

SOCIOLOGY OF HIGHER EDUCATION THROUGH STUDENT EYES

A STUDENT COURSE REVIEW
HANDBOOK

With contributions by Kevin Ballen '22, Samantha Gamble '21,
Joshua Hong '23, Abigail Koerner '21, Allison Lee '21, Romina
Liollari '21, Samyra Miller '21, Tommy O'Neil '23, Starr Rhee '21,
Rachel SeEVERS '23, Idan Tretout '23, and Kimberly Woo '20
Edited by Dr. Manja Klemenčič

SOCIOL1104 Sociology of Higher Education, Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts and Sciences,
Harvard University | FALL 2020

Table of Contents

About the authors (in alphabetical order)	
Kevin Ballen '22, Sociology.....	
Samantha Gamble '21, Social Studies and African-American Studies.....	
Joshua Haram Hong '23, Sociology.....	
Abigail Jade Koerner '21, Sociology.....	
Allison Lee '21, Sociology and Economics.....	
Romina Lilollari '21, Social Studies and African-American Studies.....	
Samyra Miller'21, Sociology and Education Studies.....	
Tommy O'Neil '23, Government and Educational Studies.....	
Starr Rhee '21, Government.....	
Rachel SeEVERS '23, Mechanical Engineering and Educational Studies.....	
Idan Tretout '23, Sociology.....	
Kimberly Sui Mei Woo '20, Sociology.....	
Manja Klemenčič (D.Phil. <i>Cantab</i>).....	
Foreword	1
By Manja Klemenčič.....	1
Introduction to Sociology of Higher Education	2
By Joshua Hong.....	2
Theories in the Sociology of Higher Education	10
By Abigail Koerner.....	10
The study of colleges and universities as organizations	17
By Allison Lee.....	17
Higher education systems, markets and global knowledge systems	24
By Starr Rhee.....	24
Higher education politics and policies	30
By Tommy O'Neil.....	30
Higher education and culture	34
By Idan Tretout.....	34
Higher education impact on students	36
By Samyra Miller & Kevin Ballen.....	36
Equity and inequalities, and diversity, inclusion and belonging in higher education	51
By Romina Lilollari & Samantha Gamble.....	51
The academic profession, higher education professionals, and workers in higher education	66
By Rachel SeEVERS.....	66
The impact of students on higher education	71
By Kimberly Woo.....	71

About the authors (in alphabetical order)

Kevin Ballen '22, Sociology



Kevin (he/him) is a junior in Currier House from Boston, MA concentrating in Sociology. On Campus, Kevin is involved with civic engagement - leading the Harvard Votes Challenge and now serving as the Vice President of the Institute of Politics. Kevin also plans events with the College Events Board and tutors for the Writing Center. Before college, Kevin worked for two years for the Mayor of Boston and the YMCA. Kevin's research project for Sociology 1104 explores the role of the University President across different types of higher education institutions. Outside of school, Kevin is obsessed with Chinese food & teaches laughter yoga classes.

Samantha Gamble '21, Social Studies and African-American Studies



Samantha (she/her/hers) is a senior in Quincy House from Washington, DC joint-concentrating in Social Studies and African-American Studies with a focus in Race and Criminalization in American Education. In addition to being a Diversity Peer Educator for the Harvard Office of Diversity Education and Support, in the past Samantha has served as Co-Director of the Harvard Undergraduate Legal Committee and the Director of Internal Affairs for the Black Pre-Law Association. Samantha is interested in education, race, criminal justice, and the American prison system, and plans to pursue a career in law. Her research project for Sociology 1104 addresses the intersection of these interests, doing a comparative study of school safety policy at the K-12 vs. Higher Education level. When she's not doing work, Samantha can be found doing creative writing, making Spotify playlists, or watching crime shows on Netflix.

Joshua Haram Hong '23,
Sociology



Joshua (he/him/his) is a sophomore in Quincy house from Ambler, Pennsylvania, concentrating in Sociology. Joshua works for Harvard Student Agencies as an Operations Manager in the Tutoring division and an incoming intern at the

Volunteer Lawyers Project, where he will be helping low-income families with legal issues. Joshua also serves on leadership at the Asian American Christian Fellowship, where he focuses on freshman outreach and community-building. His research project for Sociology 1104 focuses on the lived experience of Korean-Americans attending seminary, with a particular focus on whether the Korean immigrant church has shaped or changed their decision to attend seminary as well as their plans post graduation. Outside of the classroom, Joshua loves to play guitar or cook and eat (mostly eat) Korean food. He is also an avid fan of all Philadelphia sports teams, especially the Philadelphia 76ers

Abigail Jade Koerner '21, Sociology



Abigail (she/hers) is a senior in Pforzheimer housing concentrating in Sociology. She is deeply interested in housing inequality and intends to pursue a career in affordable housing,

real estate, and development. While studying virtually from Washington, DC this fall, Abigail worked for Ikos— a real estate startup company that rents Section 8 housing options, affordable/subsidized options, and market rate properties. Her project for Sociology 1104 investigates Harvard's position as a landholder— both in the context of Harvard affiliates themselves, and the greater Boston area. At Harvard, Abigail spends most of her time on the Charles river, rowing with the Women's Lightweight rowing team. On land, however, she has spent time serving as an intern at the Office of BGLTQ+ student life, writing for the Harvard Independent newspaper, working with high-risk Boston high school students at the Crimson Summer Academy, and bartending on the weekends.

Allison Lee '21, Sociology and Economics

Allison is a senior from Scarsdale, New York. At Harvard, she is in Pforzheimer House and concentrates in Sociology with a secondary in Economics. Allison is on the Women's Lightweight Rowing Team and the current Chief Marketing Officer, serving as a liaison between the team and Harvard Athletics. Additionally, she is the current Multimedia co-Chair of the Harvard Crimson where she coordinates all multimedia related content for daily production. She has a passion for photography and videography (check out her portfolio! <https://www.allisongracelee.com/>). Her current project for Sociology 1104 is about Harvard students' experience and behaviors during remote learning. She hopes to

highlight the vast experiences, challenges, and hopes in the pandemic.



Romina Lilollari '21, Social Studies and African-American Studies



Romina is a senior in Adams House currently concentrating in Social Studies and African American Studies with a focus in the Economics of Educational Inequality. Romina is originally from Plase, Albania but

has lived in Saint Petersburg, Florida for most of her life. On campus, Romina participates on the Harvard College Debating Union and has been ranked one of the top female speakers in the country. She is also currently assisting Professor Leslie Finger and Michael Hartney on a project related to the politics of Covid-19 reopenings in K-12 education. In the past, Romina has also served as a Research Fellow for the Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy studying teacher tenure and merit based pay. After college, Romina hopes to go to law school and use her legal education to advocate for diversity-conscious school assignment plans in K-12 public education. Romina's research paper for Sociology 1104 investigates how universities' financial situations impacted their fall reopening plans.

Samyra Miller'21, Sociology and Education Studies



Samyra is Harvard's resident gossip queen, community discussion section kid, aspiring Grammy award winner and the host for the brand new Harvard Crimson podcast, the Harvard Communitia. She is a senior in Lowell House from New Orleans, LA who

studies Sociology with a secondary in Educational Studies. Throughout her time at Harvard she has been a part of many student organizations: The Harvard Black Students Association (BSA), The Undergraduate Council, The Harvard LowKeys, The Institute of Politics (IOP), and The Phillips Brooks House Association (PBHA). Samyra has a passion for entertainment and hopes to pursue a career in it after graduation. For her research paper she linked her capstone research project in SOCIOL1130 to her popular podcast (The Harvard Communitia) and investigated how Harvard students perceive the value of the Harvard degree and whether the perceptions of the value changed due to the remote education during the COVID-19 crisis.

Tommy O'Neil '23, Government and Educational Studies

Tommy is a sophomore in Pforzheimer who currently lives in Lexington, MA. He studies Government with a secondary in Educational Studies. His main activity that he participates in on campus is the basketball team which he dedicates the majority of his free time to, but hopes to engage in more extracurricular activities once everyone makes their return to campus. Prior to Harvard he attended St. John's Prep in Massachusetts for four years before taking a post-graduate year at Vermont Academy, a small prep school in rural southern Vermont. Upon leaving Harvard, Tommy hopes to work in either his local or state government in some capacity, before hopefully transitioning into a teacher/coach role at the high school level. For his research paper, he worked collaboratively with fellow Harvard men's basketball player Idan Tretout on the topic

of Pay for Play, something that both of them feel exceptionally strong about considering it is pertinent to both of their lives.



Tommy O'Neil with Francis "Bud" D. Riley, Chief of Police for the Harvard University Police Department. Source:

<https://gocrimson.com/sports/mens-basketball/roster/tommy-o-neil/22215>

Starr Rhee '21, Government

Starr is a Senior in Pfoho originally from Nashville, Tennessee. She studies Government with a secondary in Educational Studies and a language citation in Spanish. On campus, Starr is very engaged with Harvard Model Congress where she is currently on staff for the Boston and Asia conferences. Here, she works with young people to teach them about civics and government. Starr has also worked for the Undergraduate Admissions Council all four years she has been at Harvard, helping to recruit students to Harvard and answer questions about student life. Outside of school and activities, you can find Starr hanging out with her blockmates or cooking. She is passionate about food, the American South, and educational equity. Starr's research project for Sociology 1104 focuses

on creating a new community college for her home state of Tennessee (where she eventually hopes to return as a teacher).



Rachel Seevers '23, Mechanical Engineering and Educational Studies



Rachel is a member of the class of 2023 at Harvard College studying mechanical engineering and educational studies. While at

campus she lives in Mather House, Rachel is currently remotely studying in her childhood home in Lexington, Kentucky. Growing up a girl in STEM in a rural & red state, Rachel faced many oppositions to pursuing her dream of becoming an engineer and didn't have many of the opportunities her male peers did. She has since been recognized at the international level for aeronautical research and uses her platform to encourage young women to pursue STEM fields. Rachel's ultimate goal is to revolutionize how we teach science, technology, engineering, and math in America. In a fun parallel to her current engineering research, Rachel's project for Sociology 1104 investigates higher education as it relates to Conspiracy Thinking- a pandemic she has seen taking over her own community in KY.

Idan Tretout '23, Sociology

Idan is a Sophomore in Mather House concentrating in Sociology and a Student-Athlete to his core. He grew up in Brooklyn, New York which shaped who he is today. He is a fluent French speaker who loves to travel. Before Harvard he was a Four-year Varsity starter for Wilbraham & Monson Academy, a prep school in Western Massachusetts. Before the pandemic got all of us, Idan played in the Ivy League for Harvard's Men's Varsity Basketball team. Idan eventually wants to give back to the underprivileged communities he grew up in through a mentorship program guiding kids in the right direction when there aren't many role models to look up to. In the collaborative research project with a fellow member of the Harvard's Men's Basketball team Tommy O'Neil, the two student researchers investigate the arguments behind the debate on whether student-athletes should be paid.



