



University of Bologna, Italy. Founded in 1088 and the oldest European university in continuous existence

An aerial photograph of a historic Italian city, likely Siena, showing a dense cluster of buildings with terracotta roofs. A large, prominent church with a circular window is visible on the left. In the center, there is a large square with a clock tower. The background shows rolling hills under a clear sky.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND KNOWLEDGE AS A PUBLIC GOOD

Simon Marginson, University of Oxford
Lecture at KCL, 4 July 2022

An aerial photograph of a historic Italian town, likely Siena, showing a dense cluster of buildings with terracotta roofs. A large, prominent church with a circular window is visible on the left side. The town is set against a backdrop of rolling hills and mountains under a clear sky.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND KNOWLEDGE AS A PUBLIC GOOD

Simon Marginson, University of Oxford
Lecture at KCL, 4 July 2022

1. Where is the public good in policy and politics?
2. What does higher education do (much of which might be considered 'public good')?
3. How is public good in higher education identified?
 - The toolbox: the principal ideas of 'public'
 - Problems in the Anglo-American policy vision of higher education
4. Regaining the public good



I. WHERE IS THE PUBLIC GOOD IN ANGLO-AMERICAN POLICY AND POLITICS?

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in 2022 06:16

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Monday briefing: How the end of Roe v Wade has already transformed America

In today's newsletter: in just three days, the US supreme court's monumental anti-abortion ruling has torn up old certainties about reproductive rights

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A protest against the supreme court's decision to overturn Roe v. Wade in Denver, Colorado on Saturday. Photograph: Michael Caglar/Getty Images

Good morning. It took almost half a century to overturn Roe v Wade, the US supreme court decision that enshrined abortion as a constitutional right. But in the three days since the court's new ruling was published, a settlement which Americans once assumed was permanent has been immediately shattered.

The conservative-majority court's decision allows individual states to ban abortion for the first time since 1975. (For a summary of what it means, see [this explainer by Jessica Glenza](#).) Like any supreme court ruling, the document published on Friday was long and complicated - but the consequences which flow from it are sweeping, and have proceeded at a pace which belies the court's claimed solemnity.

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Monday briefing
Wade has already

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un 2022.06.16

A protest against the supreme court's decision to overturn
Denver, Colorado on Saturday. Photograph: Michael Ciagloy

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US supreme court

'Condemning everyone alive': outrage at US supreme court climate ruling

Limiting the Environmental Protection Agency at a time when fossil fuel emissions need to be curbed is 'devastating'

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Apocalypse Now: Murder
Thu 30 Jun 2022 20:19 BST

The ruling essentially jeopardises the federal government's ability to regulate emissions Photograph: Radley Images/Alamy

amid heat records being **shattered** across the world and historic wildfires **raging** across the west, climate activists and policymakers working to aggressively curb greenhouse gas emissions are now facing a new kind of challenge - restrictions issued by the US supreme court.

Earlier today, the court released a **ruling** in West Virginia v EPA limiting the Environmental Protection Agency's power to regulate emissions from fossil fuel-fired power plants, in a major environmental case with far-reaching impacts. This has been classified a **"devastating"** outcome by environmental lawyers, climate scientists and activists alike. One with far-reaching implications for the future of the country, and world.

US supreme court rules against EPA and hobbles government power to limit harmful emissions

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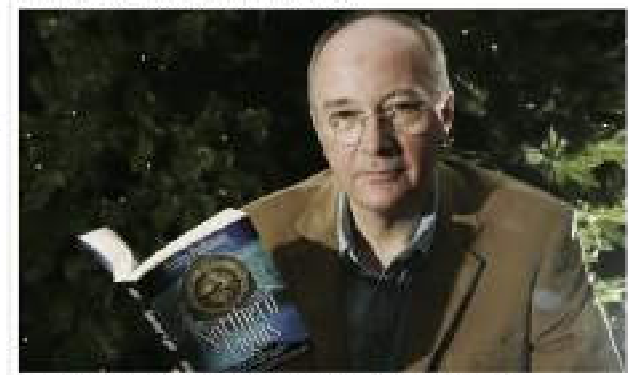
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Arts and humanities

Philip Pullman leads outcry after Sheffield Hallam withdraws English lit degree

Study of literature should not be a 'luxury for a wealthy minority of spoilt aesthetes', author says



Philip Pullman: 'We really do have a government of barbarians.' Photograph: M J Kim/Getty Images

The award-winning author Philip Pullman has said the study of literature "should not be a luxury for a wealthy minority of spoilt and privileged aesthetes" after it emerged that **Sheffield Hallam University** is to pull its English literature degree from next year.

He was one of a number of writers to raise concerns about the university's decision to stop teaching the standalone degree and incorporate it instead into a broad-based English degree, a year after the **University of Cambridge** took similar action.

A Sheffield Hallam spokesperson confirmed that English literature was among a small number of its courses that were being either suspended or closed, largely due to lack of demand. They said the changes would not



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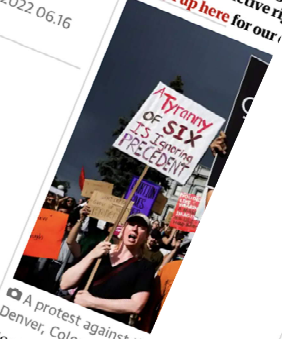
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Monday brief: Wade has already

In today's newsletter: 1 monumental anti-abortion reproductive rig

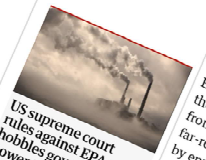
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A protest against the US supreme court decision in Denver, Colorado on Saturday. Good morning. It too right. But in the three settlement which are immediately shattered.

