Through Struggle and Indifference:
The UK Academy's Engagement with the Open
Intellectual Commons

Gareth James Johnson

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements of Nottingham Trent University
for degree of Doctor of Philosophy.**

January 2017

Contents

Data Tables

Dedication

For my loving wife Sarah, without whom none of this would have been even slightly possible.

Acknowledgements

No work of this size can be accomplished without the support of numerous people during the years over which it was developed. Hence, I'd especially like to thank my supervisory team, Dr Andreas Wittel and Dr David Woods for advice, suggestions and guidance throughout. I count myself lucky to have enjoyed such close interactions with two very different scholars during this journey, and their honest feedback, support and good humour was an invaluable component in keeping me on track. Likewise, I'd like to thank Professor Martin O'Shaughnessy for his regular critique and encouragement, along with Dr Liz Morrish for a very illuminating conversation early on in this whole process, all of which helped clarify the shape of this work. Additionally, a tip of the hat to the various academic staff members of the English, Media and Culture group with whom I chatted about my research during my stint teaching in the department. The support, interest and encouragement of all these people made my doctoral journey just a little bit easier.

Naturally, I'd like to especially thank the AHRC for the studentship which supported me through the first three years of the work, without which I doubt I would have even contemplated taking up this challenge. I'd also like to thank Santander and NTU for the travel bursary that allowed me to present at IS4IS Summit 2015 Vienna, and experience a taste of the international research community I hope to repeat.

This work also stands on the shoulders of the insights I drew from many conversations with individuals across the UK, who generously gave of their time and attention to contribute to my work. Hence, I'd like to acknowledge and thank each and every interviewee, especially Andy, Anthony, Christian, Martin, Ken and Simon, for their participation and perspicacity.

Finally, I'd like to thank my exceptionally supportive wife, Dr Sarah Johnson for keeping my body, mind and soul together throughout the highs and lows of the PhD experience. Not to mention her hours of proof-reading.

Abstract

The academy has long relied on publisher-facilitated research dissemination; yet digital dissemination has dramatically transformed the scholarly publishing field. Particularly, open access (OA) has disrupted an increasingly commodified and fetishised publishing praxis, creating an open intellectual commons. However, despite OA's public good, academics remain indifferent to its praxis. The UK academy's policy environment and cultural practices, represent a unique arena to consider these issues within. Limited research concerning the UK academy's rationales for OA engagement exists, particularly qualitative work critically evaluating influences and barriers to achieving cultural change. From a novel ethnographically-framed sociological perspective, combined with empirical investigations, this research addresses this gap in knowledge through comprehending academics' OA responses, publishing influences, actor power-relationships and related HE policy environments.

A novel theoretical framework employing Marx, Foucault, Gramsci and the Italian Autonomous-Marxists' conceptualisations of power-relations, struggle and resistance, empower an ideological critique analysis. An examination of how increasingly marketised universities have embraced cognitive capitalism and academic alienation, contrasts with the tensions, events and concepts underlying UK OA's development. Extensive semi-structured interviews with different publishing actors provide cultural-native insights. OA practitioners expose the publication field's configuration, academics and other publishing actors' discourse develop further insights, while academic activists reveal how differing approaches affect dissemination praxis.

Analysis indicates actors, including governmental bodies, commercial publishers and funders, dominate a hegemonic ruling-bloc, through controlling economic and symbolic esteem capital. An academy is revealed shifting from idealised OA, towards pragmatic compliance with a normative gold-OA form, although concerns about perceived cost barriers and diminished prestige capital remain. Despite ruling-bloc efforts to address the conjunctural crisis OA represents, a disaggregated counter-hegemonic resistance exists: providing platforms, sustainable publishing, and exposing inequities. While gold-OA praxis proliferates, a struggle for agency within scholarly publishing praxis continues. Hence, ostensibly future dissemination will contain OA elements, but its conformation remains uncertain.

Acronyms

A2K	Access to Knowledge
AHRC	Arts and Humanities Research Council
AHSS	Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences
APC	Article Processing Charge(s)
BBSRC	Biotechnology and Biological Sciences Research Council
BIS	Department of Business, Innovation and Skills
CC-BY	Creative Commons, Attribution Licence
CRC	Centre for Research Communications
CRIS	Current Research Information System(s)
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
EU	European Union
FE	Further Education
FOSS	Free and Open-Source Software.
HE	Higher (tertiary) Education
HEFCE	Higher Education Funding Council of England
IP/IPR	Intellectual Property/Intellectual Property Rights
LUP	Liverpool University Press
MRC	Medical Research Council
NERC	Natural Environment Research Council
OA	Open Access, specifically open access to research literature
OLH	Open Library of Humanities
OpenDOAR	Open Directory of Open Access Repositories
PIPA	Protect IP Act

PLOS	Public Library of Science
PPARC	Particle Physics and Astronomy Research Council
QAA	Quality Assurance Agency
QCA	Qualitative Content Analysis
RAE	Research Assessment Exercise
RCUK	Research Councils UK
REF	Research Excellence Framework
ROAR	Registry of Open Access Repositories
RWA	Research Works Act
SHERPA	Securing a Hybrid Environment for Research Preservation and Access
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Medicine
TEF	Teaching Excellence Framework
UKCoRR	UK Council of Research Repositories
UKOAIG	UK Open Access Implementation Group
UKPMC	UK Pub Med Central

Chaos isn't a pit. Chaos is a ladder. Many who try to climb it fail and never get to try again. The fall breaks them. And some, are given a chance to climb. They refuse, they cling to the realm or the gods or love. Illusions. Only the ladder is real. The climb is all there is.

Lord Petyr 'Littlefinger' Baelish, 'The Climb'. 2013. Game of Thrones, Series 3, Episode 6. [TV] Sky Atlantic, 6 May.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Barriers to access – particularly when the research is publicly-funded – are increasingly unacceptable in an online world: for such barriers restrict the innovation, growth and other benefits which can flow from research. (Finch, 2012, p. 5)

Dame Janet Finch's report into UK scholarly communications was a watershed moment for the open access (OA) to research literature movement. While a movement had existed for decades, the discourse and praxis of open dissemination was often largely a pursuit of a limited number of scholars engaged or enraged by the moral claims or benefits of this new mode of academic research communication. With Finch's 2012 publication, the discourse and practice of research communication began to evolve at a greater rate, and with a higher prominence within the UK academy than ever before.

This research partly is the story of the academy's subsequent engagement with OA. It is a tale for which there are many actors, and many more considerations. Essentially, it represents my personal journey in seeking to better understand why or indeed how a 'self-evident' public good (BOAI, 2002) like OA, had not been more widely embraced within the UK academy. Because of the nature of the doctoral candidate's journey, turning its lens upon the academy and a core research practice during a time of change represented a challenging prospect. Certainly, when I began this work, arguably OA lay outside of mainstream academic practice (Owens, 2012), but through the arrival of events including funder mandates, the Finch Report[1], RCUK publication funding and undoubtedly HEFCE's REF 2021 mandate[2], today it has become part of the mainstream scholarly dissemination discourse. Thus, this research examines how this field, the academy and academics' publications practices have evolved during the four years this work has been conducted over. Within this first chapter, I explain the rationale, context and value of this work's context, delineate my aims, research questions and the investigative process along with providing a thesis chapter overview. However, firstly some background on the lifeworld of academic publishing is required.

Context

A struggle currently exists between those entities who profit heavily from the commodification of knowledge (Harris, 2012) and others who argue that this form of capitalism denies a basic human right to access information (Benkler, 2006; Liang, 2010; Suber, 2012). With the advent of Internet based communication technologies, a new digital intellectual commons, comprised of scholarly knowledge and creative works, has arisen

---

[1] Accessibility, sustainability, excellence: how to expand access to research publications: Report of the Working Group on Expanding Access to Published Research Findings (Finch, 2012).
[2] See *Chapter 4* for further examples.

(Lessig, 2004; Suber, 2012). However, the industries which historically have controlled knowledge distribution, continue to utilise influence, political capital, legislation and technology, to tighten access restrictions to scholarly knowledge (Oxenham, 2016; Wark, 2004), described by critics as a "*despotic dominion*" of exclusivity (Kapczymski, 2010, p. 26). Originating largely from the academic corpus, endeavours seeking to redress the balance in the favour of the commons have appeared, including the Creative Commons, Access to Knowledge (A2K) and OA movements (Creative Commons, 2012; Krikorian, 2010; Suber, 2012). Importantly, while OA encompasses many broad practices within the academy, this thesis firmly focusses on policy and practices concerning OA to research literature[3]. Nevertheless, participating in these struggles is not without consequence, highlighted by activist Aaron Swartz's suicide, in the wake of his downloading millions of research articles from the academic database JSTOR (Eisen, 2013; MacFarquhar, 2013; Naughton, 2015). A passionate activist for the commons, the disproportionate state response to his actions, in threatening him with thirty-five years' imprisonment, demonstrates the degree to which societal and legal conventions favour powerful commercial orthodox actors.

The academy has relied on an external network of publishers since the 17th Century to facilitate the research dissemination and quality assurance mechanisms. Consequently, for centuries, the commodification of academic knowledge through traditional publisher dissemination routes has become the status quo, a complicit interdependency between publishers and authors (Owens, 2012; Rees, 2010). Additionally, many formerly independent scholarly journals absorbed by publishers have seen their knowledge dissemination core activities refocussed into highly lucrative revenue streams (Dames, 2012). Meanwhile, research quality assessments tied to funding, like the REF[4] (HEFCE, 2012a), drive academics to publish frequently in high-impact, toll-access journals irrespective of personal desires (Barassi, 2012). Given Higher Education's (HE) core function of building on knowledge, a scenario wherein publicly funded academics are forced to continue publishing behind access barriers seems an increasingly inequitable situation.

Like many communication forms, academic research's production and dissemination through traditional, legacy publication routes has been subject to digitally disruptive forces (Weller, 2011), a condition which an era of state funding austerity and the so-called serials crisis has exacerbated (Hess & Ostrom, 2007; Wilsdon, 2015; Wyness, 2010). Despite the

---

[3] A more catholic conceptual embrace of *open access* would include the praxis of *open education*, *data* and *science* and even *Access to Knowledge* (A2K), alongside *open access to research literature*. However, while many conceptual overlaps between these disparate areas are evident, considerable differences between their specific policies, praxis and personalities exist. Consequently, since this thesis primarily focuses on *OA to research publications*, throughout OA refers solely to this concept.
[4] The Research Excellence Framework, successor to the prior Research Assessment Exercise (RAE).

Internet's potential to revolutionise knowledge dissemination, the majority of the academic community has declined to adopt new dissemination practices, typically citing habituation, limited awareness and scepticism as rationales (Jordan, 2008; Lane, 2012; Owens, 2012). This situation is despite substantial investment in infrastructure, marketing, along with efforts to require OA dissemination by funding bodies (Great Britain, 2004; RSP, 2013; RCUK, 2013). I have witnessed professionally the varying reactions to aspects of the intellectual commons across many disciplines. While I believe the scholarly intellectual commons' importance is 'self-evident' (BOAI, 2002), that the academic corpus displays such reluctance and resistance intrigues. To understand their reasoning, the interrelated web of power and influence relationships which affect them must be considered. Thus, questions arise concerning the modes of influence, the positions actors wish academics to adopt and their relative successes, and why UK academics have not engaged more with OA.

Literature Overview

Given the venerable antiquity and research practice centricity of academic publication practices, the literature concerning it is unsurprisingly voluminous (Curry, 2013), and I explore the discourse and literature relating to OA and an increasingly neoliberalised UK academy in depth later[5]. Nevertheless, a brief literature review will assist in providing context, relating to research dissemination trends, resistance to normative publishing practices along with endeavours to increase academics' OA embrace. This analyses a number of key trends, from global knowledge dissemination activities, through to the academic community's responses, to attempts to overcome resistance and achieve significant engagement with the commons. A clear gap in the literature concerning the rationale for academic reactions is also apparent.

While the entertainment and commercial publishing industries' lobbying seems to drive global Internet communication policy (Benkler, 2006; Litman, 2003; Poole, 2012), there are responses which seek to counter information capitalism and enable a scholarly digital commons (Cost of Knowledge, 2012; Eve, 2014a; Guardian, 2013; Krikorian, 2010; Suber, 2012). Consequently, the economic and societal developmental benefits stemming from an accessible scholarly commons receive extensive commentary (Hardt & Negri, 2009; Hess and Ostrom, 2007; Parsons et al, 2011; RSP, 2013; Suber, 2012). Nevertheless, the media and publishing industries continue to apply copyright and licensing in a protectionist fashion (Lee, 2008; Oppenheim, 2014; Suber, 2012). This, along with their deployment of sophisticated knowledge access controls (Litman, 2003; Lessig, 2002 & 2006; Wilbanks, 2013), has been typified as a 'second enclosure of the commons' (Boyle, 2008). Despite the

---

[5] These topics are expanded on in *Chapters 3 & 4.*

academy's long complicity with knowledge capitalism (Peters, 1992), supporting an inordinately profitable industry on the back of publicly funded labour (Bollier, 2008; Lilley, 2012), OA has become a desirable UK research practice component (Burgess, 2015; EPSRC, 2011; Hall, 2012; RCUK, 2012a & 2012b). This was strongly supported by Dame Janet Finch's landmark report (Finch, 2012) and subsequent major research funders and Governmental policy announcements (Great Britain, 2012a & 2012b; HEFCE, 2012b & 2014a). Coupled with the UK's global leadership in institutional repository developments (Notay, 2011), these have significantly raised OA's visibility and importance to UK scholarly communication, deepening its importance to the academy's immaterial knowledge productive labours.

Globally, it has been suggested that academic culture remains largely uninterested with the ideals and practice of the commons (Alemayehu, 2010; Fry et al, 2009; Owens, 2012; Wickham, 2013), although senior researchers are reported to favour scholarly knowledge sharing (Rowlands & Nicholas, 2006). Particularly, the British academic community has lagged behind engaging with the commons agenda as holistically as comparators (Anderson, 2012; Finch, 2012; LaMonica, 2007; Lane, 2012; OpenAIRE Consortium, 2013). Though some argue that the UK situation has marginally improved (Gargouri et al, 2012; Macilwain, 2013), prior to the advent of Finch typically only 15-20% of total publication output was deposited within repositories (Alemayehu, 2010; Blackman, 2012; Owens, 2012). While in the wake of HEFCE and funder mandates, repository deposit rates have fluctuated and gold OA publication has swollen (Lawson et al, 2016), any increases seemingly represent a functionally pragmatic embrace, rather an ideological one, by the academy. Nevertheless, an increase by 2022 to 50%-100% of all research literature available through OA is predicted (Harris, 2012; Johnson, J., 2016), although the current Brexit situation may diminish any concordance with a largely progressive EU OA agenda (Jacobs, 2016). Research discourse has focussed largely on the scientific community's responses (Johnson, J, 2016; Moon et al, 2007; Willetts, 2013), though some work on the impact upon the humanities has emerged (Harris, 2012; Dawson 2012; Matthews, 2015; Webster, 2012). Academics' responses seem subject to their roles as knowledge consumers or creators, along with the particular aspect of the open commons they encounter (Mackie, 2008; Rowlands & Nicholas, 2005).

Enforcing OA compliance through mandates[6], which require academics' publishing to be via specifically OA routes (Johnson, 2012c; RCUK, 2012b and 2013; ROARMAP, 2014), has been much discussed and championed as a solution (Ayris, 2011; Great Britain, 2013a; Swan & Brown, 2005) and is a particular UK focus. Nevertheless, evidence suggests that without sufficient enforcement, mandates have failed to overcome cultural inertia (Darley, et al, 2014; Fry et al, 2013; Harris, 2012; Gargouri et al, 2012). Relying on academics' altruism appears similarly insufficient without a pervasive HE culture of openness (Bollier, 2008; Lee, 2008). Potential parallels with the environmental movement suggest that a lengthy transition period, coupled with activist activity, is needed before academics substantially embrace the commons (Krikorian et al, 2010).

Notably, most scholarly research into academic cultures' response to OA often focusses on reactions to perceived citation rate or other quantitative benefits (Eysenbach, 2006; Harnad & Brody, 2004; Norris et al, 2008). Practitioner literature meanwhile has largely focussed on establishing technological infrastructure or advocacy (Reposit, 2011; RSP, 2013; UK Repository Net+, 2012; UKCoRR, 2013). Most significantly, there seems to be very limited research concerning the rationale behind the UK academic community's disparate engagement with the intellectual commons (Fry et al, 2009; Swan & Brown, 2005), or work critically evaluating the influences and barriers to achieving cultural change. It is this gap in knowledge which this research proposes to address.

Rationale and Claim to Knowledge

The Finch Report highlighted that an anticipated transition by the UK academy to greater OA research dissemination practices, had "*not been as rapid as many had hoped*" (Finch, 2012, p. 6). While highlighting the tensions between academic publication field actors and the economic risks continued uncertainty over any OA transition represented for commercial actors, the report clarified a key instigator for this work. With such a groundswell of policy and opinion favouring the open intellectual commons, the central question which this research sought to answer was: *why has there been such a small-scale adoption by the UK academic community*? As such, Britain's high volume of world-class scholarly knowledge production and publication, and rapidly evolving policy environment made it an appropriate arena within which to frame this investigation (Darley, et al, 2014; Graham et al, 2011). Practically, the question of how a greater academic engagement with the open intellectual commons could be successfully enabled warranted exploration. To understand the behaviour and reasoning behind the UK academic community's

---

[6] Mandates, commonly delineated as funder or institutional mandated publication requirements, and their impacts on research dissemination habits, are discussed in *Chapter 4*.

engagement, a thorough comprehension of current scholarly knowledge dissemination practices and attitudes was needed. This was elicited through examining the published literature, analysing key actor public discourse and investigating the cultural publishing norms and practices within the entities comprising the academic publishing field.

To achieve a deeper context, it was necessary to specifically explore how sections of the UK academic community engaged. Since most previous work appears to have focussed on the individual academic level, this research needed to broaden the scope of its analysis to uncover the interdependent web of power and influence relationships which exist. It was necessary to achieve a greater contextualisation and depth of knowledge through exploring the actors, along with the modes, degrees and channels of power and influence they exercise over the academic community. While clarifying these actors' identities formed an aspect of this research's investigations, an initial literature review indicated that these would likely include; commercial publishers, the UK government and related policy bodies, research funders, pro-OA activists and learned societies, along with academic corpus' members (Great Britain, 2012a; EPSRC, 2011; Kirby, 2012; RCUK 2012a & 2013; RSP, 2013). These key actors exert different influences, hence through identifying and analysing their activities it became possible to conceptualise the disparate power, influence and stratagems each employ which impacted on academic culture. In developing this robust conceptualisation, it became possible to better understand the interrelationships producing the current situation. This research was also contextualised through considering the changing paradigm of scholarly culture within HE in a post-industrial society, set within the historical context of the open scholarly commons' development.

Contribution to Knowledge

Therefore, this thesis will inspect from a novel sociological perspective a largely under-researched area. It will seek to challenge and establish the verisimilitude of commonly-held assumptions about the academic community's publishing behaviours and influences, and hence provide a significant and original scholarly study. Additionally, the understanding and knowledge this research represents is anticipated as being of significant practical value to political efforts to increase academic engagement with the open scholarly commons. Through exploring the forces, attitudes and reactions to the commons within UK academia, this research intends to identify the most significant actors influencing academics, explore how their power operates and any actions which might alter this dynamic. Crucially, the research intends to identify and map actors' relative importance, seeking to identify the levels of influence or control over knowledge dissemination each possesses. This, partnered with findings on the academic community's mind-sets, motivations and

behaviours, will develop the understanding of the specific obstacles, arguments and barriers which prevent greater UK academics OA engagement. This work combines unique and extensive empirical fieldwork with previous academic thought, contextualised by prior practitioner work, and seeks to enhance academic engagement with the commons (RSP, 2013; UKCORR, 2013) through producing a worthy original scholarly synthesis. An additional key output will be a rationalised framework for effective pro-OA commons activism, supporting sustainable academic cultural change.

Reflexive Position

As research with an ethnographic flavour[7], it is important that I situate myself and position within this field (Fetterman, 2010). While this research is close to my personal interests in effecting real-world praxis changes, by necessity of maintaining a critical distance it does not represent a piece of pro-OA advocacy, but rather primarily a research endeavour. I first encountered OA in 2006 when working for SHERPA[8] and akin with many UK academic librarians, was previously unaware of the movement. At SHERPA I helped develop the OpenDOAR, RoMEO and JULIET information resources, which continue to be used by scholars and repository workers globally. I was also responsible for facilitating dozens of workshops nationwide, targeted at upskilling the emerging OA practitioner profession, who sought to develop their own university's OA infrastructure. I also helped establish the first professional repository managers' organisation, the UK Council of Research Repositories[9] (UKCoRR). Throughout this time, and subsequently as repository manager and UKCoRR Chair, I embraced a OA favourable stance, but was often frustrated practically in my efforts by academic apathy and antipathy, experiences which were instrumental in originating my research interests. Over the decade I worked within this field, I have witnessed shifts in OA praxis away from a niche activity conducted by enthusiasts at a limited number of research intensive institutions, towards a core business practice at most UK universities. This, along with recent governmental, funder and institutional policies developments, suggested the moment was ripe for critical scholarship reflecting on the evolution of OA culture and praxis in British universities.

---

[7] See *Chapter 5* for further discussions around ethnography and its methodological applicability to this work.

[8] Securing a Hybrid Environment for Research Preservation and Access (SHERPA), http://www.sherpa.ac.uk - SHERA project team based at the University of Nottingham.

[9] http://ukcorr.org/ - United Kingdom Council of Research Repositories.

Research Aims and Questions

The UK academy's culture is driven and influenced by internal and external actors and events, and gaining a deeper understanding of these areas was key to my research endeavours. Hence, my core research inquiry could be described as attempting to better understand how UK academics respond to new paradigms of openness in dissemination of their research. Therefore, this research's overall aims were defined as:

I. To evaluate the degrees of engagement by UK based academic authors with OA, the intellectual commons and other free culture initiatives.

II. To develop an evidenced and critical framework detailing the reasoning behind UK based academic authors' embracing OA, the intellectual commons and other free culture initiatives.

III. To establish, document and evaluate the actors of influence and power on the UK based academic authors community relating to OA, the intellectual commons and other free culture initiatives.

IV. To explore the impact of differing communication processes and approaches on academic authors, and impacts on their sharing behaviour and practice.

In satisfying these aims, and producing my contribution to knowledge, five core enquiries emerged which encapsulated my specific research interests (*Table 1*). While I revisit these questions in the light of my adopted methodologies[10], I will introduce and explain their rationale here.

Table 1: Research Questions

1. To what degree are UK based academic authors engaging with the open intellectual commons and how is this behaviour rationalised?
2. Who are the principal influence actors on the academic community and how can these power-relationships be conceptualised?
3. What conflicts, struggles or dysfunctions exist between institutional, funder or political policies and their enactment within academic culture?
4. How are different types of UK HE institutional cultures promoting engagement and what opportunities for enhancement exist?
5. What motivates the political direction of UK governmental policy towards OA

---

[10] See *Chapter 2.*

The first problem relates to a clear need to understand the level and rationales behind the UK academic communities' responses and engagement with OA. My intention is to explore and identify the commonalities and variances in behaviour, relating to the emergent paradigms of open scholarly dissemination. These behaviours must be contextualised against a background of what can be termed the traditional or legacy publication model. This knowledge exchange model derives from a physical (rivalrous) hard-copy knowledge distribution approach, embedded within an ideology of privatism and capitalist profiteering. In contrast, the OA approach has adopted a more open intellectual rights and digital commons non-rivalrous dissemination model. While there may seem to be a clearly demarcated binary ideological[11] divide, the reality is that fuzzy overlaps between these models do exist as explored later[12]. This consideration leads to my second enquiry which is concerned with understanding the influential relationships operating on the academic community. In short, I wish to identify and conceptualise the actors and networks of power-relationships affecting the academic community's OA responses. What I seek to uncover here is to identify the actor identities, elicit a sense of the forces manifested, and finally consider their effect on influencing the academic community's publishing behaviours. From my prior experience with OA's discourse and praxis, I anticipate that academic publishers will likely play a significant role here, but are unlikely be the only key actors involved. Particularly, I anticipate that those actors with the ability to affect national HE policy or research capital investment would be worthy of attention.

Hence, the formality and agency arising from these kinds of actors, principally the UK government and research funders, provides my third concern. Anticipating that actor influences would likely shift the academy in conflicting ideological directions, generating nodes of resistance, I seek to understand the effects and points of conflict which OA related policy has engendered. This, I believe, may highlight areas within an academic publication field where resistance to change is generated. Hence, impeding a wide-spread normative cultural embrace of OA within the UK academy, I conjecture that areas of conflict might be significant. Consequently, these findings are likely to be of significant interest for pro-OA activists seeking to engender a greater academic uptake of OA. Next, I seek to consider the challenges faced by activists and OA practitioners. Within OA discourse there are many such obstacles which are accepted as inherent barriers to academics embracing OA, which practitioners have long been concerned with overcoming. These orthodox beliefs are worthy of closer scrutiny to question if practitioner's endeavours are well targeted. Hence, my fourth major enquiry area asks what and how effective are the various communication

---

[11] By ideology, I mean a coherent and relatively stable set of beliefs or values.
[12] See *Chapters 4 & 6.*

efforts at promoting OA engagement. I do not seek to critique particular institutional approaches, but rather to question the degree to which such communicative efforts have achieved success, and how such endeavours could be more effective.

Once these areas have been addressed, then a larger global concern related to questions around the conflicts and tensions within the field arises. This concerns the UK Government's role and motivations relating to the changing publication models. With a UK coalition government (2010-2015) comprising the politically right-wing Conservative majority and the centre-left Liberal Democrats as minority partners in power during the majority of this research, their policy support for OA represents a curious aspect. As the billion-pound academic publishing sector embodies a not insignificant economic contributor to the UK economy's well-being (Economist, 2013; Mance & Cookson, 2014), a key question to answer is what motivates the political direction of UK governmental policy towards OA? Answering this could establish a crucial pivot-point around which much of the HE publication policy and praxis environment shifts.

Thus, answering this research's aims would, I consider, provide a greater comprehension of the cultural behaviours relating to academics' OA adoption. Additionally, I believe that these considerations could deepen the understanding of how OA related policies and practices might be reshaped to be more effective.

Research Activities

To answer these questions, I conducted ethnographically framed investigations into the culture and practice of OA within UK universities by the academic community[13]. Given the limited understanding which existed about its composition at the start of this research, the key task was to frame this field. To achieve this goal, an ethnographic approach was adopted, allowing methods adopted to be flexible and dynamically responsive, and avoided imposing any predetermined structures or formats onto the examined cultural settings (Bryman, 2012). My intent was to expose authentic actor experiences, contextualised within the academic publishing field's context. Drawing on this qualitative approach therefore provided "*credible, rigorous and authentic stories*" (Fetterman, 2010, p. 1), while permitting participants' genuine voices to emerge. Consequently, qualitative interviewing provided the most valuable and effective data collection method, enabling me to explore, reveal and contextualise my subjects' experiences and lifeworld (Handwerker, 2001; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). As principally research into academic publishing cultures, which are suffused with socio-economic and political issues, an ideological critique analytical

---

[13] These fieldwork activities are reported on in *Chapters 6-8.*

approach was adopted. This provided a powerful means to filter, expose and appraise underlying messages and relationships responsible for influencing the thoughts, beliefs and responses of individuals exposed to them (Berger, 2011). Nevertheless, an ethnographically framed study requires an analytical theory framework to function. While a number of thinkers, and schools of thought were considered during this framework's development, eventually three schools of thought were engaged to provide the epistemological basis for understanding academic and actor motivations and behaviours[14].

Firstly, Foucault's organisational thinking, particularly relating to the interrelated web of power-relationships operating within a field, was used to comprehend actor power-relations. His work on self-regulation and complicity with power, also provided a further lens for understanding academic publishing behaviours (Foucault, 2000; Foucault & Fontana, 1977; Mills, 2003). Secondly, Marxist analytical principles provided a powerful critique of neoliberal capitalism's impact throughout the academy, and specifically within research dissemination praxis. Additionally, Marx's thinking relating to knowledge commodification offered a lens to interrogate the academic corpus' fragmentation and alienation, resulting from closely defined linkages between publishing, income and professional esteem capital (Harvey, 2010; Singer, 2000; Zarembka and Desai, 2011). Finally, the work of Gramsci and the autonomist Marxists provided a lens for exposing and comprehending the points of tension and resistance operating within an apparent academic publishing hegemony. Gramsci's thinking on resistance authenticity also provided a powerful tool for understanding academic activists' roles (Boggs, 1980; Jones, 2006). Italian autonomists' work, notably Hardt and Negri, provided an updated form of Marxist thought, particularly as it applies to immaterial labour within a digitally enabled communicative age. This aided in understanding the functioning of immaterial knowledge productive labour within the academy (Eden, 2012; Hardt & Negri, 2000; Kinsman, 2004). Applying this method to qualitative fieldwork data with reference to the theoretical framework within a broadly ethnographic approach (Taylor, 2002), permitted a rigorous analysis. Consequently, this enabled a "*revelatory and emancipatory*" analysis to lay bare underlying mechanisms, cultural conventions and power-relationships (Alvesson & Deetz, 2005, p. 58) within the field.

Literature reviews focusing on the academic community's engagement with the open commons, and additionally, reviewing the academy's policy environment helped situate the research in the current and historical context[15]. This also aided in identifying key influence

---

[14] See *Chapter 2* for a development of these themes, and their applicability to this work.
[15] See *Chapters 3 & 4* for these reviews.

actors, and contextualised the lines of fieldwork enquiry. Three phases of semi-structured interview based fieldwork were necessary to provide empirical data and insights into the discourse, practice and cultures operating within the academic publishing field[16]. Phase one engaged with OA practitioners, phase two with research active academics and publishing actor representatives, and phase three with a small number of exemplar academic activists. By interviewing practitioners responsible for OA operations within UK universities, the first phase provided an empirical grounding of current OA practices across the UK academy. It also served to quantify barriers to greater OA engagement, and the identification of key influence actors. The second phase sought to add context to the understanding and functioning of the UK academic publishing field, while rationalising the perceptions which had emerged in the prior phase. Crucially, it sought to explore cultural commonalities, tensions and interrelationships operating within the field from key publisher actors' perspectives. Finally, to provide a detailed and complementary picture, in depth interviews with a selection of exemplar academic activists formed the final phase. Their insights particularly provided rich counter-hegemonic resistance narratives, as well as further contextualising the extant power-relationships.

Throughout, to overcome problems with gatekeepers and facilitate interviewee access, professional contacts along with snowball sampling were utilised to recruit participants (Bryman, 2016; Rubin & Rubin, 2012). Since this research was concerned with uncovering complex meanings, hidden within the discourse, qualitative content analysis (QCA) provided an appropriate tool for segmenting and documenting empirical fieldwork data. The flexibility of this method allowed for a data-driven interpretation, permitting themes to emerge organically from within the data, rather than restricting analytical insights by utilising any pre-defined coding structures. Additionally, since QCA's segmentation process requires a repeated, intimate data examination, it engendered a greater researcher familiarity, enabling a deeper analysis to emerge (Widdowson, 2004; Schreier, 2012). My overarching intellectual framework was then used to analyse and illustrate the complex web of actor influence and power-relationships, and sought to establish the ontological and epistemological basis for their positions. Finally, reflexivity and an awareness of my own biases was embraced throughout the work. Helpfully, Richardson (2000) provided a framework for reflexively evaluating the contribution, merit, reflexivity embrace, impact and authenticity of ethnographic work (Gouldner et al, 2004). Consequently, an original,

---

[16] See *Chapter 5* for a detailed discussion of the fieldwork approaches, and later chapters for their outcomes.

detailed and authentic cultural script (Walsh, 1998) was synthesised, and hopefully this thesis' key goals achieved.

Chapter Overview

This thesis breaks down into nine chapters, with the first providing a research overview, its motivations and initial context. **Chapter 2** outlines my intellectual framework, within which all fieldwork and analysis has taken place. Starting by briefly considering Bourdieu's field concept, the chapter then focusses on the application, suitability and thinking of Marx, Foucault, Gramsci and the Italian Autonomous-Marxist thinkers, attempting to draw them into a singular analytical lens. Specifically, it considers how each thinker's thought relates to the research questions.

The next two chapters review the current thinking and activities within two key research areas. **Chapter 3** examines the reconfiguration of the UK academy's discourse and praxis, in the light of three decades of neoliberal governmental policy. It provides a particular counterpoint to later chapters, in examining how UK universities are no longer the champions of social and public good, as writers like Newman envisaged. It speculates as to how the academy's corporatisation may have affected academics' receptiveness towards moves for greater openness in scholarship practice. **Chapter 4** offers a counterpoint, exploring the OA movement's rise, in response to academic dissemination's enclosed, legacy publication model. The chapter examines and contrasts the emerging and increasingly normative OA formats. Particularly focusing on the UK academy's engagement, it provides an overview of OA's history, highlighting the key events, actors and individuals responsible for its current configuration. With the scene set, **Chapter 5**, delineates the fieldwork methods adopted to collect empirical data, in support of answering the research questions. It explores the benefits and rationales for adopting a qualitative semi-structured approach, before outlining the three fieldwork data collection phases, each targeting a different range of academic communication actors. For each set of actors, I explore the approaches adopted to identify, recruit and develop interview questions. Finally, the principles of ideological critique, ethnography and QCA, which within the previously outlined intellectually framework, were employed to organise, segment and analyse the data, are introduced.

The next three chapters, deal with the results and conclusions drawn from the fieldwork analysis, representing the heart of this thesis' contribution to knowledge. **Chapter 6** presents the insights gained from the OA practitioners' interviews. The results, in providing a grounding in the current and historic engagement and responses to OA within the UK academy, also offered considerable insights which shaped the later fieldwork enquiries.

The analysis demonstrated a set of factors which were conceptualised through Gramscian notations of hegemony, revealing the dominant actors included governmental bodies, commercial publishers and funders. An additional key finding was a palpable shift within academy away from exploring idealised OA forms or novel dissemination endeavours, towards seeking pragmatic and systemic organisational compliance with funder publication mandates. Barriers to greater academic OA engagement were exposed as being particularly generated through hierarchical organisational stratification, obstructed communication channels, along with scholars' limited practical OA knowledge. **Chapter 7** concerns the second fieldwork phase, presenting a narrative critique of UK academics and other key field actors' discourse, positions and perceptions. It reveals an emerging acceptance of OA publication practices, which is becoming a normative dissemination mode. Barriers of cost and diminished prestige capital of many OA sources remain a concern for some academics, even while they acknowledge likely adopting its practices. The agency operating over the academic publishing field is revealed as being strongly configured through HEFCE, commercial publishers and research funders, through their control over sources of economic and symbolic esteem capital. Yet, while efforts by this ruling-bloc to address the conjunctural crisis which OA represents are seemingly successful, a disaggregated counter-hegemonic resistance operates within the academy. Hence, a dominant OA praxis seemingly proliferates, yet the field remains in a dynamic tension, where a largely unrealised academic agency could considerably rearticulate power-relations and practices.

Chapter 8 counterpoints the preceding chapters by conceptually reviewing resistance, and then explores the narrative and practices of four academic activist individuals or groups, who in differing ways are challenging the predominant legacy research dissemination discourse and practice. Hence, the chapter explores the experiences of a reconfigured non-profiteering university press, scholarly critique and challenge to commercial publishers, the foundation of a stable OA alternative publishing platform and a long established, fiercely anti-corporatist and anti-capitalist academic-led OA publisher. Individually, each activist demonstrates the disparate operation of a counter-hegemonic agency within the academy. Finally, **Chapter 9** provides this research's conclusions, extrapolates future work areas, while reflexively reviewing the project. The thesis concludes by considering if academic research dissemination's future will continue to be an open one.

Chapter 2: Intellectual Framework: Review of Theoretical Concepts

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is intended as a review and critique of the theoretical concepts which will be applied to the research. In considering the prior literature, it seeks to represent a reflexive and critical interrogative of my journey towards establishing an intellectual framework which will shape my fieldwork's analysis and interpretation[17]. This chapter also represents my personal engagement with the theory, seeking to form a scholarly relationship between past scholarship and my own research, and how this can be progressed. As a humanities researcher it is my perceptions and cogitations which form the principal research instrument. Given there are such a myriad of theoretical stances which could be adopted, it is important that I make accommodation only for those demonstrating sufficient compatibility with my own academic, ethical and ideological stance. My research, concerning the UK academy, could be broadly typified as drawing on aspects of cultural, social and political economic theory. Theories in these domains comprise analytical frameworks which can be applied in the examination of social and cultural phenomena. They encompass how societies change and develop, seeking to explain social behaviour and structures. They also highlight power-relationships, gender, civilisation, revolution and all aspects contributing to form a cultural realm (Murphy, 2013).

Academic Publishing Field

While I am not making a particular use of Bourdieu's work, his concept of *fields* has some value in comprehending research dissemination actors and the environment they inhabit. Bourdieu defined a field as a "*separate social universe having its own laws of functioning independent of politics and the economy*" (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 162), although this does not mean that an individual field is entirely independent from other influences. Fields are arranged hierarchically and often interact, with subaltern ones dominated by the larger fields of class relations and power. Thus, within any given field, its social structures and formations are ordered by these larger forces additionally to the intersections between actors operating within it. Much of this interaction and structure is driven by the actors' struggles to control whatever is considered as capital within a field. This competition over immaterial and physical resources is a constant core aspect within any field, since any

---

[17] The methods utilised for conducting this fieldwork are dealt with later in *Chapter 5: Methods.*

agency results from actors' capital-derived power, in addition to their *habitus* (dispositions) within it.

There is a field in the manner Bourdieu describes, which is the *field of academic publication*, traditionally comprising academics, conventional publishers, research funders and learned societies[18]. With the OA initiative, this field is beginning to look a little different as more players, including the government, HEFCE and non-commercialised publishers, have entered and gained agency within it. During the practitioner interviews, the agency of academics and publishers was particularly stressed[19], although funders and learned societies' agency was also identified. Finally, while government's activities within the field are less overtly visible daily, through their endeavours like the Finch (2012) Report, committee hearings and importantly research funding control, their agency is undeniable, which warranted their inclusion.

Since Bourdieu's fields are dynamic, changes in these actors' positions reconfigure its structure along with their own agency. Within the academic publishing field, capital and hence derived agency, can be considered to be drawn from sources of economic resource, but also immaterial respect and prestige. Notably, Bourdieu acknowledges the particular role that the economic field has, but denies it the same degree of agency as Marx's base. Yet, despite this assertion, the government, funders and publishers are rich in *capital wealth*, positioning them with a greater agency over this field. Meanwhile societies and academics arguably possess a greater measure of *prestige capital*, conferring a more limited agency. Interestingly, the current shifts around the construction of academic prestige discourse (Blackmore, 2015; Eve, 2014b) could be considered to represent struggles for agency within this field over the ownership of esteem markers. As Bourdieu puts it "*Every external determination: demographic, economic or political events are always retranslated according to the specific logic of the field.*" (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 164). Thus, through examining closely actors' inter-relations and disposition struggling within the academic publishing field, it becomes possible to better comprehend the subtleties of how OA discourse is constituted.

2.2.   Theoretical Approaches

Hence, I now must consider the theoretical approaches which I believe will significantly contribute to answering my enquiries and constructing my new knowledge. Scholarly fields build knowledge in a three step process (Potter, 2014). Firstly, it is by asking questions

---

[18] Again, see *Chapter 5* for discussion of these actors' functions, interests and contributions to this field.

[19] Here, see the analysis and discussions arising in *Chapter 6*.

relating to a phenomenon, how it can be conceptualised and its inter-relationships with other aspects of society and culture. Secondly through the integration of insight derived from prior theoretical frameworks and finally through a process of empirical observation and gathering of data and information. These are cyclical activities that feed into and augment the research processes, lending them a strength of argument and validity of prior scholarship as much as it problematises and systematises the cultural realm and actors studied.

Having answered the first consideration in the previous section, at this point I shall turn to examine the second. To satisfy this requirement for qualitative work the construction of an *intellectual framework* is essential, since it shapes how one approaches the research and the light in which findings are viewed. Hence, it must be answered before considering data collection methods. A framework is not so much about applying theory to the data, but rather represents the scholar functioning within a theoretical construction throughout the research process to ensure internal intellectual consistency. For any researcher into culture, more than one theoretical concept is likely to appeal, and thus it is appropriate to draw on elements from a number of approaches in developing an idiosyncratic understanding of the research. Bertrand and Hughes (2005) suggest that an intellectual framework comprises four key concepts: *ethics, epistemology, ontology* and *methodology*. This chapter focusses on evaluating the epistemological and ontological framework foundations, and although I touch on ethics and methods these aspects are expanded on elsewhere[20].

Before presenting the theoretical concepts adopted, I must briefly address the domains of social and cultural theory, which draw on many epistemological traditions, representing these scholarship areas' rich and varied aspects. During my exploration of social theory, I encountered numerous potential theoretical approaches, many of which offered alternative constructs which could be applied in interpreting my research findings. Nevertheless, upon review, these fell short of ideological or scholarly suitability with other framework aspects, hence their omission[21]. Having clarified these considerations, I will now highlight the three theory areas I intend to draw from: Marxism, Autonomous Marxism and the work of Michel Foucault. Before considering their specific applications, an introduction to their scope and suitability is appropriate.

---

[20] See *Chapter 5* for a discussion of ethics and methods.
[21] Representing this reflexive debate between myself and the literature would have provided an interesting discussion, but affording this room would I believe subtract from the framework I am constructing's clarity.

Marxism

Classical Marxism operates on the premise that economic developments drive the evolution of cultural and social systems (Singer, 2000). Since a capitalist market economy drives society, consequently it is also responsible for the *alienation* of workers labouring within it, separating them from the products of their labour (Marx, 1844). Marx held that this capitalist economic system was not a natural nor desirable form of life. Hence, the commodification of a worker's labour power to generate capital for an elite represented an alienated form of human existence. This was personified in the way it acts to transform of workers' labour into a form of power which controls them. This act of *abstract waged labour* dehumanises workers as their natural unalienated relationship with the products of their toil become separated. It was Marx's contention that once the working class recognised this dysfunctional and exploitative relationship by the capitalist elites, they would revolt against it and shift society to an ideologically socialist mode of functioning, eventually configuring a communist state. Since revolutions of this nature have been scarce globally, Marx has been criticised for conclusions which demonstrate a utopian view of society. However, the flowering of modern, post-modernist and autonomous Marxism offers potentials for this form of revolution and can be re-examined in the light of the 21st Century's cognitive capitalism knowledge economy. Marx was very interested in how technology related to society, economics and capitalist modes of production which he saw contributing to the tensions within social structure which for him were markers of class struggle. Hence, unsurprisingly the explosion in digital networks in recent decades represents one of the greatest challenges to the established order in many fields; including music, cinema and publishing.

The development of capitalism itself has long been driven by the process of *primitive accumulation*, where elite actors coercively or violently seize physical goods or assets from other actors; especially those previously held in common, representing a major cause of alienation for workers. In contrast, *futuristic accumulation* represents the application of neoliberal market capitalism to the expanding domain of immaterial production. Conceptually it describes the commodification of publicly created knowledge which via copyright and patent becomes privatised as intellectual property (IP) and hence monopolistic rents can then be extracted (Dyer-Witheford, 2011). Accordingly, capitalism not only siphons off the surplus value created through material labour, but also immaterial and cognitive labour. Additionally, through futuristic accumulation it seeks to also enclose and commodify intellectual property (IP) generated from socially created production. The parallels here with legacy research publication models, controlled and serving to enrich the

academic publication industry, are for me striking. What is even more concerning is some models for sustainable OA seem to continue to feed into this capitalist enclosure[22].

Suchting (1983) notes that Marx's original work possess three strands: essentialist-teleogical, structuralist and understanding the social world. It is this latter form with which I am most concerned, particularly the aims of Marxism in seeking to understand how capitalism distorts and effects society through a political economic critique (Harvey, 2010). The theoretical basis of Marxist understanding of reality, *dialectical materialism*, posits that ideas only arise as products or reflections of material (economic) conditions. Marxists therefore are fundamentally concerned with economic questions, especially concerning who owns and controls the means of production, as this is able to expose the subtle influences extant within a social realm. Bertrand and Hughes (2005, p. 99) write that Marx demonstrated particular interests in "*the relations between technological development and social structures*". This is enshrined within the construct of Marx's economic base and social superstructure model of how society functions (Cole, 2014). Within the *base* are the forces, people, relations and resources involved in producing material and immaterial products needed by society. The *superstructure* by contrast contains the dominant ideology, cultural norms, identities, along with the state and political structures which configure society. Since the ruling class controls the base, it is their interests with which the superstructure principally aligns. Thus, Marx offers a rationale for why subaltern groups within society find it difficult to affect change, since the existing superstructure reinforces and legitimises the base, providing a stranglehold on society. Naturally with Marx's focus on economics as the societal driving force, he defined the base as the dominant element with power over shaping and maintaining superstructure, although later Marxists acknowledged an influence on the base from the superstructure elements also operates (Singer, 2000). Resonances exist in this model within Gramsci's construct of hegemony, to which I will return.

While for many years, despite Marx's predication of its fall, the all-pervading existence of neoliberal capitalist ideology has been perceived as the seemingly unassailable normative condition of the advanced industrial world. Streeck however notes how for many Marxists, capitalism has long been a perceived as social system lurching from crisis to crisis, only to recover to a new equilibrium and continuing to operate rather than collapsing. "*Capitalism*" he highlights "*as a social order held together by a promise of boundless collective progress is in a critical condition.*" (Streeck, 2014, p. 63). Streeck argues that as the impact of the 2008 banking crisis continued resonating politically and economically

---

[22] See *Chapter 4*, and discussions around gold OA economic models.

globally, each crisis sees an inexorable process of gradual decay in capitalism's sustainability, and this process will eventually see its end as society shifts from a late to post-capitalistic mode of existence. However, through successfully crowding out all other political economic ideologies, lacking any opposition, unfettered capitalism has "*become its own worst enemy*" (ibid, p. 50). Shorn of any opposition he argues that it is now subject to the inherent flaws and contradictions which Marx and others have long argued it possessed. This is made all the more problematic for global society, as Streeck points out that unlike the 1930s' comparable fiscal turmoil, no alternative political economy formula is on the horizon to take its place.

Thus, while it has been a popular activity to criticise some of Marx's predictions in an age of post-banking crash austerity, his suggestions that the income gap between workers and capitalists would widen, monopoly ownership would subsume independent producers and a cycle of continued capitalist growth is unsustainable seem to hold a reinvigorated validity today. We may not have seen working class uprisings throughout the advanced capitalist countries, but fanned by the socialising connectivity engendered by digital communication the possibilities for revolt against a capitalist mode of existence are potentially emboldened. Arguably the OA movement itself partly represents a revolt against the capitalist ownership and control of academic intellectual assets. As Marx pointed out (Singer, 2000), human nature is not fixed, as social and economic conditions adjust so too does behaviour. It may suggest that OA itself represents a response to changing circumstances, and as discussed later[23], instigating events like the serials pricing crisis and the impacts on monograph production may well have played as great a role in its genesis as the disruption stemming from 21st century networked digital communications innovations.

Fuchs (2014) echoes some of the disillusionment with Marx's concepts emanating from within the social and cultural studies disciplines. He suggests how those working on research into culture in the UK have in recent decades displayed a certain reticence to engage with or even appear to accommodate Marxist thought. I perceive a certain validity in this observation, living in an age where neoliberal capitalism functional modes increasingly subsume workers lives. Fuchs suggests that this domination or crisis of capitalism continues to generate greater class inequalities and unemployment. As capitalist interests in all sectors seek to maintain their profits and capital growth in this turbulent environment even university educated individuals have found themselves, as manual production workers did before them, facing rationalisation or workforce consolidation and becoming part of an alienated labour pool. Here they face competition with increasing

---

[23] Largely in *Chapter 4.*

numbers of other workers for waged positions and are required to accept ever poorer working conditions and remuneration when they do arise. The HE sector is not immune to the dominion of capitalistic logic, with research possessing economically viable outcomes prioritised over other work (De Angelis and Harvie, 2009) and critics of this orthodoxy subject to formal rebuke (Gardner, 2014). As research falters in the face of neoliberal capitalism, so too does teaching[24]. Seemingly neoliberal capitalism continues to accumulate its wealth, built on the *double-free wage labour* of the workforce's exploitation reducing the power of the worker's voice as their existence becomes just one more component of capitalism's *edu-factories* (Caffentizis & Federici, 2009). Thus, despite suggestions to the contrary, for me Marx's dialectical material theories offer a powerful tool with which to critique developments relating to higher education, and practically the relationships between commercial publishing actors and academic immaterial labourers.

Part of my rationale for using Marx within my framework, is a personal alignment with his methodology and ideology. One of the deeper personal connections I feel with Marx's thought can be encapsulated in the famous quote from the *Feuerbach* inscribed on his tomb "*The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways. The point, however, is to change it.*" (Singer, 2000, p. 43). Hence, Marx extolled that theory alone was insufficient to overcome alienation, it had to be backed by practical force; a theme Gramsci's work on revolution and counter-revolutionary forces developed significantly. To me this represents an important departure with some methodologies which merely seek to hold a mirror to society and critique it. The importance of research in having a real world effect is at the core of my personal engagement with theory. Having worked and witnessed at first hand the alienation possible within neoliberally constructed universities with managerialised environments, increasingly ideologically configured to meet the market economy 's demands rather than society, I remain driven to contribute to societal change, as represented by moving towards greater research communication openness.

I should note that in placing Marxist thought at the heart of this thesis' intellectual framework, it is worthy of highlighting how despite the criticisms directed at Marx himself, many leading social theorists remain strongly influenced by his work (Murphy, 2013). Elliot (2009, p. 5) quotes Marx as saying "*Capitalism squanders human lives, or living labour, and not only flesh and blood but also nerve and brain*". To me this represents a further ideological and intellectual standpoint which encapsulates the relationships observed between academics and the publishing industry. It and Marxist theory offers hooks with which to begin unpicking the situation, and to explore if academics truly are the exploited

---

[24] As is discussed in *Chapter 3.*

cognitive labourers they appear, if resistance to OA is purely due to an adherence to a state of false consciousness and to begin to comprehend the root causes of the cultural inertia seemingly gripping the academy.

> *The worker becomes all the poorer the more wealth he produces...the worker becomes an ever cheaper commodity the more commodities he creates.* (Marx, 1844)

While Marx foresaw capitalism's end coupled with the rise of the proletariat's power and eventual establishment of a new society run along socialist lines, one of the major criticisms of his theory is that this has not occurred. Yet, amidst the signs of increasing wealth inequality there are still those theorists who suggest neoliberal market economy capitalism has "*reached an historical dead end*" (Lazzarato, 2012, p. 168). Consequently, as workers continue to be alienated from the product of their labour, the labour process itself and even their own identity within the neoliberal capitalist knowledge economy of the 21st Century, for me the work of Marx still resonates. Yet, orthodox Marxism theory does require a recontextualisation in an age of digital communication, which in turn leads me to its revitalisation in a digital age though the scholars of autonomous Marxism.

Gramsci and Autonomism

The second sphere of method I wish to explore is that of Gramsci and autonomous Marxism. Landy (see Jones, 2006, p. 132) suggests a close correlation exists between Gramsci and the work of many autonomist Marxists, especially Negri and Hardt. I would concur with this view and argue there are many constructs which Gramsci developed which mesh with the autonomists' thought. It is for this reason I have included them as symbiotic elements within this section of my framework. They also represent intriguing developments in the thought and application of Marx's thinking to my work, and additionally offer useful resonances with Foucault's thought. Therefore, it is my belief that Gramsci and the autonomists' work suits my own ideological standpoint, and offers support towards developing my framework in understanding the forces, influences and conflicts existing around UK OA practices.

Antonio Gramsci was an early 20th century political activist and revolutionary inspired Marxist scholar who particularly developed Marx's work relating to domination and struggle. Unlike Marx he did not believe that revolution against a capitalist system would arise organically nor through a single route, and that structures and organisations needed to be constructed to permit such a revolution to occur. Consequently, he was also influenced by Lenin's strategies and practical experiences of socialist revolution in the early Soviet era. Gramsci founded the Italian Communist Party in 1921, and served in an opposition role within the 1920s' predominantly fascist Italian Government. It was as a

consequence of his activities and perception as a dangerous political radical, that in 1926 he was imprisoned for 11 years (Jones, 2006). This incarceration lasted the rest of his life, and yet saw Gramsci's most prolific era of theorising, culminating with writing his prison notebooks. Smuggled out by sympathizers, this act ensured his thinking propagated beyond Italy (Boggs, 1980). One of Gramsci's key assertions, while not denying Marx's view that the mode of production shapes society's historical development, was how this model only functioned when societies exist in a state of static equilibrium. This, as Boggs (1980, p. 36) points out, failed in explaining those "*vital transformative moments*" where systems are replaced by "*something qualitatively new*". Hence, the functioning of the dynamic forces in any society as newer, often subaltern, systems rose to prominence were of particular interest to Gramsci. It is the insight his thought brings in examining the dynamics and disruption occurring within academic society from shifts in OA scholarly dissemination praxis which I consider offers me an especially valuable critical lens.

Gramsci also criticised the classical Marxist approach in considering the functioning of force and coercion as the basis for any ruling-bloc's domination of workers. Orthodox Marxism typically pays little attention to anything existing outside of the sphere of production, but Gramsci saw that a consideration was missing of the subtler, persuasive ideological control existing as a key function within all repressive structures. It was from this that Gramsci developed the idea of rule through a combination of *coercive* force and willing *consent*, which he termed *hegemony* (Balaam & Dillman, 2011; Bocock, 1986). This represents a dominance by a ruling-bloc through direct or implied force coupled with the ideological consent from the subaltern groups. Thus, to establish any potential social revolution, and a subsequent new social system to achieve primacy, then a *counter-hegemony* (Boggs, 1980) is needed to sever these consensual ideological bonds. This is needed to achieve societal change as much as force is needed to overcome the ruling-bloc's coercive power base.

Hence, in considering the tensions extant between scholarly dissemination actors, and especially resistances to change, the work of Gramsci has much to offer. Gramsci advanced the belief that the social power of dominant blocs or groups are not constructed from a simple triad of domination, subordination and resistance. The composition of this power requires a good deal of consent from the subaltern groups, the maintenance of which requires a considerable flexibility by the ruling-bloc. As Jones (2006), notes as circumstances change, the ruling-bloc must maintain their position of dominance by incessantly adjusting elements of their ideological stance, adopting further elements of the subaltern bloc's beliefs while also adjusting their relationships. The result of this dynamic flexibility ensures that the subaltern continue to perceive their domination as a natural

configuration and a free expression of their own desires. Consequently, to achieve a successful counter-hegemonic position against such a normative state represents a considerable struggle, as the majority in any society will perceive it as running against the grain of the prevailing beliefs held in common. Gramsci termed these prevailing societal beliefs *common sense*. To my perceptions, those working within academic culture seek to challenge this normative common sense with the Gramscian construct of *good sense*; thought and praxis which is inherently coherent and critical. Accordingly, tensions occur, likely arising from the conflict any incipient societal shifts between these belief systems.

While Gramsci was much concerned with ideas of popular organic revolution and social transformation, all drawing on the Italian working class' experiences, his ideas have also contributed to developing a form of Marxism which seeks to address issues of a broader conception of the working classes in the digital age. Arising from the Italian *operaismo* (*workism*) and *autonomia* movements of the later 20th century, this *autonomous Marxism* or *autonomism* builds from a foundation of Marx, but seeks to adapt his thought and theories to address the contemporary world (Dyer-Witheford, 1999). It draws on a number of diverse thinkers with a radical bent, of whom Antonio Negri is the most widely known in English. While the work of Negri is undoubtedly prominent in the field, Kinsman (2004) points out it is important that autonomism is perceived "*a political space containing a number of different trends*". Although bearing this in mind, I would class my own reading has particularly but not exclusively veered towards Negri and his collaborators' writings.

Autonomism takes the premise that while the old empire of capitalistic production relies on labour power, the labouring multitude is not dependant on capital for its existence as a social force, giving it a greater autonomous freedom in how it challenges the orthodoxies of capitalism and in what it fights for. It seeks to re-address Marxism and capitalism in a digitally enabled age where workers can act autonomously, retaking control of themselves, their productive outputs and hence through realising their power also reclaim a measure of control over their society (Eden, 2012).

Negri and Hardt (2000) define that the present globally dominant form of political economic ideology, neoliberal capitalism, can be considered to represent a form of hegemony saturated in neo-colonial imperialist overtones. Yet, within the domination of this new *empire* the dominant form of labour is one which increasingly is autonomous from capital and is empowered to create a society disconnected from capitalism's domination. Termed the *multitude*, these are the elements of society which are engaged in immaterial, affective and intellectual forms of creativity that are not driven by a need to serve capitalist economic needs. I believe within this multitude it is possible to situate those individuals

within academic culture who labour to shift knowledge productive efforts outside the realms of capital's control. Additionally, Hardt and Negri's assertion that the production of new knowledge must be made common so future production can make use of it as a basis, strongly resonates with the OA movement's arguments[25].

Autonomism also recognises that the classically composed working class and their struggles against capital as defined by Marx have been displaced by new left wing movements[26]. This partly represents a critique of Marx's reductive treatment of people solely by class, and also his myopia towards issues of gender, ethnicity and the environment, and seeks to correct for it. Excitingly, autonomism also considers how computing technologies and networked communication represent the instruments of capitalist domination, but also become the tools with which anti-capitalist and counter-hegemonic struggle becomes enabled. This in turn suggests resonances with the activities of those working in the free culture domain and matures Gramsci's insights on revolution. Autonomism shares with Marx the recognition that capitalism's inherent flaws will become its undoing, but rather than seeing revolution engendered by workers' reclamation of their labour power, it points to increasing automation as subverting and reducing the basis of the capitalist system, the wage-labour relation. Thus, in an era of what Marx termed general intellect, capital "*works towards its own dissolution as the form dominating production*" (Marx in Dyer-Witheford, 1999, p. 221). Orthodox Marxism saw circuits of capital in the generation of surplus value comprising two phases. Firstly, the production of commodities by labour power, followed by the circulation of these for purchase or consumption. However, Dyer-Witheford indicates that autonomism recognises the importance of the reproduction of labour and resource. Consequently, a four phase circuit of capital is constructed, incorporating the reproduction of labour and nature or resources between Marx's phases, as being critical in generating surplus value. This underscores the renewed importance and power of the worker and the environment within the maintenance of capitalism. For the academic community this highlights their power as actors within the scholarly publication environs.

Autonomism has a focus on developing the working class' power and autonomy. Akin to classical Marxism, autonomism sees this working class constituted through class struggle. However, it diverges in that such a struggle is truly autonomous from capital, and also any formalised or official leaderships (Kinsman, 2004). Since it includes trade unions and political groupings, this also moves theory beyond Gramsci's requirement for change to be steered through constructing formalised revolutionary structures and organisations (Jones,

---

[25] See discussions in *Chapter 4* around OA definitions and benefits.
[26] Including such areas as feminism, environmentalism or LGBT rights.

2006). Importantly, this autonomous working class' composition as Dyer-Witheford (1999)
indicates, is constantly in flux as a consequence of capital seeking to decompose its
cohesion through an ongoing process of restructuring the production relationships.
Nevertheless, due to this cycle of struggle, the working class' recomposition sees a new
influx of fresh workers bringing with them new approaches to resistance, generating
ongoing tensions and potentials within capitalist domination. This highlights within
scholarly publication the importance of the role of early career researchers and research
postgraduates as nodes of resistance and restructuring of the power-relationships, as much
as the advent of digital dissemination technologies.

Kinsman (2004) defines one of the key differences between orthodox Marxism and
autonomism is in its configuration of power-relationships. Where Marxism gives capital the
power over workers who are portrayed as victims of the capitalist ideology lacking in any
power or agency, autonomism recognises that the resistance to capital by workers
represents a form of dynamic power. Crucially, this is a self-valorised autonomous power
to create and achieve rather than a power over other agencies. As Hardt and Negri (2009,
p. 278) note, the tension this autonomous power creates unites in unsettling elite actors as
"*the one thing that unites all aristocrats and monarchs, after all, despite their constant
bickering and competition, is fear of the plebs*". From my personal research perspective this
offers me considerable scope in considering the responses from the elite publishing actors
to the tensions OA generates through challenging their commodified knowledge
dissemination hegemony. To struggle against any form of inequity, tyranny or oppression is
an admirable quality, but it is not an easy task. As Hardt and Negri (2009, p. 197) note "*It
would be easy to enter the struggle if we were guaranteed victory before [hand]*".

Unsurprisingly, for autonomous Marxists the history of capitalism is considered to comprise
cycles of struggles and tensions, reinforced by the continued shift to immaterial labour in a
post-industrial society (Christians, 2014). Arguably today society has moved beyond the
mercantile and *industrial* phases of capitalism and into a third phase,
cognitive capitalism (Peters & Bulut, 2011). Within this phase, digital immaterial goods'
production through cognitive labour has become a central economic activity, situating
academic knowledge production as an economic function. Nevertheless, despite their
increasingly immaterial and non-rivalrous nature, academic publications continue to be
treated as physical goods within an ideology of privatism. Accordingly, technological and
legal means continue to be deployed in extracting rental income through restricting access
(Suber, 2012). Yet, this shift to embrace digital rather than physical distribution channels,

facilitates opportunities for new knowledge production, dissemination and consumption paradigms within a digital commons to occur (Lessig, 2006).

As with Gramsci, autonomism sees that the dominating power possessed by ruling-blocs is not constant and is sensitive to revolutions in technology and production. Shifts including those towards digital dissemination of formerly physical printed objects, like journal articles, represent just such a point of tension. Academic knowledge workers have long seen their productive work benefiting the academic publishing industry, with their free labour generating significant capital for these capitalist publishing concerns (Lilley, 2012; Mance & Cookson, 2014). To achieve tenure and career progression academics are required to publish in the highest impact titles they can, to garner sufficient peer prestige capital through citation and professional recognition. That most significant titles have long been enclosed by the academic publishing industry, has left academics with little opportunity or motivation to seek alternate avenues of knowledge exchange. Hence, such was the crushing need of academics in a pre-digital era for a dissemination industry that the industry's hegemony over the sharing of their research outputs distribution was near absolute. This dominion was reinforced by the funding councils' reliance on neo-Taylorist driven scientific-managerial instruments of measure[27], narrowing academic options for change. Thus, the emerging potentialities for the sector that arise from networked digital dissemination, the digital commons and OA represents a challenge to the ideology and economic basis of the publishing industry's dominion. Yet, despite the facility of technology to lighten the academic community's productive labour and free them from this domination, seemingly the academy's proletarianisation continues apace.

Gramsci and autonomism are not without their critiques. Some, including Bellamy (see Jones, 2006, p. 122-123), suggest Gramsci's thought is mired in a particular Italian or early Soviet milieu, and lacks wider applicability. Such a critique could be applied to Marx too and yet, like Gramsci, through my reading of their work, their thought on capitalist power and domination seems to speak as loudly to a globalised age of multinationals and overlapping spheres of influence, at least as powerfully as it did in Victorian England or pre-war Italy. A related critique of autonomism (Eden, 2012) notes that it, like Marx, has a predilection for considering many societal aspects situated from within a highly technologically advanced global north. Constructs such has Hardt and Negri's multitude particularly might be viewed as predicated on privileging affective and intellectual labour over manual production. This can be acknowledged, and doubtless there are post-Marxist

---

[27] These particularly include for research the REF and RAE (Research Excellence Framework and Assessment Exercise), and the National Student Survey (NSS) and QAA (Quality Assurance Agency) audits for teaching. I return to the former two in subsequent chapters.

scholars from the global south who may take a different approach. While this may reduce the generality of any conclusions I draw to academic cultures as they exist outside of the global north, since my research is concerned with the culture and behaviours within the UK academy I feel empowered to disregard such criticisms.

Autonomism has a debt to past Marxism, including Marx and Gramsci's, yet it also resonates with Foucault's work, making it an ideologically compatible bedfellow within my framework. One of the key aspects that I believe the adoption of Gramsci and autonomist method facilitates in answering is the identification of where academic culture situates itself within the scholarly dissemination hegemonic realms. While acknowledging academia does not comprise a monolithic, homogenous society, certain cultural myths and positions need to be problematised, challenged and exposed. Does a reluctance to adopt OA publication paradigms stem from a resistance to act against a hegemonic dominance, to risk a disruption to personal prestige or an uncomfortable subversion of intellectual ideologies? Is it possible scholarly dissemination itself is so suffused with neoliberal ideological traits, that to adopt new praxis is perceived as risking distorting academics' financial well-being? These are not easy questions to answer and I believe these will be something that the application of this method and empirical investigations will be able to answer. Through applying these methods, I perceive a gap in my framework and hence I must introduce a third form of method concerned with power divorced from a basis of dialectical materialism, and which considers the fluidity of the relationships constructing it.

Foucault

> *In France you ha[ve] to be, as a philosopher, a Marxist or a phenomenologist or a structuralist, and I adhere to none of these dogmas.* (Foucault in Mills, 2003 p. 3)

Hence, it is for this reason that the final sphere of theory I wish to introduce pertains to the French philosopher Michel Foucault, who while he refuted the labels is often regarded as demonstrating characteristics of post-structuralism and post-modernism. Foucault himself though preferred to present his ideas as a critical history of modernity. Notably, although Foucault was often critical of aspects of Marxist thought, much of his approach offers parallels in terms of the form of method, account of history and analysis of social structure (Olssen, 2004). Hence, while less concerned with political or economic agency, his thought on how actors establish and maintain their control and dominion over society represents a powerful body of work. It also demonstrates, I believe, a strong intellectual compatibility with the other aspects of my framework.

Foucault's social theory work attempted to move away from the grand narratives beloved by critical theorists and on the whole attempts to resist its dominant assumptions (Bertrand & Hughes, 2005). Rather, he sought to sketch a history of the ways in which humans developed knowledge about themselves. Crucially within his approach, he did not accept any pre-existing knowledge at face value. Specifically, he critiqued the conclusions by researchers seeking to understand humanity whose epistemologies drawing strongly on positivistic methodologies. To my perceptions, this aspect of Foucault's approach seems strongly applicable in critiquing the orthodoxies within OA discourse drawing on prior research constituted through quantitative methodological foundations.

While many aspects of Foucault's thought have influenced the development of research into culture, it was in the realms of power, discourse and sexuality where he had the profoundest impact (Elliott, 2009). It is particularly his work on power and discourse relationships which I believe are the most applicable constructs to my framework. For Foucault, the internal structures of knowledge and discourse are produced through the inter-relations of power, and the effects of these relations on society (Mills, 2003). Considering the construction and functioning of power is fundamental within my research and, like Marx and the autonomists, Foucault has much to say here. Power is not an easy concept to pin down, and consequently has a special status in social theory, with Foucault typifying three forms of power: *sovereign*, *disciplinary* and *biopower* (Coté & Pybus, 2011; Lazzarato, 2012). Sovereign power, the obedience to a central authority or monarch, has given way in most societies to disciplinary power, where those in more powerful positions bring subordinates into line with their wishes. Biopower, while drawing on aspects of disciplinary power, is applied in controlling the reproduction, illnesses, wellbeing and lives of a population across a society. Regardless of its form for Foucault power is omnipresent throughout society, demonstrating a near-adamantine bond with knowledge (Murphy, 2013). Hence, crucially for Foucault, knowledge and power are exactly reciprocal, correlative and superimposed; there is no knowledge without power and there is no power without possession of a certain special knowledge. Thus, for Foucault any knowledge or truths which are established about a society are always entrenched in power (Salerno, 2013), and hence they are always subjective, mediated or regulated by societal actors and events.

In Foucault's genealogies the links between knowledge and power were explored as constructing individuals as objects of knowledge and as subjects whose behaviour was often self-regulated. (Allan, 2013). This development of Bentham's idea of the *panopticon*, as a construct of self-regulation within society, represents one of Foucault's most

recognised ideas. Gutting (2005) notes that for Foucault, knowledge can have a transforming effect on the power structures which give rise to it. For example, while a government's justification for policy may rely on the basis of an accepted knowledge base, with the emergence of new revelations this power can be challenged. Drawing on *Discipline and Punish*, Gutting notes that in a variety of ways everyone is the subject of modern power; for which there is no single centre. Unlike a Marxist binary view of prole against bourgeois, Foucault declares that power is distributed throughout society in a multitude of micro-centres, creating an interrelated web of struggle and resistance. Allied to this is Foucault's construct of *governmentality*, a form of biopower which represents the shaping of the minds of a population, through seemingly transparent organisations including schools, hospitals, prisons etc., to try and produce the kind of citizen best suited to fit the government and states' desires (Mikula, 2008). As an application of soft power, it seldom emerges from a single agency, rather emanating from a multiplicity of actors and through a variety of routes.

Foucault also recognised that the role of power was integral to the existence and functioning of the modern social productive apparatus (Foucault, 2000). Additionally, from his case studies of prisons and hospitals Foucault saw the deployment of power was neither entirely top down nor located in the offices of state.   Since power is constructed through the web of relations which exist between societal actors, accounting for this complexity in research is important. As Foucault noted:

> *Power must be analysed as something which circulates, or as something which only functions in the form of a chain…Power is employed and exercised through a netlike organisation…Individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application.* (see Mills, 2003, p. 35)

Such was his belief in the power generative effects of relationships between actors that Foucault preferred to talk of *power-relations*. Hence, for Foucault power does not represent something imposed on another, but is constituted from a network of flowing relations circulating throughout society, constructed through performative acts rather than operating as a possession (Mills, 2003). In contrast to Gramsci's views on hegemony, Foucault's power is not concerned with oppressing and constraining actions. Indeed, Foucault considered that oppressive relationships demonstrate a measure of productivity, instigating new forms of behaviour.

Foucault had a number of definitions of power which developed over his academic career. His most important definition is that power only possesses any agency when it produces a desirable outcome in some manner for those who are subject to it (Foucault & Fontana, 1977). Hence, we only allow ourselves to become subject to power because we see in part

it is in our better interest to do so. Foucault (2000) states that power does not exist physically, rather it comprises a complex set of fluid and unstable interrelationships diffused and dispersed between the different groups and actors within a society. Foucault's last definition of power as expressed by Lazzarato (2012) is as an action carried out on another action, an action which keeps the person over which the power is enacted free. Hence, desiring to stay free individuals are motivated to take actions which maintain this stance, in itself a form of resistance and response to power.

Foucault's conception of power is performative, in that it only exists when it is applied (Felluga, 2002). Structures of power then, do not control people's actions directly, but rather indirectly through self-regulation by individuals disciplining themselves to act in line with the wishes of those who are able to enact power upon them. Foucault defined the exercise of power not simply as one of the relationships existing between actors but rather as the way in which some act upon others to ensure that their behaviour takes place within a constrained field of possible choices (Bertrand & Hughes, 2005). Thus, for Foucault understanding power-relations goes beyond a simple cause and effect model (Mills, 2003), they are performative acts which are normally obscured within society's normative functions. Only once a critical stance utilising Foucault's perceptions is adopted does it become possible to expose and better understand the complex performative network of relationships dispersed throughout a society, and thus the functioning of power-relationships within it. Power-relationships are not a stable construct and are subject to challenge by actors in the network or events, requiring constant renewal to maintain their agency (Mills, 2003). To a degree this resonates with Gramsci's ideas around the necessity of renewal of hegemony by the elite bloc. In keeping with the repositioning of autonomous power within capitalism for workers he argues that individuals take an active rather than a passive participation in its enactment. Hence, the key ideas are power as a net and individuals as the place at which power is enacted or resisted. Foucault said "*Where there is power there is resistance*" (see Mills, 2003, p. 40), hence where power-relations exist, so too does the possibility of resistance.

It is here that the nexus between the other aspects of my framework related to power takes a greater shape. For Foucault power is distributed throughout society and isn't centralised within the state or other elite actors as classical Marxism would have situated it, nor does he see it as deriving purely from an economic base. There is more overlap with Gramsci's insights that power is partly constituted through the consent of those affected by it although, unlike Foucault, he ascribes power as a possession of formal groupings. This idea is further developed in the autonomists' view of power as an autonomous possession

of the multitude. Nevertheless, Foucault's construct of power as a series of performative flow and action represents for me the superior conceptualisation of the influential relationships existing within complex multi-agent systems comprising any societal realm.

The second of Foucault's constructs which is important to my analysis, is *discourse*. Foucault believed it was important to separate power-relationships from communication relationships, and his construct of discourses was crucial in clarifying this distinction. He defined discourses as comprising a melange of representations, institutions and practices around which meanings are produced and authorised (Mikula, 2008). For Foucault the term came to represent the production, experience and authorisation of meaning within a social context, with discourses responsible for producing human experiences, rather than experiences producing them (Elliott, 2009). Foucault's discourses also are the sites of conjunction between power and knowledge, whose form and significance alter depending on the speaker's agency, their relative power and the institutional context within which they are situated. In reality no single agency is the sole creator of a discourse, rather they are intrinsically multi-agent in origin and epitomise a particular configuration of power and knowledge which acts to normalise and universalise a particular world view or ideology. Thus, within a discourse, specific *truth regimes* are legitimised. These regimes control the meaningful discussion of a topic and how ideas are put into practice, which in turn regulates or represses peoples' behaviour within a society (Mikula, 2008; Edgar & Sedgewick, 2002). Within society, discourses shape our understanding of ourselves and capacities to distinguish what is valuable and what is not. Foucault also saw how over time discourses became formalised into societal rules responsible for permitting or constraining behaviour and speech, consequently shaping the individual sense of self (Bertrand & Hughes, 2005).

Thus, examining the construction of discourses represents a contextual framework through which it becomes possible to understand aspects of society and culture which create and maintain the discourse itself. Foucault's constructs also permit me to problematise the responses to OA and develop my deeper understanding of the self-regulatory behaviour demonstrated by academics towards scholarly publication activities. Hence, through discussing OA discourse, I am seeking to represent more than simple exchange of dialogue or public policy. Instead I am alluding to the broader underlying praxis, knowledge and actors involved in it in this aspect of society. Hence, Foucault's constructs offer a way to expose and conceptualise the normative practices and underlying cultural rules which regulate, drive and shape the academic community's OA responses.

Having considered Foucault's two areas of thought, I will now consider his relationship to the other aspects of my framework. Foucault's focus on discourse demonstrates his seeming ambivalence to anything existing outside of them. Yet, there are important societal aspects which cannot be comfortably constructed within a discursive framing. To my mind, this indicates Foucault's thought, worthy as it is, must be combined in a framework with other symbiotically related work, like Marx and the autonomists, in order that their relative flaws can be minimised.

Foucault's relationship with Marxism is a complex one, although there is an acknowledged debt to Marx's thought within his work. Particularly, Foucault identified that his own work on power and role of economic equality in determining social structures drew on Marx's earlier work. However, like more recent Marxist scholars, he sought to move beyond the orthodoxies of Marxism and its focus on the economic base as the locus of power. Foucault did not wish to reduce analysis to a single dimension and concerned himself in "*developing and describing a politics which takes account of the transformative possibilities within the present*" (Mills, 2003, p. 16). I believe this is important for enriching my personal framework, in moving to problematise and analyse the constructs and functioning of scholarly publishing influences and relationships. It adds a much needed greater depth for dealing with the complexity of these, while simultaneously drawing on a methodological basis with a strong resonance with my other framework aspects. Additionally, as Gutting (2005) notes, Foucault clarified he wrote with the intention that his work could be applied so as to form part of an intellectual toolbox, saying:

> *All my books are little tool-boxes. If people want to open them, to use this sentence or that idea as a screwdriver or spanner to short-circuit, discredit systems of power, including eventually those from which my books have emerged . . . so much the better.* (see Mills, 2003, p. 7)

Mills also highlights Foucault's caveats in adopting his methodologies, chief amongst them being the importance of scepticism in the analytical process, stressing a reliance on your own judgements rather than those of others. He also stressed, due to the complexity of societies, that drawing general conclusions or making grand sweeping statements was to be avoided. Hence, researchers utilising Foucault's theoretical concepts are encouraged to instead highlight indicative trends. Here Foucault was indicating that the changing of position, the questioning and rethinking of one's past work is essential, and as Mills describes it we should not "*follow a straight-forward linear [intellectual] trajectory*" (Ibid, p. 3). Thus, in being critical of our own position as researchers, I am brought to Foucault's unsettling and yet liberating axiom that researchers should never assume their conclusions represent any form of ultimate truth. Hence, through continuing to rationalise, re-examine

and expose one's own motivations it becomes possible to offer the reader the intellectual honesty they deserve. Refreshingly, this self-critique also encourages a sceptical use of his own thought. Foucault's theoretical conceptualisations are thus useful, but I must adopt his position of scepticism and consider the critiques which have been made.

One of the joys in adopting Foucault's thought, is how his stance on reflexivity within analysis speaks directly to the concept of the humanities scholar as research instrument. Mills notes that Foucault highlighted the great extent to which a researcher's approach towards analysis will affect what they discover and theorise about their research. Enshrining this reflexivity and self-awareness within a research framework is not just an ethical stance but one contributing to establishing internal validity. Unlike Marx and the autonomists, Foucault does not adopt a clear political agenda at the heart of his analysis, rather he leads the researcher to reflect on their own political position, and how this stance may further colour their theorising. I have discussed my personal ideological and political stance as it stood at this research's commencement, and will return to it later. Thus, as this chapter represents an intellectual journey towards a defining a framework, so the thesis represents a journey through my personal ideological universe. Hence, this reflexive manner hopefully enables readers to utilise their own sceptical lenses in interpreting my findings, lending them a clarity of my intellectual and ideological positioning and a sense of how this has shaped the results, as Foucault would have desired.

Thus, from reviewing this considerable body of work and theoretical constructs, it is my contention that Foucault's methodologies are clearly strongly suitable to contribute to my framework.

2.3. Intellectual Framework

Hence, having broadly considered Marx, Foucault, Gramsci and the autonomists' theoretical concepts' contribution towards my intellectual framework, I will now review their particular application to my research enquiries[28]. My intention is to also demonstrate where overlaps and synergies exist between them.

Rationalising Academic Engagement

Marx

Marx, I believe, offers a way to shed light in considering the composition of academic cultures in the shadow of a neoliberal capitalist HE environment. Firstly, through problematizing the role of the capitalist publishing industry in maintaining the functioning of research dissemination practices a Marxist critique offers a number of applications.

---

[28] As established in the first chapter.

Within capitalism, Marx saw that the development of production was transformed into the domination and exploitation of the producing labourer. It is through this struggle that classes are formed (Suchting, 1983). Social bonds under Marxist theory are determined by these structured inequalities or class conflicts existing within societies. Hence, any society or culture is subject to fundamental splits and divisions, becoming "*schizoid to its roots*" (Elliott, 2009, p. 235). For Marx ruling ideologies are nothing more than the ideal expressions of the dominant material relationships:

> *The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it.* (Marx & Engels, 1932)

A Marxist stance exposes while the potential for the academic community to control the means of knowledge production has long existed, in real politick terms economic influence and capital comprises a far more substantive influence over the publishing environment. While publishers seldom directly confer capital rewards in return for academics' labour, immaterial prestige capital and recognition benefits are conferred through the extant legacy publication system. This results in material advantages for academics, likely contributing towards their willing continued subsumption within this capitalist system. Nevertheless, it can be assumed there will some disciplines which demonstrate greater degrees of subsumption or resistance to the pernicious influences of capitalism, given the variance in models of dissemination practice and funding extant across the academy. Thus, constrained within this system, the degree of flexibility with which the academy is able to resist or becomes subservient to the interests of capital represents a crucial element in understanding the configuration of research dissemination functions. Hence, Marx provides a crucial element with which to interrogate and understand the distorting subversion by capitalist influences of the academy's praxis.

Marx also permits the interrogation of the fragmentation of academic collegiality within the neoliberal academy, in that researchers are alienated from their own nature and also from one another[29]. It becomes easier to suggest that resistance to OA within the academy stems from a praxis saturated in the need to competitively acquire capital, wages or other resources to continue with their working lives. Thus, capital alienates and proletarianises the academy driving them against their own nature (Singer, 2000), undermining the community's underlying collegiality. Consequently, they become more likely to relate to one another in a neoliberally framed mode of competition rather than cooperatively.

---

[29] As noted earlier, Marx saw 'human nature' as unfixed, and mutably as social and economic circumstances alter. As history progresses, so too does human behaviour.

There are two areas in which autonomism contributes to developing insights. Firstly, Gramsci's construct of hegemony (Bocock, 1986) offers a means to explore the tensions operating within the normative publication practices of academics, allowing a deepening of the understanding configured from Marx. The question that needs to be considered here is if the forces operating on the academy represent a *limited* or an *expansive* hegemony. The former's mode of operation relies on coercion and repression to maintain its effectiveness, due to the ruling-bloc not genuinely adopting the interests of subordinated groups. Conversely for an expansive hegemony, dominated groups or individuals "*spontaneously and actively give their consent to the [ruling] bloc*" (Jones, 2006, p. 52). Sustaining this consent however introduces an instability, which requires the ruling-bloc to constantly ideologically reposition themselves within society if they are to maintain their position. It is my contention, given the history of close academic relationships with the publishing industry, that the hegemony encompassing the academic sector more closely represents the expansive form, but further investigations will be needed to establish this. The recognition that subaltern groups play an active role in their own hegemonic domination through their part in consenting to it, complements Foucault's ideas of panoptic behavioural self-regulation.

Secondly, the autonomous construct of the *socialised worker* working within a social factory (Dyer-Witheford, 1999), where society and the workplace is subsumed by capital, offers insights in recognising the relationship between academic immaterial labour and the continued proliferation of legacy publishing models. Today's UK academy is infused with a neo-Taylorist academic production cultures and ideology[30] . This brings expectations of a mobile and flexible labour force whose productive labour time extends beyond the factory floor. Hence, for many academics, a balanced work/life existence represents a facade collapsed by capitalism in satisfying the requirements of institutional and knowledge production labour. In this Negri agrees with Marx, that "*divisions of work and not-work crumble under this capitalist logic*". Hence, "*transformations in the labour process are bound up with transformations of society*" (Eden, 2012, p. 40), even where efforts are made to maintain some illusion of separation between them. By this definition, academics clearly operate as socialised workers whose socially necessary labour time is exploited in the maintaining the legacy publishing model, with its desirable return of prestige capital.

---

[30] As discussed at length within *Chapter 3.*

Foucault further contributes to the conceptualisation of power over the academy's behaviour, in this case an effect stemming from self-regulation. This *panoptic* self-discipline and compliance with expected norms illuminates the influence on the academy's behaviour from other HE environmental factors, including the impacts from funder or institutional policies, along with research quality assessments. Foucault's vision of a panoptical society highlights how a small number of people can exercise behavioural control over a larger group. This operates not simply through mechanisms of monitoring but via *self-surveillance, self-regulation* and the acceptance of the normalising discourse embedded in the monitoring processes (Hope, 2013). Nevertheless, Foucault (2000) believed that no matter how forbidding any given system of power-relationships, the possibility for resistance and disobedience exists. The concept of self-discipline represents individuals internalising control and sublimating their immediate desires, consequently constraining their behaviour in a particular manner becomes a normalised mode of operation (Mills, 2003). This self-discipline permeates their ways of thinking and behaving to such a degree, that conceiving of any other way of operating becomes hard to comprehend, and hence forming a natural point of resistance to change. For the academy, it can be postulated that the legacy publications models and their related metrics of prestige, naturally self-regulate academic behaviour towards adopting a conservative stance. To operate outside any societal publication norms represents a risk of invalidating key components of academic identity and respect. Hence, Foucault offers further insight into the internalised controls shaping academics' responses to OA paradigms

Foucault's idea of discourses also offers further insight in considering the establishment, operation and circulation of behavioural norms. His discourses are powerful constructs which aid in shaping the understanding of ourselves and our capacity to distinguish the aspects within a society to which value is ascribed. Over time, Foucault argued that discourses become formalised as social rules, normalised within the operations of culture. (Bertrand & Hughes, 2005). These rules govern the behaviours of society members, permitting or constraining behaviour and speech. Thus, discourses become responsible, not simply for shaping society and representing the epistemic knowledge, but also for constructing the individual sense of self. Hence, the operation of academics within the OA and scholarly dissemination discourses are worthy of examination, especially their compliance with these normative operational rules. Crucially then, authentic actor information needs to be obtained directly so these considerations can be further analysed.

Conceptualising Actor Power-Relationships

Marx

A Marxist critique of capitalism offers two particular applications when seeking to problematise the network of actor relationships operating on the academy. Firstly, there is Marx's concept of *real subsumption*, the process by which the social relations of production penetrate the labour process itself (Arvidsson, 2013, Bertrand & Hughes, 2014). This represents a gradual transformation of the social relations and the modes of labour until all elements resonate with the primary function of satisfying capital's requirements (Eden, 2012). As capital grows in strength so too does its dominion over its workers, who through their productive labour generate wealth for the capitalist and strengthen the power dominating them (Singer, 2000). For academics, it can be considered that this process is well underway, with their immaterial knowledge production long since commodified through their relationships with academic publishers. In considering academic publishing, as in any business, the added value return must be greater than the capital investment. Where costs are too high, then the price of labour must be reduced or productivity increased to maximise capital return, commonly achieved through exploiting labourers through minimising any financial recompense for their labour (Bertrand & Hughes, 2014). Nevertheless, it is not only the publication industry who contribute to this subsumption, other actors including research funders, government and scholarly societies also play a role.

Secondly, Marx offers a lens through which it becomes possible to construct an ideological critique illuminating elements of the class struggle configured by the relationships between external actors and economic forces. This relationship is complex in that academics' work is salaried by their institutions, which includes their knowledge productive labour. Streeck (2014, p. 35) suggests capitalism's decree is that life and social order is "*dependant on the uninterrupted process of private capital accumulation*". This finds resonances within the publisher facilitated academic dissemination model. While under this model, academics gift their publications' economic rights to publishers, this is not conducted without gaining reciprocal prestige capital benefits. Additionally, in their roles as editors and peer-reviewers, academics labour to ensure the quality of the product that publishers can resell; again at no cost to the industry. Nevertheless, publishers benefit greatly in capital profitability terms from this relationship, and hence their reluctance to shift from this model is unsurprising. This represents an exploitative relationship and yet intriguingly there has been no wide-scale revolt against this domination. Seemingly while OA represents a form of revolution against this model, as Marx and Engels (Harris, 2003) argued, it is in the ruling actors and institutions' interest to maintain the illusion that the

status quo is a normal and desirable state. The role of prestige capital academics obtain in return for their participation is critical, and may offer some explanation to the resistances to new paradigms (Eve, 2014a). Intellectually academics they may wish to resist this domination but such is the strength of capital's grip over publication praxis that academics have become culturally enslaved and dependant on the extant capitalist ideology (Barassi, 2012).

Autonomism

Developing this theme, I turn to autonomism and Gramsci's construct of hegemony, shifting my critical lens from a classical Marxist model of power born from force and coercion to include the role of ideological consent (Boggs, 1980). Where rights to the products of academics' knowledge labour are enclosed through privatism, and dissemination of this knowledge is exploited for the enrichment of a small number of elite actors, capitalism seemingly has achieved an irrefutable and extensive hegemony over academic publication. Such is the pervasion of this hegemony it becomes possible to rationalise why moves to consider new business paradigms of publication have been met by reluctance by publishers; notably smaller scholarly society ones (Darley et al, 2014) as it threatens to disrupt their control over a domain they have long profited from. A reductionist view would likely ascribe the dominating agency to the publishing industry. However, conceptually, the publication industry's composition is complex. It incorporates such varied members as multi-nationals[31] alongside academic presses[32] and learned societies. Consequently, as their positions and relations with the academy will vary, it is also likely that their applications of power and influence will not be heterogeneously configured within the hegemony. Additionally, in considering a hegemony over academic publication, the role of other actors in this environment, particularly funders and government, must also be considered. It is only through examining the tensions and relations extant between these blocs does it become possible to construct an informed representation of this hegemony's constitution. As Eden (2012, p. 64) states "*Capitalist power is composed of two indistinguishable poles – state control and a social structure based on exploitation*". Hence, critically, this then permits a deeper understanding of the points in the power-relations where these tensions offer opportunities for enacting effective cultural change.