Idan Tretout with Robert Reid-Pharr, Professor of Studies of Women, Gender, and Sexuality. Source:

<https://gocrimson.com/sports/mens-basketball/roster/idan-tretout/22218>

Kimberly Sui Mei Woo '20, Sociology



Kimberly Woo is a senior concentrating in Sociology with a secondary focus in Women, Gender and Sexuality. Her educational journey is diverse, and includes a GED, community college, AmeriCorps service, and Harvard. She has held positions as a paraprofessional, swim teacher, gymnastics coach, preschool teacher, administrative assistant, and camp director, amongst others. Kim came to the college as a nontraditional, first-generation, low-income student and a single mother of one phenomenal little girl. After a leave of absence, Kim shook up Harvard's administrative board by petitioning to return – ten years later! Kim is an impassioned advocate for issues facing victims of domestic violence and homeless and at-risk families. She plans to pursue an advanced degree in public policy and/or law after graduation (pending the conclusion of this dumpster fire we call 2020).

Manja Klemenčič (D.Phil. *Cantab*)

Manja is Lecturer on Sociology and lecturer in General Education at Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University. She has been teaching SOCIOL1104 Sociology of Higher Education since Fall 2016. She is Editor-in-Chief of European Journal of Higher education (Routledge/Taylor&Francis) and Co-Editor of book series Understanding Student Experiences of Higher Education (Bloomsbury). You can read more about her teaching and research at https://scholar.harvard.edu/manja_klemencic



Foreword

SOCIOL1104 is a research-intensive undergraduate seminar on sociology of higher education. This seminar explores modern higher education systems, institutions and student experiences of higher education through sociological lenses. This course offers opportunities for students to gain perspectives into established and emerging areas of research into higher education and insights into today's changing higher education landscape at Harvard, in the United States and across the world. In Fall 2020, our course was conducted remotely and a meta theme that revolved through the course was the effects of COVID-19 on higher education.

We have read the seminal works and explored concepts and main issues from the eight domains of inquiry in sociology of higher education: (1) the study of universities and colleges as organizations; (2) the study of higher education systems, markets and global knowledge; (3) higher education politics and policies; (4) higher education and culture; (5) the study of higher education impact on students; (6) equity and inequalities, and diversity, inclusion and belonging in higher education; (7) the study of academic profession, higher education professionals and workers in higher education; and (8) student agency and student impact on higher education.

This handbook is a compilation of student reviews of the course modules starting with the introduction to the field of sociology of higher education and theories in sociology of higher education, followed by the reviews of the aforementioned eight domains of inquiry in sociology of higher education. The module reviews offer students' insights on the topics covered, reflection on the discussions in the discussion posts and in class, as well as suggestions for topics that would be interesting to explore further.

16 December 2020, Cambridge, MA

Manja Klemenčič

Introduction to Sociology of Higher Education

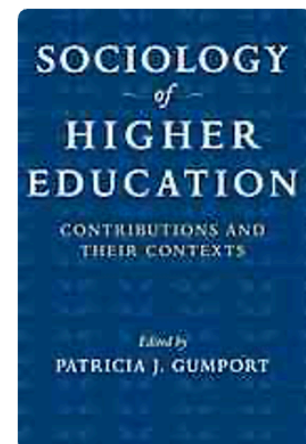
By Joshua Hong

Guiding Questions

- Which are the key domains of study in the field of Sociology of Higher Education in the United States?
- What are some of the key questions/issues in higher education in the United States and the world?
- What are some of the key trends in higher education globally?
- What factors influence the development of the field of Sociology of Higher Education?

Module 1 Readings

- Development of the Sociology of Higher Education
 - Gumpert and Clark
 - History of the field
- Sociology of Higher Education: An Evolving Field
 - Emerging trends
 - Contextual Factors
- Higher Education, International Issues
 - Global trends and expansion



In the first module of this course, we covered a wide variety of topics—from the history of the sociology of higher education, to the contextual factors that affected the field, and to the emerging trends not only in the United States, but across the world in higher education. The guiding question in this module were exploring the key domains in the sociology of higher education, the contextual factors that influenced the development in this field, and the trends we see in higher education not only in the United States, but globally.

History and Key Domains

- Early days focusing on elementary and secondary education
 - Education Sociology
- Revitalization in the 1960s
 - Expansion post World War II
 - "It is not until the 1960s that we discern a serious sociology of higher education in the sense of a sub-field with a steady flow of writing and a specialty in which students take training, pursue it for a number of years and accept a professional label" (Clark, 5)
- Two Streams: Inequality and Effect of College

History and Key Domains cont.

- Key domains that influenced the development of the sociology of HE
 - Societal
 - Economic Turbulence
 - Organizational
 - Global Interdependence
- Caution for the future
 - "wandering gypsy"
 - Practical vs. Theoretical

The first two readings come from Patricia J. Gumpert's *Sociology of Higher Education*. The first reading is written by Clark and is entitled "Development of the Sociology of Higher Education" and the second reading is written by Gumpert and is entitled "Sociology of Higher Education: An Evolving Field". These two readings explore both the history of the field, the factors that help contextualize the development of the field, and further areas of interest as well as cautions for the future of the field.

In the first chapter, Clark describes how the subfield of higher education was disparate and lacking until the 1960s. Until then, scholarship focused on questions surrounding primary and secondary education which was known as education sociology. Although some texts on higher education existed in isolation, such as Logan Wilson's *The Academic Man*, Clark writes, "It is not until the 1960s that we discern a serious sociology of higher education in the sense of a sub-field with a steady flow of writing and a specialty in which students take training, pursue it for a number of years and accept a professional label." (Clark, 5). Once the subfield was established, two streams arose—the first focusing on inequality in higher education and the second focusing on the impact of higher education institutions on students. The chapter concludes by warning the reader against becoming a "wandering analytical gypsy" (Clark, 9) which is someone who floats around from topic to topic with no clear direction. Clark also warns against focusing on trivial topics that have little relevance to higher education and only serves as theory.

Gumpert's second chapter briefly outlines the history that Clark discusses, but dedicates most of the chapter to observing the contextual factors that contributed to the development of the sociology of higher education. Before working with a field, the context surrounding its development is supremely important as "the parameters and momentum of particular research questions and approaches are determined by human interests and the social contexts in which human beings reside." (Gumpert, 23). The contextual factors are broken into two overarching ideas: societal and organizational. Societally, several factors such as the economic turbulence, political advancement of neoliberal ideas, the increasing interconnectedness on a global scale, and the demand for knowledge are all outlined. Organizationally, ideas of culture in relation to student socialization, theoretical approaches such as a functionalist perspective, and authority in academic organizations are a few contexts that rose to contextualize the development of the sociology of higher education.

Gumpert, like Clark, ends her chapter reflecting on the future of the sociology of higher education. She writes of the changing nature of the subfield, however one area that is not mentioned by either Clark or Gumpert in these two chapters are questions surrounding the global nature of the sociology of higher education. Here, the third and final reading, *Higher Education, International Issues*, comes into play. The article describes the global expansion of higher education and the reasons for it up to the 1960s. It then goes on to explain the emerging trends around the world past the 1960s.


- 
- What is expansion?
 - Increased enrollment and enrollment rates
 - Effects of expansion
 - Increased access
 - Global expansion
 - Increase after WWII
 - Continuing to grow
 - Linked to economic developments



Expansion of Higher Education

What exactly is “expansion” in a higher education perspective. Expansion is merely increased enrollments and increased enrollment rates across higher education institutions. Higher education continues to expand globally, particularly in developing countries. This global expansion occurs due to economic expansion in a post-World War 2 era. Philip Altbach writes, “Expansion in Africa has also been rapid, with the postsecondary student population growing from 21,000 in 1960 to 437,000 in 1983...”. Particularly, higher education became a focus of governments. As these institutions came to be viewed as a place to create and drive economic growth, higher education began to expand.

However, it is the effect of expansion that the sociology of higher education is more concerned with. One key effect of this expansion is increased access to higher education—if higher education is expanding, access would naturally increase as well. However, even as access increases, inequality does not necessarily decrease. In fact, in places like the United States, elite institutions grow in their exclusivity while other institutions remain searching for students. Moreover, even though enrollment has increased, faculty and advisers have not matched this expansion. Yet, students continue to enroll as they view higher education as the next step for developing professionally, rather than to become an “educated elite”.

- 
- What is neoliberalism?
 - Free-market capitalism, economic liberation, etc.
 - Privatization of Higher Education
 - Rising tuition costs
 - Competition over students
 - Marketing of institutions
 - Decreases in federal spending



Neoliberalism in Higher Education

The final topic of interest in this module is the neoliberalism in higher education. Neoliberalism refers to ideas of free market capitalism that came to dominate in the 1980s. With the rise of neoliberalism in the American government and American consciousness, it also came to affect higher education. Another way to conceptualize neoliberalism in higher education, is to use the term privatization. Higher education institutions became private goods, since they could offer some private benefit (professional training, preferable marital prospects, higher earnings, etc.). This has led to a number of different consequences. As public funding from the government decreases, tuition rates increase. This is doubly affected, as institutions not only deal with the loss of public funding, but of rising costs as expansion continues to happen. The clamor for revenue also results in a competition over students, leading to higher education marketing themselves as a good to attract tuition-paying students. Rankings, prestige, and other shiny promises take the forefront of marketing while other parts of the university are left unattended. Neoliberalism, alongside expansion, pose many questions that the sociology of higher education continues to wrestle with today.

With the first module only being an introduction, many questions are posed. Will the expansion of higher education around the world ever stop? How do we deal with the rising levels of stratification and inequality in higher education? How will higher education change in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic? Though these questions are dealt with in other modules, the answers are not always clear. Still, the sociology of higher education offers compelling pathways to answer these questions, and we strive to answer these questions that are not only theoretical, but practical and vital to the health of higher education.

Theories in the Sociology of Higher Education

By Abigail Koerner



I. Introduction

The sociology of higher education is the discipline within the field of sociology which seeks to understand the development, structure, and function of higher education¹. Importantly, the sociology of higher education intentionally departs from the sociology of education². Although social scientists have studied education for the past century, the focus of this work was on primary education until the massification of higher education occurred after World War II³. In the 1960s, the study of the sociology of higher education became distinct: it began to explore education inequality and the social and psychological effects of education beyond secondary school⁴.