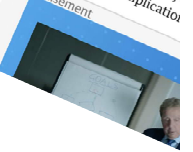
The conservative-majority court's decision allows individual states to ban abortion for the first time since 1973. (For a summary of what it means, see [this explainer](#) by **Jessica Glenna**.) Like any supreme court ruling, the document published on Friday was long and complicated - but the consequences which flow from it are sweeping, and have proceeded at a pace which belies the court's claimed solemnity.



US supreme court rules against EPA and power to limit harmful emissions

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The ruling regulate emissions. Earlier today, the court the Environmental Protection from fossil fuel-fired power by environmental lawyers, with far-reaching implications



CRISIS OF THE COLLECTIVE



CRISIS OF THE COLLECTIVE

- The state is in our face when we don't want it (abortion bans, defunding humanities)
- The state is not there when it is needed (rights of women, emission controls)
- Rights of capitalist polluters take precedence over rights of persons and nature
- The value of knowledge is judged in *solely* financial terms
- **Where and what is the public good in Anglo-American countries?**
- **Collective and non-market values are ignored and unfunded**
- **How can we fill the gap in the political culture?**



2. WHAT DOES HIGHER EDUCATION DO
(MUCH OF WHICH MIGHT BE 'PUBLIC')?

A nighttime photograph of a cityscape. In the foreground, a large, ornate classical building with a central dome and a portico of columns is illuminated with warm lights. The building's facade is detailed with arches and windows. In the background, a city skyline is visible under a twilight sky, featuring several skyscrapers and a prominent tower with a circular observation deck. The overall scene is a blend of historical architecture and modern urban development.

INTRINSIC AND EXTRINSIC FUNCTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION



INTRINSIC AND EXTRINSIC FUNCTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education has two **intrinsic (core) functions**, the basis for its contributions to persons and society. It is wholly accountable for these functions. They are:

- Education: Teaching, learning and certification of graduates
- Knowledge: Its production, preservation, dissemination and transmission

Higher education also carries out many **extrinsic functions** in partnership with other sectors and organisations in the economy, government, society and culture. These include benefits to both individuals and society. In extrinsic activities the carriage of and responsibility for outcomes is shared. This requires all partners to work on maximising the relevant relationships

EDUCATION: HOLISTIC SELF-FORMATION OF STUDENTS THROUGH IMMERSION IN KNOWLEDGE

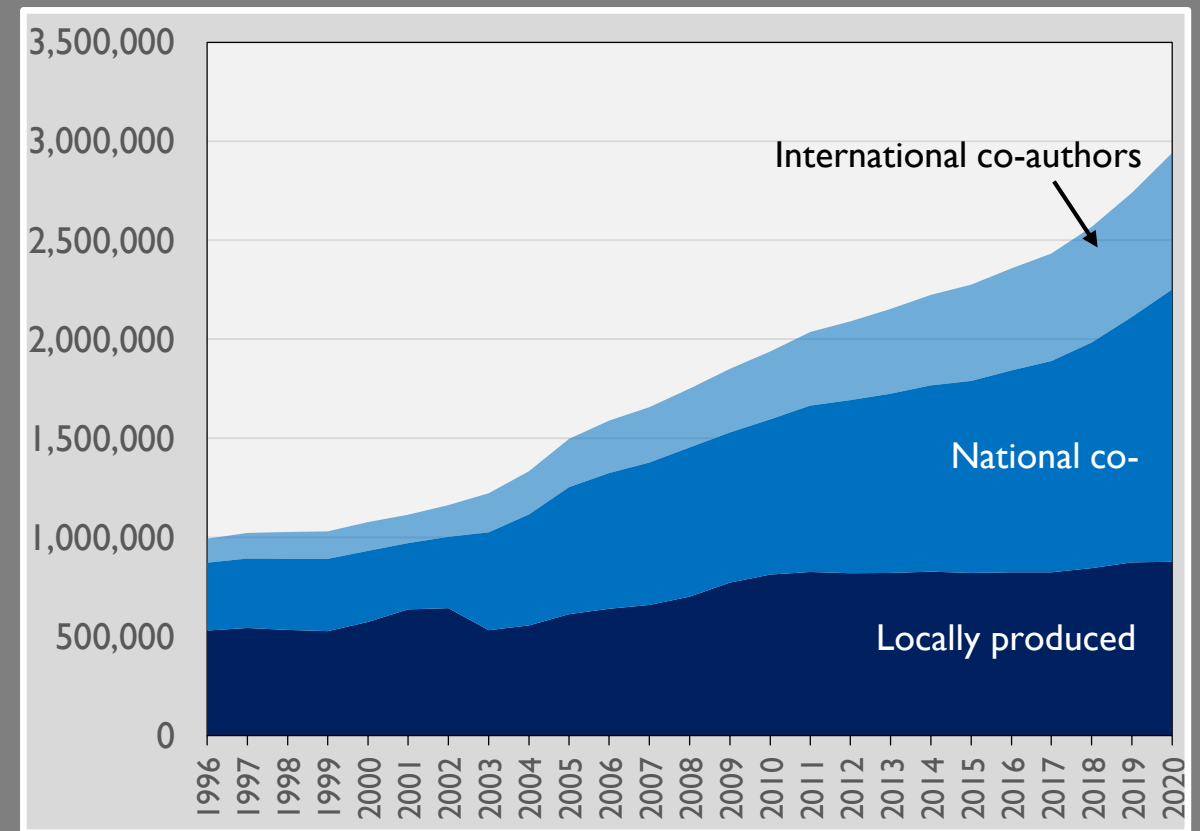
- The education function entails much more (and also less) than 'employability'
- Higher education cannot create jobs or guarantee graduate employment except in a handful of professional domains
- Rather, it provides conditions for the self-formation of students as reflexive and self-determining persons - a lifelong benefit far exceeding graduate earnings
- Cognitive self-formation occurs via the immersion of students in complex bodies of knowledge
- Disciplinary knowledge entails social values and students also build skills in social relations