Importantly Gramsci also saw that power is lived as a form of common sense by those upon whom it operates. He argues that as a dynamic process, hegemony is always "*in the process of becoming*" (Jones, 2006, p. 5). Hence, its shifting mode of operation means

---

[31] Such as Elsevier, Springer or Wiley-Blackwell.
[32] Including the long established Oxford or Cambridge presses, along with emerging ones such as Huddersfield.

isolating any nexus of power becomes in Gramsci's view a problematical endeavour. Unlike classical Marxist theory's economic focus, Gramsci includes a mutual exchange relationship between culture, politics and the economy. It is this which drives the constantly circulating and shifting networks of influence (Jones, 2006) which confer agency to hegemonic power. For the HE sector, just such a complex network of relationships comprises the hegemony that suffuses it. Kinsman (2004) drawing on Negri's work also argues that as power over a domain or group shifts, so too does capital seek to decompose the strengths and power of the subaltern dominated working classes. Consequently, this rips apart the subaltern bloc's power base, fragments their groups and seeks to increase social surveillance. Hence, as the academic community are subject to such applications hegemonic power then they are surely embroiled in what Gramsci termed *cycles of struggle* to resist it (Dyer-Witheford, 2011). Thus, those actors enacting power over the academy must continually adapt to shifting ideologies and praxis to maintain their agency.

Foucault

As discussed previously, Foucault's thought offers further insight in understanding this complex network of power-relations. Foucauldian power is constituted from the network of flowing relations circulating within a society (Mills, 2003) which, developing from Gramsci's ideas, suggests a deeper complexity to the power-relations operating on the academy. Foucault also saw that in order for power to function it has to produce pleasurable or desirable outcomes on those whom were subject to it (Foucault & Fontana, 1977). Thus, as actors in the research dissemination environment facilitate publication in a manner agreeable to the academy, any power-relations affecting them will continue to be strongly configured. Through applying Foucault's thought, then it becomes possible to expose and understand the distribution of these flows of power and influence, achieving a deeper appreciation for where any particular loci may be currently operating relating to academic publishing. The concentration and application of power deriving from capital wealth or extant relationships becomes an area clearly requiring the interrogation of a range of actors in its problematisation. Foucault also allows the clarification of the junctures or nodes of knowledge and power operant within discourses. The integral relationship of power with production could be considered to shed light on the manner in which academics have become bound into the productive publication apparatus. Hence, considering the elements of resistance to domination exposed within OA discourse, contributes to exposing and defining those acts of performative power operated upon the academy.

Additionally, Foucault (2000) spoke of *epistemological power*, the extraction of knowledge from and about individuals as gathered by actors. This proffers a lens with which to appraise the consideration that knowledge about academics is likely exploited by actors for their own capital ends[33]. Foucault, while acknowledging that modern western society was built on the accumulation of capital, indicated the formation, circulation, consumption, and accumulation of knowledge was fundamental to society's operation. However, these knowledge processes cannot be dissociated from the power mechanisms with which they maintain complex relationships. Hence, this perception makes it is possible to problematise how neo-Taylorist measures of authorial esteem and the generation of prestige capital operating within knowledge production configure actor power-relations and influences on the academy. These relationships may be at the interface of the dichotomy between scholarly knowledge creation and institutional capital gains which comprise the modern marketised HE sector. (Murphy & Skillen, 2013).

Policy Conflicts

Marx

Policies relating to publishing are typically enacted on the academy by actors including funders, the government or senior institutional management. The direct influence of publishers in this realm is reduced, although through their representation to other actors it is likely they still possess the ability to affect policy configurations. In considering the tensions generated around the creation and impact of policies, a Marxist ideological critique serves to uncover hidden meanings and influences. Fuchs (2014, p. 48) points out the modern academy is "*inherently shaped by an economic logic of accumulation, competition and ranking*". Thus, arguably in enacting or responding to policies from a Marxist framing it can be considered institutions will prioritise functional aspects favouring their economic well-being, over others. Moves from publishers to facilitate routes to gold publication through charging publication fees, in response to funder policy moves mandating OA availability, are also something which needs to be considered here. Given the publication industry's need to ensure continued capital gain, indicates that a dialectical materialist based Marxist interpretation will contribute much.

Marx also illuminates the transformation of an arguably public knowledge wealth into private property. Marx argues capitalism has always taken the idea of private property, greed and competition as axiomatic (Singer, 2000). This contributes towards explaining the tensions extant around the transfer of article ownership rights to publishers which are

---

[33] This raises an interesting, albeit beyond this research's scope, issue concerning the ownership by commercial entities of academic impact indices (e.g. Clarivate Analytics' Journal Citation Reports or Elsevier's CiteScore), from which considerable markers of professional esteem are derived.

required under the legacy publication model. A related point of tension is the role of senior managers tasked with commercialisation of institutional intellectual property (IP) with private enterprise actors, a university activity of increasing import for institutional financial viability as government policies progressively reduce the academy's state funding (Ayris, 2011; Coman, 2014; Peters, 1992). Thus, this neoliberal ideology responsible for driving policy creation affects universities as centres of knowledge production, results in greater emphasis being placed on developing commercially exploitable research. Additionally, institutions increasingly adopting knowledge capital policies which seek to retain control of exploitable IP, represents a further domain of privatism running counter to an ethos of open scholarly communication. Perhaps not coincidentally, HE management practices are also shifting to models replicating those extant in the private sector (Dyer-Witheford, 1999). Thus, the degree to which this pervasive neoliberal policy ideology influences the academy's functioning becomes a matter in which a Marxist examination of relevant institutional guidance, ethos and discourse proffers dividends.

Autonomism

The operation of OA policies likely creates tensions which feed into the hegemonic cycles of struggle against the academy's domination while contributing to its reconfiguration. Gramsci argued that any revolution against an existing status quo must be *authentic* if it is to succeed, meaning it must be engendered from within the subaltern class. Without this authenticity, political and social struggle will simply replicate the extant modes of social relations and circuits of power (Boggs, 1980). Gramsci also highlighted that it is within private or civil society rather than the coercive state where hegemony must be overcome to achieve success (Jones, 2006). This suggests, for the academy, while publication policies may dictate certain actions, authentic resistance to the normative cultural publication praxis must arise organically from within the academic corpus. Thus, it is not inconceivable that the point at which policy operates on the academic community may generate conflict and resistance to this coercion, hence diminishing moves to OA. Examination of these aspects through a Gramscian lens makes it possible to expose these points of tension and better understand the health of any counter-hegemony to state or funder policies currently operating.

Gramsci also spoke about crises and their roles as representing moments of opportunity to challenge or strengthen the pre-existing order. In his terms, what the publishing environment faces relating to evolving publication praxis is not an *organic* crisis which violently overthrows the ruling-bloc, but more closely represents a *conjunctural* crisis. In this crisis mode, the ruling-bloc seems able to rectify any challenges to their established hegemony through their extensive resources and reserves. A return to a status-quo which

still favours the ruling-bloc is possible, but sacrifices and compromises are required (Jones, 2006). "*Capitalism would never abandon a regime of profits*" declare Hardt and Negri (see Eden, 2012, p. 22), "*and only undergoes systematic transformation when forced and the current regime is no longer tenable.*" Hence, adjustments are only made when the ruling-bloc's control faces irrefutable disruption. It is such a disruption which moves from UK research funders in recent years seems to represent. While the constituency of this ruling-bloc may be ascribed to a number of actors whose identities require exposure, extant harbingers of decay in this hegemony are apparent. Events over the past two decades including the library serials pricing crisis, the rise in OA dissemination alternatives (Hess & Ostrom, 2007; Suber, 2012) and the absence of much direct, organic action against the status quo, configures this situation within a conjunctural framing. Likewise, the moves made by these dominant actors to address these issues (Finch, 2012), through giving ground and position, represent efforts to rectify and restore a status quo favouring them.

However, with the recent shifts to adopt forms of gold OA[34] by publishers and attempts towards harmonizing actors' interests through efforts like the Finch Group, arguably the academy's publishing realm has emerged from crisis and entered into a period of static equilibrium. Potentially, hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forces now operate in a sense of dynamic tension rather than direct opposition, but this requires clarification. Worryingly, those in the subaltern bloc who have longed for emancipation and freedom, within a technologically enabled neoliberal capitalist workplace can find their resistance becoming configured in more of an authoritarian or fascist operational mode (Dyer-Witheford, 1999). For capitalist interests this represents their best weapon against any arising autonomous movements, shifting resistance against them to an authoritarian stance. It is not inconceivable within the OA movement's own discourse that such a reactionary response could develop or be encouraged by certain actors.

Negri, like other autonomists also recognises that Gramsci's cycles of struggle drive organisations to adopt successively more organised and technologically intensive forms of labour (Dyer-Witheford, 1999). Negri also argues, even as newer forms of technically enabled labour create a digitally literate workforce, that this workforce becomes enabled to resist the ruling groups' capitalist agendas by turning their technology against them. It is possible to see that policies enacted by the state and funders, and influenced by publishers, represents the dominion of Hardt & Negri's (2000) construct of *empire*, representing a new imperialism. In my research, this empire relies on the work of a potentially autonomous academic *multitude*, with the capacity to create a society on their own (Eden, 2012)

---

[34] As discussed in *Chapters 4* and *6* particularly.

representing a particular challenge to the established ruling-bloc. This in turn reinforces the idea that the academic workforce may seek to subvert and resist the intent of policy enacted upon them to enable an organically defined publication praxis.

Foucault

In this regard, Foucault's thoughts on resistance to and moves to counter domination also has applicability when considering the tensions concerning publishing policies. "*Where there is power, there is resistance*" said Foucault (see Mills, 2003, p. 40), and it is this resistance which gives agency to those upon whom power is operated. As Negri and Lazzarato (see Dyer-Witheford, 1999, p. 233) echo "*No site could be more vital to capital's harnessing of collective intelligence than academia*". Hence, with the academy representing a site of specific interest to the exploitation of knowledge production by capitalism, unsurprisingly policies both affect and enact power upon it. Particularly, Foucault's construct of power as a complex web of interrelationships offers strong applicability here. It can prove an aid in exploring the conflicts and tensions generated by the multiple agencies able to operate, construct and configure policy affecting academic publishing praxis. Foucault's thought also resonates with a Gramscian view of configuring resistances to policy. Policies as a form of coercive power will likely effect the academy, meaning that forms of resistance and points of conflict will arise. Therefore, the degree to which any resistance becomes reified as a reaction against elements seeking to alter the publishing status quo requires careful consideration.

Foucault's construct of the *panopticon* as a mechanism of self-domination also proffers particular application as a lens in examining the impacts from the rising number of funder mandated OA policy requirements (ROARMAP, 2014) and associated increased academic compliance monitoring. The anticipated intent of these mandates seems to be based within such a Foucauldian construct, driving academics towards self-regulating behaviour until compliance with OA publication praxis becomes the normative state. Nevertheless, the degree of progress and time-scales on which this process operates is unclear, requiring further investigation to expose. Finally, Foucault's discourses with particular regard to those operating around state and funder enacted policies, also offer a powerful tool for exploring the constitution of any underlying conflicts of interest. There will likely be a number of examples exposed, especially relating to the long standing policy support by successive UK governments in favouring various OA forms (Great Britain, 2004, 2013a; Finch, 2012). These subtle shifts within policy discourse hence represent an important area to expose to analysis.

Critiquing Engagement Promotion

Marx

The role of marketing and promoting open research dissemination praxis to academics has long been a core activity of OA support staff workers within UK universities. Typically referred to as *advocacy,* this work often focusses on advancing rational arguments, stressing the tangible and intangible benefits to academic prestige capital, peer recognition and career prospects resulting from engaging with OA forms of research dissemination (RSP, 2013). Little effort is likely expanded in constructing a Marxist based rationale by these workers, highlighting the academic workforce's alienation as a consequence of any economic exploitation. What Marx's thought does offer here is an ideological critique applied to the arguments used to affect behavioural change by researchers. Importantly from a Marxist framing, the alienation caused by the capitalist subsumption of academia does not represent the "*essential, original and definitive form*" of humanity (Singer, 2000, p. 35) but rather a transitory stage and therefore there is hope to move from it. Thus, through a Marxist examination of the advocacy praxis it becomes possible to expose if rationales deployed in advocacy work are rooted in a capitalist configuration, or if immaterial benefits like increased public visibility have become more critical.

There may also be evidence from studying this advocacy work which exposes the degree to which the legacy publication model and its organs[35] have become *fetishised* within the academy (Louise, 2013). The value, and hence desirability, ascribed to these forms of dissemination by the academy may be perceived to outweigh the cognitive labour expended in their creation, potentially causing an obstacle to achieving a greater OA engagement. This fetishisation may also contribute to a state of *false consciousness* within the academy, where the underlying reality of any oppression or exploitation of the community becomes shrouded (Singer, 2000). As Boggs (1980, p. 42) observes, any struggle to overcome a pre-existing dominion has to first "*penetrate the false world of established appearances rooted in the dominant belief systems*", before it is possible to construct a new environment drawing on different values and ideas. Hence, this critique will establish if advocacy arguments draw on ideological and moralistic epistemology, or if they are more strongly configured through an economic *real-politick* premise.

Autonomism

Gramsci and the autonomists contribute a number of different ways to the understanding of advocacy praxis. Firstly, they permit a critique of the self-organised autonomous actions of advocacy workers and advocacy networks as they seek to achieve changes within a

---

[35] Journals, books, etc.

publication system locked into a capitalist mode of functioning. Capitalism is a collision between exploitation of labour and the resistance of workers (Dyer-Witheford, 1999) within the cycles of crisis that embody this system and struggle is intrinsic to these capital relationships. Yet, computing knowledge and communication represent instruments of capitalist domination along with resources for anti-capitalist struggle. From autonomism, it is possible to draw on the concept of *exodus* which represents going beyond capital in an attempt to "*create a non-state and non-representative democratic form that manifests the commons*" (Eden, 2012, p. 61). Exodus embodies practices of disobedience which disarm and dissolve sovereignty and the state. This indicates that, from a moral-political philosophical standpoint, if change is desired it is insufficient for activists to simply indicate a practice is suffused with a capitalist exploitative immorality (Bocock, 1986). Therefore, in seeking to achieve a measure of ideological leadership through their advocacy, institutional OA workers must, in Gramsci's view, achieve intellectual and philosophical consent from all major cultural groups. This represents a potential difficulty since most OA workers function within the operational and organisational strictures of their institutions, constraining aspects of both praxis and ideological freedoms.

Secondly, Gramsci's construct of hegemony can be applied to examining the habitations of subservience, compliance and adherence to the publishing status quo resulting from academics' domination. Negri (see Dyer-Witheford, 1999) recognises that the *cycles of struggle* formed from the class conflicts within capitalism, cause capital to adopt increasingly more organised and more technologically intensive forms. Although there "*no longer is a [representative] centre to capital and as such the points of resistance multiply endlessly*" (Eden, 2012, p. 56) and as technology itself becomes quotidian, it becomes impossible for capitalism to stop its use in challenging their domination. Consequently, within the social-factory enabled by digital communication, it can be witnessed that anti-capitalism radiates out to society at large. Hence, resistance to capitalism's domination over the academy likely manifests in academic-run university presses[36], open dissemination platforms[37] and OA repositories, representing developments which embrace a commons mode of operation beyond overt capitalistic constructions.

Thirdly, Gramsci as a social progressive offers a valuable construct in considering the effectivity of enabling a revolutionary publication praxis. He describes wars of *manoeuvre* and *position* against the dominant hegemony. The former mode represents a direct assault which results in a sudden transformation of the hegemony's configuration. These rarely

---

[36] E.g. Open Book Publishers or endeavours such as Huddersfield Open Access Publishing.
[37] E.g. The Open Library of Humanities.

occur and more usually struggles against domination take the form of a war of position. These are long-term superstructure conflicts wherein hegemonic domination is countered through ideological or cultural rather than physical means. Here, it is the meanings and values operating within society which form the principal focus of long-term struggles for ideological prominence (Bocock, 1986; Jones, 2006). Thus, drawing on Gramsci's model indicates that changing societal norms requires a protracted period of engagement and negotiation occurring across all the institutions and actors whom comprise its cultural superstructure. This rather runs counter to Marx's view that such organisations are responsible for transmitting a monolithic bourgeois ideology and cannot be productively engaged with. Since OA changes to praxis within the academy have evolved slowly, it seems most probable that a Gramscian war of position is occurring in the academic publishing domain. Other elements supporting this view can be observed not only within ongoing advocacy work, but also in higher-level socio-political engagements like the Finch Group's conclave of dissemination actors. Notably, the ongoing ideological rapprochement between the publishing industry and academic libraries, as exemplified in major conferences like the UKSG[38] (Johnson, 2014), or the discourse between learned societies and their members, also represents further long term engagements of manoeuvre[39]. Hence, by considering these relationships in this critical light, elements of this struggle will be revealed.

A further complication to advocacy's successful impact can be exposed through Gramsci's observations that people hold several identities simultaneously within any society (Jones, 2006). For academics their professional identity is constructed from such elements as their roles as researchers, editors, teachers and learned society members. Gramsci tells us it is only through expending considerable effort to meet the needs and desires of these disparate identities that it becomes possible to achieve any measure of influence or control over them. Arguably, unlike other Marxist approaches, within autonomous Marxism there are no issues with autonomy and diversity, since the "*goal is to develop politics of differences that transcend antagonisms between different sections of the oppressed*" (Kinsman, 2004). Academics may arguably identify more strongly with their disciplines than their organisational communities, although it is also apparent that they do not exist as a monolithic cultural bloc (Priego, 2014). Additionally, organisations like universities represent an assemblage of networks of different agents and intellectuals, meaning that it

---

[38] UK Serial Group, an annual conference dedicated to bringing academic publishers and librarians together in a conducive, convivial and arguably opulent atmosphere.
[39] The recent deal for UK HE, brokered by Jisc, with Elsevier likely also forms part of this war of manoeuvre, although it is perhaps too early to say so conclusively. Cf. (Myers & Boersma, 2016) for details.

is not possible for a single voice to representatively speak for them. Consequently, a capacity for friction between individuals and corporate structures exists (Jones, 2006). Given these fragmented identities, competing needs and niche interest groups all impacting on the academy's societal configuration Gramsci's methodology seems an invaluable analytical instrument. His work can therefore be applied in exposing why advocacy predicated on addressing the needs of only a part of the academic identity may be conceptually flawed.

Allied to this issue is the crucial need within autonomism for the multitude themselves to become "*the bearer of any revolutionary change*" (Boggs, 1980, p. 74) during the long struggle for the transformation of praxis. Thus, academics must be central to any successful struggle to overcome pre-existing privatism-based regimes of research dissemination. The degree to which they align with support workers' advocacy of evolving publication praxis is questionable and likely uneven across the UK. Gramsci, for his part, also argued that for effective change *organic intellectuals* are required to provide ideological leadership (Bocock, 1986; Jones 2006), in contrast to the *traditional intellectual* who has withdrawn from the complexities of everyday life. Some senior and emeritus academics will likely fit this latter categorisation and play a role in engendering the normative publication praxis stasis. Organic intellectuals, by contrast, are an elite cadre, well-educated in the nuances of philosophy and political economy but also in touch with all strata of society not only their peers. These individuals must also be willing to participate in any struggle for change. Hence, as Gramsci said:

> *One of the most important characteristics of any group that is developing towards dominance is its struggle to assimilate and conquer 'ideologically' the traditional intellectuals, but this assimilation and conquest is made quicker and more efficacious the more the group in question succeeds in simultaneously elaborating its own intellectuals* (see Boggs, 1980, p. 78)

Since many OA workers have sought to empower institutional OA champions as advocacy exemplars, this represents a strong Gramscian approach to challenging the pre-existing status quo. Notably, the transformative roles of intellectuals in shifting from pre-existing intellectual forms to emerging ones is something achieved through consent rather than an imposition of ideas (Jones, 2006). Success or failure is not guaranteed, nor is the speed with which the situation will resolve itself. Gramsci also argued that people are not swayed "*on the basis of theories derived from statistical laws*", but only through "*their active and conscious co-participation*" (Boggs, 1980, p. 27). A necessary assumption here is that any mass of individuals, like the UK academy, remain passive rather than active participants in any struggle for emergent praxis. Gramsci also said "*Structure ceases to be an external force which crushes man, assimilates him to itself and makes him passive, and is*

transformed into a means of freedom, an instrument to create a new ethical political form and a source of new initiatives" (ibid, p. 32) but this must always be a conscious transformation by the oppressed. It is only once a self-realisation on the part of the oppressed class is achieved that any change can be engendered. Gramsci also disagreed with Marx that behaviour was only due to external stimulus, and argued consciousness played a key role in shaping revolutionary change. For Gramsci, consciousness "*was not an abstract realm of thought*", but rather a "*concrete political force…integral to the experiences of a particular 'collective organism' (a social stratum or class)*" and "*a defining characteristic of political action*". Hence, while shaping political struggle, it is also the "*medium through which the popular strata emerge as self-determining revolutionary subjects*" (ibid, p. 63).

Finally, in Gramsci's view, moments of crisis for the ruling hegemonic bloc represent opportunities for counter-hegemonic forces to fill the sudden ideological void with new expressions of cultural leadership. There exists the risk though that authoritarian personality cults may fill the vacuum at these points (Jones, 2006). Cultural leaders concerned with UK OA, may represent certain polarised views in their dialectic[40]. Consequently, portions of the academic community may find themselves aligning with particular stances. The degree to which their influences may affect the impact, perceived validity or embrace of advocacy efforts is an area where Gramsci's thought offers help in clarifying.

Foucault

Foucault's thought along with that relating to the academy's power-relations, develops the Gramscian organic intellectual into the *specific intellectual* (Mills, 2003). These highly qualified and preeminent individuals within their field are able to shape the discourse around a subject far more than others, hence representing a paramount influence over praxis. Within the OA discourse, Peter Suber[41] may potentially fulfil a specific intellectual role, although arguably his influence over the UK academy corpus may fall short of achieving such a perception. However, whether the UK academy community accepts or recognises any paramount praxis leaders is uncertain. Potentially, those individuals whom OA workers believe satisfy positons of ideological authority or disciplinary prominence may not concur with the academic community's views. Being able to recognise these agents for change likely aids in configuring the circuits of power affecting advocacy within the academy. Understanding the academic perceptions around these figures needs to be explored through interrogatives with the academy members, and examining publication

---

[40] As discussed in *Chapter 4*, and reconsidered during *Chapter 7.*
[41] See *Chapter 4: Key Individuals & Organisations.*

discourse. There may also exist within disciplines or across the academy what Foucault termed *epistemic communities*, groups of professionals with recognised expertise and competence within a specific domain possessing demonstrable relevant knowledge and prestige (Mills, 2003). Their role in constructing, propagating and championing advocacy at the national level is likely also to be significant concerning the visibility and perceived validity ascribed to it across the academy. The role may be ascribed to the learned societies, but the degree to which academics look to these bodies for guidance requires investigation and analysis. Where ideological or intellectual disconnects between these epistemic communities and the academy exist represent points of tension. These tensions risk diminishing the efficacy of advocacy if its praxis relies too strongly on the support of champions whom few academics acknowledge.

Like Marx, Foucault had much to say on the subject of struggle which he defined as resistance against domination, exploitation and subjectivity or submission. While each of these three aspects represents a different application of power on society, Foucault acknowledged that overlaps in the classifications were likely (Mills, 2003). Foucault (2000) also wrote of the myopic tendencies of individuals engaged in *immediate struggles* to criticise the instances of power closest to them in society, rather than recognising a principal opponent. This leads to a perception that timely solutions to societal problems are not achievable. Thankfully Foucault offered methodological tools and precepts through which power-relationships could be examined, problematised and analysed, chief amongst these being his work on discourse analysis. However, Foucault was rarely willing to identify the source of problems, since his methodology was well suited to working at a micro rather than macro level; hence his dismissiveness of generalisations and sweeping grand statements (Mills, 2003). Relating to advocacy though, Foucault introduces a note of critical reflexivity. This highlights that advocacy itself may have become focussed on the low level or obvious struggles extant against the idea of the commons and OA rather than taking in the bigger picture. Hence, in critiquing aspects of advocacy, Foucault's thought will pay dividends in challenging aspects of advocacy's underlying epistemological construction.

Governmental Policy Dimensions

Marx

While the earlier considerations around policy conflicts have some relevance here[42], I want to specifically examine the influences on governmental policy impacting on UK OA activity. Successive UK governments, drawing on neo-socialist or conservative ideologies, have since

---

[42] See the section on Conceptualising actor power.

the 1980s, been increasingly subsumed by a neoliberal capitalist political economy (Harvey, 2005; Sauntson & Morrish, 2011). Neoliberalism ideologically runs counter to Marxism and autonomism in that it "*reduces the status of the human to a voiceless and exploited cog*" (Fuchs, 2014, p. 70) within society and the economy. Although, importantly Marxism does not represent a neutral approach to considering culture, in that it is steeped in political comment (Harris, 2003), nevertheless it does represent a powerful critique through exposing the extent to which the drive to capital has subsumed society. For my needs, the degree to which OA is itself recognised by the government as representing a threat to neoliberal capitalism, to be countered through legislation and policy, is worthy of further consideration. Through applying a Marxist ideological critique to the evolving governmental stance towards OA, it becomes possible to expose the degree to which any economically driven ideological constraints have sculpted the policy formulation processes. Accordingly, policies are configured to confront any evolving challenges to the societal status quo and seek to strengthen or defend those aspects which further the goals of capitalism. In a broader sense the Marxist process of real subsumption (Bertrand & Hughes, 2014) as discussed earlier represents a process that has affected the composition and functioning of the UK HE sector greatly since the early 1980s[43]. With the commodification of educational process and knowledge productive labour, the university has become subordinated to economic needs above all others (Dowling, 2011). Taking this into consideration, for example, the UK governmental policy emphasis in the wake of Finch (2012) towards gold OA arguably seems to maintain the academy's political-economic role as subaltern to that of business. The creation of the RCUK's funding for universities to cover author publication charges (RCUK, 2012a) reinforces through policy and economic reality the message, from the governing coalition's perspective, that publication remains an intrinsically business oriented operation. Likewise, Finch and the Department of Business, Innovation and Skill's reduced emphasis on green OA repositories (Willetts, 2012) seeks to decouple the role of the repository support professional from the OA equation. This runs in marked contrast to the prior Labour government's considerable funding through Jisc[44] of an extensive repository infrastructure building programme (Great Britain, 2004).

A significant question arises here, as while ostensibly the current UK government are increasingly tackling the struggles within academic publication, their rationale remains unclear. Seemingly through backing OA (Great Britain, 2004 & 2013a), an ideologically Conservative neoliberal government is supporting a development ideologically closer to

---

[43] As examined in *Chapter 3*.
[44] The UK based 'not-for-profit body for digital services and solutions' formerly known as the Joint Information Systems Committee or JISC, but in recent years now simply as Jisc (Jisc, 2017).

Marxist or socialist ideals of a common good. Likewise, the impact from the governmental stance on research funders (Finch, 2012; HEFCE, 2014a; RCUK, 2013) to enshrine the essential importance of OA within their policies, seems to run counter to a neoliberal ideological sense. Does this represent a point of tension between governmental neoliberal ideologies and a real politick environment? It can be acknowledged the publishing industry and the academy's labour do significantly contribute to the UK's knowledge economic base. Therefore, it is the most likely rationale that governmental policy supports a common good merely to ensure continued economic viability and capital return from these endeavours. Perhaps, but in the wake of the policy shifts stemming from the 2015 UK general election, will this stance remain as the new government takes control of the nation's political economic configuration? From a surface reading, this seems the most likely outcome but it is only once the governmental stance is examined through a dialectical materialist lens does it becomes possible to expose a greater level of granularity within the construction of policy behaviour and its relationship with neoliberal ideology.

Autonomism

Turning to the next school of thought, as discussed earlier, Gramsci's work on crisis[45] has the potential to shed light on the government's policy development. Particularly, this thought can be applied to the government's role as a ruling-bloc member in overcoming the conjunctural crisis (Jones, 2006) that OA dissemination represents to the publishing status quo. That government and their associated agencies interests in OA began a dramatic increase from 2011 onwards, commencing with the formation of the Finch (2012) working group, can be viewed as the recognition of such a crisis point occurring within scholarly dissemination. Hence, the need arose to address it in relation to the government's role in policy formulation. Importantly though, in autonomous thought the composition of class within the cycles of struggle that configure capitalism are in constant flux, as capital interests seek to decompose their cohesion through restructuring production (Dyer-Witheford, 1999). As new workers enter any sector, they bring fresh ideas with them. These ideas cause the *recomposition* of working class and consequently configure new forms of resistance to their domination. The restructuring of academic knowledge production processes as a consequence of satisfying the research assessment exercises' (HEFCE, 2012a & 2014a) needs, along with increased funder requirements to openly share publications (ROARMAP, 2014), could be viewed as such an effort by the ruling-bloc to alienate labouring academics within their immaterial productive processes and decompose their ability to resist and innovate. Concerning governmental policy, the situation does seem to suggest the morbid symptomology of an ongoing conjunctural crisis

---

[45] See the section on *Effects of policy conflicts.*

engendered through a war of position. It is a crisis which was also enabled by the increasing ease of digital distribution without the need for intermediaries, including publishers or their platforms, which originally spurred the OA movement's creation (Suber, 2012). Despite this crisis, the UK government, wary of relinquishing their control over the sector continue to reposition their academic publishing related policies, and hence maintain the power this derives. The degree to which the repositioning is proactive or reactive within the ideological superstructure remains unclear, and hence the application of Gramsci's thought in exposing it.

Foucault

The work of Foucault on the idea of discourses, defined as "*the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements*" (see Mills, 2003, p. 53) seems once again applicable to my analysis. It is certain the UK government and their subordinate agencies have issued many statements which have significantly contributed to configuring OA discourse. For Foucault, it is in exposing the underlying rules and structures which configure and drive discourses, rather than simply analysing surface level expressions, which contribute to understanding a society. Discourses only exist as a consequence of the complex societal practices and norms which keep them circulating. These normative practices also serve to suffocate any competing statements from common circulation, creating a tension. As within any discourse, for a statement to be perceived as valid, other equality valid beliefs must be discredited or denied. Additionally, to speak with authority on any topic within the discourse, a speaker must make both a claim for authority and subsequently contribute or refine the thought around the subject. For Foucault, these *discursive constraints* (Mills, 2003) must be abided to if the speaker is to be comprehended by others within society. Hence, discourses serve to structure the way in which societies perceive reality constraining perceptions.

> *Discourses are not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it, any more than silences are. We must make allowances for the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines it and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it.* (Foucault in Mills, 2003, p. 54)

Foucault's comment above, helps in understanding how discourses become constructs which contribute to power-relations far more than simply imposing a particular set of ideas upon a group. These become points of tension, a means of oppression and points of resistance. Consequently, they share with autonomism the idea that oppression empowers resistance (Kinsman, 2004). Discourses also become responsible for shaping the ways in

which actors are able to engage in debates with other agencies within a society. Related to this aspect is Foucault's disbelief in the construct of absolute truths (Mills, 2003), rather he argued for *prevailing truths* equivalent to Gramscian common sense operating within a society's discourse. These mediated truths become ratified by those in positions of cultural authority. While it is possible that media, specific intellectuals or epistemic communities will contribute in creating and sustaining the mediated truths around OA the government's role retains a crucial agency. I believe, therefore, that Foucault has particular application in considering how the mediated truths, cultural myths or orthodoxies of praxis relating to OA may be the consequences of the political stance adopted by the UK government's actions in propagating and sustaining the societal discourse through policy pronouncements.

Finally, I believe that the action of the state relating to OA must in some form also act as part of Foucault's construct of *governmentality*. Such a construct explains how the important institutions of any nation, schools, hospitals, prisons etc. are able to play a role in shaping the mentalities of the populace in accordance with the government's desires especially within a neoliberal capitalist society (Fuchs, 2014; Lazzarato, 2012). Through the application of policy, government shapes society's biopower to produce citizens whom best suit the state's political economic needs (Gutting, 2005). Hence, while a Marxist reading of the action of policy belies an economic base, Foucault's thought leads to the consideration that the government's role relating to OA policy is a subtler application. Arguably, governmental policy seeks ostensibly to support the embrace of commons related praxis, but rather than allowing it to flourish autonomously reconfigures it to functionally serve the state's ideological desires. It may be, in shifting away from the Labour governments support for the OA movement's community driven green OA repositories (Great Britain, 2004), to the post-Finch more publisher-friendly gold OA policy (Finch, 2012; Great Britain, 2013a) that a greater control over the mentalities of those within the academy is being applied. Accordingly, openly sharing research outputs becomes acceptable to governmental ideological desires, provided it is framed within the constraints of serving pre-existing dominant sector actors' needs.

2.4.   Conclusion

I stated earlier my intention to create a framework for my research which suited my ideological and intellectual position. As I highlighted, intellectual frameworks both shape research's methodological evolution and mould how the researcher views their research domain. Through creating a specific framework, researchers codify how their analytical interpretations are applied in developing a deep personal understanding of their field. Hence, in constructing my framework I aspired to place myself, and my research, within a

suitable frame, consequently aiming to ensure internal intellectual consistency throughout my research endeavours.

Importantly, I sought to identify and draw on the methodological work of prior scholars which would enable me to construct a rationalised analysis of the issues around academic publication practice and OA. Through my reading of the work of Marx, Gramsci, the autonomists and Foucault, I believe I have established the particular contribution these scholars provide in this regard, constructing a suitable and robust intellectual framework. Thus, with these components in place I will be able to craft my research instruments and inquires[46] in such a way so as to not only drive effective revelations, but to also ensure a coherent focus to my research efforts. Consequently, I will develop my themes through considering the early 21st Century's UK academic environment, and the impacts which neoliberal capitalism has played in shaping its cultural practices.

---

[46] See *Chapter 5: Methods* for a discussion of these.

Chapter 3: The Neoliberal Seduction of UK Higher Education

3.1.   Introduction

The UK academy and its scholars have never existed in a void entirely separate from society.   Yet, UK Higher Education's (HE) operation in the early twenty-first century seemingly, more than ever, has become exposed through neoliberal government policies to market forces. The result is a marketised academy increasingly diverging from the public good-centric ideals it once represented, as envisaged by writers including Newman or Merton. The academy's embracing of business language, practices and ideologies has been a gradual process as a "*once independent public service is being reduced to a wing of capital*", noted Robinson and Tormey (see De Angelis and Harvie, 2009, p. 8), in their critique of *The Future of Higher Education* white paper (Great Britain, 2003). Ross (2009, p. 18) too saw how university marketisation had seen the academy and its members' lives becoming distinguished "*more by the rate of change than by the observance of custom and tradition*", with adopting of a mercantile ideology evidenced by the rush to obtain a portion of the lucrative global HE market by many universities. The ongoing academic excellence agenda, as represented by positivistic measures of esteem and impact within research practice, particularly bears many of the hallmarks of business competeveness and efficiency. Additionally, the recent *Success as a Knowledge Economy* white paper has further tied metrics of 'excellence' to the academy's financial well-being (Great Britain, 2016; Hastings, 2016; Lynch & Ivancheva, 2015; Wilsdon, 2015). Hence, operating within institutions where an ideologically pervasive pursuit of profitability and competitiveness is paramount, will likely have impacted on normative academic praxis. If so, could the divergence for the UK academy from a Newmanian scholarly framing potentially create ideological or ontological obstacles to embracing scholarly practices predicated on openness?

As the academy has become adulterated by a regime which predicates an academic capitalist mode of functioning, to explore the effect of this neoliberalised academy on its members and society, it is first necessary to account for how and why UK HE became subsumed by these commercial ideologies. While more visible today, HE's marketisation has a far longer history than first appreciated, with the reforms of 1970s and 80s representing major milestones. Hence, through considering the academy's historical background contrasted against the rise of neoliberalism within UK government policy, this chapter examines the forces which brought this situation about. It is also essential to consider the subsequent circuits of control which have arisen to maintain this new hegemony, contrasted with an examination of HE marketisation globally. The chapter examines how the commodification of academic research and student educational

practices, represent a particular distortion of established scholarly practices. I also consider the tensions and struggles to resist this pervasion of neoliberal practice within the academy. Crucially, the chapter finally considers how existing within such a neoliberalised academic environment may have impacted, distorted or retarded the academy's adoption of open academic scholarly publication praxis.

An Idea of the University

The academy was once imagined as a community of scholars, existing in productive and scholarly collegiality. Engaged in rational thought and disinterested discourse, universities stood apart from society as one of civilisation's crowning jewels (Fillitz, 2000; Newman, 1982). Traditionally, education is conceptualised as a social hope: a hope that through its auspices the next generation will be developed intellectually, socially and ethically, becoming citizens who can readily engage in the betterment of a democratic society (Barnett, 2011; Williams, 2009). Universities UK[47] (UUK), a key UK academy actor, envisages how the HE sector "*through excellence in teaching, research, and knowledge exploitation, raises aspirations*" consequently "*contributes to the wider economy and society*" (UUK, 2013c). Caffentizis and Federici (2009) argue too how the academy comprises much more than a glorified scholastic environment, mechanistically producing educated worker drones and new knowledge to service the economy. They see it also as a vital site where broader societal ideological debates and intellectual struggles are addressed or challenged. Newman in his classic work *The Idea of a University* defined the university as "*place of teaching universal knowledge*" (Newman, 2014, p. i), where knowledge was diffused and extended. This was then a "*community of thinkers, engaging in intellectual pursuits*" (Deboink, 2010) delivering a broad and liberal education programme teaching students "*to think and to reason and to compare and to discriminate and to analyse*" (Newman, 2014, p. 130).

This worthy ideology is perhaps not as commonly embraced today, as the modern research university must juggle its roles in supporting the development of 'evolving economies and evolving selves' (Newfield, 2008). Harvie (2006) counters that the university has always served the economy, but what is novel has been the increasing emulation of business practices over the academy's traditional configuration. Certainly, prior to the current marketised era, non-financial priorities were paramount in HE's operations (Foskett, 2011), yet today universities have increasingly repositioned themselves as "*simulacra of business*" (Saunston & Morrish, 2011, p. 73) with all the managerialism apparatus of appraisal, transparency, evaluation and quality audits this entails. Notably, institutions like Warwick

---

[47] A membership organisation comprised of the Vice Chancellors of UK Universities.

and UMIST have stood out as early adopters of such practices as a normative configuration (Barchiesi, 2009; De Angelis & Harvie, 2009). Yet, where economic agency and efficiency agenda becomes paramount, threats to the continued flourishing of arts and humanities become apparent. Meanwhile, Giri (2000) notes the seminal 1997 Dearing Report into academic standards, funding and expansion, stated how the academic community should recognise HE's autonomy could only be sustained within a framework of collective responsibilities for standards. Such an accountability means salaried staff and unwaged student workers must increasingly meet externally constructed metrics, if they are to continue to operate within the sector, as can be seen through the established Research Excellence Framework (REF) and proposed Teaching Excellence Framework (TEF). Dearing (1997) also explicitly acknowledges the centricity of HE's economic role. Yet, it is Dearing's emphasis on ensuring students' needs as consumers of education are satisfied, which can be perceived as significantly contributing towards rationalising the shifting of many institutions' priorities towards achieving customer satisfaction (Haywood et al, 2011). Hence, while Dearing stresses the importance of equipping students with employability skills, little consideration is given towards equipping them with the scholastic, moral and ethical virtues to develop society for the better, as Newman envisaged. The UK academy has clearly changed, but to begin to understand these changes and their impact, it is essential to appreciate their gradual introduction.

Historical Development

The UK academy has a long history, and yet through exposure in recent decades to neoliberal state ideology and policies, HE today has diverged in function and ideological scope from a Newmanian ideal. The academy's scale too has increased as the number of recognised UK universities has also grown, spasmodically, during a number of historic expansion waves[48]. Likewise, the proportion of young people attending HE has drastically increased as the academy embraced mass-market models, rising from around 6% of 18-30 year olds in the early 1960s, to 40% today (Dorling, 2015; Great Britain, 2003; Wyness, 2010). Where once higher scholarship was a bastion of a small, highly educated elite, today passing through the academy has become the normative practice of a vast proportion of the populace. Hence, while over 130 UK universities operate today[49] (UUK, 2013a), the environment they operate within and their operations have significantly evolved, I believe in no small part due to their exposure to market forces. Consequently, their staff and students' experiences have also been drastically altered. To appreciate today's *marketised*

---

[48] See *Appendix A: Table 2: UK Universities Historical Establishment Groups.*
[49] In the light of proposed exposure of the tertiary education market to private institutions (Great Britain, 2016), this number may rise sharply over the next decade.

academy then, it is appropriate to review the historical events which gave rise to its current configuration.

The UK academy's history stretches back to the establishment from the 13th Century onwards of the first seats of higher learning, including Oxford, Cambridge, St Andrews, Glasgow and Edinburgh. The next significant expansion was not until the 19th Century with the civic universities' foundation, which included London, Leeds and Manchester. These were followed in the early 20th century by the pre-World War II Red Brick universities' establishment, which facilitated increased student numbers during the early 1920s. Student numbers surged again during the 1940s and 50s, as the result of government schemes supporting former armed forces personnel's attendance at higher education, rather than any increase in institutions. A decade later, the Robbins Report (Great Britain, 1963) recommended HE's further expansion, which saw the new or Plate Glass institutions founded, alongside 10 former advanced technical colleges being upgraded to university status (Foskett, 2011; McCaig, 2011; UUK, 2013b). Student grants were also introduced in 1962, a further contributing factor to student numbers reaching fifty thousand by 1970 (Blake, 2010; Bolton, 2012).

Consequently, the 1970s were arguably a halcyon era for the academy with demand for places far exceeding supply. Yet, this was also a period during which the seeds for later significant transformative reform were sown. The early 1970s were a time of economic hardship for the UK, and the labour government attributed much of the blame to the education system. It was a system they perceived had failed to propagate an educated society or a highly skilled workforce, readily able to contribute to economic success while adapting to rapid workplace technology changes. The prior strategy of allowing professionals to run the public sector without governmental interference was also perceived to have been unsuccessful, and accordingly contributing to education's failings. Hence, in 1976, Prime Minister James Callaghan called for a national debate on education and its role within the UK. Thus, the scene was set for a governmental 'interventionist engagement' with HE in the following decade, which would justify the introduction of new managerial approaches to increase efficiency (Foskett, 2011; Shore & Wright, 2000; Wyness, 2010).

From 1979, the new Conservative government had targeted societal sectors perceived as inefficient, and lacking in 'market discipline' with neoliberal reforms emphasising profitability and capital accumulation. Having successfully introduced these to the industrial sector, it was in the late 1980s their attention turned to HE, introducing the most radical changes to the sector (Harvey, 2005). Throughout the 1980s HE was criticised for

their perceived elitism and economic failures, with fewer than 60 UK institutions achieving university status, and adult participation rates only around 15%. Consequently, the Committee of Vice Chancellors and principals (CVCP[50]) in partnership with the UK Government's University Grants Council[51] in the mid-80s commissioned a review of sector in what become known as the *Jarratt Report* (Alderman, 2009; Jarratt, 1985; Newby, 2005). This landmark report embraced the belief that universities were enterprises which functioned not unlike factories, with students as their customers. Undoubtedly, its recommendations were a major causal factor in introducing the discourse and practice of new managerialism into institutions, facilitating their operation as corporate enterprises. Indeed, Jarratt's report represents potentially the moment where neoliberalisation and marketisation of the UK academy truly began. As part of transitioning to business simulacrum, the report also recommended the Vice Chancellor function should more closely model that of a Chief Executive Officer (CEO), with faculties adopting a cost centre model. Crucially though, Jarratt proposed universities' key goals should align with achieving the maximum value for money for a broad range of stakeholders, naturally including the government and research funders (Shore & Wright, 2000). Consequently, a greater emphasis on metrics was introduced to monitor and evaluate this. Prior to these neoliberal reforms, the idea of positivistic measures of institutional activities were relatively alien to the academy. Post-World War II institutions were comprised of academics whose primary contractual obligations were to engage in scholarly activity, rather than produce tangible outputs. (De Angelis & Harvie, 2009). Undoubtedly, the impact from the Jarratt Report was a major causal factor in the HE sector's composition metamorphosing from a small assemblage of education and research focussed organisations which shared loosely similar principles, to one which was now principally a knowledge based service industry (Fosket, 2011).

The *Education Reform Act* (1988) built on Jarratt's recommendations, opening up new possibilities for flexibility within universities along with abolishing tenure for academic staff. Then in 1992 the *Further and Higher Education Act* (1992) was introduced, which broadened the sector's mass-market appeal, legislating among other things, for forty-eight polytechnics to attain university status. The Act crucially also created the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) and the Scottish and Welsh university funding councils (Bolton, 2012; Wyness, 2010), actors who would come to have significant agency over the UK academy. Consequently, undergraduate HE participation by 18-30 year olds increased to 30% by 1992 (McCaig, 2011). This increased participation drive was later exacerbated

---

[50] The precursor organisation to Universities UK.
[51] Predecessor to the RCUK (Research Councils UK).

with Tony Blair's Labour government's policy towards achieving 50% school leaver HE participation by 2010 (BBC News, 2002; Kirkup, 2008). As the new post-1992 universities flourished, the HE sector shifted yet further towards a mass-market education system. Notably though, while student numbers have swelled and ethnic origins are more diverse, most are still drawn from the same social classes as they were in the 1970s (Fosket, 2011). Seemingly HE marketisation may have broadened consumer participation, but it has failed to increase social inclusion.

In 1997 the *Dearing Report* recommended creating the Institute of Learning and Teaching in Higher Education (ILTHE)[52] and the QAA, along with standardising degree equivalency (Foskett, 2011). These organisations, set up in in 2000, would come to represent a continuing shift towards a greater public accountability and transparency of activity through audit, in line with neoliberal ideology. Nevertheless, one of Dearing's main recommendations was the introduction of fees, with students ideally contributing 25% of their tuition costs (Dearing, 1997). Student funding began to shift from maintenance grants to loans in 1990, as a consequence of the government being unable to fund living expenses for expanding student numbers (Wyness, 2010). Subsequently, the *Teaching and Higher Education Act* (1998) set annual fees in England at £1,000. However, due to their respective regional autonomy, fee implementation in Wales and Scotland was approached differently. Nevertheless, imposing student fees created pressures on universities, who increasingly to ensure their incomes had to compete for students, further strengthening the validity of HE as a market.

The *Future of Higher Education* white paper (Great Britain, 2003) further impacted on the HE sector, particularly because of the extensive neoliberal trends it articulated (Foskett, 2011; Harvie, 2006). In its introduction, then Secretary of State for Education, Charles Clarke, stressed the academy's importance in "*harnessing knowledge to wealth creation*", which depended on universities having "*the freedoms and resources to compete on the world stage*" (Great Britain, 2003, p. 2). The paper while underscoring the global economic importance of the education markets, also stressed the importance of sufficiently funding universities (Williams, 2011). Yet, despite HE participation rates approaching 40% the government believed working class representation was still poor and that universities were under-funded in comparison with other OECD nations. Consequently, *The Higher Education Act* (2004) abolished upfront tuition fees, replacing them with a variable annual fee of up to £3,000 set by the institutions and paid post-graduation, to be phased in during 2006.

---

[52] Merged with the Learning and Teaching Support Network (LTSN), and the TQED National Co-ordination Team (NCT) to become the Higher Education Academy (HEA) in 2004.

Unsurprisingly, most institutions opted to charge the top level, although maintenance grants were reintroduced for the very poorest students (Wyness, 2010).

In June 2007 Gordon Brown's Labour government split up the Department for Education and Skills. Governmental responsibility for universities subsequently fell under the short-lived Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills, which in turn merged into the newly created Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS) in June 2009. As Sauntson & Morrish (2009) point out, for the academy this shift reinforced the government's ideological linkage between HE and a strong national economy. Additionally, the absence of the term 'education' from the department's title caused concerns in some quarters (Corbyn, 2009; Mroz, 2009) over the visible progression of government efforts to marketise and commercialise the HE sector. That this progression instigated by a pro-business Conservative administration, continued under a Labour government with a historically greater social-justice agenda, represents a regrettable diversion from their ideological base. It was during the same year *The Higher Ambitions* (Great Britain, 2009) white paper reaffirmed the UK government's view that university and students were engaged in a customer/provider relationship. Another landmark review with lasting implications for HE emerged the following year as Lord Browne (2010) unveiled his titular assessment of HE finance and student funding. Notably, *The Browne Review* recommended student tuition fees should increase, to the current annual £9,000 annual maximum (Adams, 2013; Browne, 2010; Foskett, 2011).

The introduction of fees has continued to be contentious, even as in a post-austerity UK, the government have progressively decreased HE's direct funding (Wilsdon, 2015). Yet, student numbers have continued to increase, with 47% of 18-30 year olds now participating in HE (Ilochi, 2015), meaning an academy comprising almost 2.5 million students (HESA 2012). Consequently, today the UK academy's configuration is considerably different to how it was even thirty years ago. The number of new UK universities has also continued increasing, with over one-hundred and thirty-three now existing (UUK, 2013b). In the wake of the current *Higher Education and Research Bill* and the UK's planned Brexit (Great Britain, 2016; THE, 2016), the academy's configuration is becoming so considerably diverse, that identifying a 'typical university' is no longer practical. The early 21st Century academy then, is no longer designed for a small intellectual elite but has transformed into increasingly self-financed mass-education education business (Bolton, 2012; Sauntson & Morrish, 2011).

3.2.   Neoliberal Marketisation Agenda

The ideology behind these changes is that of neoliberal capitalism. First emerging during the late 1970s, neoliberalism established itself as the leading western state ideology during the following decade. Neoliberalism itself is a theory of political economic practice which advocates the liberation of individual entrepreneurial freedoms, within a framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade (Harvey, 2005). Jones-Devitt and Samiei (2011) define neoliberalism's key properties as promoting the concept of global choice, privileging individualism, escalating audit and accountability while minimising the state's role. The ideology of neoliberalism places a higher value on the individuals' freedom to achieve their desires through capricious consumption (Nixon et al, 2011). Far from liberating the multitude, many, including Fisher (2009) and Harvey (2005), agree the politics of neoliberalism are actually concerned with restoring the economic elites' class power and privileges, rather than serving any societal public good. The neoliberal state's role aims to ensure the propagation of an environment where such practices can thrive through enabling individuals to become effective economic actors, generally at the expense of social welfare programmes (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Beyond this, along with creating new exploitable markets and ensuring the legal structures and organisations exist to guarantee an ongoing market economy, the state is expected not to intervene. Nevertheless, in reality the globalised neoliberal market economy does not truly function without state interference, as many trans-national corporations are directly supported or subsided by state actors. During the 1980s, government assumptions were made that market mechanisms effectively regulated the private sector's activities, although the 2007/8 banking and global financial crisis have demonstrated these assumptions' serious failings (Balaam & Dillman, 2011; Harvey, 2005; Lazzarato, 2012; Jacques, 2016; Jones-Devitt & Samiei, 2011).

Since the late 1970s, the UK state's neoliberal policy reforms have aimed to introduce ideas of market discipline into all fields of economic and capital production. This process, termed *marketisation*, can be defined as applying the economic theory of the market to a sectors' services and functions, along with introducing business practices of resource competition (Jones-Devitt & Samiei, 2011). During the 1980s public service organisations were perceived as being ripe for effective regulation through exposure to market forces (Shore & Wright, 2000). Marketisation forces organisations to generate improvements and reduce costs, or through being uncompetitive within the new market, risk elimination. Alongside the political and ideological ramifications, the switching of a common propriety resource like HE into a commodity, and the concurrent conversion of universities into corporate entities has had significant consequences on delivery of education and research practices.

It is also symbolic of how the capitalist dynamic leaves no stone unturned in its efforts to exploit labour and generate profits (Harvey, 2010). Universities have long been regarded by themselves and the state as innovation nodes. Given this perception and the value innovation adds to the national economy, unsurprisingly the state would seek to maximise this contribution (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Notably, further education (FE) since removal from local authority controls in the early 1990s, has also been exposed to similar market economy pressures. Given some consider further education (FE) institutions as the crucibles within which neoliberal education reforms are first forged (Fisher, 2009), events here may act as harbingers for the future of HE.

While in principle, a HE market seems a straightforward idea, in practice the sector is a more complex organism comprising more of a 'quasi market', one which is still currently transitioning between a largely non-market context to a fully marketised environment (Scullion et al, 2011). Arguably, though the pressures arising from a market driven education and research environment are seemingly incompatible with the fastidious, quality and attention to detail approach which higher scholarship requires. Yet, the state's demand for a more immediate economic, social or commercial return on its HE investment do not appear to be diminishing (Amit, 2000; Browne 2010; Great Britain, 2003; Hastings, 2016). According to market theory, quality in a market will be regulated automatically as consumers seek the superior, or most appropriate, product. However, within HE the product for student consumers, education, is intangible and unlike most markets the opportunities for repeat purchases are limited, as few students are likely to make repeated use of any university. Meanwhile, HE's resources can be considered to comprise entities as varied as financial capital or students. In essence, the neoliberal ideology assumes *a priori* that universities delivering strong, effective products or services will thrive in the market environment. Conversely, those competing with 'inferior' offerings must adapt or will cease to be viable organisations (Brown, 2011).

Markets normally possess six significant features, although no fully developed system normally possesses all of these. Brown (2011) argues that the HE market possesses four of these characteristics; institutional autonomy, competition, price and information. Harvie (2006) meanwhile notes the wealth of neoliberal assumptions which have penetrated education include the growth of for profit education, increasing market relations importance, introduction of performance related managerial tools alongside the continuing rhetoric of efficiency and a need for global competitiveness. This neoliberal obsession with performance, efficiency, measure and external controls he stresses, deepens academic disenfranchisement and alienation, which Harvey (2010) typifies as an example of 'HE

proletarianisation'. De Angelis and Harvie (2009) discuss that the marketisation of HE can be characterised through the emergence of particular features. These include the growth of for profit educational institutions, private sector intervention in running public universities, increasing managerial excellence and efficiency rhetoric, workforce performance management, increased usage of benchmark metrics and academic proletarianisation.

The shift towards a marketised HE sector during the 1980s followed the first wave of UK de-industrialisation. This was a period where the state's emphasis on economic development, profitability, service and growth overshadowed all other considerations (Newfield, 2008), the acme of neoliberal ideology. While Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government's neoliberal reform agenda in the 1980s is the clearest smoking gun for the introduction of markets, Foskett (2011) notes the prior work of Milton Friedman and Friedrich von Hayek in the 1960s and 70s. Here, earlier calls to introduce markets to effectively regulate the HE sector, had been made. Nevertheless, since the late 1970s the policies of marketisation have been adopted institutionally by HE. Advocates claim this process transforms institutions into more flexible and efficient organisations, through adopting the managerial modes prevalent within private sector corporations (Furedi, 2011). Prior to this era of neoliberal reform, Jencks and Riesmann (1968) alluded to a period of 'academic revolution', with a resultant increased power and autonomy for the academic worker. Conversely, since the marketisation reforms, faculty have become a more managed and stratified work-force. Additionally, faculty numbers have relatively decreased, as support and managerial professionals, along with administrative staff numbers have increased (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Akin to the NHS and other formally non-marketised public sector organisations, neoliberal ideology's introduction is responsible for amplifying a *petite bourgeois* administration layer more concerned with profitability and efficiency, while simultaneously reducing core professionals' agency and significance. The result diverges significantly from these organisations' original societally beneficial focus.

Marquand (see Strathern, 2000, p. 288) notes that for neoliberals the market is the "*realm of freedom*", whereas the state sits within the "*realm of coercion*". Nordensvärd (2011, p. 167) also argues how neoliberal reforms have damaged HE's ideological frameworks stating that "*neoliberal education draws us closer to a commercial and destructive nihilism since it undermines many normative debates*". Marketisation may appear to be the inevitable consequence of historical precedence and economic forces. Conversely, while it is laudable that the HE sector is receptive to changes within contemporary culture, Scullion (et al, 2011) highlights the question of where any line should be drawn between receptiveness,

and unreflective acceptance of neoliberalism's hegemony regardless of context (Scullion et al, 2011).

The 1994 Group[53] (1994 Group, 2013) are an example of institutions which particularly embraced the marketised 'customer is always right' service ethos. Yet, recasting the relationship between academics and students, as service provider and consumer, contains significant flaws. Much attention and agency within the marketised HE sector has been ascribed to student evaluative metrics (De Angelis & Harvie, 2009; Hastings, 2016; Woodcock & Toscano, 2016). Critically though, how clearly students appreciate the pedagogy and scholarship underlying the instructional methods adopted is questionable. Hence, it is possible to criticise the authenticity which quality metrics as the National Student Survey derive. Some (Maringe, 2011) typify these surveys as little better than opinion polls, given how for students any genuine educational experience value may not emerge for some years. As the UK government continues to conjoin income and customer satisfaction through the TEF (Gunn, 2017; Hastings, 2016), seemingly any reliance on consumer-derived metrics is set to amplify. However, the emergence of various comparative league tables, means top-flight institutions already possess a competitive market advantage. Consequently, they will also likely command a greater slice of available financial resources, furthering the HE sector's stratification. The institutional quantitative rankings these surveys create may rankle scholars, but senior institutional management have devoted significant efforts towards maximising their ratings. Additionally, to promoting their standing within mission statements, 'league tables' have become the common currency utilised within marketing and student recruitment literature (Foskett, 2011; Sauntson & Morrish, 2011; Williams, 2011). Furthermore, the Oxbridge or golden triangle[54] institutions can effectively sidestep these leagues, and other aspects of neoliberal influenced culture, such is their near dominant market position for recruiting top quality students and acquiring research funding (Jones-Devitt & Samiei, 2011). Conversely, the post-1992 institutions occupy a less dominant market position, requiring more effort or creative marketing labour to improve their perceived positions. Existing at the lower fringes of the marketised HE sector effectively means an even greater buy-in to the normative discourse of excellence and consumer-defined value metrics must be embraced. To offer resistance within the marketised sector, means to court existential risk.

Further still have been the changes to faculty and departmental structures, bringing in the concepts of cost centres and team leaders in the form of senior staff whose roles align

---

[53] An association of non-Russell Group, but research intensive universities which ceased to exist during the writing of this thesis.
[54] Oxford, Cambridge, Kings College London, the LSE, UCL and Imperial College.

more closely with overseers than fellow scholars seeking to foster collegiality. With shifts towards viewing departments as cost centres or revenue production units, a tendency also exists to stereotype the STEM[55] subjects as subsidising the other disciplines through their generated revenues (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Although the validity of this assumption can be questioned, the normative emphasis HE discourse places on the 'economically productive sciences' (Newfield, 2008), at the expense of other disciplines, is readily apparent[56].

Becoming marketised has significantly affected HE, shaping not only its expansion but also the directions in which it evolves. The primary agency for this influence remains with the UK government, through their economic-derived influence. Arguably, a democratically elected government's agenda will be shaped by the need to maintain sufficient public support for their policies and their outcomes, but Scullion (et al, 2011) question the degree to which the public appreciate or cleave to the idea of an effective HE sector. For the populace, education can be perceived as the means to an end, ensuring their offspring achieve financial stability and independence. This contributes to explaining the emphasis given to training students with employability skills expressed in governmental HE policy (Chertkovskaya, 2013; Great Britain, 2011; Vitae, 2013). A counter argument exists, which suggests how governmental HE policy is less a consequence of political will, but results more from the electorate's apathy, consequently allowing the government's pursuit of its own interests more closely than in other societal realms (Scullion et al, 2011). Certainly, beyond the issue of tuition fees the variable prominence which HE enjoys within many parties' manifestos seemingly underscores Scullion's point[57] (BBC News, 2015a; Luton, 2015; Wilkinson, 2015).

Marketisation also extends beyond the classroom, laboratory and meeting room. In the US, for example, campus 'mallification' has seen key locations and services outsourced to external corporations, blurring the boundaries between public and private spaces, furthering debates over marketisation's impact on academic spaces and education (Sauntson & Morrish, 2011). With continued push to open HE to private enterprise today (Hastings, 2016), such events seem likely within the UK academy also.

---

[55] Science, technology, engineering and medicine; the science disciplines.
[56] Especially noticeable in the nomenclature of the minister for universities title being the Minister for Science and Universities, working from within a Business-centric department.
[57] Notably 'education' within UK election discourse commonly refers to secondary and primary, not tertiary level.

New Institutional Managerialism

Alongside the rising neoliberalist HE policy trends, are an increased reliance and adherence by senior institutional managers to neo-Taylorist or scientific new managerialism[58] ideologies, enacted through the adoption of quantitative metrics and measures within the academy to manage staff (Shore & Wright, 2000). New managerialism is best defined as the shifting of public service organisations from a viewpoint as production functions, to understanding them as governance structures. As Berglund (2008, p. 325) states it, this introduction of managerial language provided "*the soundtrack for the culture of the new [HE] capitalism*". Accordingly, framing the academy's discourse within the language of business and management became normalised. For some, the adoption of these approaches by academics and senior managers highlights a fundamental and unresolvable dichotomy around the ideological purposes and functions of HE (Berglund, 2008). Certainly, prior to neoliberalist HE policy, institutions possessed a shared and accepted argot which articulated the comparable shared values within which the academy operated. Yet, this purposeful language of scholarship, differs considerably to that employed in HE discourse today. A key example are 'accountancy led mission statements', which were practically unknown within HE before the 1980s, yet today are practically *de rigueur* not only for institutions, but also service departments. These position statements are so dominated by neoliberalist language, extolling marketisation, excellence, globalisation and commodification (Sauntson & Morrish, 2011) that there are concerns as to how these efforts continue to deepen the academy's reconstruction as a business-led entity. Indeed, between these statements' rhetoric and the academy's founding ideology, an ontological gulf can be perceived.

It was as part of the 1980's Conservative UK government's neoliberal public sector modernisation agenda, that new public management methods were first extolled to the sector. This managerialist ideology sought to introduce the logic and instruments of business to HE, and other public sector bodies (Edu-Factory Collective, 2009). The intent was to transform public institutions into pseudo-businesses, placing capital and financial prudence, not leadership or workforce morale at the heart institutional management policies. Within this dehumanised framework, staff are viewed as work units who must be tested, measured, incentivised or punished to meet increasing productivity targets, not individuals to encourage and develop (Shore & Wright, 2000). Consequently, this managerial ethos contributes to the dissatisfaction many voice about the academy's subsequent commercial reconfiguration (Berglund, 2008; Mroz, 2009; Reimer, 2013; UCU,

---

[58] Sometimes termed New Public Management.

2013). Crucially, it was the white paper *Realising Our Potential* (Great Britain, 1993) which introduced elements of Demin's total quality management concept to HE. Key amongst its goals was the HE workforce's 'responsibilisation', placing the responsibility for ensuring customers satisfaction and quality work on every employee's shoulders. This in turn, diminishes the autonomy which has long been a central feature of academic life. Additionally, the systematic maintaining of the audit trails required for the concomitant quality assessments, have subsequently become a point of academic tension in the marketised academy, detracting time which ideally could have been devoted to teaching or research (Shore & Wright, 2000). Attempting to perform while meeting these demands, pressurises academics to conform to the new managerialised norm, simultaneously considerably increasing their workloads and responsibilities.

Of the ideas managerialism introduced to the academy, audits, are particularly responsible for this coercive dominance. Audits moved into professional life in the 1980s and 90s as part of the neoliberal expansion into education. This neoliberal derived ideology sought to introduce a greater transparency and scrutiny of the largely publicly funded academics' labour. Yet, audits depersonalise the management of people, treating them less as individuals, and more as economic resource units for producing capital. In many regards this suits the new managerialism agenda, where achieving efficacies and increased productivity is the goal of any measurement processes. Such a system of formal accountability might be considered as part of what Foucault termed a 'neoliberal governmentality', and has led to the prevalence of an *audit culture* within HE institutions (Shore & Wright, 2000; Strathern, 2000). The roots of new managerialism's obsession with auditing to achieve efficiency stems not from individual insecurities but rather as the consequence of external neoliberal influences, which demand workers be squeezed for ever greater financial productivity and profitability. As Browne (2010) notes, for the academy this is a situation exacerbated through recent reductions in direct governmental HE funding, and the advent of student fees.

An audit culture is typified by acceding to regular customer feedback collection coupled with undergoing external assessments, as exemplified by the RAE and its successor the REF for research, and QAA teaching assessments. Introduced in 1989, the RAE first exposed academics to scrutiny of their scholarship, an audit ideology strengthened with HEFCE's creation in 1991. HEFCE's role in establishing quality audits was confirmed by Chris Pattern, then UK Education Secretary, in his vision for HE's future, where maintaining quality and excellence were to be paramount for evaluating institutions' performance. Consequently, comparative performance metrics were introduced and normalised within the HE sector

(Great Britain, 1991; Patten, 1993). Ideologically such is the audit culture's pervasion within normative HE discourse today, that the new managerial doctrine of *excellence* has become enshrined even within the REF's nomenclature. Such regular audits have become the standard metrics by which institutional success and esteem are recognised, and today continue to form a central plank of government HE policy (Boxall, 2016; Havergal & Grove, 2016; HEFCE, 2012a). While the outcomes of these audits have genuine financial implications, they are not the only such metric with material impacts for HE. De Angelis and Harvie (2009) note for example the 1998-2005 Joint Costing and Pricing Steering Group's transparency review (JCPSG, 2013). Backed by a bloc including universities, colleges and HEFCE this sought to demarcate the amount of time academics were spending on various activities.

Such is the audit culture's economic imperative, that considerable institutional effort and resource is redirected towards achieving sufficiently high metrics in external quantitative rankings (Martin, 2009). Berglund (2008) criticises too perceptions that by achieving a successful audit, lighter or less bureaucratically demanding future engagements may result, is scant reward for labour and time lost in its gain. Alarmingly, Shore and Wright (2000) indicate while institutions have striven to adapt by embracing an efficiency and economy agenda within their operations, the key virtue of educational achievements' effectiveness and universities' important societal contributions, have largely been ignored. They also argue how restructuring universities according to the dictates of financial audit, creating a culture of accountability, is not conducive to enhancing teaching and research quality, the professed role of such audits. Within an audit culture, the focus has remained firmly on the symbols of achievement rather than recognising the achievements themselves. Criticism of this type, led to the introduction in the REF of the impact metric, where benefits from university research to the wider society, culture or economy were included in audited evaluations for the first time (HEFCE, 2016a). However, as Watermeyer and Hedgecoe (2016) point out, the REF is also flawed, as requirements for academics to market themselves and their work effectively to achieve a higher impact rating, represents a continuance of HE's neoliberalisation. Certainly, treating scholars as mere human capital runs counter to the natural dynamism, freedom and professionalism fundamentally endemic to the academic worker class. University academics are typically self-driven professionals willing to contribute many labouring hours beyond their contractual requirements, and yet this managerial culture acts against any demonstrable professionalism. Indeed, seemingly the concept of *best practice* in academia and elsewhere, once introduced, is rapidly redefined by managers to equate to a "*minimum*

acceptable practice" (Harvie, 2006, p. 16), or more pejoratively "*enough is no longer enough*" (Fisher, 2009, p. 40) further increasing academic labour's exploitation.

Crucially, despite neoliberalism's ideology which espouses a reduction in bureaucracy and government interference, the enforcement of metrics has seen academic workloads rise under their influence (Anonymous, 2015; Holmwood, 2013). Fisher (2009) also critiques how institutional achievements under an audit culture can be more a consequence of increased managerial and administrative prowess and effort in 'playing the assessment game', than evidencing authentic research esteem or teaching quality. Therefore, through audit culture's focus on performance, productivity and customer satisfaction, rather than enhancement of knowledge creation and the creation of educated citizens, the academy becomes further transformed from a public to a private good (Martin, 2009). Consequently, the introduction of new managerialism to the academy through coercion and consent may have tangibly and measurably increased HE's productivity, but has further separated it further from its original conception. For scholars like Berglund (2008), this only serves to dishearten, disenfranchise and ideologically distance them from the idea of a university.

The Knowledge Economy

From this review, what becomes clear is the academy's operations are of sufficient importance to the UK state, that it has devoted considerable effort to transform its configuration into one which better suiting its aspirations. This attention is partly a consequence of the global education market's increasing importance, and the academy's contribution to what Drucker's defined as the *knowledge economy* (Drucker, 1969). The knowledge economy was enabled through taking the fruits of knowledge and scholarship and using them to create tangible and intangible goods, with HE falling largely into this latter category. Hence, within this economy, knowledge itself becomes a crucial raw material to be obtained and exploited to create value wherever possible[59] (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). This exploitation does not only occur outside of universities, as a driver for entrepreneurship and commodification can be found within many senior institutional management teams and mission statements (Sauntson & Morrish, 2011). As institutions embrace the knowledge economy rhetoric, the academic class becomes the potential representative of the creative class which sustains this new form of capitalism. Nevertheless, Berglund (2008) highlights that through participating in the knowledge economy, the academy may actually be creating future difficulties for scholars. Through adopting the knowledge economy's ideology and practices, the academy could be

---

[59] A theme I will return to when considering the knowledge productive labour of scholarly publishing

manufacturing the conditions for its own extinction, through facilitating the entrance of private providers.

Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) note that Althusser and Gramsci's work allows the understanding of shifts in power-relationships within the state, HE and the market as intellectual property (IP) becomes the knowledge economy's cornerstone. As Peter Drucker (see Cocola, 2006, p. 145) notes, the "*knowledge becomes the foremost economic resource in a post-capitalist economy*". Consequently, patentable discoveries and developments are commonly contractually claimed from staff, and often students too. The awareness by HE workers of such IP policies is questionable, offering evidence towards a perception that their employers view them as simply sources of capital wealth creation[60].

Maringe (2011) highlights how in the late 1990s globalisation increasingly resulted in some of the topflight universities looking beyond national boundaries, seeking to shift from being strong national institutions, into truly international universities. This move was partly driven by a financial necessity to compete for limited capital, resulting from the sector's marketisation. For some institutions this resulted in stronger international recruitment or offering online distance learning degrees. For others, like Nottingham, this meant physically establishing an overseas campus. It can be perceived the availability and growth in Internet usage has facilitated and intensified HE's global dimension (Nottingham, 2013; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). It is interesting to also consider Newfield's (2008) observation, quoting Peter Drucker, that the knowledge economy means society is now not simply post-*industrial* but also *post-capital*. De Angelis and Harvie (2009) note *The Future of Higher Education* (Great Britain, 2003) paper recommended how harnessing of knowledge to wealth creation could only be achieved through giving universities the freedoms and resources which would allow them to compete internationally. They perceive though, possessing these freedoms is predicated on slashing public HE spending and encouraging inter-institutional competition for students and resources. This has resulted in stratifying the sector, with each institution targeting resources where they can best compete for them. For top tier research intensive institutions, the focus is on research funding, whereas teaching-led institutions can compete more successfully for funding based on achieving governmental social targets including widening access to under-represented community groups.

---

[60] Notably, in the marketised HE environment, even students' work can fall prey to such policies. For example, Nottingham Trent's Student-Generated IP policy declares students own "*any IP that he/she creates in the course of his/her studies*", subsequently urging the disclosure of any "*IP they generate that may have a commercial value*" (NTU, 2011, p. 1), with the university anticipating sharing costs and revenues.

McCaig (2011) comments as HE expanded and shifted to a mass education system, its funding inevitably became subject to increased social accountability demands. Consequently, a desire arose to shift HE's costs away from the public purse, and onto those individuals who would most directly benefit from it, students. Student grants had been introduced in 1962 and increased slowly until being frozen in 1989, when the student loan concept was introduced (Blake, 2010), and have been abolished from 2016 onward (Shaw, 2015). The student loan paved the way for students, rather than the state, to underwrite their own educations' costs, with the later introduction of tuition fees furthering this link. Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) indicate placing funding burdens onto students and their families as a consequence of reduced direct governmental HE funding, results from perceptions that HE is primarily a public good. Thus, as the benefits of enhanced human capital are enjoyed primarily by the individuals passing through the process it is they who should bear a greater degree of the costs. Despite earlier efforts in 1984, student fees were first introduced in academic year 1998/99 for all EU students, following Dearing (1997) recommending students should pay 25% of tuition costs, initially set in England at £1,000 annually (Teaching and Higher Education Act, 1998). Despite the incumbent Labour government's 2001 manifesto pledge not to introduce student top-up fees, their subsequent Higher Education Act (2004) introduced variable tuition fees. At the time, the opposition leader Iain Duncan Smith pledged to abolish this 'learning tax' under a future Conservative government, by 2006 his successor, David Cameron, changed the party narrative by stating that tuitions fees had become an 'unavoidable necessity'. Following the Browne Review, fees rose yet further (Blake, 2010; Browne, 2010; De Angelis & Harvie, 2009), with potential further rises anticipated in the wake the government's continued neoliberal agenda (Hastings, 2016; Pells, 2016; Shaw, 2015). The state's argument remains that tuition fees are necessary to meet the £1.3bn shortfall in HE funding requirements (Blake, 2010). Nevertheless, fees levels are not pegged to inflation, meaning the real income value universities obtain steadily declines. Increasing tuition fees yet further would likely engender considerable resentment from the millions of current and future UK students (Wilkins et al, 2013), an unpalatable electoral gambit for any government but increasingly an unfortunate reality for a capital deprived sector flirting with downsizing and rationalising its workforce. Despite this, calls to raise the fee levels further can originate from within the HE sector too (Garner, 2013).

Harvey (2010) explains when a common resource like education becomes commodified, and universities become neoliberalist inspired corporate entities, then there are clear ideological and political consequences. HEFCE's HE grants have three components;

contributing towards meeting the funder's strategic aims[61], demonstrating excellence in teaching, learning or research and achieving effective economic or societal impact (De Angelis & Harvie, 2009). However, per-capita funding has tended to decrease during periods of student number expansion. This was particularly noticeable during the expansions of the 1980s and 90s, and was partly responsible for moves towards normalising tuition fees (Wyness, 2010). Recruiting more, higher fee paying non-EU students offers one further approach to plugging the funding gap, but this is set against a competitive global HE recruitment market and stricter UK student visa rules[62] (Wolff, 2013). The market for overseas students is extremely lucrative, especially for individuals recruited from outside the EU where higher fees can be charged. Additionally, because these non-EU students contribute to the economy upwards of £4billion in fees and a similar amount in living expenses, they are attractive to the state (De Angelis & Harvie, 2009; Wolff, 2013). In the early 21st Century only top flight universities competed for non-EU students, but today many UK universities derive a sizeable income from non-EU student fees[63]. For the less research-intensive universities, the drive to obtain this revenue is greater, as they normally secure lower overall research grant income.

International Contrasts

While UK HE seems a special environment with its "*education system representing a front-line in capitalist development*" (De Angelis & Harvie, 2009, p. 10), it is worthwhile considering the degree to which marketisation and neoliberal ideals have infiltrated the academy internationally. Although Brown (2011) argues that no current higher educational system is truly, fully marketised, Derrida counters that the university everywhere remains at risk of "*becoming a branch office of conglomerates and corporations*" (see Cocola, 2006, p. 146). Worthy then of especial consideration is the US system, which also exists within its own strongly neoliberal policy environment. The US, more than any other nation, represents the closest example of a fully marketised HE sector, with around a third of their total six thousand colleges operating solely as for-profit organisations (Martin, 2009). Like the UK, it was the rhetoric of student empowerment and choice which drove US HE marketisation, with organisations including the Committee on Educational Development and the Carnegie Institute acknowledged as leaders in facilitating this change. Additionally, shifts from grants to loans in the US over a period of 30 years is also considered to have reconstructed student identities as HE consumers not participants, similar to the UK

---

[61] These can include the academy's economic contribution, widening participation, social mobility, HE/FE partnerships etc. (HEFCE, 2015).

[62] Again, the viability of post-Brexit UK overseas student market is currently highly uncertain.

[63] For example, Universities like Luton and Middlesex, draw one-sixth of their total incomes from overseas student fees, while the LSE relies on them for around a third (De Angelis & Harvie, 2009).

(Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Likewise, US student tuition fees have continued to rise, to the point where a higher education represents a major personal or familial capital investment. As Newfield (2008) argues, public education's value and worth could not be more pronounced in the US, yet a collective will to ensure its funding from the public purse is lacking.

Like the UK, US HE before the introduction of neoliberal ideologies saw academics and institutions enjoying an unusually high degree of departmental autonomy, with principal investigators running their groups as semi-independent organisations. While they may have shared some infrastructure with other colleagues, essentially there was extremely limited interference from the administrative centre. This faded as a culture of managerialism took root. Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) in their seminal HE marketisation work, highlight how one third of US university department heads reported sectoral changes had increased workloads, significantly due to academics' priorities blurring. Prior to the 1990s the focus was clearly on producing high quality research and education. Subsequent introduction of drives towards market efficiencies, knowledge commercialisation and audit cultures, coupled with no concomitant rise in faculty numbers, have appreciably increased academic workloads. Yet, US' HE has long been competitive in attracting students, even prior to these changes. Harvard University first published student ratings of teaching in the 1920s, a lead most other institutions followed during the 1960s and 1970s. Competition between institutions only really emerged after the Second World War, as better transport links and more standardised admissions tests developed. US business leaders vocally demanded corporate style management be introduced to universities (Harvey, 2005), and consequentially in the 1990s marketised institutional practices were aggressively pursued (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). This market-driven and student-empowered HE model was perceived such a success, that the World Bank advocated its replication internationally (Williams, 2011).

Echoing the Jarratt Report's recommendations, US HE embraced moves to change the role of University Presidents to CEOs, with all the associated changes in power and function this brings. As within the knowledge economy the CEOs of institutions who produce considerable research and knowledge based outputs gain a greater agency, this lends greater political power to college Presidents (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). It is questionable the degree to which this trend is mirrored in the UK currently, yet when considering the CEO-like salary remuneration of university leaders in both countries, places them within the same income bracket as major private enterprise leaders (Ellis, 2013;

Grove, 2013; Grant Thornton, 2013), then some evidence to support this change emerges[64]. In the US, those institutional leaders joining 'the $500,000 club' (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004, p. 335) find themselves earning twice what the US President earns, whereas UK leading Vice-Chancellor earners have annual salaries exceeding £300,000, exceeding the Prime Minister's combined ministerial and parliamentary salary of £142,500 (House of Commons, 2013). Such egregious salary rewards, notably during a period of austerity, staff cuts and wage freezes would be questionable for merchant bankers, let alone for supposedly intellectually principled leaders. In the US, senior administrators have also been able to reap the fiscal benefits of the academy's corporatisation. For example, two managers of Harvard University's Management Company received over $70 million for their services in 2003 (Cocola, 2006). While this is the top tier of US HE, the marketised sector now has a figure which other aspirational topflight institutions may seek or have to follow, if they wish to remain viable in the market. Those trading in the 'market of ideas' (ibid), have seemingly capitulated to ideals of personal profiteering. Given the influence and power-relations these figures embody, resistance to the adoption of neoliberal policy ideals within the academy seems likely to become yet harder to affect.

One final example of capitalist ingresses into US HE is through external sponsorship of sports teams, departments and even entire institutions (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). The appearance of a sponsor's logo on departmental webpages may be distasteful, but when sponsorship bring with it contractual agreements impinging on normal academic functioning, then greater risks to institutional impartiality and free speech are evidenced. Some institutions report the introduction of contracts containing non-disparagement clauses, which ensure no university staff can publicly speak against a benefactor's interests, raising significant concerns[65]. The prioritisation of income, over academic freedoms to critique and analyse without censorship, would likely invalidate swathes of scholarly praxis and discourse.

I have focussed on the USA as the most direct comparator to the UK marketisation. Yet, many other advanced capitalist economies like Australia, Canada and New Zealand also show evidence of progressing down this path, albeit not to the same degree (Brown, 2011; De Angelis & Harvie, 2009; Ross, 2009). In the European Union (EU) the Bologna Process (CRE, 1999), sought to standardise the neoliberal ideals of international competiveness

---

[64] NTU's VC is curiously among the better remunerated Vice Chancellors, which illustrates that even post-1992 university executive officers can be exceptionally well-paid.
[65] Would for example a publisher sponsor, restrict academics from conducting and publishing research which casts them in an adverse light? See *Chapter 8*, along with Harvie (et al, 2013) for an example of something which could be suppressed under such a regime.

within European universities (Lynch & Ivancheva, 2015). Consequently, as most EU countries introduce marketisation elements to their HE, their universities too are becoming driven more by aspects of compatibility, comparability and global competitiveness. An additional consequence is the standardisation of university degrees across the EU being applied without significant regards to the societal and structural differences of the individual nations or their HE cultures (Gefou-Madianou, 2000). Nevertheless, aspects of marketisation suggested by the Bologna Process, which may be perceived as current normative practice for UK or US scholars, have caused their EU academic counterparts greater concern (De Angelis & Harvie, 2009).

There are exceptions to the wave of international marketised HE, with a resistance displayed in the Nordic countries, which demonstrate strong public funding and limited resource competition. Notably, it is within these countries where many of the finest OA practice exemplars have been seen (Suber, 2012). Interestingly, Brown (2011) also highlights how the Shanghai Jiao Tong University rankings see Sweden produce a top university for every 882,000 people contrasted with the US' 1 per 1.9million, suggesting that neoliberal education reform may not be as effective at driving scholarship. Nevertheless, as neoliberal HE reformers and policy makers globally continue to aspire towards the US 'mixed market' model (Miller, 2009), the prevailing international trend continues to be the adoption and normalisation of a marketised HE sector.

3.3. Cognitive Capitalism and Academic Labour

Thus, neoliberal managerialism ostensibly drives academics to labour harder in producing from their immaterial knowledge creative labour sufficient *cognitive capital* to ensure that institutions can thrive. It is through the exploitation of this knowledge-derived capital that the industrialised publishing industry has thrived, and established a system for which OA represents a potentially existential threat. Nevertheless, governmental and institutional policies create the opportunities for this *cognitive capitalism* to occur (De Angelis & Harvie, 2009). Yet, it is only through academic managers' actions, along with academics' compliance that it is able to flourish within the academy. Marx described cognitive capitalism as the third, and arguably final phase of capitalism. It is not the same as privatisation *per se*, rather it represents a redefining of a previously public space and the appropriate activities within it. Through adopting these neoliberal derived policies, the academy, especially in the UK and US, has seen market behaviours permeate throughout almost all aspects of institutional functions (Brown & Carasso, 2013; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Sauntson & Morrish, 2011). The academic capitalism paradigm displaces but does not replace other regimes such as the public good/knowledge or liberal learning regimes.

However, it has become firmly entrenched in public policy, relations between HE, the market place and the state, as well as within the academy's habitual work practices and employment structures. The prior *public good model*, embracing Newmanian university ideals places knowledge discovery and production firmly within the university, with subsequent productive development based on their outputs occurring beyond the academy within other public and private sector actors. Shifting to an academic capitalist research regime instead, places the university at the centre of a web of commercial forces, and their conflicting ethical values.

While acknowledging that classical Marxists consider educators to be unproductive labourers or as members of a middle class lying between labours and the bourgeoisie, Harvie (2006) notes the key roles education plays in socialising young people for the workplace. In his view, teachers and by extension academics, are productive labourers who create surplus value through their toil. He also notes how educational institutions have always played a key part in the reproduction of variable capital, and hence the accumulation of capital. Newfield (2008) raises the interesting consideration that academics might be what Peter Drucker called *intellectual capitalists*, individuals who own the means of knowledge production and thus control its outputs, although this seems at odds with perceptions of academics as an exploited workforce. From a Marxist standpoint Balaam and Dillman (2011) suggest any HE changes result from technological changes, which consequently have altered society. In the light of changes to publication models, where digital dissemination is a key development, this view has some credibility. Hardt and Negri's concept of immaterial labour can be applied to academic institutions, in that much of their cognitive labour outputs clearly possess its characteristics, being frequently intangible (De Angelis & Harvie, 2009). Nevertheless, by placing the academy within a cognitive capitalism regime means academic labour becomes reorganised into an at risk model. Under such a regime, academics perceived as 'less productive' face the ignominy of being side-lined from the traditional dual teaching and research model (AUT, 2005). This coupled with increasing employment casualisation represents a faculty proletarianisation. Additionally, uncoupling of modules and lectures from degree courses, so they may be offered via distance or open learning routes, can transform the course leader's role to that of a managerial professional, with academics recast as content specialists (Maringe, 2011; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Hence, any enthusiasm for open education endeavours, represents a regrettable dichotomy, since while opening the academy's education to a wider public, they contribute to further normalising a commodified and mangerialised HE.

Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) note how unforeseen circumstances always arise from academic capitalism, most salient being how the benefits of economic growth are never evenly distributed. Specifically, through treating knowledge as a private and enclosable good much of it becomes inaccessible, restricting discovery and innovation. While rivalrous, physical distribution of academic knowledge was a necessary normative state pre-Internet, digital dissemination proffers an exciting alternative (Suber, 2012), albeit one still beset with property-based ontologies[66]. Income gleaned from patent and IP exploitation remains a powerful incentive for scholars to embrace academic capitalist practices. Increasing desires to valorise knowledge products and become more involved in cognitive capitalism, has seen universities recruit professional managers, to support the entrepreneurial networks which help maximise institutional capital returns. Accordingly, these networks facilitate capitalist business and managerial values permeate into the academy, while also decreasing the academic corpus' relative influence (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Neoliberal policy imperatives and state funding reductions also pressurise universities to become more entrepreneurial in outlook (Berglund, 2008; Chertkovskaya, 2013). The establishment of technology transfer or enterprise departments, often with named senior managerial responsibility further demonstrates the academy's adoption of a capital accumulation operational mode. Yet, problems arise through this embrace of academic capitalism. Cocola (2006) highlights such a dysfunction within cognitive knowledge labour, in the close and questionable relationships which have evolved between pharmaceutical corporations and drug researchers, where publication of favourable results is encouraged over subaltern outcomes. Actions like these risk reconfiguring aspects of academic scholarship, into something more akin to a commercial marketing exercise. As institutions' desire or need to profit from their cognitive labours increases, there is a concomitant reduction in academic freedom and the free flow of knowledge. Academic cognitive labour must be successfully exploited, without risking gifting competitive advantages to any market competitors, necessitating a more cautious knowledge distribution than previously. Such secretive practices of effective knowledge enclosure while common in the private sector, run counter to the free-exchange of knowledge and public good model which has long comprised the basis of the academy's research operations. Additionally, they serve to further reconstruct universities knowledge productive discourse and praxis within the cognitive capitalist ontology.

---

[66] See *Chapter 4* for fuller discussion of the evolution and challenges to opening access to academic knowledge.

Notably, much of the literature concerned with the academy's creation of IP focuses on its generation by research intensive institutions' faculty. However, faculty at other institutional tiers[67] and support staff, also engage with the academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime (NTU, 2011; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Distance learning courses have grown in popularity partly due to the ease with which global digital distribution is facilitated, but also because they offer institutions new cognitive capital exploitation routes. Nevertheless, much of the material and software used are subject to copyright or IP protection, which consequently often necessitates institutions partnering with public and profit-taking organisations (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Such partnerships are a further step towards the conversion of universities into academic capitalist knowledge/learning regimes.

Knowledge Transfer

One of the reasons academic knowledge is so invaluable to society at large is because it offers expertise and insight removed from the taint of political and economic sphere. Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) suggest applying the Vannevar Bush funding model here, stressing the importance of separating the sciences from state and economic influence, which could otherwise bias findings in favour of special interest groups. Knowledge treated as a product becomes a commodity which the university owns and exploits through sales and marketing to broad targets including business and potential students (Sauntson & Morrish, 2011). Now universities, encouraged by the RCUK, are also actively pursuing enterprise, spin-offs and exploitation of institutionally generated IP[68], the lines between public and private good are not simply blurring, but the perceived independence and impartiality of HE research also becomes at risk.

Newfield (2008) references Daniel Bell's belief, that information and knowledge as routes to creating value would supplant 'capital and labour' in the new post-industrial knowledge economy. Newfield also notes how the 1980s and 90s were a period during which the HE sector was financially impoverished, but possessed considerable social and cognitive capital wealth. Today, many universities have enterprise or technology transfer offices. Although they likely require a considerable amount in legal fees and operating costs to run, ideally they recoup these losses and profit through the exploitation of university generated IP and knowledge. This intrinsically links, for the most aggressively capitalist universities, the act of research with its commodification and exploitation, sending a message to faculty that the fruits of their cognitive labour are not simply for sale, but they must also yield highly

---

[67] Newer, operationally teaching-focussed institutions such as the post-1992 UK universities.
[68] The *NERC Follow On Fund*, being one such example.
http://www.nerc.ac.uk/funding/available/schemes/followon/.

profitable capital (Cocola, 2006). De Angelis and Harvie (2004) note how the lower tier and poorer institutions are particularly pressured to generate income through knowledge transfer. While acknowledging HEFCE's view that this allows institutions to builds on their strengths, they argue it subordinates academic research to the priorities of the market and competitiveness, rather than the expansion of knowledge. Consequently, through aggressively pursuing patent exploitation and participating in external markets, universities have needed to increase their internal managerial capacities (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004).

In the neoliberal view, property rights are fundamental to the functioning of a market economy, creating incentives to use resources efficiently and link between outputs and reward. Likewise, members of the economic elite seek to create private property rights over socially produced knowledge (Balaam & Dillman, 2011). By acquiring the IPR for the least possible cost, they dispossess cognitive labourers of their collectively generated knowledge. This has been the paradigm for decades in the academic publishing sector, where the rights to academic knowledge are acquired at the cheapest possible level, free. Furedi (2011) argues while marketisation leads to a diminished educational experience, research knowledge cannot be easily standardised or commodified into consumer goods, although the healthy journal subscription and article sales market would gainsay these conclusions (Lilley, 2012). Indeed, this publisher link to capitalism goes further than knowledge capital exploitation with the biopharmaceutical company Pfizer describing journals as a means to "*support, directly or indirectly the marketing of our product*" (Miller, 2009, p. 76).