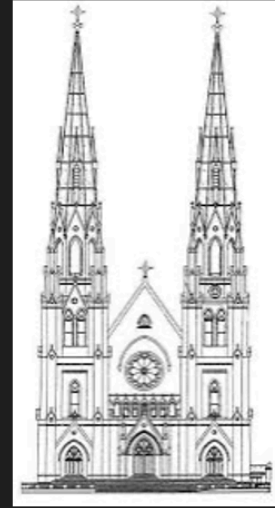
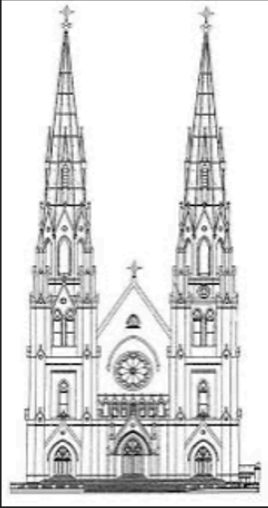
¹ Malcolm Tight (2014) Discipline and theory in higher education research, *Research Papers in Education*, 29:1, 93-110.

² Clark, B. R. (2007) Development of the Sociology of Higher Education. In Gumport, P. J. (ed.) *Sociology of Higher Education*. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2.

³ Clark, B. R. (2007) Development of the Sociology of Higher Education. In Gumport, P. J. (ed.) *Sociology of Higher Education*. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 3.

⁴ Kauppinen I. (2019) Sociological Perspectives on Higher Education Research. In: Teixeira P., Shin J. (eds) *Encyclopedia of International Higher Education Systems and Institutions*. Springer, Dordrecht.

Defining The Sociology of Higher Education:



The field of research within the discipline of Sociology which explores

1. "Three basic problems: social stratification, social reproduction, and the legitimation of knowledge" (Stevens, Armstrong, Arum)
2. Development, structure, and function of higher education.

AJK

Sociological Perspectives on Higher Education Research

Ilkka Kauppinen
Institute of Higher Education, University of Georgia, Athens, GA, USA

Synonyms

[Sociology of higher education](#)

Definition

The sociological perspective is a perspective on human life, social interaction between individuals and groups, how these are conditioned by social structures or a society as a whole, and how social interaction in turn maintains or transforms these social conditions. Sociological perspectives may focus on people's attitudes, beliefs, values, ways of feeling and acting in social space, but also on social institutions, relations and organizations, or race and ethnicity, social class, and gender.

Discipline and theory in higher education research

Malcolm Tight*

Lancaster University, Lancaster, United Kingdom

(Received 18 June 2012; final version received 7 September 2012)

Higher education research is, by its nature, rather an introspective field of study. It is also highly dispersed within and beyond the academy: inherently, therefore, it is a multidisciplinary field of study. An analysis of 567 articles published in 15 leading higher education journals in 2010 demonstrates both the breadth of interest in higher education research across the academy, and variations between disciplines in the themes researched, the methods and methodologies employed and the theoretical perspectives applied. Examples of theoretical perspectives drawn from different disciplines and/or developed within higher education research, and applied to researching particular topics, are identified and discussed. It is concluded that the field is both healthy and growing, though, in most countries, it lacks a strong or disciplinary identity.

Keywords: higher education research; discipline; theory

AJK

AJK

Sieve, Incubator, Temple, Hub: Empirical and Theoretical Advances in the Sociology of Higher Education

Mitchell L. Stevens,¹ Elizabeth A. Armstrong,² and Richard Arum³

¹Department of Humanities and Social Sciences in the Professions, Sternberg School of Culture, Education and Human Development, New York University, New York, New York 10003; email: mstevens@stern.nyu.edu

²Department of Sociology, Indian University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405; email: eam@indiana.edu

³Department of Sociology, New York University, New York, New York 10003; email: riarum@stern.nyu.edu

Key Words

higher education, stratification, educational homogeneity, social networks, globalization

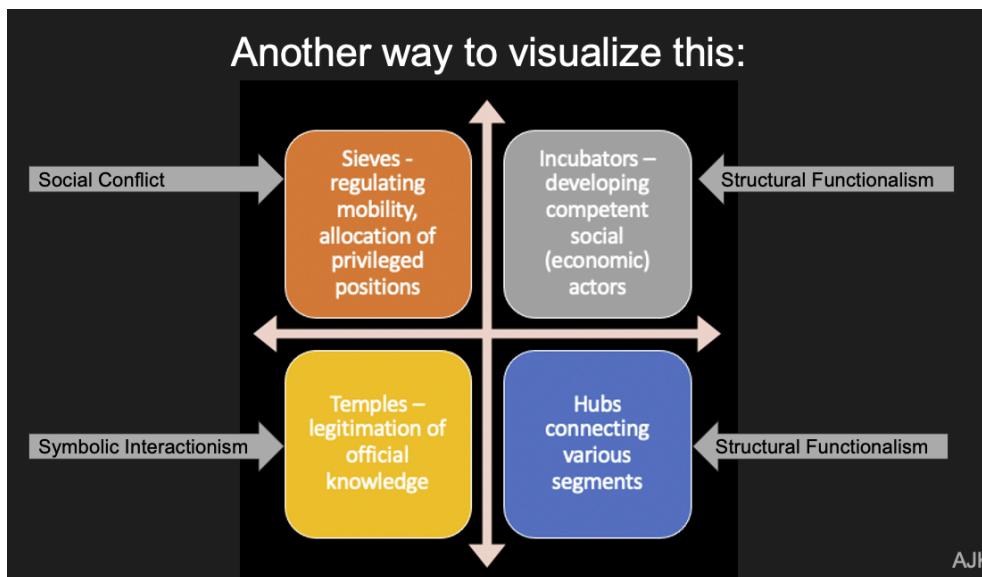
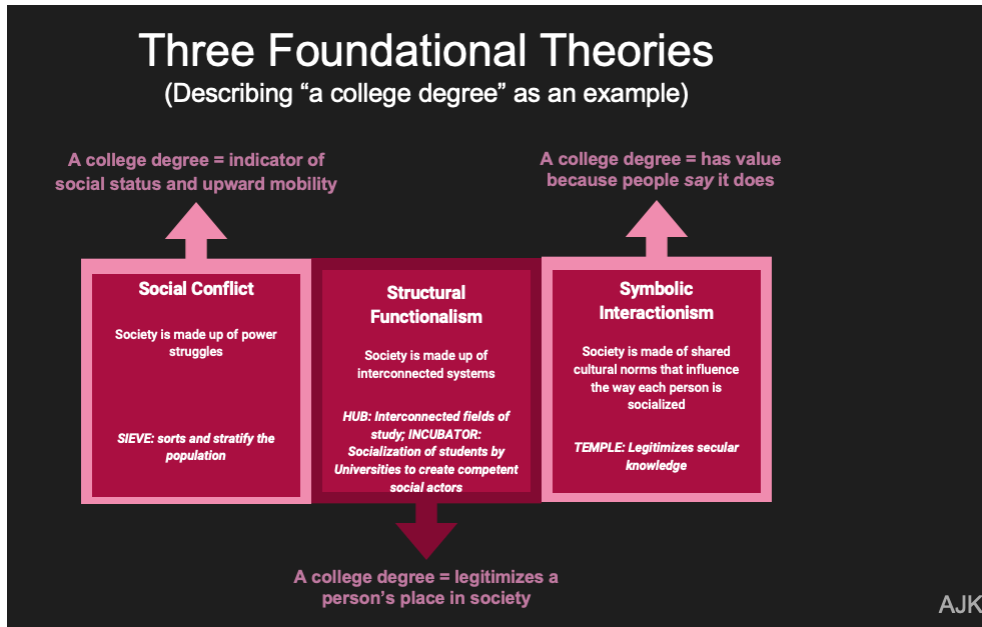
Abstract

Higher education lacks an intellectually coherent sociology: varied research on colleges and universities is dispersed widely throughout the discipline. This review initiates a critical interrogation of this scholarship. We argue that sociologists have conceived of higher education systems as screens for sorting and stratifying populations, incubators for the development of competent social actors, temples for the legitimation of official knowledge, and hubs connecting multiple institutional domains. Bringing these lines of scholarship together facilitates new theoretical insights and research questions.

AJK



More specifically, this relatively new field of study explores “three basic problems: social stratification, social reproduction, and the legitimation of knowledge.”⁵ Each of these three issues are best described within the field by classical sociological theory. To illustrate these grand theories— social conflict theory, structural functionalism, and symbolic interactionism— which drive the sociology of higher education, Harvard University can be used as a case study.




⁵ Mitchell L. S., Armstrong, E. A., & R. Arum (2008) Sieve, Incubator, Temple, Hub: Empirical and Theoretical Advances in the Sociology of Higher Education *Annual Review of Sociology* Vol. 34: 127-151

II. Social Conflict Theory

The issue of social stratification is addressed in the sociology of higher education through the lens of Marxist social conflict theory: the idea that society is socially stratified and competition oriented. Indeed, scholars in the sociology of higher education identify educational institutions as a “sieve”⁶ which further sorts and stratifies the existing social hierarchy. Higher education exists in society as a perceived mechanism for social mobility. Societal hierarchy is strengthened by institutions of higher education as college degrees are seen to elevate the class status of individuals who attain them.

Social Conflict Theory



Basics:

- Universities function in the interest of **dominant groups**
- **Meritocracy** = Organizational ideology enhances the position of the powerful; legitimizes inequality and the unequal distribution of resources

Assumptions:

- Preference for the **dominant class** is codified in the **structure, processes, and curriculum** of of Institutions of Higher Education

Shoutout Karl Marx!

AJK

Since 1636, Harvard University has played a role in the influence of higher education on societal norms and the social hierarchy. Despite welcoming an increasingly diverse undergraduate student body today, Harvard’s legacy is complicated and complicit in the exclusion of disadvantaged groups. Indeed, before the United States of America became a sovereign nation, Harvard University was a beacon of knowledge and privilege: the elite and wealthy in young American society could access the immense social capital attached to a Harvard education. Until the mid 20th century, wealthy white men were the only social group with access to such education, thus perpetuating American cultural values regarding race, class, and standards for education. Harvard’s continued exclusivity in admissions (although now, this exclusivity can be tied to its acceptance rate rather than discriminatory selection processes) continually perpetuates divides in educational attainment and social mobility. Even if Harvard’s student body is diverse at this point in history, its legacy is tainted with elitism and its lingering association with the dominant class.


⁶ Mitchell L. S., Armstrong, E. A., & R. Arum (2008) Sieve, Incubator, Temple, Hub: Empirical and Theoretical Advances in the Sociology of Higher Education *Annual Review of Sociology* Vol. 34: 127-151

Social conflict theory suggests that Harvard is an institution of higher education which defines and perpetuates the social hierarchy. No matter the background of modern students, Harvard's successful brand places students in as a "sieve" which elevates their social status to the level of generations of elite students who established Harvard's place in the world.