KNOWLEDGE: GLOBAL SCIENCE PAPERS IN SCOPUS GREW BY 5.15% A YEAR BETWEEN 2000-2020

- Most basic science papers have university authors
- In policy economics basic scientific research is a 'public good' that requires government funding
- Researchers at KCL generated 8,826 Web of Science papers 2017-2020 (fractional count). Of these papers 801 were in the world top 5% on the basis of citation rate (9.1% of KCL papers)
- 180 papers were top 1% on the basis of citation rate. KCL was 43rd university on this measure
- In top 5% papers KCL was 22nd in the world in social sciences and humanities and 23rd in biomedical and health sciences
- 15,756 KCL papers had international partners (whole paper count), 66.3% of all KCL papers

Number of Scopus papers each year 1996-2020



THE EXTRINSIC FUNCTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION (SHARED CARRIAGE OF OUTCOMES) INCLUDE:

SECTOR	Higher education functions include	Necessary partners include
ECONOMY	Potentially employed skilled graduates, productivity of co-workers, reproduction of professions, knowledge-based industry innovation, dissemination of technologies, etc	Employers, professions and occupational groups, government industry policy, local authorities
REGIONS	Numerous contributions to building in cities and regions economic activity, social and civic life, and communications	Local government, employers, NGOs, community groups
SOCIETY	Certification, equitable allocation of social opportunities, normalisation of social literacy, tolerance, ethical conduct	Government policies on schooling, on incomes, and tax/spend agendas, etc
CULTURE	Cultural activities by institutions, preparation of graduates in skills and sensibilities, libraries and other resources	Organisations focused on the arts and culture in all domains
GOVERNMENT	Advice on policy and regulation, preparation of reports, etc	Government, courts, public agencies
DEMOCRACY	Formation of citizens competent in political and public life	Government, public communications
GLOBAL	Normalisation of international experience, understanding	Migration authorities, global partners

For a broad comprehensive economic accounting of the extrinsic outcomes see McMahon, W. (2018)., The total return to higher education: Is there underinvestment for economic growth and development? *The Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance*, 70, 90-111. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.qref.2018.05.005>

THE TRANSITION TO WORK NEEDS A SOCIAL PARTNERS APPROACH. 'EMPLOYABILITY' HAS TIED UP AND GAGGED HIGHER EDUCATION. IT IS A POLICY TRAP

- English higher education has been made wholly responsible for extrinsic graduate outcomes but cannot control them!
- Consider the logic – in a severe economic recession more and more courses fall below the threshold percentage of graduate jobs. People get less work opportunities *and* less education
- Graduates want jobs and higher education institutions, which help them to build their agency, knowledge and skills (the intrinsic work of the sector), want them to succeed. But graduate employment is partly determined by social background and networks, and regional labour markets, and ultimately resolved by employers. It needs a social partners approach



SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INEQUALITIES CANNOT BE OVERCOME BY HIGHER EDUCATION ALONE

- Hard-edged Widening Participation programmes with contextual admissions and foundation years, and maintenance grants, are necessary but not sufficient to transform equity in higher education.
- This requires a whole of government and whole of society approach, including an egalitarian schooling policy, Rawlsian equity for 'lower tariff' tertiary institutions, more equal income determination, policies of tax/spend redistribution, wealth tax, generative industry and employment policies, regional development
- That is, the achievement of greater social equity in and through higher education, a profound public good, rests on genuine public commitment to public purposes!



A man in a dark suit and light blue shirt is holding a magnifying glass over his right eye. The background is a blurred office setting. The text is overlaid on a dark grey rectangular box in the center of the image.

3. HOW IS PUBLIC GOOD IN HIGHER EDUCATION IDENTIFIED?

THE CONCEPTUAL TOOLBOX: EURO-AMERICAN IDEAS OF 'PUBLIC' AND 'PRIVATE'