Human Capital

Fisher (2009) observes how a process of 'capitalist realism' has allowed a business ontology to be successfully installed within society, resulting in a normative perception that all facets of life, including education and healthcare, should be run as a business. Such neoliberal ideologies result in a situation with diminished worker power, denationalisation and privatisation of formerly public actors, which would have been unthinkable three decades ago. Fisher expresses hopes this current 'natural order' will eventually no longer be the accepted status quo. Yet, for this to occur an effective hegemonic resistance must emerge. For scholarly publishing, such resistance can be perceived to exist within the OA movement, but significantly the pervasive neoliberalisation and commodification of the academy goes further than publishing. This raises questions as to why have academics gone along with a cognitive capitalism process which ideologically represents an anathema to the Newmanian academy ideal. Certainly, Kirp (see Newfield, 2008, p. 225) identifies an existential threat to the academy from any complacency, asking how "*can a university maintain the intellectual*

world...if learning becomes just another consumer good?" It is possible, but simultaneously the human toll on HE workers should not be understated. Coupled with the new managerial approach to human resource management, what is surprising is why more academics have not left the profession due to overwork or disillusionment.

Institutional cognitive capitalism's adoption means it is not only the academy's outputs which can be expressed in capital terms. Individuals' productive capacities can also be conceptualised as *human capital* (Adamson, 2009). Under this perception, HE staff become human capital resources, to be exploited in meeting their employer and the states' economic needs, delivering educational services and generating surplus value through their cognitive labours (Jones-Devitt & Samiei, 2011). Additionally, while desiring to increase the quality of human labour power, capitalism seeks to decrease costs (Harvie, 2006). This human capital conceptualisation represents a dehumanising, reductionist treatment of people as simply exploitable economic units, and within the academy contributes to the increasing loss of academic autonomy and workplace freedoms. For the neoliberal state their policy focus has become centred on improving HE's human capital, and particularly the resultant contribution current students will make to the nation's future economic wealth. Consequently, through the national curriculum and funding certain disciplines over others, the state has exercised a close biopower-based control by helping define the desirable future workforce attributes higher educated citizens possess.

Through entering HE, students actively seek to develop their personal human capital, yet Read (2009) stresses how within a marketised HE they are unlikely to take a holistic view of any potential future societal contribution. Every academic engagement and class becomes increasingly viewed through its contribution to their future successful employability. Educators' roles become relegated in this equation to commodified education service providers. Consequently, for the student corpus, a further consequence of HE marketisation is an intellectual shift away from deep learning or critical thinking, towards embracing educational commodification, enhancing their own career marketability. Nevertheless, for an academy founded under Newmanian principles, their efforts to develop individuals is greater than merely ensuring their future contributions to economic growth. Ideally, it is concerned with creating an environment through which people can develop themselves, enriching their lives and achieve their fullest potential (Newfield, 2008). Certainly, HE provides opportunities for acquiring skills and knowledge, but a facility for scholarship and critical reasoning should also be instilled. Yet, within a marketised HE where economic contributions and student employability are prioritised, the academy's

public good impact in contributing to the betterment of society has become subsumed by the quest for capital.

Cognitive Control

What becomes clear is that disruptive impacts stemming from HE marketisation on teaching, learning, and research practice exist within the UK academy. Basole (2009) identifies one of the contradictions inherent in the idea of a university is between teaching and research, between knowledge dissemination and production. Unlike lower educational tiers which train students to enter a range of professions, HE also must prepare candidates to enter into the academy itself as peers. The fallout from this dichotomy is that the focus falls on preparing technically proficient individuals, but the ethical aspects of developing enlightened citizens fall by the wayside. Today, the connectedness of research with undergraduate teaching is regarded as the very essence of HE's student-centric model (Neary & Hagard, 2011). Yet, as research becomes more driven by corporate desires and students are increasingly reconstructed as education consumers, more power over academics becomes vested in the paymasters and administrators, increasing institutional hierarchisation (Miller, 2009).

Meanwhile, metrics provide academic managers with powerful tools to control the academics they oversee. The desire of institutions to improve their teaching, research and learning outcomes league table positions indicates obligations are placed on staff to conform to the state and university party lines, which is achieved through managerial accountability as much as through coercion. Academics who can flawlessly produce lecture materials in a pre-defined benchmark preparation time may exist, but given the variable occurrences comprising the academic working day this is a highly optimistic assumption. Likewise, requirements to produce high impact publications annually to meet the research assessment cycle of requirements may be possible. Nevertheless, the extant required teaching, administrative and supervisory workloads likely signifies how meeting these efficiency targets can be achieved only through extending the already lengthy academic working day. Additionally, a dichotomy exists. Where such targets are met or exceeded, academics can expect to see the level of expected achievements increase, producing incentives to conceal any productivity gains (De Angelis & Harvie, 2009; Harvey, 2010). Nevertheless, the introduction of appraisals as the result of the Education Reform Act (1988) was seen as a further effort to introduce business-based controls to the academy. From the outset appraisals were perceived as unwelcome intrusions, and were met with concerted resistance from academics and the Association of University Teachers. They opposed a system which was based on a performative related reward or punishment basis,

preferring a scheme focussing on supporting academic's professional development needs (Shore & Wright, 2000).

Simultaneously, senior institutional management can employ comparisons from the various league tables to motivate institutional normative practices to become configured towards achieving greater institutional esteem, and hence income (Lipset 2009; Newman, 2009; UCU, 2009). Thus, as institutions struggle to maintain their market positions, this normalises neoliberal praxis as governmental policy actors desire (Sauntson & Morrish, 2011). Yet, even as institutions adopt such managerialised changes, calls for further regulation and regimentation of the HE sector continue (Swain, 2013; Woodcock & Toscano, 2016). Consequently, requirements to engage with the teaching and research excellence agenda, coupled with drives to compete for student recruitment even as potential numbers decline, has increased academics' workloads (Barker, 2016; Harvie, 2006). Unsurprisingly, such neoliberal competitiveness and bureaucratic managerialism has demoralised the academic workforce, facing perceptions that no level of effort will ever be sufficient (Fisher, 2009). As Berglund (2008) explains, such demoralisation impacts especially on early-career researchers keen to establish their esteem, and who are especially vulnerable to complying with a willing acceptance of crushing workloads as normal.

Thus, an academic's working life in the marketised HE sector has become beset by a whirlwind of requirements and targets, which are driven as much by institutional aspirations as state educational policy. Yet, while some academic freedoms remain, increasingly the perceived autonomy to manage one's own scholarly work may become simply the freedom to achieve management's goals. Therefore, scholars' agency diminishes, as they become productive cogs within a knowledge industry, fit for periodic fine-tuning to ensure sufficiently valuable outputs (De Angelis & Harvie, 2009). Dealing with the shifting goalposts of quality and excellence means considerable labour time becomes devoted simply to dealing with these requirements, rather than scholarly practices. Metrics and performance targets exercise an overt, constant but powerful control over the UK academy's cognitive labourers' behaviour[69]. Effectively the rise of metrics risks transforming the university into a panopticonic environment, where self-regulation and monitoring combine to scrutinise for suboptimal performance behaviours, particularly those which could damage institutional competiveness (Amit, 2000; Strathern, 2000). To fail to perform sufficiently creditable academic cognitive labour is to risk

---

[69] Interestingly, in contrast to the UK, Harvie (2006) notes that within developing countries there is far less overt coercive control, and subtler agencies are employed to ensure compliance with the state's desires.

disenfranchisement from the academy, and so compliance to the neoliberalisation agenda becomes essential.

Consumers or Scholars

While my thesis focusses on academic capitalism of research publication, given its intrinsic duality with teaching, it is worth considering how marketisation has impacted on the student educational experience. Conceivably, through neoliberal policy, the underlying idea of the university has become no longer concerned with the paradigm of social hope or exemption from work for the young, during which they can explore their talents, become trained and versed in citizenship for future societal betterment. John Stuart Mill (see Furedi, 2011, p. 8) argued how *"paid teachers 'attain their purposes' not 'by making people wiser or better, but by conforming to their opinions, pandering to their existing desires, and making them better pleased with themselves and with their errors and vices than they were before'"*. Meanwhile, in *Discipline and Punish* Foucault speaks of the development of an educational space which has come to "*function also as a machine for supervising, hierachizing and rewarding*" (see Harvie, 2006, p. 2). These views seem to be evidenced today within the marketised UK HE sector, as the pressures towards achieving tangible productivity intensifies.

Likewise, the shift of students from individuals desiring to learn, to customers seeking a qualification represents a move towards passivity within the HE engagement (Williams, 2011). In the marketised academy where students have been reconfigured primarily as customers, an expectation for a positive return on their investment of time and money arises. Yet, such a prevailing mentality diminishes any deeper, critical engagement with scholarship (Barnett, 2011). Increasingly students have become focussed on achieving the expected career advantages degree completion confers (Maringe, 2011), rather than on becoming scholars (Harvie 2006). The introduction of tuition fees increased students' financial burdens, and as their debt increased expectations of positive employability benefits from their capital and time invested increased (Wyness, 2010). Student debt has become a symbol of the passage into adulthood with its normalised acceptance contributing to shaping the workforce emerging from HE. For them it has become easier to accept the capitalist paradigm, and seek employment which offers the maximum financial return, over any more satisfying life experience. Academics may proselytise about the self-searching journey of discovery through the academy, but debt teaches HE is a consumable service (Williams, 2009). For today's gradate, undertaking lowly paid or voluntary labour simply becomes unpractical, and society the poorer for it.

Williams (2011) stresses how politicians focus on outcomes rather than the educational processes, serving to reinforce this consumer mentality. Accordingly, through this audit culture, academics too have a greater stake in 'customer satisfaction'. However, as Collini (2016) points out, student satisfaction represents a poor surrogate for measuring truly effective education. Additionally, Miller (2009) notes the freedoms and empowerment students appear to enjoy within HE, serve to socialise them against the normative functioning of many workplace cultures. Nevertheless, the neoliberal agenda for education, Harvie (2006) writes, means educator's roles in capital's reproduction and development have become unambiguous. For their part, marketised institutions increasingly view students as revenue sources, consequently directing extensive marketing efforts towards recruiting them, to ensure that valued institutional income streams are maintained.

Thus, in recent decades, universities have been transformed from sites of educational activity into locales where the consumption of fee-based academic services is increasingly normalised (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Furedi (2011) counters how academic teaching does not easily fit into a consumerist paradigm. He explains how this educational commodification, and the need for strong positive metrics, results in institutions recruiting less demanding students or offering less intellectually challenging courses. Consequently, audit-derived institutional market perceptions, desirability, and hence resultant income, are all enhanced at the expense of diminishing the broader student educational experience. Notably, HE students do not enter *tabula rasa* into this increasingly marketised realm, but have been pre-conditioned through decades of governmental policy extolling the neoliberal market economy's virtues throughout other aspects of their life experiences. As Williams (2011) stresses the media representation of the student consumer is positively constructed, stressing its empowering nature, and hence challenging such normative discourse becomes problematic. Within HE students have become a captive audience for consumer markets, and consequently are at risk of further socialisation into a consumer-focussed capitalism norm. Indoctrination of future academics into neoliberal thought patterns is also well established, with entrepreneurial elements comprising key components within many UK universities' research student training programmes (Vitae, 2013).

Strong moral arguments exist against making HE a consumable commodity, but increasingly universities globally have clearly become the 'factories of the knowledge economy' (Caffentizis & Federici, 2009). These *edu-factories* (ibid) can be envisaged as the knowledge economy's 21st Century sweatshops, where degrees comprise a portion of the surplus value student and academic cognitive labour contributes (Maringe, 2011). Graduates, the final

edu-factory assembly line output, are presented to society as products, contributing to increased national human capital. Nevertheless, Fisher (2009) highlights that neoliberal HE marketisation rests on an under-developed analogy: are students now consumers of educational services or its products? From a neoliberal perspective apparently they are both. However, every student cannot afford to access the same edu-factory tier, given those sufficiently privileged to afford extra-curricular tuition may more readily access more desirable institutions. This fundamental capitalist-led inequality further stratifies the marketised HE experience. Consequently, despite neoliberal claims, many educational consumers are actually stripped of free-market choice abilities becoming less, not more, empowered (Maringe; 2011; Woodcock & Toscano, 2016). Nordensvärd (2011) offers some support for marketised HE, as students within the edu-factory are ideologically repositioned as something greater than consumers or workers, through becoming empowered to manage their lives and careers. Nevertheless, he counters this with perceptions that a neoliberal HE environment possesses a "*commercial and destructive nihilism since it undermines many normative debates*" which strips out much of its political, ideological and normative aspects.

Pre-HE teaching is often geared increasingly towards facilitating high grade attainment and to ensure marketable audit targets are reached, rather than ensuring a broad student education (Fisher, 2009). Consequently, students later paying for service delivery will unsurprisingly possess expectations of automatically gaining their chosen qualification, rather than being intellectually challenged[70]. Yet, the edu-factory has over-produced, with more degree educated students emerging from the academy greater than ever (HESA, 2012). The bitter reality graduates saddled with debt face, is an over-saturated recruitment market (CPID, 2015; Mroz, 2009; Wyness, 2010).

Foskett (2011) explains how the government, through quangos including the QAA along with funding allocations, operate control over the HE disciplines taught. This manipulation has been compounded with the rash of recent 'uneconomically viable' department closures, especially in the humanities (Woodcock & Toscano, 2016). Consequently, once again for students, free-market rhetoric disguises an effective narrowing of choice (BBC News, 2010; Codrea-Rado, 2013; Newman, 2009; Paton, 2009). Foskett (2011) also notes the HE quasi-market is not a level playing field, contrasting universities like Derby or Oxford, which do not operate in the same student recruitment markets. Yet, through the government's neoliberal competitive imperatives and an increasingly competitive global HE

---

[70] The example of Oxford graduate Siddiqui, seeking suit against his alma mater for 'failing' to produce his expected qualification levels, represents just such a relationship shift between HE and students (Taylor & Sandeman, 2016).

sector, some institutions may become financially unviable, further decreasing the student choice (Coughlan, 2013). For the state, ostensibly such university failures and the entrance of private HE providers (Havergal & Grove, 2016; Woodcock & Toscano, 2016) represents a desirable, if flagrantly capitalist, outcome.

Within such a neoliberal policy driven edu-factory environment students also have become more risk adverse, avoiding 'public rebellion' which may endanger their future careers. While diminishing the genuine personal transformation opportunities through HE participation, it also removes a previous resistance locus to government manipulation of the academy (Collini, 2016). Perhaps, as Nixon (et al, 2011) suggests, consumerist attitudes have become so endemic within society that the most direct route to 'get their degree' becomes rationalised as normative behaviour. Moreover, students emerge from HE more deeply ingrained with consumerist attitudes. While fitting them for life within a marketised society, this does not install the prior attributes of independent and critical thought which once comprised the *sine qua non* of a university educated person. If action and thought divergent from a neoliberalised society norm are suppressed within academy graduates, how then can marketisation's advance be countered?

3.4.   Openness, Complicity, Apathy and Revolt

The university has long been a site of resistance against capitalism (De Angelis & Harvie, 2009; Mroz, 2009). Indeed, where once the factories were sites of the defining struggles against capitalists, Caffentzis and Federici (2009) argue these are now situated within universities. Certainly, universities have long provided crucial locations for intense debate, intellectual scrutiny and critical challenge of wider societal struggles. Yet, clearly from this review the vibrancy of this natural crucible of social and intellectual rebellion is at risk from the tightening of the neoliberal states' modes of control and regulation. As Barnett (2011) along with Jones-Devitt and Samiei (2011) argue, the neoliberal ideology permeating HE has become so unstoppably all-pervasive, that challenging it is no longer practical and scholars must adapt to work within it. Interestingly, Neary & Hagard (2011) suggest the neoliberal excellence culture's rise is a response which actively seeks to reconstruct power-relations away from academics. Additionally, continued moves towards increased social surveillance and regulation (Kinsman, 2004; Swain, 2013) brings the threat of panopticonic self-regulation and censorship, further diminishing academic freedom to think, to challenge and to rebel.

As Amit (2000) argues, seemingly scholars have largely accepted the devaluation of the societal value of intellectually-informed pursuit of knowledge, becoming content to function as cognitive knowledge labourers. It is possible to conceive the allure of potential

rewards from commercialisation may further induce scholars' acceptance. Such conservatism is understandable in an academy where job security is increasingly uncertain (UCU, 2015), for scholars have lives and families to support. It is possible to consider how such conservatism may also manifest as indifference to cultural changes. Thus, when attempting to engage academics in active resistance to the inequities of commodified scholarly publications practices, their conditioned responses may simply be apathetic. Yet, as Newfield (2008) explored, if faculty cannot be relied upon to defend the idea of a university, then neither can the student body be expected to cherish and preserve academic ideals.

In her excellent paper Berglund (2008) highlights the competing pressures faced within the neoliberal university, which leave academics chronically time-limited to pursue serious scholarship. Meeting the burdensome needs of a managerlised administration and feeding the publication market are seen to be the central productivity drivers, not exceptional teaching or ground-breaking research[71]. This not only results in decreased risk taking with less challenging or esoteric research perused, but also diminishes collegiality opportunities. Hence, with a disaggregated academic corpus, concerted protest opportunities against neoliberal encroachment are also diminished. Additionally, a resultant lack of self-esteem and a widening deficit of trust between senior management and academics is also created. The marketised academy thus diminishes resistance as it subjugates its cognitive labourers. Consequently, with previous freedoms evaporating, academic job satisfaction and morale are diminished as casualisation and stress increases (Darabi et al, 2016; Shaw & Ward, 2014). Unsurprisingly in such an oppressive environment, scholars would likely seek jobs elsewhere or attempt to endure for the sake of their careers, rather than engage in active resistance.

One of the problems with resisting, overcoming and seeking a way forward beyond neoliberalism, is through real subsumption capitalism has included all alternatives within their markets as a source of value to be extracted. Gramsci, unlike Marx, argues that resistance to capitalism arises through many channels (Jones, 2006; Hardt & Negri, 2000) and despite this compliance culture some academics continue to actively resist the academy's neoliberalisation (Berglund, 2008; Shore & Wright, 2000; UCU, 2013; Reimer, 2013). For some, resistance is configured as a Gramscian war of position, enacted through committing tiny, symbolic rather than substantive rebellious acts, all the while hiding

---

[71] The TEF and REF as presented by BIS seemingly seek to redress this, but both are subject to considerable criticism as further positivistic tools with distinctly capitalistic overtones underlying their purpose. See (Fazackerley, 2016; Gunn, 2017; Lynch & Ivancheva, 2015; Woodcock & Toscano, 2016) among others.

behind "*a façade of compliance and constructive engagement*" with institutional policies (De Angelis & Harvie, 2009, p. 15). Others, as explored later[72], make more public academic activism efforts to resist. That there are those who display an unwillingness to embrace passivity or compliance with the new neoliberal 'world order' indicates resistance does exist. It is debatable how effective this resistance is, given the government's continued neoliberal reconfiguration of the academy. Nevertheless, as Harvie (2006) notes, struggles around education, whether individually or through collective action are rarely consciously anti-capitalist in nature.

Student protests also exist (NUS, 2013), and certainly such 'consumer resistance' can have long lasting effects within the academy, as events in 1968 France demonstrated through the emergence of the democratic post-modern university. Yet, compared to the students of the 1960s and 70s, Fisher (2009) suggests UK students *en masse* are politically disengaged, not through any post-modern cynicism but rather a 'reflexive impotence' from having witnessed recent mass uprisings[73] which achieved saturation media coverage but effected little political change. Thus, socialised to a normative neoliberal society, it becomes difficult to perceive alternatives. Notably, the National Union of Students' dropped its opposition to tuition fees in 2008 (Blake, 2010), although the advent of the TEF seems to have rekindled their activism (Woodcock & Toscano, 2016). Students are aware things are bad, but believing their agency is limited, focus their efforts towards achieving employability. Certainly, student life is rife with examples of the power of the commons including the library, shared living spaces and peer collaborative assessed work (Read, 2009). Yet, once students depart HE, it seems the wealth of the commons becomes less important than achieving salaried employment. Even for those who become academics, it seems they gradually forget how they benefited from shared resources. However, for shared resources to exist there must also be those willing to share. Depressingly, perhaps a point has been reached where society no longer wishes to defend the academy's scholarly freedoms, without demanding economic and ideological contribution in return (Newfield, 2008). If this is the case, then neoliberalisation truly has completely subsumed society.

The academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime is ascendant, and enabled though an assemblage of policy, actors and practices, but it is not an inevitable consequence. Potentially, some forms of academic capitalism could yield genuine social benefits, although it is difficult to comprehend how they might be configured. Certainly, marketisation represents an existential threat to institutions, as they increasingly compete

---

[72] See *Chapters 5 & 8*, concerning academic activists.
[73] For example, those against the Iraq war, student loans and Brexit.

for limited resources. It may be that the impossibility of all universities competing across so many broad knowledge markets, will be replaced by an increased specialisation, with institutions increasingly occupying niche market positions. Others may focus on showcasing the benefits they can return through social inclusion or job creation to their localities (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Such eventualities though, do not represent particularly desirable future prospects for the Newmanian academy. Yet, whatever the resultant configuration, clearly any return to an elite, small scale academic system is unlikely.

This chapter has examined the background and consequences from the rise of an increasingly marketised UK academy. Yet, while in recent decades, neoliberal educational policy and operating within a globalised knowledge economy society has affected it, the academy has been influenced by other factors too. Notably, during this period the Internet emerged from serving a privileged elite, to become a global, publicly accessible, information source[74], providing the infrastructure upon which the knowledge economy rests. Indeed, such aspects of 'digital disruption' which the Internet has engendered, may yet impact more greatly on HE than marketisation (Booker, 2013). One such disruptive effect notably, has been the facilitation of OA dissemination practices. Nevertheless, the neoliberal project's dramatic reconstruction of UK HE has clearly affected the UK academy's cultural practices. With competition for students and finance prioritised over scholarly practices, then academics' attitudes, beliefs and normative behaviours will likely also have been reshaped, subtly and immeasurably. Thus, it seems possible to propose that the UK HE's marketisation has created a capitalist environment entirely toxic to the Newmanian university's ideals.

Thus, within a Taylorist, neoliberal market driven academy does *any* space exist for embracing openness in scholarship? Certainly, those scholars I have drawn on clearly have a keen awareness of the academy's deleterious subversion through neoliberal policy. Likely, to some degree, all scholars will possess an awareness of academic capitalism, yet any resistance to it operating within the academy is harder to locate. Hence, academics like Slaughter and Rhoades or Sauntson and Morrish, along with ones who labour towards models of openness, accessibility and public engagement with academic literature[75], represent an active autonomous resistance and resurgence of the public good ethos upon which universities were originally configured. This resistance dynamically empowers them

---

[74] Acknowledging, that there are areas of the Internet which are commercially enclosed, restricted or otherwise inaccessible to the general public.

[75] I am thinking here partly of individuals discussed in *Chapter 4: Section 4.4*, but especially those I consider in *Chapter 8*.

within the cycles of struggle comprising the academy's neoliberal transformation, and the numerous microcenters of power which dominate them. Their commendable public good labours operate to counter efforts to enclose, commodify and monetarise academics products, as represented by the industrialised academic publishers. Thus, perhaps then in a marketised education sector, with a culture and environment increasingly alien to public good ideals, my core question transforms from *why hasn't open access made a greater impact*, to *how has it managed to achieve any impact at all*? The future remains uncertain, and thus how openness in scholarship fits into this equation is something I will now examine.

Chapter 4: Open Access and the Intellectual Commons in the UK

4.1.   Introduction

Since the 17th Century, the academy has relied on the dissemination of research findings to propagate novel ideas, engage in peer discourse and provide a measure of quality assurance in the development of academic knowledge (De Roure, 2014; Weller, 2011). Nevertheless, publishers have long controlled the apparatus of quality assurance and vectors of distribution essential for this dissemination and accreditation, consistently claiming and exploiting the intellectual property rights (IPR) acquired in exchange for services rendered. This places them into an unequalled Gramscian hegemonic dominant position (Jones, 2006) over the global HE research landscape. Consequently, especially during the 20th Century research dissemination, this key HE facet, has increasingly become commodified, with toll-gate barriers erected enabling the extraction of considerable revenues in return for permitting access (Lilley, 2012; Suber, 2012). The traditional, *legacy publication* model arose as a *rivalrous* necessity, since the collation, reproduction and dissemination of academic literature required a physical infrastructure which outstripped most universities or learned bodies' capacities (Weller, 2011). The centralisation of this function also conferred benefits to the academy in savings of time and effort, even as the power-relations shifted favourably towards an increasingly industrialised publication sector (Johnson, G.J., 2016). Thus, scholars' cognitive labour products have become situated in a subservient and arguably exploitative power-relation as knowledge producers and consumers.

A challenge to this status quo is a move to bypass rent-control mechanisms and restrictive reader barriers through enabling OA to academic knowledge. Through taking advantage of emerging Internet platforms and channels, the convergence of "*an old tradition and a new technology*" is making an "*unprecedented public good*" (BOAI, 2002) possible for scholars to share their work with all wishing to read it, not only those able to afford the rental charges. OA arguably also represents a key component in the creation of a scholarly information commons, challenging the publishing industries' property-based ideological dominance over academic information exchange (Hess & Ostrom, 2007, Suber, 2012). The potential liberation of research publications from their control thus seems a globally attractive proposition, and yet despite this, it has not spread with the rapidity or evenness its advocates would have wished (Fry et al, 2009). Prior to the Web, OA publication practices were not easily achievable on a global scale. While some academic scholars utilised electronic means to exchange papers, access was generally restricted to people within

universities or similar research organisation. Today, these technological barriers have been stripped away for most in the Global North, and while some Global South nations may lack access to computing infrastructure, there are many who make intensive use of scholarly literature made openly available (Fuchs & Sandoval, 2013). Nevertheless, where digital distribution of information has removed physical barriers, many legal, economic, practical and cultural complexities to achieving wide scale access remain (Eve, 2014b; Fry et al, 2009; Tickell, 2015).

The UK and OA

Many scholars, notably Suber (2012) and Eve (2014), have written about OA as a global phenomenon[76]. This chapter will explore the UK (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland) which represents a uniquely engaging arena within which to consider OA for a number of reasons. Firstly, the recent unilateral adoption of policy positions by government and research funders' (Finch, 2012; RCUK, 2013; HEFCE, 2014a) are not entirely in step with those embraced internationally. Secondly, Britain is a world leader in the volume and impact of high quality internationally recognised research produced (Elsevier, 2013; Jha, 2011), additionally possessing a perhaps unequalled heritage of HE, with significant universities whose origins stretch back centuries. Finally, the UK is an acknowledged leader in aspects of open scholarship praxis, with individuals and organisations developing significant policies, tools and infrastructure projects (Tickell, 2016).

Hence, in this chapter I will explore UK OA's rise, highlighting some of the significant events over the preceding three decades, contextualising their impact on progress towards a more open scholarship. I will also highlight some of the key individuals, concepts and terminology within this field. In examining the evolutionary struggles OA has faced in the UK, this chapter also represents a counterpoint to the prior considerations of the UK academy's marketisation.

International Perspective

While this chapter focusses on the UK OA's development, this does not suggest events here have occurred independently of global activities. UK scholars collaborate with international colleagues, are funded by non-UK actors and publish in titles globally. Hence, it would be naive to assume any impetus towards OA is localised within a single nation state. As Burgess (2015, p 8) stresses, achieving OA 'to publicly-funded research is now acknowledged as a key objective' by funders globally. Yet, policy developments around the

---

[76] For a broader introduction to OA, I recommend seeking out Suber (2012) and Eve (2014)

world may impinge on UK scholars. Intriguingly, the UK's 2016 concordance with the publisher Elsevier, stands in stark contrast to the German academy's consortial mass-boycott, subsequently announced (Doctorow, 2016; Myers & Boersma, 2016). These dissimilar national HE responses to an evolving field, will likely produce impacts on publishing praxis beyond these nations. Certainly, the recent EU proposal to require all "*scientific papers*" be freely available by 2020 (Khomami, 2016) seemed likely to have an UK impact, although in the wake of the Britain's decision to exit from the EU, this is likely now diminished (THE, 2016). Nevertheless, given the UK academy's distinctive traditions and practices, operating within its particular national policy environment, means the normative publishing practices in the UK are likely to be uniquely configured.   Consequently, how the UK academy responds to OA and reacts to global publication praxis developments represent a unique, and a worthy subject for study.

Liberal Theorists of Free Culture and the Commons

Before exploring OA further, I wish to discuss a related OA area, relating to thought which has arisen from scholars working within what could be termed the *free culture* movement. I alluded to the idea of a *digital commons* earlier[77], a construct arising in the work of scholars including Lessig and Benkler. This is a concept which represents a strong ideological overlap with the constructs of OA (Lessig, 2002; Suber 2012). A *commons* represents material and immaterial resources or knowledge which are held in a form of shared ownership and available for use by all. Traditionally this is exemplified by the shared common land on which individuals grazed their animals, prior to its enclosure acts from the 16th Century onwards. While the idea of a physical commons is beset with issues of rivalrous depletion as highlighted by Garrett (1968), the concept of a digital commons overcomes this flaw.

Typically, a digital commons comprises a domain of non-rivalrous electronic files which can be shared and duplicated over a distributed network without loss of access or diminished reusability of the original object by others. Hence, this idea offers dramatically exciting possibilities for enhancing the ease with which knowledge sharing and social collaboration can be achieved, with benefits to scholarship and society (Benkler, 2006). When considering scholarly dissemination, notably pre-Internet, academics' research praxis typically involved distributing physical, (rivalrous) off-print copies of their publications with colleagues. Seemingly from a casual examination, the transfer of such normative practice to a digitally distributed domain would comprise a simple extension of scholarly behaviour.

---

[77] See *Chapters 1 and 2*

Indeed, the perceived societal good which an open digital commons of scholarly works offers is well expressed in the Budapest OA Initiative.

> *An old tradition and a new technology have converged to make possible an unprecedented public good. The old tradition is the willingness of scientists and scholars to publish the fruits of their research in scholarly journals without payment, for the sake of inquiry and knowledge. The new technology is the internet. The public good they make possible is the world-wide electronic distribution of the peer-reviewed journal literature and completely free and unrestricted access to it by all scientists, scholars, teachers, students, and other curious minds. Removing access barriers to this literature will accelerate research, enrich education, share the learning of the rich with the poor and the poor with the rich, make this literature as useful as it can be, and lay the foundation for uniting humanity in a common intellectual conversation and quest for knowledge.* (BOAI, 2002)

Putting issues of the academic community's willingness or not to alter their dissemination praxis aside, there are likely additional tensions centring on IPR and ownership that must also be elicited and considered. These represent a major stumbling block for the development of a digital commons and OA alike. Simultaneously, the emergence of the idea of non-rivalrous digital objects sharing within a digital commons represents a disruption to the traditional industries who have long commodified media's production and dissemination. In the same way that *LimeWire* or *Napster* challenged the music multinationals' established economic model and monopolies through providing the public with a networked online route to shared cultural capital, so too the academic publication sector stands to be affected by shifts to publication patterns which could diminish their prominence and fiscal models.   Lessig (2006) notes within the media industries it has always been in the established elites' interests to maintain their control and a status quo favouring them, just as the disruptors hunger to establish a new sense of order, suggesting counterpoints to the work of Marx and Gramsci. Hence, there are clear parallels with the tensions existing between academic publishers and other actors in the scholarly dissemination environment.

By way of contrast, Lessig identifies the difficulties which exist when the disrupted and disrupters seemingly adopt positions of binary opposition. He highlights the issues by quoting Raymond Patterson stating that "*the publishers...had as much concern for authors as a cattle rancher has for cattle*" (Lessig, 2004, p. 90) casting authors and publishers into a binary opposition. Lessig additionally has been a notable activist challenging the necessity of a protectionist "*despotic dominion*" (Kapczymski, 2010, p. 26) copyright regime, with its basis in neoliberal dominated legislation grounded in rent extraction and property control (Bollier, 2008; Lessig, 2008). Again, he notes that legal systems predicated on rivalrous physical resources are not necessarily appropriate for non-rivalrous digital objects. This highlights that as technological ease of communication increases so too has the efficacy of copyright as a construct decreased, existing in an antagonistic tension with technology.

Yet, currently copyright has never been more effectively protected through legal and technological means (Boyle, 2008). This has contributed to the continuing representation from the cultural industries in the media discourse that they are under a constant assault from new technological threats including peer-to-peer torrenting, which can represent an ideological challenge to what they see as their property (Lessig, 2006). It is easy to anticipate this defensive attitude is likely to be encountered from those academic publishing elite actors who see similar challenges to their fiscal well-being from technologically enabled alternatives to the legacy publishing model.

In his seminal work, *Wealth of Networks* Benkler (2006) also highlights how in times of ideological strife more of the ways in which society organises itself become open to reinterpretation, resonating with Gramsci's hegemonic crises. It is at these points that technology creates *feasibility spaces* within which emerging social practice can flourish. For academic publishing, the ease with which digital publications can be disseminated represents such a moment of opportunity for change. Benkler likewise highlights how this shift of locus away from the assemblers and distributors of content, threatens to invalidate the established power structures whilst simultaneously empowering creators and authors. Consequently, these shifts represent a return of copyright's context to its original function of encouraging the creation of new works; rather than its modern employ as the august guardian between the people and capital's exploitable intellectual property. Within the scholarly dissemination domain this may well offer some measure of explanation to the rapprochement demonstrated in recent years by publishers, rather than the perhaps expected outright opposition, as their dominion becomes disrupted.

I also alluded earlier for the potential of a digital commons, or OA, to be realised one key factor is that content creators must be willing to adapt to the new dissemination praxis. Interestingly Benkler (2011a) also challenges Rand's objectivist construct that most people are primarily motivated by self-interest (Rand, 1992), with his thesis being people are intrinsically altruistic; as demonstrated through large-scale distributed peer-production efforts. This conception is one which many in the OA movement have clung to, knowingly or not, and in later chapters I shall problematize this situation's reality within the UK HE academy.

It is a fair critique to identify that the praxis of free culture has focussed on enabling the general population's creative, cultural production. Hence, the movement has sought liberate society from the systematised second enclosure processes (Boyle, 2008) erected and legislated for and by capitalist elite actors. Bollier (2008) too highlights the risks of social oppression from those established capitalist actors, whose hegemonic dominance

over dissemination now finds them readily able to steer the development of new communications legislation. He notes how these corporate actors will always tend to seek accommodations under law, immunising their interests against any changes. This critique is one which resonates with perceptions of the publishing community's involvement in steering the Finch (2012) Report's recommendations. While the academic world, and particularly the economically productive natural sciences, rely on open sharing of knowledge and collaboration with fellow scholars, this enclosure of academic knowledge distribution vectors seemingly acts as a critical driver towards new forms of dissemination as much as the potential facilities offered by emerging network technologies. Thus, the alienation of academics from their labour in producing and distributing new knowledge is identifiable, and once more what should be a public wealth held in common for society and future generations, is commodified into private property (Hardt & Negri, 2009).

Hence, as free culture scholars labour to challenge the commodification of the world's cultural assets and their enclosure from the public, so too do I seek to consider the accumulation of academic intellectual assets. Nevertheless, while work in this area offers strong parallels to developments in OA, there are issues within this area of scholarship which represent a fundamental mismatch for incorporating it into my own intellectual framework. Ideologically, much of scholars like Lessig and Benkler's work might be typified as coming from within a liberal envelope of legality. Lessig particularly, as one of the field's leading lights underwrites much of his work with assumptions of working within existing legal frameworks, rather than espousing revolutionary change. Free culture praxis does provide a sense of societal critique towards the new aspects of productive and collaboration which digital networks offer. Yet, while not entirely out of scope, regretfully, it represents too neoliberal a viewpoint to function harmoniously within my theoretical framework.

4.2.   Definitions and Terminology

Returning to OA, to try and define it at times feels akin to attempting to capture smoke in a net, since the concept can be mutable depending on the audience or speaker. Despite this there have been some significant attempts to clearly define OA, with the most commonly referenced in the 21st Century being what Suber (2012) refers to as the *triple BBB* declarations of Budapest, Berlin and Bethesda. The Budapest declaration defines OA as:

> *The world-wide electronic distribution of the peer-reviewed journal literature and completely free and unrestricted access to it by all scientists, scholars, teachers, students, and other curious minds.* (BOAI, 2002)

Suber (2012, p. 4) also provides his own concise definition: "*digital, online, free of charge, and most copyright and licensing restrictions*". From these we can see OA provides distribution, does not circumvent peer review, but does remove access and usage barriers. In the shift between these two definitions a decade apart, the OA movement's original preoccupation with journal literature can be seen to have broadened to encompass peer-reviewed conference papers, doctoral and masters theses and scholarly monographs. Nevertheless, defining openness remains controversial for some scholars who continue to disagree over what it means and how it can be achieved (Johnson, B., 2014; Kleinman, 2010; Neylon, 2015). In the exchanges between advocates on the GOAL email list[78], it can be readily seen the acceptable, desirable or functional OA form differs considerably between individual actors. The list also represents a challenging and occasionally confrontational arena for ideas over open scholarship, which can represent a bellicose rather than inclusive culture for views straying away from an ill-defined orthodoxy. While the passion underlying the debates is commendable, the exclusion of practical voices represents a potentially concerning myopic viewpoint.

As OA's frequency of occurrence within the public sphere increases, it is often used as a shorthand encompassing any and all aspects of open scholarship, regardless of vector. Particularly in the UK, in the wake of recent funder and governmental policies, a tendency exists within HE discourse for OA to refer solely to the funded-gold route, excluding all other formats (Rice, 2013). This represents a potential source of confusion, forming a particular challenge for practitioners in communicating OA's praxis and benefits to the academic corpus. This confusion and uncertainty is a topic I return to later[79].

Benefits and Costs

Conceptually then, OA represents a universal public good, with its ungated global knowledge access without any economic concerns over affordability of publishers' rents. Indeed, as Hess and Ostrom (2007) argue the more quality information is shared, then the greater the public good accomplished. There is the positivistic benefit to scholars, supported in numerous studies[80], where increasing readership confers a greater visibility for publications and a resultant increased citation likelihood (Harnad & Brody, 2004; Jump, 2014). The concomitant impact and prestige capital gained, represents a tempting prospect for the academy. Additionally, since the sooner work is made openly accessible, the

---

[78] Global Open Access List, http://mailman.ecs.soton.ac.uk/mailman/listinfo/goal. Formerly known as the American Scientist (AmSci) Open Access forum list (1998-2011).
[79] See *Chapters 6 & 7*.
[80] See *The effect of open access and downloads on citation impact: a bibliography of studies* for a plethora of studies in this regard http://opcit.eprints.org/oacitation-biblio.html.

greater any benefits gained, seems to have driven a policy preference towards permitting openness at the point of publication (Suber, 2012). However, as OA becomes a normative publishing praxis, it is reasonable to assume this particular benefit will reduce. The rapidity of OA literature's availability can also be seen as contributing to speeding the research cycle, particularly where early, pre-publication versions are disseminated. Some disciplines like physics have long embraced this, while others have been more hesitant (Aman, 2013; Eysenbach, 2006).

For libraries, a longer term advantage from the transition to OA is an anticipated reduction in the need to maintain levels of journal subscription expenditure. This benefit has yet to come to pass, as publishers have shown little sign of reduction in their prices and no university has yet taken the step of cancelling all their titles to rely solely on openly available literature[81] (Houghton & Swan, 2013; SPARC EUROPE, 2014a).

As the BOAI (2002) declaration highlighted, a potential for widening research participation beyond the academic community exists (Fry et al., 2009). Yet, society benefits can be a contentious issue, with some questioning the value or likelihood of the public reading scholarly texts (Anderson, 2014; Esposito, 2014a; Eve, 2014b; Taylor, 2015). Nevertheless, one consequence of shifting towards a mass-market HE sector is an increasingly university educated populace beyond the academy, able to comprehend and benefit from scholarly work (Gatti, 2014). Additionally, the argument that publically funded research should remain accessible in the public domain, rather than locked behind rental toll-gate barriers, is a related favourable motivation. Scholars adopting a positivistic stance, counter such claims arguing how societal benefits are difficult to measure, questioning their validity. The business community also benefits from OA, with many relying on developing novel products or services deriving from academic-created knowledge (Hall, 2013). Parsons (et al., 2011) suggests sequestering academic research in journals places it beyond the ability of many corporations to purchase. While an argument encouraging capitalist exploitation of cognitive labour in support of OA may leave a bitter taste, it does present a commercial rationale for OA's importance in maintaining a healthy economy.

These benefits must be contrasted with any societal costs in transitioning to OA. There are disagreements in the discourse around any HE sector savings resulting from the transition, along with what comprises the most cost effective, and hence sustainable, OA route (Fry et al, 2009; Shieber, 2013). 'Green' repository archiving may offer an enticing lower cost

---

[81] The German universities' 2017 exit from all Elsevier title subscriptions (Doctorow, 2016), certainly represents the largest scale effort along these lines witnessed in recent years.

transitionary route, while others argue adopting 'gold' publication[82] would be more sustainable long-term (Houghton & Swan, 2013). If the entire world transitions to gold OA, then subscription savings become more likely, but other countries have not presently embarked multilaterally down a similar path.

Currently, the UK ends up paying three times for its research production; funding the work, funding publication and maintaining subscriptions (Schmitt, 2014; Smith, 2014a). Former Minister for Universities, David Willetts, called for publishers to reduce their subscription charges where they are in receipt of considerable *article processing charges* (APC) (Crotty, 2014). As yet there has been little evidence of subscription fees reducing due to an increased take-up of this OA route. Given publishers' actual costs have long been obfuscated (Collins, 2014; Darley, 2014), some publishers counter their costs are subsidised by other revenue streams including subscription revenue. Hence, any subscription price reductions would see comparable rises in the APC levied (Crotty, 2014; Wickham & Vincent, 2013). Eve (2014), acknowledges publishing is not free of labour expenses, but stresses in transitioning towards OA publication *some* costs are eliminated. Despite their rhetoric to contrary, some authors suggest publishers continue to privately view academics as exploitable sources of capital (Peekhaus, 2012; Shieber, 2013). Regardless of additional publication fiscal support from UK research funders (RCUK, 2012b), the long term financial viability of various OA models remains questionable. Some have also challenged the paucity of results from years of UK investment into green OA's infrastructure (Mabe & Price, 2012), although it must be acknowledged many challenges in transitioning effectively to a normative OA publication model exist (Barbour, 2015; Eve, 2014b; Jump, 2015; Peekhaus, 2012). Nevertheless, these fiscal uncertainties doubtlessly contribute towards the cautious responses many senior HEI managers have displayed towards embracing OA more holistically[83].

Libre and Gratis OA

While nominally OA conforms conceptually to the prior definitions, there is a greater degree of granularity relating to delivery methods and the freedoms conferred. The terms *gold or green OA* relate to OA delivery, and will be addressed shortly, whereas *gratis or libre* indicates the respective degrees of openness, user rights and access freedoms permitted (Suber, 2012). Gratis OA items are shorn of toll-gate barriers but any *reuse* likely

---

[82] While these terms are in common usage within OA and publishing discourse, I will explore them in more depth shortly.
[83] See *Chapter 6* for observations from practitioners concerning senior institutional managers' responses.

requires rights holder's permission[84]. Libre OA items likewise have any price barriers removed, but additionally are free of many copyright and licencing restrictions too, enabling reuse. Consequently, there are many degrees of libre OA, dependent on the level and types of rights restrictions which a particular item possesses. Thus, gratis represents an acceptable, if not entirely desirable, degree of openness permitting readership. The freedom of reuse libre represents extends beyond this, permitting reuse for operations including text mining. Libre OA therefore is a more desirable rights stance, representing the further sundering of links between research literature and proprietorial capitalist control. Paul Ginsparg in 1996 (Brown, 2010) suggested *overlay journals*, where editors draw together a virtual journal issue from selected OA articles, as a potentially useful development making a reuse of libre OA material. Overlay journals take advantage of the online and open format, and offer a way to aggregate and disseminate research within a particular field by academics themselves.

Funded-Gold and Diamond Publication

The two terms most commonly encountered when defining OA are those related to the routes through which it is achieved, commonly differentiated as *gold* or *green OA*. While green OA has a longer history, post-Finch (2012), gold increasingly is perceived as the more desirable and sustainable form, so I shall discuss this first. Gold, commonly termed *OA publication*, offers an alternative to traditional article publication methods, without compromising peer review processes. It refers to a practice, where an author's published or definitive version of a publication is made openly accessible to all at the point of publication (Suber, 2012). Authors often also benefit from a greater rights retention within published works when they opt for this route, though this varies between publishers. Conventional publishers often levy an APC in support of this route, although many academic-led independent publishers do not (Gatti, 2014; Hall, 2014). Any fees are usually payable by the author's institution. Notably commercial publishers publish *hybrid journals* where authors may choose to publish traditionally, or pay the APC and go 'gold'. These titles are different to the more purist *OA-only* titles, many of which are academic managed and published. OA-only journal titles often, but not always, charge lower or no APC, with some waiving any charges where academics are genuinely unable to pay. Despite these different models, there is a regrettable tendency within the discourse to conflate all gold OA[85] as the pay-to-publish model, leading to criticisms that gold is too conceptually broad a term (Neylon, 2013). Notably hybrid and OA-only journals, while serving broadly similar

---

[84] Under the legacy publishing model, economic rights such as these are retained by the publisher.
[85] And at times OA as a whole.

dissemination aims, differ considerably functionally, economically and conceptually (Shieber, 2013).

Subsequently, Fuchs and Sandoval (2013) suggest the term *diamond OA* should be utilised to differentiate those OA publishing forms which do not embrace the pay-to-publish models, as employed by titles like *tripleC* and *Ephemera*. They define this non-profitmaking, anti-capitalist and explicitly non-commercial OA model as one "*free of charge for readers and authors and does not allow commercial and for profit re-use*" (ibid, 2013, p. 438). Additionally, Fuchs and Sandoval note data from the DOAJ[86] indicates two-thirds of OA journals do not require APC fees before publication; making the diamond model already the *de facto* dominant form. Many in academia may welcome moves to regain or take a greater control of publication mechanisms within the academy. Additionally, the diamond route is likely especially attractive for scholars unable to access publication funds, or seeking to challenge the legacy publishers' hegemony. While the diamond OA term currently lacks a widespread adoption within the discourse, it does provide a suitable disambiguating term. Certainly, the confusion I have observed within the academic community over OA routes offers further support for making this conceptual delineation. Consequently, I shall differentiate by referring to the fee-requiring approach as *funded-gold* and the non-fee bearing form as *diamond* OA.

One consequence of funded-gold APC fee levels[87] is arguably the suppression of OA adoption, although the Publishers Association, while stressing the greater overheads of hybrid titles, believe take up is considerably higher (Jump, 2014a). Though the acknowledged OA standard-bearer, *PLOS[88] One*, charges $1,495 for an article (PLOS, 2016), a lot of attention has arisen around *PeerJ*, a title charging an APC as low as US$199 per article, and additionally offering an unlimited annual author-submission subscription option for US$399 (Jump, 2014b; PeerJ, 2016). Like many OA titles, PeerJ takes advantage of a non-rivalrous digital publishing approach without limiting pages or figures, offering a cheaper OA route, while exploring the potentialities a non-physical format allows (Jump, 2014b). Like many new OA titles though, PeerJ's impact factor and resultant prestige capital is lower than long established titles. Hence, the desirability of such OA publication destinations for career conscious academics is uncertain. Nevertheless, should models like PeerJ's prove economically sustainable and prestige capital increases, then a replication in other discipline areas may contribute to lowering funded-gold APC benchmarks. The

---

[86] http://doaj.org/ - Directory of Open Access Journals.
[87] Finch (2012) outlines an average APC fee of £1,727+VAT per article, although Shamash (2016) suggests an increase of 6% per annum. Hence, the average in 2017 may be considerably higher.
[88] Public Library of Science.

practice termed *double dipping*, for hybrid journal tiles paying publication fees while still maintaining subscription charges, means in transitioning to OA UK universities likely face a greater expense than if traditional, closed access systems were simply maintained (Burgess, 2015; Eve, 2014b; Tickell, 2015). There are also perceptions that while APC levels are generally high, neoliberal market competition would in time diminish these. Yet, academics have been long isolated from the true costs of publication by libraries. Additionally, as Eve (2015) stresses, authors have no publication price sensitivity, nor is there any comparable market completion, since one journal or publisher cannot be substituted for another. Perhaps funded-gold will create this awareness in time, but for now once more the neoliberal marketised ideology has failed to affect change.

These APC fees introduce concerns that due to funder mandates, economic necessity may dictate academics publish in less prestigious titles. Such issues over quality and prestige generated by established for-profit journal titles leave OA publications structurally disadvantaged. Termed the *Matthew Effect*, it means established well-indexed prestigious titles continue to strengthen in quality perceptions and reputational capital, becoming more desirable publication destinations for scholars. Meanwhile OA journals have diminished opportunities to similarly advance their prestige (Fuchs & Sandoval, 2013). The Open Library of Humanities', for example sought to overcome these issues through recruiting recognised, impactful scholars to publish articles with them, establishing initially credible prestige capital (Eve, 2014a). This likely contributed to the wholesale *Lingua* editorial board migration, 'flipping' a prestigious commercial journal to less capitalistic model (Matthews, 2015).

It is worth noting OA journals' emergence has also provided the opportunity for *'predatory journals'* and publishers to arise (Beall, 2014). These seemingly legitimate academic publishers purport to be based in the Global North, but are usually located in regions including India, Pakistan or Nigeria (Aker, 2016; Butler, 2013). With operating processes mimicking funded-gold OA, their published articles are generally of a low quality, often comprising fraudulent, plagiarised or simply poorly researched material. The existence of these publishers is a direct consequence of these emerging scholarly nations' institutions requiring publications before tenure, but lacking sufficient recognised dissemination organs (Beall, 2015). Hence, predatory publishers profit through providing quality-agnostic publication channels for these scholars. Western scholars represent a lucrative source of exploitable prestige and financial capital for predatory publishers, with academics sometimes mistaking hitherto unknown titles as emerging OA ones. Akin to funded-gold, authors are charged a publication fee, which ensures the approach's profitability.

Predatory publishers' standard operations are to directly solicit western academics, with an attractive swift article acceptance to publication timescale. Nevertheless, western scholars will find their work appearing alongside low quality research, consequently tainting their prestige and scholarly reputations. Through this publication of poor-quality papers, we witness how the logic of capital reifies the pollution and malformation of the academic knowledge dissemination process (Beall, 2012; Peekhaus, 2012). Predatory titles also threaten academic communities, in producing perceptions that only relatively-wealthy scholars are able to publish (Fuchs & Sandoval, 2013), itself a common funded-gold criticism. Additionally, sceptics argue since OA titles are eager to establish their prestige and attractiveness, similar failures of quality assurance and rapid article turnarounds marks them as indistinguishably flawed from predatory journals (Kolata, 2013). Conventional publishers likewise stress the quality assurance systems safeguards, within which environments their own publications appear (Anderson, 2014b; SSP, 2016). Hence, predatory journals are not authentic OA forms, but contribute to confusion and misdirection within the discourse[89].

Green Self-Archiving

The second route to OA is the practice of academics, or their surrogates, sharing a post-publication copy of their publications online through websites commonly termed *repositories*. Repository sites are typically managed by institutions, organisations or individuals as opposed to traditional publishing actors. Working alongside traditional publishing methods, rather than like gold replacing it, this practice came to be known as *green OA*, with the Physics *arXiv* service[90] often cited as its progenitor (Suber, 2012). While referred to as *self-archiving*, in practice many institutional repository practitioners mediate the deposit processes for academics. Unlike gold routes which are immediate, publisher licence terms may dictate a delay, or embargo period before deposit is permitted (Eve, 2014b). Typically for STEM subjects these average in duration around six months to a year, and for other disciplines commonly up to two years (Wickham & Vincent, 2013). Such delays allow publishers to benefit from publication sales, while still permitting an OA route. Green OA's practice derives from the assumption that authors' final submitted articles are *intellectually and functionally* equivalent, but *legally* separate entities, to the published works. Despite over two decades of established green praxis and the Harnad-Oppenheim solution supporting this interpretation (Oppenheim, 2014), some still question its legality. The lack, to date, of any significant publisher legal action against universities seemingly

---

[89] There remains some heated debate, within the OA movement over the validity of predatory journals as a concept. Certainly, they seem to my perceptions to remain a genuine and troubling parallel development to OA, and I have chosen to treat them as such here.

[90] http://arxiv.org/ - The arXiv Physics Preprint server.

underscores green OA's legitimacy, or at least an unwillingness from publishers to directly antagonise academics (Holcombe, 2013).

Owing to the copyright assignment of economic author rights transferred to publishers under the conventional publication model (Eve, 2014b), the version which legally can be self-archived is seldom the published version, although this differs depending on specific publisher's licence terms. Hence, green repositories commonly host pre-publication versions, with ideally the authors' final versions produced prior to editorial intervention targeted desired. This introduces a complexity for academics as authors and readers. As readers there are questions over the veracity of intellectual content when accessing an OA pre-publication version of a publication (Eve, 2014b; Frass et al, 2014). Publishers have argued these earlier versions are somehow inherently flawed and difficult to locate, in contrast to their own intellectual goods. They also argue the quality assurance processes publishers coordinate on the academy's behalf, eliminate these flaws under conventional publication models, additionally serving to justify subscription fees (Anderson, 2014b). Notably the exploited labour and intellectual capital of the academics, who themselves conduct peer review, are missing from such financial calculations. Navigating publisher-author licence agreements[91] to achieve green OA can be challenging, consequently many universities reduce academic workloads by outsourcing this endeavour to support practitioners. These practitioners then expend effort to ensure versions shared legally comply with these licences, usually verifying this through the SHERPA/RoMEO[92] site or by directly liaising with publishers.

OA repositories can generally be subdivided into *institutional*, centrally run and hosted by universities or research organisations, and *subject,* run by scholars and hosted at an academic or external site. Subject repositories aggregate publications from within a specific disciplinary field[93], whereas institutional repositories aggregate publications from all local scholars regardless of discipline. With many institutions recently purchasing Central Research Information Systems (CRIS) in preparation for their REF 2014 and 2021[94] submissions, the repository's role within many universities is evolving (Clements & McCutcheon, 2014). This can be illustrated in the change in the configuration of many UK repositories, which initially were established as ideologically *purist* sites providing mainly

---

[91] Also known as Copyright Transfer Agreements.
[92] http://www.sherpa.ac.uk/romeo - the *defacto* global disambiguation source for publisher licences relating to OA.
[93] For example, REPEC, arXiv and BioMed Central for economics, physics and biomedicine respectively.
[94] Note, originally the REF was expected to take place in 2020, but this was later adjusted to 2021 (Else, 2016).

full-text OA documents. However, increasingly organisational policies have propagated operational shifts towards *hybrid* repository practise, where full-text entries are accompanied by many *metadata-only* bibliographic records. While the rationale for this varies between institutions, a commonly cited reason is the provision of a research shop window to increase publications' visibility and concomitant institutional intellectual capital, rather than a concern towards benefits derived from OA. Interestingly, library staff often manage repositories, whereas research offices and their analogues manage CRIS. A subtle tension exists between the function and remit of these dissimilar departments, which may contribute towards a dysfunction in achieving institutional OA. Potentially, end-users' frustrations in encountering a metadata entry could sour their institutional perceptions, risking potential future collaborations with private sector actors, despite this being an aspect many neoliberalised universities crave. Where an organisational imperative is focussed on achieving metrics and measure, rather than any societal benefits deriving from OA, then an ideological friction becomes reified.

Monographs

While much of OA discourse focusses on green and gold, these routes are primarily configured around journal articles. By contrast the routes to achieving OA books are less mature, although these are beginning to evolve (Collins, 2014). Part of this immaturity may be driven by OA's origins deriving from within the STEM disciplines, where a focus on journal publication is greater than other dissemination routes (Great Britain, 2004). Additionally, as Suber (see Eve, 2014b, p. X) stresses, monographs have higher production costs, making economic models for OA journals easier to establish. AHSS[95] scholars for whom the monograph is a far more critical research dissemination organ (Vincent, 2013), may have been somewhat disengaged from developments. Hence, any perceived reluctance by AHSS scholars to engage with OA may well be a consequence of their primary dissemination route being side-lined. Consequently, the recent surge of interest in OA monographs may represent an opportunity for these communities to reengage with open dissemination praxis.

Academic monograph production has been squeezed due to a number of tensions. UK government austerity measures have reduced direct university funding (Wilsdon, 2015), and consequently academic library budgets. Concurrently the serials crisis has seen journal subscription costs increase over 300% in a thirty-year period (Hess & Ostrom, 2007; Suber, 2012) causing libraries to devote ever more financial resource to subscriptions. Book unit costs have also risen in this time, but cannot rise appreciably because of the diminished

---

[95] Arts, humanities and social sciences.

market (Collins, 2013; Eve, 2014b). Consequently, monograph sales have fallen as have the number of titles commissioned, creating a monograph crisis (Harris, 2012). Thus, emerging humanities scholars particularly struggle to find a credible publication destination to establish their initial prestige and esteem capital.

There are a number of emerging models of sustainable gold OA monograph sharing worth highlighting. *Open Book Publishers* and *Open Humanities Press* are academic run presses which have taken a freemium approach, allowing online access for all, but restrict features including downloading, to purchasers. Publications costs are largely funded through these print sales, with any remainder covered by grants and donations (Hall, 2014; Gatti, 2014). Meanwhile *Knowledge Unlatched*, a 'facilitator of post-publication monograph' OA (KU, 2016), has adopted an institutional consortia model. Herein, members select, negotiate and fund the OA 'unlatching' of previously published books, through financially recompensing publishers. While per title they cite costs of around US$60 for each member organisation, publishers can expect to receive around $12,000. (Pinter, 2014). Commercial publishers too, like Cambridge University Press, Palgrave and Springer also have OA monograph routes. Unsurprisingly, they have adopted a funded-gold model wherein authors are liable for paying a Book Processing Charge ranging from £6,500 (CUP, 2016) to €15,000 (Hall, 2014) to make their book OA. These latter models, while achieving OA guarantee publishers incomes as under traditional models, irrespective of how well titles sell. How this compares to their anticipated profits had the book remained closed-access is unclear, and may simply represent costs shifting from readers to consortia members and authors.

There are other success stories[96] but while book titles openly available remains low, clearly they are growing. Some, like Esposito (2014b), criticise the need for OA monographs, arguing since their readership levels are lower than articles, author benefits are more negligible. Nevertheless, book chapters within multi-author works are intrinsically less visible, making them likely to benefit from OA dissemination. Additionally, practitioners reportedly are often able to reach agreements with publishers to disseminate chapters via green repositories more readily than whole books.

---

[96] Such as for example SciELO, DOAB and OAPEN Library.

4.3.   External Environment

Having provided an overview of the major models, it is important to consider how OA praxis is influenced through exposure to external forces. Hence, next I will explore some of the most significant aspects which continue to shape the scholarly dissemination practice's evolution, beginning by considering the legal ownership of published academic work.

Licences and Ownership Rights

Copyright was established as a system protecting authors from seeing their works exploited without recompense, and hence encouraging them to produce more creative works. Yet, in academic publishing, it continues to be employed in a protectionist modality (Wark, 2004), with academic creators labouring to produce intellectual goods for the benefit of the capitalist class who make significant profits (Fuchs & Sandoval, 2013; Holcombe & Todd, 2013). Indeed, research is seen as such a rich exploitable capital source that publishing houses seek to enclose even the descriptive publication metadata within their copyright protectorate (Bollier, 2008), while seeking control over other research aspects (Eve, 2016a; Gordon, 2016).

The required transfer of legal economic author rights to publishers in academic dissemination workflows has long been an issue within green OA. It has been suggested authors do not need to sign exclusive licence agreements to disseminate their work (SPARC, 2006). Consequently, efforts to retain more rights have ranged from authors manually amending agreements before submission, through to the use of alternative licences including the *JISC/SURF licence to publish*[97] and the *SPARC addendum*[98]. While permitting publication, using these non-exclusive licences to publish (Eve, 2014b) means more rights are retained, allowing easier sharing along with reuse of any published work by authors. Sharing publications through green OA also introduces concerns that by making a pre-publication version OA, authors risk potentially breeching the *Inglefinger Rule*. Named for a past editor of Nature, this rule states no single research output can be published in two dissimilar outlets (Hess & Ostrom, 2007). This highlights a disagreement in the discourse between scholarly dissemination actors over what constitutes the act of publication (Ingram, 2012) and the level of differences between article versions mark them as two legally disparate entities. UK copyright law is somewhat vague on the level of significant changes required to differentiate them, but as Oppenheim (2014) argues even a small number of differences would constitute a legally credibly dissimilar entity.

---

[97] http://copyrighttoolbox.surf.nl/copyrighttoolbox/download/licence_to_publish.pdf, JISC/Surf Licence to publish – JISC/Surf Licence to Publish.

[98] http://www.sparc.arl.org/resources/authors/addendum - SPARC Author Addendum.

The lack of widespread legal challenges to this starkly contrasts with the takedown notices served on author-archived papers hosted on the Academia.edu site by Elsevier (Cutler, 2013; Howard, 2013). As many authors had shared their publisher's versions, Elsevier were legally justified in claiming copyright violation had occurred. Yet, their actions may have been less about revenue protection of their intellectual assets, and more about promoting their capital investment in their recent acquisition of the similarly functioning *Mendeley* (Clarke, 2013). The adoption of this activist stance to academics' actions raised considerable public debate across the HE community (Clarke, 2013; Holcombe, 2013; Solon, 2013). Given the challenges presented in interpreting publisher licences, it is probable some OA repositories contain some legally questionable materials. The lack of public challenge may represent as Holcombe (2013) suggests publishers' unwillingness to risk angering a significant portion of their productive labour force.

A final OA rights issue has been the move, backed by research funders especially the RCUK (2013) and HEFCE (2014b), to see the application of Creative Commons attribution licences (CC-BY) to gold publications arising from work they have supported. CC-BY is favoured, since it requires a desirable degree of libre openness be embraced, and notably many publishers have now adopted the CC-BY requirements within their license terms. These policy moves have been criticised by some, with notably, the International Association of Scientific, Technical & Medial Publishers (IASTM) proposing the adoption of their *CC-Plus* licence alternative (Guadamuz, 2014). This CC-Plus licence is by definition more restrictive and less open than CC-BY, with Wilbanks (2013), among others, criticising this move as a protectionist effort, representing a semblance of engaging with openness, while actually seeking to increase IPR enclosure. Whether the IASTM's move represented a genuine effort to engage with OA praxis, or a strategic action to distort openness discourse is uncertain.

UK Government Stance

The UK Government has supported OA to varying degrees for many years, with the earliest significant debate occurring during the Science and Technology Committee's 2004 hearings (Great Britain, 2004). The report produced, *Scientific Publications: Free for all* very much focussed on the impacts to the STEM disciplines, likely contributing to focussing and slanting UK OA discourse towards science for some years. These Committee's hearings covered matters including the serials pricing crisis, OA routes and challenges like copyright and peer review. Significantly, in the light of the level of public funding expended in maintaining journal subscriptions, the Committee urged the governmental adoption of a favourable stance towards OA. While stopping short of condemning academic publishers'

profitability, the report highlighted libraries' struggles to meet subscription levels, stressing more investigation was required. Holistically, the report strongly supported green OA, recommending government funding was made available to "*all research institutions for the establishment and maintenance of repositories*" (ibid p. 59)*.* Gold conversely was treated more cautiously, with scepticism over its sustainability and impact stated. Noting incentives were needed to affect change, the report also recommended universities adopt requirements "*to disseminate their research as widely as possible be written into their charters*" (ibid, 2004, p. 102). Interestingly academic authors were noted as lacking "*sufficient motivation to self-archive*" (ibid, 2004, p. 102), and it was funders and government who needed to ensure this occurred through introducing mandatory OA requirements within their grants. Consequently, the RCUK brought such a policy on stream in 2005 (RCUK, 2013). This undoubtedly critically contributed to the marked increase in repositories established over subsequent years (Pinfield et al, 2014).

Subsequently OA did not evaporate from government discourse, but prior to 2011 might have been described as a *sotto voce* approach. It was then that Dame Janet Finch was tasked by the BIS with forming the *Working Group on Expanding Access to Published Research Findings*[99] to gather information from stakeholders and to make policy recommendations on the future of scholarly communications (RIN, 2012). With high level representation from publishers, academia, funders, learned societies and libraries, the resultant *Finch Report* (2012) represents to date the most high-profile and significant UK stakeholder response to OA and probably the past decade's most impactful OA policy document. This time, the report's recommendations strongly favoured focusing on the gold route, with green now perceived as fulfilling an auxiliary role for sharing less critical materials. Some vocally criticised this alteration of the state's prior stance as evidence of undue publisher and learned societies' influence on the policy (Harnad, 2012; Friend, 2013). Nevertheless, the government responded positively to the recommendations (Great Britain, 2012a & 2012b). This was a milestone event for UK OA, followed by its subsequently increased representation within media discourse.

Why a government, strongly aligned with business community interests, should back an ideology more closely associated with social equality of knowledge access is curious. It is however possible to view the emphasis on funded-gold as the ultimate dissemination form, as being ideologically compatible with the government's continued support for private enterprise. Critically, during any transition to OA, subscriptions and APC fees will operate in tandem, allowing further increased profitability to be extracted from the academic sector.

---

[99] Subsequently referred to within the discourse as the Finch Group.

Seemingly, it also facilitates the ruling-bloc's continued hegemony over research publication. That Finch, and the governmental response, arguably represents a rebuke to the labours of practitioners in enabling the green OA infrastructure, can be perceived as an economic and strategic misstep (Houghton & Swan, 2013; Johnson, 2012b). Moreover, adopting Finch's recommendations represents a lost opportunity for greater experimentation with developing research dissemination forms (Gatti, 2014). Emerging communication vectors including wikis, social media and Sci-Hub[100] proffer opportunities to redefine academic dissemination processes and organs (De Roure, 2014; Laine, 2015; Mohdin, 2015), yet these are not considered under Finch. Thus, through backing evolution rather than revolution in research publication, arguably the UK government may stifle more innovative efforts by placing them outside the new norms.

Subsequently, the UK government held two major committee hearings in 2013 to review academic publishing developments, one each from the Lords and the Commons. Surprisingly, during these hearings gold and green forms were both supported, generally agreeing how a transitional period where publication adopted "*open access is essential in order to improve access to knowledge*" was inevitable. Nevertheless, the committee's noted a "*lack of consensus about the best route to achieve*" OA remained (Great Britain, 2013a, p. 5). While the government committed to ensuring publically funded research publications should be freely available, fears were expressed that their own policy might bar progress through encouraging, or prolonging, dysfunctional scholarly publishing market aspects. Notably, the Lords' committee criticised elements of the RCUK's policy, citing they "*acted unilaterally*" (Great Britain, 2013b, p. 18), failing to consult widely on their policy structure, while highlighting the financial issues learned societies potentially faced during the transition period. Furthermore, a need for caution was stressed relating to any transitional impacts on the UK's scholarly output's global impact. The belief was where journals didn't offer a gold publication option, any unilateral policy shift to requiring OA dissemination would 'restrict academics abilities to collaborate and their freedom to publish in the best journals' (Great Britain, 2013b, p. 4). Publication in compliant but lower impact titles was possible, but the UK's global research capital, credibility and impact could be damaged. With the close links between research prestige capital and national economic wellbeing, this was perceived as a considerable risk.

The BIS hearings held later that year took written and oral evidence from many key actors within the UK OA discourse. This included representation from learned societies, research

---

[100] Sci-Hub is a borderline licit academic paper search site, established by Alexandra Elbakyan in 2011, which by-passes publishers' paywall access restrictions. Understandably, a divisive endeavour within the academic publishing field (Oxenham, 2016).

funders, academics and the then minister for Universities and Science, David Willetts. Again the RCUK, government and Finch were criticised for the emphasis placed on gold, noting "*The major mechanism through which the UK has achieved its world leading status (Green open access) has been given inadequate consideration in the formation of Government and RCUK policies*" (Great Britain, 2013a, p. 31). In line with Houghton and Swan's (2013) analysis, the committee also criticised the government's current policy towards OA in supporting funding ongoing subscriptions and APC fees, without making greater use of repositories as more cost effective solutions. Hence, the committee recommended strengthening academics abilities within publishers' licences to deposit materials within repositories immediately after publication. Despite this support for green, gold OA was still considered the "*ultimate goal at the end of a transition phase*" (Great Britain, 2013a, p. 33).

Hence, while the UK government's position remains supportive of OA following 2015's general election (Johnson, J., 2016), continuing changes to their policies towards HE (Havergal & Grove, 2016) are likely to result in further shifts in their stance towards OA lie potentially ahead.

Publication Mandates

Staying with policies, the role publication OA *mandates* play is worth considering. Mandates are policies requiring academics to publish via specific, open routes. *Funder mandates,* originating from research funders, are embedded within an organisation's grant awarding regulations[101]. Comparatively, *institutional mandates* are enacted by individual universities as contractual arrangements for employed scholars. While slowly growing in number (ROARMAP, 2014), institutional mandates have been regarded as insufficiently enforced to compel academics' OA engagement (Harris, 2012; Peekhaus, 2012). Conceptually then, institutional mandates are essentially public policy stances adopted by universities. Conversely, funder mandates seemingly have a greater impact since while expressing a position, they also define clear policy expectations on grant holders for continued research funding (Harris, 2012). Hence, funder mandates may potentially stimulate academics' adopting OA practices and according to Burgess (2015), such an effect is occurring. In the wake of Finch recommending all UK research should be available through OA (Hall, 2012), many major UK funders introduced such requirements[102], making for many scholars OA routes' availability less about personal preferences and more a practical necessity. Publishers too are impacted, as funder mandates increasingly place

---

[101] The RCUK and HEFCE mandates are well known examples, but many other research funders such as Wellcome or Diabetes UK also have enacted them.
[102] http://www.sherpa.ac.uk/juliet/ SHERPA/Juliet – research funders' open access policies.

them into positions where they must revise their licence agreement terms to permit green self-archiving, or make gold routes available (Eve, 2014b), or risk fewer UK academics publishing in their titles. Additionally, the maximum acceptable embargo period duration delineated in some mandates likely impacts on scholars' publication destination choices, and publishers' licences, alike (Burgess, 2015; Wickham, 2013).

Although similarities exist, not all funder mandates are equivalent, nor do all funders have such policies. Since they have the potential to significantly affect the publication field, it is worth highlighting some of the most significant UK OA policies. The RCUK introduced its OA policy in 2005, although how this was interpreted across its constituent funding councils varied. Strengthened and consolidated in 2012 in the wake of Finch, it was revised in 2013 and formally reviewed two years later (Burgess, 2015; RCUK, 2013). The policy has a defined transitionary period from 2013 of five years, and is scheduled for biennial reviews from 2014. During this transitionary period, the expected academic compliance rate is scheduled to incrementally rise from 45%, to 75%, allowing those scholars initially unable or unwilling to comply, to adapt to its requirements. The policy includes expectations that journal articles and conference proceedings publications will be made OA, although all other publication formats are exempted, acknowledging the lack of sufficiently evolved open dissemination models. Overall the policy leans strongly, but not entirely, towards gold, with an expectation where a publisher OA route exists then this should be used. Where these are unavailable or if APC funding does not exist then adopting a green route is permitted. In many regards this policy seeks to address academic concerns over freedom to choose publication destinations, partly through the provision of additional institutional funding to cover APC costs (Great Britain, 2013a). Interestingly, the distribution of these funds are not uniform, with many institutions receiving a fraction of the funding contrasted with the major institutions (RCUK, 2012c). Where RCUK funds are used to pay APC costs, the policy requires publishers make it "*freely available under a Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) licence*" (RCUK, 2013, p. 7). The timescales for complying with this policy vary on the route, with no delay permitted for gold, while for green an embargo period of up to two years post-publication is acceptable.

One of the more recent major players to define a UK mandate are HEFCE[103]. Formally announced in March 2014 (HEFCE, 2014b) and coming into effect in April 2016, this policy notes HEFCE favours gold OA as the preferred research dissemination model, but embraces and acknowledges the transitional value of green. As such, it ties expectations of future

---

[103] Despite HEFCE titularly being the Higher Education Funding Council *for England*, the policy affects all four of the UK home nation funding councils, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and England.

research quality assessments directly to open availability by stressing researcher eligibility requires publications under consideration to be deposited in a repository "*on acceptance for publication, and made open-access within a specified time period.*" (HEFCE, 2014a). Like RCUK, the policy only applies to journal articles and conference proceedings, but dissimilarly no requirements for adopting CC-BY licences are included. Since many AHSS researchers are not RCUK funded, but will likely be evaluated during the REF 2021, this policy may more greatly impact upon them (Darley et al., 2014; Wickham, 2013).

A significant UK biomedical and medical humanities based research funder, The Wellcome Trust is also a longstanding OA supporter (Lawson et al., 2016; Wellcome Trust, 2013). Their policy, first introduced in October 2006, represents one of the earliest funding mandate examples and has continued to evolve (Wellcome Trust, 2014). The policy requires funded research papers to be made openly available via the PubMed Central[104] (PMC) repository within 6 months of publication. Additionally, authors are encouraged to retain copyright to their published works, rather than assigning them to publishers. Like the RCUK, Wellcome has made additional APC subsidies available, with a similar stipulation where these are funded, then publications must be shared under a CC-BY licence. Unlike the RCUK and HEFCE, Wellcome's policy applies to a broader range of works including all original peer-reviewed research publications, with the exception of review articles, editorials and letters. Revisions to the policy in late 2014, introduced requirements that research monographs and book chapters developed under their funding would also be made openly available.

While Jisc's[105] funding supports developments in academic service infrastructure projects, rather than research, they have long been a noted UK OA supporter (Great Britain, 2004; Jisc, 2010 & 2014), making them worthy of consideration here. Similar to HEFCE, Jisc's policy is slanted towards utilising the green route to share work they have funded. Hence, their policy requires all research and conference papers "*to be deposited into an institutional or subject open access repository*" (Jisc, 2013b) within six months. Jisc also stipulates the version shared can be either the author's final or the publisher's version. Interestingly, the policy further stipulates a format requirement for the "*native version*", meaning that in which a document was created, to facilitate textural data mining operations. Such a reuse clause places Jisc's policy explicitly closer to the libre ideal.

---

[104] http://europepmc.org/ - European mirror of the US based PMC site.
[105] Formerly known as the JISC or the Joint Information Steering Committee.

In contrast to many other funders, the Leverhulme Trust's position is one of agnosticism. Their position statement outlines intentions not to make any "*stipulations regarding either mandatory archiving, or open access publication*" (Leverhulme Trust, 2010)[106]. Nevertheless, this statement does permit a portion of their funding grants to be utilised in covering APC costs, although they remain silent on any route preferences. Similarly, the noted AHSS funder the British Academy maintains a policy position of making no OA mandate requirements (British Academy, 2016). Yet, unlike Leverhulme, they have maintained an active OA discourse position (Darley et al, 2014; Wickham & Vincent, 2013), welcoming Finch and contributing to the HEFCE and RCUK policy consultations. In justifying their lack of mandate, they highlight concerns over the OA implications on learned societies' sustainability, funding models and interestingly highlight potential risks to scholars through institutional rationing of APC funding. They are also concerned about the existential threats to publishers unwilling or unable to adopt compliant polices, and the STEM slant prevalent throughout OA discourse (British Academy, 2012 & 2013).

From this review, increasingly for academics supported by many UK funders or seeking inclusion in future research assessments, OA is seemingly becoming no longer a matter of preference but an expectation. While not every academic is funded by organisations mandating OA, many are so positioned. This situation raises the possibility that academics who continue to be unwilling or unable to adopt OA by 2018 may begin to fall outside of the academy's cultural norms. Do these mandates through tying OA compliance to funding income, risk alienating academics wishing irrespectively to continue publishing as they always have? Potentially yes, this risks creating a point of academic resistance to OA praxis. Conversely, will mandates result in the hoped for cultural change in research dissemination praxis? Perhaps, but it also seems many, but not all, major funders have followed the government's lead in demonstrating a preference for gold as OA's future norm. The costs the UK HE sector faces in the transitionary period (Houghton & Swan, 2013) are seen as birthing pains, and a period during which green OA acquires a lesser significance. For OA practitioners this may represent a further shifting in their priorities and focus, as repository work becomes less central, and roles supporting researchers to publish via the gold routes may become paramount. These are challenging points which currently have no clear answers, and areas towards which I hope my own investigations will advance insights.

---

[106] This agnosticism was a point they strongly reiterated in communications when I approached them to potentially participate in my fieldwork in 2015, as part of my efforts detailed in *Chapter 6.*

Learned Societies

As previously highlighted, the interactions between learned societies and OA are intriguing with a wide range of responses manifested. These organisations represent significant opinion leaders within their disciplines, and their influence cannot be easily ignored. Some, including the Historical Society, have vehemently opposed OA while others have welcomed it, with varying degrees of acceptance (Bennett, 2012; Eve, 2014b). The rationale behind any resistance are multifarious and often unclear, perhaps most commonly stemming from societies' dependency on journal subscription revenues (Gardner, 2013). Many consider moves to accept short embargo periods represent an unacceptable threat to their financial viability through lost subscription sales, although they are more optimistic over the possibilities presented through the funded-gold route. (Fry et al 2009; Great Britain 2004 & 2013a). Many societies have transferred their dissemination operations to academic publishers, conversely becoming victims of the price gouging conducted by these self-same entities. Losses from diminishing monograph sales are also a concern. Libraries increasingly display preferences for purchasing from major vendors and suppliers rather than directly from niche societies, further decreasing societies' income (Esposito, 2014c). It is also possible the complicity of societies in questionable publisher practices, like title bundling of regular above-inflation price rises, has exposed them to the consequences of these exploitative practices (Gardner, 2013). While not all societies supported such actions, that some have become victims of their own greed, means empathising with the precarious financial position many now find themselves in becomes difficult.

Adopting funded-gold or hybrid publishing models arguably represents a sound move for societies, enabling sustainable revenue streams, but questions remain as to what comprises an acceptable charge. PLOS' $1,350 APC might be achievable for STEM academics, but would lie outside the level at which many AHSS scholars could pay. Additionally, since many AHSS scholars are not funded by the RCUK or Wellcome Trust, they cannot rely on additional APC funding. Lacking the capital reserves of major publishers, societies could adopt more Internet-savvy publication models, removing page or article number limits on titles, enabling a lowering of APC fees while attracting a greater number of paying authors to maintain revenue levels. Yet, this may further expose them to the comparative publishing market forces, which could see any less agile societies risking marginalisation or bankruptcy. Notably, the Finch Report was criticised for not appreciating the difficulties a rapid OA transition could bring to learned societies (Jump, 2013; Perkins, 2012), although the government's perceived their importance had been accommodated (Friend, 2013). Certainly learned societies were not alone in criticising the government's preference for funded-gold (Crotty, 2014; Friend, 2013; Great Britain, 2013a. Yet, green OA potentially

endangers their subscription revenue model too. Hence, funded-gold, despite its ideological flaws, represents a greater measure of financial security. If societies possess sufficient flexibility to adapt to the funded-gold model, it seems likely they will be able continue to operate as influential actors within the publication field.

Publishers

While many learned societies also have scholarly publication roles, it is an inescapable conclusion that publishers occupy a key position within OA and legacy publication praxis. Much of the critical debate around OA is published by academics and practitioners, but publishers too pointedly contribute to this discourse, albeit often suffused within capitalist ideological undertones. From journal editorials, through industry significant blogs like the Scholarly Kitchen[107], to public statements from prominent spokespeople like Alicia Wise (Great Britain, 2013a), they actively shape perceptions, policy and likely behaviours too. Given their capitalist interests in ensuring their fiscal sustainability this is unsurprising. Nevertheless, the blanket term 'publisher' like OA itself, can risk conflating a considerably diverse ecosystem of organisations under its umbrella. For every capital driven entity like Wiley-Blackwells, there are organisations like PLOS, who embrace and appreciate open research dissemination rationalised through routes other than profitability. Despite stereotypical assumptions (Lawson & Gray, 2016; Laine, 2015; Smith, 2014b) publishers have not outright resisted OA's emergence, although their influences over its evolution remain a matter of considerable debate[108]. As early as 2004 publishers were adjusting their licencing terms to allow OA practices, although not as permissively open as some desired (Great Britain, 2004). OA praxis certainly provides opportunities for new dissemination forms and actors to emerge, including the recent resurgence in university presses (Barker & Cond, 2015; Cond, 2016a). Yet, despite this, legacy commercial publishers remain significant scholarly dissemination actors. Accordingly, for many, they represent somewhat of a *bête noire*, demonised for their excessive profits, academic labour exploitation, licencing terms intransience and questionable practices (Cost of Knowledge, 2012; Gatti, 2014; Great Britain, 2013a; Harvie, 2012; Lilley, 2012). With their direct routes to government, extensive capital infrastructure and prominent platforms as actors they are well-positioned to advocate and influence developments throughout scholarly dissemination (Eve, 2016a; Finch, 2012; Great Britain 2004 & 2013a). Consequently, their continued hegemonic sway over academic publication praxis is undeniable.

---

[107] http://scholarlykitchen.sspnet.org/ - The Scholarly Kitchen academic publishers' blog.
[108] A key topic I revisit during my fieldwork in *Chapters 6-8.*

Publishers and some commentators are quick to defend their critical interlocutor role within the scholarly dissemination cycle (Anderson, 2014b; Ingram, 2012), but Peekhaus (2012) among others (Ingram, 2012; Laine, 2015; Mance & Cookson, 2014), criticise this 'value added myth'. Prior to digital dissemination, publishers' roles in gathering, administering peer review and disseminating academic knowledge was a strong one. Today, digital dissemination allows much of the pre-Internet rivalrous dissemination apparatus to be bypassed, which coupled with an increasing realisation of academic labour exploitation makes a possible reduction in publishers' criticality perceptible. Yet, as Tickell (2015) stresses "*the world of academic publishing is an old and complex one, intimately linked with prestige and the perceived quality of research output*". Hence, the prestige capital possessed by long-established journals or book series coupled with this assessment model, represents a considerable force affecting academics' publication behaviour (Eve, 2014b). This resultant continued publisher-centric publishing hegemony and control exerted over the disparate academic knowledge production elements, has caused some academics to openly question publishers continued research dissemination involvement (Cost of Knowledge, 2012; Jump, 2014c). There is a risk, however, in treating publishers as a monolithic bloc. While the twelve major organisations who dominate western academic publishing, including Elsevier, Springer or Wiley-Blackwell, seem to have the greatest to lose if any transition to OA does not favour their interests, it is likely that it is the smaller, less-agile or niche publishers who will find their financial models irreparably disrupted (Bennett, 2012; Esposito, 2014c; Peekhaus, 2012). Lacking the political capital of their larger brethren, they may find policy makers take scant account of their particular needs.

With major publishers like Elsevier reportedly achieving profit-margins exceeding 35% (Eve, 2014b; Fuchs & Sandoval, 2013; Schmitt, 2014), an industrialised business model predicated on exploiting freely obtained academic labour represents a particular stimulus towards establishing viable OA dissemination alternatives. Indeed, profitability may be even higher, as publishers have long obfuscated the genuine overheads incurred during academic publishing (Lilley, 2012). The dysfunctions in this area have been exacerbated by enthusiastic publisher governmental lobbying in the wake of the serials crisis, proposing the academic sector's funding should be increased to a level to allow the academy's continued access to all required literature (Suber, 2012). Although in a post-austerity and neoliberal policy environment, it would seem more desirable to the government to push universities into pursuing increasingly corporatised revenue generation through raising fees and wide-scale commercialisation. Thus, the relationship between academia and the publishing sector, despite protestations to the contrary, is reified through the envelope of capitalistic desire. As research funding increasingly accommodates a *realpolitik* of funded-gold fees,

the UK government and funders become shifted into an ideologically complicit position with the publishers, a criticism also levelled at Finch's recommendations (Friend, 2013; Harnad, 2012). The emergence of strong policy support for gold OA by the government and the RCUK, along with ancillary funds raised within universities, represents then a golden opportunity for publishers to reaffirm their control and migrate their rent-seeking behaviour to new arenas. Seemingly OA's forms have become split between funded-gold which serves capital, with diamond and green more closely representing an anti-capital, commons supporting regime, which better reflects the ideals of peer-based scholarly knowledge production (Peekhaus, 2012; Fuchs & Sandoval, 2013). Yet, the continued emphasis on establishing gold OA as the UK's normative model, arguably confirms an unrelenting subversion of the academic publishing field's ideological framework to serve capitalist interests.

Finally, the academy's long-term reliance on publishers in a digital information age represents a critical threat to longer term knowledge availability (Rice, 2013). Prior to online journals or eBooks, academic libraries represented storehouses of knowledge which could be relied upon for digital preservation continued access should subscriptions cease or publishers go bankrupt (Eve, 2014b). Where publishers permit gold publication but disallow green archiving, then a risk exists that knowledge could become inaccessible should any financial crisis bankrupt them. Ideally then, publications should be deposited and archived in multiple locations, allowing a greater resiliency of access. Seemingly a minor issue in the literature, potentially this offers OA supporters a further spur to advocate for shifts away from a monolithic publication model, and towards more disaggregated and resilient dissemination.

4.4. Key Individuals and Organisations

Having considered the key actors, in establishing a developmental UK OA narrative it is valuable to explore some of the prominent individuals and organisations who have contributed to shaping it. It is perhaps ingenuous to single out people or organisations, when there are many more who through their scholarship, activism or practice contributions have contributed to the field's development. Nevertheless, there are some who have particularly impacted on my own understanding of OA who are worth identifying, to provide a flavour of those actors I have perceived as influential.

People

Concerning academic responses, while internationally Harvard's Peter Suber is OA's acknowledged 'godfather', to discuss UK OA without considering one of its most frequent proponents would be remiss. Stevan Harnad, a cognitive scientist based at Southampton

and Montreal universities, has since the mid-1990s been a very vocal OA proponent, and especially the power of mandated compliance as the means to successfully adjust academic dissemination practices. Particularly significant was his publication detailing 'the citation advantage' conferred on publications made OA (Harnad & Brody, 2004), hence enhancing a researcher's prestige capital. While later studies have debated the extent to which this 'citation boost' exists (Fry et al, 2009; Norris, et al, 2008; Weller, 2011), this paper represents a seminal demonstration of OA's research benefits. Styling himself OA's 'arch-evangelist' (Harnad, 2016a; Reisz, 2009), Harnad continues to enthusiastically and publically espouse green OA and the power of mandates (Great Britain 2004 & 2013a) and is unabashed at speaking truth to power to the publication field's ruling-bloc actors (Harnad, 2014; Harnad 2016b; Poynder & Harnad, 2012). The strength of his convictions, coupled with his highly visible public profile, has potentially made him a divisive figure; with some privately voicing concerns over his domineering presence within the discourse. Nevertheless, his many collaborations with fellow Southampton academic Les Carr, director and founder of ePrints[109], have undoubtedly practically and philosophically influenced UK OA's development.

Another long-time vocal, enthusiastic and occasionally divisive OA champion, is Cambridge chemist Peter Murray-Rust. Murray-Rust's particular interest is in publically championing a vision of OA literature as a reusable and exploitable information resource (Murray-Rust, 2015). He is also scathing concerning the impact of green OA (Murray-Rust, 2013). While his interests also encompass open science and data, Murray-Rust favours a libre OA practice, ensuring reuse barriers are lifted to allow publication interrogation through various automated algorithmic methods. This position has generated tensions for institutional OA practitioners, for whom the practicality of workflows centring on the propriety PDF format and readership, rather than reuse, outweighs any necessity to share material in less visually appealing, reusable formats.

No discussion of UK OA should also pass without mentioning Fred Friend and Alma Swan. Friend was a former University College London librarian, honorary director of scholarly communication and one of the Budapest Declaration's originators. Among Friend's many activities supporting OA was the creation of the *Friend of Open Access*[110] website to support the goals of making academic work funded through tax payers' money accessible to all. Drawing together important announcements, polices and resources relating to UK OA, Friend's site offered an ongoing critique of UK OA. The author of many works relating to

---

[109] http://www.eprints.org/ - ePrints site.
[110] http://www.friendofopenaccess.org.uk/ - The Friend of Open Access site, which has since closed following Friend's demise.

OA, like Harnad, Friend also vocally criticised Finch's recommendations (Friend, 2012 & 2013) and was unafraid of challenging scholarly publishers' practices. With his death in early 2014 (Reisz, 2014), and the site's removal, the UK OA community now lacks a library figure with a similarly high and scholarly profile. Swan meanwhile is a respected OA scholar, who through her company Key Perspectives Ltd, has conducted numerous qualitative studies, particularly focussing on publishing policy and economic models (Houghton & Swan, 2013; Swan, 2012). Unsurprisingly, she was among those presenting evidence to the government's 2013 hearings (Great Britain, 2013a). Already a high profile and institutionally independent figure within the discourse for many years, in 2012 she assumed the role of director of advocacy for SPARC-Europe (2016), further raising her importance within Europe.

