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Notes

Introduction

- 1 Following the devolution of powers to national assemblies in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland in 2000, the UK national Parliament has jurisdiction only over education policies in England (there being no separate assembly for England independent of the UK parliament, as is the case for the other constituent countries in the UK). The assemblies in Wales and Scotland have declared that they will not enact the policies being described here, although they will have consequences for higher education in these jurisdictions.
- 2 At the time of writing the success of such measures is unclear, although it seems that many universities will pull back from their earlier intention to charge the higher fee, in which case the extent of cuts to the sector will be correspondingly more severe. A White Paper on higher education was issued in June 2011 with proposals for a ‘core and margin’ system of student quotas designed to bring fees down to around £7,500 for most institutions.
- 3 This is also reinforced by the White Paper, *Putting Students at the Heart of Higher Education* (White Paper 2011). For a detailed response to the White Paper, see Campaign for the Public University (Campaign for the Public University and Other Groups 2011).
- 4 In fact, the numbers pursuing degree courses in 1962 was small if only universities and full-time education are counted – approx 4 per cent of the age cohort – but rises to 15 per cent if all institutions and routes are counted (Robbins Report 1963: para 49). For the Robbins Committee, this was indicative both of the depth of the demand for higher education and of status differences associated with the different routes.
- 5 It is significant that the government also drastically curtailed the ‘Educational Maintenance Allowance’ designed to support young people to stay on in secondary education after the age of sixteen (when compulsory secondary education ceases).

- 6 This is the case with US private universities, where fees are significantly higher than is currently proposed in England, but where a significant proportion of the fee is used to enhance the 'status claims' of the institution and for research, each of which is necessary to establish the value of the education received as a 'positional good' (see Hotson 2011).
- 7 Lord Robbins himself came to advocate student loans, but he did not do so in the context of recommending the marketization of higher education (see Robbins 1980).
- 8 Reference to cynicism is apt in that the only research commissioned as part of the Browne Report was an attitude survey that showed wide public support for publicly funded higher education and that student fees should meet only a proportion of the cost. This research was not reported by the Browne Report.
- 9 98 per cent of mothers of children born in 2000 want their child to go to university (Wolf 2011).

Chapter 1 The Idea of a Public University

- 1 Indeed, neither Kerr's commentaries on higher education nor those of the Robbins Report (Robbins Report 1963) at more or less the same time can be understood outside those assumptions. See, for example, Kerr (1969) in which a 'multi-dimensional' society (with clear parallels to the 'multiversity') is set out.
- 2 Of course, the decline of academic life as a 'vocation' is associated with the rise of 'vocational' higher education.
- 3 For example, the University of Birmingham was founded in 1901 around a Faculty of Commerce and a Faculty of Engineering (together with provision in modern languages for commercial purposes), in much the same way as the University of Nottingham's satellite campuses at Ningbo in China and in Malaysia are today, with little concern for the university as an instrument of culture, democracy and public debate.
- 4 The affordability of higher education is partly fees and partly living costs. Where the risk of indebtedness during study is high, part-time working becomes necessary, and students seek to reduce their costs by attending their 'local' university. 'Selective' universities tend to draw their students from further afield and, thus, applications are more likely to be

- determined by the ability to pay.
- 5 It should be evident that the latter problem is not resolved by the principle of 'student choice' guided by employment aspirations. The latter would encourage problematic specialization just as much as the academic concern with disciplinary reproduction. As Robbins (1980) observed, the expansion of higher education brought about a requirement for a greater breadth in education and less specialization.
 - 6 See Boltanski and Chiapello (2005) for a discussion of how counter-cultural values of the 1960s have been incorporated into the legitimization and justification of contemporary capitalism more generally.
 - 7 This is a situation that will be reproduced in the British context, where a small elite group of universities are able to charge premium fees and have their eye on the lifting of the fee cap in order to charge fees equivalent to those of the US 'ivy league' colleges. See Hotson 2011.
 - 8 Indeed, the proposed reforms align universities with a 'divided' secondary school system made up of 'selective' and 'independent' (or private) schools and non-selective state schools. Ironically, if there is a 'vision' behind the current reforms, it would seem to use 'market shock' to bring into being the 'three tier' California public university system initiated by Kerr – community college or further education college, state university and research university – whereas it is precisely the market that has undermined that system in California.
 - 9 Robert Nelson (2001) has recently argued that economics should be thought of as a form of theological argument. He does not mean this unsympathetically, arguing that economics articulates the 'public interest' against the 'sectional interests' that otherwise beset government policy-making. The key article of faith is the competitive market as a mechanism that serves the public interest and allows outcomes determined by the subjective preferences of individuals.
 - 10 See <http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/big-society> [accessed 27 July 2011].
 - 11 It has to be assumed that there is a market failure or, from the logic of the position, there is nothing for the 'Big Society' to do.
 - 12 It is precisely this that Dewey suggests allows the understanding of the changing definition of the boundaries of what is conventionally regarded as private and public. The conventional definition of the 'private' is that of associated life that does not impinge with wider consequences upon others.