C. Analytic/economic:
public private dualism
(public and private exclude
each other)

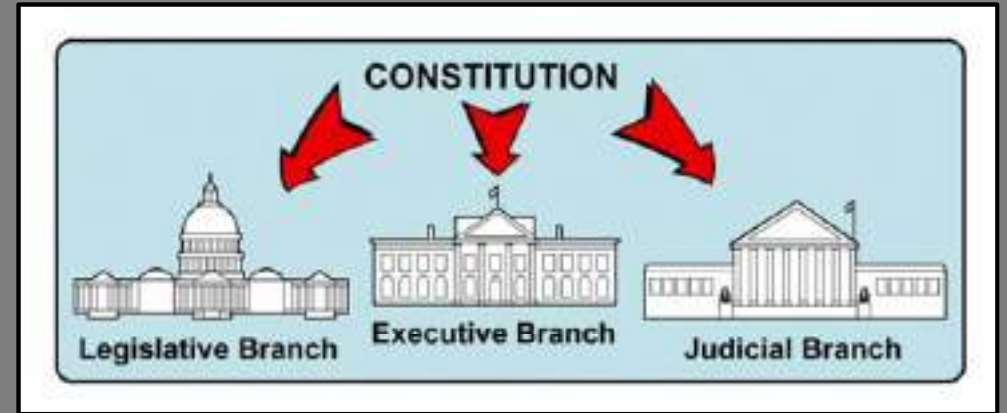
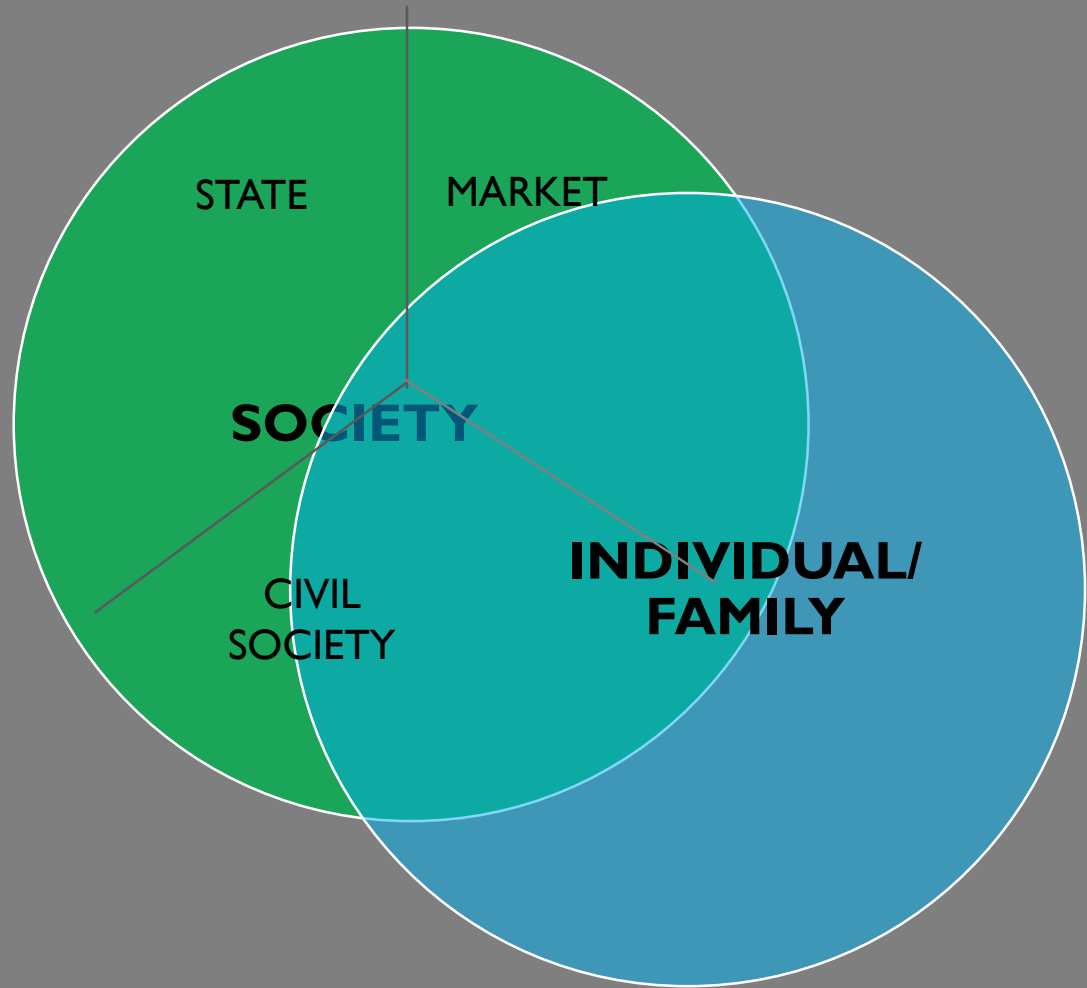


**A. Normative-universal
'public good':**
public contains private



**B. Communicative-
inclusive 'public':**
public includes and links
all private units

EURO-AMERICAN POLITICAL CULTURES NORMALISE A LIMITED LIBERAL STATE AND DIVIDED POWERS





A. THE NORMATIVE-UNIVERSAL PUBLIC GOOD



A. THE NORMATIVE-UNIVERSAL PUBLIC GOOD

This is rhetorically powerful, speaking to deep needs for shared life and universal outcomes. It is often invoked: like appeals to beauty and truth, a claim based on the public good is unanswerable. It is also ambiguous in policy (economic growth? peace? democracy? transparency in government? equality? sustainability?) and lacks empirical and analytical purchase.

The main role of the 'public good' is to pose the question of the common or general interest. Which agency can be entrusted with that common interest? In the Nordic or East Asian traditions the immediate answer is 'the state'. But Anglo-American political cultures are wary of the state

UNESCO'S EDUCATION AS A COMMON GOOD

- UNESCO paper 2015. Education as a 'common good' draws on West European traditions of solidaristic and participative social relations, as in Northern Italian cities – a collective approach in which individuals have rights and shared welfare. The common good is shaped from the bottom up by self-determining communities. Higher education helps to form and enable democratic communities in which each person has a voice
- Private as well as public agents can contribute: 'Placing common goods beyond the public or private dichotomy implies conceiving and aspiring towards new forms and institutions of participatory democracy' (p. 78)

UNESCO. (2015). *Rethinking education: Towards a global common good?* UNESCO. <https://unevoc.unesco.org/e-forum/RethinkingEducation.pdf>



B. THE COMMUNICATIVE RELATIONAL PUBLIC

- ‘The public’, public opinion, public media, ‘going public’
- The assembly of citizens in the French revolution was a starting point for this large inclusive public, later manifest as the electorate with universal suffrage. Includes all private individuals and networks them together - public and private are positive sum
- In the France Republican tradition the state has a continuing role. In Anglo-America the inclusive public emphasises civil society. But open to capture by private media and platform capitalists (Google, Facebook etc)
- Associated with normatively powerful ideas of democratic inclusion, fairness and universal coverage. This influences higher education policy, e.g. the broad support for socially equitable participation



HABERMAS'S 'PUBLIC SPHERE' IS A CRITICALLY-MINDED VERSION OF THE RELATIONAL PUBLIC

- Habermas (1989) identifies a 'public sphere' located between civil society and the state in late seventeenth-century London with its salons, coffee houses and broadsheets, together constituting public opinion and a critical reflexivity for the government of the day
- For Calhoun (1992) universities operate in analogous fashion as semi-independent adjuncts of government, providing constructive criticism and strategic options, and expert information that helps state and public to reach considered opinions (if they are listening). Sometimes they incubate transformative social movements e.g. feminism, environmentalism, anti-apartheid, civil rights in the US, BLM



Habermas, J. (1989). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press

Calhoun, C. (1992). Introduction. In *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. C. Calhoun, pp. 1–48.

Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press

C. PUBLIC VS. PRIVATE GOOD (ZERO-SUM RELATION)



Political dual:

Public = state/government

Private = spheres of home, family,
economic market, corporate sector

Economic dual:

Public goods = non-excludable or
non-rivalrous goods, can't be
produced profitably in market

Private goods = everything else

PUBLIC/PRIVATE DUAL: THE POLITICAL VERSION

- The common juridical-political understanding is that government = public (as in 'public sector')
- This public/private distinction is a distinction between state and non-state production or control. We speak of 'private' or 'public' schools, universities or hospitals, on the basis of legal ownership
- In public rhetoric the political dual is often mapped onto the rhetorical distinction between 'state' and 'market'. However, the distinction between market and non-market in economics is distinct and different

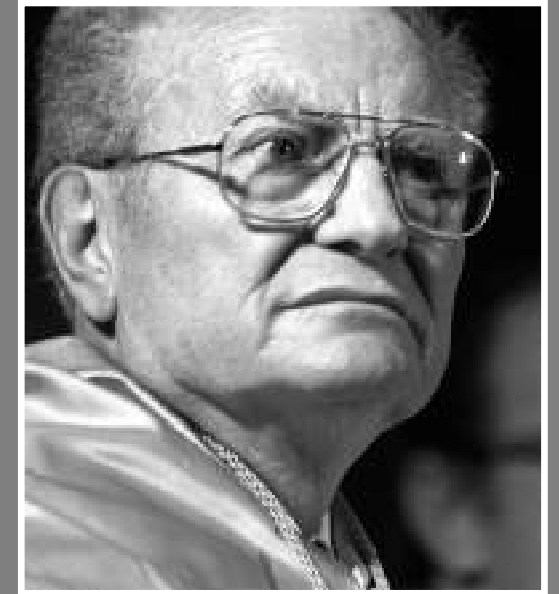


PUBLIC/PRIVATE DUAL: THE ECONOMIC VERSION

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE GOODS (SAMUELSON 1954)

- Public goods are non-rivalrous and/or non excludable
- Goods are *non-rivalrous* when consumed by any number of people without being depleted, for example knowledge of a mathematical theorem, which sustains its use value everywhere, indefinitely, on the basis of free access.
- Goods are *non-excludable* when benefits cannot be confined to individuals, e.g. clean air regulation, national defence, basic research
- Private goods are neither non-rivalrous nor non-excludable, and can be produced and sold in economic markets as individualised commodities

(There are variations. Common-pool goods, are rivalrous but non-excludable, such as a fishing zone. Club goods are excludable but non-rivalrous until congestion occurs. Merit goods are rivalrous and excludable, but subsidised by government because otherwise the goods will under-consumed, e.g. because the private benefits are diffuse and long term)



Samuelson, P. (1954.) The pure theory of public expenditure. *Review of Economics and Statistics* 36 (4), pp. 387–9

THE ECONOMIC PUBLIC/PRIVATE DUAL IS ALSO A FUNDING FORMULA IN A MARKETISED SYSTEM

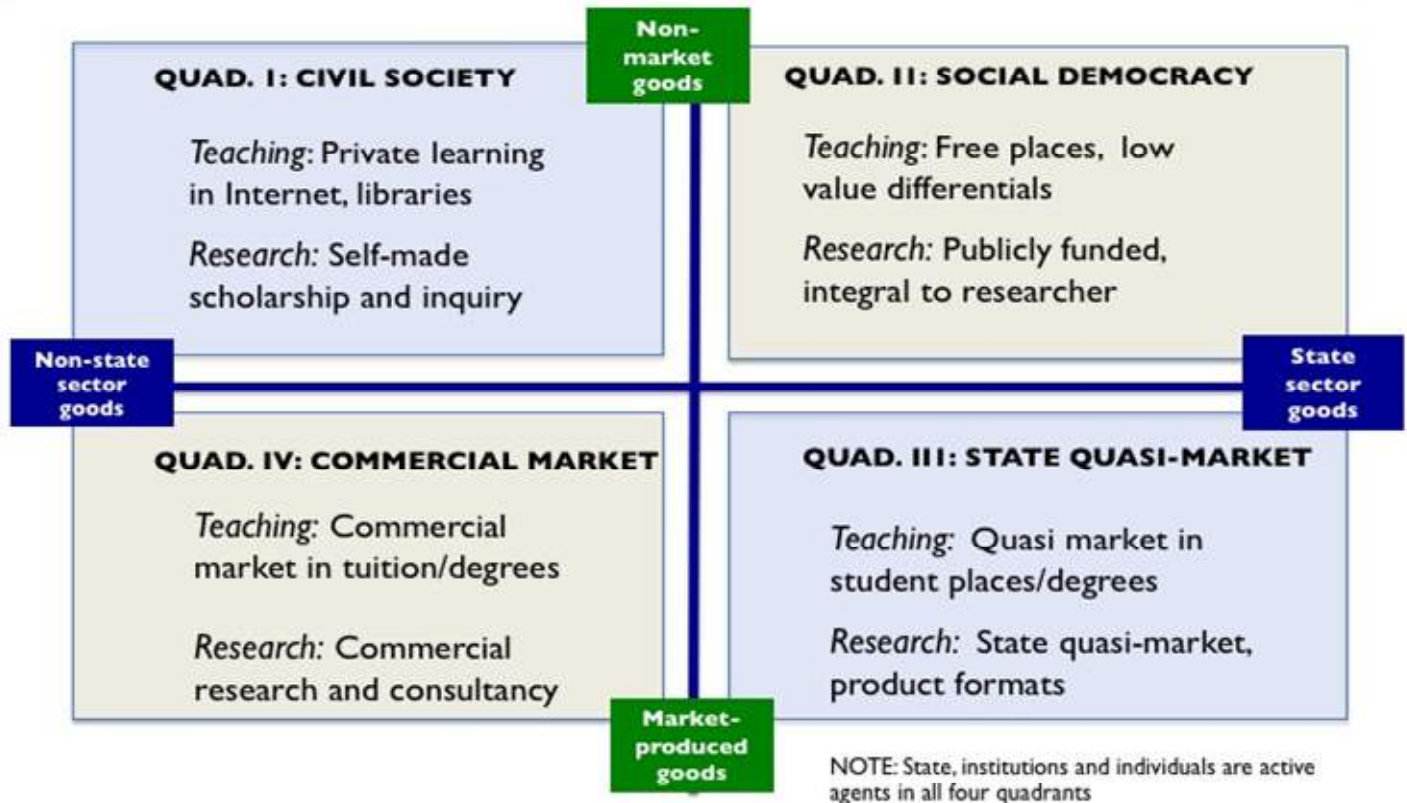
- **Public goods** are under-produced or unproduced in economic markets. To the extent that they do not arise as incidental spillovers, they are funded by the state or philanthropy. **Private goods** are funded by purchasers in the market
- The economic public/private dual is a distinction between non-market and market production. It maximises the scope for the capitalist economy while sustaining a limited liberal state with residual functions. In this ideal world, markets produce everything except those outcomes which cannot be produced on a market basis.
- It is also a mechanism for limiting public spending. In education and health **government chooses** whether to provide the service as a universally accessible public good (e.g. NHS, UK primary schooling) or as a private good (e.g. higher education in England)
- When higher education is defined as a private good the student/graduate is ultimately responsible for paying the cost. The state sees itself as the guarantor of the private benefits of human capital investment, it focuses on 'value for money'