From a governmental policy perspective three figures particularly stand out; Finch, Hall and Willetts. Undoubtedly, in directly affecting governmental policy, former Keele University Vice Chancellor Janet Finch has occupied one of the most influential roles as the Finch Group's Chair. While her later discourse has centred on supporting the group's recommendations, her work continues to resonate (Ptolomey, 2013; Pinfield, 2015) and is likely responsible for the recent surge in OA's UK media profile and general awareness levels. While other Finch group members (Finch, 2012, p. 133) likely have various measures of influence, the second individual worth highlighting is Salford University Vice Chancellor, Martin Hall. Hall has long been a renowned OA exponent with a reputation for clarity, practicality and insight, embracing openness in scholarship through his frequent blogging[111]. He has also led the UKOAIG[112] for a number of years and, with his 2014 appointment as Jisc Chair, his influence is likely to continue growing (Hall, 2013; Jisc, 2013a). The final key Finch figure, is David Willetts, Minister of State for Universities from 2010 to 2014 (Smith, 2014). A key coalition government figure who, in addition to commissioning the Finch group, became the state's academic publishing and OA policies figurehead. At the time, this stance was expressed as seeking to "*make publicly funded scientific research available for anyone to read for free*" (Willetts, 2012), clearly aligning with the Finch group's recommendations. His presence in the discourse was to defend the government's position favouring gold OA, frequently engaging via various media sources and channels making this position clear (Great Britain, 2013a; Willetts, 2013). His successors, Greg Clark and Jo Johnson, while supporting a policy of publication transitioning

---

[111] http://blogs.salford.ac.uk/martin-hall/ - Martin Hall's VC blog.
[112] UK Open Access Implementation Group.

to funded-gold (Hastings, 2016; Page, 2016; Johnson, J., 2016), have by contrast offered less high-profile OA support.

Turning finally to practitioners, the work of academic and copyright guru Charles Oppenheim and colleagues at Loughborough, by conducting the Project RoMEO (2003), were instrumental in providing a firm legal framework for green OA. Though nominally retired, Oppenheim continues to provide insights into the interpretation and application of rights law relating to OA (Fry et al, 2009; Oppenheim, 2014). RoMEO's later transformation into the SHERPA/RoMEO self-archiving licence disambiguation service underscores Oppenheim's contributions. This globally significant service was developed by Stephen Pinfield, Bill Hubbard and team, working at Nottingham working initially under the SHERPA name and more recently as the Centre for Research Communications[113] (CRC) (Johnson, 2007). While Pinfield migrated to an academic role elsewhere, Hubbard's team remain recognised for their continued contributions to supporting the OA practitioner community's work globally (Smith, 2010; Repanovici & Barsan, 2015). Offering practical support and tools, rather than an ideological response, Hubbard's team continue to develop OA enabling tools which disambiguate OA dissemination workflows and legalities. The CRC are not alone in UK practitioner-based prominence, with Peter Burnhill, director of the Edinburgh based EDINA centre[114], gaining a particular recognition and degree of influence for his team's contributions to technical infrastructure supporting OA (EDINA, 2014a). Burnhill, a vocal advocate of the ideals of openness, is also a frequent collaborator in OA activities nationally. Likewise, individuals within funding organisation Jisc, including Neil Jacobs (Jacobs, 2016), have also achieved particular prominence as interlocutors between the academy, government and other stakeholder policy organisations.

There are also numerous, individual academic activists, like Eve, Gower, Lilley or Cond, whose multifarious accomplishments represent tangible efforts to restore or gain control over the publication field for the academy. Rather than attempting to detail them all, I will return later to consider the particular contributions a selection of these people have made in reshaping publication praxis[115].

---

[113] http://crc.nottingham.ac.uk/ - Centre for Research Communications, formerly known as the SHERPA team.
[114] http://edina.ac.uk/ - Edina site.
[115] See *Chapter 5: Interview Participants* for an introduction to the individuals, and *Chapter 8* for an exploration of their particular efforts.

Organisations

Likewise, a myriad of groups, projects and organisations exist across the UK, which have contributed to UK OA's development. Specifically, activity at Southampton, Nottingham and Edinburgh universities was key. The University of Southampton has certainly been a major player in the developing OA environment. People like Harnad and Carr aside, it has also responsible for hosting some of the earliest institutional and subject repositories[116], along with services supporting the evolving UK OA infrastructure, notably the *ePrints Service*. Launched in 2000, ePrints was the first FOSS[117] repository software and continues to be developed (ePrints, 2014). With the team making a sustained contribution to the UK OA infrastructure's development and frequently collaborating with other institutions, this perhaps explains why ePrints remains the leading UK repository platform, despite MIT's *DSpace*'s global dominance[118]. ePrints has also supported the practitioner community through establishing various services, including the ROARMAP mandates registry (Carr, 2010).

Slightly younger and hosted at Nottingham is the CRC. Initially established as SHERPA in 2002, and rebranded in 2009 (CRC, 2015), it has assisted in establishing and supporting OA repositories and practitioners across the UK. SHERPA and its institutional partners (SHERPA, 2006a), were a locus for a raft of Jisc funded project activity with a focus on enabling green repositories. Particularly, it was SHERPA/RoMEO self-archiving licence disambiguation service's 2004 launch which saw SHERPA became internally renowned (SHERPA, 2004). Later projects developed further services including OpenDOAR and FACT (CRC, 2013), while directly supporting the emerging institutional OA practitioner community through the Repositories Support Project[119]. Finally, Edinburgh's long established EDINA "*centre for digital expertise and online service delivery*" (EDINA, 2014b) has delivered a broad range of ICT based projects over two decades. While many projects have supported broader HE teaching and research needs, notably they supported OA through the JORUM, UK Repository Net+ and Repository Junction projects (EDINA, 2014a). Additionally, EDINA has hosted the annual Repository Fringe conference since 2008 (EDINA, 2008), drawing together OA practitioners and developers in a collaborative environment designed to enable practical idea exchanges. Despite the collaborative nature of the UK OA practitioner community, some tension has always operated between these and other similar organisations, as they compete for limited funding and attention. This represents one example of the 'disaggregated' (Eve, 2015) UK OA movement's functioning, as

---

[116] http://cogprints.org/ CogPrints - Cognitive Science Eprints Archive.
[117] Free and open-source software.
[118] 38 DSpace vs 127 Eprints UK repositories, data from OpenDOAR, 1 June 2016
[119] http://www.rsp.ac.uk - Repositories Support Project site.

individuals strive to achieve similar communal goals, while risks of internecine conflicts remain.

It is also important to spotlight the role of Jisc which has funded the development of much of the UK's institutional OA infrastructure, through various initiatives including the Focus on Access to Institutional Resources, Digital Repositories and the Repositories and Preservation programmes (Great Britain, 2004; Jisc, 2010 & 2016). Hall's appointment as Chair, further underlining Jisc's OA support, along with facilitating closer national policy maker links (Jisc, 2013a & 2014). Hence, it is reasonable to propose OA's UK development would have been significantly diminished without Jisc's backing. Given such support has generally reflected government policy towards OA, it can be anticipated Jisc will increasingly fund developments supporting the gold route, like the Jisc APC payments platform along with negotiating for lower funded-gold fees (Jisc, 2013c & 2016). Jisc also has a long involvement in the UKOAIG, an organisation which strategically and practically supports the availability of organisational OA outputs. Acting as think-tank which commissions research into OA, while providing distillations of key discussions, UKOAIG is directed by a representative board comprising individuals drawn from across the academic publishing field, including libraries, funders, research managers and OA supporting publishers (UKOAIG, 2012). Currently chaired by Adam Tickell, since late 2013 the group has become publically relatively quiescent (Sussex, 2016; UKOAIG, 2013), perhaps representing other actors coming to the fore within the discourse.

Finally, it is worth highlighting the presence of two more organisational actors, SPARC Europe (2014b) and UKCoRR (2016), who have exercised perhaps a less overt agency over the UK OA environment. SPARC-Europe, a subset of the US based SPARC organisation, is an NGO which aims to be instrumental in the construction of a "*better scholarly communication system*" through advocacy, political influence and networking. (SPARC Europe, 2014b). SPARC Europe is an institutional membership organisation, counting many UK research intensive universities as members through their library services. With an international contextualisation of OA's development, SPARC-Europe has brought policy influence to bear, along with developing OA awareness in senior university managers. Additionally, it provides a reliable source of information for institutional practitioners. By contrast UKCoRR is an autonomous individual membership organisation which was founded to support effective knowledge and experience exchange between a growing UK repository practitioner community (UKCoRR, 2016). Given the generally relatively low university seniority of their members, any individual influence over national policy is limited. Nevertheless, unified their collective voices facilitates a more vocal and more powerful

lobbying force to OA policy actors. Potentially, as practitioners and OA praxis transitions towards a more central university function, this organisation's influence may grow (Johnson, 2012a & b).

4.5.   Historical Narrative

Having introduced the concepts and actors, I will now provide a chronological overview of the milestone events shaping UK OA praxis' evolution.

1991-1999: Foundations

While Suber's timeline (OAD, 2013; Suber, 2009) points to developments from the 1960s onwards in digital networking as originating the movement, at the end of the 20th Century three events proved to be the key progenitors of UK OA practice: a server, a proposal and a crisis.   The first event stemmed from Paul Ginsparg's establishment in August 1991 of the arXiv (2014) physics pre-publication papers server, the progenitor of what would become known as subject repositories. As a discipline, physicists had long exchanged pre-publication papers to accommodate for the rapid advancements typifying their field, with formal publication utilised as a form of historical record. This innovation was an example of a community recognising a need, and establishing an appropriate technological solution. That arXiv's establishment was cotemporaneous with the Web's birth was a harbinger of network technology's disruptive power to the publication industry, demonstrating future research dissemination possibilities. Additionally, arXiv's continued operations without impacting on the physics journal subscriptions' market, is often alluded to as the symbiotic relationship which green OA can have with traditional forms of publication (Fry et al, 2009; Gatti, 2014). The second milestone was more ideologically framed, with Harnad's "*subversive proposal*" in June 1994 on the online American Scientist Forum becoming the basis for the green OA route (Harnad, 2004). While at the time this did not seem to dramatically advance the OA's cause practically, it contributed to the discourse by sparking ideological interest with activists globally, and consequently helping the OA movement's coalescence.

The final milestone was the *serials crisis*, where journal subscription prices rose faster than inflation, and at three times the retail price index between 1986-2010 (Great Britain, 2013b). This outstripped any increases in library budgets for even the wealthiest institutions, as publishers maintained their significant profit margins (Eve, 2014b, Hess & Ostrom, 2007; Suber, 2012). Consequently, especially among the library community, questions arose about traditional publication's sustainability and the possibilities new dissemination forms might offer.

2000-2005: Green Dawn

With the stage set for change, the early 21st Century saw a shift in the UK from ideological discussions to practical applications, spurred in September 2000 by the EPrints repository software's launch (EPrints, 2016). Over the next year the earliest British repositories were established at universities including Nottingham and Southampton, making extensive use of this home-grown product. As the first international OA definitions were drawn up, in the UK a community of green practitioners began to coalesce. Support services were essential in providing legal clarification and practical support for the emerging pro-OA practitioner and academic communities, which the founding of the SHERPA and ROMEO projects in 2002, at Nottingham and Loughborough respectively, crucially delivered (RoMEO, 2003; SHERPA, 2004 & 2006). Consequently, the next few years saw a boom in repository numbers as dozens were created at UK universities (ROAR, 2014a).

Yet, OA's visibility remained exceptionally low within normative academic praxis, and drivers were required to move things forward. Some, like Harnad, argued institutions should require academics to openly share their research, leading in 2003 to the first green OA mandate being created at Southampton within their School of Electronics and Computer Science (ROAR, 2014b; Harnad, 2007). Over the next decade many, but by no means all, UK institutions would introduce some measure of OA policy or mandate. 2003 also saw the Royal Society release the *Keeping Science Open* report (Suber, 2009), which advocated changes to intellectual property law to widen scientific publications access and remove obstacles to the process of scientific enquiry. In October 2003 the Wellcome Trust provided further impetus by issuing a statement endorsing OA. While falling short of requiring their researchers to openly share publications, it still represented an early adoption by a major research funder of a significantly favourable stance to OA. Also that month, the Association of Learned and Professional Society of Publishers released a public statement (ALPSP, 2003), responding to the Berlin Declaration which had been signed a week earlier encouraging publishers to experiment with OA. As the UK's OA discourse and praxis slowly began to grow in visibility, the government took notice. Doubtless these moves contributed to incentivising the government's Scientific Publications enquiry (Great Britain, 2004) at the year's end. This enquiry was tasked with considering aspects of current research dissemination practice including scientific journals prices, accessibility and whether the government should adopt a policy position supporting OA.

As repository numbers continued to climb (ROAR, 2014a), the cause of green OA was advanced significantly with the early 2004 launch of the SHERPA/RoMEO OA copyright policies service's (SHERPA, 2004). This year also saw one of the biggest academic

publishers, Elsevier, announcing a new policy permitting authors to share, via personal websites or local repositories, their pre-publication article versions (Elsevier, 2004). While this policy would slowly evolve, it indicated rather than overtly opposing, as had been feared, publishers were making adjustments to their policies which accommodated some OA aspects. Nevertheless, the most significant event of 2004, which would continue to have repercussions for many years, was the July publication of the government enquiry's Scientific Publications report (Great Britain, 2004). Significantly, it recommended funders require grant holders to share their research publications openly via green repositories. In strongly supporting the green route, the government had also underscored a need to develop institutional repository infrastructure and practitioners nationally. This report was the impetus for the Jisc Digital Repositories programme's January 2005 launch (Jisc, 2014), which helped fund several years of rapid growth in green repositories and UK practitioner numbers (Pinfield et al, 2014; ROAR, 2014a). Conversely, the report concluded the gold route lacked sufficient maturation and development across all disciplines, advising more robust models required development.

In June 2005, the Russell Group, representing the major research intensive institutions, also issued a statement which endorsed OA and encouraged the exploration of innovative and alternate approaches to delivering scholarly communication (Russell Group, 2005; SHERPA, 2005). This was followed in September by Universities UK, representing the Vice Chancellors of UK universities, also adopting a similar endorsement (Suber, 2009). With senior academic leaders publically coming onside for OA and the government's position clarified, OA was clearly becoming an important topic within the academy. Hence, unsurprisingly during this period further research funders' policies began to emerge. The RCUK, presented a draft policy for comment in June (RCUK, 2013), which proposed the requirement for a significant proportion of the UK's publically funded research to become OA. Confusingly, the policy allowed the eight subsidiary RCUK funding bodies to interpret the mandate as they saw fit, causing concern for academics funded through different sources (Burgess, 2015; Jump 2015). Additionally, since the policy lacked an effective enforcement regime, its long term effectiveness was questionable. The discourse throughout this period continued to situate OA within a framework closely aligned with the STEM subjects, as can be seen in language adopted within contemporary publications. This perhaps reflects the historic interpretation of science as the driver of societal and economic development, and a view the government clearly adopted.

2006-2010: Practice to Policy

With repositories growing rapidly in number while perhaps not so quickly in contents (Fry et al, 2009), the coming years saw a formalisation of UK OA, as open scholarship's pioneering spirit began to be regulated through various policy regimes. June 2006 saw the RCUK revise and formally launch their mandate (SHERPA, 2014b; Suber, 2009), followed in July by the Wellcome Trust's introduction of one covering all their currently funded work. In October, this policy expanded to incorporate work funded prior to its inauguration. October also saw five of the RCUK subsidiary funding councils' mandates enacted[120] (Suber, 2006). As other funders introduced mandates or adopted strong policy positions, in June the SHERPA/JULIET[121] service launched to provide clarity for scholars seeking to comply with funders' publication requirements. The year also saw SHERPA and ePrints launch the competing OpenDOAR[122] and ROAR[123] directories (Hubbard & Bjornshauge, 2006; SHERPA, 2006b; Suber, 2009), highlighting the international growth in repository numbers emphasising their transition from projects to services. 2006 also saw the Depot (Jisc, 2006) introduced, offering an interim solution for UK scholars who wanted to pursue depositing green OA publications, but lacked an appropriate institutional or subject repository. Despite efforts towards gaining content or visibility it failed, arguably representing a dismissive attitude by UK scholars towards centralised, national solutions, and a preference for repositories hosted by their disciplines or institutions. As more intuitions initiated repositories and academics lacking a local green route fell, the Depot was discontinued at the decade's end (EDINA, 2009).

2006 was a year when gold OA also began to make ground, as more major scholarly publishers introduced hybrid journal options (Suber, 2009; Taylor & Francis, 2006). Hence, as UK academics' OA practices increasingly diversified, a need to assist the evolving institutional infrastructure which facilitated this, was addressed in October 2006 by the Repository Support Project's launch (RSP, 2013). This collaborative effort would provide support towards the anticipated establishment of more repositories. For OA practitioners the RSP would also prove to be a major national locus of expertise, which helped consolidate their community over the next five years. Further demonstrating its visibility within the public policy agenda, at the year's end the Office of Fair Trading announced the lack of public data OA cost the country £500 million annually (Great Britain, 2006).

---

[120] The BBSRC, ESRC, MRC, NERC and PPARC, comprising the bulk of the RCUK's constituent funding councils.

[121] http://www.sherpa.ac.uk/juliet - SHERPA/JULIET site.

[122] http://www.opendoar.org - OpenDOAR (Directory of Open Access resources) site.

[123] http://roar.eprints.org/ - ROAR (Registry of Open Access Resources) site.

In January 2007 the UK version of PubMed Central (UKPMC) was launched (Jisc, 2007)[124], which was soon a favoured green destination under biomedical research funder's requirements. Meanwhile more funders and publishers made adjustments to their policies and licences, requiring or permitting OA respectively (Suber, 2009). 2007 was also the year the coalescing UK repository community established UKCoRR (Johnson, 2012a) as a safe-harbour for repository practitioners' discussions, as many felt the dominant, vocal ideological voices within the common discourse prevented open exchanges of practical advice. As funded-gold OA avenues proliferated, the University of Nottingham introduced the first institutional fund to support APC fees when publishing via these routes (Pinfield & Middleton, 2012). Initially set at a relatively low level[125], this fund grew in subsequent years as more academics desired or were required to publish openly. While some institutions adopted similar funds, not all were willing or able representing a barrier at this stage for many seeking to share via the funded-gold route.

As UK repositories continued to increase in number (ROAR, 2014), in January 2009 the British Library launched the EThOS repository, which would aggregate OA doctoral electronic theses (etheses) nationally (Gould, 2016). While etheses would continue to be hosted on local repositories, this represented the first national repository to gain a significant and ongoing foothold in the UK. In June 2009 the UK government shifted responsibility for universities into the BIS. Arguably, this step may have furthered the perceptual linkages between OA and the 'productive' STEM disciplines within the discourse. Additionally, as I explored earlier, that exploiting academic knowledge plays a fundamental part in the national economy is not denied, but such an intrinsic coupling with capital interests by the government raises some ideological concerns. Internationally, October saw the first Open Access Week (OAW, 2014) embraced by UK OA activists and practitioners alike. Despite this advocacy-centric event's timing coinciding with a busy academic period, as efforts towards creating a normative OA praxis within the academy persist it continues to be annually celebrated (SPARC, 2015).

2011-2016: A Golden Age

By 2011, backed by a rich infrastructure of policy and practice supporting green OA, the UK boasted hundreds of repositories. Yet, while the 21st century's first decade had been about green OA, the second seemed to belong increasingly to gold. Following a period of slow evolution, with the Finch Group's creation in October 2011 (Finch, 2012), landscape was about to alter. The media had begun to take a greater interest in OA too, as the

---

[124] Rebranded and extended as Europe PMC in Nov 2012.
[125] From £21,850 (2006/7), to £318,615 (2010/11) (Pinfield & Middleton, 2012).

discourse increasingly broadened to impinge onto the public sphere (Barr, 2012; Curry, 2012; Economist, 2013; Ghosh, 2012). Hence, with hindsight 2012 and 2013 might be regarded as among the most eventful years in UK OA's history, filled with landmark events.

For many, Elsevier had long been the locus of discontent over author copyrights, subscription prices and lobbying influence, with particular anger centring on their initial support for restrictive legislation like PIPA[126] and the RWA[127] (Flood, 2012). Despite now accommodating green and offering funded-gold options, many felt Elsevier's position had insufficiently altered, culminating in February 2012 with Oxford academic Timothy Gowers calling for a company boycott (Gowers, 2012). Such was the international reaction to Gowers' post that the Cost of Knowledge (2012) site was created, rallying the international academic community's participation in a mass protest. Elsevier, disagreeing with some of the petition's claims, did subsequently withdraw support for the RWA, a move considered a direct response to the protest (Elsevier, 2012). Although with over sixteen thousand signatories to date, the protest has faded from the public eye. Nevertheless, it still represents one of the most widespread research dissemination position statements to autonomously originate from within the UK academy. It also provides a practitioner resource for locating self-identified academic OA supporters. In June Dame Janet Finch published her report, with the recommendations favouring a policy shift to gold OA welcomed by the UK government (Great Britain, 2012a; Finch, 2012). The RCUK rapidly responded too, revised their mandate's conditions, unifying their subsidiary councils' policies and strengthening their enforcement regime (RCUK, 2013). An initial £10 million block grant was also made available to support thirty UK universities to cover funded-gold APC fees, with an expectation more articles would adopt this route each year (Great Britain, 2012b; RCUK, 2012b). The UK policy environment now seemed to favour gold over green OA.

2013 was also a year of considerable changes, commencing with the House of Lords' Science Committee launching an OA inquiry in January, with BIS subsequently following suit. A number of key actors gave evidence, which led to the publication of two significant reports (Great Britain 2013a & 2013b). January also saw the practitioner community begin to establish national gold protocols with a pilot scheme backed by Jisc managing APC payments (Jisc, 2013c). In February HEFCE began consulting the sector on their proposed OA-centric successor to the REF 2014 (HEFCE, 2013a). As this continued, over the next few months the RCUK and Wellcome Trust revised their mandates. For Wellcome funded

---

[126] http://www.leahy.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/BillText-PROTECTIPAct.pdf - Protect IP Act (PIPA).
[127] http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?c112:H.R.3699 - Research Works Act (RWA).

researchers, monograph publications were now included and all gold publications had to be published under a CC-BY licence (Wellcome Trust, 2014). In April, the RCUK distributed their first APC funding, broadening the institutional recipients to include most UK universities. Notably, distribution was tiered, so not all institutions could access the same funding levels (RCUK, 2012c & 2013).

As we come closer to the present day, the harder it becomes to establish any longer term significance for UK OA from recent events. For example, 2015 saw the launch of the Open Library of the Humanities by Eve and Edwards (OLH, 2015) and Burgess' (2015) review of the RCUK's mandate. The former represents a potentially significant step towards establishing a diamond OA press run by and for academics, the latter highlights the practicalities and obstacles achieving a sustainable sectoral transition to OA. Academics have not been entirely quiescent in recent years, with editorial boards rebelling against legacy publishing actors (Jump 2014c; Matthews, 2015). There are surprising twists too, including Elsevier's recent acquisition of the social science and humanities subject repository SSRN (Gordon, 2016), have caused concerns over potential commercialisation and enclosure of author's work through "*aggressive interpretations of its own contract and copyright rights*" to arise once more (Gowder, 2016). Meanwhile, the German institutions' 2017 boycott of Elsevier (Doctorow, 2016), may also have unforeseen consequences.

Whether any of these establish new battlefields indicate an increasing transition towards gold, uncover strong resistance against the extant hegemonic norms or are simply minor events remains to be established. It cannot be denied that the impetus stemming from HEFCE's new OA policy for work eligible for post-2014 REF assessments is likely to impact on the academy's publication practices (HEFCE, 2014a). Yet, added to these considerations, is the government's *Success of the Knowledge Economy* (Great Britain, 2016; Hastings, 2016) white paper on research, teaching and the configuration of the UK academy. As 'fundamental relationships are reshaped' (Boxall, 2016), and bodies including HEFCE and the RCUK restructure, the impacts affect not only academic publishing's future, but the whole UK academy's configuration.

4.6.   Reflections

This chapter has been written during a period in which the UK publishing field has clearly begun to adopt many OA praxis elements. Yet, while OA's UK profile is higher, a holistic embrace throughout the academy still seems lacking. Recent government and funder policies do seemingly support OA's continued rise to prominence, although even optimists (Harris, 2012) remain cautious concerning timescales. Yet, while funder policies and the government continue supporting a transition to funded-gold publishing, a mixed economy

of OA routes continues to exist in the UK. Certainly, much of the discourse today typically represents an eventual, inevitable, publication practice shifts to a normative funded-gold and diamond OA model, after transitioning through green. Yet, green repositories continue to serve a policy driven purpose under the REF 2021 (HEFCE, 2014b). Funded-gold, arguably, is the economically sustainable and commercially desirable model, but adopting it risks supporting commercial publishing actors' continued dominant position. Seemingly in replicating much of the legacy publication economic model and power-relations, OA risks failing to embrace the more transfigurative potentialities of digital formats. Accordingly, for the academy, a subaltern position in the publishing field hegemony seems set to continue. Given esteem metrics are intrinsic to publication (Eve, 2014b), such a position is not simply due to habituation, since deviating from established normative praxis risks damaging an academic's professional prestige.

As the Web's emergence disrupted the pre-existing telecommunication hegemony, OA also represents an ideological challenge to the established power-relations in the publishing field. Nevertheless, as Gramsci would argue (Jones, 2006), any publishing revolution must arise organically from the academic labourers, if it is to become normative praxis. Benkler (2006) agrees, within any a transformative period of communication, a redistribution of power and capital from the extant ruling-bloc to new actors is possible. Certainly, some of the most noteworthy backlashes against the corporatisation of publication have arisen from within the academic corpus (Cost of Knowledge, 2012; Holcombe, 2013; Jump, 2014c; Fuchs & Sandoval, 2013). Yet, given the ruling-bloc actors' economic strengths, perhaps achieving outright revolution from these pockets of idealism is unlikely, and a collaborative, symbiotic evolution is more likely. The publishing field hegemony will adjust and adapt to such changes, and certainly despite the two decades or more of increasing OA practice, the ruling-bloc actors' power is seemingly undiminished. Despite the persuasive power of capitalist domination (Vadén & Suoranta, 2009), knowledge remains a social product of academics' immaterial labour. This does afford the academic corpus with a, perhaps unrealised, agency over publishing field. Certainly, they are subject to influence from other field actors, but it is reasonable to conclude one of the biggest obstacles to a greater UK OA embrace lies in the academic community's attitudes and disposition (Hess & Ostrom, 2007).

It is impossible in a single chapter to account for all the events which have configured UK OA as it exists today. Through providing an overview of the debates, tensions and actors, it has hopefully illustrated the complexities of this field, while providing sufficient context for my later inquiries. It is to better understand how these powerful influences and the actors

operate and interact within the publishing field, which my empirical research will now address.

Chapter 5: Fieldwork Methods

5.1.   Introduction

In this chapter I will outline the qualitative methods utilised to gather empirical data for the purposes of answering my research questions. This includes subject identification, selection and recruitment, data collection techniques adopted and the approach towards how their interpretation. Hence, I will firstly outline my rationales for adopting a semi-structured interview approach, then provide insights into participant selection and the questioning approach utilised. Finally, I will discuss the analytical methods used to organise, structure and explore the gathered data. Later chapters detail the data's subsequent analysis and interrogation within my theoretical framework.

I conducted three main periods of qualitative data collection during this research project, targeting a range of individuals with vested personal or organisational interest in the evolution of open scholarly communication within the UK academy. Their responses were intended to contribute to broadening the understanding of the power-relationships, practices and attitudes operating within academic publishing culture. Firstly, institutional OA practitioners would be engaged with, to gain an overview into institutional OA practices and academic responses across a broad spectrum of UK universities. Secondly, the findings from this work would be contextualised through engaging with a range of actors in the academic publication field. Finally, a small number of academic activists would be approached to augment the preceding insights[128]. For practical reasons, I conducted the first field-work phase during 2013, and the latter phases simultaneously during 2015.

Qualitative Methods

Firstly, though, a few words concerning qualitative methods. This research is firmly situated within a qualitative framework, meaning it possesses naturalistic, interpretive, situational and reflexive characteristics (Schreier, 2012). Unlike quantitative research methods, it is not concerned with the collection and analysis of numerical data. Rather, qualitative methods seek to explore and describe particular social phenomena, providing a deeper understanding of experiences rather than providing sweeping generalisations (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). Hence, gathered data reflects real-world subjects' experiences and perceptions of the complex life-world they inhabit, crucially in their own words (Richardson, 2000). Within my research, this is a world which revolves around academic publication. These experiences are in turn subject to the researcher interpretations, which requires an acknowledgement of their own reflexive position to be

---

[128] See *Chapter 6*, for the results of work with OA practitioners, *Chapter 7* for publishing actors and academics, and *Chapter 8* for the activists.

apparent to the reader. In establishing the relevance of these lived experiences, and to aid in the uncovering of meaning, an understanding of the context within which research encounters occur, was required. To this end prior chapters explored the OA's context and the UK academy's early 21st Century praxis. Finally, there is an especial need to consider participants' reflexivity, especially through handling them ethically and not concealing the research's purpose from them (Ali & Kelly, 2012).

5.2.   Qualitative Interviewing

The main research method adopted for data gathering was qualitative interviewing. While an acknowledged time-intensive collection method, it is an approach which can yield considerable in-depth insights and context (Fetterman, 2010; Mikula, 2008). It can provide what Geertz calls a *thick description* (see Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 13), a rich source of detailed information, concerning first-hand experiences, observations and perceptions of participants. The method takes the form of a conversation, wherein the researcher guides one or more interviewees through a themed discussion. Unlike quantitative survey-based research which can mute context and meaning and which risk "*intellectually dominating*" (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 24) the research through a researcher's preconceptions, interviewing provides an interactive and inductive qualitative technique (Schreier, 2012). They allow a researcher to responsively adapt their questioning approach in response to the dynamic discussion flow, exploring a topic to uncover as much information as interviewees are able, or willing, to share. This allows for a broad exploration of the norms, rituals and expected behaviours within the field of inquiry. Each interview therefore forms a unique event, with subjects answering in their own words, rather than selecting from a limited range of responses. Interviews are a more economical qualitative approach, in terms of time commitment, than participant observation approaches. Additionally, rather than observing a select subset of activities, researchers can discuss a broad array of events, perceptions and opinions within a relatively brief time span (Byrne, 2012). Consequently, such open and often expansive discussions considerably benefit through eliciting honest and insightful answers, forming a rich narrative data source (Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

Nevertheless, practical and analytical drawbacks in adopting this approach exist. Scheduling interviews, especially with multiple participants or senior figures (Rubin & Rubin, 2005), can be a challenging and time consuming task for the researcher. Furthermore, once underway, interviews may run longer than anticipated due to some interviewees' willingness to talk. Thus, a sufficient time-buffer between scheduled interviews must be allowed as appointments too close together may risk cutting a promising engagement short. A researcher must always exercise a measure of control over

conversations, carefully judging when a promising deviation may lead to unexpected or valuable insights. Conversely, some more reserved interviewees may need considerate coaching and follow-up probing question to avoid staccato answers. Silence too can be a powerful tool to prove for further information, without generating an intrusive demeanour (Fetterman, 2010). Hence, the researcher must balance maintaining a focussed, but sufficiently rich conversation, while appreciating the time demands made on participants. Finally, this approach generates a considerable volume of data, which can be problematic as well as advantageous. For the researcher the time required to fully record and analytically describe discussions can be demanding. Conversely, the array of recordings, transcripts and interviewer notes generated provide a rich information source, which can be returned for further interrogation later (Byrne, 2012; Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

Hence, after consideration of these issues and other potential approaches[129], it was decided the research fieldwork would adopt an interview-based data collection approach. Specifically, a semi-structured "*cultural interviewing*" (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 9) approach was adopted, using questions centred on specific themes relevant to the intellectual framework. Like a questionnaire the approach allows the exploration around a particular focus, but with sufficient flexibility to explore unexpected avenues. Semi-structured interviews are especially suitable where the researcher possesses some native understanding of participants' life-world, as questioning topics can be phrased within a familiar lexicon (Fetterman, 2010), as was certainly the case for my own research. A semi-structured format allowed the sequence, question phrasing and follow-ups to be adapted during each interview, helping promote a conversational, spontaneous and friendly interview tone, whilst ensuring the inclusion of all inquiry themes (Rubin & Rubin, 2005; Bryman, 2012).

Recording and Transcription

Given the distances between the UK institutions, potential travel time commitments, the cost involved and simple practicalities of identifying a suitable venue, I conducted and recorded most interviews via Skype[130]. Due to geographic proximity of some interviewees, I conducted a limited number in person. Recording allows the researcher to keenly focus on the interview and the participant, without the distraction of extensive note-taking to record observations (Bryman, 2012). However, an awareness of being recorded can inhibit some interviewees from speaking openly (Fetterman, 2010), but ethically they must be made aware and permit it (Byrne, 2012). Hence, recording was highlighted in preliminary

---

[129] Evaluated but ultimately discounted methods included qualitative surveys, focus groups, participant observation and case study methods.
[130] Recording utilised *MP3 Skype Recorder*. http://voipcallrecording.com/MP3_Skype_Recorder.

communications, and permission sought before interviews began. It was essential participants were assured their comments would not be distorted or misrepresented, and any desires to speak anonymously would be respected. As a consequence of this caution, lively, open and frank exchanges ensued throughout the research process. During interviews outline notes were taken as a back-up should recording fail[131], and aid in choreographing the exploration of particular issues later in discussions. Notes also provided an opportunity to highlight my initial thoughts arising during an interview around emerging concepts or potentially significant insights for later analysis. Crucially, recording continued after formal questioning ended, as unanticipated further revelations may emerge during the close-down interview phase (Bryman, 2012), an assumption which proved accurate in practice.

Audio recordings were manually-transcribed[132] for later qualitative coding and analysis. While creating an interview record which could be readily queried, this process also deepened my familiarisation with the data (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Transcribing is an acknowledged time consuming, laborious and intellectually demanding process (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Nevertheless, I concluded the benefits gained from becoming closer to the data and ensuring an accurate representation of exchanges, outweighed any speed advantages from utilising automated speech-to-text transcription[133], or outsourcing the work to a third party. Furthermore, transcripts are more readily anonymised than audio files, meaning where a funder mandate requires a post-research open sharing of data[134], any requested participant anonymity can be respected and achieved with minimal researcher effort.

Ethics, Identification and Anonymity

There are two particular points of ethics I wish to highlight. Firstly, Byrne (2012) notes one issue for interviewing researchers is that lack of trust and potential alienation between participants may arise from a brief, normally single encounter. It is important therefore throughout the process, from initial approach through to the interview, that interviewers comport themselves appropriately (Ali & Kelly, 2012). While researchers may desire to avoid bias through concealing their own interest, this would create an unequal and potentially exploitative interviewer and interviewee relationship (Byrne, 2012). Hence, a

---

[131] This did occur, but only during three interviews throughout the research. Nevertheless, the notes allowed an outline transcript to be written shortly after discussions.

[132] Express Scribe audio-player software combined with a USB PC foot-pedal proved a valuable ally in facilitating the accuracy and speed of this process.

[133] Notably, this software method struggles with multiple voices, such as are common in interviews.

[134] For example, the AHRC (2016) policy p. 114, http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/documents/guides/research-funding-guide/.

greater bond of trust, openness and hence revelatory discussion is enabled when the interviewer honestly represents and is self-aware of their own position within the discourse (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Consequently, every effort was made to honestly represent my research's goals, non-judgemental but inquisitive interest and my own position within the discourse throughout the fieldwork encounters. This was an important part of gaining informed consent from participants to be recorded, and their comments transcribed and analysed as part of my research. Consent was obtained from all participants during initial email exchanges, and also re-confirmed at every interview's conclusion. Additionally, all interviewees were enabled to speak anonymously, if desired. This was not simply for the purposes of facilitating an open and authentic dialogue, but crucially to ensure no harm came to participants or their organisations as a consequence of our interactions (Fetterman, 2010; Kvale, 1996). While many respondents were happy to be specifically cited, others were more comfortable speaking anonymously, in which case pseudonymous identities were assigned[135]. Some participants asked, and were granted, access to review their interview transcripts before subsequently deciding their preference. Additionally, a few respondents asked and were permitted to review any specific quotations utilised in context, before making a final named attribution or anonymisation decision. Notably, for the activist respondents, given their particular prominence, it was judged appropriate to share a draft of the chapter focussing on them and permitting a pre-submission right-to-reply. There is a small degree of tension here, in that the authenticity of the insights gained are enhanced through the unambiguous identification of all respondents (Bryman, 2012; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). However, while this may be desirable for researchers, participants' needs must always be prioritised. Nevertheless, thankfully through identity anonymisation participant verbatim quotes could still be incorporated into the research.

5.3.   Interview Participants

Participant recruitment followed a similar pattern during each fieldwork phase. Throughout, a mixture of reflection, personal recommendation, direct approach and snowball sampling (Bryman, 2016) were used to identify and recruit study participants. However, efforts to promote the interviews via social media channels proved ineffective. All initial contact and arrangements were made via email. Upon a successful reply from potential interviewees, a further email gave more interview process details, including anticipated time commitment, along with a brief narrative of my research. It was at this stage that initial participation consent was sought, along with ensuring participants were

---

[135] See *Fieldwork Interviews* for the full list of those individuals whose interview quotes are cited.

aware of the anonymous contribution option. Overall, more interviewees were willing to be cited, than requested anonymisation

Phase 1: Recruiting Practitioners

To scope the state of the UK's OA publication field, it was concluded that interviewing leading university-based OA practitioners would be the most suitable respondents. Since these individuals normally collaborate with academics and administrative support departments across institutions, they were ideally placed to provide cultural native insights into a broad spectrum of organisational publication related activities and attitudes. Due to strong prior links with the OA practitioner association UKCoRR (Johnson, 2012), their Chair facilitated my participation call to their membership. Additionally, as a former UKCoRR Chair, I also made some direct approaches where practitioners were personally known. The overwhelming majority of respondents managed institutional repositories and were situated within a library service, with a few being based in research offices or research and enterprise departments. An initial target of approximately thirty interviews was envisaged, however as the interviews progressed many new concepts continued to arise. Consequently, I decided that capturing insights from across as broad a sample of UK institutions as was practical would provide an invaluable firmer grounding for my analysis. Hence, in total one hundred and twenty-five institutions, representing the majority of the UK university community, were approached, with eighty-one institutions represented in the final sample[136]. Interviews ranged in length from between twenty minutes to almost an hour. Reviewing those institutions who engaged revealed that significant coverage of the main research intensive institutions, as signified by their membership in the Russell and 1994 university association groups (1994 Group, 2013; Russell Group, 2013) was achieved. Additionally, the more teaching focussed universities, including those belonging to groupings like the University Alliance and the Cathedral or Million+ Groups (CCUK, 2013; Million+, 2013, UA, 2013), were also well represented. A broad geographic UK institutional representation was also achieved[137]. Respondents were encouraged to be frank in reporting their perceptions of local normative practices and policy, and this was broadly successful. Only, a limited number expressed reservations that their comments were not construed as official organisational positions.

---

[136] See *Appendix A: Table 3: Institutional Responses to Interview Requests (Phase One)*.
[137] See *Appendix B*: *Figure 1* for a geographic view of responding, and non-responding locations.

Phase 2: Recruiting Academics and Publishing Actors

For the second fieldwork phase a broad spectrum of publishing actors were approached, including academics, publishers, funders and learned societies[138]. These actor groups had all been identified during the prior fieldwork phase as possessing significant agency relating to OA within the academic publication field. After reflection on the research goals, and with reference to the overall research project timescales, approximate target numbers of interviews for each actor group were established[139]. Pre-interview exchanges, organisational websites, and preliminary discussions also provided useful background information on participants and their organisations, helping ensure a satisfactorily inclusive interview sample was approached. Importantly though, achieving satisfactorily broad qualitative insights, rather than reaching these quantitative targets determined the data collection endpoint. An anticipated interview length of ten to twenty minutes was envisaged, and generally validated in practice.

While, as discussed below, personal recommendations helped facilitate introductions to academic participants, representatives from non-academic actors were generally approached without them. Without such personal routes of introduction, I correctly anticipated that the positive response rate for the non-academic actors would be smaller. Where initial approaches contacts proved unresponsive, further approaches were generally made six weeks later, which yielded some success. Whereas individual, specific academics were approached, for the other actor groups organisational native-expert observers, ideally positioned at a senior level, were the most desirable interviewees. For the publishers, this was usually a managing or senior editor, while for societies typically an individual dealing with publications, communications or media relations was approached. For funders, senior staff members dealing with publication policy matters were preferred. For the governmental bodies, where possible, the most visible civil service member servicing the various committees or departments was initially targeted, as it was anticipated direct approaches to ministerial figures would likely be rebuffed. Notably, it often proved impossible to readily identify these specific individuals, meaning I employed the less-preferable tactic of approaching generic organisational email addresses.

---

[138] See *Actors: Appendix A: Table 4: Academic Publishing Field Actors Approached for Interviews (Phase Two)* for a breakdown of all organisations approached.

[139] See *Appendix A: Table 5: Actor & Academic Interview Responses (Phase Two)* for an overview of the success rates arising from approaches made.

Identifying Academic Participants

Concerning respondent recruitment, during the practitioner interviews participants agreed to aid in identifying potential academic contributors to this anticipated later fieldwork. This was intended to facilitate achieving successful interview engagements, through stressing the personal recommendation (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). I emphasised potential academic respondents should be practising UK researchers, with a likely willingness to engage, rather than possessing any demonstrable OA knowledge. Despite some practitioners proving uncontactable[140], a potential sample of almost eighty potential academics from across the UK university sector was identified. Academics were approached incrementally over a three-month period to avoid the potential risks of having too many willing candidates to handle at once and an anticipated subsequent diminution of interest any delay could create. Interviewed academics were also asked to recommend other colleagues who might be willing to be interviewed, which yielded a few supplementary candidates. While acknowledging the apparent prior bias within the OA discourse towards the STEM subjects (Eve, 2014a; Gross, 2012; Webster, 2012), it was decided to incorporate academics from across a broad sweep of all disciplines in the interviews. Hence, rather than narrowing the research focus to only consider a community subsection, inclusive, diverse and revelatory data outputs would hopefully be obtained. It was initially intended to recruit individuals balanced across three criteria: *disciplinarity*, *academic seniority* and *university grouping[141]*. However, given the relatively small potential-interviewee sample pool, this was not practical, as identifying sufficient suitable contacts from ancient and the newest universities proved elusive. Hence, the diversity favoured a spread of potential candidates balanced across disciplines and seniority, yielding twenty-one interviews from thirty-four approaches[142].

Identifying Funder Participants

Research funders support academic research through investing financial resource, demonstrating a more clearly defined functionality than publishers or societies. While there are many smaller, often charitable funders, the major UK funding bodies are readily identifiable (RIN, 2008). Arguably, through shaping the publication environment, and especially with OA mandates being introduced, it is funders who have displayed a crucial economic-derived agency. Additionally, the RCUK and HEFCE's current functions as both funder and governmental-related "*non-departmental public*" policy bodies (HEFCE, 2016b) does slightly muddy the water, as their roles are less clearly delineated into one grouping or

---

[140] Due to moving roles or leaving institutions since my 2013 contact, or simply ignoring my email.
[141] Broadly speaking, their departmental affiliation, institutional role and university founding period.
[142] For a breakdown of academics approached by discipline and seniority see *Appendix A:*

Table 6: Academic Demographics: Approached and Interviewed (Phase Two).

the other. Clearly, with such crucial economic and policy influencing roles RCUK and HEFCE needed to be represented in this study. Hence they, along with the other seventeen major UK funders, were approached, resulting in eleven interviews.

Identifying Governmental Participants

The UK government's involvement and agency within the academic publishing field has been arguably instrumental through utilising high-level policy and funding to drive other actors' responses (Finch, 2012; Great Britain, 2013). Ideally then, the inclusion of governmental figures, notably those involved in parliamentary hearings on OA, would have been valuable in trying to develop a greater appreciation of their activities and rationales within OA discourse. Additionally, a number of closely related policy bodies, lying outside of government itself but with a likely agency relating to academic publication, were also approached. It was hoped these, along with the overlapping HEFCE and RCUK, would enrich and broaden the insights into UK national publication policy. However, it was anticipated that engagement with respondents from this group might prove especially problematic, as only formal lines of communication were available. Identifying key figures to approach was made more complex after the 2015 governmental transition following the Conservative party's UK general election victory (BBC News, 2015b), shortly before this fieldwork began. While initial replies seemed potentially fruitful, with only two interviews achieved[143], the response was disappointing. While these interviews were valuable, it was regrettable that appraising the governmental position from a broader sample proved impractical.

Identifying Learned Society Participants

Societies had also been previously identified in the first interview phase as possessing significant agency, along with being perceived as problematical actors in terms of power-relations and shifting political-economic roles in publishing. Interestingly, strong binary positions have been witnessed through societies' OA policy stances and related public discourse[144]. Consequently, they are intriguing as entities run largely for and by academics, but who remain locked in struggles around their changing relevance and diminishing publication revenues (Anderson, 2014a; Darley et al, 2014). Additionally, there is little clear definition of what comprises a learned society (Great Britain, 2002), as they can be small and specialised in disciplinary interest, or large and engaging more broadly with a subject field. Some also have roles in maintaining professional standards. However, after reviewing numerous learned society websites, I concluded it was possible to broadly typify

---

[143] Given the overlap of HEFCE and RCUK with governmental policy setting actors, it is arguable that 4 interviews might be attributed here. But I have chosen to count these under the funder column.
[144] See *Chapter 4: External Environment* for a discussion of this issue.

them as representative member-led organisation, possessing strong communication functions to their membership along with external actors, likely affording them not inconsiderable agency. However, it is in the blurring of function witnessed between that of a society publisher (ALPSP, 2015) and a membership community, which positions learned societies within a potentially conflicted, turbulent and fascinating dichotomy in the academic publishing field. Despite this lack of definitive functional clarity, a number of lists of UK learned societies exist and were utilised to develop a potential participant list (HMRC, 2015; Wikipedia, 2015). After any defunct, charitable heritage, corporate membership and text publication societies were discounted as being out of scope, the remaining organisations were grouped by disciplinarity and current membership levels. From this a potential sample mix of twenty organisations drawn from across all broad-disciplinary areas, incorporating large and small memberships, were contacted, yielding eight interviews.

Identifying Publisher Participants

The traditional role of academic publishing is facilitating the distribution of research and scholarship and enabling quality assurance mechanisms, although Anderson (2014b) claims their total contributions are much more. While much criticism has long existed (Barassi, 2012; Gross, 2012; Ingram, 2012; Laine, 2015), especially in the wake of shifts to digital and OA dissemination, of the robustness of such claims, as Eve (2014) highlights, not all commercial publishers, especially those within the humanities, share the same operational ideologies. Nevertheless, the commercial publication industry has played a central role within research dissemination, and seems poised to continue during any arguable transitional period to OA (Finch, 2012; Houghton & Swan, 2013; Tickell, 2015). Hence, it was vital to include a broad sample in this study of representatives from commercially intensive and smaller independent academic publishers. A potential participant list was collated through drawing on two information sources. Firstly, by considering those organisations with active representation at the major annual UK academic library-publisher conference (UKSG, 2015). Secondly, by identifying the publishers behind the top forty journal titles, rated by impact factor[145]. Amalgamating these lists produced a varied shortlist containing slightly over fifty organisations. Due to my research's UK focus those publishers with a UK base of operations were prioritised as candidates. Finally, three exclusively OA publishers were added to provide further contrast and breadth of opinion.

---

[145] Incorporating all academic disciplines, with the data sourced from the *Science and Social Science Journal Citation Reports* (http://admin-apps.webofknowledge.com/JCR/) and the *SCImago* ranking indexes (http://www.scimagojr.com/journalrank.php?area=1200).

This process produced a final list of twenty-one potential participants who were approached, from which eight interviews were achieved.

Phase 3: Recruiting Academic Activists

During the research's development I became aware of various individuals who could be classified as UK-based OA academic activists. While perhaps not satisfying an orthodox reading of Gramsci's organic intellectuals (Bocock, 1986), nevertheless, these people had arisen from within the labouring academic classes, achieving a prominence and engendering practical counterpoints to the legacy publishing hegemony. Including a limited number of in-depth interviews with some of these activists who, in contrasting ways, are working to enable OA dissemination, offered the potential to add invaluable additional context in terms of genuine societal impact within the evolving academic publication field. After consideration, five groups or individuals were identified[146]. In each case, they were responsible for operating pioneering services, experimenting with novel economic models or engaging in counter-hegemonic action against the predominant legacy publication model. With the exception of the Leicester academics, I was familiar with them to some degree, easing initial approaches.

Firstly, a group of University of Leicester management academics, Simon Lilley, Kenneth Weir, David Harvie and Geoff Lightfoot[147], were identified. They had attempted to publish a paper in 2013 in the journal *Prometheus*, which specifically criticised the owner's practices, the publisher *Taylor & Francis* (Harvie, et al, 2013). The article applied a critical economic and quantitative analysis to the exploitation of academic knowledge labour and also commercial publishers' extensive profitability and questionable practices. This paper was initially declined for publication, not for quality reasons but rather due to criticising the publisher, although it eventually appeared in a modified format (Jump, 2014c). Given the apparent censorship and breach of trust in response to this act of academic incitement, their insights and experiences represent an especially fascinating area to explore. It was hoped the discussion would provide insights into the rationale, tactics and reactions behind an arguable direct provocation to industrialised publishing's ideological base. Additionally, it would contribute to understanding the complicity of academics who are driven to publish, simply to achieve sufficiently creditable measures of research prestige capital.

---

[146] See *Appendix A: Table 7: Activists Identified and Approached (Phase Three)*.
[147] Notably, all four were willing to speak with me, but due to scheduling constraints I was only able to arrange for Lilley and Weir to be available at the same time.

Secondly, Martin Eve and Caroline Edwards[148] are the academic project directors behind the *Open Library of Humanities'* (OLH[149]) 2015 establishment, which represents an "*economic, social and technological platform for a transition to open access*" (OLH, 2015). As an alternative to the funded-gold OA model, the OLH is partly supported by institutional subscriptions, combined with funding from the Andrew Mellon Foundation. Specifically, the OLH offers a serious challenge to the commodified legacy publication sector within the humanities, where OA activity has traditionally been less successful at penetrating (Eve, 2014; Koh, 2014). For humanities researchers arguably side-lined within OA discourse, the potential shifting of dissemination power-relations this suggests, presents an intriguing new development to examine. Additionally, the OLH also provides a crucible for the exploration of issues of long term fiscal stability and models of research prestige for academic-managed publication services. The ongoing surge in institutional backers along with the November 2015 defection of the Elsevier's linguistics title *Lingua's* entire editorial team to the OLH hosted *Glossa* title (Matthews, 2015; Shore, 2105), further underscored the effective activism, impact and disruption potential from this nascent endeavour.

The next activist group have helped shift an arguably traditional established publication actor, through revising the operations of a long established university press towards a more open and accessible operating model, coupled with a localised author focus. Established in 1899, Liverpool University Press (LUP) is the third oldest university Press in the UK, after Oxford and Cambridge (LUP, 2016). For many years though, it has struggled to find its niche and reportedly has been close to closure on multiple occasions (Barker & Cond, 2015). The arrival in 2004 of a new Vice-Chancellor at Liverpool, Drummond Bone, revitalised the Press, resulting in a significant growth over the next decade in the books and journals it published. Andy Barker and Anthony Cond are, respectively, a senior librarian, and the managing director and commissioning editor (LUP, 2015). They are an example of related institutional staff whose collaboration has been a key theme within LUP's shift to this newer model. Their activities can be interpreted as being representative of the struggles to create a counter-hegemony from the academy to the orthodox publishing field. Justifiably this growth in agency is worthy of examination.

In contrast to LUP and OLH, which host or publish a range of titles, noted communications scholar Christian Fuchs is the editor and co-founder of the OA journal *tripleC*, and passionate exponent of the diamond, non-corporate or free-gold OA publication model (Fuchs & Sandoval, 2013; TripleC, 2015). Specifically, *tripleC* represents an example of a

---

[148] While both were initially approached, Edwards opted to let Eve handle the interview.
[149] https://www.openlibhums.org/ - The Open Library of Humanities site.

long-surviving non-contributory-fee diamond OA journal. Adamantly framed within a more OA purist operational ideology, Fuchs and this journal represent a practical and sustained thread of resistance to commercialised publishing. As an established and respected journal editor, his experiences over the past decade of managing its publication presents a useful contrast and comparison to other more recent OA journal foundations.

Finally, there was Bill Hubbard, the Nottingham based CRC head, who had been instrumental in many green OA developments, within the UK and internationally, through developing the SHERPA services suite (CRC, 2013; Hubbard, 2015). While his perceptions concerning the evolution of UK OA would have been valuable in contextualising the practitioner perspective, as he did not respond to approaches, regretfully he is not represented within the data.

5.4.   Developing Interview Question Themes

The adoption of a semi-structured interview approach allows for the exact questioning order to be varied. Nevertheless, throughout the interview phases the opening question always utilised what Spradley and McCurdy (see Fetterman, 2010, p. 43) call a "*grand tour question*". This was intended to elicit a broad appreciation of each respondent's experiential life-world, while easing them into the interview process. Subsequent questions then focussed the interview into specifics, before ending with the opportunity for the interviewee to expand or elucidate on any topic previously discussed. A combination of main topic open questions augmented by follow up probes were utilised to choreograph interviews. Open questions served as tools of discovery, whereas the probing follow-ups tended to be utilised to confirm particular insights or opinions expressed (Fetterman, 2010; Phellas et al, 2012). Hence, main questions were phrased relatively broadly, prefaced by contextual information, setting the scene along with highlighting each one's research relevance. Consequently, interviewees were encouraged to respond as expansively and relevantly as possible. In practice, some interviewees addressed some topics without being questioned, with gentle probing used to explore and amplify their answers.

Questions were verbalised as naturalistically as possible, with effort particularly expended to adjust phrasing to reflect interviewees' comments or terminology, situating inquiries within their own common vocabulary (Rubin & Rubin 2005). This was sometimes necessary in response to an interviewee reflecting the question back, or seeking clarification as to what was being asked. Generally, as the fieldwork continued, I gained a greater appreciation of the specific vocabularies in use by different actor groups, assisting my questioning's clarity for participants. All interviews utilised interview templates, protocol documents which outlined the major topics along with potential avenues of follow-up

questioning. These were created as a researcher *aide-memoire*, helping to engender a flowing, productive and revelatory interview conversation (Bryman, 2012; Fetterman, 2010; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Participants didn't usually have sight of these, diminishing the likelihood of their presenting rehearsed statements or corporate straplines. Given the benefits of serendipitous exploration of topics, closing down any unanticipated segues risked diminishing the insights gained. Nevertheless, some potential interviewees requested to preview questions as a condition of participation, which was granted. In these cases, additional effort was expended to probe into their responses, in an effort to restore a greater naturalistic exchange and exploration.

Phase 1: Questioning Practitioners

The first interview fieldwork phase was intended to scope the field of activity across the UK, through speaking to institutional OA practitioners, including repository managers and librarians. The intention was to create a narrative overview of the scope of activity and responses to OA across the UK HE environment. Simultaneously, an appreciation of how the academic community, university, and other actors, were perceived to be *responding to the challenges and opportunities* of open dissemination was desired. In preparation for the later phases of work, I was particularly interested in isolating areas of *perceived influence actors*. Finally, driven by my own experiences as an OA practitioner and my initial impetus for commencing this work, I sought to gain a greater insight into the *obstacles* between the academy and a *greater embrace of an open scholarly commons* praxis. After reviewing the literature, reflecting on my research questions and theory, I identified seven specific questions[150]. Hence, interviewees were asked to discuss with respect to OA: an overview of organisational activities, perceptions of their local academics' engagement, how their university had responded strategically and operationally, local obstacles and finally what actors possessed the most agency over local publishing practices. This last question was intended to help define those actors who would be approached in the second fieldwork phase.

Interviewees for the most part were able to answer questions in some considerable depth. Notably some struggled with questions on influence actors, while a few others who were newer in post were less confident answering questions concerning their organisation's historical OA embrace. One lesson derived from these interviews was that the number of main question themes was perhaps too many. Combined with follow-up enquiries, this had resulted in some particularly lengthy interviews with more loquacious respondents. This

---

[150] See *Appendix A: Table 8: Core Interview Themes: OA Practitioners (Phase One)*.

presented less of an initial data capture problem, but consequently represented a greater than anticipated time demand for transcription and analysis.

Phase 2: Questioning Academics and Actors

The second fieldwork phase sought to develop on the insights gained during the previous phase. Inquiries broadened to include academics, along with representatives drawn from a range of major actors within the academic publication field. Topics of inquiry evolved from a consideration and reflection centring on the research questions, theoretical intellectual framework and outcomes from earlier fieldwork. From prior experiences, I decided to narrow the number of question themes to four, augmenting the research's focus. Additionally, this brevity would assist practically, as I expected, due the seniority of some anticipated participants, that a reluctance to devote much time to the interview exercise might be evidenced. Consequently, it was concluded the best focus would be achieved through exploring actors' *engagement* with dissemination, *attitudes* towards OA, relations with sources of *influence* and visions of *future* dissemination evolution. Because academics publishing behaviours and power-relations reside at the heart of my research into the academic publishing field, in contrast to the other dissemination actors, the specific questioning lines I adopted subtly varied, although overarching themes were maintained[151]. While a dialogue was possible for most participants, three actors[152] chose to provide textual responses rather than grant an interview. This did, perhaps, diminish the sophistication of information obtained, but nevertheless their responses remained of interest.

Concerning specific questioning lines for the academic participants, I firstly enquired about their research *dissemination habits*, with an eye towards establishing an understanding of the rationale and mechanics of any personal praxis evolution. Secondly, the questioning turned to their *attitudes* towards OA's concepts and practices. This also sought to contribute towards a broad examination of their attitudes and *understanding of open dissemination*. Thirdly, to better appreciate the power-relations around which academic publishing field's influence is constructed, respondents were asked to reveal those *communication vectors and actors* to which they ascribed *reliability, credibility and visibility*. Finally, acknowledging the academic agency over the configuration of future research communication, it was desirable to establish what concerns and aspirations towards its *ongoing evolution* they held. Notably, this final aspect was intended to be especially valuable, as the same question was posed to all interviewees in the latter two phases.

---

[151] See *Appendix A: Table 9: Core Interview Themes: Academics and Actors (Phase Two)* for an overview of themes and specific questions asked of academics and publishing actors.
[152] The Leverhulme Trust, the Scottish Parliament and the British Sociological Association.

Meanwhile, the other dissemination actor representatives' interviews were intended to complement and develop themes arising from the academics. Hence, firstly they were asked to outline their organisation's *perceived contribution* within the research dissemination field, particularly highlighting any recent operational reconfigurations. Secondly, to consider the turmoil and dynamism operating within research dissemination practices, their *organisational position* relating to ideas of *scholarly communication openness* were explored. Thirdly, contrasting with the academics' perceptions of influence, representatives were asked about their organisation's *involvement in the wider OA discourse*, and particularly any public policy positions adopted. Finally, they too were asked for their *perceptions on future academic dissemination practices*. Notably unlike the academics, the actor representatives interviewed were encouraged to provide expert native cultural observations viewpoints of their organisation's responses (Handwerker, 2001). They were addressed ethnographically as culturally native individual observers, introducing an exciting element of personal vérité to responses and insights, allowing them to go beyond 'official' organisational public positions. This ensured a richer narrative and encouraged a sense of reflexive critique by the participants during the interview exchanges.

Phase 3: Questioning Activists

The interviews with the four academic activists[153] were envisaged as bringing a greater context to those with other actors, and hence were intended to be longer conversations. While effort was made to ask some broadly similar questions, a number of bespoke lines of questioning were followed to permit a fuller exploration of their differing experiences, perceptions and activities. Hence, the focus for Lilley and his Leicester academics' interview was on developing the background and rationales behind their experiences, while situating their personal, professional and organisational responses to resultant events. For Eve and Fuchs, who through their operation of two emergent yet dissimilar, non-legacy, open dissemination organs, representing academic-led OA publishers, the questioning focussed on rationalising and comprehending their respective operations. Similarly, the LUP representatives were questioned about their rationales and experiences from their involvement in transitioning an organisation with over a century of legacy-model publication, to embrace a disparate OA production model. Despite these bespoke focusses, three key themes were explored with all activists. Firstly, the *driving motivations* behind their adoption of an academic activism stance relating towards publishing. Secondly, a question of any *personal and professional impacts* resulting from assuming such a stance.

---

[153] See *Appendix A: Table 7* for a summary of those approached, and *Chapter 8* for a detailed review.

Finally, like the academics and actors, they were questioned for their insights towards the *future formulation* of academic publication[154].

5.5.   Analytical Methods

Shaped by my research enquiries and theoretical framework, the final step in configuring this research's approach is to outline the analytical methods employed. As noted earlier this research's fieldwork has been framed in ethnographic terms, which lends itself towards particular analytical methods. In my case, it is an ideological critique of fieldwork data which forms the central analytical method. Additionally, in preparing, managing and familiarising myself with the data, a qualitative content analysis (QCA) protocol was employed. I shall, hence, outline the background, suitability and practical protocols employed for each of these methods.

Ideological Critique

Ideological critique can be defined as any form of scholarly criticism that bases its evaluation upon issues which commonly are political or socio-economic. To adopt an ideological critique is to utilise the chosen ideology as a lens through which to filter the hidden underlying messages within the discourse and texts extant in the examined social sphere (Berger, 2011). These kinds of ideologically-framed messages are responsible for influencing the thoughts and beliefs of those who are repeatedly exposed to them. These messages pervade society, and as such their ideological payloads become invisible to most observers, rendering them unable to separate them from their banal everyday experiences. Among the strongest and most well-established forms of critique is Marxist, which as previously discussed centres on the modes of production and dominance of capitalist ideology at every strata of society. It is possible to develop a purely Marxist critique through incorporating particular elements of other ideological stances.

For example, one of the most prevalent capitalist ideologies with significant impact in the educational sector is *neoliberalism*. Harvey (2005, p. 19) comments that neoliberalism has two interpretations. He suggests it either operates as an "*utopian project to realise a theoretical design for international capitalism*" or as a political project, wherein the conditions allowing for the economic elite's capital accumulation and power base to become restored and strengthened. In practice, it is the latter of these interpretations which seems to offer the greatest degree of validity. Neoliberalism maintains its dominance over the subaltern through promoting a state of false consciousness wherein maintaining the status quo is espoused as the preferable societal goal (Berger, 2011). For

---

[154] See *Appendix A: Table 10: Core Interview Themes: Activists (Phase Three).*

workers, any intrinsic discomfort from this mode of existence is assuaged through the rise of *consumerism* and *commodity fetishism* (Louise, 2013)*, although this offers only a transitory and partial relief. As an intrinsically self-centred competitive ideology, neoliberalism and its engendered consumerist culture enhances *privatism* and espouses the belief that the whole human community is a mere abstraction. The main achievement of neoliberalism is therefore not a creation of wealth but a redistribution and concentration into the capitalist elite's hands (Hardt & Negri, 2009). Thus, it can be considered that economic-based relations in society shape the cultural institutions and the consciousness of those individuals who live within it.

Therefore, as neoliberalism pervades the culture of academia, so it determines the culture and beliefs of those working within it (Harvey, 2005). Globalisation of HE allows the cultural imperialism engendered by the capitalist ruling classes to spread their ideology further. Therefore, as this approach is explored and an ideological critique starts to form, it is possible to readily identify aspects of the academy which bear neoliberalism's hallmarks. The operation of neoliberalist capitalism for example has demonstrated a predatory, de-possessing function which transforms public and common wealth into private property (Hardt & Negri, 2009). This aligns with the stance adopted by the publishing industry. Likewise, moves to embrace OA and apply creative commons licences to publications represent a perceptible threat to their established dominion. It is not inconceivable how commonly held assumptions that the natural sciences form the knowledge economy's engine, while the humanities represent non-productive failures, likely have their roots as a consequence of neoliberal ideology. Thus, when considering any lacklustre response to ideas of the digital commons, OA and academic knowledge sharing, an ideological critique begins to offer potential revelations[155].

Consequently, utilising ideological critiques of the academy's engagement with OA represents an essential and robust analytical interrogative. Informed by the particular awareness of the societal saturation of neoliberal and consumerist ideologies within HE, it is anticipated that this intellectualisation and problematisation of the discourse and praxis related to OA will yield considerable insights, through drawing on and applying the schools of methodological thought discussed previously.

---

[155] These revelations, are explored in *Chapter 6.*

Ethnography

A development from anthropological studies, ethnography represents a broad observationally based method, which owes its theoretical heritage partly to phenomenological and constructivist approaches. The latter forms the primary theoretical foundation of contemporary ethnography, as it focuses on the role of ideas, norms and discourse in shaping outcomes within a society (Walsh, 2012). Unlike *ethnomethodology*, which focuses on understanding and describing the interactions on small scale within cultures by individuals and small groups, ethnographic approaches paint a broader picture of examined cultures. This detailed *thick description* is usually framed in the context and language of the culture observed (Fetterman, 2010), identifying informants wherever possible to lend authenticity to the narrative, while strictly respecting any requested participant anonymity. Ethnography encompasses a wide field of methods which focus on understanding the common-sense knowledge underlying a given culture or society. Primarily it is interested in the actions taken by individuals within their peer groups and hence examines the mundane and everyday aspects of society which sociologists commonly overlook (Berger, 2011).

It is not possible to view culture directly as it comprises configurations of cognition, emotion and behaviour which are unique to individuals within their specific societal realm. Hence, ethnography seeks to understand the ways through which people make sense of their activities, to themselves and others, which due to variances in their life experience leads them to view the world differently (Handwerker, 2001). A key assumption is people within a given culture share underlying common understandings which need to be exposed by the researcher. Unlike ideological critique, it does not seek to interpret what is observed but rather endeavours to understand the ways in which the people observed construct and make sense of their lifeworld. Participation and observation are often a key ethnographic method component, although knowledge of the researcher's status as a cultural investigator by informants can affect the degree to which society functions, codes and norms operate *in vivo* (Bryman, 2012). Consequently, researchers attempting to position themselves as participant observers may need to spend considerable period of time integrating within cultures, managing impressions through dress and behaviour, and learning to handle cultural gate-keepers. Only once sufficient confidence is attained between subject and researcher, are deeper revelations about a culture likely to be achieved.

Thus, teasing out what people know, within a rationalised intellectual framework, is at the heart of ethnography, since every individual is a cultural expert of the societies they inhabit (Handwerker, 2001). Consequently, ethnographic researchers are concerned with uncovering the norms, values and rules governing and give meaning to behaviour within a social group. Nevertheless, overcoming the barriers that exist to understand and contextualise people's actions can be challenging (Edger & Sedgewick, 2002), as expressed cultural values and meanings may be so radically divergent from those held by the researcher that misinterpretations can occur. Thus, most ethnographic research undergoes a dialogic process of *member validation* wherein initial conclusions are shared with the communities studied (Walsh, 2012). They in turn identify any misinterpretations, misconceptions or erroneous conclusions drawn by the researcher, ensuring the final evaluations are grounded in the informants' lifeworld. Such validation was achieved within my work through formal and informal results sharing with many of my respondents, during the research process. A particular strength of the ethnographic approach in generating original revelations is how it gradually builds a picture through repeated subject interactions, rather than utilising any pre-determined intellectual framework (Mikula, 2008). Researchers are also encouraged to embrace a reflexive approach, highlighting where their own subjectivity may have coloured the analysis (Fetterman, 2010), in line with the importance Foucault ascribes to reflexivity and scepticism within fieldwork (Mills, 2003).

Ethnography is not without its critics, since as a qualitative method it relies on the building up of trust and rapport with informants to generate data. There are also some who question the validity of ethnographic findings, labelling them stories and dismissing narrative evidence and thick descriptions as valueless (Handwerker, 2001). Risks exist that data may be manipulatively exploited in some manner by the researcher (Walsh, 2012). Hence, researchers must openly and honestly represent their informants' authentic insights in a credible and rigorous manner, while acknowledging their own reflexivity (Fetterman, 2010). Such risks are further reduced in studies where an *overt* rather than *covert* observer role is adopted and through embracing member validation. Nevertheless, in any ethnography there is a necessity to withhold full disclosure to maintain the sociability and openness of informant exchanges. Implications and findings from ethnographic work may also have ramifications for the informants which can restrict aspects of subsequent publication openness. Accounting for this sensitively, while not diminishing the work's revelatory nature, is an important research and fieldwork consideration.

While my research doesn't attempt to construct an ethnography of HE, nevertheless this approach does allow the adoption of a broad and flexible range of fieldwork methods for researching into the academy's publication cultures. In many regards, the research I am conducting could be typified as representing an innovative application of ethnography pushing into exciting new areas. This is because while recognising the constructions of ethnographic method, I am adopting the approach in describing and exposing the norms of an everyday culture within which I have been long enmeshed. Hence, rather than needing to overcome barriers to achieving relationships with gatekeepers, or understanding the societal *lingua franca*, I will be able to begin from a stronger, informed *in vivo* observer position. Combining this position with my constructed intellectual framework allows for a very powerful narrative analysis of the academic publishing field to be developed. As such, ethnography offers a remarkably powerful tool. Particularly, in seeking to understand mundane activities *in vivo*, it helped systematise the cultural constructs and norms expressed by academics and other actors. Given the allotted timeframe and extensive prior professional relationships within the UK HE sector, an *overt-participant observer* role formed the most practically achievable field-researcher stance (Bryman, 2012). In adopting this overt observer stance, this research mirrors also the long-established ethical stance of openness prevalent throughout OA discourse. Hence, wherever possible the research's findings and considerations will be shared with other scholars[156].

Qualitative Content Analysis

Finally, a QCA process was adopted, to facilitate managing fieldwork data and emerging ideas within it. There are a number of benefits to adopting this method, not least in providing a 'systematic and flexible' (Schreier, 2012) qualitative approach to handling and describing fieldwork data in a meaningful way. Firstly, the repeated close readings of transcripts the approach requires, permits a deeper understanding of the nuances and concepts within them to emerge. Hence, this brings a focus which helps identify overarching themes, concepts and perceptions. Particularly, it assists in exposing what Kracauer (*ibid*, p. 15) called "*latent meaning*", contextual significances which does not immediately 'manifest' from a surface reading of data. The approach also assists the researcher in summarising the considerable volume of collected qualitative fieldwork data into a more manageable, reduced state. Utilising computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software like *NVivo* (Durham, 2011; QSR, 2013) provides especially powerful tools, which further facilitate this method. Importantly, NVivo is not itself an analysis method, but rather assists comprehension during the analysis process allowing researchers to easily

---

[156] Through the OA availability of this thesis, conference participation, publication and personal communication.

'integrate, organise, explore, reflect and interrogate' (Silver & Lewis, 2014) data in a variety of helpful ways. These include the ability to readily apply, modify and revise data coding (segmentation); along with rapidly retrieving context specific quotations, generating data visualisations and perform text searches. Additionally, it provides a route to safe-keep emerging research considerations and thoughts. Notably, some might suggest the QCA approach lends too great a degree of positivism or quantisation to a qualitative based project, while others might argue it seems a somewhat reductive method. I might agree, were this the final analysis method. However, the data coding process merely acted as a tool, ensuring my familiarisation with the interview data and their themes was sufficient for me to successfully apply an ideological critique. Certainly my experience was QCA's flexible and systematic approach to qualitative data handling assisted considerably with the fieldwork research processes and activities.

Practically, the practitioner, actors and academic's transcripts all underwent QCA, which generated three separate coding schemes. Conversely, the activist interviews were not coded, but rather provided a greater context to the other interviews, along with offering rich narrative sources. Each fieldwork analysis phase started with a manual QCA process, commencing with repeated close transcript reading, facilitating an initial data-driven concept mapping coding-schema's construction[157]. This frame allowed the systematised description of the *conceptual concepts* or themes expressed within each interview to be assigned to specific *code categories* (Schreier, 2012). Alongside this process, a *codebook* was iteratively developed, providing a reference source which defined each described theme's typology and boundaries. This codebook helped ensure any conceptual meanings assigned to a category remained consistent. The frame was gradually refined into a hierarchical structure of categories and sub-categories, which broadly described the data, and was then recreated within NVivo. Subsequently, 20% of transcripts then underwent a *pilot coding* phase, during which respondents' comments were assigned to particular code categories. During this pilot process, where frame discrepancies or new categories emerged, the frame structure was refined to accommodate them. Once I was satisfied the revised frame adequately described the main data themes, the remaining interviews were also coded. Finally, a consolidation process took place, where categories whose coded entries had been observed as closely overlapping in meaning were revisited, and merged where strong conceptual overlaps were identified. NVivo was then used to aid in developing a narrative description of the themes elicited, and to assist myself in the critiquing process.

---

[157] Typically referred to in the literature as a *coding frame.*

5.6.   Reflections

I have outlined here, the approaches adopted and rationales behind my fieldwork endeavours. Through conducting an extensive range of qualitative semi-structured interviews with a plethora of actors within the academic publishing field, a considerable volume of empirical data salient to my inquiries was gathered for analysis. Additionally, by framing my research ethnographically, I ensured it presented an authentic and representative real-world insights into the UK academy's behaviour. Through adopting QCA I was able to manage this data, garnering sufficient understanding of it to allow my embarkation on an ideological critique of the responses. Furthermore, within my review of intellectual critique I have presented a method through which I can problematise and comprehend behaviours relating to the emerging OA publication paradigm and praxis. Hence, I shall now consider the insights this data provided.

Chapter 6: University Responses to Open Access

6.1. Background

While much has been written from a quantitative focus on the responses of academics to OA, a gap in the literature is apparent for an equivalent critical qualitative review (Fry et al, 2009; Owens, 2012, Rowlands & Nicholas, 2006). Where later interviews will clarify a better understanding of UK academics publishing behaviour, an exploration of the normative OA related practices within the British academy was firstly required to provide a contextual baseline. This work aimed to establish across a broad spectrum of UK universities a representation of the academic discourses, praxis, reactions and obstacles relating to OA currently in operation. Hence, having previously discussed the methods, this chapter provides an overview of insights and implications for this research that analysis of these findings provide. The insights from this work were expected to be considerably valuable in configuring the scope of the later research inquiries, which focused on academics and other key publishing field actors. Additionally, this fieldwork would establish and strengthen professional connections with UK OA practitioners, essential for facilitating access to UK academics from disparate institutions during the next fieldwork phase (Bryman, 2012).

6.2. Analysis

Following QCA coding and transcript review, six broad main themes were identifiable[158], which aligned approximately with the questioning areas[159]. These concerned activities and discourse around OA, perceptions of related policy, obstacles which open practice faced, along with the motivational and influential forces and actors responsible for configuring the OA publishing field. Additionally, a seventh theme specifically concerned with institutional repository operations arose organically, despite it not being a particular interview focus. An eighth theme, wherein the relevance of my research itself was explored by respondents, was also present. Hence, for each of these themes I will now provide a narrative of its key focuses, exploring through respondents own words their experiences and perceptions.

Theme One: Activities

The first theme that emerged related to practical activities and university responses to OA, which also represents a narrative of OA practitioners emerging responsibilities within institutional research hierarchies. Undoubtedly, the three commonest areas focussed on raising OA awareness, developing institutional responses to external policies and dealing

---

[158] An additional general theme captured interview biographic information.
[159] See *Appendix A: Table 8: Core Interview Themes: OA Practitioners (Phase One).*

with funded-gold dissemination cost concerns. Despite the long history of practitioners working to raise academic awareness and OA's increased media representation, advocacy remained a priority for the majority of respondents, although a noticeable agnosticism over routes was often expressed. As one respondent phrased it, they were "*encouraging the research community to get into the habit of depositing the accepted manuscripts copy of their published outputs, on acceptance for publication, regardless of whether they take a paid option or not*" (McMahon, 2013)[160]. Respondents delivered advocacy through a range of activities including "*writing skills workshops [and] guides to publishing*" (Stone, 2013)*,* "*presentations and sort of little lectures*" (Harrington, 2013), as well as meetings with academic department heads and research leads to enable them to "*disseminate further, in whatever way suits their particular school*" (Proven, 2013). Notably some training was also directed towards practitioners' departmental colleagues, seeking to engage with them in "*thinking about open access and some of the researchers' issues, and how we can address both those issues, and talk about Finch*" (Stevens in Machell & Stevens, 2013). For many respondents supporting individual academics who wanted to understand "*what's happening with the RCUK policies and money*" (Harrington, 2013) to enable funded-gold publication, was also a common task.

The changing roles of practitioners was exemplified by many interviewees through detailing their extensive dealings with REF 2014 preparations. As one stressed, it had been "*quite busy for a while with people getting their REF publications in, and so that's been a main focus of activity this year.*" (Dunne, 2013). This, along with working towards implementing a CRIS[161], were now common research-support tasks falling into OA practitioners' responsibilities. Interestingly though, only a few respondents reported extensively promoting these, rather than OA services. As one respondent noted, being associated with non-OA and OA systems had created some tensions since having raised the repository's profile, "*we then stopped because we had the CRIS. And we had to promote the CRIS. And then it was trying to get the message out again that, no [the repository] hasn't gone*" (Practitioner#04, 2013). It was heartening how many respondents talked of future marketing activities, illustrating that practitioners still perceived gaps in academics' knowledge, and hence likely engagement with, OA. Consequently, an 'imaginative' and

---

[160] While wherever possible named contributions are used to reference interview participants' statements, as suggested by Fetterman (2010), pseudonymous names are used wherever respondents requested anonymity. A list of all individual Fieldwork Interviews directly cited is given at the end of this thesis.
[161] Current Research Information Systems, often shortened to CRIS, are proprietary electronic databases systems, universities use to collate information on their researchers' activities and outputs. In contrast to the outward facing repositories, CRIS only contain publication metadata, rather the published works themselves, and are intended primarily for use by institutional research managers.

continued "*total blitz on publicity and raising awareness*" (Rowlands, 2013) remained at the heart of institutional practitioners' daily labour.

Turning to institutional responses to the external HE policy environment, the consequences stemming from relatively recent events including the Finch Report's (2012) and the RCUK's (2013) OA policy's introduction strongly resonated for many respondents. As McMahon (2013) pointed out "*the Finch report was published, then RCUK took out a policy position on the back of that, and everything changed*". For many universities these events clearly were a driving force still shaping internal policies, practical responses and influencing academics, something I shall return to later. Conversely, few respondents highlighted any institutional impact stemming from non-RCUK funder policies, along with HEFCE or the UK government's OA stances. Certainly for some these policy bodies were significant, as particularly HEFCE's latest "*consultation over open access to REF, to items going to REF after 2014*" had "*galvanised people's attention*" (Practitioner#05, 2013). It is probable to conclude that events subsequent to the interviews, including HEFCE's (2014) policy publication, would likely have increased their representation and impact. Whatever its respective institutional visibility, it was clear that this shifting external policy environment, coupled with additional RCUK publication funds, had shifted many universities' attention, internal policy and practical endeavours towards the funded-gold route. Many universities were developing "*workflows and processes*" (Rowlands, 2013) along with policies, "*decision trees*" (Daoutis, 2013), and guidance along with the anticipated "*mass of requirements on education, training, raising awareness*" (Rowlands, 2013) needed to support their academic community's engagement. For many respondents though, an undesirable consequence had been the reinforcement of the misperception that OA equated solely to gold, and particularly funded-gold. As Daoutis (2013) stressed "*gold has become more prominent*", which shifted focus away from green self-archiving repositories, yet while "*gold is one of the options*" like many respondents, they continued to support and "*encourage [academics] to go for green*", although advocating all possible OA routes.

Interestingly, many respondents from smaller or less research intensive universities noted they were "*not actually a big recipient of [RCUK] funds*" and didn't "*have a huge number of publications emanating from our research council funds*" (Practitioner#06, 2013). Consequently, these universities did not "*have as much of a problem in addressing the policy as some of the larger research universities*" (ibid), and were able to escape the strictures of funder policy compliance and the necessity of instigating extensive internal workflows. Even some universities receiving RCUK APC funding faced financial challenges in supporting all of their academics who desired funded-gold publication. A few respondents,

from many different sizes of institution, described efforts to meet any publication fee shortfall through "*trying to bring in a central pot*" (Proven, 2013) to help scholars adopting funded-gold publication routes. Such a pot was generally an institutional resource, as only one respondent cited an individual academic department developing their own publication funding. The rise in OA policy attention, funding and visibility had resultantly had a positive impact for many practitioners, with some institutions increasing their OA staffing complements.

Conversely, a smaller number of respondents detailed operational problems stemming from institutional restructuring or job-losses with, as Muir (2013) notes, "*a couple of rounds of redundancies*", which had resulted in individual practitioner workloads becoming "*much, more heavier*" adding to "*already heavy workloads*". Nevertheless, a reported general rise in staffing numbers and institutional importance seemingly reflects in the wake of Finch, funder mandates and the REF 2014, OA practitioners increasing centricity to university dissemination practices. This raised importance and profile, had also contributed for many respondents to a closer integration of practitioners into institution-wide structures. Links with steering or operational groups with "*a wide range of senior representatives*" (Practitioner#07, 2013) from disparate institutional stakeholders, were frequently reported. Overall though, many UK universities' respondents reported an increase in OA related practical activities, and workloads, which recently had really '*gained in momentum*' (Practitioner#08, 2013). Certainly, perceptions that external policy shifts had provided an effective stimulus were strong. Yet, despite this general trend there remained a not inconsiderable number of institutions where respondents still reported sluggish activity levels, where "*things have been sort of rumbling along since then, with a sort of slow burn*" (Practitioner#09, 2013). Hence, arguably the recent policy environments have engendered an uneven response across the UK academy.

For OA practitioners, there has always been a strong connection to technical infrastructure work, often conducted in collaboration with IT colleagues. Notably, many respondents highlighted that institutional emphasis in this area had increasingly prioritised CRIS instigations or operations alongside or over repository infrastructure developments. In a considerable number of institutions, CRIS were reported to be integrating with or replacing local repositories. As Kent (2013) said "*We've done a very soft launch of the [PURE] service that is taking over from the repository*". Nevertheless, as their responsibilities broaden, repository practitioners have seemingly been able to more effectively valorise the institutional context of OA activities. This was highlighted as respondents detailed interoperability efforts "*to integrate with various [external] web systems*" including

"*Altmetrics, OpenAIRE…REPEC*" (Stewart, 2013), along with enhancing their repository's web presence, further valorised their institutional and academic worth. Yet, such valorisation came at the expense of the prior green OA focus, and an increasing shift towards providing hybrid repositories. Stone (2013) summarised the institutional drivers for change saying "*We went from being purist full text only to 'a single point of truth' is what our Pro Vice Chancellor for Research calls the repository*", as a consequence of institutional research aspirations. Such a shift towards a more pragmatic, and less OA idealist or purist full-text, ideology and service ethic seemed for many respondents to be the consequence of the increased visibility and criticality they now held within institutional research dissemination processes.

OA practitioners' broadening roles were also reflected in various activities, which while not widespread are worthwhile noting. These included facilitating locally hosted OA journals, emerging OA university presses, incorporating involvement in national projects such as being "*part of the JISC pilot for the APC Pilot*" (Practitioner#10, 2013) or repository metric services like the "*IRUS-UK project…[for] counter compliance statistics and, aggregation*" (Stewart, 2013). Interestingly, while the interviews probed for all aspects of scholarly openness, few respondents discussed open education or data issues. This may represent a siloing of OA related activities or staff who were interviewed within institutions, perhaps explaining why where open education work was reported, it was not highlighted as a particularly widespread activity. It is possible to consider that this isolation of individuals with similar ethics to openness in scholarship within institutions could represent a strong cultural barrier to engendering more effective and widespread open scholarship practice. Given that open education currently lacks the same financial incentive as matters pertaining to the REF[162], this may have contributed to its diminished representation, or it may simply have been a consequence of the respondents' lack of familiarity. This latter reasoning may have contributed to explaining why open data, with its closer research links, was a more commonly described and increasing area with a "*new flurry of activity*" (Practitioner#11, 2013) resulting from funders' introduction of data archiving policies. Nevertheless, for some it remained a seemingly daunting practical prospect, as Thomas (2013) described it "*Research data I don't believe anyone has a clue*".

---

[162] Although in the light of *Success as a Knowledge Economy: Teaching Excellence, Social Mobility and Student Choice* (Great Britain, 2016) white paper's linking student satisfaction with funding, this may change.

Theme Two: Discourse

Moving away from practical activities, interviewees often described the elements of OA discourse that they had typically witnessed within their local academic communities. Perhaps disappointingly many respondents reported how overall OA related discourse remained scattered, occurring within pockets across universities. As Molloy (2013) explained only some "*academics have been really engaged with it, really aware of what's going on*" whereas "*others are still sticking their head in the sand, trying to pretend it's not real*", indicative of low background debate levels. Tonally though, respondents typified what discourse there was as demonstrating a mixture of positive, negative and neutral reactions. As Rigg (2013) said "*I've not had anyone really come up to me and say 'Well I'm just not interested [in OA]'… It's more indifference than outright hostility*". Overall, while the majority of respondents had increasingly encountered positive discussions and reactions to OA, less positive responses were still regularly witnessed   Such negative discourse typically was characterised as comprising a blend of confusion, scepticism, reluctance, apathy and fear. Sometimes this negativity was centred within particular departments, as Butler (2013) explained "*I've had none of their [department's] academics ask me for any support on open access. All I get is a phone call and a rant for half an hour about how rubbish open access is*". Elsewhere, some respondents perceived opinions were more institutionally widespread, that OA was "*a bad thing… I'm hearing quite a lot of rumblings against gold open access, not in favour of green*" (Henderson, 2013), or even experiencing academics who were convinced that "*the repository is there to make them go to jail, and to court.*" (Practitioner#12, 2013). These issues are certainly also reflected in the OA barriers, discussed later.

Respondents in many institutions also noted specific individuals who had risen to embrace roles championing OA. Some were positive as Practitioner#10 (2013) explained "*We've got a few big advocates of open access but I would say they're still in the minority at the institution*", while elsewhere there could be "*a couple of fairly key academics within arts and humanities who are very against open access.*" (Kent, 2013). Overall though, respondents more frequently reported more positive OA champions, than any resisting it. Some respondents also identified early career researchers who had taken to championing openness, often perceived as a natural extension of their fresh insights into research practices. As Stone (2013) phrased it "*a number of what I would call early career and the younger academics are seeing this in quite a positive light. I think they get it. They understand it's another way to disseminate their research*" (Stone, 2013). Typically, such junior champions could emerge from "*across the board*", being as likely resident *'in the humanities as in the sciences'* (ibid).

One frequent observation from many respondents centred on the disciplinary differences and open practices encountered across the institutions. Typically, it was scholars within STEM subjects like physics, maths and computers science, who respondents represented as possessing a positive "*almost automatic*" (Practitioner#13, 2013) engagement with OA. Meanwhile, in the AHSS disciplines these "*different schools embraced*" OA less enthusiastically, with some in the humanities favouring more neutral, cautious, "*quite cynical*" or even "*very negative*" attitudes about it (Keene, 2013). This disciplinary split, while long accepted, is a troubling stereotype normally attributed to differences in research dissemination praxis (Burgess, 2015; Wickham, 2013). Thus, it was heartening that AHSS disciplinary examples existed who were represented as engaging positively with openness. As, for example, Jones (2013) explained "*History have been very good, History are a small department but they've all put their stuff on [the repository]."*

However generally, respondents reported academics displayed very variable OA awareness and practical engagement levels. As Cole (2013) stressed, recently there had "*been a huge increase in...activities and interest just sparked by a lot of what people have read*". Similarly, while many respondents reported increasing engagement, commonly this had grown from a very low basal level, and was rarely uniformly rising across individual institutions. As Bisset (2013) summarised, it varied "*between department and between faculty as well, even between individual researchers as you might expect. Some of them are quite engaged...generally, generally most people are fine with open access an idea*". For other respondents, their university's engagement had only slowly taken off, but were "*gradually getting traction with it now*". Yet, despite this there often still lacked any "*wide spread commitment to it amongst academics*" (Lucas, 2013). While academic engagement changes were often derived from respondent's perceptions, some also viewed increases in green repository deposits as providing an encouraging indicator. As Practitioner#05 (2013) noted with pleasure, they had "*over doubled the amount of full text we have in the repository*". However, for others the deposit rates remained far less impressive, "*Despite best efforts, full-text deposit rates are only around 22% of total academic output*" (Practitioner#14, 2013).