III. Structural Functionalism

Secondly, structural functionalism describes the problem of "social reproduction."⁷ Through the lens of this guiding theoretical idea that society is made up of interconnected systems, institutions of higher education are a socialization mechanism which yields human capital. As people pursue higher education, they are socialized by the university they attend to become competent social actors for society. As such, institutions of higher education are deeply interconnected with other institutions related to fields of study, occupations, and societal needs. Internally, universities act as "hubs"⁸ for interconnected fields of study: the structure of higher education itself requires interconnectedness.

Structural Functionalism



Basics:

- Universities function as an incubator for **social capital**
- Education is necessary to create **social cohesion** and **moral unity**
- Education helps to maintain a democratic society for all → education can create equity in society

Assumptions:

- The idea that **meritocracy** drives organization → people are successful based on **hard work/ talent** and not the social status they were born into
- **Equal opportunity** is independent of race, class, and gender
- Educational institutions are the most influential in the meritocratic selection process

Credit due to Durkheim! AJK

This theory can be applied directly to Harvard University's liberal arts style undergraduate pedagogy. At Harvard, each student is a part of one large hub of many different interconnected disciplines which work together to socialize students and create meaningful human capital. One cannot study the liberal arts without the interconnectedness of each field of study, nor experience success without the interconnectedness of institutions. Emile Durkheim's defined education as "a collection of practices and institutions that have been organized slowly in the course of time, which

⁷ Mitchell L. S., Armstrong, E. A., & R. Arum (2008) Sieve, Incubator, Temple, Hub: Empirical and Theoretical Advances in the Sociology of Higher Education *Annual Review of Sociology* Vol. 34: 127-151


⁸ Mitchell L. S., Armstrong, E. A., & R. Arum (2008) Sieve, Incubator, Temple, Hub: Empirical and Theoretical Advances in the Sociology of Higher Education *Annual Review of Sociology* Vol. 34: 127-151

are comparable with all the other social institutions and which express them, and which, therefore, can no more be changed at will than the structure of society itself.”⁹ Durkheim’s view on education is representative of the driving ideas of structural functionalism: institutions of higher education are deeply interconnected and socially embedded in society. His work values education as a way to establish a cultural sense of morality and social order.

IV. Symbolic Interactionism

Lastly, symbolic interactionism describes the “legitimization of knowledge.” This theory suggests that society is composed of shared cultural norms which are disseminated through education. In this way, higher education functions as a public good and students function as both consumers and partners in the business of knowledge. Within this context, institutions of higher education act as a “temple” for secular scholarship wherein students are socialized in each respective institution’s interpretation of societal norms and culture. Thus, cultural norms dictate the societal value of higher education— i.e. college education is valuable simply because society says it is.

Symbolic Interactionism



Basics:

- Higher education functions as a public good → Students are consumers and partners in the biz
- Describes the way that culture is created and diffused
- Challenges/ critiques functionalist and conflict theories: seeks to understand human agency vs deterministic social structure
- Temple symbolism

Assumptions:

- Meanings change over time as patterns of social interaction change
- Cultural norms dictate the societal value of higher education

AJK

Symbolic interactionism can also be described by the metaphor of institutions of higher education as a temple. As Stevens, Armstrong, and Arum write, "With its modernist commitment to the idea of knowledge as a transcendent, substantive value and its ability to bless the legitimacy of multiple institutional hierarchies, the university acts in the manner of a religious institution. Like any religious concern, it needs resources to survive, but it tends to carry out resourceful

⁹ Clark, B. R. (2007) Development of the Sociology of Higher Education. In Gumpert, P. J. (ed.) *Sociology of Higher Education*. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 4.

transactions with symbolic safeguards for protecting what the university calls sacred.”¹⁰ In the case of institutions of higher education, social norms for patronage, private donations, and rituals replicate that of religious institutions. The major difference between each sort of educational institution is the ideology viewed as sacred. For institutions of higher education, sacred ideology separates from Christian faith to instead, essentially worship secular knowledge.

It is important to note that many modern institutions of higher education in America were founded by monastic schools or for the purposes of a Cathedral site— the symbolism of the university as a temple is quite literal in these cases. Harvard University was named for John Harvard, who was a minister in Charlestown, MA. Indeed, the institution itself has its origins as a Puritan and Congregationalist institution and provided training for ministers since it was established as the first institution of higher education in America in 1636. Then, Harvard’s theological focus legitimized the university internationally, allowing it the success it has had over the past four hundred years. Harvard’s status as an elite institution has not changed— even as religion has become less visibly appreciated in American culture. Harvard’s age, prestige, and legitimizing religious roots all contribute to its status and symbolism as a temple for secular knowledge across the globe.

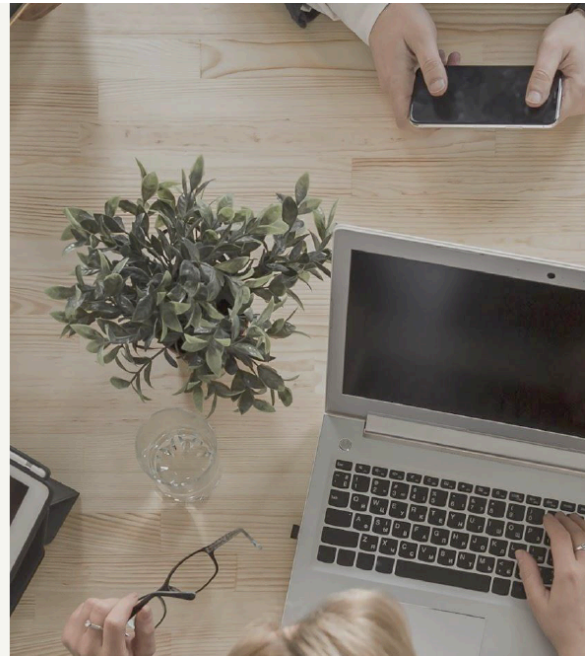
¹⁰ Mitchell L. S., Armstrong, E. A., & R. Arum (2008) Sieve, Incubator, Temple, Hub: Empirical and Theoretical Advances in the Sociology of Higher Education *Annual Review of Sociology* Vol. 34: 127-151

The study of colleges and universities as organizations

By Allison Lee

Key Ideas

- 01 History and Origins
- 02 Organization Models
- 03 Governance
- 04 Finances



The Origin of Universities

The modern university can be traced back to the 19th century. Cardinal Newman proposed the “idea of a university.” More specifically, Newman wrote the university is the “high protecting power of all knowledge and science, of fact and principle, of inquiry and discovery, of experiment and speculation; it maps out the territory of the intellect and sees that... there is neither encroachment nor surrender on any side” (Kerr, 2001, p.2). In the 1850s, the “university” transformed into the “modern university.” Abraham Flexner described the “modern university” as an institution serving the greater society; “an expression of the age, as well as an influence operating upon both present and future” (Kerr, 2001, p.3). The modern university interacts with the environment and prioritizes the pursuit of knowledge.

During the 1930s, with the increase of budgets, buildings, faculty, and research projects spanning the globe, universities transformed into the institution we know today, the “multiversity.” A “multiversity” is defined as an institution that can perform different functions and serve various stakeholders (Kerr, 2001). Kerr further described the intertwining community as “a city of infinite variety. Some get lost in the city; some rise to the top within it; most fashion their lives within one of its many subcultures” (Kerr, 2001, p.31). Different actors govern the multiversity: students (student government), faculty (the authority on courses, exams, faculty appointments), public authorities (lay board in the state universities, a state department of finance, governor), influences (donors, alumni, trade unions), and administration.

Origins

“Idea of a University”

- Newman
- General knowledge
- “Universal liberal man”

“Modern University”

- Flexner
- Institutions not just serving man, but greater society (scientific revolution)

“Multiversity”

- 1930-present

Clark Kerr 2001 The Uses of the University. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press - only Chapter 1 The idea of multiversity

Multiversity

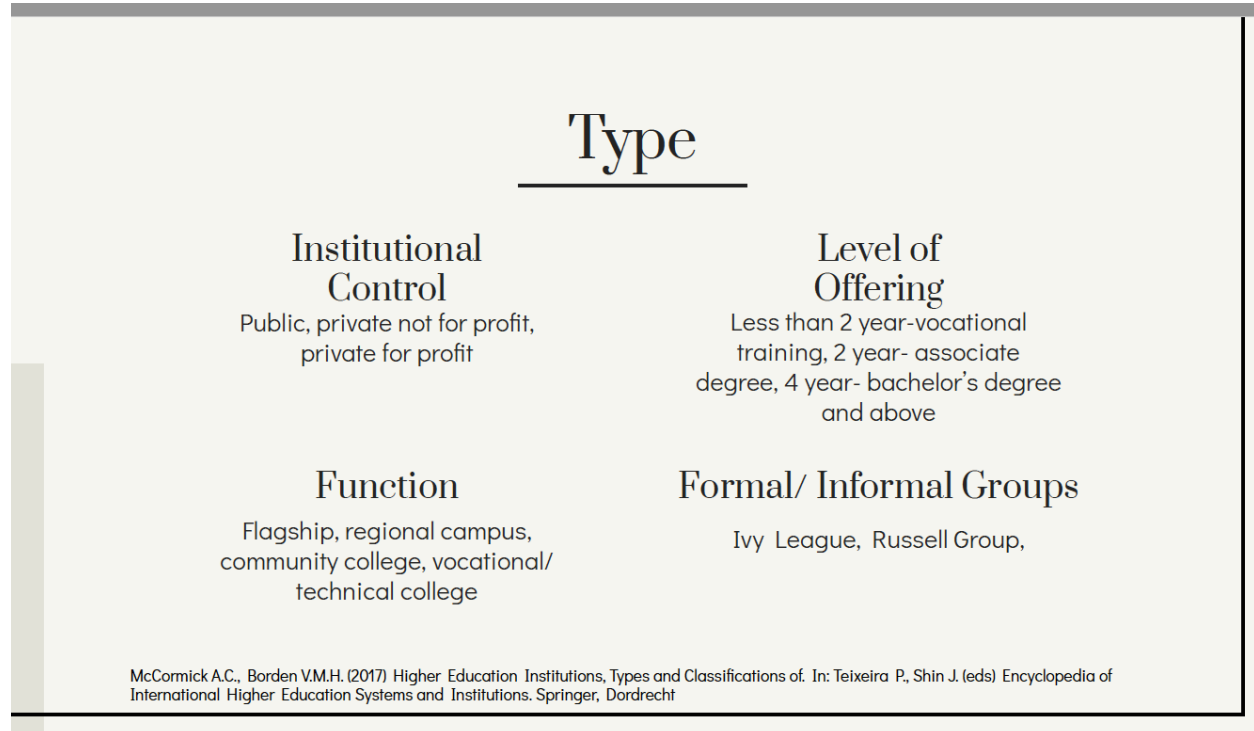
“A city of infinite variety. Some get lost in the city; some rise to the top within it; most fashion their lives within one of its many subcultures.” (31)

“the multiversity is a name. This means a great deal more than it sounds as though it might.” (15)

Clark Kerr 2001 The Uses of the University. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press - only Chapter 1 The idea of multiversity

Organization Models

There are many different ways to classify universities. The Carnegie Classification is one of the most well-known systems. The purpose of creating the classification was to differentiate institutions according to the mission, including doctoral universities, master's colleges and universities, baccalaureate colleges, associate's colleges, special focus institutions, and tribal colleges ("Carnegie Classifications"). Additionally, universities can be classified further into institutional control (public, private), function (community college, technical college), level of offering (vocational, associate degree, bachelor's degree), and formal/ informal groups (Ivy League, Russell Group).