THE POLICY CHOICES IN ANGLO-AMERICAN COUNTRIES: FOUR ECONOMICS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Note: The market liberal framework is often presented as state vs. market (quadrants 2 & 4). But this leaves out quadrant I, which includes household production, and it misses quadrant 3 – the domain of state managed markets where much of the economic action is found

Public and private goods: the four variations



THIS FRAMEWORK IS PULLED TOWARD THE MARKET

1. In the 'knowledge economy', in which the state sees its role as fostering and furthering capitalism, the sole criterion of the value of knowledge is its contribution to economic growth, measured only by graduate earnings
2. Public and private goods are zero-sum – the more we have of one the less we must have of the other, so collective outcomes (e.g. social justice, equality) exclude individual interests. In a different conception of the public/private relationship, public goods and private goods could advance together
3. Public goods are outside the main economic activity, production of private benefits for graduates in the education market. Public goods are unfunded 'spillovers' from the market, or funded 'externalities' in areas of market failure
4. Governments tend to minimise externalities to reduce spending. England clearly funds only basic science, and social access (defined as access to private goods).
5. What of global public goods, e.g. education's contributions to sustainability?



GLOBAL PUBLIC GOOD IN HIGHER EDUCATION

- The United Nations (UN) Development Programme's definition of global public goods:
 - ‘Goods that have a significant element of non-rivalry and/or non-excludability’ and are broadly available on a global scale (Kaul et al. 1999)
- Research and scholarly knowledge are obvious examples. Arguably, global student mobility is another
- Given the public/private dualism, public goods require a state. But there is no global state. Are global goods merely an outgrowth of nations? How do we understand the world as a whole and the global good in itself, including all nations?

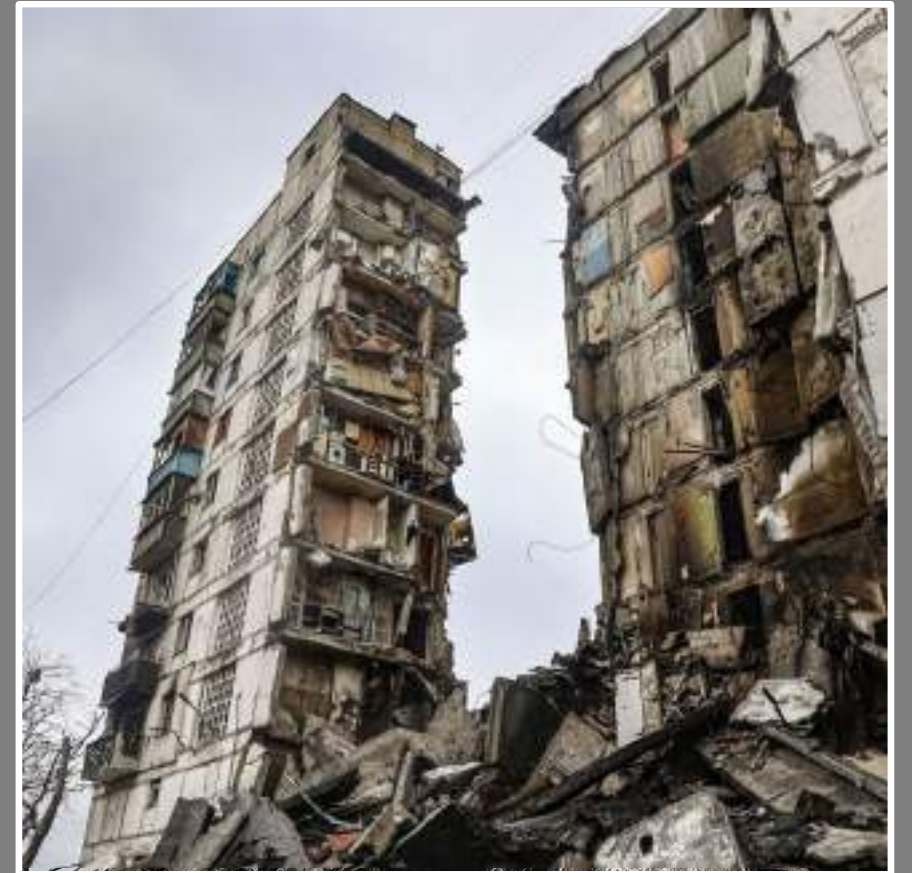


ANOTHER PROBLEM IS THE LACK OF 'CIVILISATIONAL' CONTENT IN THE ECONOMIC POLICY FRAMEWORK

When an aggressive nation invades an innocent neighbouring nation, this is non-market activity by a government agent i.e. it produces 'public goods' in both the economic sense and the political sense...