Moving to consider specific OA topics observed within the institutional discourse, commonly respondents perceived their local communities to be concerned with issues around funded-gold OA publication costs, sometimes in contrast to the alternatives. As Practitioner#05 (2013) explained, academics were "*concerned about the cost of gold*", fearing being "*disadvantaged if everyone else's work is available open access*" and they were unable to adopt this publication route. Yet, clearly "*the whole push for gold from*

various places" had raised academics' OA awareness, but could also change the "*impression people have of the green route*", explained Practitioner#15 (2013), as it bypassed the "*perceived cost of the gold route*".

Interestingly, only a few interviewees reported encountering academics concerned with ethical matters around emerging economic models of open dissemination, like double dipping or funded-gold publication payments. As Goodfellow (2013) encapsulated it, there was a "*degree of concern*" from some scholars that "*institutions would still be paying for the foreseeable future journal subscriptions, and potentially, ultimately be paying article processing charges as well*". Interestingly, only a few respondents perceived that their academics were concerned about the barriers to scholarly publications for the general public. Conversely, many respondents perceived that their academics desired traditional dissemination routes to continue. As one respondent explained, academics often perceived that OA "*isn't the same as the traditional publishing models. That the quality isn't as good…[or] as academic as the traditional models of publishing*" (Practitioner#16, 2013). Consequently, "*quite a lot of traditional academics*" were reluctant to change how "*they publish and have always published*" arguing that "*whoever needed to read their work*" already could (Proven, 2013). Despite this reluctance, many respondents discerned to varying degrees, how increasing academic numbers were beginning to engage in discussions around OA practices. As Fairman (2013) explained some academics were "*beginning to think 'Oh how the heck? What's going on?...is this going to affect where I publish?'*". The general impression was that a creeping awareness of a publication sea-change was beginning to arise across the UK academy.

Finally, while respondents reported little academic discourse around open education or data practice, some interest had been displayed in OA monographs, particularly from scholars within AHSS disciplines. As Proven (2013) explained for scholars in these disciplines monographs and book chapters were "*such a massive thing for them in terms of what they publish.*" However, because OA monograph financial and process models remained relatively immature in contrast to articles, many scholars felt that they were not something as of yet with which "*they could easily engage*" (ibid).

Theme Three: Policy

The third theme focussed on issues relating to institutional policies and responses relating to OA. Here, many respondents particularly stressed the role that university research dissemination mandates played in configuring their institutional environments. As Daoutis (2013) typified such an institutional advantage through being "*lucky enough to push the research committee and have a mandate since 2005. So we were among the first*".

174

Similarly, many other respondents viewed institutional mandates as a considerable boon towards advancing institutional OA progress. Meanwhile, where respondents' universities lacked a clearly defined OA mandate or policy, this was often perceived as being problematical in terms of achieving an underlying and visible top-down support towards developing institutional OA engagement. As Wolf (2013) explained, this seemed to demonstrate a lack of "*clear institutional ownership*" of OA, with a resultant confusion when academics sought guidance. However, he stressed that for such a policy to be effective, it needed to derive its agency from within the academic corpus. Hence, he lamented how institutionally they "*don't really have an open access policy at the moment because we haven't consulted with the academics yet*" (ibid). Nevertheless, some respondents believed these local policy omissions would be countered through the emerging funder policies to provide the missing institutional impetus. As Dunne (2013) phrased it "*We don't have a mandate, but, in a sense the funders have done that for us in some ways*".

How local mandates were actually implemented varied widely across the respondents' universities. Certainly, the impression from respondents was that most institutions were content with the introduction of 'light-touch' and seldom monitored policy directives, rather than enforced mandated requirements. As one respondent explained, their institution's compliance monitoring approach, "*No one's really beaten people up for not doing open access… I don't push it, it's still [the academic's] choice. So then there's no sanction or anything like that.*" (Practitioner#17, 2013). While this practice is line with institutional mandates globally (Swan et al, 2015, p. 10), consequently it seemingly renders them as organisational positions, rather than operational imperatives. Additionally, in some cases lexicological legerdemain had been employed to conceal or represent any 'mandate', as simply a policy stance. Respondents rationalised these approaches as a tactical decision, enacted to sidestep restrictive publisher licence agreement clauses, which would otherwise forbid some OA dissemination avenues. Consequently, one respondent explained "*Now that the publishers are changing their policies to say if you've got a mandate*" then more restrictive OA licence terms applied, rationalising how they would "*leave [the mandate] hidden*" (Watts, 2013) to sidestep any potential difficulties.

The rise of university mandates and policies chimed with other responses concerning the stance and institutional ownership of OA. Most respondents saw that their institutions were now leaning moderately or better towards supporting OA's ideals and practice. This had been considerably helped in many institutions through the close involvement of senior academic managers taking on a visible lead. As Daoutis (2013) explained, their efforts

benefitted now OA was "*one of the top messages by the Vice Chancellor*" every time they publically discussed publication, contrasting how "*Until the Vice Chancellor took notice, there is no comparison with what we did before*". For some interviewees a 'gradual progression up the institutional agenda' had been followed in recent years by a "*massive surge because of all the external factors*" (Proven, 2013). Clearly, for many respondents this surge had been a consequence from the emerging governmental and funder OA policies tied to research income, and the critical relationship this held for institutional sustainability. Elsewhere though, while OA was increasing in institutional importance, respondents commented that any rise directly competed with other strategic or operational institutional priorities. As Spalding (2013) explained "*it's simply not at the top of the agenda…it's just not a high priority because there are other things that are taking priority right now. In light of student fees and recruitment.*" Hence, despite policies and senior managerial involvement for some universities, for many other institutions OA was still perceived as remaining at a lower university priority. Some interviewees also expressed the perception that their senior management remained unconvinced of deriving any benefit from OA, and hence it occupied a diminished position within institutional priorities. Some interviewees also stressed, this kind of muted response presented an obstacle for anyone seeking to develop a practical institutional response. "*We're not seeing it as a big thing, we're not going to put those resources behind it, we don't believe, this [institutional] policy is really sustainable. And, just so long as we tick the boxes and are seen to be ticking the boxes then, that's all you've got to worry about.*" (Rowlands, 2013).

Concerning the OA route institutions favoured, most universities were still in a process of developing a coherent position. As one respondent explained "*as a university we haven't come out and said yet, what we're doing in terms of the formalities of green and gold.*" (Practitioner#18, 2013). Yet, where respondents reported a policy lean towards a particular OA route, surprisingly green was most commonly favoured. Another interviewee explained how they had "*an open access policy now. And the university as an institution...[has] a green view on open access*" (Practitioner#09, 2013). Such a response was despite the recent, post-Finch attention towards gold OA dissemination, additional RCUK publication fee support and extensive institutional infrastructure facilitating academic workflows in satisfying APC costs. As another respondent affirmed, "*We are very strongly behind green open access and that's the official line that's been taken, with the Finch reports results as well*" (Practitioner#19, 2013). Notably, from a limited number of institutions, there was also a sense of OA route, or business model, agnosticism. Some respondents explained that it didn't matter "*whether you publish in hybrid, or pure gold or whatever, we don't give a monkey's*" (Rowlands, 2013), while others explained how they were "*very positive about*

green open access, we're very positive about gold open access" (White, 2013). For respondents like these, so long as academic research was shared openly, then institutions had little concern as to how this was achieved.

Curiously, while a cross-comparison with institutions abroad and their OA stances was not specifically investigated, some respondents volunteered their perceptions. Where any contrast was supplied it was almost universally offered against other UK universities, either direct comparators or perceived leading HE organisations. One practitioner explained their 'late' institutional engagement with OA had actually been beneficial, enabling them to say "'*Well actually it's happening in a lot of other institutions', so many other institutions in the same [university] group as us have got one of these [policies]*" (Practitioner#16, 2013). Accordingly, this underscored my beliefs of the UK academy's unique configuration, and certainly gives rise to perceptions of an underlying inward facing attitude within the sector.

Theme Four: Barriers

Better understanding the obstacles to achieving an OA embrace by UK academics remains an underlying driver for this research, and hence unsurprisingly this was an interesting, complex and very granular theme which emerged from the interviews. While many respondents reported mechanistic, policy or legal concerns, it was the academic community for a multitude of reasons, who were perceived as forming the most intransigent barrier to OA. Here, it was issues around academics' knowledge, attitudes and concerns about OA which most commonly were portrayed as obstacles to a wider embrace of open dissemination practice. These kinds of barriers were also often cited as the rationale for the strong focus practitioners give to marketing and training, although such perceptions will need to be contrasted with the academics' own in the later fieldwork. Particularly, many respondents expressed that a shortfall in scholars' understanding or insufficient awareness of OA formed a considerable obstacle. One respondent explained "*Open access is a difficult and complicated area even for those of us who've been embedded in it for years and years. Just even training my team to deal with the new changes has been fairly difficult*" (Practitioner#15, 2013). For other respondents though, barriers had become generated through misinformation, which had been propagated within the publication discourse. One interviewee outlined how "*a lot of bluster based on ill, either ill-informed information or no information whatsoever, no evidence to say this thing will happen or what will happen*" had created a confused and reluctant to engage academic community (Butler, 2013). Some respondents also identified specific academic knowledge gaps, such as "*the uncertainty of whether [academics are] able to*" engage with OA because the various "*different models out there from publishers [and] what the process is for making their material available*"

(Practitioner#20, 2013). Respondents also expressed that "*academics don't necessarily see the benefits of sharing*" arising from OA engagement, or dividends from the extra effort required in "*uploading a version of their documents*" (Allinson, 2013).

Academic dissemination attitudes were also perceived as a major obstacle, with many respondents perceiving a reluctance in adjusting to new publication praxis and cleaving to long established research dissemination routes. As Boyd (2013) summarised it, this was "*not hostility, but [a] certain amount of scepticism about open access we've heard from certain academics, who are very wedded to the traditional way of publishing*". Some respondents perceived how academic support for the publishing status quo was a consequence of ruling-bloc publication actors influence. Henderson (2013) suggested that academics' relationships, especially in the role of editors, with "*publishers and the learned societies*" who desired "*the status quo to continue and so are saying, no this [OA] is really bad*", had resultantly reinforced the publication practice status quo. Certainly, the arguable stereotypical academic perception as personnel, possessing a preference for an autonomous working mode, and resistant to change long ingrained habits was represented by many respondents. As Stone (2013) said "*my and many people's experience of academics is they're not particularly geared towards change. They've done one thing and that's how they like it*". Such reluctance, for some, stemmed from within particular communities, as Practitioner#04 (2013) said "*I'm thinking of one school in particular, where there's a very strong resistance to it. It's because it has become a culture*". For others though it seemed there would always be "*some who just really do not want to engage at all. And they will always be, there will always be dissenters*" (Stone, 2013). A less negative, but relatively indifferent academic response to OA praxis adoption was also evidenced by respondents, although this was slightly less commonly than outright opposition. As Jamieson (2013) saw it "*There's a fairly healthy dose of apathy out there. But I've not really encountered any...people who are sort of firmly against the whole idea*". Often, respondents linked such ambivalence to perceptions centring on academic workloads and their competing professional priorities.

Turning to other specific problems, certainly economic issues in various forms were a common academic concern to adopting OA practice. Respondents commonly noted that "*one of the biggest barriers at the moment is...funding for open access*", especially for scholars who were anxious because they were not "*privileged, or not doing research that qualifies for certain funding*" (Practitioner#19, 2013). A related monetary issue, saw some academics "*certainly in the arts and humanities*" (Bisset, 2013) fearing the loss of potential royalties from sharing work openly, that they would otherwise receive. Not all academics

are so lucky as to receive royalties, nor possessed of such capitalist modes of thought. Certainly, a number of respondents had witnessed scholars with "*a certain amount of philosophical difference [or] objection*" to the funded-gold route, "*objecting to giving additional money to the publisher*" over and above subscription incomes (Practitioner#15, 2013).

A considerable number of respondents commented on a further economic-related problem which had been expressed by their academics, the 'existential threat' faced by learned societies resulting from shifts towards a normative OA publication mode. This shift was perceived as creating problems because learned societies derived "*so much income from their journals*", and hence adopting OA, created a fear "*that open access publishing may actually stop those journals from being self-sufficient and therefore damage the society*" (Dick, 2013). Having "*hurt the [income-stream of] the society that they belong to*", could therefore consequently "*affect [academics'] ability to publish in the future*" (Keene, 2013), through reducing the research publication destinations available to them. Hence, some academics' reluctance to engage with a publication mode which could create future difficulties for their established publication practice. Given societies' prominence as sources of influence[163], this attitude could well be readily propagated across numerous disciplines. Although, represented as unrelated to economic stability factors, some respondents also perceived that their academics were concerned about threatening established professional relationships with academic publishers. As Cooper (2013) explained "*they're more worried about their relationships with the publishers and so on and so forth…it's the publishing culture where I think academics are basically frightened of upsetting their publishers*". Once again, respondents recognised that academic fears over damaging their ability to publish their research in the future presented a block to adopting OA practices.

Respondents also reported that such potential losses of publication destinations, also gave rise to related academic anxieties over compelled compliance with OA, and hence a loss of academic freedoms. "*We've had arguments about academic freedom [being] impinged*" explained Butler (2013), representing their academics' reluctance to being told "*where to publish*" by other individuals or actors. Certainly, for academics across many institutions, these seemed to be particularly significant concerns preventing their embracing OA practices. Academic fears also manifested due to anticipated violations of copyright law and potential legal repercussions. As one respondent explained it, "*The talk of licenses has got everybody worried*", and consequently academics' lack of familiarisation in this area had

---

[163] A topic discussed shortly.

"*scared the horses quite a lot*" (Practitioner#09, 2013). This fear, commonly attributed to scholars' lack of understanding of copyright and publication legalities is understandable, certainly given that another 'major issue' was "*the huge complexity of publisher policies. And how they interact with funder policies*" (Proven, 2013). Hence, the tensions which arose from the complexities of managing different funder OA mandate requirements, and the vagaries of publisher publication licenses, were identified as a particular OA barrier for scholars. For some academics this was expressed as something particularly "*impossible because it depends on which publisher, it depends who's funding them, it depends on embargoes. And they just find it really really complicated*" (ibid).

Given the problems of misinformation, lack of understanding and knowledge gaps which has given practitioners escalated attendant fears of adopting OA practices, it is understandable why they continue to devote considerable efforts towards OA advocacy and academic education. Yet, some respondents noted that such advocacy was itself at times falling short of making sufficient impact within the academic community. Respondents' rationalisation varied, but included such issues as communication failures, coherency problems, a lack of a senior institutional figureheads or ownership of OA. Some even criticised the practitioner community's drive towards advocacy as the most effective solution to OA engagement problems. One interviewee characterised this problematic 'more advocacy needed' discourse as unhelpful as telling an athlete "*if you've got a broken leg trying to [use it] more isn't going to enable you to run a marathon*" (Practitioner#02, 2013). While the failure of OA advocacy to connect with scholars may be due to multifarious local institutional issues, numerous respondents observed many obstacles that "*came down to practical logistics*" or were more mechanistic in nature (Fairman, 2013). Typically, as Clarke (2013) explained, insufficient time was "*the big one*" (Clarke, 2013) problem which challenged academics and practitioners alike in adopting OA practices. "*Nobody has the time to do this…there's a little bit more they have to do it themselves, which is a time commitment.*" (ibid). Such time resource problems had increased in the wake of HEFCE and RCUK policies and the raised operational institutional criticality which OA practice now represented. Yet, such practice was something which respondents noted was not always well "*supported in terms of staffing, providing support for academics or for the repository in consistent ways*" (Practitioner#13, 2013) from within available institutional resources. While some institutions were better resourced than others, some respondents commented that, as researchers were increasingly mandated to adopt OA practices, coping with any upswing in support presented potential support staff capacity problems.

Respondents noted that barriers to OA engagement generated due to academics' time or workload pressures, were being exacerbated by confusing workflows or procedural uncertainties within green and gold OA routes. As Kent (2013) explained "*Certainly a lot of the complaints I get from the researchers is that when they go to their journal of choice that it really isn't clear what options there are*". Some interviewees specifically identified that these kinds of issues were generated at technological interface points, with computing platforms and human operators identified as progenitors of systematic obstacles. Molloy (2013) for example admitted problems had arisen from the way their "*Symplectic Elements linked to the repository. You don't deposit in the way that people think that you should…we've actually created a bit of a barrier*". Conversely, Bogard (2013) highlighted how operational barriers arose due to "*Dare I say it, [the academics'] lack of computer skills*", reinforcing a need for continued training and support. Particularly, respondents noted that institutional repository platforms, had been criticised by their academic communities as lacking in ease of use. As Practitioner#21 (2013) explained "*the first problem we have at [redacted] is how easy it is to get that full text*" from sharing sites other than institutional repositories, especially when academic's perceived external sites including "*Mendeley, Research Gate etc., etc., [only took] them 12 seconds*" to share. Hence, for some scholars institutional OA systems were seen to be functionally the subaltern mode when contrasted with comparable, external research sharing sites.

Even when academics sought to share publications and overcame systematic issues, respondents identified that operational practitioner barriers within green OA remained. Primarily "*In terms of actually making the content available in our repository*" Lucas (2013), like many others explained that, "*obviously [obtaining] the permissions from publishers are a major obstacle*". While the experience of seeking permission to self-archive varied between different publishers, even when permission was granted, or allowed under license terms, obtaining a permissible publication version from academics to deposit on the repository remained a particular problem. As Daoutis (2013) outlined "*The biggest barrier for us to put papers on open access is the version*", explaining how while "*academics have the best intentions to put the paper on open access, but they're giving us publishers' versions*", which typically were restricted from being openly shared. Curiously, while struggles with publisher licenses were highlighted by many respondents, the impact from funder requirements were more rarely cited as creating obstacles. As Bisset (2013) explained "*in terms of the RCUK policy we haven't had as many requests, or contacts as we expected*", reflecting a currently low level of incidence. Yet, as they went on, problems certainly existed here since "*nearly everyone [of these] has thrown up some exception, either with the way the author's funded, or the journal they're publishing in not being quite*

clear in what's permitted or what options are available" (ibid). Hence, respondents generally anticipated that, as the number and variety of funders' disparate OA policies increased, these potentially risked creating significant future barriers, through the additional complexity they could add to an already confused academic corpus.

Finally, institutional policies, and the senior managers who enact them, were highlighted by some respondents as a barrier. These formed a particular obstacle where high-level institutional support was absent or lacklustre. As Practitioner#06 (2013) explained "*one of the other reasons we hadn't really advocated open access in the past is because the previous PVC had not been very open to it*". Additionally, competing strategic or operational demands, including preparing for REF submissions, were perceived by respondents as having diminished OA activities' institutional priority, particularly in the eyes of senior managers. As Stewart (2013) explained "*REF has really been eating up all their time essentially*", although optimistically hoping that opportunities might lie ahead for OA once "*the REF submission is done…the focus then might change*". Additionally, since many practitioners' roles overlapped with research management functions, any institutional REF focus had also increased their own workload, and consequently reducing their own OA focus.

Theme Five: Drivers

The next two themes, that of drivers and influences, which emerged from the interviews, share a close relation in action, but I have chosen to conceptually differentiate between them. The former, *drivers*, focusses on the actors who are able to motivate practical OA responses, while *influences* are concerned with actors able to shape the academic community's opinions and thoughts relating to OA. Hence, I will consider drivers first.

Libraries were seen overwhelmingly as "*acting as the main driver*" (Bisset, 2013) for institutional OA activities, although some respondents also noted how research offices and other service departments had collaborated to assist in helping with crucial developments. This key role for libraries was mirrored in perceptions of their roles as key influencers too but given that most interviewees were based in libraries, a note of potential bias must be acknowledged. Arguably though, the degree of effort and activities stemming from libraries that respondents had noted throughout the interviews, perhaps validates these observations. There was also a perception from the respondents that, for many years, libraries and practitioners had often worked towards OA in isolation. Nevertheless, many respondents represented that collaborative steering, oversight or "*research and data management*" (Practitioner#22, 2013) groups had now become more common place. As White (2013) pointed out, institutional OA was now "*a collective endeavour*", because it

was "*something which engages the whole of the university in different ways*". Hence, different university stakeholders brought disparate elements to the table "*Because all parties have a perspective here. Without it being a collective endeavour, in fact it's not so successful*" (ibid). Thus, steering groups provided collaborative divers towards activity, along with investment and support from senior institutional management. Additionally, many respondents noted how their senior university managers, sometimes along with other academics and service department colleagues, had helped champion institutional OA activities. Senior managers often also adopted the more formal role of institutional lead for OA. While managers at various levels of institutional seniority clearly contributed to this drive, it was the Pro-Vice Chancellor, or equivalent, with research responsibilities who was most often identified by respondents as the single most significant individual in this respect. As Bisset (2013) noted "*we've now got other academics and certainly the PVC Research and Education are very much in favour and helping drive that through as well*" (Bisset, 2013). Many respondents agreed with this perception "*We're very fortunate to have an advocate of open access in one of our vice provosts. And so he will also drive open access forward*" said Practitioner#19 (2013). Consequently, the disposition or stance adopted by these significant individuals could dramatically act against OA institutional developments, if they were so inclined. As one respondent commented on their less than ideal situation, "*People are meant to be driving, the changes and the new policies, the new way to be, [but] they are stuck in the past and they're completely...blind to anything*" (Practitioner#12, 2013).

Events and policy external to universities, were also seen to increasingly play a role in driving institutional OA activity. Most commonly the impacts stemming from preparations towards institutional returns for the REF 2014, had had a resultant subtle effect which respondents perceived shaped institutional OA related activities and priorities. As Dick (2013) commented "*The driver for the repository actually wasn't open access it was the REF, and ensuring there was a collation of all of the outputs to go to the REF subsequently*". Other respondents also identified REF preparations as spurring institutional drives towards integrating research information management and metadata processes and systems. Undoubtedly though, the impacts from the Finch (2012) Report's publication, along with the Research Councils (RCUK, 2013) and other funders' mandates, had also galvanised action across many institutions. In some cases, it was the instigating factor, as Bültmann (2013) explained "*The University of Cambridge has started open access service in response to the RCUK policy...And obviously we are very very busy*". Practitioner#05 (2013) agreed that Finch and "*the follow up with RCUK and everything has made people realise that we're serious about this*". Additionally, the introduction by RCUK and Wellcome of additional OA

publication funds in the wake of their mandates, had for many respondents also instigated more active involvement and attention to open scholarship praxis by senior academic managers. As Butler (2013) explained how now "*the RCUK had coughed up money. And quite a lot of money as well, from our perspective*", had helped refocus academics minds and even reinvigorated "*efforts to encourage academics to adopt open access as the default*".

Finally concerning drivers, many respondents discussed the historic instigation for their institutional OA activities, for which the vast majority had been through the foundation of a local green repository. Even those respondents from institutions which still lacked a repository were uniformly seeking to instigate one soon, in spite of a national policy environment favouring gold[164]. Most interestingly though, while some activities had begun earlier, the years 2005-8, and especially 2007, had seen a peak in institutional OA activity commencing. This peak period correlates with Jisc's funding becoming available to institutions to develop a repository infrastructure, once again identifying the role capital has played in spurring OA activity (Jisc, 2010). There were also some omissions in terms of perceived driving forces. For example, despite early career researchers and doctoral students perceived openness to new ways of working, respondents did not perceive that they contributed an effective driving force. Likewise, very few respondents attributed any significant motivational agency to any internal or external non-REF research metrics.

Theme Six: Influences

The final main theme focussed on those publishing field actors whom respondents viewed as being responsible for influencing academic OA related thinking and perceptions. It is an interesting area, whose results will shape later investigations[165]. It should be noted that within the analysis, most respondents did not attribute particular perceptions on the direction nor intensity of the identified actors' influences, although there were some exceptions. Significantly, those actors who respondents most commonly perceived as influential were disciplinary academic peers, scholarly publishers, research funders and learned societies. As these effectively comprise the traditional research dissemination stakeholders, unsurprisingly they were strongly represented. "*They listen to their [subject] peer groups and their publishers*" explained Practitioner#05 (2013), while Practitioner#23 (2013) was among those who noted that academics were most certainly "*aware of the RCUK requirements*". Practitioner#07 (2013) agreed that academics were "*probably*

---

[164] As the interviews took place prior to 2014's HEFCE REF 2020 consultation, which reintroduced a particular role for green repositories, these were mildly prophetic operational moves.
[165] Notably that reported on in *Chapter 7.*

responding to their own peer groups", but additionally were aligned to "*what their societies are saying*".

Certainly, while the role of learned societies as influence actors was clear, so too were a number of respondents' perceptions that some societies represented an ideological opposition to the development of open scholarship practice. As Practitioner#22 (2013) explained "*it's unfortunate in the social sciences with some of the statements from the professional bodies*", that as at times they felt it was possible to witness "*a lot of the [misleading] myths being propagated thorough the professional societies*". Stone (2013) characterised that some of this misinformation implied "*'people who get stuff for free are morally corrupt and therefore more likely to plagiarise and steal. Whereas people who have paid for a journal article, won't do that'*". Certainly, if societies were influencing academics' attitudes, such statements could adversely sway them away from engaging with OA dissemination practices. Publishers too were often represented as presenting a resistance to the OA's development, although it was, respondents acknowledged, adopting such a position risked potentially polarising consequences, as was seen in Gowers revolt (Cost of Knowledge, 2012). Certainly, publishers were perceived to be willing at times to distort the discourse around OA to favour themselves. As Practitioner#17 (2013) commented "*I think they're [academics] getting open access messages from publishers, which say 'Open access means pay to publish'*". Some publishers were also regarded as attempting to influence academic perceptions, towards adopting the funded-gold route as normative practice. As one respondent commented, they were "*using online submission systems to automatically channel [academics] to the gold open access rather than, even though that publisher does offer a valid green option*", before concluding that they thought "*publishers have more influence than we might like*" (ibid). Clearly, publishers and societies were perceived by respondents as key influence actors. Nevertheless, the validity of any perceptions of these bodies as actors actively opposed to OA, will be worthy of reconsideration in the during later fieldwork interviews.

The media, who in recent years have increasingly covered OA developments, were perceived to play an influential role. Many respondents noted that academics were "*seeing bits and pieces in the Guardian and the Times Higher*" (Rowlands, 2013) about OA. Surprisingly though, no other named news sources were directly identified, although possibly this may be a consequence of the interviewees' limited knowledge of media sources consumed by academics. Nevertheless, many respondents also indicated how key disciplinary journals along with their editorial staff played an influential role, although specific titles were rarely identified. In contrast to external news sources, and despite often

their focus within practitioner advocacy efforts, respondents perceived that internal guidance notes, briefings and training played a much less significant role in influencing academic opinions.

One surprising area, was the relatively small representation of HEFCE by interviewees. Given the interviews were conducted in the wake of the RCUK mandate (Finch, 2012; RCUK, 2013) but before the HEFCE launched their revised OA Policy (HEFCE, 2014b) this may have been responsible for a diminution of their perceived influential status. Despite this low representation, they should not be discounted as important actors, as were the interviews to be repeated today then their influence would likely be more commonly acknowledged. Indeed, as Meehan (2013) agreed "*if HEFCE go ahead and say it has to be open access and it has to be open access at point of publication*" then this "*would be a big hit, especially if they do it this year while everyone's still running around panicking about it*". Additionally, very limited significance was attributed to the UK government's role in influencing academics. As Practitioner#06 (2013) explained "*I don't know that the government saying open access is a good thing is necessarily going to influence anyone though*". Nevertheless, respondents realised "*the implication of the government saying that on the other bodies who will have an impact on them [academics]*" (ibid) means they couldn't be discounted as influential actors.

Turning away from the external environment, within institutions senior academics, like Pro-Vice Chancellors, Research Directors, Deans and Departmental Heads, were regularly perceived by respondents to possess considerable influential sway. As Practitioner#14 (2013) explained "*Senior university management and heads of department are listened to as well. Generally, if they say do something, then the majority of the academics will comply*". Given the hierarchical bureaucratic-based power structures within the modern academy, that these actors wield such influential power is as expected. However, respondents largely viewed senior institutional actors' influence over scholars' publication practices as far less impactful than that held by academic peers. Specifically, institutionally significant or high media-profile researchers were seen as opinion leaders, although with a few exceptions most frequently only within their home university. As one respondent explained these academics "*don't have to be the deans and the professors, but they're people with respect from their colleagues who actually do a lot of work, extra work to [promote open access]*" (Practitioner#03, 2013). Yet, any influence these figures might wield, could work for or against the development of OA, depending on individual *weltanschauung* and disposition, or indeed their depth of passion. By contrast to the prior example, Jones (2013) explained the actions of one particularly opposed senior academic

"*who was very powerful and absolutely went berserk about the whole thing*" due to feeling pressured to conform to practice with which they didn't agree. Consequently, this individual even "*went round terrifying other people about it*" (ibid), in an effort to influence others to their way of thinking.

Conversely, while rarely occupying privileged or particularly visible positions within institutions or able to drive practices directly, junior academics[166], were also regarded by respondents as being potentially influential over other academics OA perceptions. "S*tudents can have an influence as well, particularly research students in this, they're possibly more open to it, and more understanding of repositories, being able to find things and valuing them*" explained Dick (2013), highlighting particularly their "*positive influence*" over supervisors. Proven (2013) agreed how many "*younger academics, the early career researchers and doctoral students and things, just have a much clearer acceptance that [OA is] the way to go*", particularly noting their influence on their peers' publication practices. Such an embrace of OA practices could be argued to be result from the predilection of new field entrants to challenge or reconsider established, orthodox practices (Barassi, 2012). Nevertheless, respondents also represented these junior academics as being at risk to becoming socialised into adopting the normative behaviour of their established academic peers. Typically, these junior scholars were identified as being "*more conservative than the academics*" as they were "*more concerned about getting published*" as part of "*climbing the academic ladder*" (Practitioner#09, 2013). Hence, desires to establish their professional academic careers and achieve reputational esteem capital through conforming to normative publication practices appeared to counter any personal desires towards openness.

Mention should be made of the regularity with which libraries were perceived to generate an influential swell. For example, Robinson (2013) typified this library influence as managing "*to be the voice of reason at times…and able to do some myth busting within certain meetings*", while Practitioner#22 (2013) explained that libraries "*try to identify the key people, and influence them. I do think they listen to us as well*". A note of caution must be sounded once more, as given that the vast majority of interviewees were based within library services, their standpoints may naturally have inflated the perceived influential impact of their efforts on the academic. Despite the positive influence that many respondents ascribed to libraries and practitioners, some respondents critiqued their effective influential impact. Keene (2013) for example outlined the problem saying "*certainly not enough of them [academics] come to library things to be really influenced by*

---

[166] Which include early career researchers, post-docs and doctoral students.

the library", although noting that influence may have occurred if practitioners' efforts had "*somehow influenced certain people who influence others*". Some interviewees took this critique further as library staff along with OA practitioners, and entire institutions, were identified as being ineffectual influence actors. "*The academics who are they going to listen to?*" explained Practitioner#24 (2013), suggesting regrettably that academics were "*not going to be listening*" to practitioners, but rather to publishing actors. McHaon (2013) agreed, observing how "*repository managers regardless of how motivated they are*" faltered as "*influencers in terms of university policy positions*". Whether any of these perceptions of practitioners' influences are valid, is a topic academic respondents may unpack.

It is finally worth noting the absence of influence actors who might have been expected to be identified by respondents. The role of international non-governmental organisations like SPARC, SPARC-Europe and COAR, entities such as the Open Knowledge Foundation or the ground-breaking Public Library of Science, might have been expected to have been highlighted, yet were not. Nor were prominent individuals from these organisations including Alma Swan or Cameron Neylon mentioned. Their absence as perceived academic influences may raise questions around if, despite widespread efforts, they are genuinely influencing academic practice, or visible only to a clique of already engaged scholars? Once again, academic respondents' insights may illuminate this topic.

Theme Seven: Repositories

This theme drew together concepts relating to local, institutional green repositories and their operations. While repositories were not a specific research focus, unsurprisingly since many interviewees worked with them, they were commonly discussed. Where most institutions had established them some years previously, for a handful of institutions, repositories remained recent innovations. As one respondent explained, initiating a repository was only the first step to embedding it within an institution saying "*We've now had a repository for 10 years, it's testament to the fact that it does take a bit of time to incrementally build up your service and your engagement.*" (White, 2013). Respondents noted repositories were often established using FOSS platforms. Typically, establishment projects were led by OA enthusiasts, and saw repositories initially embrace a purist full-text only operational ethos. Yet, this once prevailing attitude was currently shifting as in many cases what "*started off as a purely full text open access repository*" had become "*diluted with some full text and a lot of bibliographic records*" (Osborne, 2013). This embrace of hybrid repository function, where metadata-only records are provided alongside full-text documents, represented a significant shift in the essential functional ethos away from

document repository to research information management system. As one respondent put it "*we are effectively a publications database, we're not an open access database. We're not an open access service*" (Practitioner#02, 2013).

These operational shifts were also seeing repositories increasingly integrating, or sharing functionality with commercial CRIS platforms (Practitioner#01, 2015). Such changes were often linked to the preparations for the REF 2014 submission, and while respondents broadly welcomed opportunities to demonstrate the added value repositories and OA delivered, some respondents raised concerns over this dilution of purpose. As McMahon (2013) explained "A *DSpace instance was set up and it was filled, sadly in my opinion, with metadata only records*", something which he regretfully acknowledged was becoming normative practice being "*replicated right across the UK*". Perhaps consequently from this shifting institutional repository role, OA practitioners' operational ethos had also evolved towards serving institutional goals, over any ideological drive to contributing to creating an open intellectual commons. While enthusiasm for the OA movement remained, it was generally submerged within an envelope of dedicated workmanlike pragmatism. As one noted "*like a lot of universities the repository became something more about the metadata about publications, with open access on the side rather than being purely driven by open access*" (Keene, 2013). Such pragmatism may stem partly from service environment engendered though the situating of repositories and OA practitioners largely within a library, information service, or more rarely, research office environments. However, a more cross-departmental and collaborative approach to managing repository activities was represented by respondents in some institutions, especially as OA operations broadened beyond a simple green route. Robinson (2013) for example explained how responsibility was "*split then between the [library] technical services team here and the liaison team*". Practitioner#03 (2013) on the other hand explained the more disaggregated approach to institutional OA services with "*green open access is managed via the repository and the gold open access…will be managed through the repository with input from the research office*".

Finally, the realm of mangerialised measure and metric had not passed-by the repository practitioners, with some respondents reporting the adoption of quantitative success metrics against which they were judged. As one noted "*We have an interesting target of having 80% of the institution's output in it…I could very easily tell you how much we've got in our repository, I've absolutely no idea what a 100% is*" (Fairman, 2013). Where these were used, they seemed to be employed as aspirational rather than concretely achievable targets.

Theme Eight: General

A few themes emerged in the interviews about the nature of the research itself, and it is valuable to acknowledge them, in that they support this thesis' contribution to knowledge. Some interest relating to what further segmentation of the analysis might yield appeared, representing support for further work exploring contrasts and similarities across dissimilar institutions, especially between the research intensive and more teaching focussed universities. Indeed, some respondents expressed concerns about being left behind any emerging normative trends or as one put it "*I'd like to know how different we are. Are we out of step; are we in step?*" (Practitioner#25, 2013). Specifically, there were also questions from respondents highlighting the uncertainty about how any local institutional cultural norms might shape OA related activities, and suggestions as to "*whether it is the culture, the institutional culture, is playing a bigger part in all this than everybody recognises.*" (Practitioner#02, 2013). Overall though, there was a strong impression across respondents of interest in this research's progression and any insights it might provide for OA practitioners working in UK HE[167].

6.3.   Reflections

As intended, the narrative generated from this fieldwork has begun to develop a tapestry of the current attitudes, activities and behaviours within UK universities, as they contend with the evolution in OA research dissemination. Within this bigger picture there are clearly some areas which, when considered within my theoretical framework, shed light in answering my research questions.

Influence Actors

There are a range of voices, actors and agencies operating within the publication field, to which respondents' insights provided much about their identity and their influences. The configuration of power-relations within the academic publication field remains a key research question, and certainly there was evidence that a hegemonic dominance exists within it. A clear Gramscian hegemony ruling-bloc was identified by respondents, which comprised industrialised conventional publishers, funders and learned societies. This was certainly not a monolithic, heterogeneous bloc, and a variance existed between the influences which significant actors like HEFCE or major commercial publishers operated, and that which other actors possessed. The role of government was however more vaguely defined by respondents, but given their close working relationships with many funders, and control over university funding streams, their power situated within the economic base

---

[167] Consequently, efforts were made to disseminate some early insights back to this community (Johnson, G.J., 2014a-c, 2015a-c, 2016), to help validate research perceptions.

cannot be dismissed. Yet, as Marx would see it, academic authors despite their immaterial labour without which publication cannot occur, have long lacked the control over capital, means of reproduction and dissemination of publications. However, the emergence of digital dissemination routes and the expansion in new research dissemination forms, represent a significant challenge to this orthodoxy. Academics have been positioned with the potential to resist or gain a greater agency and autonomy over their publication practices. Consequently, it would be unsurprising to discover the ruling-bloc actors are reconstructing and consolidating their hegemonic domination through discourse, practice and policy to ensure that the OA forms embraced as normative, benefit and reaffirm their own power-base.

Nevertheless, given that libraries were perceived to drive practical OA responses, yet progress and academic embrace remains stunted, then doubts around their genuine degree of influential impact could represent a serious disconnection with academic culture. If practitioners have developed the OA infrastructure, but failed to sufficiently influence their academics, then this could represent a serious barrier to OA progression. Additionally, since practitioners are seemingly moving away from idealist positions, then has practitioners' advocacy work shifted from idealism to pragmatism and systemic compliance too? This would, from the interviews, seem to be the case, and represents a diminution in efforts to resist the capitalist, anti-commons legacy publication system. Whether such a pattern is replicated in the academics' experiences, can only be answered through engaging directly with them.

Certainly, the influence of capital within the publishing field was clear, as too was the increasing focussing of institutional activity and policy around gold OA. This raises concerns about the emergent controlling and coercive power-relations within institutions, as APC publication funds' disbursement presents new opportunities through which institutional research publications can be controlled. It is not inconceivable as more funders adopt OA mandates, that academics whose research is less favoured, considered less impactful or offers a poorer return on institutional investment, may discover publication avenues denied to them. Despite the funder mandates there are open and legacy routes to publication other than funded-gold available, but this potential diminution of academic freedoms at the hands of senior academics, seems to be an alarming possibility. This potential cultural of research stratification again represents the dangers stemming from the new managerialism dominating UK academic culture, where aspirations towards developing scholarly knowledge become subservient to the twin demands of metrics and balance sheet. OA practitioners clearly and regrettably have become complicit within these

processes as their increasing pragmatism and moves to embrace metrics demonstrates. Given the greater ease with which STEM research offers commercially exploitable impacts, perhaps here too lies further evidence to rationalise the resistance and reluctance of AHSS scholars on adopting new research dissemination practices. Such an alarming situation may not arise, but clearly the influence and position of those controlling such internal funds, possess a considerable economic-derived power to shape an institution's research publications which did not previously exist.

Clearly then as the academy and its operations are shaped through internal and external actors and events, within a neoliberal policy driven marketised sector it is impossible to escape from capital's pervasive influence. From the respondents' comments, a perception existed that through funders' mandates the linking of research income to OA requirements, a clear shift within the publication field towards capital was perceptible. Critically, it was apparent that this action had significantly contributed to elevating senior institutional management's interest and engagement with OA operations. Yet, such interest presents a two edged sword, for this high-level support brought with it a distinct change within institutional OA praxis towards a service delivery and expediency ethos. Hence, a perceptible creeping pragmatism within OA operations had arisen in many institutions, as practices which once had been configured towards achieving broader ideologically-derived goals of open scholarship, had now been transformed towards maintaining institutional finances. This creates a new problematic, as the institutional environment, while seemingly adjusting towards OA, risks becoming one within which challenging anti-commons practices is no longer institutionally practicable or expedient. Once again, despite the OA movement, knowledge productive labour risks continued commodification. Allied to such shifts, were perceptions of a second generation of OA practitioners arising[168]. Unlike their forebears, the enthusiastic and idealist early-adopters, these more recently appointed workers diverged from their predecessors' 'pioneer spirit'. Rather than representing an influx of recomposed workers, they had rather been socialised into accepting a corporatised service ethos. As the academy continues its seemingly remorseless embrace of a mass-market, neoliberalist configuration, such moves towards pragmatic and financially-centric OA operational models privilege the benefits to individual institutions over those of the public or scholarly commons. Consequently, it is unsurprising that practitioners' idealism has diminished.

---

[168] Some of my practitioner respondents were clearly members of this demographic, from comments made during our discussions.

While this research focusses on the UK academy's OA experiences, it was noticeable that most influence actor respondents mentioned, were situated in Britain. Such an insular view perhaps is representative of the uniquely British OA configuration, as most visibly demonstrated in the government's unilateral policy moves towards gold. Arguably, the British government's policies seem likely themselves to have been be strongly influenced by other ruling-bloc actors, notably commercial publishers who stand to benefit considerably, rather than any genuine ideological desire for greater openness. This contrasts with the international environment where a mixed economy of OA models are viewed as the more effective and sustainable routes (Babini, 2015; Ware & Mabe, 2015).

OA Barriers

Bringing a greater clarity to OA barriers remains a core desire of this research, hence critical attention must also be applied here. Certainly, respondents exposed a broad assemblage of barrier concepts, reflecting the enormity of the challenge they perceived faces OA adoption. Partly such diversity may reflect the peculiarities and bespoke configurations of cultural practices within different institutions. It also reveals the difficulties in comprehending the root-causes of cultural and practice obstacles. Indeed, this obstacle multiplicity itself speaks directly to the reasons behind OA's failure to connect with a broader spectrum of academics. With respondent practitioners perceiving so many barriers, from mechanistic through ideological to epistemological, efforts to resolve some of these will likely leave others unresolved or even create new ones.

Two kinds of barriers seemed particularly interesting. The first originates from a perceptible siloing of academics and practitioners working in different forms of open scholarship[169]. It is likely that such individuals would share a common ethos with those seeking to liberate scholarly publications. Doubtless, practitioners could benefit from establishing a closer collegiality, yet the apparent segmentation between these groups presents a strong institutional barrier in achieving greater openness. A similar barrier between OA practitioners, and those senior managers possessing policy-making power was also observable within some institutions. It should be acknowledged such disjunctions were not universally reported, yet that they exist within some institutions offers a demonstrable cultural difference between universities, and for some represents a genuine OA barrier.

---

[169] I am thinking here particularly of the open data and education communities, but as I acknowledged earlier, there are other forms too.

Secondly, barriers centring on academics' OA knowledge were also characterised as strong obstacles. Such knowledge gaps were also being exacerbated through 'misinformation' or confusion within OA discourse and practice. Notably it is conceivable that ruling-bloc actors may deliberately introduce such confusions, as a consequence of their adjustments to ensure their hegemonic position. Naturally, perceptions of such academic knowledge gaps or confusion may be valid, although it must be acknowledged that considerable practitioner effort has focussed on addressing these issues. Hence, partly it could be intuited that respondents were also attempting to underscore their own agency with the publication field. Additionally, for academics, issues around disciplinary cultural differences in OA engagement are a long reported perception. Respondents' reinforced the perceptions that STEM scholars were more likely to engage with open scholarship. Thus, the stereotyping of AHSS scholars then as open scholarship laggards, *refuseniks* or resisters within OA discourse[170], seems to have some justification. Although commonplace in the discourse, such behaviours are usually attributed to differences in research dissemination praxis favouring scholars for whom the journal is the principal publication channel. Yet, these interviews clearly demonstrate that many humanities and social science scholars are engaging, challenging these preconceptions. Hence, considering whether academics' knowledge or disciplines play a valid part in shaping their OA publication responses, requires further fieldwork exploration.

Platforms

Shifts in OA praxis were also perceptible through the platforms around which much institutional OA activities had centred. Originally, green repositories were built using inexpensive open-source platforms which embraced an underlying commons ideology. While staffing and service contract costs existed for these platforms, operational labour costs were often absorbed within pre-existing roles. Conversely, throughout the UK academy the current rise of proprietary CRIS platforms, vendor produced systems costing many tens of thousands of pounds to purchase and requiring considerable dedicated labour to install and maintain, stands in stark contrast. Additionally, CRIS are primarily designed to provide market intelligence and monitor academic publication outputs for senior institutional managers. Through such panopticonic monitoring and provision of managerial metrics, they represent the further institutional intrusion into research practices of neo-Taylorist and neoliberal ideologies. Such platforms also represent the technological deterministic stance pervading the academy and OA discourse. Here, the quest for a 'killer app' drives practitioners towards scientism or computerised solution to OA barriers, rather

---

[170] See the various discussions on AHSS scholars and OA in *Chapter 4.*

than engaging in critical reflections on the societal, epistemological or cultural obstacles which may exist. That institutional practitioners now are involved in working with or implementing such anti-commons research information management systems is concerning. It further exposes the prevailing shift away from an ideological idealist OA stance within UK institutions, while demonstrating the neoliberal context within which OA's conceptual 'self-evident good' has become embroiled.

Final Thoughts

From this fieldwork it has been possible to gain an appreciation for differing ways in which OA practices are developing across the UK academy. It can be concluded that while considerable strides towards establishing a normative OA practice exist, a multiplicity of ethical, practical and cultural issues remain which impede its progress. Not least among these are the widespread impacts resonating from a continued neoliberalisation of the UK academy, shifting it from the *age of activism* to the *age of pragmatism*. Certainly though, identifying the established and emerging actors, through whose influence OA discourse and praxis is configured, has been possible. Crucially, the degree to which specific actors affect the behaviour and attitudes of UK academic remains a complex question, and one requiring additional research engagements with scholars and other identified field actors. Additionally, understanding better where these actors sit within any academic communication hegemony, and their power-relations' operations, requires further investigation. There is also an intriguing question, which more than one interviewee alluded to: what form will scholarly communications finally take in a truly open world? From these interviews there is a clear impression that policy and economic drivers are steering the UK towards a funded-gold model transition. Yet, funded-gold is an answer which seemingly serves to reinforce the hegemonic ruling-bloc's economic power, diminishing the exploration of solutions which might favour an authentic, libre scholarly commons more strongly. The identified key actors will likely have varying views on any 'final' evolutionary OA form, which itself will shed further light on the struggles and indifference around OA within the academy itself. Hence, the question of what future they desire also needs addressing. These are also issues to which a small selection of academic activists, who seek to variously challenge such emerging normative practices, can also provide invaluable insights. Therefore, this too necessitates further fieldwork exploration.

Finally, while this fieldwork aimed to provide a grounded, contextual overview of OA related activity and discourse across the UK universities, the data could be segmented further, for example, collating respondents' insights by their institutional association

groupings or historical foundation wave[171]. Although this would be an interesting exercise, it is not my research focus. Nevertheless, such segmentation may offer a fertile basis for future investigations, concerned with contrasting particular university types' OA praxis engagement.

---

[171] See *Appendix A: Table 11 & Table 12*, for an overview of university associations, and their representation in my fieldwork, and *Appendix A:Table 2 & Table 13*, for an overview of institutional historical foundation waves and their representation in my fieldwork.

Chapter 7: Actors and Academics: Narratives, Power and Resistance

7.1.   Introduction

To contextualise the practitioner research, a second fieldwork phase was judged necessary to further explore the identified issues in more depth through engaging with identified UK scholarly communication actors. Along with rationalising these prior perceptions this phase aimed to deepen the understanding of the academic publishing field, through exploring the extant actor power-relationships' operations. As before, semi-structured interview methods were adopted to allow a naturalistic exploration, with participants drawn from prominent actor groups include ding; *publishers*, *funders*, *learned societies*, *government* and *academics*. These engagements were intended to provide a rich, thickly described narrative concerning these actors' behaviours, influences and interactions relating to academic research literature communication, and provide insights into their activities, agency and power-relationships.

Having previously discussed the methods[172] this chapter presents the emerging insights from my critical analysis of these interviews concerning the functioning of openness within UK academic communication. With such a rich interview dataset[173], its analysis represented a particular challenge, as many potential paths of exploration existed. However, given my thesis' space limitations, I have chosen what I believe is the most suitable approach to meet my research's aims. Thus, I shall firstly provide a general overview of each actor group, which will contribute a narrative context of their self-perceived power-relations, OA responses and ongoing academic communication operations. Subsequently, I turn to this chapter's focus, the application of my critique and analysis concerning the network and operation of power-relations revealed within the field. Throughout, I will seek to concentrate on highlighting the most striking and important revelations emerging. The subsequent chapter provides a complementary critical review of emergent open academic communication praxis through interviews with selected OA academic activists.

From the narratives I expose the general perceptions across the academic publishing field of a varied rise in OA practice acceptance across the field actors. Specifically, I examine fears that the emerging, normative funded-gold OA model potential represents the

---

[172] See *Chapter 5* for the recruitment, interview and data collation techniques used.
[173] Comprising a total of 49 extensive interviews conducted over a number of months. See *Appendix A:Table 5* for an overview of the number of interviews for each actor group.

academy's disenfranchisement and stratification, rather than reconstructing the publishing hegemony's power.   This leads to the conclusion that those field actors who have long formed the ruling-bloc, continue to utilise symbolic and economic agency to maintain their power, whilst rearticulating their ideology to subsume and diminish the subaltern actors' agency. Certainly too, the chapter exposes how the ruling-bloc continues to be occupied by funders, commercial publishers and the government, with the latter's agency more subtly applied through proxy agencies like HEFCE and the RCUK. I then examine how resistance or a counter-hegemonic power is being configured and applied within the field, through a Gramscian sense of 'authentic revolution' by individual and group actions and initiatives. Finally, I conclude by drawing these disparate threads together to consider if an increasing academic OA embrace, and the seeming support of most field actors for it, is emblematic of a new capitalist driven crisis for the UK academy.

7.2.   Actor Narratives

To illustrate the academic publishing field as exposed within this work and provide a sense of its discourse, I will provide a reading of the actor narratives gained from each actor group's respondents[174]. Naturally, as Foucault (Mills, 2003) cautions against presenting any 'grand cultural narratives', these represent only the prevailing indicative trends and impressions gained. Through understanding these perceptions, it becomes possible to better appreciate the experiences which are shaping the actors' behaviours, perceptions and discourse (Handwerker, 2001). The intention is to represent the complexities and tensions operating within the field, as experienced through different actor sensibilities, and hence better appreciate their construction.

Academics

As academics are the principal actors whose behaviour my research seeks to better understand, I shall consider them first. Unsurprisingly, academic respondents represented their dissemination praxis as functioning through traditional routes of journals, books, conferences, etc. Despite being drawn from variety of disciplines, respondents presented an overwhelming sense that they gravitated towards dissemination organs from which the greatest reputational capital could be gained. Since the majority of OA publication entities are still establishing their reputations, this presents a barrier to their adoption within academic normative praxis. Respondents did present a strong awareness and acceptance to OA's concepts, benefits and practices, with a rationale that "*Publically funded research should be open access*" (Academic#4, 2015) representing a typical justification for their

---

[174] As with the previous chapter, pseudonymous names are used to cite particular interview respondents, wherever anonymity was requested. A list of all interviews directly cited is given at the end of this thesis.

adoption of a favourable stance. Nevertheless, respondents demonstrated a broad familiarity with OA dissemination routes, typically with funded-gold publication or green repositories.

Suber (2012) argues that resistance to OA commonly derives from unfamiliarity and misunderstanding. Certainly, for respondents, understanding terminology and process were apparent minor problems. Significantly though, it was concerns over the additional costs funded-gold dissemination engenders and the diminished reputational capital many OA sources possess which were perceived as greater barriers. Additionally, the misrepresentation that gold OA relates solely to the funded-gold route was a common perception. Such conflation was underscored with respondents recognising the policy bias and capital support from funders and assessment actors[175] towards normalising the funded-gold model.

> *I'm trying to experiment with other methods which include social media and that's blogs, twitters and open science notebook is the latest addition to this.* (Levy, 2015)

Curiously, where some academics were conversant with and supported OA practices, there was a strong representation that any personal praxis shift towards adopting them was more a matter of experimentation, than any genuinely transformative act. Such a spirit of experimentation carried through to a very positive representation of exploiting social media as an essential adjunct to research publication, raising audiences' awareness and consequently increasing the reputational capital gained. Certainly, for many respondents, the importance of such reputational markers were clearly an underlying behavioural driver to meet audit need within the neoliberalised academy. Nevertheless, despite pragmatically adhering to established practice, respondents did criticise the profiteering and exploitation of academic labour by the industrialised publishing industry. Conversely though, little concern was displayed to issues of author IPR gifting to publishers, despite long-standing disquiet elsewhere (Eve, 2014b; Wittel, 2013) and as also evidenced within the OA practitioner discourse.

Respondents identified a range of influences over their dissemination praxis, including most actors previously highlighted, with learned societies least commonly identified as possessing agency. Almost overwhelmingly though, academics drew on institutional or personal networks to maintain awareness of publication practice developments, with some also citing the Times Higher's role here. Meanwhile, funders' mandates had a strongly identified influence over academics' awareness, with markedly the REF 2021 OA

---

[175] Most notably, HEFCE and by extension the government.

requirement's introduction a strongly identified influence. However, other than via HEFCE or the RCUK as proxies, the UK government's influence was not readily identified as a source of direct agency. HEFCE interestingly is an executive non-departmental governmental arm, which means while they possess a certain degree of autonomy, much of their actions are directly shaped through political policy. This supports my contention that the government's field agency operates with coercive subtlety through bodies such as these, rather than attempting to directly produce academic consent. Consequently, the government is able to insulate itself from direct exposure to academic resistance.

While respondents viewed the future of research dissemination as uncertain, a strong perception was evidenced that the current period of legacy and open dissemination routes jockeying for primacy would continue. Few actors considered OA would diminish, with many acknowledging their belief that it would continue to rise in prominence, especially if issues including affordability or OA sources' reputational esteem were satisfactorily resolved.

> *I think in terms of open access to papers that there's going to be a push back from*
> *publishers. But you know what? They're just going to make us pay a different way.*
> (Kormos, 2015)

However, while reclamation of academic agency within the academic publishing field was a possibility for some, others viewed the current ruling-bloc, particularly as configured by commercial publishers, as resistant to disruption. Indeed, some expressed concerns that the current transitionary accord between field actors was an *interbellum* period, where continued disruptions to long-established revenue capital could engender a less conciliatory reaction, especially from commercial actors. Some respondents also expressed concern that any hegemonic shifts OA engendered had failed to capitalise through adopting sufficiently novel economic models. Hence, funded-gold's acceptance as normative practice could represent the ruling-bloc's periodic reconfiguration to incorporate elements of subaltern actors' beliefs (Jones, 2006). Thus, the academic community's consent to this, blended with funders' coercive mandates, renewed the hegemonic ruling-bloc's dominance. While an intriguing possibility, for pro-OA activists, such an eventuality would represent an alarming eventuality.

> *My concern is that it will be the red brick universities that are getting all the funding [and]*
> *we are quite dominated by those universities doing more of the work.* (Harris, 2015)

Especially interesting were respondents' fears for the UK academy's stratification, which could result in an enlargement of dissemination's continued commodification. That significant portions of financial research capital are concentrated within a limited number

of 'elite' institutions, as a consequence of prior national research assessments, is acknowledged (Adams, 2014). This gave rise to concerns how this situation would become exacerbated by any normative practice shift favouring funded-gold, especially where required to comply with funder policies. Given the disparity in levels of RCUK block funding (RCUK, 2012b) already, and their more limited research capital reserves, concerns were raised that the smaller, less research-intensive institutions would find their ability to publish affected. This it was feared would magnify the pre-existing disparities between the wealthier and the less-well funded institutions, consequently blocking many researchers' ability to publish. Thus, rather than increasing research accessibility, the funded-gold mode's dominance could decrease dissemination, with access to capital becoming equivalent to permitting publication. Consequently, the conception of OA praxis as a Gramscian good sense displacing the common sense of legacy publication, presents from a pro-OA activists' perceptions an ideological dysfunction.

I should highlight one caveat, which was that no academic respondent self-identified as being OA adverse. While this might be viewed as a positive representation of efforts towards advocating open dissemination within the academy, I suggest that this is a false assumption. Academics perceived as OA adverse[176] were approached, but regrettably declined to engage. Hence, while this does not invalidate the data, it does colour the prism through which these results must be viewed.

Funders

Turning to consider research funders, these respondents strongly articulated their function within academic communication as financially supporting researchers and their work. Additionally, the provision of funding support to cover funded-gold APC, was increasingly a common adjunct to this role.

> *We require our funded researchers if they're publishing to ensure that they make their publications available in open access form. We don't specify that it should gold or green, but in some ways our preference is for gold.* (Herman, 2015)

Funders demonstrated a tangible willingness to primarily enable gold OA, although some still facilitated green OA through supporting repository infrastructure. Their common rationale for this was partly due to pragmatism, in that gold OA made open dissemination processes easier for researchers. Consequently, such support was coupled with the introduction of coercive mandates and monitoring researcher compliance, with this latter an activity most respondents expected to increase in magnitude. Many respondents explained how their organisations supported OA practice growth through their public

---

[176] By practitioners and others who recommended that I approach them for interview.

policies although this was not a monolithic response, with a few respondents expressing uncertainty around OA's longer term value[177]. Nevertheless, while funders may publically support various OA routes to varying degrees, there was a perception that, so long as more open modes of academic communication were adopted, there was an ideological agnosticism concerning the exact route through which it was achieved.

> *The public good argument is still extremely valid, there's a moral argument there, the public has paid for the stuff [research], the public can have access to stuff.* (Thorley, 2015)

Funders' favourable OA stances had also partly been motivated due to the issues arising from the legacy publication model's enclosed inaccessibility, and public good benefits for the academy, society and the economy. Additionally, many respondents felt a moral imperative existed that research should be shared, as a consequence of lowered technological barriers to wider sharing. This underscored the importance many attached to enabling academics to overcome fiscal or motivational barriers to adopt OA dissemination practices. Thus, it becomes possible to largely configure funders as ideological and practical supporters of transitioning to an OA dissemination mode. Their positions were also driven, for some, by the opportunities the OA movement's counter-hegemony activities offered in turning a critical lens upon the economic and copyright enclosure praxis of the legacy publication domain. However, funders generally appreciated that OA, as currently configured, is not unflawed. Particularly debate around the additional cost expenditure faced in supporting the funded-gold route, were an aspect which required careful balancing against the benefits that increasing OA dissemination levels offered.

> *Progress is being made, slowly but it's, there's a lot of different players involved. The journals, the publishers, the funders, the researchers, the universities, the repositories.* (Lyne, 2015)

Funder respondents particularly extolled how their organisations adopted an active presence within the debates held between significant academic publishing field actors, notably government and publishers. While hopes were expressed how transitioning to a primarily OA dissemination mode would, in time, bring academic sector savings, there was a tangible sense that dissemination costs would remain intrinsically part of publication. Notably, even in a digital communication age respondents recognised that labour must be expended to ensure publication quality[178]. Nevertheless, respondents generally perceived funders' agency was significant which, given the economic-based power they wield, seems conceivable. Yet, as actors seemingly situated within the field's ruling-bloc, the critical Gramscian 'good sense' funders demonstrate is also undeniable. Many clearly saw their

---

[177] Notably the Leverhulme Trust remain cautiously policy neutral on the issue.
[178] This was a cost which publisher respondents were also keen to highlight.

role as unifiers who sought to shift from an enthusiast-led publication practice revolution, overturning prior normative publication practice to achieving genuine cultural practice evolution within the field. The prior unilateral OA policy adopted by some UK funders has been criticised, with Burgess' (2015, p. 8) RCUK policy review particularly acknowledging how policy unity was now "*a key objective to reach by all funders across the world.*" Consequently, funders keenly recognised the desirability and importance of engaging with UK and international governmental and other policy actors to develop coherent global policies.

> *There is an element of them quite openly saying 'unless you make me do it, I'm not going to do it'.* (Clement-Stoneham, 2015)

Funder respondents mostly envisaged future academic communication as shifting towards an OA mode although, like most other actors, this was expected to be a fragmented rather than a homogenous dissemination environment. Notably, they thought OA would increase, but other novel, non-textural research dissemination formats were expected to proliferate too. In achieving such a future, academic agency was seen as key. Scholars' perceived inherent cultural resistance or mistrust of dissemination practice changes, were flagged by many respondents as a major obstacle in achieving a normative open dissemination future. Partly this was something their mandates had been constructed to overcome, using an economic-derived coercion to create behavioural adjustments. Nevertheless, respondents acknowledged that creating this change came at a "*fairly substantial cost*" (Herman, 2015), with any transition fraught with additional capital stresses. Given governmental HE funding decreases (THE, 2015), this presented a cause for concern. Many funders also recognised how the significant economic derived agency possessed by the commercial publishing sector represented an obstacle to altering research dissemination practices, especially where such changes affected publishers' capital interests. Respondents accepted expecting commercial actors not to profit was untenable, yet there were strong perceptions that a publication praxis driven through capital interests represented a poor fit within a public sector ideology. However, within the neoliberalised academy[179], there is perhaps less of an ideological dysfunction between such actors' goals.

Government
Due to the limited government policy actor responses, this fieldwork cannot draw any definitive conclusions on the government's position, although some minor observations were possible. What remains interesting, is that despite the lack of agency recognition from academics, governmental respondents emphasised their roles in providing policy

---

[179] The continued exploitation of cognitive capital within the academy, as discussed in *Chapter 3*.

leadership, funding research or facilitating inter-actor dialogues. OA dissemination as a funded-gold route was favoured and a continued evolution perceived likely. As expected like the funders, international and national governmental policy along with funder mandates were ascribed particular agency for driving praxis change. This underscores within the field funders and governmental policy bodies' closely related agency, most notably in the functional overlaps between HEFCE and the government. Nevertheless, the future was represented once again as a period of gradual cultural praxis evolution, set against a background of continuing dynamic shifts within the academic publishing field.

Learned Societies

I have commented on the blurring of definition and function between many actors, something well illustrated in considering how learned societies situate themselves within the field. Society respondents explained how their organisations delivered a publication function, resplendent with high reputational capital. Like the commercial academic publishers, their practices have shifted to accommodate funder mandated requirements, but crucially also due to their respective subject communities' desires for open dissemination. This was principally achieved through providing hybrid and funded-gold journals or permitting green archiving. Respondents also reported some experimentation with OA monographs. For some, such adjustments represented a natural, progressive and pragmatic evolution. Nevertheless, some respondents stressed that, for those communities where authors rarely received RCUK funding, adjusting their organisation's publication practices to accommodate OA were a lower priority.

> *We take more than 50% of our revenue from our journals…I think most societies like ourselves are pretty similar. Yeah, so it is a major concern obviously…But it's, I think it's less of a concern now than it was a couple of years ago.* (Society#1, 2015)

Beyond publishing, respondents also strongly identified an important role for societies in providing support and representation to their disciplinary community. This did create tensions, in that adopting any positive OA stance was always juxtaposed against competing needs to maximise publication revenues, often a significant source of society income. Hence, while most respondents' organisations supported OA's ideals and were seeking to engage practically, a strong recognition of the existential threat it could represent, remained. These concerns were tempered through perceptions of how any income risk from recent publication praxis upheavals had now diminished, hence adopting funded-gold and hybrid publications proffered fiscal benefits. Notably, beyond a slight favouring for gold, society respondents displayed a distinct ambivalence over any eventual dominant OA format.

> *We've probably done and said more about open access than any learned society in the humanities…we've been long standing supporters of open access…the first humanities organisation to send a delegation to BIS after the Finch Report was published.* (Mandler, 2015)

Learned society respondents identified their academic communities along with actors including publishers or governmental actors, as possessing particular agency affecting them. Societies though did not consider that they themselves lacked agency. Many engaged within the wider OA discourse, perceiving HEFCE and the funding councils, along with the government and other societies as their contemporaries, representing a self-perceived ruling-bloc position. Societies' engagement with these actors varied but included: responding to government and funder consultations, collating membership feedback or even adopting significant public policy advocacy roles. Hence, unsurprisingly societies ascribed particular agency within the discourse to these actors, and a responsibility for shaping their own OA responses. Certainly, many respondents represented that their societies strove for constructive and unified OA policy directions from these actors. However, some observed tensions between some actors, notably academics, the RCUK and commercial publishers, which they perceived could adversely affect the academic publishing field's stability. Particularly, respondents acknowledged the REF's agency over academic behaviour.

> *I think changes will occur in the next five to ten years or potentially longer. Communication evolves. My feeling is that the pace will be quite gradual. Technology can move very quickly but the adoption and embedding of any change tends to be slower.* (Danforth & Hetherington, 2015)

It would be unfair of me to represent societies as wholly conservative or reluctant to embrace OA practices. Yet, notably of all the actor groups, learned societies most commonly presented the least enthusiastic OA views. Despite their self-perceptions of organisational influence, I also observed an awareness of the precarious position which they occupy within the field, neither members of any hegemonic ruling-bloc, but possessing a not insignificant but variable agency. However, respondents perceived the current publication hegemony as a strong, adaptable and resilient construct. Likewise, academic culture was typified as pragmatically conservative in nature and unlikely to challenge the pre-existing domination. It is perhaps due to these unresolved tensions that society respondents saw academic communication's future as comprising a mixture of models and gradual cultural praxis evolution, although not any unfaltering shift towards open practices. Experimentation with new dissemination vectors including social media, or formats beyond traditional book, chapter or journal articles, were also represented by some respondents as potential parallel communication developments to OA.

For many, the commercial academic publishing sector comprises the hegemonic academic publishing field's ruling-bloc's major constituent, although this is somewhat reductionist. Publishers come in many sizes, and while the dominant players are generally the largest and most profitable, it is through this diversity that they represent a fascinating and heterogeneous actor group. Hence, respondents were drawn from large and small commercial organisations, along with two entirely OA focussed publishers. Consequently, creating a single narrative represents a challenging task, thus while reflecting on overall impressions I will also highlight particular divergences.

> *The key thing we do is coordinate the peer-review process, and work with academics to sort of help them steer their journals and improve the quality of the stuff that they're getting. I think that we act as a focussing lens in a way.* (Tellis, 2015)

The traditional publisher aggregator, collator and research knowledge disseminator functions were well represented, but additionally most respondents highlighted that operational functional diversities existed, along with the additional value which they brought to the field. Written large in commercial publishers' responses though, was an operational shifting to embrace funded-gold dissemination, although this was not yet entirely a mainstream function for all. Hence, a clear sense of an evolutionary reconfiguration of their additional services was present, with OA operations contributing but not comprising the only development being addressed. Other developments included open data, licensing revisions, establishing project management platforms and experimenting with multimodal non-textural publication formats[180].

> *We perceive the future will be around services built over content, that's quality assured. But it's the services that are kind of the future and the focus for us. Things that will make it more efficient to do research and also to gauge the quality and the impact of that research.* (Wise, 2015)

Especially interesting though, was Elsevier's repositioning away from purely research dissemination operations and towards establishing major esteem metrics and content exploitation services. This clearly represented a prescient recognition that the golden publishing profitability goose offered today a more limited future capital return. For a major, economically wealthy and influential publishing actor to acknowledge such a dramatic operational paradigm shift will likely greatly impact on the field's relationships, dynamics and configuration, perhaps even to a greater degree than OA has itself. Commercial publishers typically also represented the importance of their research infrastructure contribution in facilitating quality assurance processes. By contrast, the explicitly OA focussed publishers' stressed their contributions were focussed around

---

[180] For example, data journals, lab note books, audio-visual outputs etc.

ensuring research dissemination not profitability, highlighting work exploring affordable or freemium open dissemination models.

> *It's not about it being a business model or anything like that, it's just that we think a publisher has to be open access in order to enable scientific communication. As soon as you put pay walls, you're stopping people from communicating…it's indefensible to be any other way.* (Hole, 2015)

With regards to OA, respondents generally recognised that supporting OA had become an essential component for any academic publisher. Typically, commercial publishers noted how any organisational shifts towards supporting OA were driven by the agency of the academic community 'they served'. This representation of publishers as 'the academy's servants' may for some pro-OA activists be hard to swallow. However, it reflects that despite their longstanding profitability for their dominant hegemonic position to persist, a reconfiguration is periodically necessary. To remain implacable in the face of any counter-hegemonic agency, risks increased disruption to their dominant position. Nevertheless, commercial publisher respondents commonly framed publishing as a market-based operation, within which they sought to develop profitable, effective, dissemination business models. Despite this, many publishers also represented that beyond meeting academic dissemination needs or revenue streams, desires for wider public accessibility to research had actually contributed to stimulating change. For some, direct interactions with academic advisory or editorial boards had affected their policy positions' configuration. Commercial respondents did recognise adopting too benign a position towards OA, could disrupt their long-term economic well-being. This may have contributed towards the doubts many respondents emphasised around whether the longer term promise of OA benefits could realistically be delivered without entirely denaturing scholarly publication. Unsurprisingly, such doubts were not evidenced by the purely OA actors, who conversely stressed the accessibility and agency benefits OA permits.

> *The publishing industry lets me personally, and kind of Elsevier in particular, take the lead in publically debating with really extreme OA advocates of various kinds…we're left to be quite visible in public discussions of issues that actually impactive, and are very important to a much broader range of publishers who are quietly watching in the background.* (Wise, 2015)

Respondents expressed how organisational power-relations with other academic publishing field actors varied between different publishers, with Elsevier largely regarded as possessing the most significant agency, within its own and other's perceptions. Consequently, some respondents admitted their organisations took a less publically active discourse position, allowing others to draw focus and criticisms. Conversely, the OA focussed publishers extolled their discourse proactive roles, where they actively sought to

counter the market-led commercial publisher dissemination interpretations, which they perceived as diverging from a public good OA epistemological basis.

> *We get involved in a lot of European Commission consultations and things where we go and really try to provide an alternative voice to the large publishers...critical because there are hired lobbyists who are out working against open access at the policy level.* (Hole, 2015)

Respondents also reported the key role publishers played in engaging with other actors, particularly national and international governmental entities, as exemplified through their strong representation at scholarly publication committee hearings. As Hole (ibid) typified, major commercial publishers' agency stemmed, at least partially, from their active lobbying programme. Conversely, the OA focussed publishers criticised this economic-derived lobbying agency, since commercial publishers utilised it to strengthen governmental policy to favour their business models and continued field dominance. The agency of many publishers was also reproduced through engendering active dialogues with academic communities. Because of these dialogues, perceptions towards OA's progress were split, with many respondents seeing a rise in demand for open dissemination. Conversely, particularly some commercial respondents expressed that they perceived academic community demand remained low, meaning OA's importance within research dissemination was reduced.

> *I don't think necessarily commercial companies are an evil. They often do things better and more efficiently, and more innovatively than public sector organisations.* (Publisher#2, 2015)

> *We don't think that the large commercial publishers act in the interest of researchers. We think they act in the interest of their shareholders.* (Hole, 2015)

It is worth noting, that the commonly held perception within the discourse of commercial publishers as OA antagonists was something which respondents acknowledged. Commercial actors sought to challenge such preconceptions through stressing the benefits professional publishers delivered[181]. Unsurprisingly though, the staunchly OA publishers particularly criticised commercial actors for allowing business interests to dominate their praxis, and using their influence to ensure the continuance of commercially favourable policy. Their agency was perceived to stifle innovation, while reaffirming commercial publishers' hegemonic ruling-bloc position.

> *That is an interesting one, partly because as I said not everyone seems to be going the same way. Personally, I like open access. I think it's a great thing. But publishing as a whole as can be quite against change, so it's going, we're waiting to see how it moves forward, with regards to a move towards open access.* (Lake, 2015)

---

[181] Typically, these benefits were in line with Anderson (2014b).

Turning to the future, the OA focussed publishers unsurprisingly envisaged that this would comprise an open dissemination outlook, coupled with an expansion of research dissemination platforms and formats.   Within this, the role social media and university presses played was also increasingly believed to comprise an important formal dissemination aspect. Conversely, the commercial respondents' visions were more fragmented, and while most considered a diversification in services, formats and economic models of publication likely, OA was by no means perceived as achieving an unquestioned predominance. If anything, commercial respondents continued to identify problems with OA: mistrusting its esteem mechanisms, questioning its suitability, stability and practical processes. Certainly, some minor elements of these concerns overlapped with those from OA focussed publishers, but undeniably they attributed a greater emphasis to fears that the influence wielded by major commercial publishers would continue to stymie OA's progress. So to summarise, for publishers a diversification of dissemination routes, formats and mechanisms, but not necessarily open ones, lies ahead. Given the agency held by the publishing actors, this disparity of vision and direction may contribute to muddying the direction and evolutionary progress of open dissemination praxis.

Narrative Overview

In summary then, some particularly interesting issues arose within these narratives. There was a general perception across all actors which accepted that some form of OA dissemination practice was desirable, although not all groups were equally enthused. Certainly, for academics, an OA awareness was demonstrated, with funded-gold emerging as a normative dissemination practice within the academy. Yet, funded-gold's additional costs, combined with the diminished esteem capital many OA sources possessed were identified as particular barriers to a wholesale embrace of openness. Particular concerns also arose as to how the academic publishing field was being reconfigured through a normalisation of funded-gold practices. The fear that a stratified 'haves and have-nots' research community could result was well evidenced, representing a diminution of research communication heretical to OA's ideals of broader dissemination. Yet, if esteem capital issues decoupled from financial ones, through reconstructing the current research assessment metric systems, this could become a greater potential lever for change within the field.

In considering the other field actors, while central government's self-perceived policy leadership and inter-actor dialogue facilitation were clear, it was only through HEFCE and funders' actions that its considerable agency became apparent. Research funders are largely OA supporters, although a general agnosticism exists towards the particular routes

adopted. Given funders' economic-derived agency, their strong desires towards unifying policy and practices within the field seem tangible possibilities. Conversely, funders recognised the agency commercial publishers possessed, and the potential resistance to change it represented. Resistance does not always comprise a simple barrier to change, and may represent the field's readjustment to accommodate the subaltern interests into the ruling-bloc's configuration. This may signify a Gramscian conjunctural crisis has occurred, and that the ruling-bloc's economic resources are responsible for engendering these changes. Nevertheless, while funders, government and commercial publishers seemed clearly to be the preeminent actors within such a bloc, their interests remain far from the unified alignment that funding agencies desire.

Publishers are certainly a diverse actor group, with an unsurprisingly diverse view of research dissemination's future. Consequently, such diversity, which includes the resurging university or academic-led presses, revealed perceptions of a heterogeneous future academic publishing field, rather than any monolithic solution. For commercial publishing actors, the funded-route gold certainly offers the most lucrative and sustainable model. Nevertheless, for non-capitalistic publishers' a continued experimentation with other models contributed to the field's ongoing diverse reconfiguration. Despite such engagement with change, questions around any presumption of a more open dissemination future were also evidenced. Yet, with a major commercial actor looking seriously towards a service-led, post-publication-centric future business model, this may itself be a source of further disruption to the field's practices and stability. Certainly, it is easy to understand publishers' desires to remain embedded as an essential part of the marketised academy's changing and novel research practices. Just as they have drawn extensive revenue from their *sine qua non* status within the field, their involvement in new areas is as essential to their ongoing capital gain. Undoubtedly, Elsevier and other's ownership of indexing, metrics and data journals, represents the start of further efforts to inescapably embed themselves within the academy's audit culture functional apparatus[182]. The same cannot be said of non-commercial OA publishers, whose agendas continue to be about sustainability and dissemination, not profit maximization. Thus, while publishers' opinions on their OA discourse prominence might be divided, their individual functions and agency continues to grow in a myriad of ways.

---

[182] Elsevier's new *CiteScore* research metric index, announced at the end of 2016 (Zijlstra & McCullough, 2016) further underscores such efforts.

Of all the actor groups, only learned societies perceived that OA represented a potential existential threat, not only to their own operations, but also to the stability of the whole academic publishing field. Such society concerns were not apocalyptic visions of disaster, but rather constructed more as concerns for the field's continued uncertain transfiguration. In this they shared some overlap with some academics, who also feared what such disruptions could engender. Consequently, while leaning slightly more towards favouring OA than previous perceptions suggested, generally learned societies demonstrated an ambivalence to its eventual form.

7.3. Mapping the Power-Relations

I turn from the narratives to consider the heart of this chapter's analysis, exposing three aspects of power within the academic publishing field, as revealed through my framework's application in analysing the respondents' interviews[183]. These aspects are: identifying the dominant actors, how power-relations are configured and clarifying what resistances operate within the field. That power-relations operate between dissemination actors was clear from even a casual reading of the responses, yet what was less obvious was how these relations mapped onto or interacted with each other. For Marx, power derives from possession of economic capital, while for Foucault there is no single centre to power (Gutting, 2005), meaning no single actor possesses agency over the whole field. This latter view broadly is in line with the variety of actors to whom respondents attributed power. Hence, power-relationships are distributed across the field within micro-centres, which form a web of tensions and counter-tensions. Through Gramsci's lens, these power-relationships can be viewed as the domination of hegemony and the resistance of counter-hegemonic forces. Autonomism, importantly though, sees that resistance to capital domination by workers represents a dynamic form of power and agency in itself.

Throughout this section, Foucault's axiom, that any truth regimes within the dissemination discourse will have shaped and legitimatised some topics, while disenfranchising others, is present in my thinking (Mills, 2003). Such reflexive scepticism means that the representation of aspects of my respondents' discussions will have been coloured through these pervasive influences. Additionally, individuals' self-perceptions of agency can often present a subaltern positioning, in contrast to an objective reality where their position is far stronger. Since what follows draws on these insights, it was important that throughout I carefully considered, and challenged, the veracity of any revelations at face value during my analysis.

---

[183] References to indicative interviews are examples where particular themes are evident are given in the text

Dominant Actors

Before considering how power operates, since each actor represents a potential node of power, I shall firstly explore each's contributions and establish those who are perceived as being predominant. Marx, for whom the economic base's power is a prevailing theme, would position those actors with the greatest fiscal capital in the dominant position and a strong agreement with this was observed. From the respondents, it became clear in terms of an economic base that the majority of power lay with those actors who principally controlled the funding underlying HE. Both organisational and academic respondents perceived that the funders, government and commercial publishers occupy the strongest position, with the former two providing financing, and the latter absorbing much of this capital through the academy's payments (Academic#3, 2015; Publisher#2, 2015; Thorley, 2015).

> There's much bigger steers through HEFCE and REF, and research councils, to make everything open access…there's a fine balance where no-one's in charge, even BIS are not fully in charge because the ecosystem [has] other players in the system like Elsevier.
> (Funder#1, 2015)

Curiously though, while the government undoubtedly controls much capital, few respondents directly attributed it with any agency. Such perceptions do not deny that the government occupies a position of primacy, although much of its power operates through proxy actors, like HEFCE. Unsurprisingly then, respondents frequently ascribed dominance within the field to agencies such as HEFCE and the RCUK. Unlike commercial actors though, governmental ideological praxis is subject to electorally mandated change every 5 years[184]. One only has to consider the resultant adjustments away from the prior coalition UK government's HE policies, towards the emerging post-2015 direction from the majority Conservative government, to witness a shift towards a greater neoliberal configuration (Hale, 2015; Tam, 2015).

Hence, I was unsurprised to encounter strong perceptions accrediting the research funders with possessing a strong economic-derived agency, although noting HEFCE and the RCUK's are subordinated within the government's base. Foucault's concepts provide an interpretation that academics have become subservient to the funders' agency, because they desire the pleasurable outcomes of the financial capital to continue to conduct their work, found agreement within many respondents' comments (Academic#2, 2015; Attwood, 2015). Yet, that any agency RCUK's funding councils possessed existed only as an extension of the government's power, were not perceptions which respondents explicitly identified.

---

[184] The impact of Brexit has also seen a change of Prime Minister along with many UK government ministers, though such dramatic socio-political changes such as this are thankfully rarer occurrences.

Conversely other funder respondents, like the Wellcome Trust, while drawing on non-governmental income lines, still recognised a need to adapt to parliamentary policy shifts. Consequently, they too were also configured as subaltern actors. Implicitly, if not always explicitly then, funder, society and publisher respondents recognised the agency which was enacted through UK and international governmental research dissemination policy. Despite this dominance, these actors recognised merely reacting to government policy was insufficient, and hence sought to also influence and reshape it (Danforth & Hetherington, 2015; Hastings, 2016; Hill, 2015).

> *The commercial publishers they're very insightful, they're very careful about what they do. They're very experienced and I think the profit motives and their size give them an ability to adapt to the environment very effectively.* (Marriott, 2015)

If within the academic publishing field actor dominance is expressed through capital means though, for funders who are charitable organisations an agency was also ascribed to the donors and fundraisers who contribute to their income. This raises an interesting comparator between such donors and a commercial publisher's shareholders. Both represent diffuse stakeholders with implicit agency over seemingly dominant actors, yet lay outside of those actors I interviewed. Commercial publishers, certainly were identified as possessing a great deal of economic agency by many respondents. Coupled with their still dominant control of much of the production and dissemination mechanisms, this accorded them considerable recognisable power within the field. Yet, their respondents also represented an organisational subservience to the agency of their stakeholders and also the academic community (Publisher#3, 2015; Tellis, 2015). How valid a perception or coherent the agency over publishing actors this represents is questionable, given the diffuse nature of such stakeholders. While it is possible to envisage that notable, wealthy shareholders or prominent academics hold considerable sway, the same cannot be said for minor investors, nor the heterogeneous academic multitude. For academics, this is where the agency of their collective learned societies can effect influence over publishers, but given their close working relationship with publishers, it can be concluded that such society sway would not entirely be independent of capitalist interests. Such considerations do not remove publishers from the ruling-bloc, but acknowledges the counter-tensions to which they are subject. It also illustrates the complexity of the field's dominance structures, beyond the most visible actors. Commercial publishers additionally noted an accountability to financial and market sensitivities (Publisher#3, 2015), again underscoring the power and agency that the economic base operates over the field.

Leaving aside economic factors, of all the elements of influence operating within the academic publishing field, it was the REF 2021 which was most often ascribed an agency across all respondent groups (Fishman, 2015; Hurman, 2015; Hannigan, 2015). In an era of marketised higher education, where academic job security is destabilised, it appeared that HEFCE's agency to truly shape the future of research dissemination was broadly recognised as comprising the most powerful and effective agency of all. Given HEFCE's role as a non-departmental governmental entity, such agency as they possess again reaffirms the government's particular field dominion. Indeed, drawing on Foucault's construct of governmentality, what can be seen here is a subtle application of influence by the government, through its proxies, to shape academic practice into a form more aligned with its interests. Hence, HEFCE's influence over academic practice can be seen to be a tool of the academy's continued neoliberalisation, ensuring that research dissemination norms comply to a marketised, competitive norm. That HEFCE, like the RCUK, has a pro-OA stance might be viewed as a positive step towards achieving a more open research dissemination praxis. Yet, as Foucault would say, truth remains always entrenched in power, the truth behind HEFCE's stance can be viewed more as the application of governmental control over the academy, and less about generating a public good.

HEFCE though, perceive the centricity of their policy's goals as enabling a "*positive research environment*" where the impact and societal value of widely disseminated research provided the key drivers, given "*research isn't research until it's been disseminated*" (Hill, 2015). From a pro-OA and public good perspective this seems laudable, but once the HEFCE's relationship with the government are taken into account, the subtext for such goals must be questioned. Critically HEFCE's, and by extension the government's, power is constructed through its control over symbolic prestige capital and economic resources. Institutions might be motivated to align with the REF policy requirements, to ensure their continued revenue streams more so than an ideological alignment with OA. Yet, for individual scholars the prestige and career capital they stand to gain or lose from non-compliance represents an almost overwhelming domination of their behaviour. For their part, academic respondents certainly represented an awareness and a resultant self-regulation, and compliance, of their publishing habits due to HEFCE's policy. Even those scholars funded by sources external to any funder mandates complied, wished to avoid becoming disenfranchised from the REF's reputational capital (Haley, 2015; Robertson, 2015). As Foucault perceives it, power is performative, thus the enactment of HEFCE and the RCUK's mandates are a clear demonstrable application of the dominant power within the field. Hill (2015) acknowledged the government's agency over shaping HEFCE's policy and responses, but also attributed the autonomous research community and OA activists

with agency. He argued how the REF 2021 policy comprised a "*essentially a community led initiative*", which through global funder and government policy interventions were responsible for accelerating OA practice's adoption. Clearly my respondents' perceptions, and my analysis, continues to validate that the most dominant field actors remain the government and funders. A dominance extending not only from their control over economic resources, but also symbolic capital.

Nevertheless, the publishing industry's influence of beyond capital, through their considerable representation on the Finch Committee, at government committee hearings and by engaging directly with the academic community, cannot be disregarded. Commercial publishers also profit from the possession of not only economic, but also the symbolic capital embodied within their well-respected publications. Commercial publishers also desired the acquisition of prestige capital arising from having their publications appear in the long established, reputational capital rich journals or books, produced by the major industrialised publishers. While there are some suggestions this publisher owned reputational capital was being eroded, academic respondents largely recognised that it was still in operation and important to them (Oxenham, 2016). What is interesting when studying OA discourse's development, is the legitimisation within the current truth-regime of the funded-gold route. Throughout the respondents' discourse, this certainly formed a repeated core theme of becoming a normalised dissemination practice, serving to diminish other alternative forms of open sharing (Academic#1, 2015; Publisher#1, 2015; Taylor, 2015). I am not challenging funded-gold's validity as a form of OA dissemination. Nevertheless, this is a model which through its integral APC payments, consequentially ensures the continued existence of, and agency held by the publishing sector (Publisher#3, 2015; Society#1, 2015). From a pro-OA perspective this represents a concern, but also exposes how the extensive governmental lobbying by publishing actors has resulted in affirming their ruling-bloc position. Some commercial publisher and society respondents attributed the adoption of funded-gold as the norm as being instrumental in their own softening of any resistance and embracing OA praxis. This then, is a highly significant conclusion relating to the dominant field actors. It is recognisable in Gramscian terms as *rearticulating* the ruling-bloc's ideology, incorporating aspects of the subaltern's ideology to ensure publishers' continued primacy of agency. This rearticulation ensures that the subaltern's goals become constructed into a reshaped language favouring the ruling-bloc's ideals. Consequently, any counter-hegemonic actions become harder to achieve as the discourse shifts. Thus, I am able to conclude from my respondents that a recognisable power and dominance which continues to shape the academic publishing field and

215

scholarly communication practice lies in the hands of government, funders and publishers, through their continued dominance over economic and symbolic capital forms.

The agency of learned societies by contrast was certainly not as strongly represented by other field actors, despite some societies endeavouring to use it. This does not deny their possession of agency, but with some notable exceptions (Danforth & Hetherington, 2015; Mandler, 2015) they cannot be constructed as a group possessing an especially strong agency. Despite this, societies comprise and represent the desires of their academic constituents, meaning that any agency possessed by the academy, likely also operates within societies, albeit more diffusely than any direct action these entities might take. Likewise, the academics, while their power may be more diffuse, decentralised and less clearly defined, cannot be discounted. As academic cultural practices, like those espoused by my respondents, shift towards adopting new forms of dissemination practice, this will continue to have a disrupting effect on what remains a broadly capitalist publishing market. In this, academics are enacting a form of resistance to the application of power. Significantly, should a sufficient number of academy act against the normative praxis of legacy publication or even the emergent funded-gold norm, then the identified dominant actors will need to adjust their operations to avoid a loss of their own agency and potential exclusion from the ruling-bloc. As was seen from Gowers' (2012) efforts, such mass uprisings are possible although how much they redefine any agency within the field remains uncertain. Conversely, the impression many academic respondents gave, was that they passively react and accommodate any shifts in publication practice, policy and models driven by other actors within their research routines. I can only conclude that scholars as a group are diminished in radical tenancies, conditioned within the marketised and career fragile academy to shy away from academic activism and to continue to accept a diminished and subaltern power-relationship position. Given the agency other actors clearly view them as possessing though, a rich case seemingly exists for academic counter-hegemonic action. Nevertheless, actively participating in the OA movement or practically exploring new dissemination models, offers routes for potentially re-establishing a greater academic field agency, a topic I shall address shortly.

Before turning to the operation of power, two final points are worth raising. The first concerns the public's presence within the field (Kormos, 2015). While they lie outside of my academic publishing field definition, it became clear that the public still possessed a certain economic and symbolic agency. Their tax payments and charitable donations are important, in permitting government and funders the fiscal resources they utilise to enable academics research praxis. Thus, through this act, the public have a key role in creating the

economic agency of government and funders alike. What is highly questionable is the degree to which the populace at large recognise this agency, given the low prominence most give to 'academic' matters[185]. Additionally, the public possess an additional agency, of which they are likely also unaware. This derives from their role as the driving force which serves as the espoused rationale many pro-OA respondents offer for their desires to make research open (Gatti, 2015; Publisher#1, 2015; Thorley, 2015). The exact configuration of the rationale behind such public 'agency' varied between respondents. For some it was for reasons of accomplishing societal impacts from research outputs, for others more about achieving a public good ideological goal. The operation of this 'agency' is perhaps the least clearly acknowledged within respondents' insights, but clearly it has had some effect on shaping dissemination behaviours. In both cases arguably this is not a genuine agency, but rather an imputed form whose construction is somewhat more nebulous. This consideration does also raise the fascinating question of in what regard and awareness, if any, do the public hold the debates, inequities and tensions operating within the field? This question, regrettably, is something this work hasn't addressed, but potentially provides a fertile realm for further inquiry.