- 13 The transformation of university decision-making from collegial to hierarchical, managerial modes of organization is significant in the context of this quotation.
- 14 Thus, while the government claims that its recent budget is ‘progressive’ with regard to its social impact, the Institute of Fiscal Studies has shown that the burden falls mainly on the poor and that it is regressive (see Browne and Levell 2010).

Chapter 2 Redefining the Public University: Global and National Contexts

- 1 Data on the expansion of managerial ranks can be found at the homepage of Rona-Tas, <http://weber.ucsd.edu/~aronatas/>. On inequalities see, for example, Samuels 2010.
- 2 This is also one the implications of the proposed reforms of the French university system – autonomy handed to the university combined with funding cuts and, at the same time, intensified state regulation of centrally distributed research moneys.
- 3 This is a point made by Ron Amann who was the Chief Executive of the Social Science Research Council (1994–9) and before that he held a Chair at the University of Birmingham, specializing in Soviet science policy and the politics of economic reform in centrally planned economies (see Amann 2003).
- 4 This table is parallel to the one associated with Ernest Boyer (Boyer 1997) which has four types of scholarship: discovery and application are extended to include teaching and integrative. Professional includes discovery but much more, application corresponds to policy, integrative corresponds to but is more limited than critical while teaching occurs in all four forms of knowledge. The big difference is the attempt to understand the relations of interdependence and antagonism in a field of domination that is the university system.
- 5 Thus, I am not defining the public university by open access for students, nor am I am even defining it by the source of its funds. A public university, as defined here, can be privately funded, usually, however, as a ‘not-for-profit’ organization. By itself, privatization need not imply the commodification of the production, dissemination and consumption of knowledge.

- 6 The four knowledges also correspond to Robert Merton's four dimensions of the ethos of science (Merton 1973): universalism that governs professional knowledge; disinterestedness that governs policy knowledge; organized scepticism that governs critical knowledge; and communism that governs public access. What Merton did not develop, however, are the contradictory and interdependent relations among these four moments.
- 7 Sari Hanafi (2011) has spoken evocatively of the dilemma as a choice between, on the one hand, publishing locally and perishing globally and, on the other hand, publishing globally and perishing locally.
- 8 This is knowledge increasingly advanced outside the university in such entities as 'think tanks' that are multidisciplinary and geared to policy questions.

Chapter 3 Open Universities: A Vision for the Public University in the Twenty-first Century

- 1 The University Grants Committee, an arm's-length body to advise on the distribution of public funds to universities, started work in 1919. It was replaced in 1989 by the Universities Funding Council and in 1992 by Higher Education Funding Councils for England, Wales and Scotland.
- 2 It should be obvious that this is not to lose sight of mature students, but simply to recognize that at undergraduate level school-leavers make up the vast majority of students.
- 3 The February 2011 Universities UK report is a recent reminder of the importance of these identities and problems. See Universities UK, 'Freedom of Speech on Campus: Rights and Responsibilities in UK Universities', *Universities UK*, <http://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk> [accessed 21 August 2011].
- 4 See David Cameron's 'Big Society' speech on 19 July 2010 and his interview in the *Telegraph*, 21 February 2011. For the emphasis on responsibility as the basis of the big society see his 'Big Society' speech of 14 February 2011. Both speeches are available at <http://www.number10.gov.uk>.
- 5 Many people, from a variety of perspectives, have denounced the RAE for encouraging short-termism, narrow focus and an emphasis on quantitative indicators (prestige of the journal, number of pages, number

of citations) over the intellectual and scholarly qualities of the work. See, for example, Richard Baggaley of Princeton University Press (Baggaley 2007) and John Davis, former Warden of All Souls (Davis 1999). For a good summary of these arguments, see Head 2011.