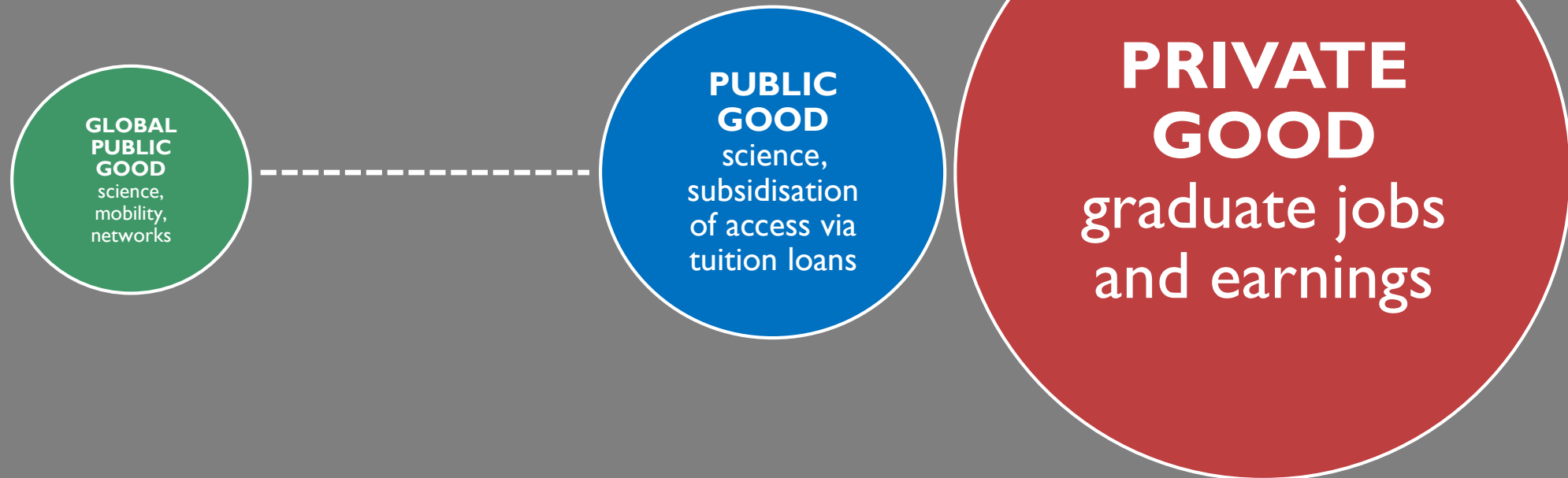
But does it produce 'public good'?

The standard economic policy framework fails to address the question of purpose, aside from capital accumulation as an end in itself – ***what kind of society do we want and how does higher education contribute to that?***



DUALISTIC BUT UNBALANCED : THE PUBLIC GOOD CONTRIBUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION ARE LITTLE UNACKNOWLEDGED, UNDER-FUNDED, UNSUPERVISED

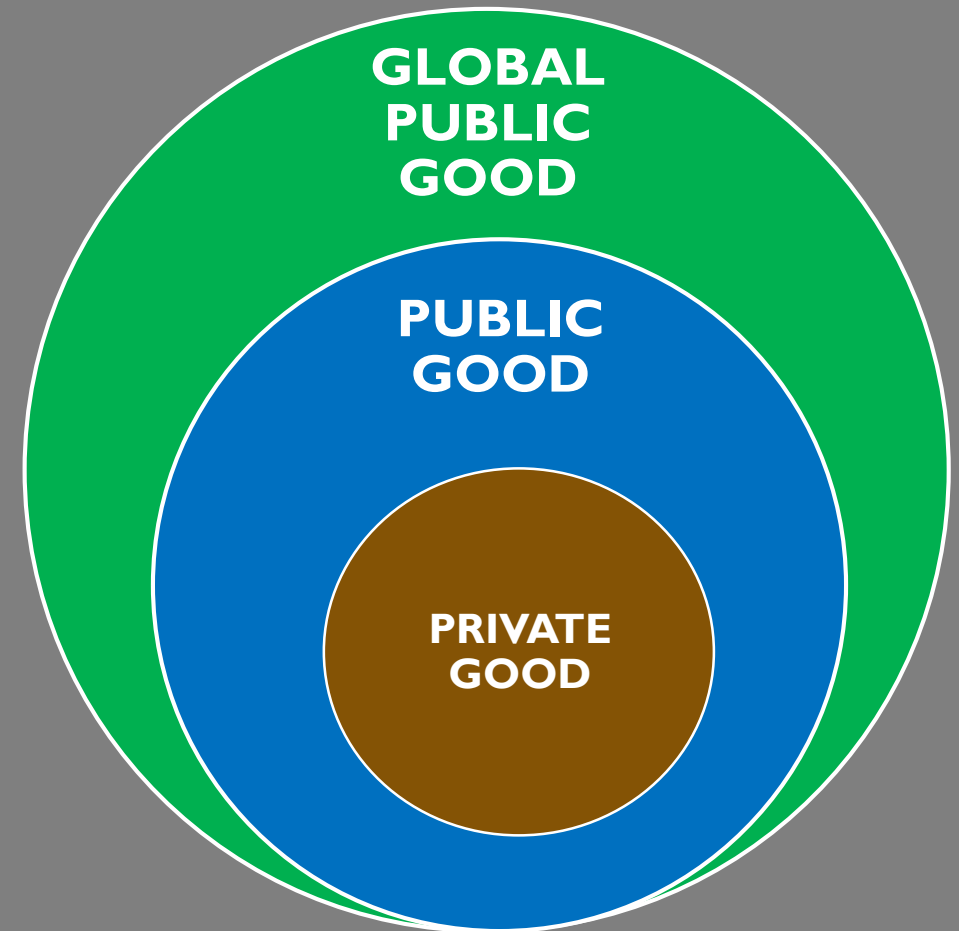
What about public good contributions to the lifelong holistic growth of graduates, collective productivity in workplaces, the professions, government policy, regions and cities, alleviation of poverty, social and technological literacy, social communications and culture, political citizenship, tolerance, public health, etc etc