Secondly, I wish to highlight another potential actor which emerged through reflection rather than explicit mention: universities themselves. As discussed earlier[186], universities driven by neoliberal policy and the government's privatisation agenda have become complicit in the commercialisation of the academy's functions, not least of which being publication. Universities, as part of the web of influence comprising the academic publishing field, are subject to the ruling-bloc's agency, not only through direct actions like public policy or mandates but also through subtle influences. Yet, universities are also empowered with an agency of their own within the field, which they can enact directly over their staff[187] but also over actors external to the institutions. This research's original proposal had intended to incorporate case study examinations of a small number of institutions, to explore these issues in a greater depth, and to consider the university as a field actor. As with any ongoing piece of research, its form has evolved during its execution, and eventually I concluded that examining the work of academic activists would provide a greater revelatory depth and counterpoint. That I did not approach any universities does not deny their agency, but they are an aspect of the field's complex

---

[185] Most notably for example, during the 2015 general election campaign, beyond tuition fees, little public discourse concerning higher education and universities was observable.
[186] See *Chapter 2: Effects of Policy Conflicts* and also *Chapter 3* in general.
[187] As discussed in *Chapter 7*, Lilley's challenging publication was supported by the institution. Without this support, events would likely have unfolded considerably differently.

power-relations which, regrettably, lies beyond the direct empirical analysis of this research.

Power Operations

Having now identified the dominant actors, I shall now consider how power relations within the field function. Hence, I shall expand on and critique the perceptions of power and relationships that respondents resented and I began to explore in the preceding section. One issue which became apparent was that the boundaries between identified key actors' identities are blurred rather than being discrete[188]. The discrete actor group definitions outlined earlier, were drawn from the practitioner's discourse, yet these were at odds with the many respondents' representations and perceptions. For example, some learned society respondents represented that their organisations shared a closely similar function with commercial publishers (Marriott, 2015; Society#2, 2015). Yet, societies are also academic community-led organisations, which derive agency from the academic corpus, hence, there are unstable tensions for them in their operation of power between their roles as publishers seeking economic return, and as representative bodies. Consequently, as an actor group this diffuses the unity of direction for them, which in turn likely contributes towards the diminished representation of societies as major power actors. Correspondingly, the RCUK and HEFCE operate as UK governmental adjuncts and policy making bodies, but must also function as funders, and neither are academics a homogenous mass. Nevertheless, these kinds of diffuse functional definitions likely give rise to similar power dysfunctions which complicate the identification of actor groups as discrete power nodes. Hence, what is presented here is a broad appreciation of their actor interactions within the broadly defined actor groups identified earlier, while acknowledging that a degree of overlap between some clearly exists.

While I have largely dealt with the operation of economic agency, it was clear that the possession of symbolic power arising from sources of reputational prestige capital also confers a subtle agency within the tangled influence web. A locus for this reputational prestige was clearly identifiable as existing within the long established journal titles owned by commercial publishers, along with some learned societies. For academic respondents, a subservience to this agency as a desirable application of power was recognisable through commonly expressed desires to publish in the highest profile, visible and professionally credible channels possible (Boyko, 2015; Haley, 2015; O'Connor, 2015). The resultant greater impact within and recognition by their peer groups, and thus reputational capital

---

[188] As previously noted in the fuzzy and broad definition of scholarly publishers as a discrete actor group.

gained, through being published within these organs, was clear. What is being witnessed here is the coercive and consensual operations of hegemonic power upon the academy, with personal desires towards career attainment ensuring the academic' corpus continued subaltern role. This is once more a clear operation of Foucault's account of power as producing particular pleasure within the field.

Foucault's construct also offers suggestions towards the actions of emerging open publishing actors, like Ubiquity Press. These actors lack the established economic base or alluring sources of publication reputational capital, which established ruling-bloc actors possess. Clearly, it is desirable for them to increase their agency, to effect favourable shifts in dissemination praxis (Gatti, 2015; Hole, 2015). Given their non-capitalist funding models, achieving any form of Marxist economic power position is practically and ideologically denied them, and thus they seek to establish a form of symbolic, reputational prestige-based agency. Yet, establishing such prestige capital is no easy task, as recurrent doubts over OA sources' credibility was evidenced within many actor groups (O'Connor, 2015; Hannigan, 2015; Publisher#2, 2015; Society#1, 2015). Indeed, these sources also suffered from the perception, even by self-identified pro-OA respondents, of lacking the robust quality assurance processes enjoyed by long established legacy publications. These doubts then form a resistance to the acquisition of power by these emerging OA publications, and a retardation on their acceptance within normative praxis. However, while some emerging OA sources have given especial attention to establishing their prestige credentials (Matthews, 2015) with many respondents anticipating an increasing future prestige for these, seemingly the discourse is currently configured in a mode to resist their acceptance. Significantly, once more apparently power-relations continue to be configured in a mode favouring the pre-existing ruling-bloc members' desires, while raising the entry-bar for newer players and models.

These barriers' existence strongly rationalises the effort emerging OA publishers' respondents expressed they commit to lobbying and advocacy work favouring their positions along with challenging the established hegemony (Hole, 2015). From an autonomous perspective, this struggle for increased agency by academic labourers, divorced from capitalist drivers, underscores the increasing influence that these publishing actors seek to create. It also highlights how, bereft of significant economic and symbolic capital the ruling-bloc actors possess, such new publishers' power-relations operate in a subtended, subaltern mode. The twin factors of diminished esteem capital of newer OA dissemination vectors and the resistance for their establishing of a greater agency, offers support for rationalising the conservative publication behaviours demonstrated by

academic respondents, which was also perceived by practitioner respondents previously. To step outside of the legacy or emerging normative funded-gold publication modes requires individuals to act counter to the pervasive and dominant power-relations comprising the field's Gramscian common sense construction. Thus, the ruling-bloc continues to decomposes the agency held by the academy. Additionally, such actions also continue to support perceptions of how commercial publisher actors as ruling-bloc members, are well positioned to maintain their position of hegemonic dominance and power.

I touched earlier on the use of HEFCE and funders' mandates as coercive forms of power over the academy. What was significantly notable was how these mandates also engendered agency over publishers, including society ones, who consequently were having to adapt their author licensing regimes to conform (Lord, 2015; Publisher#2, 2015). The operation of this coercive agency derives from the potential economic loss or existential threat presented for non-compliance, again positioning the government and funders at the web of power-relationships' heart. For once though, the commercial publishing sector's profitability responsible for constructing much of their agency, becomes their Achilles heel, making them subordinate. As commercial entities publishers are desirous of a profitable status to ensure their own continued existence, but must also to satisfy their shareholders.

> *We've got shareholders, so we have to bear that in mind when we're developing business models that enable us to disseminate publications.* (Publisher#3, 2015)

Thus, to resist governmental and funder policy driving the academic publishing field's evolution would be counterproductive to commercial publishers' interests. Hence, they have acquiesced to be dominated and adjusted their operations appropriately. The operation of this economic agency over commercial and society publishers extends further, aligning it more with Foucault's concept of productive pleasure enabling power's effectiveness, than simply Gramsci's hegemonic coercion and consent, as respondents recognised clear advantages existed through embracing the new income capital funded-gold payments (Marriott, 2015; Publisher#1, 2015). Unsurprisingly, in this dynamic field, many publishers and other key actors, including funders and learned societies, have adopted a policy of widespread engagement with other actors (Lyne, 2015; Mandler, 2015; Wise, 2015). From this, it could be seen actors recognised how their continued influence over the future configuration of research dissemination, required they employ every power-relation at their command. This was demonstrated in their expressed desires for unified publication policies, and the efforts being made directly or via proxies to influence publication policy, discourse and praxis.

When I began this work, OA arguably lay outside of mainstream academic practice (Owens, 2012), but through events including funder mandates, the Finch report's publication, RCUK block funding for APC costs and undoubtedly HEFCE's REF 2021 mandate[189], today it has become part of the mainstream scholarly dissemination discourse. Arguably, for many academy members it has also begun to acquire the configuration of normative practice (Kormos, 2015; Woodall, 2015), something I would argue has resultantly enabled the academic power dynamic. Academics often perceive themselves to be powerless and lacking in agency, yet from examining the comments from other actors an apparent academic agency does operate within the field. This was evidenced by the close attention paid to comprehending and engaging with the academic community's needs by learned societies and publisher respondents alike (Taylor, 2015; Tellis, 2015). However, academic respondents represented only a diffuse awareness of any such empowerment. Far from being the disenfranchised subaltern field members, seemingly academics already possess some agency, although it might require unified action to effect any changes. Notably, these kind of concerted, revolutionary actions would align with the ambitions of many in OA movement (Schmitt, 2014), and the thinking of Hardt and Negri (Eden, 2011). Given that academic researchers seem to have acutely fitted into the definition of the socialised workers for decades, appropriating this power could have considerable ramifications for academic dissemination, as I will examine shortly.

Perhaps, though, the issue here is that unlike the economic power enjoyed by the commercial publisher, government and funder ruling-bloc members, any academic power is less tangible or immediately identifiable. While Marx equated it with the economy, Gramsci saw that power was more than economics, comprising culture and politics as well, giving agency to the societal superstructure, not just the base. Yet, in terms of real subsumption, academics' labour continues to be transformed through publication to satisfying publishers' capital needs. Many respondents recognised a continued surplus value extraction from intellectual labour (Funder#1, 2015; Monks, 2015; Publisher#2; 2015). Since academic knowledge labour is recompensed largely through symbolic prestige capital rather than generous financial remuneration, while many academics criticised publisher profitability, they remain adhered to the normative practices of dissemination through routes possessing the greatest reputational strength. Therefore, academics are consenting to their domination and subsumption within the established hegemony, in agreement with Gramsci's ideological consent construct, and Foucault's concept of the productive pleasure which enables power's effectiveness (Bocock, 1986; Foucault &

---

[189] See *Chapter 4* for further examples concerning the historical developments of OA in the UK.

Fontana, 1977). Like the HE OA practitioners interviewed earlier, an apparent pragmatic subservience is the price academics willingly pay to function within the field.

> I fear that what we'll end up having is just an elitist way of publishing, the better journals to get in will charge more, the universities that have money will publish in those journals. And I can't see it's going to change much, but it would be great if it did. (Harris, 2015)

However, it was clear that aspects of OA dissemination have clearly become a normative feature of research practice for many academic respondents. While doubts were expressed over any certainty of it eventually supplanting legacy routes, an undeniable state of research dissemination praxis transition was evident across the academy. Though it might be easy to suggest that any shifts in research praxis away from the dominance of commercial publishers represents the academy's reclamation of power within the field, this was not a strong theme for many academics. Indeed, Fuchs (2015) later argued, academics have never previously possessed such agency over publication. Interestingly, while the majority of academic respondents demonstrated pro-OA positions, few openly acknowledged any strong allegiance to the ideology of the diffusely and autonomously configured OA movement. Even if any claim over power remains a scattered and diffuse concern of few scholars rather than the whole academy, there is no denying that, for most academic respondents, their OA awareness had risen and increasingly occupied a central aspect of their disparate practices. Nevertheless, for those working towards achieving changes to dissemination practices, an active transformation of power-relations into counter-hegemonic actions is required.

Counter Hegemonic Resistance

Whether it be viewed in the struggles around academic labour exploitation, tensions between ruling-bloc and subaltern actors, or in the flows of power-relations, as Foucault suggests no matter how strongly configured a system of power, a resistance to it exists (Mills, 2003). Resistance can be defined as the power possessed by the subaltern field actors, which operates despite capitalism's attempts to decompose their power base or fragment groups (Kinsman, 2004). It is the essence of the dynamic and self-valorising struggle to counter, alter or subvert the ruling-bloc's will. Marx too saw that the operation of resistance to power effects changes within society's superstructure, which in turn affects the economic base's configuration. Meanwhile, autonomism and Gramsci see such resistance to domination forms part of a continuing cycle of struggle between the ruling-bloc and workers, where each adjusts their ideology and praxis to counter shifts in other's agency. Thus, while the adoption of academic owned OA dissemination platforms as normative praxis, represents a palpable source of disruption and tension in the field, can any resistance this generates achieve any effect? When stacked against the ruling-bloc's

economic and symbolic derived agency's shifting configuration, the subaltern agency of academics, emerging OA publishers or other pro-OA actors struggled until recently to achieve any wide-scale impacts. Despite this though, as was observed via the respondents, a growing engagement with OA praxis by many actors exists; suggesting some validity to the concept that resistance's power-relations can affect the field's composition.

The pragmatism observed within the academic community does seem to position them as within the subaltern bloc. Hence, through this domination, the germ of academic resistance and counter-hegemonic agency can become established.   As Gramsci reminds us (Boggs, 1980), authenticity must exist to achieve successful resistance against any established status quo. By authenticity, I mean that it operates as Lincoln and Guba define it (see Bryman, 2016, p. 386), as a state of resistance which must incorporate aspects of fairness, promoting ontological and educative understanding, being catalytic of change and empowering of action. For any resistance to affect change, Gramsci argues that it must be engendered by organic intellectual activists, who arise from within the subaltern actor blocs. The activists identified earlier[190], are all members of the academic class, so any resistance created by their actions, does possess this kind of authenticity. Thus, unsurprisingly activist leaders like these have arisen within the academic corpus, yet their influence within the field was not strongly evidenced by respondents. This does not mean that such figures are not engendering an effective resistance to the enclosure of research dissemination, but certainly within the respondents' sample their impacts on the field are obfuscated. However, the question of how committed academy members are to employing or recognising the agency they possess to effect change is interesting. While seemingly the frustrations of more than one academic (Callaghan, 2015; Hannigan, 2015) has instigated their own patterns of resistance, their actions fall short of classification as significant academic activism (Wittel, 2016).

> *I would take the risk and just publish everything in the most experimental journal possible, and try to change in this way, the author contributes to the change in terms of scholarly communication.* (Levy, 2015)

Whereas many academic respondents were experimenting with new communication forms, with respect to keenly adopting OA praxis as an attempt to leverage field practice changes, only one respondent expressed their rationale as being driven by an active desire to contribute to change within scholarly communication. Thus, despite any criticism levelled at the ruling-bloc, any widespread active academic resistance to the hegemony seemingly remains muted. This does not deny the existence of resistance to dominion within the

---

[190] As introduced in *Chapter 5*, and activities explored in *Chapter 8*.

academy, but what it does present is that as a widespread, ideological driven ideal, it remains a seemingly scattered and rare event. Therefore, the academy *en-masse* engendering an autonomous revolution in publication praxis seems unlikely.

There was also a recognition that any resistance to power could be fraught with difficulties. For example, respondents perceived commercial publishers as possessing such a robustly unassailable position within the field that the academy is "*so in awe of them that nobody will challenge them*" (Academic#2, 2015). Yet, with the means of electronic dissemination easing the non-rivalrous distribution of research, no longer are the means to collate and distribute scholarly work solely in the possession of those owning industrial scale printing presses or delivery infrastructure. As can be seen through academic run titles such as *tripleC*, or emerging academic-led platforms like the OLH, the operation of power within the academic publishing field devoid of capital's controls becomes possible, if perhaps not practical, for all. It is through activities like these then that we witness a form of practical agency beloved of pro-OA individuals. For the academy, this also presents a potentially exciting development, with resistance shifting from a mere ideological potentiality, to activism which can engender genuine sectoral change. Conversely, that any resistance to the ruling-bloc could itself be subject to counter-resistance, was also acknowledged by respondents (Academic#3, 2015; Kormos, 2015). Evidence of this countering has been visible in wider actions too, rationalised through a neoliberal capitalist ideological (Clarke, 2013). Elsevier's acknowledged shift towards occupying a prominent role in research metrics management services (Wise, 2015), also represents a savvy, if intellectually concerning shift towards propagating a continued domination over dissemination. A move other major publishers may duplicate, recognising the capital advantage in thusly shifting their commercial practices. Hence, through occupying this new realm invariably commercial publishers not only strengthen their hegemonic ruling-bloc membership, but also ensure further difficulties for any counter-hegemony. This they achieve by denying operational space to newer or emerging players, and hence reducing the possibility that these actors' resistance could grow sufficiently strong enough to challenge them.

Nevertheless, autonomous Marxism recognises that any struggle for agency and change is a cyclical process (Christians, 2014; Dyer-Witheford, 2011), while Foucault (2000) views the very instability of the diffuse interrelationships comprising power represents its normative state. When OA first arose, those championing it began with a vision closer to revolutionising dissemination power-relations and disrupting the controlling agencies (Harnad, 2004; Suber, 2009). Today, even some more recently arising activists have admitted that they have moderated their revolutionary zeal, if not their praxis

transformative desires (Eve, 2015), although this cannot be said for all respondents (Levy, 2015; Fuchs, 2015). For many of my academic respondents though, while their engagement with OA praxis has grown, its embrace is framed increasingly pragmatically, targeted at ensuring the maintenance of their careers, reputational capital and professional credibility (Hastings, 2016). Exceptions to this submission to domination exist, and some respondents still remained ideologically wedded to the goals of open dissemination for public good, not private gain (Academic#4, 2015; Harris, 2015; Wasko, 2015). Yet, for many though, it continues an engagement beset with concerns over the still extant agency and prestige capital retained by the legacy commercial publishing industry. It is perhaps less than surprising that any shift from idealism to pragmatism in the field occurs as OA moves into a mainstream function, as academics' practice begins to resonate with the same pragmatism OA practitioner actors evidenced earlier.

Hence, with the broad acceptance of the normative function of funded-gold OA dissemination by many respondents, the question arises, are we reaching the conclusion of a cycle of struggle and a transition away from legacy models, culminating in the emergence of a new normative praxis? Or are we instead simply emerging from a period of readjustment and entering into a new era of struggle? The current tensions around more radical, less licit and yet impactful 'solutions' to the problem of enclosure of access to research, including *#icanhazpdf* or *Sci-Hub* (Mohdin, 2015; Oxenham, 2016), may evidence such an upswell; just as the UK academy appears to be entering into a period of concordance with the funded-gold OA route. The composition of this new struggle is perhaps less immediately obvious, for it may seem that many of the original OA movement goals have been reached (Tickell, 2015). Perhaps the next cycle of struggle concerns moving beyond a gratis, funded-gold norm, towards achieving a true libre OA practice, where reuse rights and author rights are retained, rather than absorbed for capital enrichment. If this is the case then the resistance and agency engendered through the academic corpus' actions, will continue to be an important aspect in challenging the newly reconfigured dissemination hegemony.

Conceivably, given the broad OA awareness academic respondents showed, the focus for OA advocates and activists shifts from seeking to persuade academics to embrace OA, becoming 'How do we achieve an embrace of open dissemination, shorn of the old, inherently capitalist, system's elements?' It is excitingly towards resolving such a quandary, that some of the emergent dissemination platforms and models are already evolving. Perhaps also the question remains of whether the same actors will continue to possess agency over the field. Despite the resistance embodied by academics and other pro-OA

actors, have we simply witnessed an ideological shifting within the ruling-bloc, one which has adopted sufficient aspects of the subaltern actors' beliefs, to reaffirm their hegemony? Indeed, can the ruling-bloc's agency, born of economics and prestige capital, and so deeply engrained in the academy's cultural and normative praxis, ever be overcome? I shall return to this in the final chapter.

I have focussed here on the resistance engendered to the normative dissemination hegemony from within the academic corpus. This does not deny that forms of resistance are operant within the other actor groups. Indeed, much of the major UK funders', and some learned societies', work within the field can be seen to be constructed as resistance to the actions of other field actors, and hence affecting a field transformation (Carer, 2015; Clement-Stoneham, 2015; Jacobs, 2015). However, funders and learned societies possessing more powerful influence forms do not generally perceive that they are subaltern bloc members. Hence, what these actors operate is less resistance to power, than the application of power over the field, through their economic and symbolically based influences. Nevertheless, it is possible to conjecture that an element of resistance may be in operation, particularly relating to funders', publishers' and societies' attempts to influence the direction of government policy (Hole, 2015; Mandler; 2015; Thorley, 2015;). Regrettably though, given the scarcity of engagement from governmental actors, it is difficult to consider to any depth if such structures are in operation. Additionally, while ruling-bloc actor respondents generally presented their organisations as open dissemination advocates, they did not aspire to any revolutionary field alteration, but a gradual transformation (Danforth & Hetherington, 2015; Hastings, 2016; Hill, 2015). For commercial publishers especially such gradual evolution was vital in ensuring that their sources of capital income were not disrupted. Yet, it was a position which allowed them to align with the other major actors, in seeking to create a sense of unification and harmony throughout the field (Funder#1, 2015; Hastings, 2016; Thorley, 2015). Consequently, they were able to neutralise the agency of some resistance aspects to their own dominant power-relations.

Smaller commercial publisher respondents commonly noted a reluctance to adopt an overt engagement stance within the discourse, preferring to yield this privilege to the larger corporate players (Publisher#1, 2015; Publisher#2, 2015). Consequently, this action can be seen to reduce their agency, potentially also shifting them out of any ruling-bloc and hence positioning them in a questionable existential position. What forms of resistance they adopted seemed driven from a sense of economic security, rather than seeking to constrain the actions of others. Yet, when addressing any evident hegemony over the field, from the

respondents' insights, it becomes possible to envisage a fragmented ruling-bloc, one which is far from unified in purpose or direction. Aspects of this hegemonic dysfunction and fragmentation were evidenced within the cynicism about the commercial publishers' shifts to embrace OA given their profit derived motivations (Herman, 2015), tensions around the mandated policy requirement practicalities (Funder#1, 2015), or indeed simply a resultant stagnation due to the melange of competing ideologies, desires and directions (Lake, 2015; Publisher#3, 2015). What can be seen here then is that these very competing tensions of the ruling-bloc actors, rather than representing resistance to domination, are operating as resistances to change with the academic publishing field. Such disparate, and multi-directional drivers of these powerful players will themselves likely have formed a series of barriers to the evolution of open dissemination, in favour of or against greater openness, depending on each actor.

7.4. Reflections

It is necessary to step back a moment to consider the significance of these findings. The tensions operating between actors, partly reflect the different roles within the field each plays, and unsurprisingly each group possesses different priorities.

Open Embrace

From the fieldwork and this chapter's analysis, I have shown that some advances towards an open dissemination future have been achieved within the UK academy. Seemingly, drawing on academic and other respondents, the UK academic community increasingly possesses a willingness to engage with the practice, despite questions remaining about OA's holistic public good ideology. Simultaneously, other actors, especially within the ruling-bloc, represented themselves as increasingly working towards a vision of a more unified and standardised OA praxis, albeit not yet within a form viewed as sustainable by all.

Certainly, the rise of the funded-gold, 'corporate OA' form as the dominant model within the discourse, reveals much about the academy's decades-long subsumption within a neoliberal policy environment. It also has revealed much about the ruling-bloc's adjustments in ideology and praxis, to ensure their continued publishing hegemony dominion. This despite, at least within journal titles, the 'diamond' non-corporate OA form's numerical superiority. Once reputational capital is considered, it is the smaller number of funded-gold titles, the big four publishers produce which continue a predominance over the field, and exert considerable influence over the academy's dissemination practices. Certainly funders' mandates have had their impact too, but it is the government and HEFCE's influences, reified through the REF 2021 mandate which are

most significantly shaping research publication practices. Yet, this mandate seems constructed to further enshrine the new managerialist, positivistic metric culture within the academy, rather than servicing any Newmanian ideal of universities as locales for public good

As Foucault would remind us, the resistance to power which operates within this neoliberal publication hegemony gives hope to those for whom the original ideological public good desires of OA practices seem to be increasingly distorted. Within the actors, respondents like Hole (2015) or Gatti (2015), whose thoughts have helped shape this chapter, it can be seen that individual and group efforts do exist, and I will explore in detail some specific examples in the next chapter. Yet, what is also clear is how the power-relations are strongly configured to maintain the government, academic publishers and funders' normative domination. Where the motivations of funders seem to be slanted more towards achieving a normative publication praxis within the academy supportive of openness, other ruling-bloc actors' motivations are more clouded. Certainly, from the limited governmental body fieldwork I achieved, it is frustrating to not have gained a clearer picture of why their support for OA has continued. Certainly, with the post-Finch policy and fiscal support for funded-gold, arguably this represents the appropriation and adoption of an open culture's mores to service and support the market economy paradigm. Indeed, it would be easy to ascribe to the government motivations, in response to the commercial publishing sector's strong lobbying, of ensuring that business and capital growth needs succeed over academic scholarship. With so much of the academy's functions increasingly conceptualised within a neoliberal capitalistic framing, this would be a reasonable conclusion to reach. However, on the basis of the evidence collected, I cannot be certain of its validity.

What I am more certain of though, is that the established field ruling-bloc, clearly continues to use its influence to maintain its position of dominance. Consequently, this position of hegemonic dominance over the academic publishing field arose during the era of legacy publication and seemingly is set to continue for the foreseeable future. Government and funders wield considerable economic power. HEFCE and academic publishers occupy positons which allow their continued control over the symbolic esteem and reputational capital, responsible for defining the relative success of academics' careers. That all of them are now 'permitting' the spread of at least one OA form is not a softening of position, nor a sudden shift to the adoption of a greater egalitarian position. Nor can it be considered to be the result of any authentic practice revolution, although certainly OA movement elements have partly helped engender such changes and the existence of a largely

unrealised academic agency. Such ruling-bloc dominance is not, reductively or automatically malign in nature, despite individual respondent's characterising some actors, especially commercial publishers, as 'oppressors'. Certainly, actors like HEFCE, and funders, strongly represented their role in creating a new and more open form of dissemination practice, through their financial and policy agency. Yet, it must be considered that through the ruling-bloc's maintenance of their own power positions, effectively they ensure the continuance of an academic publication system wherein academic labour is exploited for commercial gain. Economically it is understandable why such a state is desirable, yet it is equally understandable why pro-OA academic activists would seek to resist such an iniquitous status quo for the academy.

Field Dynamism

That said, to talk of any status quo within the academic publishing field today, would be inaccurate. Clearly, the tensions which have long operated between the actors serve today to produce a greater dynamism to the field. Individual academics' research publication practices are changing, as are those of other publication actors. With new actors including new academic-led university presses, OA journals and monograph publishers, along with platforms like the Open Library of Humanities, entering the already complex field, arguably the potential for change within it is greater now than ever. Thus, unsurprisingly many respondents saw the future of academic communication no longer as a monolithic and limited series of models and channels, but rather as an explosion of forms, vectors or models. While governmental policy, filtered through funders and HEFCE, may serve to support the adoption of a particular form, funded-gold, academic research is a global system, and hence the attention many policy making respondents identified towards unifying international publication policy. My focus has been on the UK academy, but were academics globally to truly embrace the potential for online review, collation and distribution of their scholarly works through new channels, this could offer the greatest resistance to the established hegemonic control yet. It is perhaps why Gower's (2012) call for international rebellion against Elsevier caused such resonances throughout the field, suggesting the greatest hope for the OA movement to create effective change is through operating on an international, rather than national, level.

I must return to the theme of academic agency, which appears poorly recognised by the academic corpus. It is easy to consider how, locked within a marketised audit culture of metric control, embraced by their own institutional management and enforced by funding policies, academics might be reluctant to challenge the established legacy and funded-gold practices. Yet, while existing challenges will continue to be constructed as a conjunctural

crisis, the ruling-bloc's abilities and reserves to address the crisis while retaining their positions are finite. Were academics to migrate *en masse* to new publication platforms, outside of commercial publishers control, embrace non-positivistic esteem capital formats[191] and accept a greater management responsibility for such sources, then the ruling-bloc would find much of its power-relations undermined and subverted. This would comprise an authentic revolution in publication praxis and radical change within the field's configuration. Yet, from exploring my respondents' lifeworld, aside from a pioneering few, any appetite for such dramatic shifts in the hegemony and the academic publishing field was limited. Certainly, it is possible to envisage that this might instigate neoliberalised universities to divest themselves of these 'troublesome academics' services.

Stagnation and Stratification

This revolutionary indifference underscores why practitioners' efforts, long focussed on the many barriers they perceive, lie between academic communities and a greater OA embrace, may be doomed to failure. Power-relations within the field continue to be configured to favour the ruling-bloc's hegemony, diminishing the agency of the subaltern any new players entering the field. Practitioners, therefore, are attempting to achieve radical and wholesale shifts in praxis, against which the ruling-bloc actors and the subaltern field members each in their own way contribute to resisting. Thus, the legacy, and the governmentally and institutionally favoured open publication models seem resistant to transformation into any more egalitarian or autonomous forms.

This stagnation suggests a conclusion that OA, as it is configured currently within the UK, in a monetarised funded-gold form, may actually damage the academy through a stratification into the haves and the have-nots. Given the RCUK block funding to support publication through the funded-gold model is distributed unevenly across institutions, there a genuine risk exists that academics at smaller or less research symbolic capital rich institutions will be starved of these funds. As REF 2021 scores, research income, capital investment and even student recruitment depend so crucially on such institutional metrics, such an effect would be compounded over time. Likely Russell Group institutions, already relatively wealthy in capital income, human resource and reputational esteem would fare well under such a regime. Meanwhile post-1992 universities along with less research esteem capital rich red brick and plate glass institutions would suffer further deprivations of income. Under such a scenario, and in the wake of the current white paper (Great Britain, 2016) discourse in representing 'failing institutions as demonstrating a healthy market', it is probable that universities will attempt to minimise losses by withdrawing funded

---

[191] Such non-quantitative metrics comprise, at least in part, what are referred to as *altmetrics*.

publication support for 'unprofitable' or 'poor return' research[192]. For the humanities this presents a terrifying scenario, and yet such removal from the research discourse would not be limited to these disciplines. Naturally, were the academic corpus to rise up, absent themselves from governmentally-derived metric schemes and embrace other forms of dissemination, then this could ensure that arenas of UK research avoid such existential threats.

This scenario may be a dour note to end on, yet not all is doom-laden. Academic activists exist and variously are working to challenge the ruling-bloc's direction through actively exploring alternatives to compliance or extinction. Hence, I shall now consider a few.

---

[192] Again, the consequences of the governmental promotion of for-profit 'universities' in such a fully marketised HE sector go beyond the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, it would not be beyond the bounds of possibilities to envisage that this would result in further stratification of the HE sector, with student and researcher access toll-gated through economic rather than intellectual abilities.

Chapter 8: Context, Resistance and Counter-Hegemony: Activist Narratives

8.1.   Introduction

In the previous chapter I considered how the experiences and contributions from the key academic publishing field actors contribute to constructing the current and emerging praxis of scholarly communication. While each actor contributes to this broad academic communication discourse, my work has focussed on the shifts towards adopting a normative OA publication practice. I have explored how publishing in any form exists within the prevailing neoliberal capitalist ideology pervading global society, and any acts of resistance to it are constructed as responses within this framework. Hence, there is considerable power located in the economic base, possessed and utilised by the extant dominant ruling-bloc actors to maintain their hegemony. Nevertheless, resistance to this can represents a powerful force for change, albeit a power that from an autonomist perspective, no longer derives solely from capital sources, but can arise from collective action (Eden, 2012). Notably, many of my respondents argued while change agency is situated within the academic community, unified mass action remains unfocussed, and hence less effectual.

While within a Gramscian war of position though, any disruptions which serve to shift the pre-existing hegemony can originate from a myriad of actors and actions (Bocock, 1986) rather than a unitary source. As Gramsci stresses because of its flexible adaptation, achieving a hegemonic shift is no easy matter, and it is likely no single actor or group will form the pivot around which all other resistance moves. This speaks of an appreciation of the interplay of power-relations comprising the academic publishing field. Hence, in this chapter I shall first review the concept of resistance and activism. Then I wish to consider some specific individual approaches and consider how they contribute to a counter-hegemonic resistance to the enclosed, commodified traditional scholarly paradigm, and perhaps even to the academy's neoliberalisation. This will be achieved through reviewing emergent OA academic communication praxis as exposed within interviews with selected OA academic activists. While I introduced them earlier[193] each of the four activist interview narratives are intended to provide a complementary counterpart to the earlier insights gained from the academic and actors. Regrettably due to thesis length regulations there is insufficient space to explore these to the depth they perhaps deserve, nevertheless, these

---

[193] See *Chapter 5 (5.3) Interview Participants*. Note, all academic activist participants gave their explicit permission to be identified by name, and additionally were provided with an opportunity to review this chapter for accuracy and clarity of their representations here, prior to submission.

interviews provide considerable insights into areas including the motivations behind adopting activism, its progress and configuration, and perhaps most crucially, the impact from their counter-hegemonic resistance. Consequently, these narratives also contribute to the understanding of field power-relations, providing insights into the future configuration of dissemination praxis.

It is clear from these narratives that each activist contributes to resistance in different ways. Fuchs' efforts are perhaps the most radical or purist towards OA, but consequently they must remain relatively small. The efforts of Lilley and team conversely are concerned more about exposing inequities within the field, and propagating greater debate amongst the academic corpus, inspiring and motivating others to rethink their publication praxis. Finally, Eve, along with Cond and Barker, are concerned with developing practical platform, protocol and funding model alternatives to both OA and traditional prevailing publication paradigms. Thus, each of my academic activists not only contribute something unique to scholarly publication discourse and practise, but also affect the field's dynamics.

Resistance

> *Digital and distributed media have opened up new possibilities for resistance and for the construction of alternatives to capitalism. None of these possibilities can be achieved without more fundamental changes enforced by the struggle of the oppressed.* (Wittel, 2016, p. 47*)*

As Wittel reminds us, while the advent of digital communication technology proffers new ways to bypass the circuits of capital, any such resistance to the prior cultural norms represents a struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed. Hence, before turning to address my academic activists, it is worth reviewing the concept of resistance as it applies within my framework and the academic publishing field. One particularly apt definition comes from Hands (2011), who defines resistance as an "*active and stubborn approach*" which takes place:

> *…when acts readily cross the boundary into defiance of authority or perceived injustice. This may well be backed up by the use of force, whether implicit or explicit. It is the refusal not just of consent but also of compliance… Resistance in these terms is thus an act of refusal more than a failure of assent, but also of dissent that imposes limits on the claims of another to authority.* (ibid, p. 4 & 5)

Hence, resistance can be viewed as actions which disrupt the power-relations impacting upon the subaltern within a field, either through a countering action or declining to respond. Interestingly Kinsman (2004) critiques that "*Orthodox Marxism gives power to capital, portraying workers as victims lacking power or agency*", asserting rather it is "*Autonomism [which] recognises their resistance.*" As noted earlier, Foucault long considered that wherever power-relations exist then resistance does too (Mills, 2003), as

an inescapable part of the relationships. Yet, as Worth, drawing on Foucault also notes "*as power is dispensed and directed within separate discourses there are no unified causes or universal expressions of such resistance but rather 'a plurality of resistances, each of them a special case*" (2013, p. 39). Such a conceptualisation lends support to the idea of effective resistance enacted through disaggregated, largely autonomous and diffuse activities, like that typified by the assemblage of academic activists' actions seeking to further the OA movement. Worth (2013, p. 34) however, concludes that it is Gramsci's "*Marxian form of resistance*" or counter-hegemony, which provides the most useful conceptualisation, a view with which I find myself strongly in agreement. Such resistance then is conceptualised as operating through Gramsci's dual modes of war, movement and position. Here, the former war comprises a "*frontal assault against the state*" which incorporates "*armed insurrections, mass protests, strikes, etc.,*", while the latter encompasses the "*more implicit form of protests (boycotts, the contestation of ideas, etc.)*" (ibid, p. 35). It is such a cultural rather than martial resistance that typifies the resistance modality as encountered within UK academia.

The opposition for any resistance is also worth considering. Drawing on Foucault, Mills (2003) argues that within a field, where the state is not the only source of influence or power, then any protest or resistance must not only be directed towards these other actors, but also must be configured as something other than lobbying elected officials. Indeed, as Hardt and Negri (2000, p. 308) argue, the "*traditional forms of resistance, such as the institutional workers' organizations that developed…have begun to lose their power.*" Consequently, this necessitates the invention of "*a new type of resistance*" which ideally must operate at local and global levels. Yet, "*the inability to identify the enemy is what leads the will to resistance around in such paradoxical circles.*" (ibid, p. 211), has resonance with my experiences in exposing the academic publishing field ruling-bloc actors. Discounting the deeply pejorative term 'enemy', it is rarely clear within the complex web of power-relations who the hegemonic 'opponent' is for the subaltern resistance. Hardt and Negri agree this represents "*no small task given that exploitation tends no longer to have a specific place and that we are immersed in a system of power so deep and complex that we can no longer determine specific difference or measure.*" (ibid, p. 210-211). As I have exposed through talking with practitioners, academics and other actors, the identification of any 'opponent' from the OA movement's perspective 'resistance' may traditionally be assigned to commercial publishing actors, yet this is not automatically clear. Indeed, from the commercial publishers' perspectives, themselves resistant to certain changes within the field, their perceived 'opponents' are likewise as complex and uncertain.

Activism

Finally, then for its operation, there must be individual activists through whose actions such resistance operates. Hardt and Negri identify four main "*subjective figures*" typically operating within any social movement or uprising against the prevailing hegemony; "*the indebted, revolting against financial institutions; the mediatized, rising against corporate control of information and networks; the securitized, seeking protection from state violence; and the represented, rejecting the corruptions of electoral democracy.*" (see Dyer-Witheford, 2015, p. 11). It is the *mediatized* concept which most closely represents the configuration of academic activists, whose efforts contribute to countering the academic publishing field's corporatisation. Gramsci highlights that for counter-hegemonic resistance to be effective then it must be achieved through the strongly evidenced actions of *organic intellectuals*, individuals who would be "*important in forming the consciousness of a specific ideology*" within a society (Worth, 2013). Thus, resistance comprises not only activists' actions, but also the influence, information and example they contribute to the field. Despite the ruling-bloc's continual efforts to decompose the subaltern's power-relations' cohesion, the labouring class can recompose as 'fresh workers', bring new resistance approaches (Dyer-Witheford, 1999). Thus, new academics entering the field, along with introducing new thinking, contribute to engendering resistance. These new 'figures of struggle' are not merely negatively configured, but "*express, nourish, and develop positively their own constituent projects*" working towards liberating "*living labor, creating constellations of powerful singularities.*" (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 206). Hence, as much as they might act to rearticulate the field's power-relations, academic activists are a creative force constructing and championing new platforms, modalities and practices. Despite this creatively positive conception of activists, Worth sounds a note of caution and, drawing on Foucault, argues that while "*forms of resistance can challenge power-relations at any level of society*", since "*power-relations are dispersed across all layers of society, can any form of resistance make any significant difference?*" (Worth, 2013, p. 39). Interestingly, Wittel (2016) warns against solely employing critique as activism, for it to be effective. This question of effectiveness and impact arising from activism's acts of resistance is important, and something I will reflect on in the light of my activists' revelations.

In previously considering resistance[194], it was impossible not to begin drawing on the academic activist respondents' insights, for their activities can clearly be configured as proactive, disruptive and offering direct resistance to various aspects of the dissemination hegemony. These recognised individuals and groups of professionals arguably represent

---

[194] Specifically, within *Chapter 7.*

epistemic communities (Mills, 2003), in that they have significant roles in constructing and propagating field changes. Each academic activist has their own agenda and motivations, and make their significant inputs to the field in different ways. What marks them specifically as academic activists is that they clearly go beyond the quotidian to shape, inspire and enable developments which drive OA practice forward. Academic activism is not a normative mode for academics to occupy, hence what these people are enacting within the academy is exceptional practice. Each activist does not have the same idea, nor are they all pushing in the same precise direction. Nevertheless, they are united in that each contributes to the counter-hegemonic shift within the power-relations and practice norms comprising the academic publishing field.

Why would anyone embrace academic activism, given it does can come with personal and professional risks? The impact on professional reputation and leisure time, and in extreme cases loss of life or liberty are the prices which can paid for activism[195] (Flood et al, 2013). Conversely, those adopting an activist stance, can find themselves positioned with significant agency and greater visibility within a discourse, renders it a more attractive proposition. The drive to achieve changes in the dissemination field then, means any potential gains must be balanced against these hazards. Thus, with financial uncertainties and increasing casualization within the sector academic corpus (Lynch & Ivancheva, 2015) why should any academic stick their head above the parapet? In the previous chapter, some actor respondents were certainly motivated to apply their agency, due to the importance their job places on achieving organisational goals. Conversely, individual academic respondents were often incentivised through a mixture of personal benefit and public coercion to engage with emerging dissemination praxis and were less concerned with the bigger picture.

However, I am concerned with OA academic activists, those who are willing to engage with emerging dissemination praxis not simply for minor professional benefit or organisational gain, but rather wish to evoke field changes, to achieve a broader public good, challenge corporatisation or expose inequities. The reasons are varied, but what unites them is each of their activities can be seen to be advancing open dissemination praxis in some manner. Thus, understanding more about the experiences which drove Cond, Barker, Eve, Fuchs, Lilley and Weir to engage with academic activism, helps to frame their actions whilst also further contextualising the field, and hence are worthy of examination.

---

[195] Notably, in the more extreme cases of digital information activism, as the experiences of Snowden, Schwartz or Assange demonstrate.

8.2. Christian Fuchs

We did not want to found a journal that operates in the traditional way…[hence it is] a kind of non-commercial open access journal, that takes a model that is quite different than the ones that are for-profit open access journals. (Fuchs, 2015)

My first activist is Christian Fuchs, prolific author and Professor of Social Media based at the University of Westminster (Westminster, 2016). Fuchs came to my attention through his addressing of perceived inequities in the academic publication field by the co-founding and editorial operation of the long running, and arguably pioneering, communications and society OA journal *tripleC* in 2003. Having spoken with Fuchs a few times before and through interviewing him, it would be fair to typify him as the most ideological radical and OA purist in outlook of my activists.

I don't give a damn about open access if it's not taking us beyond, if it doesn't have the potential of taking us beyond a capitalist publishing world, because that's all what I care about. And that's the motivation for doing triple-C to do publishing in a different way. (Fuchs, 2015)

Fuchs continues to be strongly driven to resist and overcome the extant capitalist publishing hegemony through practically supporting shifts to non-corporate 'diamond' OA publication model (Fuchs & Sandoval, 2013), through the operation of tripleC. Interestingly, he expressed frustrations with elements of the pro-OA movement, critiquing their conservatism and pragmatic orthodoxy.

[a] journal like triple-C, that is a non-commercial, creative commons journal, academic open access journal that uses a creative commons non-commercial licence…it's a non-commercial, non-profit, gold open access journal. But then the crucial aspect is non-profit (Fuchs, 2015)

In Fuchs' perceptions, publishing academic articles and books is intrinsically "*linked to a capitalist publishing world*" and "*being open…does not mean anything politically progressive*". In contrast, he argued for the diamond free-gold OA model's superiority as it "*is non-corporate and non-profit and does not charge anyone.*" (Fuchs, 2015). He also outlined how it answered some of the 'systemic inequities' which existed within the funded-gold model, through permitting academic freedom to publish in a "*non-capitalist and anti-capitalist way*" even where publication funding was unavailable to them. As a form of resistance while this is functionally and operationally effective, it is perhaps less broadly impactful, in that tripleC works with a smaller community of adherents. Nevertheless, having existed successfully for over a decade alongside legacy and funded-gold publication models, tripleC represents a positive and continuing form of small scale effective resistance firmly ideologically and practically set against the extant capitalist publication hegemony. As part of the cultural war of position, some considerable benefit exists through disrupting extant power-relations. Perhaps Fuchs' work is overall less

disruptive or visible a challenge to the publishing hegemony than some other activists'
actions, but it possesses a discrete individuality while serving as an exemplar academic-led
OA platform. This is typical of many academic-run OA journals. Yet, through his
recognition of an extant system which has long comprised the academy's normative praxis
driving Fuchs' desires to gain a greater control, power and agency over the dissemination
field, clearly demarcates him as a motivated activist for publishing practice change.

> *[tripleC] encourages open peer review, where we encourage the authors and the reviewers*
> *to make their identity know to each other. But that's something that the authors and the*
> *reviewers can decide. I mean, we have a review policy where we say we encourage*
> *open…reviewing, it's used to a certain extent.* (Fuchs, 2015)

TripleC, Fuchs noted, was also engaged in efforts to propagate open practice beyond
dissemination, through experimenting with open peer review practices. This opening of the
central quality assurance publication functionality is exciting area since it champions the
ideology of open publishing practice further than providing a platform. It is however, an
area of practice which some scholars regard as unconformable, and hence that Fuchs
wishes to facilitate such challenging practice, underlines his commitment to OA academic
activism.

> *In principle, you can frame it as a kind of class struggle on the market for academic*
> *publishing. Although the non-corporate diamond open access journals are very much*
> *opposed to the idea that there is a market in any way. A market for, for selling articles as*
> *commodities, or selling the excess to publishing…But in the end it's also about a kind of*
> *competition between the corporate models and the non-corporate models.* (Fuchs, 2015)

As discussed earlier, the academic publishing field is not a monolithic construct and
certainly neither is OA, which Fuchs views as being split into competing corporate and non-
corporate forms[196]. This tension results in a class struggle, giving rise to contradictions
within the power-relations and hence any agency afforded to actors. Additionally, while
the non-corporate, commons-derived OA format opposes these powerful 'structures of
inequality', due to the OA movement's diffuse and non-unified composition a dysfunction
exists for achieving any tangible goals. This was seen in the disparate ways in which the
activists viewed academics power-relations. Notably the overwhelming numerical majority
of OA journal titles, like *tripleC*, do fall under Fuchs' diamond model (Fuchs, 2013; Suber,
2013), operated as non-profit, academic volunteer curated projects which take "*open*
access beyond [the] capitalist publishing world." (Fuchs, 2015). This helps to rebalance the
economic power equation in the academy's favour, and perhaps for individual titles with
dedicated academic editorial staff based within relatively well-funded western universities,
represents a sustainable model. Any larger-scale alternatives to industrialised publishing

---

[196] Free-gold (diamond) and funded-gold OA publishing respectively, which I discussed in *Chapter 4*.

must possess an operating model which is scalable and economically sustainable if they are to survive. Yet, despite his personal distaste publishing clearly does continue to operate within a marketised field. Nevertheless, Fuchs' efforts do contribute to challenging this normative state.

> *We wanted to found an information science journal, and did not have any resources for it on the one hand. On the other hand we did not want to found a journal that operates in the traditional way, and with all these constraints that I have just been talking about.* (Fuchs, 2015)

For Fuchs the impetus which motivated him to embrace OA academic activism was the desire to operate a non-commercial, 'anti-capital and non-capital' scholarly journal, outside of a capitalist publication regime's control. Like the editors of similar academic-led purely OA titles, the desire to operate a non-commercial, academic controlled dissemination vector, serving to challenge the inequities he perceived operated within the legacy publication model.

> *[tripleC] has developed over the years, has now also changed its focus and understands itself as a kind of non-commercial open access journal, that takes a model that is quite different than the ones that are for-profit.* (Fuchs, 2015)

This returns to an underlying theme within the OA discourse: the extreme profitability of commercial publishers achieved through academic labour exploitation. Fuchs recognised that this "*very monopolised and centralised academic publishing industry*" displayed tendencies "*to make very high profits*" (Fuchs, 2015), a normative state which he desired to challenge. Consequently, unsurprisingly Fuchs was further motivated in his efforts by a neoliberal capitalist dominated publishing field which he described as being is "*full of contradictions*", as evidenced by the continued ideological prominence of research publication metric and measures. These academic reputational measures are utilised within the global academy as surrogates for scholarly esteem, and represent a potent source of agency.

> *I'm probably more conservative and believe more in traditional peer review. However, traditional peer review is also defunct and does not work, because there are structures of power in academia.* (Fuchs, 2015)

Fuchs argued that even the extant peer review system is flawed, and despite tripleC's experimentation with it, there issues remain with any more open alternative. This he believes is because of the underlying 'power structures' which make it possible for significant scholars work to be recognised, despite double blind review processes. Consequently, potentially radical publications "*may be rejected because they don't like your politics.*" (Fuchs, 2015). This clearly resonates with Lilley's experience of ideological rather

than critical publication rejection, exposing that not all anti-open power is situated within the ruling-bloc.

> *I think it's an ideology to think there is, that there should be something like reader or consumer power in peer review…But not in quantitate terms, that you can say 'This is a 5 star article', like in a REF ranking and so on. This is just a monster.* (Fuchs, 2015)

For Fuchs, these metrics are ideologically neoliberal derived markers, which function to commodify the research outputs of individual academics, but also serve as a class divider. Consequently, the long established, commonly legacy or funded-gold journal titles possess a seemingly insurmountable scholarly esteem derived symbolic power. Fuchs argued that mechanisms which propagate and maintain this esteem are not only flawed, but operate an active "*conscious discrimination against non-corporate open access journals*" (Fuchs, 2015). Consequently, within the neoliberalised academy enmeshed in such a measurement-obsessed discourse, there is often little logical reason for academics to seek publication within newer titles, framed as they are as subaltern choices. For Fuchs, this represented a further motivation towards his efforts to challenge from his perceptions a normative corporate publishing dominated paradigm.

> *I would say it's trying to claim power from the corporate world. Because reclaiming would mean that there was an original state of affairs where the academics were all in power.* (Fuchs, 2015)

Fuchs in turn challenged my own assumptions by declaring that academics' struggles towards adopting OA as normative practice, did not represent the reclamation of hegemonic ruling power by the academy. Rather he argued how historically the academy had never possessed significant agency within publication, and that any agency created was a new eventuality. Yet, despite this critique and his revolutionary passion, Fuchs does not blame academics for submitting to hegemonic power, understanding how their publication decisions are rationalised towards achieving career progression. Additionally, he understood that younger scholars who might be expected to introduce, embrace and propagate disruptive praxis change, were if anything even more restricted in their choice of publication destination than their mentors, as a consequence of the reputational agency operating within the academic publishing field. If they wished to develop an academic career Fuchs (2015) stated it would be "*ill advised to tell a PhD student 'Only publish in non-corporate or open access journals'*", as this would risk diminishing their reputational capital return. Hence, from Fuchs' perceptions an inherent professional conservatism and subservience to normative praxis continues to be visibly propagated within the academy. Unsurprisingly, the efforts many commercial publisher respondents noted they expended on outreach to the academic community, ensured a continued complicity with hegemony

and the pleasure generating principles of power over them. This continued advocacy of the established field norm, represents for pro-OA activists a powerful bloc to overcome.

> *That people want to make money out of open access and do it especially via article processing charges and now also book processing charges. Which just shifts the burden of coming up with money, payments, from the consumers to the authors, and involves news forms of inequality. Then because not all authors have access to funding.* (Fuchs, 2015)

Fuchs had some broader insights on the impacts from OA journals like his, particularly around publisher profitability, a recurrent OA dissemination discourse theme. The introduction of funded-gold APC have been critiqued as serving to continue established revenue streams, and consequently maintaining ruling-bloc extant economically derived power-relations. Indeed, the idea that open dissemination permits the continued extraction of surplus value from academic labour, remains distasteful to many pro-OA advocates, yet Fuchs perceived how "*the idea of corporate for profit open access.*" (Fuchs, 2015) had clearly grown in recent years becoming almost a normative publication process. For Fuchs, this for-profit corporate OA helped shape a capitalist dominated academic publishing field, which remained riven with "*fundamental inequalities*" (Fuchs, 2015).

> *I think that's a new danger in corporate open access publishing, which doesn't mean that we should forget about all of open access publishing, it just means that wherever there is capitalism there are problems which could be a good reason for opposing capitalism and thinking about something beyond capitalism in the economy in general. And non-capitalist forms of publishing and organisation in the publishing world in particular.* (Fuchs, 2015)

Unsurprisingly, Fuchs argued how where there was capitalism and a potential for profit exist, the chance for OA becoming distorted regrettably was a probability. This is in line with my earlier observations of the ruling-bloc's continued subsumption of other actors' agency. It also serves to underline how Fuchs OA activism, firmly rooted in an anti-capitalist framework, is concerned with more than creating new dissemination routes but also seeks to decouple academic publishing from capitalist-derived power-relations. This is a daunting task, especially in the light of the pragmatic compliance displayed by UK OA practitioners.

> *From a perspective of the access to knowledge I think there are many limits and inequalities built into it. Think of a public university in a developing country, who probably have a library but probably cannot afford paying these prices for the journals and for the monographs.* (Fuchs, 2015)

Fuchs also highlighted how he perceived the industrialised publishing actors' actions had consequences for many institutions, globally, in equity of access to scholarly knowledge terms. Yet, continuing praxis shifts towards a normative APC funded-gold dissemination model, increases the risk of engendering greater inequalities within dissemination. As the

payment burdens shift, many authors[197] lacked funding and access to all publishing destinations, arguably impacting on academic freedom of dissemination destination choice. Once more the spectre of research dissemination stratification between rich and poor arises, as economic power suffuses and dominates the research dissemination's functions.

> *tripleC like a lot of open, non-corporate open access journals is just struggling with resources. We have a very, very very small [financial] support that lasts until the middle of next year, for paying for freelancer that does the copy editing, because that's hugely resource intensive.* (Fuchs, 2015)

While my perception of Fuchs is that of a committed idealist academic activists, he displayed a considerable concern over practical publishing necessities. He recognised how tripleC, even though it operates through non-commercial, autonomous processes, still required certain capital resources to operate. While generally these costs are met through the contribution of volunteer labour, in producing a quality publication Fuchs accepted that a salaried editorial assistant aided in providing editorial labour, like coordinating peer reviewer contributions. It is such 'bothersome labour' which many commercial publishers argue they shoulder on behalf of academics, providing part of what Bhaskar calls the "*filtering, framing and amplifying*" value of industrialised publication (see Eve, 2014b, p. 19). Indeed, for many learned societies such labour transference rationalised their divestment of publication's productive aspects (Gardner, 2013), reducing costs, although contributing to their field agency being subsumed. Yet, it was through addressing, accepting and ultimately reabsorbing such publication labour within the academy, that Fuchs recognised the academy's field agency could be increased or strengthened.

Thus, Fuchs and his editorial colleagues, through their journal publication activities, are clearly able to act as an idealised, anti-capitalist OA exemplar for other scholars, while acknowledging the practical publishing challenges. Yet, how might a strong, pro-OA ideological platform operate at a larger scale, and indeed what challenges might it face? To consider this, I turn to my next activist.

8.3. Martin Eve

> *I'm being asked to give stuff away when I publish, so why isn't other stuff, why are we paying for it? What is this economic cycle looking like?' And I got progressively more dissatisfied with what I was finding and learning about economics of publication in the academic humanities…I said 'Why is no one doing anything like this in the humanities?* (Eve, 2015)

My next activist is Martin Eve, Professor of Literature, Technology and Publishing at Birkbeck, University of London (Birkbeck, 2016) and prominent UK OA advocate. Eve first

---

[197] Especially, not only in the humanities, but also notably in smaller, less wealthy or research intensive institutions.

encountered OA during his doctoral studies, when he helped found a postgraduate journal. These experiences awakened his awareness of the inherent inequities and frustrations existing within the normative enclosed, legacy publication model, especially those relating to humanities publishing (Eve, 2015). He also observed how the OA movement's particular focus on accommodating STEM publication practices, had seemingly left the humanities neglected.

It was as a new academic during 2013, when Eve observed the success of PLOS'[198] non-commercial yet reputational-rich dissemination operations within the sciences. He also began uncovering that desires for establishing a comparable open publication platform also existed within the humanities community. Although he encountered widespread desires in the discourse, Eve observed how these rarely translated into a willingness to contribute labour to creating such a resource, commenting that he often heard "*[It's a] great idea, go for it, [but] you can do all the work*" (Eve, 2015) typifying otherwise positive responses. Nevertheless, uncovering such a degree of interest existed ran counter to common assumptions that humanities scholars were typically more reticent, resistant or simply disengaged from OA praxis than the sciences (Eve, 2014b). This motivated Eve's efforts to establish a sustainable practical response.

> *We have some experimental technological stuff that we're building at the moment…But on the other hand we're quite happy to publish the most traditional of English literary critical pieces on, on a book, in paper form, just make it openly available. So, the platform is not experimental as in it's something that we're trying as an experiment to see whether it works. It's here to stay as a publisher.* (Eve, 2015)

A key preparatory step in his efforts was gathering a nucleus of advisory support comprising a number of significant scholars and library practitioners, along with securing funding to develop the project. Then, with colleague Caroline Edwards, Eve was able to advance the creation and rapid development of what became an open humanities *megajournal*[199] publishing platform, along with a place to which humanities journals could migrate. This *Open Library of Humanities* (OLH)[200] then acts as a non-commercial publishing site with no author-facing OA fees (OLH, 2014).

> *We got together an academic board from there, decided what we needed to get a lot of social buy in for this kind of thing to work, and that co-designing it in discussion with others would be the way to do that.* (Eve, 2015)

---

[198] The Public Library of Science, a STEM non-profit OA publisher.
[199] A term popularised by PLOS. A megajournal is, an OA disciplinary broad scholarly journal, where only submission quality rather than quantity limits the inclusion of papers (Binfield, 2013).
[200] The OLH was formally launched in late 2016, subsequent to my interview with Eve.

From the outset though Eve recognised that achieving academic community buy-in and establishing sufficient prestige capital for the platform, rather than simple technological endeavour, were crucial to the OLH's success. This was achieved in two ways. Firstly, rather than following the often enclosed workings of commercial publishing actors, an ideology of openness was embraced throughout with developmental discussions being made publically open to scrutiny. Secondly, a board of recognised, and reputational capital rich scholars were brought on board to champion and support the OLH as its academic board. Consequently, Eve sought to establish new lines of power-relations, and crucially credible esteem and reputational capital for the platform which he hoped would be sufficient to challenge the established hegemony. Crucially, this decouples capital from reputational esteem, and represented a major advantage as it placed the OLH in a positon to harness the field agency in a similar way to the established commercial publishers.

> *We spent the last year until May getting libraries interested, getting researchers interested, getting a bunch of journals interested…We have almost a hundred institutions who've signed up. And some of them have supported us for up to 5 years in advance. So, I'd say we're pretty financially solid at the moment. In fact much more so than I dreamed we would be.* (Eve, 2015)

The OLH was always intended to be more than an experimental platform, and was constructed as a long term, sustainable, academic community-led quality publishing environment. Supported initially through sponsorship and later through a consortia membership fee-based funding model, it was hoped that it would also serve to challenge and disrupt normative dissemination praxis globally. Nevertheless, the Mellon Foundation, a principal funder, highlighted the ongoing volatility of the academic publishing field evolution, making Eve and his team, carefully consider the longer term implications of establishing and operating the OLH through academic labour.

> *I spent a year basically flying around different libraries talking to people, telling them what we're doing, gauging feedback from the Q&A sessions, from librarians and from researchers. Tweaking it every time we did that slightly. Learning how to set up a company for example was also a stumbling block.* (Eve, 2015)

Certainly, Eve engaged in considerable labour in recruiting organisations to become OLH consortium members, along with the technical developments. Certainly, the acceptance of such labour from the academy, as with tripleC, forms a familiar part of the academic-led operational configuration. The issue of ensuring negligible academic labour is a common counter publishers, and some other actors, raise against academics running publishing services. Hence, for Eve a project born of desires to challenge dissemination inequities, has matured from a radical activism position into a platform where addressing ongoing economic and labour concerns formed a central part of its operational matrix.

Eve commented while non-rivalrous digital dissemination permits effectively unlimited growth for the megajournal, a risk existed that the OLH could outstrip the capacity to manage it effectively, within their non-commercial dissemination model. Such an eventuality could however serve to enhance the nascent platform's reputational capital. Any period of over-submission of worthy manuscripts would require submissions to be temporarily 'throttled', allowing the throughput processes to return to manageable levels. Yet, Eve recognised how this could enhance "*the reputation of the mega-journal*" (Eve, 2015), with the artificial scarcity serving to increase the associated prestige for those scholars whose work was included. Consequently, he believed that the OLH's esteem capital would climb too, strengthening their field agency, representing an interesting use of the rivalrous publication practices to increase a non-rivalrous OA publishing endeavour's impact.

> *The risks or stumbling blocks were making sure it's going to work, so that this doesn't do any damage to credibility of any kind of OA movement, or other projects that are doing collective funding mechanisms. Getting all your pins lined up and then knocking them down when we're ready to go. So that's how I perceived it. There wasn't really a huge stumbling block once the financial model took off.* (Eve, 2015)

Notably, despite possessing an acknowledged personal 'leftist political persuasion', Eve has increasingly strived to align the OLH's operations pragmatically, rationalising like Fuchs the impossibility of ever reclaiming, or gaining, control over the academic publishing field. Yet, the OLH's operations do possess a considered long-term game, which is to change the publishing field through favourable disrupting the legacy and funded-gold publication paradigm's hegemony in favour of OA practices. As Eve explained, they planned to build on the platform's success in 'flipping' publisher journals away from commercial publishers and onto the OLH, arguing that should sufficient "*small to medium sized journals that exist and are valued in fields come on-board, then the ones that aren't doing it start to look weird*" (Eve, 2015). Gaining such a critical mass of change, effectively 'kills' the old journal even if it continues to be published, since any new OA journal arising with the same esteemed editorial team essentially is the exact same journal[201], arguably possessing an equivalent prestige capital. Such moves would help answer oft-voiced concerns around the diminished reputational capital of emerging OA publication destinations, while also bringing new academics into the praxis of non-corporate OA dissemination.

> *Fundamentally I'm most interested in bringing more conservative, traditional humanities publications into that space, and working out a way in which we get that to work. Which isn't that radical. It's almost like fixing what's gone wrong with what already exists…There are things obviously in retrospect that I know that would short circuit a lot of the process, and mean we didn't have to go through a hard-learning curve. But I think I'd still remain as*

---

[201] Which, notably happened in 2015, with the title Lingua's migration to Glossa on the OLH for example (Matthews, 2015).

> *frustrated with the [publishing environment] if I hadn't done something to try and fix it.* (Eve, 2015)

As touched on earlier, Eve's frustrations with the legacy publication model were a fundamental driver for his efforts. Consequently, the OLH's operations then represent his structured, highly visible and sustainable resistance to the extant publishing hegemony within the humanities. Yet, while the OLH's disruption appears largely pragmatically based, Eve's primary motivations in establishing it are not concerned solely with providing a publication platform. His efforts also seek to achieve cultural changes, engendered through propagating new publishing opportunities, which could persuade and facilitate humanities scholars' adopting OA practices. He notes how the APC costs within the funded-gold model represent are an acknowledged particular difficulty for the humanities which, in contrast to the STEM disciplines, attract relatively low levels of external funding (Gross, 2012). As Eve outlined, this iniquitous issue had driven the OLH team since funded-gold "*APCs are not scaled differentiated according to discipline*" (Eve, 2015), indicating how under this OA model humanities academics must find the same level of publishing funds as scientists. This acknowledged barrier for humanities scholars, motivated Eve's team to adopt a consortial membership funding model, permitting academics at member organisations to publish without additional author fees. Hence, by absorbing internally publication costs through funding and consortia membership fees, the OLH alleviates some practical barriers and community reluctance in adopting OA practice. Consortia members were also ensured agency over any cost increases caused by additional journals migrating to the OLH. Potential new additions are reviewed by the OLH's academic board, with any increased membership costs made transparent to consortia members, who can opt in if wished. Hence, "*Libraries only pay this when they've agreed to do so, and when they want the publication*" (Eve, 2015), potentially also making institutional savings in reduced subscription costs.

> *We're never going to basically take all of academic publishing back. The rights have been signed over to big international conglomerates already. So you're not going to win that battle but could show another way of doing this, that then triggers some kind of crisis in thinking about how others are doing it.* (Eve, 2015)

As discussed earlier, Eve's frustrations with the legacy publishing model were a fundamental driver yet he recognised that his efforts formed only part of a counter to the existing field agency. It had also shifted his activism into a more pragmatic mode. Like Fuchs, Eve recognised that agency within the field was not something entirely reclaimable, yet in his efforts to bring about practice changes he has achieved some measure of power-relation rearticulation. Despite the rapidity with which the OLH has impacted on open dissemination (Matthews, 2015, ROLH, 2016) it must be noted Eve considers it comprises a

246

far less revolutionary model, labelling it as something "*incredibly conservative and normative*", although acknowledging how some researchers viewed it as "*radical, experimental, doing something that is brand new*" (Eve, 2015). Hence, it is clear that the OLH may well be impacting on other field actors' thinking.

> *While you're not big enough to be a threat, they'll ignore you…I don't know how entities like Taylor and Francis might react if we start getting their journals transitioning to us. They might try something sneaky they could basically drop their article processing charges for a period of time, starve us out.* (Eve, 2015)

Consequently, the scale of OLH's operations and ambitions means its disruptions to normative practices will likely continue to grow, although Eve recognised that with successful growth[202] comes a greater exposure to significant existential threats, should established, dominant actors respond by utilising their considerable economic derived power. Eve's perceptions that an overt economic counter-reaction to major OA initiatives by the ruling-bloc actors was potentially overdue, resonated with concerns some academic respondents articulated. Indeed, given the commercial publishers' avowed corporate stance, such actions would seem a pragmatically protectionist response. While through adopting aspects of the subalterns' ideology a hegemony is maintained, any significantly overt disruption to academic community's novel dissemination efforts risks radicalising other academics to activism. Such actions could consequently engender the creation of a greater resistance to the ruling-bloc. Perhaps this helps rationalise the conspicuous absence of widespread direct ruling-bloc confrontation to disruptive OA activists (Oxenham, 2016; Eisen, 2013).

> *Doing anything like this is challenging for a researcher, because it's outside the usual field of risk that most researchers I think are happy with. I'm used to writing books and things like this, that there's a risk in teaching a class but it's not the same risk as setting up a company, taking people's money and making it work.* (Eve, 2015)

As Eve agreed, an absence of overt confrontation does not deny the existence of personal risk to which academic activists are exposed. Despite this, in common with my other activists, Eve reported favourably how there had "*been no professional cost on me whatsoever, only immense professional gain*" from his efforts, although rather prophetically commenting "*I think the costs have been more personal in those kind of life, health and wellness type of things.*" (Eve, 2015). Certainly, while his whirlwind of efforts in establishing, developing and advocating for the OLH appear to have achieved appreciable impacts, there has been a cost to Eve's wellbeing (Eve, 2016b). Yet, beyond any personal and organisational risk, Eve did identify a concern that his activism could itself damage the

---

[202] The OLH stands, as of November 2016, at over 210 consortia member libraries (Eve, 2016c) including notably Cambridge, Harvard and Yale. (OLH 2016 & 2017).

OA movement's long term counter-hegemonic viability. In this respect, he noted how he sought to avoid damaging the "*credibility of any kind of OA movement, or other projects that are doing collective funding mechanisms*" (Eve, 2015) throughout the OLH's establishment and operation. Hence, the care with which its development had been managed. Given the OA movement's disaggregated composition, this risk is one to which more activists should perhaps give credence, as it is feasible that uncoordinated activism might provoke exactly the kind of considerable ruling-bloc responses many fear. Consequently, the resultant impacts could be deleterious to the OA movement's sustainability.

> *It's been a frustrating, source of frustration to me that university presses who should be the good guys have not been more radical in their economic thinking for example. Why is it, why has no university press come up with a model like ours to support what they're doing…it's a very disaggregated movement…there are some who really want to go for the hard-left critical theory approach to open access, which I'm also interested in. And there are then more pragmatic initiatives that want to work within capital to establish ways in which we just achieve open access to research and the revolution can be deferred.* (Eve, 2015)

Conversely to his caution though, Eve remains an academic willing to balance risks to himself or the OA movement through his endeavours. Consequently, it was unsurprising how despite a growing pragmatism, he was clearly frustrated by the lack of radicalism some pro-OA actors, including university presses, had displayed. Perhaps as Eve observes, such radical agency is lacking because of the OA movement' disaggregation. With each individual or group of activists perhaps more isolated or at risk from hegemonic challenge than members within a more coherently unified organisation. Yet, given his prominence in the discourse and through his work in building a community-led resource, Eve could be typified as an organic intellectual, someone around whose actions greater community resistance can coalesce. If this is truly the case, then his work with the OLH may yet have greater ramifications for the academic publishing field's future configuration.

> *I coordinate the OA policy at Birkbeck for the REF and I give a lot of talks to people in various humanities disciplines about it. I think I might have changed their publication practice in terms of them being aware of OA and doing stuff they're writing in their disciplines. I might also have inspired some people to do some advocacy work.* (Eve, 2015)

Consequently, Eve possess a clear appreciation of the professional benefits, and a measure of the genuine impacts originating from his efforts. While undeniably the OLH represents a concrete OA exemplar which may reshape scholars' publishing praxis, it is clear that, like Fuchs, Eve's personal example could comprise as significant a disruptor to the field's normative practice and discourse. Whether within the UK academic community his dedicated willingness to adopt a public activist positon will significantly impact on the field power-relationships, only time will tell. What is clear, from both Fuchs and Eve, is that

resistance to the corporate publication models can be enacted as much through symbolic agency, as practical efforts. Hence, it is considering such symbolic-derived agency which leads to the endeavours of my next pro-OA academic activists, four academics whose actions centred on confronting and exposing iniquitous behaviour among particular ruling-bloc actors.

8.4.   Simon Lilley and Ken Weir

> *Went to a conference on, god, 20 years ago or something. Accounting Organisations and Societies, the journal organised it…They paid for us to go, covered everything…And we started doing the calculation of the library take on subscriptions for Accounting Organisations and so. We got to 2 million very quickly on annual take.* (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015)

Simon Lilley and Ken Weir are management academics based at the University of Leicester (Leicester 2016a & 2016b).   In recent years they, and colleagues[203], had slowly become aware of concerns and frustrations over the legacy publication system. While for Weir the frustration stemmed from IP ownership, for Lilley his interest had, ironically, consequently grown due to a commercial publishing actor's actions to retain academic loyalty, through exercising their economic power to fund attendance an overseas conference.   Discussions during this conference had raised Lilley's awareness not only of the commercialised publication system's economic flaws, but also the extraction of surplus value from academic cognitive labour, noting "*We provide all the labour and someone else pays for it, but they [publishers] somehow end up with the intellectual property*" (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015). The provision of authorial and editorial labour seemed for Lilley constructed to support the extant hegemony, positioning his fellow academics as subaltern actors. The sense of dissatisfaction and "*moral outrage*" this realisation provoked, drove Lilley, Weir and colleagues' decision to utilise their own agency, in applying a critical, scholarly lens to publicly expose and critiquing two publishers' financial praxis, and presenting it within the publisher's own journal titles.

> *I started looking through, and it was more about the financials of everything, looking at what they [publishers] were doing. [What] we kinda noticed was the fact that they'd restructured their activities on such a level that they were able to really just exploit tax loopholes.* (Weir in Lilley & Weir, 2015)
>
> *They'd effectively sold themselves to tax evader porn outlets…you're absolutely at the point where your contempt is so great for those that you supposedly serve that you don't care about, you'd happily, visibly make available the practices though which you screw people.* (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015)

---

[203] Notably these included their co-authors and collaborators David Harvie and Geoff Lightfoot, although I only interviewed Weir and Lilley.

It was an email in 2011 from Lightfoot to Weir which had first exposed these apparent irregularities[204], which on closer inspection, appeared to show that they and other publishers employed questionable tax avoidance strategies. Given the profitability of commercial publishing derives from an economic model based on publically funded research, an avoidance of paying tax by these actors incensed the academics. Focussing in on one particular commercial publisher, they discovered that their financial legerdemain had been trumpeted in banking publications, which further drove their interest. Consequently, Lilley and colleagues decided to publish their findings in the journal *Organization*, anticipating that this would provoke an 'interesting' reaction[205] within an academy which relies heavily on publishers for essential dissemination.

> *'Well really? I thought you were a scholarly outlet where people were supposed to just discuss the merits of views on the basis of the evidence available. I didn't realise it was an ideological operation in which certain views weren't allowed to be expressed or, particularly those that might be uncomfortable for you and your interests.'* (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015)

The hope was that through their public act of resistance would yield a similarly public response from the publisher, hence exposing their disjuncture with the academy's ideals. Lilley and colleagues' efforts were also intended to raise awareness of these inequities, hopefully galvanising the academic community into recognising that gaining agency over publishing increasingly lay within the academy's grasp. The Leicester academics intended that their article would bait a publisher reaction, but it was accepted and published with only minimal concomitant publicity. It was at this point that they decided to repeat their work, this time focussing in on *Taylor and Francis*[206], and to maximise the publicity around any publisher reaction. When the chance came to repeat their efforts, this time in the Taylor and Francis journal *Prometheus*[207], Lilley's team garnered a much greater response, as publisher internal efforts raged to censor their article and the editorial board threatened to resign in protest (Jump, 2014c). They were keenly aware of internal reactions thanks to contacts within the publishing house informing them of the consternation their work created going all "*the way to board level*" (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015).

This second article scored a greater reaction because it was initially rejected, not on scholarly peer reviewed quality but rather ideological grounds, due to its publisher critical content, rather than failing peer review quality adjudication. While eventually published, the academic media had taken an interest in resultant events (Jump, 2014c), which further raised awareness of their impacts. Consequently, through the publication, the editorial

---

[204] Lilley and Weir were unsure if this initial revelation related to the publishers Elsevier or Informa.
[205] The article in question being Harvie et al, (2012).
[206] Taylor and Francis are themselves owned by Informa.
[207] This article being Harvie et al (2013).

board resignation threats and the savvy marketing of their efforts, they achieved their goals spectacularly. Notably, the Education Reform Act (1988, p. 194) enshrines in UK law the academic freedom "*to question and test received wisdom, and to put forward new ideas and controversial or unpopular opinions*" without risk. Consequently, this initial suppression of Lilley's team's second paper, contravened this statute while also jeopardising the established quality assurance mechanisms, which publishers have long demarcated as a *sine non qua* of their contribution to the dissemination field (Anderson, 2014b; Gatti, 2014). Yet, Lilley and team's efforts to critique the hypocrisy present, uncovered an ideological resistance existed where "*certain views weren't allowed to be expressed, particularly those that might be uncomfortable*" for commercial publishers and their interests (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015). Lilley explained how publishers often defended their profitability excesses as an economic necessity for supporting a large-scale dissemination infrastructure, required because academics insisted "*on writing so [many] pointless monographs that no one will read*" (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015). This source of economic power for the industrialised publishers, is driven by academics need to publish extensively. Despite some actor respondents arguing how commercial entities have a right to profit, Lilley's team's uncovering of an economic malfeasance quietly being perpetrated and a resistance to publishing academically valid critiques, accentuated the raw neoliberal capitalist ideology underlying many major academic publishers' operations.

> *We knew the first article had been accepted, the one that came out in Organization. And we decided actually it was quite a smart choice, surely we can get a press release out of this. And it will be the press release which will generate some, more entertaining stuff because it'll be then that we might lure Informa into having to respond. I think I probably had a week's worth of meetings with the Registrar and the university's lawyer. And the university's lawyer was continually trying to get the press release re-written as a 'nothing to see here, move along' type narrative.* (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015)

Despite long established academic principles, to conduct and disseminate research (Education Reform Act, 1988, Leicester, 2011) in promoting their work Lilley and team came under institutional scrutiny. Their university sought to limit any potential reputational or pecuniary organisational damage, causing Lilley to adopt a role as the article's chief advocate within his own institution. Despite the academics' professional perception that the publishers would be unlikely to take direct legal action since their analysis was entirely based on publically available data, as lead author Lilley offered to indemnify the institution by taking on all responsibility. While this was eventually unnecessary, it represents courage in being prepared to place oneself directly in the firing line between a powerful industry actor and one's own university hierarchy. However, while, Lilley believed the publishers might individually target him, he was "*pretty certain they're not going to win*" (Lilley & Weir, 2015) given the precision with which their papers had been researched. As noted

earlier, a reticence from publishing actors to adopt a litigious confrontational response to academic OA activism, has been commonly perceived. This case once more confirms this perception, as despite genuine economic impact on the publishing actors, no publisher action was taken against the academics. As departmental head, Lilley was able to utilise his personal agency to weather this storm, although notably crediting the Registrar's essential support in helping diminish professional risk and support their efforts. Conversely, the university marketing department, charged with maintaining the institution's public image, was less supportive. What was evidenced here were the clear tensions between the marketised institution, keen to reinforce its market-place position, and the academy as a reflexive, critical and scholarly driven actor. Tensions which also emphasised the agency of universities in shaping the academic publishing field dynamic.

> *We'd been plotting it for a very long time. With the editor, it was not an accident that it ended up being in there. [chortles] in the way it was. And he told us way in advance that they'd tried to [censor it] and we were just working out what was the best time to go public with the fact with they'd attempted to censor it…We had insiders in T&F who were tame, who were telling us what was going on. And it was right the way to board level, it was people ripping their hair out. People getting screamed and shouted at all over the building. The share price tanked, during the week when they were in dispute with us about whether they were going to publish [laughs] us or not. And I must admit, I was just sitting here absolutely delighted.* (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015)

Additionally, during efforts to publish the Prometheus article Lilley's colleagues had the advantage of access to internal publisher and editorial communications, which further validated, beyond publicly available information the claims their publication made. It also bolstered their confidence in countering any subsequent publisher denials of points in the paper, as the team "*were able to quite quickly say 'Are you sure you want to carry on that line?'*" (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015) thanks to their close publisher editorial staff links. Consequently, through these efforts to diminish the legal and professional backlash risk, and the reinforcement of their argument's empirical evidence, the team's resolve was strengthened. The support they received from the academic editorial team, was also instrumental in contributing to this feeling of security.

> *We [academics] provide all the labour and someone else pays for it, but they [publishers] somehow end up with the intellectual property…but it was actually the experience of editing a journal and the trying to get a bit more support out of the publisher, and the bare face nature of the lies that I was confronted with, in terms of 'It's absolutely impossible for us, to possibly squeeze another 200 quid out to pay the editorial assistant to cover the amount of time they're [actually] spending'* (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015*)*

It was obvious that multifactorial rationales had driven the academics' activism. For Weir and Lilley annoyances over publishing actors' claims over academic IP had played an initial part. Yet, for Lilley as a more experienced academic it was his intimate involvement not only authoring but also in peer review and academic editorial labour, alongside

experiencing the capitalistic drive of commercial publishers which competed his journey towards activism. The "*level of affront*" (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015) this represented, was sufficient to mature intellectual curiosity into desires to take action, which the uncovering of publishers' taxation arrangements and subsequent challenge to their moral authority proved a central spur.

> *None of us are naive enough to think that there isn't a huge amount of very skilled, important labour going into the production of academic journals. And that it does have a cost that somebody's got to pay for it. What is <u>not</u> being provided out of those costs to the publishers is all the stuff they claim as their rhetorical trump cards about why it's important they're in the business. They don't do any of the quality control, that's the bit they have franchised out for no cost.* (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015)

That skilled labour exists in the production of journals was not denied by the Leicester academics. Yet, the degree to which this labour relies upon a vast ocean of unsalaried academic labour, was another key rationale for Lilley's team adopting their activist stance. Additionally, where Lilley and Weir's experience taught them that systematic resistance was required to achieve significant changes within the field, they perceived a growing determination already existed. In this respect they noted how "*most of the people behind the scenes in the publishing houses share our views pretty much down the line, and they're just not allowed to speak about it.*" (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015). This is a significant revelation as it dispels monolithic conceptions of publishing actors. Although, it is perhaps an inevitability given publishers' staff are drawn often from the academy, where I have shown an increasing comprehension of the legacy publishing model's flaws. Across the respondents I spoke to earlier[208], such perceptions of multifarious progressive individuals certainly resonates, diminishing any reductionist binary representations of field actors' positions as simply OA supporters or resisters. Thus, Lilley and my own experiences demonstrate that any gradual evolution from the legacy model has more allies within the ruling-bloc than might be assumed.

> *To be excited about the fact that we've taken away the risk from the publishers, in terms it might be that nobody subscribes. And [laughs] we'll just give them the money at the outset shall we? I suppose again there's a cleanliness to it…Let's just cut out the middle man shall we. [laughs] 'If you just hand us the cash straight away, and we'll, we'll ignore whether there's any readership at all.' The readership actually ceases to matter in the gold [OA] version, doesn't it.* (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015)

Lilley and Weir's activism was not specifically related to promoting OA, in that it was more concerned with raising awareness and challenging the hegemonic ruling-bloc actors' reputational capital. Nevertheless, it still contributes to the matrix of disaggregated OA activism, serving to rearticulate or shift extant power-structures. Nevertheless, perceptions

---

[208] I am thinking particularly of the publisher and learned society respondents I discussed in *Chapter 7.*

of flaws within certain OA elements, notably the funded-gold model, were evidenced. Lilley particularly recognised how current shifts towards a more open publishing regime, rather than serving to reconstruct publishing practice, was actually reinforcing pre-existing economic derived power-relations. Moreover, it is possible to identify how such practices may actually weaken the peer review esteem structures, through reinforcing publishers' drive for profitability. When the 'readership ceases to matter', from a publisher's perspective so too does any need for a quality product reduce.

> *The kind of argument we were effectively playing with 'Our branding as universities is better than theirs. We have a stronger brand value than Elsevier, Taylor and Francis, Palgrave' whomever you want to mention…essentially the model would be UK wide platform, with universities using their brands to host locally. And then there'd be a bit of a competitive fight then about which university was hosting which title. So you'd have a bit of market place, a bit of dynamism, a bit of everyone likes a bit of capitalism, still be in there.* (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015)

Nevertheless, Lilley went on to explore his belief that the academy already possessed an unrecognised agency within publishing which was greater than many people appreciated. Specifically, outlining how the academy possessed a great, or potentially greater, symbolic and economic derived power than many the commercial publishing actors. Where the will existed to exploit this power, then strides to actuate this potential could be established[209]. Yet, despite this potential power-base, academics generally were perceived as continuing to conform to normative publication praxis, subservient to the neoliberal esteem pressures which pervade the publication field.

> *We did try, to put our money where our mouth was a bit more…So we suggested that we, next time our library thing [annual subscription reviews] came round, we should actually say 'Okay I don't care how you do it. Pull 'em out, we don't want to pay for any Wiley journals.' And we were sacked by the department for even suggesting that in terms of, [mocking falsetto] 'the work I need to read is in those journals'. Absolutely political radicals until it came to actually doing anything at all that might actually materially affect them.* (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015)

There was hope that through exposing these publisher actions, especially in denying the basic academic publication freedoms, would engender resistance amongst the academic corpus. Certainly, the academic community's awareness of these inequalities within the extant publishing model was something Lilley and colleagues perceived as being weak. Although, my research contradicts this perception, I would concur that any desire for advert academic activism remains low within the community. Yet, while a general degree of support for Lilley and colleagues' actions was visible within their institution, so too was a degree of cynicism, pragmatism which brought with it a continued acceptance of the

---

[209] As for example through the efforts of Eve, Fuchs or Cond, along with the activities of some of those interviewed for the prior chapter, such as Gatti or Hole.

normative commercialised publication practices. Hence, Lilley despite creating a groundswell of community support, this didn't translate into local activism action, not even a symbolic cancellation of journal subscriptions from particular publishers. As Lilley, stressed their actions may have resulted in publishers facing 'moral outrage' from within the academy, but this affront had not translated into overriding academics' cultural resistance to changes in normative publishing behaviours. He noted he had typically and repeatedly encountered attitudes from academic colleagues where an expressed need to retain access specific journals and an ability to "*publish in those journals for the REF*" (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015) was crucially stressed. Again, this reinforces the agency held by HEFCE and the government in the academic publishing field, particularly the role in which esteem capital plays in shaping academics' publishing norms. It also reinforces the symbolic power held by highly esteemed journals, which is problematic to counter.

Yet, in considering these disparate modalities of resistance and counter-resistance, there remains the issue that the academic publishing field's configuration is one for which the academy and her members share a responsibility. As Weir outlined "*individually we are kinda culpable for it all in a career reasons, not necessarily progression but in essence of keeping the job.*" (Lilley & Weir, 2015). Thus, continued adherence to the neoliberal and positivistic structures of reward inextricably fused to promotion and career advancement mechanisms, serve to coerce academics into complicity with the extant hegemonic publishing processes. Additionally, this complicity serves to retard their more radical efforts to engender revolution. As highly educated and insightful beings, academic respondents were aware of many of publishing's inequities. Yet, as a corpus they have evolved coping mechanisms and workarounds, with their access needs being met through subscriptions, well developed personal networks and even borderline licit routes, like *Sci-Hub* (Oxenham, 2016).

> *One of the things that upset me about it the most, just how quickly that conservatism just ratcheted in. Everyone could understand the concern, lots of people. The head of marketing would be coming up to us and smacking us on the back and saying 'Great article boys' [laughs]. But the other bits of the organ were not quite so happy…I think we had a whale of a time and we thoroughly enjoyed it while we were doing it, and got a fair bit of ego massage out of it as well. And then there is that horrible moment of realisation that actually that's not doing anything.* (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015)

As Wittel (2016) suggests, academic activism cannot be limited to critique, yet a surface reading would suggest that this was what Lilley's team's actions had achieved. Yet, rather than creating publishing disruption through practical platforms their work challenged the normative assumptions concerning publishers' roles within the field. Similarly, to Fuchs and Eve though, it was the Leicester academic's example in challenging the hegemony's

normative, truth regime of publishing working harmoniously with the academy, that represents a potentially valuable contribution within the pro-OA discourse. Additionally, their example provides a subsidiary benefit as an inspiration which may spur other scholars to action. Yet, Lilley noted while their actions had proven satisfying, he aligned with Wittel, arguing they were "*no substitute at all for old style proper methodical organisation to get something different done.*" (Lilley in Lilley & Wier, 2015)", resonating with the disaggregated OA movement conceptualisation. Despite these considerations though, Lilley and colleagues' impact has not been negligible, as it specifically impacted on a key part of publishers' agency, their economic base. Thanks to the publicity Lilley engendered around the second article, Taylor and Francis' "*share price tanked, during the week when they were in dispute with us*" (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015). However, despite this short-term disruption of the publishers' economic model, Lilley's article's popularity and visibility saw it subverted into a capitalist tool, becoming a "*highlight in their [publisher's] marketing materials for the year*" (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015). A consequence demonstrating the difficulty in challenging the extant hegemony, within a field where the hegemony adjusts to subvert resistance to serve its goals. Controversy effectively still represents an exploitable publicity capital.

> *We've lined up a series of equally disgruntled Taylor and Francis journal editors very similar to Stuart at Prometheus, and we were basically then 'Okay, now they've shown their hand and in terms of how they're going to play this, we can't lose can we?' We can just keep doing this again.* (Lilley in Lilley and Weir, 2015)

While it was clear to Lilley and colleagues they could repeat their efforts, and investigate other publishers they acknowledged that this would likely offer diminishing returns, anticipating publishers would become increasingly wise to their activities, and no longer take to the bait. Yet, the revelation that many within corporate publishing actors are sympathetic to the academy, rather than corporate, ideals was a key revelation here. The contrast between how publishing actors seem to act, and the attitudes of their constituent staff, are a fascinating disclosure, potentially setting up tensions within their operations. As can be clearly seen in the academic driven OA publishers and resurgent university presses then, operating a publishing business which is not subservient to neoliberalist capitalist dogma is a possibility. Hence, considering this, I turn to just such an actor.

8.5.   Andy Barker and Anthony Cond

> *We're not there to please a shareholder. We're not there to make money. We're there for the dissemination of knowledge. We have to cover our costs…we're there to do university, traditional university press things, but we have to do them smart and they have to pay for themselves. And part of that of is figuring out the right way for open access to work, because clearly that does benefit some scholars.* (Cond in Barker & Cond, 2015)

My final two activists are Andy Barker, Head of Academic Liaison[210] at the University of Liverpool's library and Anthony Cond, Managing Director of Liverpool University Press (LUP) (LUP, 2015). Founded in 1899, and relaunched in 2004 as a subsidary university company, and despite being the third oldest UK university press, LUP has had a chequered history. In recent years though, its fortunes have changed, as its role as a publisher has been redefied with Cond commenting the relaunch represented a move giving "*the Press the freedom to operate with agility rather than being tied to standard university structures.*" (Cond, 2016b). LUP represents the least ideological radical of my activists, as an organisation arising from a traditional publisher origin. Yet, since his appointment[211] Cond has overseen revitalising this traditional university press into a more experimental entity, whose actions comprise a form of academic activism. While some of the Press' work has been focussed around non-OA publication, my interest centres particularly on their local partnerships and open dissemination experimentation.