Classification

Model	Definition	Examples
Doctoral Universities	Confers >20 research doctoral or >30 professional doctoral degrees	Harvard University, Princeton, Columbia
Master's Colleges and Universities	Confers >50 master's degrees	Bentley University, Butler University, Rollins College, Trinity University(TX)
Baccalaureate Colleges	Confers majority baccalaureate degrees	Williams College, Amherst College,
Associate's Colleges	Confers only associate degrees	Cooper Union, Harvey Mudd College
Special Focus Institutions	Confers degrees in one main field	North Central Kansas Technical College, State Technical College of Missouri
Tribal Colleges	Member of AIHEC	Dine College, Sitting Bull College

The Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education

CARNEGIE CATEGORY	U. S. NEWS CATEGORY
Doctoral Universities "very high research activity," Doctoral Universities "high research activity" and Doctoral/Professional Universities	National Universities
Master's Colleges and Universities (larger programs), Master's Colleges and Universities (medium programs), and Master's Colleges and Universities (smaller programs)	Regional Universities: North, South, Midwest and West
Baccalaureate Colleges—Arts and Sciences Focus	National Liberal Arts Colleges
Baccalaureate Colleges—Diverse Fields, Baccalaureate/Associate's Colleges: Mixed Baccalaureate/Associate's Colleges and Baccalaureate/Associate's Colleges: Associate's Dominant	Regional Colleges: North, South, Midwest and West

<https://www.usnews.com/education/best-colleges/articles/ranking-category-definitions>

Governance

Governance refers to the act of overseeing institutions' power, control, decision-making, and influence¹¹. Shared governance refers to the “shared participation in decision making among academics and administrators” (Rhoades, 2018, p.1). Shared governance spans national and international contexts. In the United States, shared governance involves “(a) faculty participation in governance through joint effort with the administration, and (b) primary role of faculty/professors in academic areas, such as curriculum, academic appointments, and promotion and tenure of faculty” (Rhoades 2018, p.2). In the international context, there are three main influences on the university: the profession, the state, and the market. Because of globalization, the impact on universities expanded from just professors/ administration to “global, national, and local agencies” (Rhoades, 2018, p.4).



Governance

- Students
- Faculty
- Public authority
- Influences- external and semi-external
- Administration

Clark Kerr 2001 *The Uses of the University*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press - only Chapter 1 The idea of multiversity

¹¹ *Definition of GOVERNANCE*. (n.d.). Retrieved December 9, 2020, from <http://www.merriam.webster.com/dictionary/governance>

Shared Governance

“Shared participation in decision making among academics and administrators”

Rhoades G. (2018) Shared Governance, Higher Education Institutions. In: Teixeira P., Shin J. (eds) Encyclopedia of International Higher Education Systems and Institutions

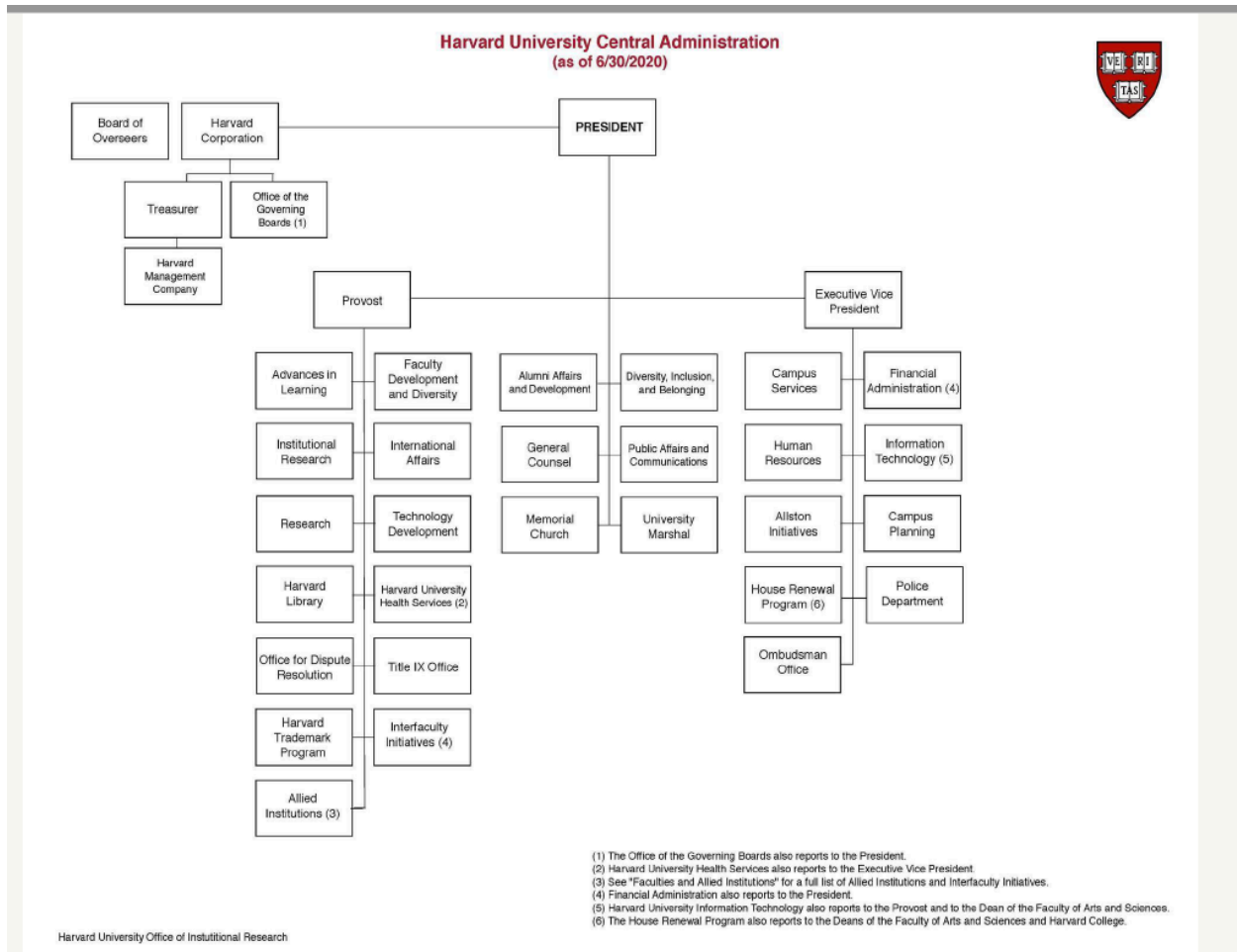
USA Context

- 1) “Faculty participation in governance with administrators
- 2) Role of faculty/ professors in academic areas (curriculum, academic appointments, and promotion/ tenure of faculty”

International Context

The profession, state, and market

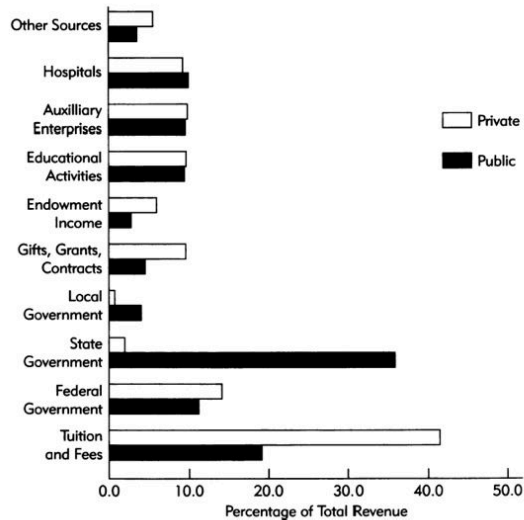
Rhoades G. (2018) Shared Governance, Higher Education Institutions. In: Teixeira P., Shin J. (eds) Encyclopedia of International Higher Education Systems and Institutions



Finances

The type of funding initially distinguished public and private institutions; however, these lines are becoming more blurred. These institutions are now characterized by the “degree of control on matters of finance that is exercised beyond the campus” (Barr, 2002, p.22). There are many sources of financial support for higher education: state-appropriated funds, tuition, mandatory student fees, special student fees, endowment income, fundraising, grants/ contracts, auxiliary services, special programs, contracted institutional services, church support, state capital budgets, federal capital support, and other sources of income (Barr, 2002).

Figure 1.2. Percentage Comparison of Sources of Income for All Public and Private Institutions in the United States.¹



Adapted from the data of the National Center for Educational Statistics (1997) [<http://www.nces.ed.gov>]
 1. Total revenues do not sum to 100 percent due to rounding.

Public vs Private Institutions

Barr, M (2002) Money, Money, Money (Chapter 1, p.1- 28) in Academic administrators' guide to budgets and financial management. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Discussion

In the class discussion, we reflected on two critical questions: (1) What gives value to the Harvard degree, and how does this reflect the purposes/ values? How does this change in COVID-19? (2) What types of colleges/ universities can we expect after COVID-19? In response to the first question, we discussed the importance of the Harvard brand, legacies, traditions, power, prestige, selectivity, and admissions. In the pandemic, students value the connections between people; some may value the Harvard degree less. In response to the second question, two possible scenarios were posed: (1) alternative forms of education are more widely accepted (2) increased demand for traditional residential education. In this second scenario, elite universities may have a monopoly over this “traditional campus.” These two questions are essential to keep in mind when thinking about the future of colleges and universities.

Discussion Questions

- 1) What gives value to the Harvard degree and how does this reflect the purposes/values? How does this change in COVID-19?
- 2) What types of colleges/ universities can we expect after COVID-19?
 - a) Online alternative form or traditional residential?