IT IS DIFFERENT IN FINLAND –THE SOCIAL PURPOSES OF HIGHER EDUCATION ARE FULLY ACKNOWLEDGED

*[the purpose of higher education is]
'...education and culture, which means that we are not only educating the society in a formal way, but also making the culture livelier. So, we get people who know things in a technical sense, but they also have good values in their minds, so they have, like, education in mind and in heart. You lift the society to a different level, a higher level, which is something you can't measure, but you get a country where the values are good, which is taking global responsibility and acting good on average in a big picture.'*

~ interview with Finnish university professor, 2019, Centre for Global Higher Education project on higher education and the public good in 10 countries



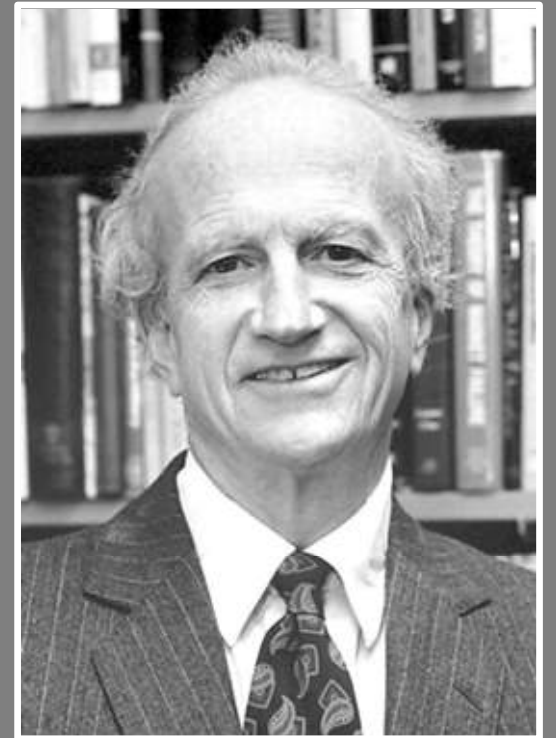
WE REGRESS: ENGLISH POLICY HAS LOST SIGHT OF THE INTRINSIC FUNCTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

It is not just collective goods that go missing

The economic framework creates an impoverished idea of the benefits of higher education for individual students



Bildung
Immanuel Kant 1780s



Human capital theory
Gary Becker 1960s

IN SUMMARY



IN SUMMARY

- Higher education has two intrinsic social functions, in education and knowledge
- Its many extrinsic functions depend on partnerships with employers, government and communities. It cannot deliver employability or social equity on its own
- Higher education contributes to multiple collective social outcomes, and non market individual outcomes, though its intrinsic and extrinsic activities. In Anglo-American countries, where capitalist market ideology rules, these contributions are under-recognised, under-funded, under-provided
- Why? Euro-American political culture has differing ways of thinking about outcomes other than individual pecuniary benefits: the universal 'public good', the inclusive communicative 'public', the idea of zero-sum public vs. private in economics. Anglo-American Treasury departments favour the dualistic economic method because of its inbuilt biases towards economic markets and the residualisation of public spending. Policy tends to minimise the funded externalities
- Social values (what society we want) are excluded, aside from broadly defined access and equity

4. REGAINING THE PUBLIC GOOD

(e.g. after a change of UK government)

- The starting point for reworking higher education and public good is to ask *what kind of society do we want and how can higher education contribute to achieving that society?*
- Hence social values and democratic agency are crucial. In the UNESCO concept of 'higher education for the common good', social purposes are defined by self-determining local communities. The common good idea is less ambiguous than 'public good', given its varying meanings and connotations (state, non-market, residual non-private, communications, etc)
- The most important activity of higher education is providing conditions for student self-formation, including immersion in complex knowledge and preparation for meaningful work



GROUNDING HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC

- Embedding the governance of higher education in UK cities and regions, not Westminster, would ground the social purposes of higher education and strengthen extrinsic partnerships
- A tertiary system approach would expand HE/FE pathways and provide plural access routes
- Lifting the resources and status of lower and middle tier institutions, along the lines of North-West European systems, would lower the temperature in the competition for private goods
- All courses should be directly subsidised given the public good created by higher education and knowledge, with the balance of funding covered by a tax on above average incomes
- The value of institutions and courses – some vocational, some not – should no longer be judged on the basis of fluctuating labour market outcomes. Providing the full range of fields of knowledge and occupational training is a core social contribution of higher education
- Cross-border university cooperation with multilateral government support can develop higher education's contributions to the global public and common good



Dicksonia Antarctica, Otways, Australia 2009

THANK YOU FOR LISTENING