> *We had our moment of crisis before lots of other publishers did. We had no budget and challenging operating circumstances before any kind of credit crunch. Before the market was very difficult in higher education, and we were also able to shed a lot of baggage as part of that relaunch…Any money at the moment [that we make] we reinvest back into the Press, and with a commitment to scholarship. So, we then decided to think about open access what it means for LUP and my view has always been that it's additive not substitute.* (Cond in Barker & Cond, 2015)

Cond and Barker had recognised that an unsatisfied demand for OA existed within a broad disciplinary segments of their local academic community. This recognition included an identification that some scholars clearly benefitted from OA, and consequently as a press they needed to establish how shape their operations to work with it. A significant part of establishing this practice was evolved through engaging in a genuine partnership with their institutional academic library. Such relationships between publisher and academic library are typically configured in a producer and consumer dyad. Unlike commercial academic publishers though, LUP embraced a Mertonian ethos to primarily "*serve scholarship*" (Cond in Barker & Cond, 2015) by enabling dissemination, rather than being driven by capitalist profitability. Unlike Fuchs' non-corporate OA ideal, LUP's model generated a modest surplus profit which was ploughed back into their operations. Although not lacking in

---

[210] As of October 2016, Barker is now Associate Director, Library Services at Liverpool John Moores University Library.

[211] Cond started as LUP editor in 2005, but was appointed Managing Director in 2008.

financial needs, Cond recognised that LUP had already faced an existential crisis moment before the credit crunch had impacted on the global economy. Consequently, driven partly by necessity, the Press had already been evolving its focus away from a purely legacy-model publisher formulation, towards something new. Thus, the additional disruption to the academic publishing field generated by digital dissemination and OA, was something that LUP had proactively rather than reactively addressed, and hence today's Press is a much lighter, more adaptive and agile actor. Unlike many established commercial publishers, their limited available resources required a 'bold and ambitious', experimental ethos be adopted for success. Part of this experimentation, comprised involvement in OA monograph and journal publishing projects[212].

> *What makes us distinct is this is not the library taking over the Press or the Press taking over the library. This is a kind of peer to peer partnership, and I think that's what both bring to this. A desire actually to improve things for our institution and for the sector.* (Barker in Barker & Cond, 2015)

One of the particularly powerful features of LUP within the academic publishing field, were their efforts in establishing new power-relationships through allying with the local institutional library, an action underscoring the library's role as an institutional locus of open dissemination praxis. The common paradigm was that more commercially minded presses normally viewed the academy less as collaborators and more as revenue sources. Something which Cond acknowledged, prior to his appointment, had been a norm for LUP, despite their geographic coterminosity and the Press' use of Liverpool's academic editorial labour. Hence, the rise of a strategic alliance between Press and Library in recent years represented a significant adjustment to such normative relations. Nevertheless, Cond acknowledged as institutions increasingly recognised the value such unions conferred, they were becoming more common across UK HE. Crucially, this alliance positioned LUP within multiple institutional networks, which would otherwise have been inaccessible to them and hence occupy a considerable position of institutional influence. The partnership's genesis was driven partly by the Press' recent relaunch and desires to improve institutional publishing support, but also with an underlying consideration as to how they could contribute to reshaping the wider field dynamic. These actions represent a source of publishing disruption, reputational capital creation and publishing agency for the academy. From a pro-OA standpoint, that such a power-relationship could be nurtured and legitimised within a neoliberalised academy also represents a considerable success.

> *There've been some very useful conversations to ensure that we both understand publisher and library perspectives on key issues. And then we've looked at ways in which add value to the university…I think occasionally, particularly small publishers can be almost built in the*

---

[212] Such as the *OAPEN-UK* and *Knowledge Unlatched* projects.

shape and built around the person running it. But it was quite important for LUP to be seen to be a good thing, not so much for me to be seen to be a good thing. And I think that seeps to everything, that the press and library all work together. (Cond in Barker & Cond, 2015)

Cond acknowledged ideological and practical risks existed for any such relationships to be centred on specific individuals. Certainly while Cond and Barker were the lynchpins of this partnership relationship, they were not the only consistent part, as LUP represented a greater entity than their dyad[213]. Specifically, a Library Advisory Board, comprising Press and Library representatives, had been established specifically to formalise and substantiate this partnership, along with facilitating publishing experience exchanges and supporting the Press' evolution towards new publishing models. It is in rearticulating these power-relations through this partnership that LUP offers a significant and exciting example of how a commercial entity and the academy can collaborate within a shifting field. Simultaneously, the partnership has helped inform the Library in its dealings with the academic publishing field's dynamism.

It's quite easy to talk to people in, with significant power. It's very easy to build up decent relationships. And that, we beat ourselves up in this place but it does facilitate access to good ideas, and then not necessarily in giving you the money, cos it's tightly ran, but certainly the ideas that you can run with. (Barker in Barker & Cond, 2015)

Partly, LUP's success was due to its focus in servicing a local institutionally community, where networks of power-relations were more clearly visible, and readily enabled through access and interaction with significant institutional individuals, facilitating effect relationships. Such relations were encapsulated within a positive working institutional culture driven from Liverpool's senior institutional management strata and Vice-Chancellor. Consequently, LUP have drawn on their library partners open dissemination ideologies to inform their commercial decision making processes enabled through multiple perspectives on publishing developments; as aggregator, supplier, disseminator and consumer. The benefits have also resulted in symbolic and reputational capital being accrued by the Press, through their perceived success, on top of their ongoing fiscal stability. Accordingly, they have achieved a far healthier and stronger position than before their revitalisation.

We've got fantastic relationships across the university and we know how the library and the university works. Then you bring to it our kinda simple point in ensuring that we meet the needs of our students and go beyond that and our researchers…it isn't about open access, it's more about thinking what can we do creatively, and how can we do LUP, are there other ways to things that we haven't thought about yet? (Barker in Barker & Cond, 2015)

While clearly beneficial synergies were perceptible for the Press, these had not automatically driven Barker or Cond's efforts. Cond's motivations balanced between achieving organisational sustainability and adapting to an evolving publishing field.

---

[213] Given Barker's departure to another university in late 2016, this was a prescient observation.

Dissimilarly, Baker's motivations for working with the Press stemmed not from any desires towards advancing OA, but rather originated from a standpoint of enabling a greater student experience. Hence, Barker was also enthused by the chance to work with 'publishing experts' in exploring new publishing models, rather than embracing an 'amateur publishing culture' within the library service. Both also expressed that their efforts with LUP derived from a sense of local civic pride, and how an active press could contribute to their community. Certainly, Barker and Cond's partnership experiences had also transformed their perceptions of the publishing industry, although interestingly for Cond the "*partnership hasn't necessarily shifted my views on open access.*" (Cond in Barker & Cond, 2015). Nevertheless, the collaborative experience has continued to inform LUP's business processes and ideology, as demonstrated in their OA Week participation (Johnson, C., 2016).

> *The basic naive assumption that everything is free in open access. There's not a recognition of costs, staffing costs overheads, the costs of producing the thing. And I think sometimes the rhetoric around open access gets dangerously naïve on that. I think over time that's actually become much more measured, and that's been good to see.* (Cond in Barker & Cond, 2016)

The sustainability of academic driven publishing initiatives, in terms of labour and resource, have often been critiqued by established publishing actors[214] (Eve, 2014b; Finch, 2012). Certainly Cond, like my other activists, recognised how these intrinsic dissemination costs must be met. Consequently, he critiqued elements of the pro-OA discourse as possessing a certain naivety in this regard, although it should be noted how many OA focussed, non-commercial publishers are addressing such requirements through various alternative revenue models[215]. Cond acknowledged though, that the pro-OA discourse in recent years had developed a less 'aggressive' and more 'constructive' tone. Interestingly, Cond noted how this development, nor his library partnership, had shifted his personal sensibilities to an evangelical pro-OA position. Nevertheless, he valued the dialectical process through which disparate elements within the OA discourse had evolved to begin mutually supporting a growth in open dissemination practice. Certainly, Cond was not alone in this view, as many of my actor representatives spoke of the need for unification of policy and practice. Nevertheless, conversely it could be argued that such adjustments represent the hegemony adjusting to absorb any resistance to its own agency, and any 'unification' is actually symbolic of the ruling-blocs continued dominance.

---

[214] Certainly, this theme of academic-led OA sustainability was present in some of my discussions with publishing actors, as detailed in *Chapter 7*.
[215] Examples would include OLH's consortia, Open Book Publishers' freemium or the funded-gold models.

[Initially we decided] we're going to build some knowledge and expertise in open access. We're going to understand some more of the arguments around open access and hear some of the key proponents of it speaking. And began to think about how it would work for our business...If I want to create a new open access role tomorrow, I can do it. And I think the, freedom that's been given to us as part of the structure of the press has enabled us to experiment and, more generally but I think, I think we couldn't have done it without the library. (Cond in Barker & Cond, 2015)

As a result of these considerations, LUP's mode of resistance is more nuanced and perhaps less overt than my other activists. The Press also benefited from operating within an institutional framework of relative freedom outside of institutional committee structures in contrast with what Cond's perceptions of other universities' normative practices. The Press' freedom to explore experimentally with OA practices beyond established publication or institutional norms consequently represents the operation of their own discrete agency. As a publisher they sought to engage in different ways within OA praxis, which despite their prior traditional publishing actor position, they perceived not a threat, but rather a shifting in the field's interplays proffering new opportunities. Key in achieving these opportunities had been efforts towards appreciating OA discourse's key elements and establishing which emerging publication elements might work for university presses. Thus, arguably LUP represents not so much acts of resistance to power, but rather subtle adaptation to the changes within the field. Adaption does not mean capitulation to the extant hegemony, rather it means that LUP's agency has been able to get concessions to their position. Like tripleC, their actions represent a form of power reclamation by the academy drawing more firmly on a Newmanian academy ideal. Yet, conversely to Fuchs, within Cond and Barker's discourse, there were fewer binary conceptualisations of the field actors. From within a Gramscian framework, these efforts are all part of a war of position, an attempt to rearticulate other actors' positions in favourable directions. Intriguingly, such a pattern of adaptation is akin to the actions of commercial publishers in adopting gold-funded dissemination routes, although a divide ideologically is perceptible between their commercially driven goals and the Press' non-profiteering stance. In this, clearly the close alliance with the institutional library has been key in grounding their actions and the Press' ideology, within a less capitalist framing.

It taps in though I think to a current movement within university presses. The re-emergence of the university press. It happens every decade or two...All starting up, often coming out of libraries. Because there is an interest in doing the sort of things that we're doing...All the university presses excepting the big two in the UK, have a slight fragility in that they are small, they're sensitive to institutional policy. There are the large publishers wandering around with cheque books. I've turned two away this year. (Cond in Barker & Cond, 2015)

Given Cond's views that university presses were 'having a moment', forming a slowly resurgent force, their impact on publishing practices may become more apparent. Notably Cond identified this resurgence in presses was being driven from within the library sector,

the locus for much of last decade's pro-OA activism. Through acting locally, but thinking openly university presses seem to represent an increasing academic agency within the field, alongside endeavours like the OLH. Yet, large-scale industrialised academic publishing is a field beset with the kind of neoliberal political-economic of neoliberal market competition. Acquisition, consolidation and mergers are commonplace, adding to the tensions new actors entering this field face. Where conditions favour acquisitions, Cond highlighted how a vigilance against existential threats was required, lest one of the 'wealthy behemoth' commercial publisher acquire them, and diminish any disruptive impact on normative practices. As Cond noted "*All university presses unless they are pretty large entities*" (Cond in Barker & Cond, 2015) risk closure, subsumption or sale, a threat increased in a period of relative financial tension for the academy. Additionally, as LUP's operations grow, Cond acknowledged that its activities had not gone unnoticed, with approaches being made from commercial publishers seeking to acquire their business. Perhaps, given that LUP has a venerable history as a publishing actor, it may be perceived as less of a threat to established field actors, than any novel upstart initiative. Existential threats are not only external, since internal pressures including senior institutional management changes or the disruption which Barker stressed could arise were he or Cond to depart could impact on the Press' operations. This perhaps overemphasises the importance of the individuals within the Press' operations, and it is important to note how despite the 2016 departure of Barker from Liverpool, that the partnership collaborations with the library continued. As Cond stressed "*the collaboration has always been bigger than either of us…[but] a change of institutional senior management is a different matter entirely.*" (Cond, 2016b). Hence, in confronting such existential threats, Cond extolled the necessities of university presses being smart, adaptable and financially sustainable, alongside effective leadership.

> *I'd like to keep the continual dialogue around new ideas and new opportunities. And we're both responsive to changes in academia, in libraries, in publishing. And we both look at every new possibility quite closely. And I think we'll continue to do that.* (Cond in Barker & Cond, 2015)

LUP then is clearly a success for the institution, as a publisher and as a pro-OA endeavour. Significantly, in contrast to concerns about academic-led publishing's sustainability, LUP has established coherent, structured and successfully sustained open dissemination endeavours alongside traditional activities, while benefitting from located institutional support and partnership contributions. Yet, its impact on the academic publishing field is furthered through its existence as an exemplar of how a non-profiteering, but sustainable corporate publishing model can be sustained while engaging with OA. Additionally, it serves as a model of how local institutional partnerships can benefit evolution of academic publishing praxis. Whether it and similarly emerging presses will offer an effective alternative to

normative publishing practices, or if they will be brought in check by other hegemonic actors, only time will tell.

8.6 Reflections

Does resistance exist and does it have an effect? Foucault would argue that resistance is a natural function of power-relations, which always exists within a field. Certainly this chapter has particularly demonstrated how despite efforts to counter opposition by the hegemonic ruling-bloc, that academic activism exists and does present a resistive impact within the academic publishing field. The actions of each of the four academic activist examples explored here have certainly contributed to the continuing development of the OA discourse and academic publishing practices in dissimilar, but powerful ways. Their actions can also be constructed as resistance to a field dominated by a corporatised ruling-bloc, whether through challenging normative practices, establishing functional alternatives or creating a greater agency for the academy. Both the OLH and the LUP's actions are about developing viable and scalable alternatives to corporatised publishing, one a novel solution arising from within the OA movement, while the latter emerged from within an established and formally legacy model publisher. To a degree Fuchs' efforts with tripleC are also concerned with established a viable alternative, yet as the most radically anti-capitalist and with more modest operational aspirations, consequently it must operate on a more conservative scale. If Fuchs was the most radical, then certainly Lilley and team were the most symbolically confrontational, in exposing the underbelly of academic publishing. Lilley and team did not offer an alternative non-corporatised mode of publishing, but rather their actions took effect entirely within the OA discourse. By challenging the moral certitude with which the commercial academic publishing industry can cloak themselves, they were able to successfully provoke debate amongst their peers.

These activists represent only a small sample of academic-led efforts to evolve, rework or rearticulate the practices, thinking and power-relations operating within the field. In isolation none of them are likely to achieve holistic change, yet additionally each represents a powerful exemplar within the discourse. It is examples like these which serve to motivate or enable other scholars and practitioners in their own pro-OA activism. Yet, with within a disaggregated OA movement achieving any coherently beneficial changes through these loosely interconnected and disparate activist actions represents a problematic. That such efforts appear to have occurred in isolation from one another, is a reductionist conception. Each activist's efforts could only have arisen through the support of other actors, communities and individuals, set against a background of developments within the dynamic field and with reference to the OA discourse. Certainly, added to the challenge of achieving

effective change within the field, has been the surge of interest towards establishing a corporatised funded-gold dissemination model, which seemingly diverts resistance efforts away from achieving an ideological, genuinely public good OA. Nevertheless, as I have shown, activist actors such as these, through their disparate and uncoordinated efforts have formed a genuine resistance to the normative state, stimulated changes in praxis and influenced OA discourse. Therefore, both these activists contribute to the OA movement, and the evolving complex power-relations web which comprise the academic publishing field

I have discussed previously the untapped potential agency of the wider academic community and the public. Getting other actors within, or beyond, the academy engaged in the OA discourse is challenging. Yet, as efforts like the Cost of Knowledge (Cost of Knowledge, 2012; Gowers, 2012) Elsevier embargo have previously have demonstrated, a strong public awareness campaign can result in successfully radicalising a greater multitude to coherent resistance. Such increased media profile, particularly as achieved by Eve and Lilley's efforts, could also impact on making non-academic populace, especially former or potential students more aware of the issues around legacy OA publication. As discussed earlier, with an increasingly university educated UK populace, a strong pre-existing fundamental knowledge of the university environment already exists. Perhaps it is this populace, beyond the academy's walls to which pro-OA activists should seek to engage through their activism efforts. In this respect, LUP's considerations of ensuring the local community's scholarly needs forms the greatest resonance within my examples. Personally though, I retain a healthy scepticism in considering the degree to which this would create further resistance or enhance the pro-OA movement's agency. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that an increased visibility for such activist efforts within universities would contribute towards evolving the academic publishing field dynamic into a form more favourable to the academy's needs.

Yet, even as individual activist advances, like my examples, meet with variable degrees of success, significant shifts in the field power-relations towards favouring OA dissemination remain uneven in progression. Academic publishing is a centuries old, and globally constructed operation, which means when taking a longer-term view, a certain degree of caution must be balanced against any excitement which successful new initiatives represent. The OLH may currently represent a rapidly expanding success, yet its longer term longevity is by no means assured. A decade ago, OA institutional repositories underwent a comparable expansion and flowering. Yet, in a post-Finch publishing field they have today become perceived in some quarters as potentially representing an outmoded

264

form, with publisher favoured funded-gold practices rising in normative acceptance. Perhaps the OLH, tripleC and LUP will become viewed as outmoded a further decade hence, as policy environments change and the ruling-bloc actors continue to flex their symbolic and economic muscles. Clearly then if the academy is to continue moves towards a more open and less commercial publishing praxis, further acts of activism, experimentation and resistance are required, since as Lilley noted, the dominance of commercial publishing actors *"doesn't feel like it's been particularly wounded by the blows thus far*." (Lilley in Lilley & Weir, 2015). What Lilley is expressing is the palpable sense within the discourse of how effective the ruling-bloc actors' counter-resistance has been in deflecting attempts to affect change and the continued stability of their dominion. The funded-gold model represents such an example. Given its economic benefit to them, the degree of support commercial publishers have shown for this model is unsurprising. Certainly the RCUK's provision of block OA publishing funding has reinforced this paradigm, and underscored the publishing hegemony's continued domination by the same economically powerful actors. Hence, given most actors acknowledged intrinsic publishing costs remained, that efforts in exploring differing and sustainable funding and resource models for publishing represent an important contribution in increasing academic agency over publishing practices. What such efforts do not support, is the level to which the academy remains largely entranced with a normative legacy and funded-gold publishing mode, given the efforts towards achieving and promoting a OA 'self-evident good'.

While this chapter has focussed on pro-OA activists operating within the academy, importantly resistance to power can even arise from individuals within the ruling-bloc, as much as it can from academic organic revolutionaries like Eve, Lilley, Fuchs or Cond. Lilley spoke of those within the publishing organisations who tacitly provided practical support or whom harboured desires towards a less corporatised academic publishing field. The realpolitik view may suggest such individuals may resist adopting an overt activist stance, lest through acting they potentially risk destroying their careers or professional reputations. Certainly, through my dialogues with commercial and society publishers, I would support Lilley's view that such people are widespread. Consequently, this may suggest any potential resistance against a corporatised publishing field has a greater support within a multitude of actors, and therefore any Gramscian war of position within the field favouring the academy likely has a greater potential for success, than the disaggregated efforts of academic activists might engender alone. Yet, how effective any counter-resistance agency is, entirely depends on the action individual activists are prepared to take.

OA represents a powerful ideal and clearly here I have shown four very different approaches of pro-OA activism. Whether their actions have longer lasting impacts on practice or through rearticulating the field's power-relationships remains to be seen. Certainly, some academic activism, including my examples here, continue to gain in strength and may yet create a cascade of change within normative dissemination praxis. Yet, they, and other laudable pro-OA publishing activities like Ubiquity and Open Book Press, or PLOS One are individual efforts in a complex, disaggregated network of pro-OA relations, projects and agendas. There are many points of hegemonic resistance set against them, although with a revitalised or newly created academic agency over publishing, and with a more fully engaged academic corpus behind them, such efforts could serve to effectively revise academic publishing practices. Lilley underscored this need for community unity and coherency activism by stressing how this is "*not an individually solvable problem…You'd have to do it sector wide, and you'd have to do it big*" (Lilley & Weir, 2015). Reflecting on my extended conversations with activists, actors and practitioners, I would tend to agree with this assessment. Nevertheless, his statement is one which would have been as valid at the start of my research, or even during my first encounters with OA in 2006.

Certainly, more could be drawn from this data, and likely future publications will revisit it. There are though distinct perceptions that OA now represents an emerging and increasingly mainstream practice, rather than the prior decades' niche interest. Yet, in speaking with these four groups of activists it is clear how even now there remains a considerable distance to travel to a fully normalised OA publishing field, or indeed if such a unified future is an entirely conceivable eventuality. Despite the current rise in funded-gold practice, there remains an uncertainty of the destination mode, given the various economic models and protocols for open sharing, as to the eventual form future research dissemination will take.   Hence, in my final chapter, I shall establish my thoughts and perceptions concerning about future publishing trends, along with considering how my work illuminates answers to my original questions.

Chapter 9: Research Conclusions

9.1. Introduction

Throughout this thesis I developed an ethnographically framed investigation into the normative and emerging cultural practices relating to OA research dissemination within the UK academy and the academic publishing field. In this final chapter I wish to draw together the various threads which I have developed through examining my fieldwork and the literature, to consider what light they provide in answering my research questions. I then critically evaluate this work's contribution to knowledge and consider what aspects might be developed through future research. Finally, I conclude by looking ahead, drawing on my respondents' insights and my own perceptions, to consider research dissemination's future forms, and contemplate if OA will retain a key role.

9.2. Answering the Research Question Answers

In my early chapters, I introduced the core research questions driving my research enquiries, which I have endeavoured to answer these through my fieldwork analysis. I have broadly addressed these in the last few chapters, but will now collate the answers here.

Academic Engagement

My first question sought to establish a national picture of the levels with which academic authors engaged with OA and any related open practices and the rationales behind it. This was answered, through engaging with practitioners and academics, generating a greater understanding OA publication cultural practice norms and their formation. Practitioners presented a picture showing while engagement with OA practices was increasing, many academics remained unconcerned, apathetic or indifferent, with a myriad of practical, intellectual or ideological barriers perceived. Notably, a wide disciplinary spread of engagement was evidenced, not solely located within the STEM scholars' practices. Consequently, practitioners commonly conceptualised OA engagement as forming from 'patchwork' communities, rather than being a holistic embrace by the scholarly corpus. Arguably, this patchwork could represent OA epistemic communities, professionals gathered into self-supporting nodes of practice and knowledge, and essentially responsible for normalising OA publishing practice elements through their peer networks. If this is the case, these communities are ones which, with effective practitioner support, could serve to grow a greater OA engaged academic base. Scholars interviewed supported these perceptions, as across the UK academy OA concepts and practices had become more established, if not entirely normalised. However, like the practitioners, academics' OA embrace was driven along pragmatic rather than idealistic lines, with the funded-gold mode

achieving a centricity in the discourse and praxis, other OA routes were perceived as subaltern options. Interestingly, the use of social media to propagate research publications was well represented, suggesting an authentic interest in exploring new open dissemination forms existed within the UK academy. Thus, in answering this question, my research indicates that within the UK academy varying degrees of cross-disciplinary academic OA engagement are present, and while parts of the corpus who have not adopted it as normative practice, few seem deeply opposed.

Scholars as socialised workers within the immaterial knowledge labour domain were driven to comply with a publishing norm, where desirable esteem capital is tied to established publishing forms, which are largely dominated by commercial publishing actors. Thus, scholars' engagement with publishing, centred on seeking esteem-rich organs to publish in, rather than a rationalised moral imperative. Scholars recognised that emerging OA forms possessed some elements of desirable esteem capital, yet expressed some trepidation in fulsome adoption. Their hesitance, demonstrated the ingrained, self-regulated behaviours through which increasing esteem, as a key professional reputational capital component, played in enhancing their career trajectories. As OA sources increased or gained in esteem credentials, a broader willingness to embrace it existed, supporting a witnessed, slowly cumulative advance in adopting its practices. Yet, the current, largely commercial publishing actor controlled 'market' retained the greatest elements of recognisable esteem metrics, presenting a considerable barrier to any OA transition.

Undoubtedly government policy, as enacted through HEFCE and the RCUK also contributed considerable, economically derived behavioural drivers. Despite some early academic adopters motivated through OA's moral arguments, the coercive force of governmental and funder bodies was written large in any mainstream open publishing practice adoption. Policy also drove academics discourse and practice towards perceiving funded-gold's as a normative open publication mode, a mode within which the academy's decades of neoliberalisation had normalised linkages between capital and dissemination, ensuring academics cooperation. Through operating in an income maximisation mode, the UK academy's cultural overtones are unquestionably ones aligning with continued compliance with academic immaterial labour exploitation. Consequently, academics continue to be socialised into accepting neoliberally-framed open publishing norms. While tensions between the marketised and IP exploiting university and the open commons were present, these were not strongly evidenced within the academics' publishing practice discourse. Nevertheless, an authentic Gramscian hegemonic resistance does operate from within the academy, as my activists demonstrated. Yet, in seeking to shift academic publishing

behaviours this resistance faces considerable cultural, economic and symbolic challenges. Hence, to answer the question, esteem capital and governmental coercion play a greater role in academics rationalising their OA embrace, than the moral imperative of any broader societal or personal benefits it confers.

Conceptualising Actor Power-Relationships

My second question sought to identify and evaluate the academic publishing field's power and influence actors, as informed through my discourse with academics and actor representatives. There is a clear expansive hegemony operating within the academic publishing field, with a ruling-bloc comprising the government, research funders and commercial publishers, whose agency derives largely, but not entirely, from their economic assets. Both commercial publishers and HEFCE also dominate through their ownership of symbolic esteem markers, respectively high impact journals and research esteem metrics. Actor power is heterogeneously configured within the field, as not all ruling-bloc actors possess the degree of agency. By contrast the subaltern members, the learned societies, academics and the academy, continue to consent to the ruling-bloc's dominion. Foucault's concept, that people become subject to power, when it offers them a pleasurable outcome, was strongly evidenced in academics and universities' desires towards gaining symbolic esteem capital, enabling them to compete for research income. This competiveness itself, additionally reveals the field's transformation into a neoliberalised market. Foucault's perception of power as a web of interrelated struggles was evident, although an initial reading suggested that resistance had dwindled. Yet, hegemonic struggles are cyclical, and while respondents indicated a likely phased transition favouring OA publication, this does not diminish the potential for individual actors to continue challenging the corporate funded-gold model's supremacy.

For pro-OA activists and practitioners, the structures of esteem capital, form a powerful, self-regulating force, conditioning academics to avoid abnormal behaviour, rather than risk diminishing the beneficial outcomes through maintaining established publishing norms. The academy too has power, although often conceptualised as a poorly recognised counter-hegemonic resistance. Despite this largely symbolic derived agency, the centrality of academics within the knowledge productive labour processes, and institutions' considerable economic assets, the potential for the academy to rearticulate field power-relations more favourably for their own needs, remains a potential game changer. Certainly, since power-relations are dynamic and unstable constructs, were the multitude of scholars to collectively resist, they could drastically rearticulate the field's power structures and increase their tangible agency. Thus, resistive tensions in the field do exist,

indicating that the hegemony cannot be complacent, and seek to diminish resistive potential, to maintain its dominance. Hence, it can be concluded that while the academic publishing field currently displays a perceptible concord between the key actors, an inequality of agency between hegemonic actors remains. Since power-relations remain dynamic, while academics' agency is clearly the least well recognised, it could become considerably more impactful.

Policy Conflicts

My third question concerned the tensions between national and local policies, and academic culture. Clear tensions had previously been engendered through government publishing policies and the academy's efforts to publish openly. In the wake of Finch, parliamentary hearings and funder mandates, these tensions had seemingly diminished as publishing policy discourse became increasingly constructed as pro-OA. While it is possible to speculate that the UK government may regard non-commercial OA as a threat to neoliberal capitalism, there was scant direct evidence. Nevertheless, from a Marxist standpoint, governmental policy clearly is constructed to embrace the ideals of an open scholarly commons, yet through favouring funded-gold, OA dissemination has been largely reconfigured into a mode primarily serving the capitalist market economy's needs. Accordingly, the commercial publishing industry's influential lobbying was strongly evidenced within this policy stance, as capitalism does not abandon a profitable regime. Ruling-bloc actors shared desires for a unified policy environment, indicating fewer policy-derived tensions than expected were evidenced within the field. Yet, despite this 'unification' tensions between the corporate funded-gold model and other modes like diamond or green OA remained, indicating a measure of Gramscian resistance to their stance. This suggests that the field retains ideological policy tensions between pro-OA activists and governmental neoliberal policies, even if practical tensions in the field have diminished. Funders, recognising the global nature of research discourse and dissemination, extolled desires for the field to harmonise publishing policies with international comparators, notably the US and the EU[216]. HEFCE, despite being a governmental body, sought through their policy to develop a 'positive research environment', not capitalism serving practices, despite their power originating from their control over symbolic and economic capital.

---

[216] As noted earlier, the fieldwork research was conducted some time advance of the mid-2016 Brexit vote, which may have significantly affected these comparators perceptions.

In the wake of the academy's reduced state funding and an increased neoliberal competitive research metric environment, the linkages between capital income and research esteem has apparently strengthened. Since HEFCE has linked future research metric exercises with OA practices, evidence also indicated that university executive officers were increasingly engaged in enacting internal policies supporting institutional OA practices. Thus, while OA adoption policies arose externally and internal to the academy, they are complicit with the corporatised OA idea, rather than ideological desires towards engendering any open scholarly commons. Hence, answering this question, the policy environment displays fewer tensions than expected, as OA practice becomes normalised within a neoliberalised academy. Yet, the academy is complicit in lining up behind the government's corporatised OA mode, and consequently tensions and potential resistance to these policies remain.

Critiquing Engagement Promotion

My fourth question considered how academics publishing behaviours were influenced by differing communication approaches. These habits resonated with the considerable pro-OA advocacy labour practitioners expended, making this research outcome an aspect in which respondents expressed a practical interest. As Gramsci would argue, for such advocacy labour to accomplish successful cultural change and to create an 'authentic resistance' to any established norm, it must achieve intellectual and philosophical consent from all major cultural groups. Given the clearly dynamic academic publishing field, an increasingly marketised academy and the multiple influence sources acting upon them, achieving consent represents a particular practical challenge. Practitioners efforts had contributed to successfully raising scholars' fundamental OA conceptual understanding. Yet, as noted, the ruling-bloc actors draw on their economic and symbolic power-base, and through consent and coercion have crafted powerful communicative structures to shape academics' behaviour and also policy bodies' positions. While more OA praxis has evolved within the academy, the current static equilibrium of legacy and OA publishing seems to have resulted from these actors facing and overcoming a conjunctural crisis. By sacrificing elements of their unilateral field dominance and offering consolatory policy and terms, consequently the ruling-bloc has maintained their strength. Notably, the ruling-bloc actors desire to evolve a more unified and coherent policy environment, further accentuated their dominance over publishing discourse.

A casual review of scholarly publishing discourse might perceive a normative dominance of funded-gold practices has emerged; this is an oversimplification. Despite the ruling-blocs' economic power, underlined with RCUK publication funding support and coercive funder

mandates, individual actors within the academy variously have constructed an authentic resistance to the imposition of such a capitalist suffused normative state. That this resistance is enacted by academics, and the strong communicative influences of their peer networks, indicates it represents a powerful counter-hegemonic behavioural agency. While an increasing academic OA embrace exists, and despite funded-gold's current prominence, the field is not adopting a singular, definitive form. Unlike the prior dominance of article, book or conference paper formats, the academic publishing field is evolving towards embracing innumerable new dissemination forms and practices, with some shorn of the capitalist traits which underlined the prior dissemination apparatus. Undoubtedly, academics recognised how the most influential communication originates from within their own peer networks, while acknowledging an awareness of the ruling-bloc's discourse contributions. Accordingly, while across the UK academy efforts to establish alternative non-corporate economic models or new dissemination modes arise, the influential power of academic practice exemplars has particularly contributed to shaping the UK academy's publishing behaviours. Hence, the academy possesses an agency for change itself. Therefore, in answering this question, while scholars are influenced by the broader OA discourse and practitioners, the most effective and influential communication arises from the discourse and example of fellow scholarly peers.

Governmental Policy Dimensions

My final question sought to better understand an ideologically neoliberal government's political motivations for backing an ostensibly socialist conception of open knowledge dissemination. As outlined earlier, the government sponsored Finch Report and concomitant policy, clearly favoured capitalist interests over the academy as a public good. This suggested that promoting a normative funded-gold practice represented a continued support for the UK economy and specifically commercial publishing actors, rather than any societally altruistic intentions. However, given the sparsity of governmental actors I was able to speak with, along with the 2015 general election and 2016 Brexit related changes in the UK political climate, a deeper analysis in this regard became exceptionally problematic. Hence, regretfully no deeper conclusions can be drawn.

9.3.   Critique and Contribution

Any lengthy research project incorporating extensive fieldwork will on reflection possess aspects which progress smoothly, along with elements which could be improved. While I commented on some experiences earlier, I wish to evaluate my research's knowledge contribution, critique my endeavours and consider further work which could be developed. Richardson (2000) helpfully provided five criteria for evaluating ethnographic work, and its

contribution to knowledge which I shall address here. Firstly, as a *substantive contribution* to knowledge, this research represents an original work, in that it has explored various cultural practices operating within the UK academic publishing field from a hitherto untapped perspective. Particularly, it interrogated through a uniquely constructed theoretical framework lens the interrelations, power-relations and practices comprising this field. As previously noted, research into OA practices is largely quantitative and STEM focussed. Hence, my qualitative humanities perspective complements, while challenging preconceptions in augmenting the understanding of cultural practices and actor relationships in an extensive and novel manner.

In considering personal *reflexivity*, this experience contributed to challenging and expanding my own perceptions concerning academic publishing. As noted earlier[217], my initial position was strongly pro-OA, and while this remains, I now greatly appreciate the nuance, contradictions and competing tensions operating within the field. Consequently, like many respondents, I have emerged less radical and more pragmatic in outlook. Additionally, my respondents' comments have been presented verbatim throughout this work, adding clarity and authenticity to its insights. I also endeavoured to be ethically accountable, through presenting my findings to the community, while also providing respondents the opportunity to comment on draft versions of this work. This thesis will also be openly shared post-submission, embracing the ethical ideals of openness within my own practices.

The thesis *expressed a reality* throughout, by providing multiple narratives drawn from a wide-range of interviews with individuals drawn within the academic publishing field. While I have provided additional context and analysis, elements drawn directly from my respondents' lifeworlds were presented to create a richly experiential cultural script. Finally, in terms of *aesthetic merit* and *impact*, it is hoped that readers of this work will be affected by its revelations arising from the fieldwork analysis, along with those relating to HE marketisation and OA's historic development. For the individual researcher, evaluating these last two aspects is challenging. Hence, throughout the fieldwork, conferences and during this manuscript's preparation, progress and findings were discussed with various field actors. Given that typically their responses were a deep fascination[218] or even excitement in the work revelations, I would argue this research satisfies the criteria of presenting an impactful, affecting, motivating and original piece of research, upon which

---

[217] As discussed in *Chapter 1: Reflexive Position.*
[218] Due to their interest in this work, numerous interview respondents have requested to be notified once this thesis is made available for them to consult. I take this as a marker of distinct interest in my research's findings.

other work may well draw. Hence, I conclude that this manuscript satisfies Richardson's criteria, crucially through the provision of a valuable, novel and timely addition to the literature and OA discourse.

9.4.   Potential Future Work

This research was conducted during a time of significant, dynamic change for the academic publishing field. It is by no means a finished transformative or evolutionary process, and new developments continue to arise. Consequently, my research should also continue to develop from this initial point. Certainly, within any ethnographically-framed work, considerable scope exists to develop further research through revisiting previous respondents and exploring emerging themes. Indeed, respondents' reactions to this work would provide an intriguing companion piece, tracking open dissemination attitudes, behaviours and practices' continuing evolution. Further value remains to be extracted from the considerable volume of raw and processed data collated during the fieldwork. While collected for the purpose of answering my research questions, other scholars with research publication practices interests, may uncover further revelations within it. It could also provide a foundation to inform and construct further inquiries into academic communication actors[219]. Additionally, during the period over which this work was conducted, the academic publishing field has not been static. Developments including HEFCE's REF 2021 policy, the broadening in OA publication platforms and practices, and significantly the UK government and EU relationship changes will all affect the academy. Consequently, power-relations and publication practices' continued development will also have been impacted. Hence, returning to explore similar interview questions with actors, could expose further valuable information on the future directions and evolving character of academic dissemination practices.

Specifically, there are two areas offering particular scope for further exploration. Firstly, while my academic activist interviews produced engagingly revelatory narratives, a potential for conducting investigations in greater depth with these groups could considerably broaden the knowledge they represent. Conceivably, future studies could incorporate additional interviews with respondents, along with user community members, to enhance understanding of the impact and visibility of activists' efforts over publication practices. Secondly, two groups of actors emerged during the analysis phase who were not specifically included within my fieldwork; the public and universities. Universities could be

---

[219] Efforts will be made following the thesis examination process to provide OA to the data, although where participants requested anonymity as a condition of participation, ethically some elements may not be easily sharable.

represented through interviews with senior management, asking questions similar to those in my research[220]. The public however, represent a more complex challenge, likely requiring quantitative survey methods combined with semi-structured interviews to be employed to ensure a sufficiently inclusive sample. Nevertheless, exploring the public's awareness of OA discourse could provide valuable knowledge concerning whether a greater multitude exists beyond the academy, who might be roused to activism.

An Open Access Future?

The academy's evolving academic communication practices are a complex and dynamic system. Attempting to predict their future form represents a tricky proposition. Indeed, Foucault warned against making any all-encompassing, grand-narrative sweeping statements, given that any predications are likely to be riven with uncertainties, subjectivities and even misperceptions[221]. Yet, since academic publishing practice's potential future trends were a common respondent topic, they are worth briefly exploring in drawing this work to a close.

Throughout the interviews there was an overwhelming perception that OA, in some configuration, will continue to comprise an important aspect of academic publishing. Even if scholarly publishing practices continue to embrace OA, this does not mean that all the BOAI's (2002) ideological promise will come to pass. Additionally, as Fuchs (2015) questioned "*what kind of open access will be the dominant model?*" Currently, within the UK, the answer seems to strongly favour funded-gold. Yet, this model is configured to permit the continuing dissemination hegemony of the current dominant actors. Thus, new modes of open publishing[222] face considerable challenges from these established, economically powerful publishing actor. Despite the efforts of pro-OA activists, the current scholarly communication hegemony's agency seemingly remains remarkably inviolate. As Fuchs (ibid) phrases it "*history is biased towards successes of those who are more powerful*". Certainly, the extant major publishers, funders and government bodies wield considerable economic power within the heart of academic publishing. A reconfiguration of the academic immaterial labour practices must be addressed if these relations are to be altered. Funding for non-corporate OA also needs to be found and political pressure must be directed to governmental agencies to ensure policy does not unilaterally support the

---

[220] Although, I will acknowledge the degree to which Vice-Chancellors or Pro-Vice Chancellors for research are entirely emblematic of universities as coherent actors, is something that would require further thought.
[221] As the incorrect polling conclusions on the Brexit and US Presidential vote outcomes in 2016 neatly underscores.
[222] Such as the OLH's consortia, university presses non-profiteering or OA publishers' freemium models.

corporatised publishing actors. While legacy model subscription journals continue to prevail until these subscriptions end, the academy's available fiscal capital to back new, alternative publishing endeavours is severely diminished. Without radical changes in the academy's agency it is hard to foresee how the future publishing configuration will not be dominated by the same actors.

Yet, activists do continue to develop alternatives and mobilise the academy's agency in opposition, therefore funded-gold's continued predominance is by no means a certainty. One of the greatest potential drivers for future change remains new scholars entering the academy. From a pro-OA view, hope exists that these future scholars exposed to a normative prevalence of sharing in their social life will be more culturally acclimatised to openly sharing. Hence, with expectations to share and access research freely, combined by the natural predilection of youth to challenge pre-existing systems, these scholars offer to significantly rearticulate publishing power-relationships and practices. Nevertheless, the academy's esteem systems currently remain configured to suppress such aberrant behaviour. Simultaneously, UK society and especially the academy continue to function within a neoliberal corporatised and commercial framework. It would be reductionist to suggest all students are socialised into a consumer mentality, yet despite Streeck's (2014) suggestion of a post capitalist sociality, reality seems set against it. Thus, within an edu-factory academy, students arrive expecting to consume education to enhance their employability capital, while their engagement with any broader ideological debates around HE's societal role represents a limited prospect. Plainly, the student multitude's radicalisation has been suppressed through exposure to neoliberal capitalism. For these new scholars to bring about a groundswell of change requires not only the decoupling of economic powers from publishing, but also reconfiguring the academy's reliance on the current esteem metrics system. Thus, this represents a tantalising but remote possibility.

Many respondents saw a multiplication in academic publishing formats ahead, with normalisation of OA monograph routes heralding one particular development.   Indeed, the continued centricity the monograph and journal format play within academic research discourse seems more doubtful than previously, with digital dissemination reducing the rivalrous necessity of rigid page limitations, and scholars embracing social and new media dissemination vectors. Commercial publishing actors' exploration and development of new services including data journals and research management tools represent changes to the future field's configuration. Certainly, diversifying into a 'cradle to grave' research service from a purely dissemination-centric model, represents an attractively lucrative route for commercial publishers to explore. Non-commercial and academic-led publishers and

projects' exploration of new platforms, funding mechanisms and formats are also potential harbingers for greater change. Earlier, I explored the current academic publisher definition, which increasingly seems to be an evolving concept as academic-led research dissemination vectors proliferate. Not all of these publishing activities will entirely satisfy a libre OA definition, but they do represent a widespread continuing evolution of practice, propagated through an open dissemination epistemology.

As noted[223], academic dissemination's future is not uniformly optimistic for all actors. The potential for a research publishing stratification arising from an overreliance on the funded-gold model, risks transforming future academia into two communities, restricting publishing to only the economic and research capital wealthy. Under this scenario, OA could serve to adversely disrupt the academic publishing field for many actors. Those institutions and scholars unable to afford publishing fees, would see their esteem capital and research funding competiveness diminish. Consequently, the UK's research publishing market would shrink, presenting a resource scarcity for actors whose business models are reliant on exploiting this knowledge capital. Ironically, a neoliberal capitalist market economy's embrace of OA's 'self-evident' good could yet create existential risks for commercial publishing actors. Hence, ignoring any scholarly rationale, it seems economically in many actors' interests to ensure academic publishing remains viable for all academy members. Conversely, such an eventuality might necessitate and spur the expansion of alternative publication forms and peer-review systems operation, with the scarcity of affordable traditional publishing vectors driving academics to exploit novel formats, perhaps instigating a greater engagement with OA practices. Were the pro-OA movement to encounter such a difficult stumbling block, then a contraction of any transition towards OA publication modes could occur. Yet, from my experiences, respondents and the current policy climate, such a downturn seems to represent an unlikely scenario. Nevertheless, it remains a possibility as the prior environment which gave rise to OA practices, does not automatically mean they are inviolate from unexpected obstacles.

The current period of scholarly publication practice occupies an apparent transitionary state. Across the interviews, few perceived any radical or rapid publishing practice shifts towards or away from OA would occur in the near future. Given the three decades during which OA has arguably transitioned into a mainstream dissemination practice, this steady transition seems a realistic assessment. It might be perceived with the provision of RCUK publishing support funding, and its centricity within the REF 2021, that OA reached an

---

[223] As the academics and actor's perceptions discussed extensively in *Chapter 7* evidenced.

equilibrium, albeit in a form which underscores the economic elites' agency over the academy's practices. While efforts by activists continue, if any continuing change towards a less corporatised OA praxis is to be engendered, more such endeavours are needed to achieve a continued momentum. Certainly, those individuals within the dominant actors who favour a more open and less commercial future for publishing, represent a significant node of power. To escalate not only the transitioning to an OA publishing norm, but in encouraging its anti-capitalistic characteristics, it is upon people like these whom pro-OA activists' attentions should focus.

Seemingly for the foreseeable future the field will remain in a transitionary and heterogeneous state, blending open and non-open, commercial and non-commercial actors, vectors and practices into a new publishing norm. Yet, some elements will clearly thrive, as others contract. Some pro-OA elements hope that it will be the established commercial actors who will diminish, as their desires strengthen. Yet, clearly transitioning from legacy to funded-gold publishing that OA has positioned commercial publishers in a resilient economic position. Combined with their agency over other key actors, this suggests that OA forms adopted in the future, will continue to be ones which serve their capitalistic interests first, with any desires for a more egalitarian scholarly commons a distant secondary concern. The current transitionary phase may simply represent the dominant hegemonic actors' conjunctural repositioning to ensure their power and fiscal stability remain unassailable. Clearly, as Fuchs (2015) says the coming decade represents "*an interesting time for open access*" yet "*it will also be a time of, a time of struggle.*" Identifying this struggle's eventual main beneficiaries remains uncertain. Perhaps, as normative publishing practices evolve, it is not just publishing actors who risk diminishing, but the whole system of academic publishing which could collapse. It is difficult to see what could replace it, given so many of its systems are intrinsically linked throughout the academy's practices. Academic publishing's collapse could even signal a greater phase change in the academy's configuration and operations, than the past three decades' neoliberal marketisation.

I focussed throughout this research on ideas and practice centring on OA academic publishing and dissemination, yet perhaps the future of research openness lies elsewhere. Efforts to explore open peer-review, open data, science and education are some of the overlapping fields. While again seemingly STEM subjects lead in these endeavours, it does affirm the existence within the academy of a community of scholars willing to engage with openness. Were such a community to more closely reconfigure, unite and apply their agency, then perhaps a greater wave of change towards openness in the academy could

arise. That is, if it can overcome the marketised tensions which operate within the commercialised academy environment. It is not my intention to depress the reader hoping for a brighter, and more open future for the UK academy, but it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that a commercialised academy seeking, to exploit its knowledge capital, forms an antagonistic dyad with the ideals of openness. Certainly, from my own exploration, I perceive it is economic realism which seems empowered to continue dominating the ideological.

9.5.   Concluding Remarks

What does the scholarly communications landscape look like, if we're in an open access world? (Molloy, 2013)

Within the UK today, the Newmanian, public good academy ideal seems to have faltered in the wake of continued cycles of marketisation and corporatisation, driven by successive government's neoliberally influenced policy. An idealised future for scholarly dissemination would be open, free of commercialised drivers and decoupled from the contradictory measures of academic esteem. Yet, with the explicit linkage of HEFCE's research esteem metrics with a need to publish openly, neoliberalised reputational capital seems implacably embedded within HE. Academia, long the site of societal counter-hegemonic action has failed to resist the onset of a positivistic, marketised audit regime upon itself. Consequently, its own agency has been diminished, as a corporatized academy becomes subservient and even complicit in the government agenda to marketise and corporatise HE. Openness in research communication has increased, but like the neoliberalised academy itself, much of it is configured to satisfy capital's, not scholars', needs. Thus, through the government and their adjunct policy bodies' coercive agency, and the academy's complicity, a situation arises wherein the legacy publication paradigm remains, egregious subscription prices continue, immaterial knowledge labour is exploited and funded-gold OA model predominates.

Despite these tensions in the field, the previously dominant actors have crested publishing's conjunctural crisis to emerge in a strong or even stronger position than before. Were scholars to shift from their socialised worker stance, to not simply publish within any OA vector, but to specifically choose non-corporate diamond OA titles, consortial open platforms or institutional presses, this would represent a significant step towards disrupting the extant publishing hegemony and favourably rearticulating power-relations for the academy. Hence, with a broad normalised acceptance of funded-gold OA dissemination within the UK academy, seemingly this cycle of struggle has concluded with a heterogeneous publication landscape as the new normative status quo. Yes, the academic

publishing field has undergone a phase change, as it has largely embraced openness, yet it is an openness which remains an adjunct to capitalism. Nevertheless, as this cycle ends, a proliferation of activists continues to explore new funding, operational and dissemination models. It is through the efforts of those activists unwilling to let funded-gold be OA's final, normative form which will likely drive further changes within the field, with a new cycle of struggle for openness and agency over scholarly publishing beginning again where it started: within the academy itself.

References

1994 Group, 2013. *1994 Group: Excellence in Research. Excellence in Teaching* [online]. Available at: http://www.1994group.co.uk/ [Accessed 22 October 2013].

Adams, R., 2013. Number of students starting university back to levels before tuition fees raised. *The Guardian* [online], 24 September. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/education/2013/sep/24/uk-student-numbers-recover-tuition-fees [Accessed 24 September 2013].

Adams, R., 2014. Oxford overtakes Cambridge as Britain's top research university. *The Guardian* [online], 18 December. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/education/2014/dec/18/oxford-cambridge-britain-top-research-university [Accessed 3 Feb 2016].

Adamson, M., 2009. The Human Capital Strategy. *Ephemera*, 9(4), pp. 271-284.

Aker, J., 2016. Caution: Predatory Journals Want Your Business! *AANA Journal*, 84(2), pp. 79.

Alderman, G., 2009. Higher Education in the United Kingdom since 1945: Review. *Times Higher Education* [online]. Available at: http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/books/higher-education-in-the-united-kingdom-since-1945/407560.article [Accessed 23 September 2013].

Alemayehu, M.W., 2010. *Researchers' Attitude to using Institutional Repositories: A case study of the Oslo University Institutional Repository (DUO)* [online]. Master's Dissertation, Oslo University College, Sweden. Available at: http://hdl.handle.net/10642/426 [Accessed 8 January 2013].

Ali, S., and Kelly, M., 2012. Ethics and Social Research. *In:* C. Seale, ed. *Researching Society and Culture*. 3rd ed. London: Sage Publications Ltd, pp. 58-76.

Allan, J., 2013. *Foucault and his Acolytes*. *In:* M. Murphy, ed. *Social Theory and Education Research: Understanding Foucault, Habermas, Bourdieu and Derrida*. London: Routledge, pp. 21-34.

ALPSP, 2003. *ALPSP Position Statement on Open Access* [online]. Association of Learned and Professional Society Publishers. Available at: http://test.alpsp.org/ngen_public/article.asp?id=367&did=47&aid=1334&st=&oaid=-1 [Accessed 8 July 2014].

ALPSP, 2015. *The Association of Learned & Professional Society Publishers* [online]. London: ALPSP. Available at: http://www.alpsp.org/Ebusiness/Home.aspx [Accessed 8 October 2015].

Alvesson, M., and Deetz, S., 2005. Critical Theory and Postmodernism: Approaches to organization studies. *In:* C. Grey and H. Willmott, eds. *Critical Management Studies: A Reader.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 60-106.

Aman, V., 2013. *The potential of preprints to accelerate scholarly communication - A bibliometric analysis based on selected journals*. M.A. Thesis, Cornell University.

Amit, V. 2000. The University as Panopticon: Moral claims and attacks on academic freedom**.** *In:* M. Strathern, ed., *Anthropological Studies in Accountability, Ethics, and the Academy*. London: Routledge, 2000, pp. 215-235.

Anderson, K., 2014a. *Interview with Gordon Nelson — Public Access Policies, Open Access, and the Viability of Scientific Societies* [online]. The Scholarly Kitchen, 25 August. Available at: http://scholarlykitchen.sspnet.org/2014/08/25/interview-with-gordon-nelson-public-access-policies-open-access-and-the-viability-of-scientific-societies/ [Accessed 25 August 2014].

Anderson, K., 2014b. *UPDATED — 82 Things Publishers Do (2014 Edition)* [*online*]. The Scholarly Kitchen, 21 October. Available at: https://scholarlykitchen.sspnet.org/2014/10/21/updated-80-things-publishers-do-2014-edition/ [Accessed 29 April 2016].

Anderson, W., 2012. All research funded by NHMRC to be accessible free of charge, *The Conversation* [online], 21 February. Available at: http://theconversation.edu.au/all-research-funded-by-nhmrc-to-be-accessible-free-of-charge-5486 [Accessed 11 January 2013].

Anonymous, 2015. Anonymous Academic: Our obsession with metrics turns academics into data drones. *The Guardian* [online], 27 November Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/2015/nov/27/our-obsession-with-metrics-turns-academics-into-data-drones [Accessed 25 August 2016].

Arvidsson, A., 2013. Thinking Beyond Neo-Liberalism: A response to Detlev Zwick. *Ephemera*, 13(2), pp. 407-412.

ArXiv, 2014. *General Information About arXiv* [online]. Available at: http://uk.arxiv.org/help/general/ [Accessed 13 June 2014].

AUT, 2005. *The rise of teaching-only academics: changes in the employment of UK academic staff* [online]. London: Association of University Teachers. Available at: http://www.ucu.org.uk/media/pdf/c/3/teachingonly_jun06.pdf [Accessed 29 October 2013].

Ayris, P., 2011. *Open Access: In Support of Research* [online]. Research Communications Strategy Project. Available at: http://crc.nottingham.ac.uk/projects/rcs/OA-In_Support_of_Research.pdf [Accessed 3 march 2015].

Babini, D., 2015. *Open access is about access and re-use, but it is also about being able to contribute and participate in global conversations - developing region concerns*. Paper given at the "Unlocking the future: Open Access communication in a global research environment" workshop hosted by the RCUK and Global Research Council 1-2 April 2015 at the British Library [unpublished].

Balaam, D.N., and Dillman, B.L., 2011. *Introduction to international political economy*. Boston, MA: Pearson Education Inc.

Barassi, V., 2012. Free labour and academic publishing: Can we 'Just say no'? *Three-D*, 19, pp. 8.

Barbour, V., 2015. Publisher pushback puts open access in peril. *The Conversation* [online], 21 May. Available at: http://theconversation.com/publisher-pushback-puts-open-access-in-peril-42050 [Accessed 15 December 2015].

Barchiesi, F., 2009. Lean and Very Mean: Restructuring the university in South Africa. *In:* Edu-Factory Collective. *Toward a Global Autonomous University: Cognitive labour, the production of knowledge and exodus from the education factory.* New York: Autonomedia, 2009, pp. 66-71.

Barnett, R., 2011. The Marketised University: Defending the indefensible. *In:* M. Molesworth, R. Scullion and E. Nixon, eds., *The Marketisation of the Student as Consumer*. London: Routledge, 2011, pp. 39-51.

Barr, S., 2012. Open Access and its impact on the future of the university librarian. *The Guardian* [online], 25 October. Available at: http://www.guardian.co.uk/higher-education-network/blog/2012/oct/25/open-access-university-library-impact [Accessed 26 October 2012].

Basole, A., 2009. Eurocentrism, the University, and Multiple Sites of Knowledge Production. *In:* Edu-Factory Collective. *Toward a Global Autonomous University: Cognitive labour, the production of knowledge and exodus from the education factory.* New York: Autonomedia, 2009, pp. 32-38.

BBC News, 2002. Blair's University Targets Spelt Out. *BBC News* [online]*,* 30 January. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/education/1789500.stm [Accessed 18 September 2013].

BBC News, 2010. Reading confirms physics closure. *BBC News* [online], 21 November. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/education/6159106.stm [Accessed 14 October 2013].

BBC News, 2015a. Manifesto watch: Where parties stand on key issues. *BBC News* [online], 25 February. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-29642613 [Accessed 15 June 2015].

BBC News, 2015b. Election results: Conservatives win majority. *BBC News* [online], 15 May. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/election-2015-32633099 [Accessed 5 May 2016].

Beall, J., 2012. Predatory publishers are corrupting open access. *Nature* [online]. 489(179), p. 179. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1038/489179a [Accessed 16 June 2014].

Beall, J., 2014. *Beall's List: Potential, possible, or probable predatory scholarly open-access publishers* [online]. Scholarly Open Access blog. Available at: http://scholarlyoa.com/publishers/ [Accessed 16 June 2014].

Beall, J., 2015. Predatory journals and the breakdown of research cultures. *Information Development*, 31(5), pp. 473-476.

Benkler, Y., 2006. *Wealth of Networks: How social production transforms markets and freedom*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Benkler, Y., 2011a. *The Penguin and the Leviathan: How cooperation triumphs over self-interest*. New York: Crown Business.

Bennett, L., 2012. *The potential effect of making journals free after a six month embargo*. Association of Learned, Professional and Society Publishers/The Publishers Association.

Berger, A.A., 2011. *Media and Communication Research Methods: An introduction to qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Berglund, E., 2008. I Wanted to Be An Academic, Not 'A Creative': Notes on universities and the new capitalism. *Ephemera*, 8(3), pp. 322-330.

Bertrand, I. and Hughes, P., 2005. *Media Research Methods: Audiences, Institutions, Texts*. Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan.

Binfield, P., 2013. Novel Scholarly Journal Concepts. *In:* S. Bartling, S. Friesike, eds. *Opening Science: The Evolving Guide on How the Internet is Changing Research, Collaboration and Scholarly Publishing*. London: Springer, 2013, pp. 155-163.

Birkbeck, 2016. *Professor Martin Paul Eve* [online]. London: Birkbeck, University of London. Available at: http://www.bbk.ac.uk/english/our-staff/full-time-academic-staff/martin-eve [Accessed 29 September 2016].

Blackman, T., 2012. The Transition to Finch – the implications for individual researchers. *In:* Academy of Social Sciences, *Presentations from the Academy's Implementing Finch Conference*, London: AoSS, November 29-30, 2012, pp. 8.

Blackmore, P., 2015. HE Green Paper: reforms will benefit the established elite. *Times Higher Education* [online]. Available at: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/blog/he-green-paper-reforms-will-benefit-established-elite [Accessed 27 January 2016].

Blake, K., 2010. Grants, loans and tuition fees: a timeline of how university funding has evolved. *The Telegraph* [online], 10 November. Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/educationnews/8057871/Grants-loans-and-tuition-fees-a-timeline-of-how-university-funding-has-evolved.html [Accessed September 18 2013].

BOAI, 2002. *Budapest Open Access Initiative* [online]. Available at: http://www.budapestopenaccessinitiative.org/read [Accessed 26 January 2015].

Bocock, R., 1986. *Hegemony*. London: Routledge.

Boggs, C., 1980. *Gramsci's Marxism*. London: Pluto Press.

Bollier, D., 2008. *Viral Spiral: How the Commoners Built a Digital Republic of Their Own*. New York: The New Press.

Bolton, P., 2012. *Education: Historical statistics* [online]. London: Library, House of Commons. Available at: http://www.parliament.uk/briefing-papers/sn04252.pdf [Accessed 20 September 2013].

Booker, E., 2013. Will MOOCs Massively Disrupt Higher Education? *Information Week* [online], 3 September. Available at: http://www.informationweek.com/education/online-learning/will-moocs-massively-disrupt-higher-educ/240160674 [Accessed 22 October 2013].

Boxall, M., 2016. Higher education white paper: the big changes. *The Guardian* [online], 16 May. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/2016/may/16/higher-education-white-paper-the-big-changes [Accessed 26 June 2016].

Boyle, J., 2008. *The Public Domain: Enclosing the commons of the mind*. USA: Caravan.

British Academy, 2012. *Open Access to research: British Academy response* [online]. London: The British Academy. Available at: http://www.britac.ac.uk/news/news.cfm/newsid/786 [Accessed 13 June 2014].

British Academy, 2013. *The British Academy and open access* [online]. London: The British Academy. Available at: http://www.britac.ac.uk/openaccess/index.cfm [Accessed 13 June 2014].

British Academy, 2016. *Frequently Asked Questions: Research Grants* [online]. London: The British Academy. Available at: http://www.britac.ac.uk/funding/Research_Grants_FAQs.cfm [Accessed 19 May 2016].

Brown, J., 2010. *An introduction to overlay journals* [online]. SHERPA LEAP. Available at: http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/19081/ [Accessed 12 June 2014].

Brown, R., 2011. The March of the Market. *In:* M. Molesworth, R. Scullion and E. Nixon, eds., *The Marketisation of the Student as Consumer*. London: Routledge, 2011, pp. 11-24.

Brown, R., and Carasso, H., 2013. *Everything for Sale? The Marketisation of UK Higher Education*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Browne, J., 2010. *Securing a Sustainable Future for Higher Education: An independent review of higher education funding & student finance* [online]. London: Department of Business Innovation and Skills. Available at: http://www.bis.gov.uk/assets/biscore/corporate/docs/s/10-1208-securing-sustainable-higher-education-browne-report.pdf [Accessed 1 October 2013].

Bryman, A., 2012. *Social Research Methods*. 4th ed. Oxford: OUP.

Bryman, A., 2016. *Social Research Methods*. 5th ed. Oxford: OUP.

Butler, D., 2013. Investigating journals: The dark side of publishing. *Nature,* 495, pp. 433–435.

Burgess, R., 2015. *Review of the Implementation of the RCUK Policy on Open Access*. London: RCUK. Available at: http://www.rcuk.ac.uk/RCUK-prod/assets/documents/documents/Openaccessreport.pdf [Accessed 6 Feb 2016].

Byrne, B., 2012. Qualitative Interviewing. *In:* C. Seale, ed. *Researching Society and Culture*. 3rd ed. London: Sage Publishing, 2012, pp. 206-228.

Caffentizis, G., and Federici, S., 2009. Notes on the edu-factory and Cognitive Capitalism. *In:* Edu-Factory Collective. *Toward a Global Autonomous University: Cognitive labour, the production of knowledge and exodus from the education factory.* New York: Autonomedia, 2009, pp. 125-131.

Carr, L., 2010. *Directions for EPrints: The State and Future of EPrints*. Paper given at the 5th International Open Repositories: OR2010 conference hosted on 6-9 June 2010 at the Palacio de Congresos, Madrid. Available at: http://eprints.soton.ac.uk/id/eprint/271509 [Accessed 12 June 2014].

CCUK, 2013. *The Cathedrals Group* [online]. Available at: http://www.cathedralsgroup.org.uk/ [Accessed 3 September 2013].

Chertkovskaya, E., 2013. Employability: is it time we get critical? *The Guardian* [online], 12 February.

Clarke, M., 2013. *The End of an Era for Academia.edu and Other Academic Networks?* [online] The Scholarly Kitchen, 11 December. Available at: http://scholarlykitchen.sspnet.org/2013/12/11/has-elsevier-signaled-a-new-era-for-academia-edu-and-other-professional-networks/ [Accessed 13 June 2014].

Clements, A., and McCutcheon, V., 2014. Research data meets research information management: Two case studies using (a) Pure CERIF-CRIS and (b) EPrints repository platform with CERIF extensions. *Procedia Computer Science*, 33, pp. 199-206.

Cocola, J., 2006. Eyes on the University. *Minnesota Review*, 67(Fall), pp. 143-152.

Codrea-Rado, A., 2013. University language department closures: 10 things you need to know. *The Guardian* [online], 9 October. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/education/2013/oct/09/university-language-departments-10-things-to-know [Accessed 14 October 2013].

Cole, N.L., 2014. *Base and Superstructure: Core Concepts of Marx's Theory* [online]. About Education. Available at: http://sociology.about.com/od/Key-Theoretical-Concepts/fl/Base-and-Superstructure.htm [Accessed 26 January 2015].

Collini, S., 2016. Who are the spongers now? *London Review of Books*, 38(2), pp. 33-37.

Collins, E., 2014. Don't shelve the monograph. *Research Fortnight*, 29 October.

Coman, J., 2014. Have England's universities been privatised by stealth? *The Observer* [online], 12 October. https://www.theguardian.com/education/2014/oct/12/have-universities-been-privatised-by-stealth [Accessed 1 September 2016].

Cond, A., 2016a. *The University Press Redux: Balancing traditional university values with a culture of digital innovation*. London: LSE Impact of Social Sciences Blog, 16 March. Available at: http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/impactofsocialsciences/2016/03/16/the-university-press-redux/ [Accessed 1 June 2016].

Cond, A., 2016b. Re: Open Access Interview (PhD). 1 November. Email to: Gareth Johnson (gareth.johnson2012@my.ntu.ac.uk).

Corbyn, Z., 2009. Universities 'delighted', not horrified, by new ministry, Mandelson claims. *Times Higher Education* [online], 11 June. Available at: http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/news/universities-delighted-not-horrified-by-new-ministry-mandelson-claims/406966.article [Accessed 18 September 2013].

Cost of Knowledge, 2012. *The Cost of Knowledge* [online]. Available at: http://thecostofknowledge.com/ [Accessed 4 December 2012].

Coté, M., and Pybus, J., 2011. Learning to Immaterial Labour 2.0: Facebook and Social Networks. *In:* M.A. Peters and E. Bulut, eds. *Cognitive Capitalism, Education and Digital Labor*. New York: Peter Lang, pp. 169-193.

Coughlan, S., 2013. UK universities 'face online threat'. *BBC News* [online], 11 March. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-21670959 [Accessed 14 October 2013].

CPID, 2015. *Over-qualification and skills mismatch in the graduate labour market* [online]. London: Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development. Available at: http://www.cipd.co.uk/binaries/over-qualification-and-skills-mismatch-graduate-labour-market.pdf [Accessed 24 November 2015].

CRC, 2013. *Portfolio* [online]. Nottingham: Centre for Research Communications. Available at: http://crc.nottingham.ac.uk/activities.php [Accessed 1 June 2015].

CRC, 2015. *About the Centre for Research Communications* [online]. Nottingham: Centre for Research Communications. Available at: http://crc.nottingham.ac.uk/about.php [Accessed 1 June 2015].

CRE, 1999. *The Bologna Declaration on the European space for higher education: An explanation.* [online]. Bologna: Confederation of EU Rectors' Conferences and the Association of European Universities (CRE). Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/educ/bologna/bologna.pdf [Accessed 7 October 2013].

Creative Commons, 2012. *History* [online]. Available at: http://creativecommons.org/about/history [Accessed 2 December 2012].

Crotty, D., 2014. *The UK government looks to double dip to pay for its open access policy* [online]. The Scholarly Kitchen, 6 February. Available at: http://scholarlykitchen.sspnet.org/2014/02/06/the-uk-government-looks-to-double-dip-to-pay-for-its-open-access-policy/ [Accessed 19 June 2014].

Curry, S., 2012. The inexorable rise of open access scientific publishing. *The Guardian* [online], 22 October. Available at: http://www.guardian.co.uk/science/occams-corner/2012/oct/22/inexorable-rise-open-access-scientific-publishing [Accessed 22 October 2012].

Curry, S., 2013. Political, Cultural and Technological Dimensions of Open Access: An Exploration. *In:* N. Vincent and C. Wickham, eds. *Debating Open Access*. London: British Academy, 2013, pp. 54-67.

CUP, 2016. *Gold Open Access Books* [online]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Available at: http://www.cambridge.org/gb/academic/cambridge-open-access/gold-open-access-books [Accessed 18 May 2016].

Cutler, K.M., 2013. *Elsevier's Research Takedown Notices Fan Out To Startups, Harvard, Individual Academics* [online]. TechCrunch, 19 December. Available at: http://techcrunch.com/2013/12/19/elsevier/ [Accessed 3 July 2014].

Dames, K.M., 2012. The Coming Copyright Clash in Higher Education. *Information Today* [online], 7(29), pp.24-25. Available at: http://connection.ebscohost.com/c/articles/77598847/coming-copyright-clash-higher-education [Accessed 20 November 2012].

Darabi, M., Macaskill, A., Reidy, L., 2016. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, 40(1), pp. 1-15

Darley, R., Reynolds, D., and Wickham, C., 2014. *Open Access Journals in Humanities and Social Science*. London: British Academy.

Dawson, A., 2012. DIY Academy? Cognitive capitalism, humanist scholarship, and the digital transformation. *In:* M. Maniberg, ed., *The Social Media Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 2012, pp. 257-274.

De Angelis, M., and Harvie, D., 2009. 'Cognitive Capitalism' and the Rat-Race: How capital measures immaterial labour in British universities. *Historical Materialism*, 17(3), pp. 3-30.

De Roure, D., 2014. The future of scholarly communications. *Insights*, 27(3), pp. 233–238.

Dearing, R., 1997. *The National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education: Report of the national committee* [online]. Available at: https://bei.leeds.ac.uk/partners/ncihe/ [Accessed 18 September 2013].

Deboink, S., 2010. Newman suggests a university's 'soul' lies in the mark it leaves on students. *The Guardian* [online], 20 October. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/oct/20/john-henry-newman-idea-university-soul [Accessed 27 June 2015].

Doctorow, C., 2016. *Germany-wide consortium of research libraries announce boycott of Elsevier journals over open access* [online]. BoingBoing, 15 December. Available at: https://boingboing.net/2016/12/15/germany-wide-consortium-of-res.html [Accessed 20 December 2016].

Dorling, D., 2015. Danny Dorling: six trends in university admissions. *Times Higher* [online], 12 February. Available at: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/features/danny-dorling-six-trends-in-university-admissions/2018407.article [Accessed 16 June 2016].

Dowling, E., 2011. Pedagogies of Cognitive Capitalism: Challenging the Critical Subject. *In:* M.A. Peters and E. Bulut, eds. *Cognitive Capitalism, Education and Digital Labor*. New York: Peter Lang, pp. 195-210.

Drucker, P., 1969. *The Age of Discontinuity*. New York: Harper & Row.

Durham, 2011. *Introduction to NVivo: Guide 52* [online]. University of Durham Information Technology Service. Available at: https://www.dur.ac.uk/resources/its/info/guides/52NVivo9.pdf [Accessed 5 June 2014].

Dyer-Witheford, N., 1999. *Cyber-Marx: Cycles and Circuits of Struggle in High Technology Capitalism*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Dyer-Witheford, N., 2011. In the Ruined Laboratory. *In:* M.A. Peters and E. Bulut, eds. *Cognitive Capitalism, Education and Digital Labor.* New York: Peter Lang, pp. 275-286.

Dyer-Witheford, N., 2015. *Cyber-Proletariat: Global Labour in the Digital Vortex*. London: Pluto Press.

Economist, 2013. Free-For-All: Open-access scientific publishing is gaining ground. *The Economist* [online], 4th May. Available at: http://www.economist.com/news/science-and-technology/21577035-open-access-scientific-publishing-gaining-ground-free-all?fsrc=scn/tw_ec/free_for_all [Accessed 29 January 2015].

Eden, D., 2012. *Autonomy: capitalism, class and politics*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd

Edgar, A., and Sedgewick, P., 2002. *Cultural Theory: The key concepts*. New York: Routledge.

EDINA, 2008. Edinburgh Repository Fringe 2008. *EDINA Newsline* [online]. Edinburgh: EDINA. Available at: http://edina.ac.uk/news/newsline13-3/repo-fringe.html [Accessed 8 July 2014].

EDINA, 2009. *The Depot* [online]. Edinburgh: EDINA. Available at: http://edina.ac.uk/projects/depot_summary.html [Accessed 1 June 2016].

EDINA, 2014a. *Repository Services and Open Access* [online]. Edinburgh: EDINA. Available at: http://edina.ac.uk/about/annual_review2014/repo.html [Accessed 1 June 2016].

EDINA, 2014b. *EDINA Project Archive* [online]. Edinburgh: EDINA. Available at: http://edina.ac.uk/projects/previous_topic.html [Accessed 12 June 2014].

Education Reform Act 1988 (c. 40). Available at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1988/40/pdfs/ukpga_19880040_en.pdf [Accessed 5 April 2016].

Edu-Factory Collective, 2009. All Power to Self-Education! *In:* Edu-Factory Collective. *Toward a Global Autonomous University: Cognitive labour, the production of knowledge and exodus from the education factory.* New York: Autonomedia, 2009, pp. 0-15.

Eisen, M., 2013. *How academia betrayed and continues to betray Aaron Swartz* [online]. Available at: http://www.michaeleisen.org/blog/?p=1254 [Accessed 7 February 2013].

Elliott, A., 2009. *Contemporary Social Theory: An introduction*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Ellis, B., 2013. Ex-Penn State president tops highest paid list. *CNN Money* [online], 12 May. Available at: http://money.cnn.com/2013/05/12/pf/college/university-president-pay/index.html [Accessed 7 October 2013].

Else, H., 2016. All researchers to be submitted to REF 2021. *Times Higher Education* [online], 8 December. Available at: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/all-researchers-be-submitted-ref-2021 [Accessed 8 December 2016].

Elsevier, 2004. *Elsevier further liberalizes copyright for authors* [online]. Amsterdam: Elsevier. Available at: http://www.elsevier.com/about/press-releases/corporate/elsevier-further-liberalizes-copyright-for-authors [Accessed 11 July 2014].

Elsevier, 2012. *Elsevier withdraws support for the Research Works Act* [online]. Amsterdam: Elsevier. Available at: https://www.elsevier.com/about/company-information/policies/message-on-the-research-works-act [Accessed 1 July 2016].

Elsevier, 2013. *International Comparative Performance of the UK Research Base – 2013* [online]. Amsterdam: Elsevier. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/263729/bis-13-1297-international-comparative-performance-of-the-UK-research-base-2013.pdf [Accessed 11 May 2016].

EPrints, 2014. *EPrints - Digital Repository Software* [online]. Southampton: EPrints Services. Available at: http://www.eprints.org/ [Accessed 11 June 2014].

EPrints, 2016. *About Us* [online]. Southampton: EPrints Services. Available at: http://www.eprints.org/uk/index.php/about/ [Accessed 1 June 2016].

EPSRC, 2011. *Policy on access to research outputs* [online]. Swindon: Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council. Available at: http://www.epsrc.ac.uk/about/infoaccess/Pages/roaccess.aspx [Accessed 27 November 2012].

Esposito, J., 2014a. *The Size of the Open Access Market* [online]. The Scholarly Kitchen, 29 October. Available at: https://scholarlykitchen.sspnet.org/2014/10/29/the-size-of-the-open-access-market/ [Accessed 1 June 2016]

Esposito, J., 2014b. *The Market for Social Sciences and Humanities Publications*. The Scholarly Kitchen, 28 January. Available at:

http://scholarlykitchen.sspnet.org/2014/01/28/the-market-for-social-sciences-and-humanities-publications/ [Accessed 16 June 2014].

Esposito, J., 2014c. *When professional society publishers take an independent path* [online]. The Scholarly Kitchen, 3 February. Available at: http://scholarlykitchen.sspnet.org/2014/02/03/when-professional-society-publishers-take-an-indpendent-path/ [Accessed 16 June 2014].

Eve, M., 2014a. *Open Access: the future of academic publication. Impact on research and teaching*. Paper given at the "ACLAIIR Seminar & AGM" hosted by the University Library on 17 June 2014 at the University of Cambridge [unpublished].

Eve, M., 2014b. *Open Access and the Humanities: Contexts, Controversies and the Future*. Cambridge: CUP.

Eve, M., 2016a. *Transcript of meeting between Elsevier and the Minister for Higher Education in the UK, Jo Johnson* [online]. Martin Paul Eve's Blog. Available at: https://www.martineve.com/2016/05/04/what-elsevier-and-the-minister-for-higher-education-in-the-uk-jo-johnson-met-about/ [Accessed 17 May 2016].

Eve, M., 2016b. *I have suffered from an episode of cerebral vasculitis and a stroke* [online]. Martin Paul Eve's Blog. Available at: https://www.martineve.com/2016/03/28/i-am-currently-off-work-having-suffered-cerebral-vasculitis-and-a-stroke/ [Accessed 7 April 2016].

Eve, M., 2016c. Re: Open Access Interview (PhD). 1 Nov. Email to: Gareth Johnson (gareth.johnson2012@my.ntu.ac.uk).

Eysenbach, G., 2006. Citation Advantage of Open Access Articles. *PLoS Biology*, 4(5), e157.

Fazackerley, A., 2016. Universities and NUS plan boycott of flagship teaching rankings. *The Guardian* [online], 22 November. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/nov/22/universities-nus-boycott-teaching-excellence-framework-tuition-fees [Accessed 24 November 2016].

Felluga, D., 2002. *Modules on Foucault: On Power* [online]. Perdue University. Available at: http://www.cla.purdue.edu/english/theory/newhistoricism/modules/foucaultpower.html [Accessed 10 February 2015].

Fetterman, D.M., 2010. *Ethnography: Step by step*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Fillitz, T., 2000. Academia: Same pressures, same conditions of work. *In:* M. Stratham, ed., *Anthropological Studies in Accountability, Ethics, and the Academy*. London: Routledge, 2000, pp. 236-255.

Finch, J., 2012. *Report of the Working Group on Expanding Access to Published Research Findings – the Finch Group (Finch Report)* [online]. London: BIS/Research Information Network. Available at: http://www.researchinfonet.org/publish/finch/ [Accessed 14 June 2012].

Fisher, M., 2009. *Capitalist Realism: Is there no alternative?* Ropley: Zero Books.

Flood, A., 2012. Scientists sign petition to boycott academic publisher Elsevier. *The Guardian* [online], 2 February. Available at: [Accessed 15 Nov 2013] https://www.theguardian.com/science/2012/feb/02/academics-boycott-publisher-elsevier].

Flood, M., Martin, B., and Dreher, T., 2013. Combining academia and activism: Common obstacles and useful tools. *Australian Universities Review*, 55(1), pp. 17-26.

Fosket, N., 2011. Markets, Government, Funding and the Marketisation of UK Higher Education. *In:* M. Molesworth, R. Scullion and E. Nixon, eds., *The Marketisation of Higher Education and the Student as Consumer*. London: Routledge, 2011, pp. 25-38.

Foucault, M., 2000. *Power*, ed. R. Hurley. New York: New Press.

Foucault, M., and Fontana, A., 1977. Truth and Power: An interview with Michel Foucault. *L'Arc*, 70, pp. 131-137.

Frass, W., Cross, J., and Gardner, V., 2014. *Taylor & Francis Open Access Survey* [online]. Taylor & Francis. Available at: http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/explore/open-access-survey-june2014.pdf [Accessed 27 May 2015].

Friend, F., 2012. *UK Open Access* [online]. Friend of Open Access, 29 June. Available at: http://www.friendofopenaccess.org.uk/index.php/uk-open-access [Accessed 7 July 2014].

Friend, F., 2013. *How did the UK Government manage to spoil something as good as Open Access?* [online]. London: LSE Impact of Social Sciences Blog, 17 October. Available at: http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/impactofsocialsciences/2013/10/17/uk-government-manage-to-spoil-open-access/ [Accessed 19 June 2014].

Fry, J., Oppenheim, C., Probets, S., Creaser, C., Greenwood, H., Spezi, V., and White, S., 2009. *PEER Behavioural Research: Authors and Users vis-à-vis Journals and Repositories* [online]. Loughborough: LISU. Available at: http://www.peerproject.eu/fileadmin/media/reports/Final_revision_-_behavioural_baseline_report_-_20_01_10.pdf [Accessed 19 June 2014].

Fuchs, C., 2014. Karl Marx and the Study of Media and Culture Today. *Culture Unbound*, 6, pp. 39-76.

Fuchs, C., and Sandoval, M., 2013. The Diamond Model of Open Access Publishing: Why policy makers, scholars, universities, libraries, labour unions and the publishing world need non-commercial, non-profit open access serious. *tripleC*, 11(2), pp. 428-443.

Furedi, F., 2011. Introduction to the Marketization of Higher Education and the Student as Consumer. *In:* M. Molesworth, R. Scullion and E. Nixon, eds., *The Marketisation of Higher Education and the Student as Consumer*. London: Routledge, 2011, pp. 1-8.

Further and Higher Education Act 1992 (c. 13). Available at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1992/13 [Accessed 19 September 2013].

Gardner, B., 2014. Professor suspended from top university for giving off 'negative vibes'. *The Telegraph* [online], 24 October. Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/11187063/Professor-suspended-from-top-university-for-giving-off-negative-vibes.html [Accessed 25 October 2014].

Gardner, R., 2013. Open Access and Learned Societies. *In:* N. Vincent and C. Wickham, eds. *Debating Open Access*. London: British Academy, 2013, pp. 14-29.

Gargouri, Y., Lariviere, V., Gingras, Y., Brody, T., Carr, L., and Harnad, S., 2012. Testing the Finch Hypothesis on Green OA Mandate Ineffectiveness. *University of Southampton* [online]. Available at: http://eprints.soton.ac.uk/344687/ [Accessed 11 January 2012].

Garner, R., 2013. We need tuition fees of up to £16,000, says Oxford vice-chancellor Professor Andrew Hamilton. *The Independent* [online], 9 October. Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/student/news/we-need-tuition-fees-of-up-to-16000-says-oxford-vicechancellor-professor-andrew-hamilton-8867323.html [Accessed 22 October 2013].

Garrett, H., 1968. The Tragedy of the Commons. *Science*, 162(3859), pp. 1243-1248.

Gatti, R., 2014. *Open Book Publishers: OA Perspectives from the world of publishing*. Paper given at the ACLAIRR Seminar on Open Access hosted on 17 June at Cambridge University Library, Cambridge. [unpublished].

Gefou-Madianou, D., 2000. Disciples, Discipline and Reflection: Anthropological encounters and trajectories. *In:* M. Strathern. *Audit Cultures: Anthropological studies in accountability, ethics and the academy*. London: Routledge, 2000, pp. 256-280.

Ghosh, P., 2012. Report calls on government to back open access science. *BBC News* [online], 19 June. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/science-environment-18497083 [Accessed 1 March 2015].

Giri, A., 2000. Audited Accountability and the Imperative of Responsibility: Beyond the primacy of the political. *In:* M. Strathern, ed., *Anthropological Studies in Accountability, Ethics, and the Academy*. London: Routledge, 2000, pp. 173-195.

Gordon, G., 2016. SSRN—the leading social science and humanities repository and online community—joins Elsevier. *Elsevier Connect* [online], 17 May. Available at: https://www.elsevier.com/connect/ssrn-the-leading-social-science-and-humanities-repository-and-online-community-joins-elsevier [Accessed 18 May 2016].

Gould, S., 2016. UK theses and the British Library EThOS service: from supply on demand to repository linking. *Interlending & Document Supply*, 44(1), pp. 7-13.

Gouldner, A.W., Clifford, J., Atkindon, P., Rosaldo, R., Richardson, L., and Brewer, J.D., 2004., Reflexivity and Representation. In: C. Seale, ed. *Social Research Methods: A Reader*. London: Routledge, 2004, pp. 377-408.

Gowder, P., 2016. *SSRN has been captured by the enemy of open knowledge* [online]. Available at: https://medium.com/@PaulGowder/ssrn-has-been-captured-by-the-enemy-of-open-knowledge-b3e5bca6751d#.sg3jwnqud [Accessed 18 May 2016].

Gowers, T., 2012. *Elsevier — my part in its downfall* [online]. Gowers's Weblog, 21 January. Available at: http://gowers.wordpress.com/2012/01/21/elsevier-my-part-in-its-downfall/ [Accessed 11 July 2014].

Graham, M., Hale, S.A., and Stephens, M. 2011. *Geographies of the World's Knowledge*. London: Convoco! Edition.

Grant Thornton UK LLP, 2013. Top Whack: Vice-Chancellors' Remuneration, 2011/2012. *Times Higher Education* [online]. Available at: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/sites/default/files/Attachments/2013/03/28/d/m/p/vice-chancellors-remuneration-2011-2012.pdf [Accessed 26 September 2013].

Great Britain. Committee on Higher Education, 1963. *Report of the Committee Appointed by the Prime Minister under the Chairmanship of Lord Robbins 1961-63*. London: HMSO.

Great Britain. Department for Education and Science, 1991. *Higher Education: A New Framework*. London: HMSO. (Cm 1541).

Great Britain. The Science and Technology Committee, 1993. *Realising our potential: A Strategy for Science, Engineering and Technology* [online]. London: The Stationery Office. (Cm 2250). Available at: http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm22/2250/2250.pdf [Accessed 20 September 2013].

Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. The Science and Technology Committee. 2002. *Fifth Report: Government Funding of the Scientific Learned Societies*. London: TSO.

Great Britain. Department for Education and Skills (DfES), 2003. *The Future of Higher Education* [online]. London: TSO. Available at: http://www.bis.gov.uk/assets/BISCore/corporate/MigratedD/publications/F/future_of_he.pdf [Accessed 16 September 2013].

Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. Science and Technology Committee, 2004. *Scientific Publications: Free for all* [online]. London: TSO. (HC 399-1) Available at: http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200304/cmselect/cmsctech/399/399.pdf [Accessed 18 June 2014].

Great Britain. Office of Fair Trading, 2006. *The Commercial Use of Public Information* [online]. London: TSO. Available at: http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20140402142426/http://www.oft.gov.uk/shared_oft/reports/consumer_protection/oft861.pdf [Accessed 10 July 2014].

Great Britain. Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS), 2009. *Higher Ambitions: The future of universities in a knowledge economy* [online]. London: The Stationery Office. Available at: http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http://www.bis.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/publications/Higher-Ambitions-Summary.pdf [Accessed 1 October 2013].

Great Britain. Department for Business Innovation and Skills (BIS), 2011. *Supporting Graduate Employability: HEI Practice in Other Countries* [online]. BIS Research Paper Number 40. London: The Stationery Office.

Great Britain. Department for Business, Innovation & Skills, 2012a. *Letter to Dame Janet Finch on the government response to the Finch Group report: 'Accessibility, sustainability, excellence: how to expand access to research publications'* [online]. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/32493/12-975-letter-government-response-to-finch-report-research-publications.pdf [Accessed 13 June 2014].

Great Britain. Department for Business, Innovation & Skills, 2012b. *Government invests £10 million to help universities move to open access* [online]. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/news/government-invests-10-million-to-help-universities-move-to-open-access [Accessed 12 June 2014].

Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. Business, Innovation and Skills Committee, 2013a. *Open Access 5th Session Report* [online]. London: TSO. Available at: http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmbis/99/99.pdf [Accessed 16 June 2014].

Great Britain. Parliament. House of Lords. Science and Technology Committee, 2013b. *The implementation of open access report* [online]. London: TSO. (HL Paper 122). Available at: http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201213/ldselect/ldsctech/122/122.pdf [Accessed 18 June 2014].

Great Britain. Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, 2016. *Success as a Knowledge Economy: Teaching Excellence, Social Mobility and Student Choice* [online]. London: TSO. (Cm 9258). Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/523546/bis-16-265-success-as-a-knowledge-economy-web.pdf [Accessed 18 June 2016].

Gross, L., 2012. Publishing Problems. *Three-D*, 19, pp. 6-7.

Grove, J., 2013. Higher Education Pay Survey, 2013. *Times Higher Education* [online]. Available at: http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/features/higher-education-pay-survey-2013/2002791.fullarticle [Accessed 26 September 2013].

Guadamuz, A., 2014. *Academic publishers draft and release their own Open Access licences* [online]. TechnoLlama Technology Law Blog, 11 July. Available at: http://www.technollama.co.uk/academic-publishers-draft-and-release-their-own-open-access-licences [Accessed 30 July 2014].

Guardian, 2013. *Open access scientific publishing* [online]. London: The Guardian. Available at: http://www.guardian.co.uk/science/open-access-scientific-publishing [Accessed 20 March 2013].

Gunn, A., 2017. Four problems with the Higher Education Bill. *The Conversation* [online], 10 January. Available at: https://theconversation.com/four-problems-with-the-higher-education-bill-71020 Accessed [11 Jan 2017].

Gutting, G., 2005. *Foucault: A very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hale, C., 2015. *A summary of the Higher Education Green Paper* [online]. Universities UK. Available at: http://blog.universitiesuk.ac.uk/2015/11/06/a-summary-of-the-higher-education-green-paper/ [Accessed 29 February 2016].

Hall, G., 2014. *The Open Humanities Press*. Paper given at the Disruptive Media Learning Lab Open Access Roadshow hosted on 5 November 2014 at Coventry University, Coventry, UK [unpublished].

Hall, M., 2012. Green or Gold? Open Access after Finch. *Insights*, 23(3), pp. 235-240.

Hall, M., 2013. *Neither Green nor Gold: Open access research and the future for academic publishing*. Paper given at the Westminster Higher Education Forum hosted on 5 February 2013 in London. Available at: http://www.salford.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0003/220755/Neither-Green-nor-Gold-February-2013-2.pdf [Accessed 12 June 2014].

Hands, J., 2011. @ *Is for Activism. Dissent, Resistance and Rebellion in a Digital Culture*. London: Pluto Press.

Handwerker, W.P., 2001. *Quick Ethnography: A Guide to Rapid Multi-Method Research*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Hardt, M., and Negri, A., 2000. *Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hardt, M., and Negri, A., 2009. *Commonwealth*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Harnad, S., 2004. *The 1994 "Subversive Proposal" at 10* [online]. Available at: https://mx2.arl.org/Lists/SPARC-OAForum/Message/827.html [Accessed 4 April 2014].

Harnad, S., 2007. *Mandates and Metrics: How Open Repositories Enable Universities to Manage, Measure and Maximise their Research Assets* [online]. Southampton: University of Southampton. Available at: http://users.ecs.soton.ac.uk/harnad/Temp/openaccess.pdf [Accessed 1 June 2016].

Harnad, S., 2016a. *Open Access Archivangelism* [online]. Blog. Available at: http://openaccess.eprints.org/ [Accessed 24 May 2016].

Harnad, S., 2016b. *Evolutionarily Stable Strategies* [online]. Blog, 20 May. Available at: http://openaccess.eprints.org/index.php?/archives/1177-Evolutionarily-Stable-Strategies.html [Accessed 24 May 2016].