Chapter 4 Science as a Public Good

- 1 In their book, *The Republic of Engagement*, Salter and his co-authors (Salter, Tartari, D'Este and Neely 2010) note that only 21 per cent of the physicists they surveyed had been involved in the creation of a commercial venture based on their research. This figure fell to 9 per cent for mathematicians. Moreover, only 16 per cent of physicists and 6 per cent of mathematicians expressed an interest in starting a new business 'within the next three years'. The highest percentage (30 per cent) of academics who responded positively was found amongst chemical engineers. There are strong disciplinary differences with regard to entrepreneurial activity but it is clear that the majority of academic scientists do not see entrepreneurship as an important attribute to develop in their career.
- 2 I avoid the use of the terms 'excellent' and 'excellence' throughout this chapter. Both are now unfortunately part of the lexicon of vacuous jargon that pervades university management. See Readings 1996 on the status of 'excellence' as an 'empty signifier'.
- 3 Merton later added one other norm, originality, to generate the 'CUDOS' acronym.
- 4 PPARC was merged with the Council for the Central Laboratory of the Research Councils (CCLRC) to form the Science and Technology Facilities Council (STFC) in 2007. STFC has had what might best be called a turbulent history since its inception.
- 5 Callon makes a fascinating argument regarding technological stagnation in a 'perfectly privatizable' funding regime (which he describes as 'the market smothers the market') (Callon 2003).
- 6 It is perhaps worth noting at this point that the distinction I draw between 'Mertonian' and 'utilitarian' science is distinct from the so-called Mode 1/Mode 2 division put forward by Gibbons *et al.* (1994), although sharing some features in common. In particular, there is no reason why science conforming to the Mertonian norms need not be interdisciplinary

- (a feature usually ascribed only to Mode 2 research). Nanoscience – the intensely interdisciplinary field of research field in which I work – was described by Vogt *et al.* (2007) as an exemplar of Mode 2 research in that it ostensibly has a strong emphasis on ‘how’, i.e. application-driven, rather than ‘why’ questions. For the reasons outlined in Moriarty (2008) and Mowery (2011), however, casting the entire nanotechnology/nanoscience field as Mode 2 research is a bold and unjustified assertion.
- 7 Particularly if those funding bodies claim to be bound by the Haldane principle of distancing decisions related to science funding from direct government control. Edgerton’s excellent account of the development of the Haldane principle (Edgerton 2009) shows that the history of what many see as a fundamental tenet of UK funding policy is remarkably different from that assumed by the vast majority of academics, politicians and policy-makers. Notwithstanding Edgerton’s important analysis, the Haldane principle is widely understood to represent the protection of publicly funded academic science from government pressure driven by political expediency.
 - 8 On the ‘expert’ vs ‘sceptical’ norms, one is put in mind of Richard Feynman’s one sentence definition of science: ‘Science is the belief in the ignorance of experts.’
 - 9 As I was completing this chapter, news broke that the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) had allegedly allocated a significant amount of its budget for research into the ‘Big Society’ (the rather nebulous ideology *du jour* of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition). This development mirrors EPSRC’s transition to a ‘sponsor’ of research but is arguably even more disturbing in that it apparently represents an unprecedented perversion of the ethos of academic research so as to align the policies of a research council with political objectives. Note that direct government interference is not required for this to happen. The research councils, in their (otherwise laudable) aim to secure as much funding as possible from the Treasury in each round of the Comprehensive Spending Review, are always keen to show alignment of their funding strategies with government policy.
 - 10 The comments that follow were all posted as part of the RCUK consultation exercise, but are no longer maintained on its website. They are now part of the author’s personal archive and are available on request.

- 11 RCUK argues that applicants are asked to describe the broad *socioeconomic* impact, rather than just the economic impact, of their research. This is indeed the case but RCUK did not introduce the requirement for an impact statement because they suddenly became concerned that there were not enough academics involved in public engagement/outreach activities or the broader societal impact of university research. The impact statement was introduced as a direct response to the Worry Report and serves as an impetus for the development of a much stronger entrepreneurial culture in academia. To suggest otherwise is naive in the extreme.