Klemenčič M. (2020) Alternative Higher Education. In: Teixeira P., Shin J. (eds) Encyclopedia of International Higher Education Systems and Institutions. Springer, Dordrecht. Who Leads Colleges After COVID-19?: <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2020/09/09/what-college-presidents-say-about-leading-covid-19-era>

Works Cited

- Barr, M (2002) Money, Money, Money (Chapter 1, p.1- 28) in Academic administrators' guide to budgets and financial management. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Carnegie Classifications | Basic Classification. (n.d.). Retrieved December 9, 2020, from https://carnegieclassifications.iu.edu/classification_descriptions/basic.php
- Kerr, C. (2001). The Uses of the University. Cambridge; Massachusetts; London; England: Harvard University Press. Chapter 1: The Idea of a Multiversity.
- Rhoades G. (2018) Shared Governance, Higher Education Institutions. In: Teixeira P., Shin J. (eds) Encyclopedia of International Higher Education Systems and Institutions.

Higher education systems, markets and global knowledge systems

By Starr Rhee



Central Questions

- What types of higher education systems exist?
- What are the characteristics- strengths and weaknesses- of higher education markets?
- What are the trends in the higher education industry?
- What is the role of higher education in global knowledge systems?

Module 4 covers higher education systems, markets, and global knowledge systems. This unit asks, what types of higher education systems exist? What are the characteristics- the strengths and weaknesses- of higher education markets? What are the trends in the higher education industry? And what is the role of higher education in global knowledge systems? In order to answer these questions, we must first define several key terms. First, “higher education systems” refers to the “entirety of actors, bodies, and organizations that regulate, organize and deliver higher education at national or subnational level.”¹² Second, “marketization” refers to “the process whereby the provision of a good or service is organized as if it were an economic market,”¹³ in essence, where “demand and supply for a particular product is balanced through the price mechanism.”¹⁴ Third, “neoliberalism” may be defined as, “Market-oriented reform policies such as eliminating price controls, deregulating capital markets, lowering trade barriers and reducing

¹² Klemencic, Manja. Week 4 Slides. “Study of higher education systems and markets and higher education as industry.”

¹³ Brown, Roger. (2018) Markets and Marketization in Higher Education. In: Teixeira P., Shin J. (eds) Encyclopedia of International Higher Education Systems and Institutions. Springer, Dordrecht.

¹⁴ Ibid.

state influence in the economy, especially through privatization and austerity.”¹⁵ Finally, “knowledge systems” may be defined as, “actors and institutions involved in knowledge production, conservation, transmission, application.”¹⁶

Key Terms

- Higher education systems
 - “Entirety of actors, bodies, and organizations that regulate, organize and deliver higher education at national or subnational level”
 - “Structure and organization of HE institutions within a specific political or geographic setting”
- Marketization
 - “Demand and supply for a particular product is balanced through the price mechanism”
 - “The process whereby the provision of a good or service is organized as if it were an economic market”
- Neoliberalism
 - “Market-oriented reform policies such as eliminating price controls, deregulating capital markets, lowering trade barriers and reducing state influence in the economy, especially through privatization and austerity”
- Knowledge systems
 - “ Knowledge systems encompass other actors and institutions involved in knowledge production, conservation, transmission, application”

To answer the first question, what types of higher education systems exist, we must turn to Jungblut and Maassen who provide a comprehensive overview of types of higher education systems. Initially, higher education institutions were “denominationally anchored,”¹⁷ but over the course of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, higher education began to secularize and have more state control. This shifted the types of higher education systems that emerged. Three major models for higher education systems became prevalent. The German Model, or the Humboldtian Model, was meant to train German bureaucrats and serve as a source of national pride to display German culture. This institution had an emphasis on research and thus allowed autonomy to many professors in their academic pursuits. The French Model, also known as the Napoleonic Model, made higher education function as a professional school that trained the civil service of the country. This model is very state-controlled and lacks an emphasis on research and discovery. Finally, the British Model was a heterogenous model with many different types of institutions with varying levels of autonomy. Another key system distinction that Jungblut and Maassen point out is horizontal versus vertical organization. In horizontal systems, all institutions serve distinct functions but are fundamentally equal. In vertical systems, different institutions are associated with

¹⁵<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neoliberalism#:~:text=Neoliberalism%20is%20contemporarily%20used%20to,especially%20through%20privatization%20and%20austerity>.

¹⁶ Klemencic, Week 4 slides.

¹⁷ Jungblut, Jens & Peter Maassen. (2017) Higher Education Systems, Types of. In: Shin J., Teixeira P. (eds) Encyclopedia of International Higher Education Systems and Institutions. Springer, Dordrecht, p. 1.

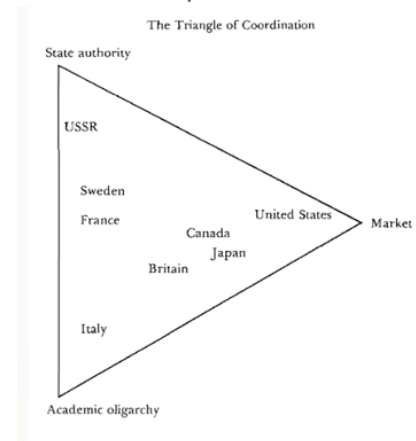
different levels of prestige, and there is a hierarchy between institutions. Fundamentally, systems can be distinguished based on their horizontal or vertical model, whether they are publicly or privately operated, and whether they are government or market driven. Burton Clark sees there being 3 major control mechanism for higher education, state authority, market, or academic oligarchy, and all institutions fall within this “Triangle of Coordination.”¹⁸

What types of higher education system exist ?

Jungblut and Maassen (2017)- Types of Higher Education Systems

- Originally, many universities are “denominationally anchored”
- Secularization in 18th and 19th century → state regulated and funded HE
- German Model (Humboldtian)- Train bureaucrats, symbol of German excellence, research driven, professor autonomy
- French Model (Napoleonic)- Professional schools, train civil service, no research, driven by the state
- British Model- Variety of university types and levels of autonomy
- Horizontal- institutions are different but equal
- Vertical- hierarchy between institutions- different models = different prestige
- System distinctions: horizontal vs. vertical, public vs. private, government regulated vs. market regulated

Clark (1987) The Higher Education System



To answer the second question, what are the characteristics of higher education markets, we must turn to Roger Brown’s “Markets and Marketization in Higher Education.” Brown informs us that there are 6 central components that define a market: 1) Institutional autonomy- institutions are self-governing and can independently enter into contracts. 2) Market entry- that new suppliers can enter the market with relative ease while failing suppliers exit. 3) Supplier sovereignty- suppliers have freedom over the product they offer and the price they offer it at. 4) Consumer sovereignty- consumers have freedom of choice over what to buy and accurate information about products and their quality. 5) Contribution to costs- costs are met by revenue made. 6) Regulation- there is limited government regulation. The problem with higher education is that it fails to meet many of the criteria for a traditional market. For example, there is often times high level of state regulation and intervention, and students often lack quality information as consumer. However, despite some of these drawbacks, some appreciate the marketization of higher education as making higher education more efficient or innovative.

¹⁸ Clark, Burton. (1982) The Higher Education System, Chapter 5 “Integration.”



What are the characteristics of higher education markets?

Brown (2018) Markets and Marketization in Higher Education

- Institutional autonomy- institutions are self-governing who can independently enter into contracts
- Market entry- new suppliers can enter the market, failing suppliers exit
- Supplier sovereignty- freedom over product and price
- Consumer sovereignty- freedom of choice and information about products
- Contribution to costs- costs are met by revenue
- Regulation- limited government regulation
- HE “markets” do not meet many traditional market standards
- Problems: higher education provides a public good, hard to measure quality, bad information, students are not always rational consumers, exacerbates stratification

To answer the third question, what are the trends in the higher education industry, I turned towards higher education consulting firms. First off, the entry of consulting firms into the higher education realm indicates one trend- the entrance of private businesses into the higher education world in order to improve performance and competitiveness. Other trends I noticed across Deloitte and McKinsey’s websites include: COVID-19 and its impact on the future of higher education, the internationalization and continued massification of higher education, the need for innovation and new models in higher education, and the growth of higher education administrations.



What are the trends in the higher education industry?

- Consulting firms- entering field to maximize revenue
 - More and more supplementary private businesses in the higher education world
- COVID-19 → planning for the future, financial impact, change in student plans, remote learning
- Internationalization, continued massification
- Innovation- new types of higher education models
- Growth of higher education administration

Our final question, what is the role of higher education in global knowledge systems, can be answered by Gormitzka & Maassen¹⁹ and van Damme & Van der Wende.²⁰ Gormitzka and Maassen inform us of the emergence of a “knowledge economy” where knowledge and knowledge producers are valuable. Thus, higher education institutions become valuable alongside businesses and research institutions, as they are expected to produce knowledge and innovation on behalf of their countries of origin. Meanwhile, van Damme and Van der Wende highlight the growing tension between global visions and local/ national ones. Should there be open communication and networking between higher education institutions across the globe? Or should higher education institutions protect their knowledge to create a competitive advantage for their country? This piece highlights that there is an international global knowledge economy, and people and ideas are competed for across borders. Now, with online mass education courses, knowledge can be shared in all parts of the globe. However, given this growing internationalization, van Damme and Van der Wende raise the question of whether there ought to be a global governance model to regulate higher education across boundaries.



What is the role of higher education in global knowledge systems?

- Gormitzka & Maassen (2017)
 - Emergence of “knowledge economy” → creating knowledge workers and producing new knowledge
 - Relationship between HE and industry/ businesses/ national research institutions
 - HE institutions as part of national innovation systems within its country
 - Pressure to produce “practical” research
- van Damme and Van der Wende (2018)
 - Globalization vs. localism- open networking/ communication vs. protectionism and serving local/ national interests
 - Global knowledge economy- compete across borders for talent, reputation, and resources
 - Student mobility- most master’s and doctoral studies in US and UK
 - MOOCs- new ways to spread info → all can access or benefit
 - Should there be a global governance model? Regulate market failures and determine standards

This massive theme of higher education systems and global markets might seem incredibly abstract, but it is an ever important and relevant trend in the world of higher education. For example, some have blamed marketization for the United Kingdom’s choice to bring students back

¹⁹ Gornitzka Å., Maassen P. (2017) Higher Education in Knowledge Systems. In: Shin J., Teixeira P. (eds) Encyclopedia of International Higher Education Systems and Institutions. Springer, Dordrecht.

²⁰ Dirk van Damme and Marijk Van der Wende (2018) Global higher education governance. In Handbook on politics of higher education.

to school in person despite health concerns during a pandemic.²¹ Additionally, many schools have seen the fall of liberal arts programs in favor of trade specialization to meet the needs of businesses.²² Both of these real world stories reveal the fact that higher education systems are changing in an ever globalizing world. The pressures of the market are forcing decisions that will keep universities competitive. For better or worse, the marketization of higher education is a reality, and it is one we must grapple with.