Harnad, S., 2012. *Why the UK Should Not Heed the Finch Report* [online]. LSE Impact of Social Sciences Blog, 4 July. Available at: http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/impactofsocialsciences/2012/07/04/why-the-uk-should-not-heed-the-finch-report/ [Accessed 12 June 2014].

Harnad, S., 2014. *Elsevier Perplexity About Its Own Policies...* [online]. Available at: http://openaccess.eprints.org/index.php?/archives/1116-Elsevier-Perplexity-About-Its-Own-Policies....html [Accessed 12 June 2014].

Harnad, S., and Brody, T., 2004. Comparing the Impact of Open Access (OA) vs. Non-OA Articles in the Same Journals. *D-Lib Magazine*, 10(6). Available at: http://eprints.soton.ac.uk/260207/ [Accessed 1 March 2013].

Harris, D., 2003. *Teaching Yourself Social Theory*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Harris, S. 2012. Moving towards an open access future: The role of academic libraries. British Library/Sage. Available at: [Accessed 12 June 2014].

Harvey, D., 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harvey, D., 2010. *A Companion to Marx's Capital*. London: Verso.

Harvie, D., 2006. Value Production and Struggle in the Classroom: Teachers within, against and beyond capital. *Capital and Class*, 30(1), pp. 1-32.

Harvie, D., Lightfoot, G., Lilley, S., and Weir, K., 2012. What are we to do with feral publishers? *Organization*, 19(6), pp. 905-914.

Harvie, D., Lightfoot, G., Lilley, S., and Weir, K., 2013. Publisher, be damned! From price gouging to the open road. *Prometheus: Critical Studies in Innovation*, 31(3), pp. 229-239.

Hastings, M., 2016. *The UK – edging ever closer to open access to research publications* [online]. Universities UK, 11 February. Available at: http://blog.universitiesuk.ac.uk/2016/02/11/the-uk-edging-ever-closer-to-open-access-to-research-publications/ [Accessed 11 May 2016].

Havergal, C., & Grove, J., 2016. Higher education White Paper: key points at a glance. *Times Higher Education* [online], 16 May.https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/higher-education-white-paper-key-points-glance [Accessed 19 May 2016].

Haywood, H., Jenkins, R., and Molesworth, M., 2011. A Degree Will Make All Your Dreams Come True: Higher education as the management of consumer desires. *In:* M. Molesworth, R. Scullion and E. Nixon, eds., *The Marketisation of Higher Education and the Student as Consumer*. London: Routledge, 2011, pp. 183-195.

HEFCE, 2012a. *Research Excellence Framework: REF 2014* [online]. London: Higher Education Funding Council for England. Available at: http://www.ref.ac.uk/ [Accessed 13 March 2013].

HEFCE, 2012b. *Impetus for open access in publicly funded research* [online]. London: Higher Education Funding Council for England. Available at: http://www.hefce.ac.uk/news/newsarchive/2012/name,73613,en.html [Accessed 27 July 2012].

HEFCE, 2013a. *Consultation on open access in the post-2014 Research Excellence Framework* [online]. London: Higher Education Funding Council for England. Available at: http://www.hefce.ac.uk/pubs/year/2013/201316/ [Accessed 22 October 2013].

HEFCE, 2014a. *Open access in the post-2014 Research Excellence Framework* [online]. London: Higher Education Funding Council for England. Available at: http://www.hefce.ac.uk/pubs/year/2014/cl072014/#d.en.86764 [Accessed 13 June 2014].

HEFCE, 2014b. *New policy for open access in the post-2014 Research Excellence Framework* [online]. London: Higher Education Funding Council for England. Available at: http://www.hefce.ac.uk/news/newsarchive/2014/news86805.html [Accessed 22 May 2014].

HEFCE, 2015. *Business plan 2015-2020 Creating and sustaining the conditions for a world-leading higher education system* [online]. London: Higher Education Funding Council for England. [Accessed 5 December 2015].

HEFCE, 2016a. *REF Impact* [online]. London: Higher Education Funding Council for England. Available at: http://www.hefce.ac.uk/rsrch/REFimpact/ [Accessed 15 June 2016].

HEFCE, 2016b. *Who we work with* [online]. London: Higher Education Funding Council for England. Available at: http://www.hefce.ac.uk/about/unicoll/government/ [Accessed 29 April 2016].

HESA, 2012. *Students and Qualifiers data tables 2011/12: Students by institution* [online]. Cheltenham: Higher Education Statistics Agency. Available at: http://www.hesa.ac.uk/index.php/content/view/1973/239/ [Accessed 20 September 2013].

Hess, C. and Ostrom, E., 2007. *Understanding Knowledge as a Commons*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Higher Education Act 2004 (c. 8). Available at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2004/8/contents [Accessed 22 October 2013].

HMRC, 2015. *Approved professional organisations and learned societies* [online]. London: HM Revenue & Customs. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/professional-bodies-approved-for-tax-relief-list-3/approved-professional-organisations-and-learned-societies [Accessed 6 October 2015].

Holcombe, A.O. 2013. Riled up by Elsevier's take-downs? Time to embrace open access. *The Conversation* [online], 12 December. Available at: https://theconversation.com/riled-up-by-elseviers-take-downs-time-to-embrace-open-access-21405 [Accessed 30 July 2014].

Holcombe, A.O., and Todd, M., Free for all: ARC-funded research now open to the public. The Conversation [online], 9 January. Available at: https://theconversation.com/free-for-all-arc-funded-research-now-open-to-the-public-11497 [Accessed 30 July 2014].

Holmwood, J., 2013. Death by Metrics. *Global Dialogue* [online], 30 October. Available at: http://isa-global-dialogue.net/death-by-metrics/ [Accessed 24 August 2015].

Hope, A. 2013. Foucault, panopticism and school surveillance research. *In:* M, Murphy, ed., *Social Theory and Education Research. Understanding Foucault, Habermas, Bourdieu and Derrida*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 35-51.

Houghton, J., and Swan, A., 2013. Planting the Green Seeds for a Golden Harvest: Comments and Clarifications on "Going for Gold". *D-Lib Magazine* [online], 19(1/2). Available at: http://www.dlib.org/dlib/january13/houghton/01houghton.html [Accessed 19 January 2013].

House of Commons, 2013. *Frequently Asked Questions: MPs* [online]. London: House of Commons Information Office, UK Parliament. Available at: http://www.parliament.uk/about/faqs/house-of-commons-faqs/members-faq-page2/ [Accessed 26 September 2013].

Howard, J., Posting Your Latest Article? You Might Have to Take It Down. *The Chronicle of Higher Education* [online], 6 December. Available at: http://chronicle.com/blogs/wiredcampus/posting-your-latest-article-you-might-have-to-take-it-down/48865 [Accessed 13 June 2014].

Hubbard, B., and Bjornshauge, L., 2006. *Release of OpenDOAR listing* [online]. Nottingham: SHERPA/Centre for Research Communications. Available at: http://www.opendoar.org/documents/OpenDOAR_Press_Release_Jan06.pdf [Accessed 1 June 2016].

Hubbard, B., 2015. Bill Hubbard: Biography [online]. Nottingham: University of Nottingham. Available at: http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/~uazjwh/ [Accessed 6 October 2015].

Ilochi, C., 2015. *Participation Rates in Higher Education: Academic Years 2006/2007 – 2013/2014 (Provisional)*. London: Department for Business, Innovation and Skills.

Ingram, M., 2012. *Publishing is no longer a job or an industry – it's a button* [online]. Gigaom. https://gigaom.com/2012/04/09/publishing-is-no-longer-a-job-or-an-industry-its-a-button/ [Accessed 6 January 2016].

Jacobs, N., 2016. *Neil Jacobs: Head of Scholarly Communication Support* [online]. Bristol: Jisc. Available at: https://www.jisc.ac.uk/staff/neil-jacobs [Accessed 13 March 2016].

Jacques, M., 2016. The death of neoliberalism and the crisis in western politics. *The Guardian* [online], 21st August. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/aug/21/death-of-neoliberalism-crisis-in-western-politics [Accessed 22 August 2016].

Jarratt, A., 1985. *Report of the Steering Committee for Efficiency Studies in Universities*. London: Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the Universities of the United Kingdom.

JCPSG, 2013. *The Joint Costing and Pricing Steering Group* [online]. Available at: http://www.jcpsg.ac.uk/ [Accessed 13 October 2013].

Jencks, L., and Riesmann, D., 1968. *The Academic Revolution*. New York: Doubleday.

Jha, A., 2011. China poised to overhaul US as biggest publisher of scientific papers. *The Guardian* [online], 28 March. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/science/2011/mar/28/china-us-publisher-scientific-papers [Accessed 11 May 2016].

Jisc, 2006. *The Depot* [online]. Bristol: Jisc. Available at: http://www.jisc.ac.uk/whatwedo/programmes/reppres/depot.aspx [Accessed 8 July 2014].

Jisc, 2007. *UK PubMed Central launched today* [online]. Bristol: Jisc. Available at: https://www.jisc.ac.uk/news/uk-pubmed-central-launched-today-08-jan-2007 [Accessed 1 June 2015].

Jisc, 2010. *Open Access for UK Research - JISC's contributions* [online]. Bristol: Jisc. Available at: http://www.jisc.ac.uk/publications/programmerelated/2010/openaccessmainbrochure.asp x [Accessed 30 May 2014].

Jisc, 2013a. *Professor Martin Hall appointed new Jisc chair* [online]. Bristol: Jisc. Available at: http://www.jisc.ac.uk/news/professor-martin-hall-appointed-new-jisc-chair-06-nov-2013 [Accessed 12 June 2014].

Jisc, 2013b. *Jisc Project Management Requirements* [online]. Bristol: Jisc. Available at: http://www.jisc.ac.uk/fundingopportunities/projectmanagement/requirements.aspx [Accessed 12 June 2014].

Jisc, 2013c. *Jisc Collections and Open Access Key to collaborate on UK Gold OA article payments pilot* [online]. Bristol: Jisc. Available at: http://www.jisc.ac.uk/news/jisc-collections-and-open-access-key-to-collaborate-on-uk-gold-oa-article-payments-pilot-23-jan [Accessed 10 July 2014].

Jisc, 2014. *Jisc Programmes* [online]. Bristol: Jisc. Available at: http://www.jisc.ac.uk/whatwedo/programmes [Accessed 12 June 2014].

Jisc, 2016. *Our role in open access* [online]. Bristol: Jisc. Available at: https://www.jisc.ac.uk/content/open-access/our-role [Accessed 24 May 2016].

Jisc, 2017. *Who we are and what we do* [online]. Bristol: Jisc. Available at: https://www.jisc.ac.uk/about/who-we-are-and-what-we-do [accessed 10 December 2016].

Johnson, B., 2014. *How do we achieve open access?* [online] London: HEFCE. Available at: http://blog.hefce.ac.uk/2014/10/20/how-do-we-achieve-open-access/ [Accessed 11 May 2016].

Johnson, C., 2016. *All LUP journal content free for Open Access Week!* [online] Liverpool: Liverpool University Press Available at: http://liverpooluniversitypress.co.uk/blogs/news/all-lup-journal-content-free-for-open-access-week [Accessed 29 October 2016].

Johnson, G.J., 2007. In the kingdom of the blind: Successfully implementing institutional repositories in the UK and the SHERPA Partnership experience. *New Review of Academic Librarianship*, 13(1-2), pp. 13-33.

Johnson, G.J. 2012a. *The Stars Like Dust: Establishing and maintaining an effective independent UK repository workers' organisation* [online]. Presentation given at the "Open Repositories 2012" conference on 9 July 2012 at the University of Edinburgh. Available at: [Accessed 5 April 2014].

Johnson, G.J. 2012b. The Finch Report: Optimism, Hope and Frustration for Repository Staff in Equal Measures. *UKCoRR Blog* [online]. Available at: http://ukcorr.org/2012/06/21/the-finch-report-optimism-hope-and-frustration-for-repository-staff-in-equal-measures/ [Accessed 12 June 2014].

Johnson, G.J., 2012. eTheses: Mandates, Embargoes, Compliance, Impact and Sanctions - The results of a brief survey. *UKCoRR* [online]. Available at: http://lra.le.ac.uk/handle/2381/10803 [Accessed 12 February 2013].

Johnson, G.J., 2014. Heady, challenging, provocative, and satisfyingly emboldening. *UKSG Newsletter*, May 2.

Johnson, G.J., 2014a. *Policy, practice and problems: UK university cultures and responses to open access*. Paper given at the "OER14: Building Communities of Open Practice" hosted by Open Education Europa on 28-29 April 2014 at the University of Newcastle, UK. Available at:
https://www.academia.edu/6917442/Policy_practice_and_problems_UK_university_cultur es_and_responses_to_open_access [Accessed 10 December 2016].

Johnson, G.J., 2014b. *The Long Song and the Panopticon: Open access, universities and cultural hegemony*. Paper given at the "ARLG Conference 2014" hosted by the CILIP ARLG Group on 23-25 June 2014 at the University of Sussex, Brighton, UK. Available at:
https://www.academia.edu/7479281/The_Long_Song_and_the_Panopticon_Open_Access _Universities_and_Cultural_Hegemony [Accessed 10 December 2016].

Johnson, G.J., 2014c. *Cultural influences on academics' open scholarly dissemination practice in UK HEIs*. Paper given at the "iFutures 2014" conference hosted by the Information School on 22 July 2014 at the University of Sheffield, UK. Available at: https://conferencepapers.shef.ac.uk/index.php/iFutures/2014/paper/view/62/29 [Accessed 10 December 2016].

Johnson, G.J., 2015a. *A Re-Examination of the Cultural Resistance Orthodoxies within Scholarly Open Access Communication*. Paper given at the "New Directions in Media Research" conference, hosted by the Media and Communications School on 12 June 2015 at the University of Leicester, UK. Available at:
https://www.academia.edu/12991822/A_Re-Examination_of_the_Cultural_Resistance_Orthodoxies_within_Scholarly_Open_Access_Co mmunication [Accessed 10 December 2016].

Johnson, G.J., 2015b. *Dysfunction and resistance to open access*. Paper given at the "UKSG 38th Annual Conference and Exhibition", hosted by the UK Serials Groups on 30 March – 1 April 2015 at the Scottish Exhibition Centre and Conference Centre, Glasgow, UK. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/11764558/Dysfunction_and_Resistance_to_Open_Access [Accessed 10 December 2016].

Johnson, G.J., 2015c. *A Critical Examination of Barriers to Open Access in UK Academia*. Paper given at the "ISIS Summit Vienna 2015" conference, hosted by International Society for Information Studies on 3-7 June 2015 at the Vienna University of Technology, Austria. Available at: https://sciforum.net/conference/isis-summit-vienna-2015/paper/2806/download/pdf [Accessed 10 December 2016].

Johnson, G.J., 2016. A Re-Examination of the Cultural Resistance Orthodoxies within Scholarly Open Access Communication. *For(e)dialogue*,1(1), pp. 80-84.

Johnson, J., 2016. Letter to Professor Tickell, 11 February 2016. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/499945/bis-16-122-open-access-research-response.pdf [Accessed 10 May 2016].

Jones, S., 2006. *Antonio Gramsci*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Jones-Devitt, S., and Samiei, C., 2011. From Accrington Stanley to Academia? The use of league tables and student surveys to determine the 'quality' in higher education. *In:* M. Molesworth, R. Scullion and E. Nixon, eds., *The Marketisation of Higher Education and the Student as Consumer*. London: Routledge, 2011, pp. 86-100.

Jordan, T., 2008. *Hacking: Digital media and technological determinism.* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Jump, P., 2013. Gold standard bearers hit back. *Times Higher Education*, 21 November, pp. 8.

Jump, P., 2014a. Open Access: Report suggests funders could set threshold for hybrid. *Times Higher Education* [online], 12 March. Available at: http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/news/open-access-report-suggests-funders-could-set-threshold-for-hybrid-fees/2012033.article [Accessed 1 July 2014].

Jump, P., 2014b. PeerJ's $99 OA Model One Year on. *Times Higher Education* [online], 13 March. Available at: http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/news/peerjs-99-open-access-model-one-year-on/2011960.article [Accessed 1 July 2014].

Jump, P., 2014c. Resignations threat over Taylor & Francis 'censorship'. *Times Higher Education* [online], 5 June. Available at: http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/news/resignations-threat-over-taylor-and-francis-censorship/2013752.article [Accessed 6 October 2015].

Jump, P., 2014d. Open access papers 'gain more traffic and citations'. *Times Higher Education* [online], Available at: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/home/open-access-papers-gain-more-traffic-and-citations/2014850.article [Accessed 11 May 2016].

Jump, P., 2015. For open-access clarity, adopt rule on exception. *Times Higher Education* [online], 26 March. Available at: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/for-open-access-clarity-adopt-rule-on-exception/2019273.article [Accessed 1 June 2015].

Kapczymski, A., 2010. Access to Knowledge: A conceptual genealogy. *In:* G. Krikorian and A. Kapczymski, eds. *Access to knowledge in the age of intellectual property*. New York: Zone Books, pp. 17-56.

Kennedy, L., 2012. *What is the Million+ Group?* [online]. Which? University. Available at: http://university.which.co.uk/advice/what-is-the-million-group [Accessed 10 April 2014].

Khomami, N., 2016. All scientific papers to be free by 2020 under EU proposals. *The Guardian* [online], 28 May. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/science/2016/may/28/eu-ministers-2020-target-free-access-scientific-papers [Accessed 1 June 2016].

Kinsman, G., 2004. *The Politics of Revolution: Learning from Autonomist Marxism*. Presentation given at Autonomy & Solidarity workshop organised by Sudbury, UK in February 2004. Available at: http://www.elkilombo.org/the-politics-of-revolution-learning-from-autonomist-marxism/ [Accessed 2 February 2015].

Kirby, A., 2012. Scientific communication, open access, and the publishing industry. *Political Geography* [online], 31(5). Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2012.04.001 [Accessed 4 February 2013].

Kirkup, J., 2008. Labour sticks to 50 per cent university target. *The Telegraph* [online], 9 April. Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1584495/Labour-sticks-to-50-per-cent-university-target.html [Accessed 4 September 2013].

Kleinman, M., 2010. *Defining Open Access. Again* [online]. Available at: http://mollykleinman.com/2010/10/12/defining-open-access-again/ [Accessed 11 May 2016].

Koh, A., 2014. A Public Library of the Humanities? An Interview with Martin Paul Eve. *The Chronicle of Higher Education* [online]*, 21 April. Available at: http://chronicle.com/blogs/profhacker/a-public-library-of-the-humanities-an-interview-with-martin-paul-eve/56767 [Accessed 12 June 2014].

Kolata, G., 2013. Scientific Articles Accepted (Personal checks, too). *New York Times* [online], 7 April. Available at http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/08/health/for-scientists-an-exploding-world-of-pseudo-academia.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0 [Accessed 17 May 2016].

Krikorian, G. 2010. Access to Knowledge as a Field of Activism. *In:* G. Krikorian and A. Kapczymski, eds. *Access to knowledge in the age of intellectual property*. New York: Zone, 2010, pp. 57-95.

Krikorian, G., Kapczymski, A., Amarasuriya, H., Franz, V., Nam, H., Rossini, C., and Witharana, D. 2010. Virtual roundtable on A2K Strategies: Interventions and Dilemmas. *In:* G. Krikorian and A. Kapczymski, eds., *Access to knowledge in the age of intellectual property*. New York: Zone, 2010, pp. 547-574.

KU, 2016. *How it works* [online]. Berlin: Knowledge Unlatched. Available at: http://www.knowledgeunlatched.org/about/how-it-works/ [Accessed 15 May 2016].

Kvale, S., 1996. InterViews: *An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Laine, H., 2015. *The Case Against the Journal Article: The age of publisher authority is going, going, gone - and we'll be just fine* [online]. London: LSE Impact Blog. Available at: http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/impactofsocialsciences/2015/07/14/the-case-against-the-journal-article/ [Accessed 6 January 2016].

LaMonica, M., 2007. Brazil's minister of culture calls for free digital society. *CNET News* [online], 27 September. Available at: http://news.cnet.com/8301-10784_3-9786370-7.html [Accessed 11 January 2013].

Lane, B., 2012. ARC likely to compel open access publishing. *The Australian*, 12 October) Available at: http://www.theaustralian.com.au/higher-education/arc-likely-to-compel-open-access-publishing/story-e6frgcjx-1226493490112 [Accessed 11 January 2013].

Lawson, S., & Gray, J., and Mauri, M., 2016. Opening the Black Box of Scholarly Communication Funding: A Public Data Infrastructure for Financial Flows in Academic Publishing. *Open Library of Humanities*, 2(1), p. e10. Available at: http://doi.org/10.16995/olh.72 [Accessed 18 April 2016].

Lazzarato, M., 2012. *The making of the Indebted Man: An essay on the neoliberal condition*. LA, CA: Semiotext(e).

Lee, S.D., 2008. The Gates are Shut: Technical and Cultural Barriers to Open Education. *In:* T. Iiyoshi and M.S. V. Kumar, eds., *Opening up Education: The collective advancement of education through open technology, open content and open knowledge*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008, pp.47-60.

Leicester, 2011. *Academic Freedom: Ordinance Policy* [online]. Leicester: University of Leicester. Available at: https://www2.le.ac.uk/offices/hr/docs/policies/ord-on-ac-freedom.pdf [Accessed 5 April 2016].

Leicester, 2016a. *Professor Simon Lilley: Professor of Information and Organisation* [online]. Leicester: University of Leicester. Available at: http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/management/people/simon-lilley [Accessed 20 December 2016].

Leicester, 2016b. *Dr Kenneth Weir: Lecturer in Accountancy* [online]. Leicester: University of Leicester. Available at: http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/management/people/kenneth-weir [Accessed 20 December 2016].

Lessig, L., 2002. *The Future of Ideas: The fate of the commons in a connected world*. New York: Vintage Books.

Lessig, L., 2004. *Free Culture: The nature and future of creativity*. USA: Penguin Books.

Lessig, L., 2006. *Code 2.0*. USA: Basic Books.

Lessig, L., 2008. *Remix: Making art and commerce thrive in the hybrid economy*. London: Bloomsbury.

Liang, L. 2010., Beyond Representation: The Figure of the Pirate. *In:* G. Krikorian and A. Kapczymski, eds. *Access to knowledge in the age of intellectual property*. New York: Zone, 2010, pp. 353-375.

Lilley, S., 2012. How publishers feather their nests on open access to public money. *Times Higher Education* [online], (1 November). Available at: http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/story.asp?storycode=421672 [Accessed 13 October 2014].

Lipsett, A., 2009. Liverpool staff promise strike over subject cuts. *The Guardian* [online], 10 March. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/education/2009/mar/10/liverpool-rae-closures [Accessed 8 October 2013].

Litman, J., 2003. Sharing and stealing. *Social Science Research Network (SSRN)* [online]. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.472141 [Accessed 4 December 2012].

Louise, P., 2013. *Marx's Commodity Fetishism and Theory of Value* [online]. Available at: http://www.thesociologicalcinema.com/videos/marxs-commodity-fetishism-and-theory-of-value [Accessed 20 January 2015].

LUP, 2015. *Contact Liverpool University Press* [online]. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. Available at: http://liverpooluniversitypress.co.uk/pages/contact-us. [Accessed June 5 2015].

LUP, 2016. *About Liverpool University Press* [online]. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. Available at: https://liverpooluniversitypress.co.uk/pages/about [Accessed 21 January 2016].

Lupton, E., A short history of party manifestos for HE. *WONKHE* [online], 13 April. Available at: http://wonkhe.com/blogs/a-short-history-of-party-manifestos-for-he/ [Accessed 15 June 2015].

Lynch, K., and Ivancheva, M., 2015. *Academic Freedom and the Commercialisation of Universities: A critical ethical analysis*. Ethics in Science and Environmental Politics, 15 (1), pp. 1-15.

Mabe, M., and Price, D., 2012. Gold or green: which is the best shade of open access? *Times Higher Education* [online], 5 July. Available at: http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/420454.article [Accessed 8 August 2014].

MacFarquhar, L., 2013. Requiem for a Dream. *The New Yorker* [online], 11 March. Available at: http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2013/03/11/requiem-for-a-dream [Accessed 7 December 2015].

Macilwain, C., 2013. Is Open Access Finally on the Ascendancy? *BioScience* [online], 63(1), pp. 7-11. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/bio.2013.63.1.3 [Accessed 18 February 2013].

Mackie, C.J. 2008. Open Source in Open Education: Promises and Challenges. *In:* T. Iiyoshi and M.S. V. Kumar, eds., *Opening up Education: The collective advancement of education through open technology, open content and open knowledge*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008, pp. 47-60.

Mance, H., and Cookson, H., 2014. Academic fraudsters put publishers' worth in the spotlight. *Financial Times* [online], July 18. Available at: http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/04f3bd78-0915-11e4-906e-00144feab7de.html#axzz3QJBwxa8K [Accessed 29 January 2015].

Maringe, F., 2011. The Student as Consumer: Affordances and constraints in a transforming higher educational environment. *In:* M. Molesworth, R. Scullion and E. Nixon, eds., *The Marketisation of Higher Education and the Student as Consumer*. London: Routledge, 2011, pp. 142-154.

Martin, R., 2009. Conditions of Interdisciplinarity. *In:* Edu-Factory Collective. *Toward a Global Autonomous University: Cognitive labour, the production of knowledge and exodus from the education factory.* New York: Autonomedia, 2009, pp. 50-65.

Marx, K., 1844. Economic & Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844: Estranged labour. *Marxists International Archive* [online]. Available at: https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/manuscripts/labour.htm [Accessed 13 October 2014].

Marx, K., and Engels, F., 1932. The German Ideology: Critique of Modern German Philosophy According to Its Representatives Feuerbach, B. Bauer and Stirner, and of German Socialism According to Its Various Prophets. Part 1. *Marxists International Archive* [online]. Available at: https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/ch01b.htm [Accessed 13 October 2014].

Matthews, D., 2015. Open Library of Humanities aims to 'flip' journals to open access. *Times Higher Education* [online], 3 December. Available at: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/research-intelligence/open-library-humanities-aims-flip-journals-open-access [Accessed 12 January 2016].

Maykut, P., and Morehouse, R., 1994. *Beginning Qualitative Research: A philosophic and practical guide*. London: The Farmer Press.

McCaig, C., 2011. Access Agreements, Widening Participation and Market Positionality: Enabling student choice? *In:* M. Molesworth, R. Scullion and E. Nixon, eds., *The Marketisation of Higher Education and the Student as Consumer*. London: Routledge, 2011, pp. 115-128.

Mikula, M., 2008. *Key Concepts in Cultural Studies*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Miller, T., 2009. Governmentality and Commodification: The keys to Yanqui academic hierarchy. *In:* Edu-Factory Collective. *Toward a Global Autonomous University: Cognitive labour, the production of knowledge and exodus from the education factory.* New York: Autonomedia, 2009, pp.72-79.

Million+, 2013. *Million+: The University Think-Tank* [online]. Available at: http://www.millionplus.ac.uk/ [Accessed 3 September 2013].

Mills, S., 2003. *Michel Foucault*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Mohdin, A., 2015. Academics have found a way to access insanely expensive research papers—for free. *Quartz* [online], 21 October. Available at: http://qz.com/528526/academics-have-found-a-way-to-access-insanely-expensive-research-papers-for-free/ [Accessed 8 March 2016].

Moon, J.Y., Jarvenpaa, S., and Kuk, G., 2007. Diffusion of Open Access: Why are some disciplines more successful than others? *PACIS 2007 Proceedings* [online], Paper 133. Available at: http://aisel.aisnet.org/pacis2007/133 [Accessed 27 July 2012].

Mroz, A., 2009. Unite to Fight the Betrayal. *Times Higher Education*, 25 June, pp. 5.

Murphy, M., 2013. Introduction. *In:* M, Murphy, ed., *Social Theory and Education Research. Understanding Foucault, Habermas, Bourdieu and Derrida*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 3-17.

Murphy, M., and Skillen, P., 2013. The politics of school regulation: using Habermas to research educational accountability. *In:* M, Murphy, ed., *Social Theory and Education Research. Understanding Foucault, Habermas, Bourdieu and Derrida*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 84-97.

Murray-Rust, P., 2013. *#openaccess 10 years on; can we say "This is for everyone"?* [online] Blog, 21 October. Available at: https://blogs.ch.cam.ac.uk/pmr/2013/10/21/openaccess-10-years-on-can-we-say-this-is-for-everyone/ [Accessed 24 May 2016].

Murray-Rust, P., 2015. *Digital Scholarship: Enlightenment or Devastated Landscape? The Right to Read is the Right to Mine*. Paper given at IT Futures Conference hosted by the University of Edinburgh on 17 December 2015 [unpublished].

Myers, G., and Boersma, H., 2016. *Jisc Collections and Elsevier Sign Landmark UK Agreement, Securing Access to Research Publications and Initiating Open Science Collaboration* [online]. Elsevier, 7 November. Available at: https://www.elsevier.com/about/press-releases/research-and-journals/jisc-collections-and-elsevier-sign-landmark-uk-agreement,-securing-access-to-research-publications-and-initiating-open-science-collaboration [Accessed 20 December 2016].

Naughton, J., 2015. Aaron Swartz stood up for freedom and fairness – and was hounded to his death. *The Guardian* [online], 7 February. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/feb/07/aaron-swartz-suicide-internets-own-boy [Accessed 7 February 2015].

Neary, M., and Hagard, A., 2011. Pedagogy of Excess: An alternative political economy of student life. *In:* M. Molesworth, R. Scullion and E. Nixon, eds., *The Marketisation of Higher Education and the Student as Consumer*. London: Routledge, 2011, pp. 209-223.

Newby, H., 2005. Facing up to HE's New Economy. *The Guardian* [online], 22 March. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/education/2005/mar/22/universityfunding.highereducation [Accessed 30 August 2013].

Newfield, C., 2008. *Unmaking the Public University: The forty-year assault on the middle class*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Newman, J.H., 1982. *The Idea of a University*. New ed. South Bend, USA: University of Notre Dame Press.

Newman, M., 2009. Poor RAE results lead to job cuts. *Times Higher Education* [online], 24 September. Available at:http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/news/poor-rae-results-lead-to-job-cuts/408319.article [Accessed 8 October 2013].

Neylon, C., 2013. Open Access Confusion. *Times Higher Education* [online], 28 March. Available at: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/comment/opinion/open-access-confusion/2002789.article [Accessed 27 May 2014].

Neylon, C., 2015. *The Political Economics of Open Access Publishing – A series* [online]. Science in the Open, 27 September. Available at: http://cameronneylon.net/blog/the-political-economics-of-open-access-publishing-a-series/ [Accessed 11 May 2016].

Nixon, E., Scullion, R., and Molesworth, M., 2011. How Choice in Higher Education can Create Conservative Learners. *In:* M. Molesworth, R. Scullion and E. Nixon, eds., *The Marketisation of Higher Education and the Student as Consumer*. London: Routledge, 2011, pp. 196-208.

Nordensvärd, J., 2011. The Consumer Metaphor Versus the Citizen Metaphor: Different sets of roles for students. *In:* M. Molesworth, R. Scullion and E. Nixon, eds., *The Marketisation of Higher Education and the Student as Consumer*. London: Routledge, 2011, pp. 157-169.

Norris, M., Oppenheim, C., and Rowland, F., 2008. The citation advantage of open-access articles. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 59(12), pp. 1963-1972.

Notay, B., 2011. *Research management: Repositories and curation shared infrastructure* [online]. The JISC. Available at: http://www.jisc.ac.uk/whatwedo/programmes/di_researchmanagement/repositories.aspx [Accessed 17 January 2013]

Nottingham, 2013. *The Story of the University of Nottingham China Campus* [online]. Nottingham: University of Nottingham. Available at: http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/aglobaluniversity/ningbochina/index.aspx [Accessed 25 September 2013].

NTU, 2011. *Policy on Student-Generated Intellectual Property (Student IP Policy)* [online]. Nottingham: Nottingham Trent University. Available at: http://www.ntu.ac.uk/current_students/document_uploads/87315.pdf [Accessed 16 September 2013].

NUS, 2013. *How to Get Involved* [online]. London: National Union of Students. Available at: http://www.nus.org.uk/en/get-involved/ [Accessed 14 October 2013].

OAD, 2013. *Timeline of the Open Access Movement* [online]. Open Access Directory. Available at: [Accessed 13 June 2014].

OAW, 2014. *About Open Access week* [online]. Available at: http://www.openaccessweek.org/page/about [Accessed 10 July 2014).

OLH, 2014. *About* [online]. London: Open Library of Humanities. Available at: https://www.openlibhums.org/about/ [Accessed 12 June 2014].

OLH, 2015. OLH Launches [online]. London: Open Library of Humanities. *Open Library of Humanities* [online]. Available at: https://about.openlibhums.org/2015/09/28/olh-launches/ [Accessed 12 January 2016].

OLH, 2016. *OLH now supported by over 200 institutions thanks to the libraries of the seven Irish universities* [online]. London: Open Library of Humanities. Available at: https://about.openlibhums.org/2016/10/11/olh-now-supported-by-over-200-institutions-thanks-to-the-libraries-of-the-seven-irish-universities/ [Accessed 11 October 2016).

OLH, 2017. *Supporting Institutions* [online]. London: Open Library of Humanities. Available at: https://about.openlibhums.org/libraries/supporting-institutions/ [Accessed 13 January 2017].

Olssen, M., 2004. Foucault and Marxism: rewriting the theory of historical materialism. *Policy Futures in Education*, 2(3), pp. 454-482.

OPENAIRE Consortium., 2013. *Open Access Infrastructure for Research in Europe* [online]. OpenAIRE. Available at: https://www.openaire.eu/ [Accessed 11 January 2013].

Oppenheim, C. 2014. *Who owns the rights to scholarly articles?* [online]. Open and Shut [blog], 4 February. Available at: http://poynder.blogspot.co.uk/2014/02/guest-post-charles-oppenheim-on-who.html [Accessed 16 June 2014].

Osborne, R., 2013. Why Open Access makes no Sense. *Guardian* [online], 8 July. Available at: [Accessed 8 July 2013].

Owens, S., 2012, Is the Academic Publishing Industry on the Verge of Disruption? *U.S. News and World Reports* [online], (23 July). Available at: http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2012/07/23/is-the-academic-publishing-industry-on-the-verge-of-disruption?s_cid=rss:is-the-academic-publishing-industry-on-the-verge-of-disruption&page=7 [Accessed 27 July 2012].

Oxenham, S., 2016. *Meet the Robin Hood of Science* [online]. Big Think, 10 February. Available at: http://bigthink.com/neurobonkers/a-pirate-bay-for-science [Accessed 29 February 2015].

Page, B., 2016. Tickell report commends UK's Open Access progress. *The Bookseller* [online], 12 February. Available at: http://www.thebookseller.com/news/tickell-commends-uks-open-access-progress-322473 [Accessed 10 May 2016].

Parsons, D., Willis, D., Holland, J., 2011. Benefits to the Private Sector of Open Access to Higher Education and Scholarly Research. *UK Open Access Implementation Group* [online]. Available at: http://open-access.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/OAIG_Benefits_OA_PrivateSector.pdf [Accessed 2 November 2013].

Paton, G., 2009. University departments 'facing closure'. *The Telegraph* [online], 11 March. Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/educationnews/4968179/University-departments-facing-closure.html [Accessed 14 October 2013].

Patten, J., 1993. Only Quality can save universities, *The Times*, 6 December.

Peekhaus, W., 2012. The enclosure and alienation of academic publishing: Lessons for the professoriate. *tripleC*, 10(2). pp. 577-599

PeerJ, 2016. *PeerJ Pricing* [online]. Available at: https://peerj.com/pricing/ [Accessed 27 May 2016].

Pells, R., 2016. Student tuition fees set to rise as Government unveils White Paper university teaching reforms. *The Independent* [online], 15 May 2016. Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/education/education-news/student-tuition-fees-set-to-rise-as-government-unveils-university-teaching-reforms-a7030671.html [Accessed 15 June 2016].

Perkins, H., 2012. 'Inconvenient truths' of open-access plans. *Times Higher Education*, 28 June, pp. 32.

Peters, M., 1992. Performance and Accountability in 'Post-Industrial Society': the crisis of British universities. *Studies in Higher Education*, 17(2), pp. 123-140.

Peters, M.A., and Bulut, E., 2011. Introduction. *In:* M.A. Peters and E. Bulut., eds. *Cognitive Capitalism, Education and Digital Labor*, pp. xxv-xl.

Phellas, N., Bloch, A., and Seale, C., 2012. Structured Methods: Interviews, Questionnaires and Observation. *In:* C. Seale, ed. *Researching Society and Culture*. 3rd ed. London: Sage Publishing, 2012, pp. 181-205.

Pinfield, S., 2015. Making Open Access Work: The 'state of the art' in providing open access to scholarly literature. *Online Information Review*, 39(5), pp. 604-636.

Pinfield, S., and Middleton, C., 2012. Open access central funds in UK universities. *Learned Publishing*, 25(2), pp. 107-116.

Pinfield, S., Salter, J., Bath, P., Hubbard, B., Millington, P., Anders, J.H.S. and Hussain, A., 2014. Open-access repositories worldwide, 2005-2012: Past growth, current characteristics and future possibilities. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 65(12), pp. 2404–2421.

Pinter, F. 2014. *Knowledge Unlatched: One year on*. Paper given at the 2014 UKSG Conference hosted on 14-16 April at the Huddersfield International Conference Centre, Huddersfield. [unpublished].

PLOS, 2016. *Publication Fees* [online]. Public Library of Science. Available at: https://www.plos.org/publication-fees [Accessed 27 May 2016].

Poole, S., 2012. Invasion of the cyber hustlers. *The New Statesman* [online], (6 December). Available at: http://www.newstatesman.com/sci-tech/internet/2012/12/jeff-jarvis-clay-shirky-jay-rosen-invasion-cyber-hustlers [Accessed 11 January 2013].

Potter, W.J., 2014. Patterns in the Use of Theory in Media Effects Research. *In:* R.S. Fortner and P.M. Fackler, eds. *The Handbook of Media and Mass Communication Theory*. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, pp. 95-114.

Poynder, R., and Harnad, S., 2012. *OA advocate Stevan Harnad withdraws support for RCUK policy*. *Open and Shut*, Summer Issue. Available at: http://eprints.soton.ac.uk/id/eprint/343130 [Accessed 24 May 2016].

Priego, E., 2014. *The Impacts of Impact*. Paper given at the UKSG 37th Annual Conference and Exhibition Conference hosted by the UK Serials Group on 15 April 2014 at the Harrogate International Conference Centre [unpublished].

Ptolomey, J., 2013. Finch and Open Access: Debating the Future of Academic Publishing. *Online Searcher*, 37(1), pp. 31-32.

QSR, 2013. *NVivo 10 for Windows Help* [online]. Warrington: QSR International. Available at: http://help-nv10.qsrinternational.com/desktop/welcome/welcome.htm [Accessed 5 June 2014].

Rand, A., 1992. *The Virtue of Selfishness*. reissue edn. USA: Signet.

RCUK, 2012a. *RCUK welcomes additional investment in Open Access* [online]. Swindon: Research Councils UK. Available at: http://www.rcuk.ac.uk/media/news/121109/ [Accessed 9 March, 2015]

RCUK, 2012b. *RCUK announces block grants for universities to aid drives to open access to research outputs* [online]. Swindon: Research Councils UK. Available at: http://www.rcuk.ac.uk/media/news/121108/ [Accessed 12 February 2016].

RCUK, 2012c. *APC fund distribution spreadsheet (2013-2015)* [online]. Swindon: Research Councils UK. Available at: http://www.rcuk.ac.uk/documents/documents/rcuk-apcfunddistribution-pdf/ [Accessed 27 May 2016].

RCUK, 2013. *RCUK Policy on Open Access and Supporting Guidance* [online]. Swindon: Research Councils UK. Available at: http://www.rcuk.ac.uk/RCUK-prod/assets/documents/documents/RCUKOpenAccessPolicy.pdf [Accessed 13 Jun 2014].

Read, J., 2009. University Experience: Neoliberalism against the commons. *In:* Edu-Factory Collective. *Toward a Global Autonomous University: Cognitive labour, the production of knowledge and exodus from the education factory.* New York: Autonomedia, 2009, pp. 151-153.

Rees, M.A., 2010. Open-Access Publishing: From Principles to Practice. *In:* G. Krikorian and A. Kapczymski, eds. *Access to knowledge in the age of intellectual property*. New York: Zone, 2010, pp. 475-496.

Reimer, N., 2013. Why is Sydney University on Strike? Because students are not our 'clients'. *The Guardian* [online]. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/aug/30/sydney-university-strike [Accessed 30 August 2013].

Reisz, M., 2009. Learning to Share. *Times Higher Education* [online], 12 November. Available at: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/features/learning-to-share/409049.article [Accessed 24 May 2016].

Reisz, M., 2014. Frederick Friend, 1941-2014. *Times Higher Education* [online], 29 May. Available at: http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/news/people/obituaries/frederick-friend-1941-2014/2013537.article [Accessed 7 July 2014].

Repanovici, A., and Barsan, I.M., 2015. Integration of SHERPA/RoMEO in institutional digital repositories to address the uncertainty of copyright. *Malaysian Journal of Library & Information Science*, 20(1), pp. 29-45.

REPOSIT, 2011. *RePosit: positing a new kind of repository deposit. RePosit Project Blog* [online]. Available at: http://jiscreposit.blogspot.co.uk [Accessed 30 November 2012].

Rice, C., 2013. Four ways open access enhances academic freedom. *LSE Impact of Social Sciences Blog* [online], 30 April. Available at: http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/impactofsocialsciences/2013/04/30/4-ways-open-access-enhances-academic-freedom/ [Accessed 19 June 2014].

Richardson, L., 2000. Evaluating ethnography. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 6(2), pp. 253–255.

RIN, 2008. *Major funders of research in the UK* [online]. London: Research Information Network. Available at: http://www.rin.ac.uk/system/files/attachments/List-of-major-UK-research-funders.pdf [Accessed 6 October 2015].

RIN, 2012. *Finch Group background and papers* [online]. London: Research Information Network. Available at: http://www.researchinfonet.org/publish/finch/wg/ [Accessed 6 October 2015].

ROAR, 2014a. *Charts and Graphs: Growth of Repositories in the UK (dynamic data set)* [online]. Southampton: Registry of Open Access Repositories. Available at: http://roar.eprints.org/cgi/roar_graphic?cache=2821199 [Accessed 10 June 2014].

ROAR, 2014b. *CogPrints Cognitive Sciences Eprint Archive* [online]. Southampton: Registry of Open Access Repositories. Available at: http://roar.eprints.org/251/ [Accessed 5 April 2014].

ROARMAP, 2014. *ROARMAP: Registry of Open Access Repositories Mandatory Archiving Policies* [online]. Southampton: Registry of Open Access Repositories. Available at: http://roarmap.eprints.org/ [Accessed 12 June 2014].

RoMEO, 2003. *Project RoMEO* [online]. Loughborough: Loughborough University. Available at: http://www.lboro.ac.uk/microsites/infosci/romeo/ [Accessed 5 April 2014].

Ross, A., 2009. The Rise of the Global University. *In:* Edu-Factory Collective. *Toward a Global Autonomous University: Cognitive labour, the production of knowledge and exodus from the education factory.* New York: Autonomedia, 2009, pp. 18-31.

Rowlands, I. and Nicholas, D., 2005. Scholarly communication in the digital environment: The 2005 survey of journal author behaviour and attitudes. *Aslib Proceedings* [online], 57(6), pp. 481-497. Available at: http://www.emeraldinsight.com/journals.htm?articleid=1529374 [Accessed 14 November 2012]

Rowlands, I. and Nicholas, D., 2006. *The changing scholarly communication landscape: an international survey of senior researchers. Learned Publishing* [online], 19(1), pp. 31-55. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1087/095315106775122493 [Accessed 11 January 2013].

RSP, 2013. *Advocacy* [online]. Nottingham: Repositories Support Project. Available at: http://www.rsp.ac.uk/grow/advocacy/ [Accessed 3 March 2015].

Rubin, J.R., and Rubin, I.S., 2005. *Qualitative Interviewing: The art of hearing data*. 2nd ed. London: Sage Publications.

Russell Group, 2005. *Russell Group Statement on Scholarly Communication and Publishing* [online]. London: Russell Group. Archived version available from available at: http://web.archive.org/web/20050622052119/http://www.russellgroup.ac.uk/2005/schola rly_communication.htm [Accessed 24 May 2016].

Russell Group, 2013. *Russell Group: Pioneering Research* [online]. London: Russell Group. Available at: http://www.russellgroup.ac.uk/ [Accessed 3 September 2013].

Salerno, R., 2013. *Contemporary Social Theory*. New Jersey: Pearson Education Inc.

Sauntson, H., and Morrish, L., 2011. Vision, Values and International Excellence: The 'products' that university mission statements sell to students. *In:* M. Molesworth, R. Scullion and E. Nixon, eds., *The Marketisation of Higher Education and the Student as Consumer*. London: Routledge, 2011, pp. 73-85.

Schmitt, J., 2014. Academic Journals: The Most Profitable Obsolete Technology in History. *The Huffington Post* [online], 23 December. Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jason-schmitt/academic-journals-the-mos_1_b_6368204.html [Accessed 18 December 2015].

Schreier, M., 2012. *Qualitative Content Analysis in Practice*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Scullion, R., Molesworth, M., and Nixon, E., 2011. Arguments, Responsibility and What is to be Done About Marketisation. *In:* M. Molesworth, R. Scullion and E. Nixon, eds., *The Marketisation of Higher Education and the Student as Consumer*. London: Routledge, 2011, pp. 227-236.

Shamash, K., 2016. *Article Processing Charges (APCs) and Subscriptions: Monitoring open access costs* [online]. Bristol: Jisc. Available at: https://www.jisc.ac.uk/reports/apcs-and-subscriptions [Accessed 10 December 2016].

Shaw, C., 2015. Maintenance grants scrapped and tuition fees to increase – your reaction. *The Guardian* [online], 8 July. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/2015/jul/08/maintenance-grants-scrapped-and-tuition-fees-to-increase-your-reaction-budget-2015 [Accessed 15 June 2016].

Shaw, C., and Ward, L., 2014. Dark thoughts: why mental illness is on the rise in academia. *The Guardian* [online], 6 March. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/2014/mar/06/mental-health-academics-growing-problem-pressure-university [Accessed 16 June 2016].

SHERPA, 2004. *New SHERPA/RoMEO list launched* [online]. Nottingham: SHERPA/Centre for Research Communication. Available at: http://www.sherpa.ac.uk/news/romeo.html [Accessed 5 April 2014].

SHERPA, 2005. *Statement on open access from the Russell Group* [online]. Nottingham: SHERPA/Centre for Research Communication. Available at: http://www.sherpa.ac.uk/news/russellstatement.html [Accessed 19 June 2014].

SHERPA, 2006a. *About SHERPA* [online]. Nottingham: SHERPA/Centre for Research Communication. Available at: http://www.sherpa.ac.uk/about.html [Accessed 8 July 2014].

SHERPA, 2006b. *SHERPA launches new advice list – JULIET* [online]. Nottingham: SHERPA/Centre for Research Communication. Available at: http://sherpa.ac.uk/news/julietrelease.html [Accessed 1 June 2016].

SHERPA, 2014a. SHERPA/RoMEO: *Definitions and Terms* [online]. Nottingham: SHERPA/Centre for Research Communication. Available at: http://www.sherpa.ac.uk/romeo/definitions.php [Accessed 13 June 2014].

SHERPA, 2014b. SHERPA/JULIET: *Wellcome Trust [2006-2012] policy* [online]. Nottingham: SHERPA/Centre for Research Communication. Available at http://www.sherpa.ac.uk/juliet/index.php?fPersistentID=12&la=en&mode=simple [Accessed 10 July 2014].

Shieber, S.M., 2013. Ecumenical OA & the Finch Report Principles. *In:* N. Vincent and C. Wickham, eds. *Debating Open Access.* London: British Academy, 2013, pp. 30-41.

Shore, C., and Wright, S., 2000. Coercive Accountability: The rise of audit culture in higher education. *In:* M. Strathern. *Audit Cultures: Anthropological studies in accountability, ethics and the academy*. London: Routledge, 2000, pp. 57-89.

Shore, E., 2015. *ARL, Higher Education Groups Support Lingua Editors, Open Access* [online]. Washington, DC: Association of Research Libraries. Available at: http://www.arl.org/news/arl-news/3789-arl-higher-education-groups-support-lingua-editors-open-access#.Vl8LsbiLRhE [Accessed 12 January 2016].

Silver, C., and Lewis, A., 2014. *Using Software in Qualitative Research: A Step-By-Step Guide*. 2nd ed. London: Sage Publications Ltd

Singer, P., 2000. *Marx: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: OUP.

Slaughter, S. and Rhoades, G., 2004. *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy: Markets, state, and higher education*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Smith, A., 2014a. Publishing giants back down on double dipping. *Research Fortnight*, 29 October, pp. 44.

Smith, A., 2014b. The Empire Strikes Back. *Research Fortnight*, 12 November, pp. 6.

Smith, A., 2014c. Clark Won't Commit Tories to Research Ring Fence. *Research Fortnight*, 12 November, pp. 4.

Solon, O., 2013. Elsevier clamps down on academics posting their own papers online. *Wired UK* [online], 17 December. Available at: http://www.wired.co.uk/news/archive/2013-12/17/elsevier-versus-open-access [Accessed 18 May 2016].

SPARC Europe, 2014a. *Benefits of Open Access* [online]. Apeldoorn, Netherlands: Scholarly Publishing and Academic Resources Coalition Europe. Available at: http://sparceurope.org/open-access/benefits-of-open-access/ [Accessed 30 June 2014].

SPARC Europe, 2014b. *About SPARC Europe* [online]. Apeldoorn, Netherlands: Scholarly Publishing and Academic Resources Coalition Europe. Available at: http://sparceurope.org/about/ [Accessed 12 June 2014].

SPARC Europe, 2016. *Alma Swan, Director of European Advocacy* [online]. Apeldoorn, Netherlands: Scholarly Publishing and Academic Resources Coalition Europe. Available at: http://sparceurope.org/about/governance/alma-swan-director-of-european-advocacy/ [Accessed 24 May 2016].

SPARC, 2006. *Author Rights: Using the SPARC Author Addendum* [online]. Washington, DC: Scholarly Publishing and Academic Resources Coalition. Available at: http://sparcopen.org/our-work/author-rights/brochure-html/ [Accessed 18 May 2016].

SPARC, 2015. *Open Access Week 2015* [online]. Washington, DC: Scholarly Publishing and Academic Resources Coalition. Available at: http://sparcopen.org/event/open-access-week-2015/ [Accessed 1 June 2016].

SSP, 2015. *Cross-Industry Coalition Forges to Collaborate on Solutions to Protect Against Predatory Publishing and Irresponsible Author Support Practices* [online]. Wheat Ridge, CO: Society for Scholarly Publishing. Available at: https://www.sspnet.org/community/news/cross-industry-coalition-forges-to-collaborate-on-solutions-to-protect-against-predatory-publishing-and-irresponsible-author-support-practices/#sthash.ol4EPxF4.dpuf [Accessed 1 June 2016].

Strathern, M., 2000. Afterword: Accountability...and ethnography**.** *In:* M. Strathern, ed., *Anthropological Studies in Accountability, Ethics, and the Academy*. London: Routledge, 2000, pp. 279-304.

Streeck, W. 2014. How will capitalism end? *New Left Review*, 87, pp. 35-64.

Suber, P., 2006. *HHMI is considering an OA mandate* [online]. Available at: http://legacy.earlham.edu/~peters/fos/2006/10/hhmi-is-considering-oa-mandate.html [Accessed 1 June 2016].

Suber, P., 2009. *Timeline of the Open Access Movement* [online]. Available at: http://legacy.earlham.edu/~peters/fos/timeline.htm [Accessed 13 June 2014].

Suber, P., 2012. *Open Access*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Suber, P., 2013. Open access: six myths to put to rest. *The Guardian* [online], 21 October. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/blog/2013/oct/21/open-access-myths-peter-suber-harvard [Accessed 4 April 2016].

Suchting, W.A., 1983. *Marx, an introduction*. Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books Ltd.

Sussex, 2016. *University of Sussex appoints Adam Tickell as Vice-Chancellor* [online]. University of Sussex. Available at: http://www.sussex.ac.uk/broadcast/read/35146 [Accessed 24 May 2016].

Swain, H., 2013. What Universities Need: Regulation, regulation, regulation. *The Guardian* [online], 7 October. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/education/2013/oct/07/higher-education-regulation-report-legislation [Accessed 8 October 2013].

Swan, A., 2012. Policy Guidelines for the Development and Promotion of Open Access. *UNESCO*.

Swan, A., and Brown, S., 2005. Open Access Self-Archiving: An Author Study. *Key Perspectives Ltd* [online]. Available at: http://cogprints.org/4385/1/jisc2.pdf [Accessed 14 November 2012].

Swan, A., Gargouri, Y., Hunt, M., and Harnad, S., 2015. *Working Together to Promote Open Access Policy Alignment in Europe: Work package 3 report: Open access policies*. Brussels: European Commission. Available at: http://pasteur4oa.eu/sites/pasteur4oa/files/deliverables/PASTEUR4OA%20Work%20Packa ge%203%20Report%20final%2010%20March%202015.pdf [Accessed 1 June 2016].

Tam, J., 2015. *The Spending Review and higher education – what we know and what we don't* [online]. Universities UK. Available at: http://blog.universitiesuk.ac.uk/2015/11/25/the-spending-review-and-higher-education-what-we-know-and-what-we-dont/ [Accessed 29 February 2016].

Taylor and Francis, 2006. *Open Access* [online] Available at: http://www.tandfonline.com/page/openaccess [Accessed 1 June 2016].

Taylor, M., 2016. *Sci-Hub is a scholarly litmus test* [online]. Sauropod Vertebra Picture of the Week blog. Available at: https://svpow.com/2016/03/04/sci-hub-is-a-scholarly-litmus-test/ [Accessed 2 June 2016].

Taylor, M., and Sandeman, G., 2016. Graduate sues Oxford University for £1m over his failure to get a first. *The Guardian* [online], 4 December. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/dec/04/graduate-sues-oxford-university-1m-failure-first-faiz-siddiqui [Accessed 5 December 2016].

Taylor, S., ed., 2002. *Ethnographic Research: A reader*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Teaching and Higher Education Act 1998 (c. 30). Available at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/30/contents [Accessed 19 September 2013].

THE, 2015. Spending review: what it means for higher education. *Times Higher* [online], 25 November. Available at: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/spending-review-what-it-means-higher-education [Accessed 12 February 2016].

THE, 2016. Brexit vote sparks huge uncertainty for UK universities. *Times Higher* [online], 24 June. Available at: https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/brexit-vote-sparks-huge-uncertainty-uk-universities [Accessed 24 June 2016].

Tickell, A., 2015. *Access all areas – making publicly-funded research more accessible* [online]. Universities UK, 16 September. Available at: http://blog.universitiesuk.ac.uk/2015/09/16/access-all-areas-making-publicly-funded-research-more-accessible/ [Accessed 10 March 2016].

Tickell, A., 2016. *Open access to research Publications: Independent Advice* [online]. UKOACG. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/499455/ind-16-3-open-access-report.pdf [Accessed 1 June 2016].

TripleC, 2015. *Journal Contact* [online]. London: TripleC. Available at: http://www.triple-c.at/index.php/tripleC/about/contact [Accessed 5 June 2015].

UA, 2013. *University Alliance* [online]. London: University Alliance. Available at: http://www.unialliance.ac.uk [Accessed 3 September 2013].

UCU, 2009. *RAE 2008* [online]. London: University and College Union. Available at: http://www.ucu.org.uk/index.cfm?articleid=1442 [Accessed 8 October 2013].

UCU, 2013. *HE Pay 2013 - Vote Yes to industrial action* [online]. London: University and College Union. Available at: http://www.ucu.org.uk/index.cfm?articleid=6759 [Accessed 14 October 2013].

UCU, 2015*. Stamp Out Casual Contracts A report on UCU's campaign against casualisation 2014-15* [online]. London: Universities and College Union. Available at: https://www.ucu.org.uk/media/7063/UCUs-campaign-against-casualisation---annual-report-2014-15/pdf/ucu_anticasannualreport_1415v3.pdf [Accessed June 16 2016].

UK REPOSITORY NET+, 2012. *UK RepositoryNet+* [online]. Edinburgh: EDINA. Available at: http://www.repositorynet.ac.uk/blog/ [Accessed 30 November 2012].

UKCORR, 2013. *United Kingdom Council of Research Repositories* [online]. Available at: http://ukcorr.org/ [Accessed 7 February 2013].

UKCoRR, 2016. *Activities* [online]. UK Council for Research Repositories. Available at: http://ukcorr.org/activity/ [Accessed 1 March 2015].

UKOAIG, 2012. *UK Open Access Implementation Group membership [online]*. London: UKOAIG. Available at: http://open-access.org.uk/membership/ [Accessed 12 June 2014].

UKOAIG, 2013. *UK Open Access Implementation Group meeting, 3rd October 2013* [online]. London: UKOAIG. Available at: http://open-access.org.uk/2013/10/23/uk-open-access-implementation-group-meeting-3rd-october-2013/ [Accessed 8 July 2014].

UKSG, 2015. *Conference and Exhibition: Programme 2015* [online]. Newbury: UK Serials Group. Available at: http://www.uksg.org/sites/uksg.org/files/UKSG%2036pg%20Conference%20Programme%202015_AW_lo-res.pdf [Accessed 6 October 2015].

UUK, 2013a. *University UK Members* [online]. London: Universities UK. Available at: http://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/aboutus/members/Pages/default.aspx [Accessed 12 September 2013].

UUK, 2013b. *Our History* [online]. London: Universities UK. Available at: http://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/aboutus/OurOrganisation/Pages/History.aspx [Accessed 12 September 2013].

UUK, 2013c. *Vision and Mission* [online]. London: Universities UK. Available at: http://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/aboutus/whatwedo/Pages/VisionMission.aspx [Accessed 12 September 2013].

UUK, 2013d. *An overview of the higher education sector* [online]. London: Universities UK. Available at: http://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/linksforstudents/Pages/Anoverviewofthehighereducationsector.aspx [Accessed 10 April 2014].

Vadén, T., and Suoranta, J., 2009. A definition and criticism of cybercommunism. *Capital and Class*, 97(Spring), pp. 159-177.

Van Noorden, R., 2013. Open Access: The true cost of science publishing. *Nature*, 495 [online], pp. 426-429. Available at: http://www.nature.com/news/open-access-the-true-cost-of-science-publishing-1.12676 [Accessed 15 March 2016].

Vincent, N., 2013. The Monograph Challenge. *In:* N. Vincent and C. Wickham, eds. *Debating Open Access.* London: British Academy, 2013, pp. 106-110.

VITAE, 2013. *Vitae Research Development Framework* [online]. Cambridge: Careers Research and Advisory Centre (CRAC) Ltd. Available at: http://www.vitae.ac.uk/researchers/428241/Vitae-Researcher-Development-Framework.html [Accessed 28 August 2013].

Walsh, D., 2012. Doing Ethnography. *In:* C. Searle, ed. *Researching Society and Culture*, 3rd end. London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2012, pp. 246-62.

Ware, M., and Mabe, M., 2015. *The STM Report: An overview of scientific and scholarly journal publishing*. 4th edn. The Hague: International Association of Scientific, Technical and Medical Publishers.

Wark, M., 2004. *A Hacker Manifesto*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Watermeyer, R., and Hedgecoe, A., 2016. Selling 'impact': peer reviewer projections of what is needed and what counts in REF impact case studies. A retrospective analysis. *Journal of Educational Policy*, 31(5), pp. 651-665.

Webster, P., 2012. Humanities left behind in the dash for open access. *Research Fortnight* [online], 25 July. Available at: http://www.researchresearch.com/index.php?option=com_news&template=rr_2col&view=article&articleId=1214091 [Accessed 21 November 2012].

Wellcome Trust, 2013. *Wellcome Trust Grants Awarded 2012/13* [online]. London: Wellcome Trust. Available at: http://www.wellcome.ac.uk/stellent/groups/corporatesite/@msh_publishing_group/documents/web_document/wts058331.pdf [Accessed 13 June 2014].

Wellcome Trust, 2014. *Authors' FAQs* [online]. London: Wellcome Trust. Available at: http://www.wellcome.ac.uk/About-us/Policy/Spotlight-issues/Open-access/Guides/WTD018855.htm [Accessed 13 June 2014].

Weller, M., 2011. *The Digital Scholar: How technology is transforming scholarly practice*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Westminster, 2016. *Professor Christian Fuchs* [online]. London: University of Westminster. Available at: https://www.westminster.ac.uk/about-us/our-people/directory/fuchs-christian [Accessed 29 Sept 2016].

Wickham, C., 2013. OA in the UK and the International Environment. *In:* N. Vincent and C. Wickham, eds. *Debating Open Access.* London: British Academy, 2013, pp. 42-51.

Wickham, C., and Vincent, N., 2013. Introduction. *In:* N. Vincent and C. Wickham, eds. *Debating Open Access.* London: British Academy, 2013, pp. 1-13.

Widdowson, H.G., 2004. The Theory and Practice of Critical Discourse Analysis. In: C. Seale, ed. *Social Research Methods: A Reader*. London: Routledge, 2004, pp. 366-370.

Wikipedia, 2014. *List of UK universities by date of foundation* [online]. San Francisco, CA: Wikipedia. Available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_UK_universities_by_date_of_foundation [Accessed 29 May 2014].

Wikipedia, 2015. *List of learned societies* [online]. San Francisco, CA: Wikipedia. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_learned_societies#United_Kingdom [Accessed 6 October 2015].

Wilbanks, J., 2013. Licence restrictions: A fool's errand. *Nature* [online], 495(7442), pp. 440-441. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1038/495440a [Accessed 12 June 2014].

Wilkins, S., Shams, F., and Huisman, J., 2013. The decision-making and changing behavioural dynamics of potential higher education students: the impacts of increasing tuition fees in England. *Educational Studies*, 39(2), pp. 125-141.

Wilkinson, M. Education, schools and universities: General Election 2015 policies of the political parties. *The Telegraph* [online], 17 March. Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/general-election-2015/11474579/education-policies.html [Accessed 15 June 2015].

Willetts, D., 2012. *Universities, businesses and the public to have better access to British scientific research and academic papers by 2014* [online]. Department for Business Innovation and Skills, 16 July. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/news/government-to-open-up-publicly-funded-research [Accessed 12 June 2012].

Willetts, D., 2013. We cannot afford to keep research results locked away in ivory towers. *The Guardian* [online], 9 April. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/science/political-science/2013/apr/09/open-access-scientific-publishing-peer-review-scientific-publishing [Accessed 8 July 2014].

Williams, J., 2009. The Pedagogy of Debt. *In:* Edu-Factory Collective. *Toward a Global Autonomous University: Cognitive labour, the production of knowledge and exodus from the education factory.* New York: Autonomedia, 2009, pp. 89-96.

Williams, J., 2011. Constructing Consumption: What media representation reveals about today's students. *In:* M. Molesworth, R. Scullion and E. Nixon, eds., *The Marketisation of Higher Education and the Student as Consumer*. London: Routledge, 2011, pp. 170-182.

Wilsdon, J., 2015. Sajid Javid's blueprint for BIS heightens fears for research funding. *The Guardian* [online], 1 October 2015. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/science/political-science/2015/oct/01/sajid-javids-blueprint-for-bis-heightens-fears-for-research-funding [Accessed 18th December 2015].

Wittel, A., 2013. Counter-Commodification: The economy of contribution in the digital commons. *Culture & Organisation*, 19(4), pp. 314-331.

Wittel, A., 2016. *Digital Transitions*. Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing.

Wolff, J., 2013. Why The Sopranos may not be the best business model for universities. *The Guardian* [online], 23 September. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/education/2013/sep/23/university-funding-the-sopranos-model [Accessed 23 September 2013].

Woodcock, J. and Toscano, A. 2016. On the Poverty of Student Choice. *Sociological Review Blog*, 19 July. Available at: https://www.thesociologicalreview.com/blog/on-the-poverty-of-student-choice.html [Accessed 2 August 2016].

Worth, O., 2013. *Resistance in the Age of Austerity: Nationalism, the Failure of the Left and the Return of God*. London: Zed Books.

Wyness, G., 2010. *Policy Changes in UK Higher Education Funding 1963-2009* [online]. DoQSS Working Paper No. 10-15, Department if Quantitative Social Science. Available at: http://repec.ioe.ac.uk/REPEc/pdf/qsswp1015.pdf [Accessed 13 October 2013].

Zarembka, P., and Desai, R., 2011. *Revitalizing Marxist theory for today's capitalism*. Bingley: Emerald.

Zijlstra, H., and McCullough, R., 2016. CiteScore: a new metric to help you track journal performance and make decisions. *Elsevier Connect* [online], 8 December. Available at: https://www.elsevier.com/editors-update/story/journal-metrics/citescore-a-new-metric-to-help-you-choose-the-right-journal [Accessed 8 December 2016].

Bibliography

#Occupy, 2013. *#Occupytogether* [online]. Available at: http://www.occupytogether.org/ [Accessed 14 October 2013].

Alvesson, M., and Deetz, S., 1999. Critical Theory and Postmodernism: Approaches to organization studies. *In:* S.R. Clegg and C. Hardy, eds., *Studying Organisation: Theory and Method*. London: Sage Publications, 1999, pp. 185-211.

Benkler, Y., 2011b. Networks of Power, Degrees of Freedom. *International Journal of Communication* [online], 5, pp. 721-755. Available at: http://ijoc.org/ojs/index.php/ijoc/article/view/1093 [Accessed 7 January 2012].

Caffentizis, G., and Federici, S., 2007. Notes on the edu-factory and Cognitive Capitalism. *The Commoner*, 12, pp.1-5. Available at: http://eipcp.net/transversal/0809/caffentizisfederici/ [Accessed 10 July 2013].

Cialdini, R.B., 2001. *Influence: Science and Practice*. 4th ed. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Founier, V., and Grey, C., 2000. At the Critical Moment: Conditions and Prospects for Critical Management Studies. *Human Relations* [online], 53(7), pp6-32. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0018726700531002 [Accessed 11 December 2012].

Hardy, C. and Clegg, S.R., 1999. Some Dare Call It Power. *In:* S.R. Clegg and C. Hardy, eds., *Studying Organisation: Theory and Method*. London: Sage Publications, 1999, pp. 368-387.

HEFCE, 2013. *Open access consultation launched* [online]. London: Higher Education Funding Council for England. Available at: http://www.hefce.ac.uk/news/newsarchive/2013/news82784.html [Accessed 22 October 2013].

Knights, D., 2005. Changing Spaces: The disruptive impact of new epistemological location for the study of management. *In:* C. Grey and H. Willmott, eds. *Critical Management Studies: A Reader.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 107-131.

Moser, C., and Kalton, G., 2005. Questionnaires. In: C. Seale, ed., Social Research Methods: A Reader. London: Routledge, 2005, pp. 73-87.

Seale, C., and Filmer, P., 1998. Doing social surveys. *In:* C. Seale, ed. *Researching Society and Culture*. London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1998, pp.125-145.

Seale, C., ed., 2004. *Social Research Methods: A Reader*. London: Routledge.

SHERPA, 2013. SHERPA/JULIET: Research Funders' Open Access Policies [online]. Nottingham: SHERPA/Centre for Research Communication. Available at: http://www.sherpa.ac.uk/juliet/ [Accessed 22 October 2013].

Silverman, 1998. Research and Social Theory. *In:* C. Seale, ed. *Researching Society and Culture*. London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1998, pp. 97-110.

Stake, R.E., 1995. *The Art of Case Study Research*. London: Sage Publications.

The Scientists Encouraging Online Piracy, 2015. [radio] BBC World Service, 19 October 2015.

Wodak, R., and Meyer, M., eds., 2009. *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage Publications Inc.

Fieldwork Interviews[224]

Academic#1, Goldsmiths, University of London: Interview. 15 July 2015.

Academic#2, Goldsmiths, University of London: Interview. 17 September 2015.

Academic#3, Lancaster University: Interview. 22 September 2015.

Academic#4, University of Leicester: Interview. 6 August 2015.

Allinson, J., University of York: Interview. 2 July 2013.

Attwood, K., University of York: Interview. 18 September 2015.

Barker, A., and Cond, A., Liverpool University Press: Interview. 6 August 2015.

Bisset, J., Durham University: Interview. 9 July 2013.

Bogard, D., University of Chichester: Interview. 9 July 2013.

Boyd, D., University of Bristol: Interview. 1 July 2013.

Boyko, C., Lancaster University: Interview. 21 July 2015.

Bültmann, B., Cambridge University: Interview. 5 July 2013.

Butler, P., University of Manchester: Interview. 29 May 2013.

Callaghan, J., University of Northampton: Interview. 16 July 2015.

Carer, D., Wellcome Trust: Interview. 7 August 2015.

Clarke, A., University of the West of England: Interview. 11 July 2013.

Clement-Stoneham, G., Medical Research Council (MRC): Interview. 7 August 2015.

Cole, E., Northumbria University: Interview. 11 June 2013.

Cooper, H., University of Central Lancashire: Interview. 3 July 2013.

Danforth, A., and Hetherington, D., British Sociological Association: Written response. 7 August 2015.

Daoutis, C., University of Surrey: Interview. 10 July 2013.

Dick, K., University of Portsmouth: Interview. 8 July 2013.

Dunne, M., Lancaster University: Interview. 9 July 2013.

Eve, M., Open Library of Humanities: Interview. 3 August 2015.

Fairman, R., University of Worcester: Interview. 10 July 2013.

Fishman, C., Scottish Government: Personal correspondence. 1 September 2015

Fuchs, C., tripleC: Interview. 13 August 2015.

Funder#1, STEM Funder: Interview. 6 August 2015.

Gatti, R., Open Book Publishers: Interview. 7 July 2015.

Goodfellow, N., Leeds Trinity University: Interview. 9 July 2013.

Haley, R., Lancaster University: Interview. 7 September 2015.

Hannigan, B., Cardiff University: Interview. 21 July 2015.

---

[224] As suggested by Fetterman (2010) pseudonymous names are used to identify particular interview respondents, wherever anonymity was requested. Only those interviews where direct quotations were used in the text are attributed here.

Harrington, L., Cardiff University: Interview. 10 June 2013.

Harris, R., Lancaster University: Interview. 4 August 2015.

Hastings, M., Universities UK (UUK). Interview. 17 August 2015.

Henderson, R., University of East Anglia: Interview. 11 April 2013.

Herman, H., Arthritis Research Campaign (ARC): Interview 21 August 2015.

Hole, B., Ubiquity Press: Interview. 15 July 2015.

Hurman, H., Arthritis Research Campaign (ARC). 21 July 2015.

Jamieson, J., University of Essex: Interview. 10 July 2013.

Jones, B., University of Lincoln: Interview. 11 April 2013

Keene, C., University of Sussex: Interview. 24 June 2013.

Kent, T., University of Birmingham: Interview. 18 June 2013.

Kormos, L., Lancaster University: Interview. 13 August 2015.

Lake, F., Future Medicine: Interview. 9 July 2015.

Levy, R., University of Liverpool: Interview. 15 July 2015.

Lilley, S., and Weir, K. University of Leicester: Interview. 3 July 2015

Lord, A., The Micropalaeontological Society: Interview. 20 July 2015.

Lucas, J., St Mary's University College: Interview. 12 July 2013.

Lyne, I., Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC): Interview. 10 July 2015.

Machell, F., and Stevens, S., University of Wolverhampton: Interview. 25 June 2013.

Mandler, P., Royal Historical Society: Interview. 27 July 2015.

Marriott, N., Geological Society: Interview. 24 July 2015.

McMahon, G., Queen's University Belfast: Interview. 9 July 2013.

Meehan, L., Kings College, University of London: Interview. 7 June 2013.

Molloy, S., Queen Mary, University of London: Interview. 3 May 2013.

Monks, P., University of Leicester: Interview. 14 August 2015.

Muir, H., Queen Margaret University: Interview. 16 April 2013.

O'Connor, A., St Andrew's University: Interview. 20 July 2015.

O'Shaughnessy, M., Nottingham Trent University: Interview. 23 July 2015.

Osborne, N., Open University: Interview. 29 April 2013.

Practitioner#01, Other, University of London: Interview. 5 August 2013.

Practitioner#02, University Alliance, Post-1992 Institution: Interview. 30 April 2013.

Practitioner#03, 1994 Group, Plate Glass institution: Interview. 26 April 2013.

Practitioner#04., Other, Plate Glass Institution: Interview. 23 April 2013.

Practitioner#05, Million+ Group, 2nd Wave Institution: Interview. 19 April 2013.

Practitioner#06, Other, Red Brick Institution: Interview. 25 April 2013.

Practitioner#07, Other, Redbrick Institution: Interview. 30 April 2013.

Practitioner#08, Million+ Group, Post-1992 Institution: Interview. 3 July 2013.

Practitioner#09, Russell Group, Ancient Institution: Interview. 30 May 2013.

Practitioner#10, University Alliance, Post-1992 Institution: Interview 19 April 2013.

Practitioner#11, Russell Group, Ancient Institution: Interview. 15 April 2013.

Practitioner#12, Other, Plate Glass Institution: Interview. 18 June 2013.

Practitioner#13, Russell Group, Red Brick: Interview. 17 September 2013.

Practitioner#14, Russell Group, University of London member: Interview. 22 April 2013.

Practitioner#15, Russell Group, Plate Glass Institution: Interview. 2 May 2013.

Practitioner#16, Million+ Group, Post-1992 Institution: Interview. 5 July 2013.

Practitioner#17., 1994 Group, Plate Glass Institution: Interview. 10 June 2013.

Practitioner#18, Other, Red Brick Institution: Interview. 5 June 2013.

Practitioner#19, Russell Group, University of London: Interview. 27 June 2013.

Practitioner#20., Cathedral Group, 2nd Wave Institution: Interview. 12 July 2013.

Practitioner#21, University Alliance, post-1992 Institution: Interview. 10 June 2013.

Practitioner#22, University Alliance, Plate Glass Institution: Interview. 23 April 2013.

Practitioner#23, Russell Group, Ancient Institution: Interview. 7 June 2013.

Practitioner#24, Cathedral Group, Post-1992 Institution: Interview. 16 April 2013.

Practitioner#25, Million+ Group, 2nd Wave Institution: Interview. 5 July 2013.

Proven, J., University of St Andrews: Interview. 17 June 2013.

Publisher#1, BioMedical Publisher: Interview. 14 October 2015.

Publisher#2, AHSS Publisher: Interview. 7 July 2015.

Publisher#3, AHSS Publisher, Interview 13 July 2015.

Rigg, P., Birkbeck, University of London: Interview. 18 June 2013.

Robertson, S., Leeds Becket University: Interview. 24 July 2015.

Robinson, J., Newcastle University: Interview. 7 June 2013.

Rowlands, I., University of Leicester: Interview. 18 April 2013.

Society#1, STEM Society: Interview. 24 July 2015.

Society#2, Biomedial Society: Interview. 6 August 2015.

Spalding, A., University for the Creative Arts: Interview. 7 June 2013.

Stewart, N., City University: Interview. 18 June 2013.

Stone, G., University of Huddersfield: Interview. 10 July 2013.

Taylor, S., Royal Society: Interview. 28 July 2015.

Tellis, R., Taylor and Francis Group Publishers: Interview. 13 July 2015.

Thomas, H., Cardiff Metropolitan University: Interview. 7 June 2013.

Thorley, M., Research Councils UK (RCUK): Interview. 24 July 2015.

Wasko, M., Imperial College: Interview. 22 September 2015.

Watts, N., University of Westminster: Interview. 2 July 2013.

White, W., University of Southampton: Interview. 5 July 2013.

Wise, A., Elsevier: Interview. 8 July 2015.

Wolf, M., University of Liverpool: Interview. 30 May 2013.

Woodall, J., Leeds Becket University: Interview. 16 July 2015.

Appendix A: Data Tables

Table 2: UK Universities Historical Establishment Groups

Historic University Group	Notes
Ancient	Established 12th-16th Century, representing the longest established and arguably most prestigious universities in the UK.
Red Brick	The civic universities, established 1880-1957.
Plate Glass	Established in the 1960s, as a consequence of the recommendations in the Robbins Report (1963).
Intermediate	Open University, Buckingham and Ulster, established 1969-1992.
Post-1992	Established 1992-94 as a result of the Further and Higher Education Act (1992), also known as the "New universities"; generally formed from former polytechnics, colleges and institutes.
Second Wave, post-1992	A second batch of new universities, formed from former polytechnics, colleges and institutes from 2001 onwards

Table 3: Institutional Responses to Interview Requests (Phase One)

Institutions approached	125	Sample representation	81	Total interviews	82
Declined interview	2	Dialogue but no interview achieved	12	No response	31

Table 4: Academic Publishing Field Actors Approached for Interviews (Phase Two)

Government & Policy Bodies	Learned Societies	Publishers	Research Funders
Division for Education and Skills Research, Wales	Association of Art Historians	Bioscientifica	Arthritis Research Campaign

House of Commons Science and Technology Committee	Association of Social Anthropologists	BMJ	Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC)
House of Lords Science and Technology Committee	Biochemical Society	Cambridge University Press	Biotechnology and Biological Sciences Research Council (BBSRC)
North Ireland Executive, Department for Employment and Learning	British Association for Applied Linguistics	Dove Medical Press Ltd	British Academy
Office of Cabinet Secretary for Education & Lifelong Learning, Scottish Parliament	British Computer Society	Edward Elgar Publishing	British Heart Foundation
Research Information Network (RIN)	British Psychological Society	Elsevier	Cancer Research UK
The Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology (POST)	British Society for Immunology	Emerald Publishing	Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC)
Universities UK (UUK)	British Sociological Association	Future Science Group	Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council (EPSRC)
	Genetics Society	Green Leaf Publishing	Higher Education Function Council for England (HEFCE)
	Geological Society	IET Publishing	Leverhulme Trust

	Institute of Mathematics and its Applications	IOP Publishing	Medical Research Council (MRC)
	Institute of Physics and Engineering in Medicine	Mark Allen Group	Natural Environment Research Council (NERC)
	Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society	Nature Publishing Group	Nuffield Foundation
	Pathological Society of Great Britain and Ireland	Open Book Publishers	Research Councils UK (RCUK)
	Royal Historical Society	Open Humanities Press	Royal Academy of Engineering
	Royal Society of Chemistry	Oxford University Press	Royal Society
	Society for Research into Higher Education	PLOS	Science and Technology Facilities Council (STFC)
	The Micropalaeontological Society	Springer	The Jisc
	The Prehistoric Society	Taylor& Francis	Wellcome Trust
	The Society of Legal Scholars	Ubiquity Press	
		Wiley/Blackwell	

Table 5: Actor & Academic Interview Responses (Phase Two)

	Academics	Learned Societies	Governmental	Funders	Academic Publishers	Activists
Targeted maximum interviews	20	10	10	6	10	3

Contacted	34	20	8	20	21	5
Interviewed[225]	21	8	2[226]	11	8	4
Responded, no engagement	3	1	4	4	3	0
No Response	9	8	2	5	7	1
Declined	1	3	0	0	6	0
Successful interviews arranged	62%	40%	20%	55%	33%	80%

---

[225] One funding, one governmental, and one society actor insisted on making textural responses rather than interview participation

[226] HEFCE and RCUK are counted within the funder interviews column. Given their policy links with the UK government, they may be considered brevet additional members of this group also

326

Table 6: Academic Demographics: Approached and Interviewed (Phase Two)

Disciplinarity			Seniority			Institutional Foundation		
	Approached	Interviewed		Approached	Interviewed		Approached	Interviewed
Arts & Humanities	11	4	Professorial	8	5	Ancient	2	1
Bio-Medical	5	5	Reader	5	3	Red Brick	10	5
Science, Technology, Engineering	10	7	Research Fellow	2	2	Plate Glass	5	5
Social Science	8	5	Senior Lecturer	6	4	Post-1992	10	4
			Lecturer	8	2	2nd Wave Post-1992	1	1
			Early Career Researcher	3	3	Other	6	5
			Research Associate	2	2			

Table 7: Activists Identified and Approached (Phase Three)

Academic Agitators	David Harvie, Kenneth Weir, Geoff Lightfoot and Simon Lilley (School of Management, University of Leicester)
Platform Pioneers	Martin Eve and Caroline Edwards, Academic Project Directors, Open Library of Humanities (Birkbeck, University of London)
Open University Presses	Andy Barker, Head of Academic Services and Special Collections and Archives, Library, and Anthony Cond, Managing Director and

		Commissioning Editor, Liverpool University Press (University of Liverpool)
OA Journal Founder		Christian Fuchs, Editor, tripleC, and School of Media, Arts and Design (Westminster University)
OA Infrastructure Pioneer		Bill Hubbard, Director, Centre for Research Communications (University of Nottingham)

Table 8: Core Interview Themes: OA Practitioners (Phase One)

Question	Theme	Typical phrasing
	Preamble	Background to research: Explanation of interview purpose and anonymisation discussion. [Not transcribed]
1	Activity (historic)	When did activity relating to open access (OA) begin at the institution?
2	Activity (recent)	Historical activity: What recent local OA activity has taken place?
3	Debate/discourse	How aware and engaged are the academic corpus with the OA debate?
4	HEI policy/stance	How strongly/demonstrably does your HEI support OA?
5	HEI policy/stance	What are the institutional OA drivers?
6	Difficulties	What are the biggest barriers for OA within your HEI?
7	Influence actors	Who do you perceive as the biggest influences on your academics' thoughts on open access?
	Close down	Thanks and permission for follow up. [Not transcribed]

Table 9: Core Interview Themes: Academics and Actors (Phase Two)

Question	Theme	Academic Focus	Actors Focus
	Preamble	Background to research & interview purpose. [Not transcribed]	
1	Engagement	Research dissemination praxis/habits	Organisational (stated/perceived) contribution to research dissemination
2	Attitudes	OA /open dissemination reactions, perceptions and understanding	Organisational response to praxis/concept of open dissemination
3	Influences	Perceptions of the sources of trusted/reliable information around dissemination developments	Actions to participate and react to the wider OA discourse, and perceptions of other actors in the field
4	Future	Personal hopes and concerns for publishing (open and other forms) in the near future	Personal and organisational hopes and concerns for publishing (open and other forms) in the near future
	Close down	Thanks and permission for follow up. [Not transcribed]	

Table 10: Core Interview Themes: Activists (Phase Three)

Question	Barker & Cond	Eve	Fuchs	Lilley & Weir
Preamble	Background to research & interview purpose. [Not transcribed]			
1	Drivers to adopt academic activism stance	Drivers to adopt academic activism stance	Drivers to adopt academic activism stance	Drivers to adopt academic activism stance
2	Perceptions of actions as experimentation or evolutionary practice	Perceptions of actions as experimentation or evolutionary practice	Historical view in change in platform formulation over past decade	Publisher response and how closely this matched expectation
3	Strengths of collaborative partnership behind LUP	Degree of ideological challenge to	Perceptions of actions as experimentation or	Subsequent academic community

		established hegemony	evolutionary practice	standing and perception
4	Institutional senior management response to activism	Exploration of economic viability of OLH platform	Exploration of economic viability of tripleC platform	Institutional senior management response to activism
5	Degree of ideological challenge to established hegemony	Exploration of the scalability or limitations to the OLH platform	Degree of ideological challenge to established hegemony	Personal and professional impact and cost of activism
6	Personal and professional impact and cost of activism	Personal and professional impact and cost of activism	Personal and professional impact and cost of activism	Lessons for the academic community from actions
7	Impacts & direction of future publishing practice	Impacts & direction of future publishing practice	Impacts & direction of future publishing practice	Impacts & direction of future publishing practice
Close down	Thanks, consent confirmation and permission for follow up. [Not transcribed]			

Table 11: University Association: Shared Commonalties

Association grouping	Institutional characteristics
Russell Group	Major research intensive, leading institutions. Often considered the elite grouping of UK institutions.
1994 Group	Smaller research intensive universities, perceived as the second tier behind the Russell Group
Million+	University think-tank focuses on research and shaping public policy. More teaching led than research intensive, commonly post-1992 institutions.
Cathedrals Group	Not a mission group, but HEIs with links to the Christian Church, overlap with the University Alliance in terms of outlook. More teaching led than research intensive, commonly post-1992 institutions.
University Alliance	Balance of research, teaching, enterprise and innovation. Commonly specialising in art, design, teacher training, agriculture, music and drama
Other	Limited commonalities.

Table 12: University Association Field Work Representation (Phase One)

University Association	Total members	Interviewed	Sample representation
Russell Group	24	20	83%
1994 Group[227]	11	10	91%
Million+ Group[228]	22	10	46%
Cathedrals Group	15	7	47%
University Alliance	24	15	63%
Other	55	20	36%

---

[227] Though the 1994 Group disbanded in November 2013, at the time of the interviews it was still extant.
[228] One institution (Million+ Group. 2nd Wave institution (02)) belongs to both the Million+ and Cathedrals groups, and hence is represented here twice.

| Foundation Group[229]	Interviewed
Ancient	6
Red Brick	15
Plate Glass	14
Intermediate	1
University of London	11
Post-1992	22
2nd Wave Post 1992	12

For tables 2, 11-13, data was drawn from a number of sources, which included (1994 Group 2013; CCUK, 2013; Kennedy, 2012; Million+, 2013; Russell Group, 2013; UA, 2013; UUK, 2013d; Wikipedia, 2014).

---

[229] There is some variance in the sources as to the total number of institutions within each group, and the above represents a scholarly consideration rather than absolute values.

Appendix B: Images

Figure 1: Geographic Distribution of UK Practitioner Interviews (Phase One)
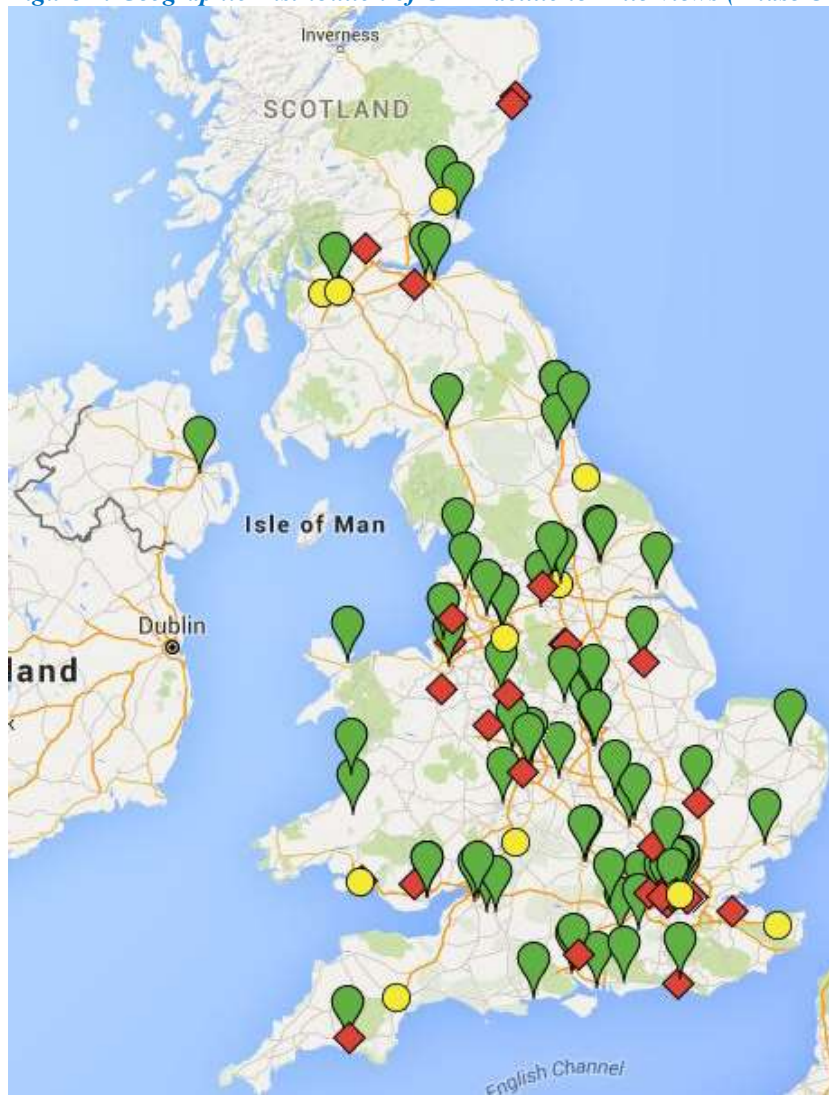
Image Key

Green: Successful interview location

Yellow: Initial response from institution, but successful interview not arranged

Red: No response from institution

Image created using Google Maps, reused under permitted fair dealing, see http://www.google.com/permissions/geoguidelines.html

Published Work Arising from Thesis

Redacted due to copyright