Kurtoglu M. (2019):** Futuring Higher Education? The Innovativeness of Reforms in Turkish Higher Education In: Peters, M. & Weber, S. M. Organization and Newness: Discourses and ecologies of Innovation in the Creative University. BRILL
- **Leitner, H. (2015).** Mit Mustern arbeiten. In S. Helfrich, D. Bollier & Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung (Hrsg.), Die Welt der Commons. (S. 27-35). Bielefeld: transcript.
- **Oguz, H. (2025).** Authoritarian **recursions**: How fiction, history, and AI reinforce control in education, warfare, and discourse. arXiv. <https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.2504.09030>
- **Ostrom, E. (1990).** Governing the Commons. Cambridge University Press.
- **Polanyi, M. (1967).** The Tacit Knowledge Dimension. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul
- **Salajan, F. D., & Jules, T. D. (2025).** Academic freedom under siege: The global fallout of US authoritarianism and its threats to comparative and international education. *Comparative Education Review*, 69(3), 379–399. <https://doi.org/10.1086/7364807>
- **Scharmer, C. O. (2007).** “Theory U. Leading from the future as it emerges. The social technology of presencing”. Cambridge, Mass.: Society for Organizational Learning.
- **Schildermans, H., Joris Vlieghe, Kai Wortmann (2024),** Post-criticality and the pursuit of an empirical philosophy of education: epistemology, methodology, ethics, *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, Volume 58, Issue 6, December, Pages 929–939, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jopedu/qhae075>
- **Vlieghe, J. (2023)** Towards an Aesthetics of Study. *Stud Philos Educ* **42**, 455–461 (2023). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11217-023-09885-5>
- **Wallach Scott, J. (2024);** Academic Freedom & the Politics of the University. *Daedalus*; 153 (3): 149–165. doi: https://doi.org/10.1162/daed_a_02095