Real World Examples

- Marketization seen as factor creating pressures to bring students back to school during a pandemic in the UK-
<https://www.theguardian.com/education/2020/nov/18/how-cash-became-king-at-uk-universities>
- Trend away from the liberal arts and towards career specialization
<https://unewsonline.com/2020/11/why-a-four-year-college-education-rethinking-the-liberal-arts/>

²¹ <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2020/nov/18/how-cash-became-king-at-uk-universities>

²² <https://unewsonline.com/2020/11/why-a-four-year-college-education-rethinking-the-liberal-arts/>

Higher education politics and policies

By Tommy O'Neil

The politics and policies of higher education are something that have been widely researched and talked about in order to truly understand the framework through which schools operate on. To more fully understand this area it's important to first look at the key players involved in the politics and policies that are put into place. First, there are the governmental actors involved which includes the legislative branch, the department of education, and simply the White House in general. The legislative branch plays a key role in passing certain bills or laws that affect higher education, however a lot of the time this legislation will be attached to larger pieces of legislation, and will not function solely on its own. The department of education was created following World War 2 which led to increased involvement in developing education systems. Lastly, an important part to the development of these policies are the foundations, advocacy groups, and think tanks that all play a role in coming up with ideas for higher education as well as working on pushing them through these levels of government.

Key Actors

- **Governmental Actors:** the legislative branch where HE policy will be attached to larger pieces of legislation
- **The Department of Education as well as the WH** - not created until 1979, WW2 led to increased involvement in developing education systems
- **Foundations, Advocacy Groups, and Think Tanks**

The main issues that higher education policies intend to tackle span far and wide but a lot of what they are dealing with is resource allocation. When it comes to allocating resources in the higher education sector a lot of this comes down to state budgets where you have competing interests and not always enough resources to satisfy the needs of each party that's involved. In terms of allocating resources through certain policies this also comes into effect at the university level where institutions make decisions regarding certain programs or departments getting resources over others. This problem can also include faculty budgets which is an especially contentious topic in relation to Covid-19 and the current situation higher education has had to deal

with. In order to allocate resources fairly a lot of the time workforce data is looked at as well as performance indicators in certain areas. Also, real political issues such as economic crisis or rising unemployment can have a large effect on higher education in terms of the preparation that is felt to be needed whether that's due to change in workforce or demand for certain areas of expertise. There can be competition over talent and certain policies that could grant advantage to certain universities as well which leads to disagreement over certain policies or agendas that are trying to be passed.

Main/Prevalent Issues

Resource Allocation (most prominent)

Real political issues - economic crisis, rising unemployment

Politics of globalization

Politics involving stakeholders within higher education - Unions, student politics, university-industry, alumni, philanthropy

In terms of real-world issues or examples of higher education politics and policies that are happening today, one can look towards the bills that have been passed recently in attempts to stimulate the education system. These include the CARES act which was \$14 billion in March 2020 that went towards stimulation of higher education among other things. Another prominent piece was the HEROES act which added another \$20 billion in May of 2020, there have been other bills that have been passed since adding up to an astounding \$132 billion in relief.



Real World Examples

Reaction to Covid-19 through policy implementation

- CARES act which was \$14 billion in March 2020 - goal was to stimulate higher ed situation
- HEROES act - \$20 billion in May 2020
- Others added up to 132 billion

When it came to the references and readings in this chapter that seemed most important to touch on the most cited or consistently claimed to be the most interesting article was the The Top 10 Higher Education State Policy Issues for 2020 piece. This was actually written pre-covid so it presents some issues that would not necessarily be thought of now and allows for different perspectives than the post-covid lens many people are looking through now. A particularly interesting post from the discussion board was Samyra's as the situation with David Kane and his racist debacle had just begun to play out when our class was going over higher education politics. She made a very interesting point about how professors can hide behind the lens of "free speech" even after acts of racism and oppression that affect their students which I viewed as a gross oversight of the power of policies within universities upon first reading it. However, I felt that Manja's response to her post was just as interesting as the post itself where she said what would be the consequences of censorship or limits of free speech on campus? Overall, the module on politics and policies of higher education was a very interesting one that I felt provided me with a brand new understanding of how legislation is passed and the main actors involved in higher education in general.

References/Readings

Most cited reading: Top 10 Higher Education State Policy Issues for 2020 (interesting insights - written pre-covid)

Samyra's post from the discussion board - important response from Manja

Higher education and culture

By Idan Tretout

What is culture?

Culture: society made of shared meanings; ensemble of shared codes; different concepts—values, frames, repertoires, narratives, symbolic boundaries, and Institutions

Is there a perceived culture around college and does it vary from institution to institution?

To understand culture in higher education one must understand what culture is in general. We all come from different backgrounds. Whether you go to a small school in North Dakota or a global school like Harvard we all have different experiences that shape how we come into college. The definition of culture given by Professor Klemencic is a society made of shared meanings; ensemble of shared codes; different concepts—values, frames, repertoires, narratives, symbolic boundaries, and institutions. Higher education is a privilege and we wanted to see if here was a perceived culture around college and does it vary from institution to institution.

College is the “safe route” in our society because of its supposed return on investment through better employment with a college degree. In reality, people learn a lot of what they do in their job through training, not school! We also looked at the rising college loan debt in our country with the rise in college cost. There also has been a surge in underemployed or unemployed graduates. Some quotes given to us from the slides said, “College experience is framed as a set of consumer choices” and, “lifestyle choices are determined by economic realities”.

What makes an institutions culture is the categorization of key student lifestyle choices like taking care of oneself, building relationships, developing unique individual, balance fun and academic. For us as students, we felt that perceptions of Harvard are far from what they really are in reality.

What came up in our conversations about culture in Higher Ed?

Cancel Culture!

1. The internet has changed the way we cancel, and extended cancellations reach.
2. **Cancel culture** refers to the popular practice of withdrawing support for (**canceling**) public figures and companies after they have done or said something considered objectionable or offensive. **Cancel culture** is generally discussed as being performed on social media in the form of group shaming.

Through our discussion posts as well as time in class a large portion was used talking about cancel culture being a large part of the Harvard experience that is not always thought of by researchers. The internet has changed the way we cancel, and extended cancellations reach. Cancel culture refers to the popular practice of withdrawing support for (canceling) public figures and companies after they have done or said something considered objectionable or offensive. Cancel culture is generally discussed as being performed on social media in the form of group shaming.

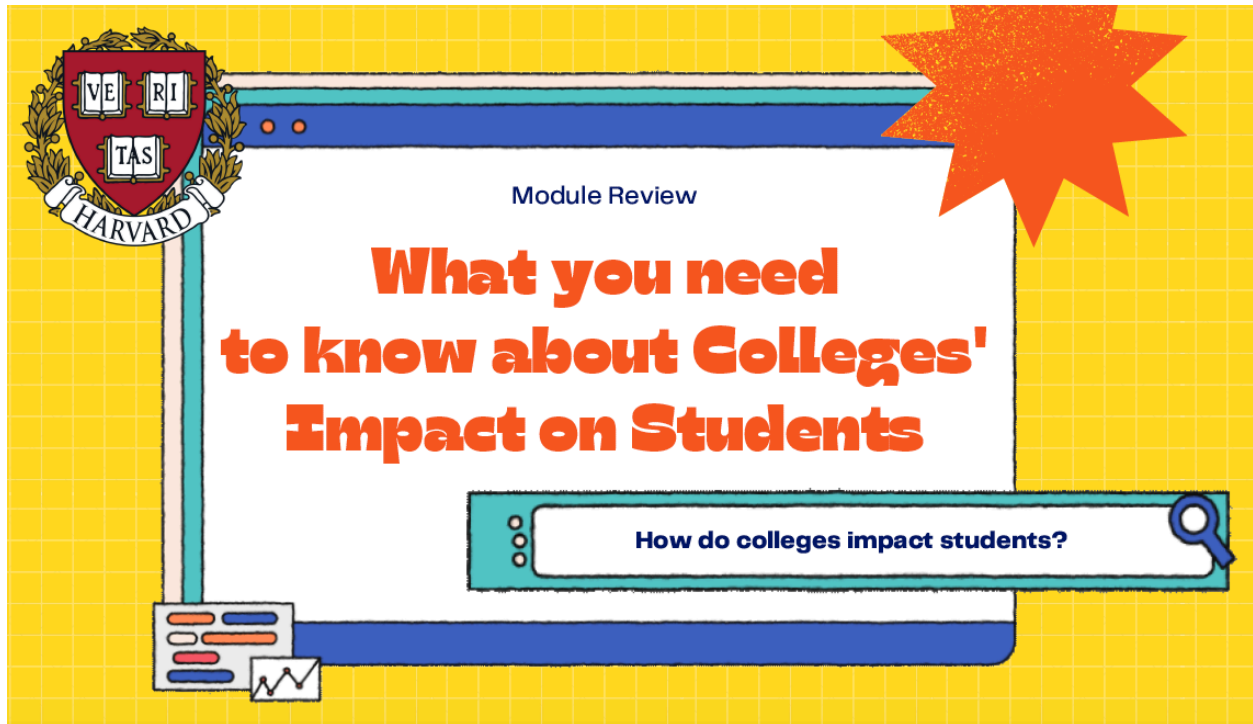
While schools often have a perceived culture whether it be a party school, a studious school, or whatever it is. It's very rare as Manja has said that there is one overarching culture that everyone buys into at one school. This is apparent at Harvard. Some people go to parties every weekend while others have never attended one; those students' experiences will be very different.

One of the articles that stood out to me during this Module was Grigsby's article, "Generalized College Student Culture" where he spoke about students' experiences at colleges in the Midwest. Through his research he is able to say that the students value four things highly, (1) knowing how to take care of yourself, (2) Knowing how to cultivate and manage relationships, (3) developing as a unique individual, (4) Knowing how to balance "having fun". He also saw that for these students that social learning was looked at as "fun" and classroom learning was looked at as "work".

There are two aspects to understanding culture one must look at and they are when viewing culture as a prospective student and researching culture formally. Prospective students try to read into the material they get and tend to rely on personal experiences of students who are already there. When researching culture formally you must be able to measure culture in people, measure culture in objects, measuring culture in social relationships.

