

# Statement

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I confirm that I am the author of the two attached chapters, 'Neoliberalism, Liberty, and Openness' and 'Public Libraries and Knowledge Politics'. 'Neoliberalism, Liberty, and Openness' is the largest chapter of the thesis and forms the theoretical core around which I construct arguments concerning the nature of higher education and open access policy. I have written 'Public Libraries and Knowledge Politics' as a book chapter which has been accepted for an edited collection, and in a slightly modified form it will be part of Chapter 1 of the thesis, 'Access to Knowledge'. Chapter 1 as a whole will outline social and material conditions concerning access to knowledge, of which this extract on public libraries plays an important role. I have also written approximately 12,000 words in other chapters so far, to varying stages of completion.

The chapter 'Neoliberalism, Liberty, and Openness' discusses the history of neoliberalism, defined here as the expansion of markets and market-derived forms of measurement and evaluation into all areas of social life, with a particular focus on understanding how *liberty* and *openness* are conceived within neoliberalism. An analysis of the writings of Friedrich Hayek and Karl Popper focuses on their conception of liberty, in particular how Hayek placed free markets at the centre of liberal strategies for achieving democratic freedom, prioritising economic freedom over political freedom. Outlining the ideas of the Chicago School and their gradual adoption by policymakers shows how neoliberal ideology reached hegemonic status. Despite how neoliberal theories connect open societies and free markets, contemporary neoliberalism no longer upholds liberal ideals of freedom and could in fact threaten the very existence of democracy. If Wendy Brown is correct that neoliberalism's economisation of all spheres of life results in a *closure* of political and social freedom, so all that remains is freedom restricted to the economic realm, then Hayek and Popper's belief that free markets will inevitably lead to a free democratic society is proven false. The uncoupling of neoliberalism and openness also has strong implications for the open access movement and the policies it pursues, as discussed in later chapters.

'Public Libraries and Knowledge Politics' complements contemporary discussions on open access, considering public libraries as one element of the longer history of access to scholarly knowledge. A historical perspective reveals that access to knowledge has undergone a long, slow process of change, related to social, technical, and political developments in printing, mass literacy, universities, and libraries. Until the advent of the digital technologies which enable the open access movement, public access to the scholarly record required physical access to printed works. Public libraries helped facilitate this, fulfilling a vital role in extending access to scholarship beyond the academy. Yet the complex power dynamics at play in the dissemination of ideas are visible in the creation of public libraries, through the role of

philanthropy, Enlightenment notions of self-improvement, and the class politics of the Victorian era. Examining these origins reveals that current debates around the consequences of widening public access to scholarship – and how this expansion should be paid for – are nothing new. The liberal ideals underpinning librarianship in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are still present in the digital era, and exploring the biases and contradictions contained within public libraries' history may give us pause when considering the political context of scholarly publishing today.