Chapter 5 The Politics of Publicly-funded Social Research

- 1 This chapter draws on material in King (1997); King (1998).
- 2 <http://www.esrc.ac.uk/news-and-events/15733/refiningstrategicpriorities> [accessed 27 July 2011]. By this it seems to mean that decisions will continue to be made on the basis of peer review, but that review will consider the degree of fit with the priorities and their potential impact.
- 3 For example, Andrew Shonfield's influential book, *Modern Capitalism* (Shonfield 1965) and the Labour Party statement, *Labour and the Scientific Revolution* (Labour Party 1963).
- 4 The committee convened a key seminar with leading academics in social science in January 1964 to discuss its proposed recommendations.
- 5 Joseph's leadership chances vanished after he delivered a speech on 19 October 1974 in Edgbaston, taken by many critics to be sympathetic to outdated eugenicist arguments, with such turns of phrase as 'our human stock is threatened'. In a wide-ranging speech this latter phrase alluded to the issue of adolescent birth rates, and he also voiced concern about the intellectualism of universities.
- 6 An important guide is Posner (Posner 2006). He was Chairman (1979–83) of the SSRC during the period of review in the early 1980s.
- 7 The terms of reference were threefold: '(i) Which areas, if any, of the SSRC's work should be done at the expense of the ultimate consumer rather than the Exchequer; (ii) Which areas, rightly supported by the Exchequer, could be done at least as well and as economically by other bodies, who would receive payment from the public purse either on a once-and-for-all or recurrent basis. The bodies concerned should be

- identified; and (iii) Which areas, if any, at present supported by the Exchequer through other bodies could be better covered by the SSRC' (Rothschild Report 1982: 9).
- 8 This request for no reduction in real terms of the SSRC budget for three years was rejected by the Secretary of State on the grounds that, 'the Government must maintain its right to review public expenditure from year to year. But there is a second reason. The Government believes that within the Science Vote relatively higher priority should be given to work in the natural sciences – particularly to sustain a flow of the best young research talent – and relatively lower priority to work in social studies. I therefore wish to see over the next three years a corresponding and steadily rising redeployment within the Science Budget of some of your Council's resources, this money to be applied – as the Advisory Board for the Research Councils may advise – towards the Government's aim of providing money for new blood for research in the natural sciences particularly in universities.' Statement in the House of Commons, 18 October 1982, reading from his letter to the Chairman of the SSRC, 14 October 1982.
 - 9 This Unit had been the subject of particularly negative criticism for its research as left wing, a characterization wholly rejected.
 - 10 Hansard (1982), 'House of Lords Debate, 30 June 1982', *Hansard*, London: Hansard, 432: 288.
 - 11 Hansard (1982), 'House of Lords Debate, 30 June 1982', *Hansard*, London: Hansard, 432: 292.
 - 12 Hansard (1982), 'House of Lords Debate, 30 June 1982', *Hansard*, London: Hansard, 432: 295.
 - 13 As guides to understanding the sources and shape of the current crisis compare for example the approach in MacKenzie 2009 with Koo 2008 and Krippner 2011.
 - 14 April 2010 with an outstanding group of economists presenting papers. The papers do an excellent job of analysing the crisis and, given the calibre of scholars associated with the Institute, the road map for future research is likely to be exciting and original, although this was not yet set out. The website (<http://ineteconomics.org>) states: 'The havoc wrought by our recent global financial crisis has vividly demonstrated the deficiencies in our outdated current economic theories, and shown the need for new economic thinking – right now. INET is supporting this fundamental

shift in economic thinking through research funding, community building, and spreading the word about the need for change.’

Chapter 6 The Religion of Inequality

- 1 The Labour Force Survey is a continuous sample survey of the UK population, interviewing around 120,000 per calendar quarter (Office for National Statistics. Social and Vital Statistics Division and Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, Central Survey Unit 2010). It is used to provide regular statistics on unemployment and worklessness, as well as more general statistics on the labour force.
- 2 The median represents the pay of the person who is halfway in the distribution of earners – half earn more, and half earn less. It is less subject than the arithmetic mean (the ‘average’) to being affected by a few very high figures.
- 3 A further 2 per cent were unsure how to respond.
- 4 The full quotation being, ‘Want is one only of five giants on the road of reconstruction and in some ways the easiest to attack. The others are Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness’ (Beveridge Report 1942: Part 1, para. 8). Want, to be tackled through social insurance, was of course the main theme of the Beveridge Report.

Afterword: A Positive Future for Higher Education in England

- 1 See the announcements of intended widening participation arrangements, published by OFFA on 11 July 2011.