Higher education impact on students

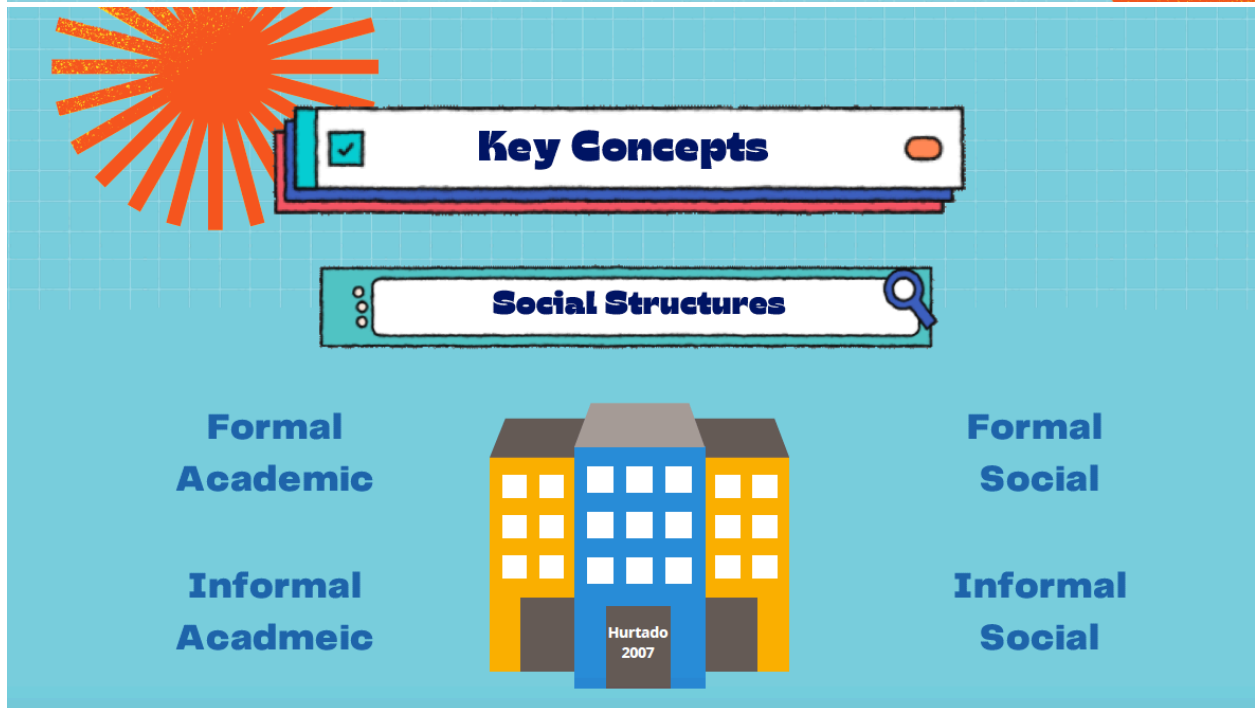
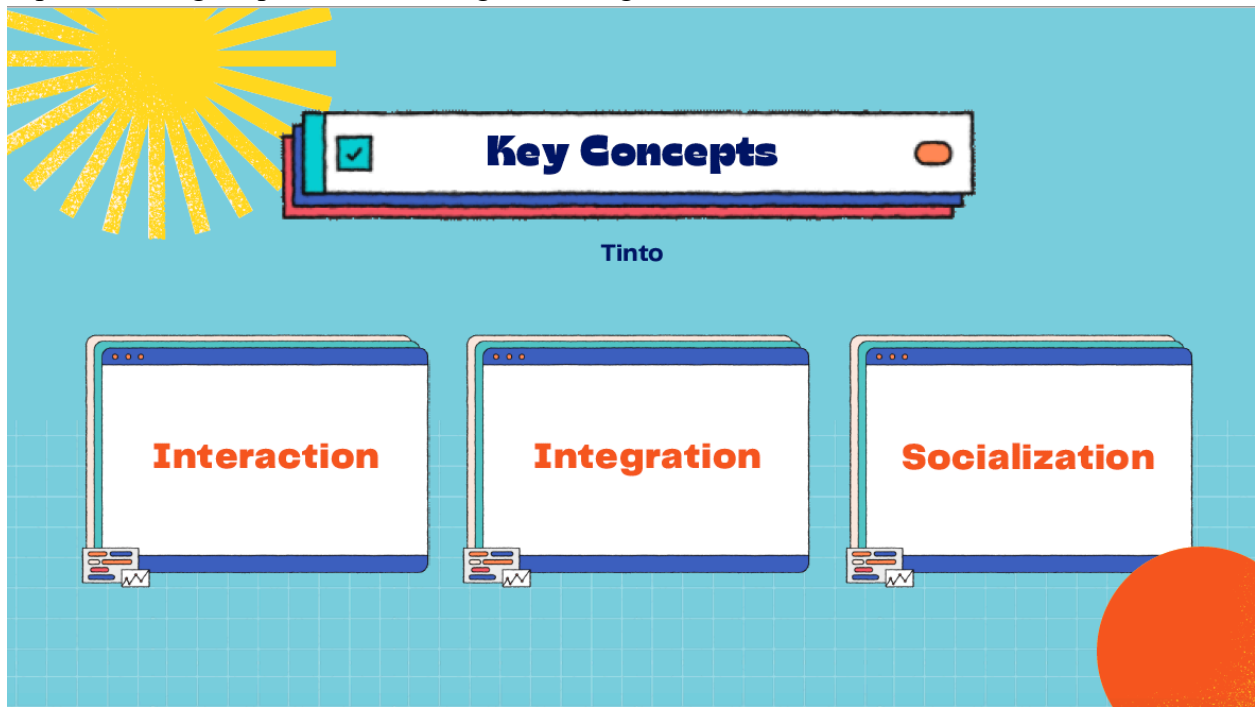
By Samyra Miller & Kevin Ballen



This module – Higher Education Impact on Students – focuses on how various types of institutions and their attributes affect student experiences and outcomes. This topic of higher education’s impacts on students is important to study to make sure that institutions have a clear value add to students. We can learn many times which institutions have supportive learning and living environments, which are often key components of value add of higher education institutions.

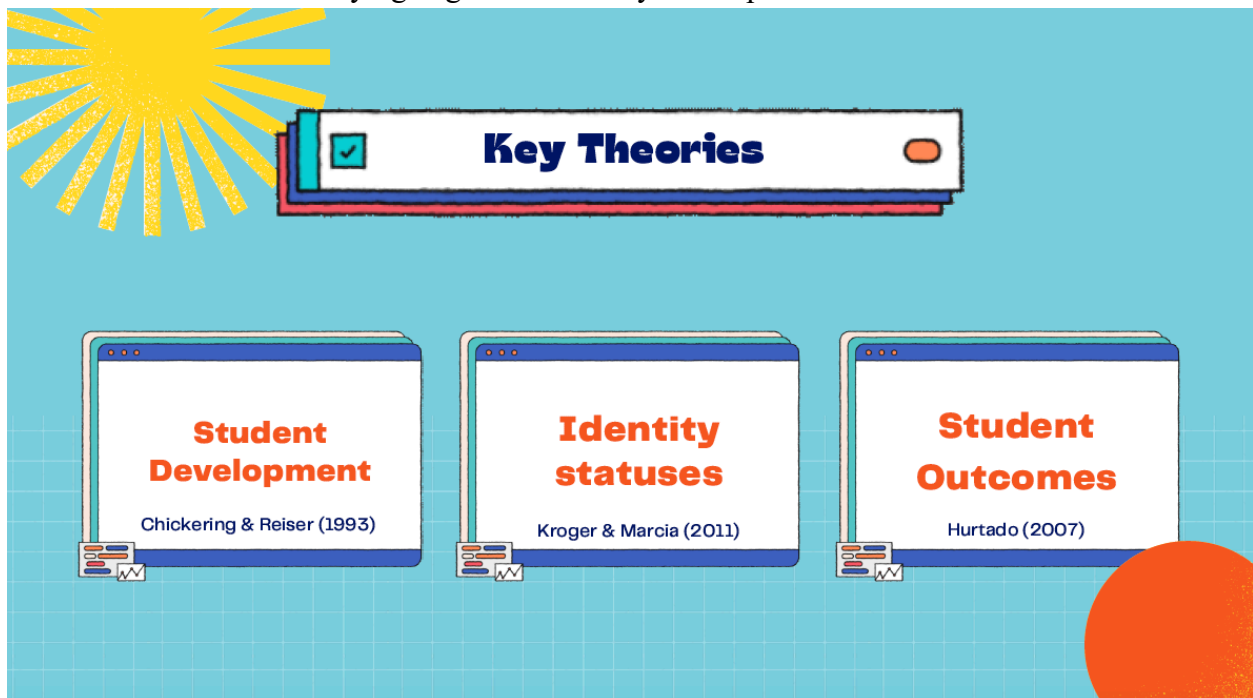
Social and academic structures are at the root of an institution’s impacts on its students. These structures take on both formal and informal roles. Formal academic structures are policies, missions, and departments. Informal academic context is unspoken relationships and rules surrounding academic life, such as dialogue around which classes to or not to take or mentoring relationships between students and faculty. Formal social structures include features like size of the institution or residential structure. Informal social structures are friend groups or student unspoken norms. All of these structures have the potential to create various levels of student experience within the university. Students may just interact with their environment, void of connection. Or, students might integrate – developing connections, assimilating into the culture, aligning with the values of the majority, and assuming the role of studenthood. Socialization describes the process through which someone integrates – and how they develop values and choices. Whether or not someone integrates can lead to them feeling a sense of mattering – being cared about and noticed – or marginalized – feeling on the outside of an environment. This level

of interaction or integration can define a student's mental health, academic experience, social capital building, or persistence throughout college.



A few key theories describe why and how some people integrate and feel a sense of belonging and why others interact and feel more marginalized. Chickering and Reiser describe stages of identity development progressing from managing emotion to developing interpersonal relationships to establishing a sense of identity, purpose, and integrity. Kroger and Marcia showcase a different progression from “identity diffusion” with low commitment to identity all

the way to “identity achievement” with commitment and exploration. Different university environments facilitate varying degrees of identity development.



Hurtado pinpoints three key variables having an impact on student outcomes: size, selectivity, and racial composition. Smaller schools offer more personal interaction with faculty and other students (Hurtado). Larger schools, however, may have stronger social life and many times smaller communities form (like residence halls) to make the environment more tight knit (Hurtado). In terms of college selectivity, more selective institutions might have stratification of wealth and backgrounds – creating divides students from wealthy, high performing schools and students from average or lower income backgrounds and schools (Hurtado). Racial composition is important especially for students of color and black students in particular (Hurtado). Students of color may face more interaction at a predominantly white institution than they might at a historically black college or university (Hurtado). As predominantly white institutions become more diverse very quickly, there is a sense of hostility and discrimination for students of color (Hurtado). A larger mass of individuals from one racial group can help increase the sense of inclusion (Hurtado).

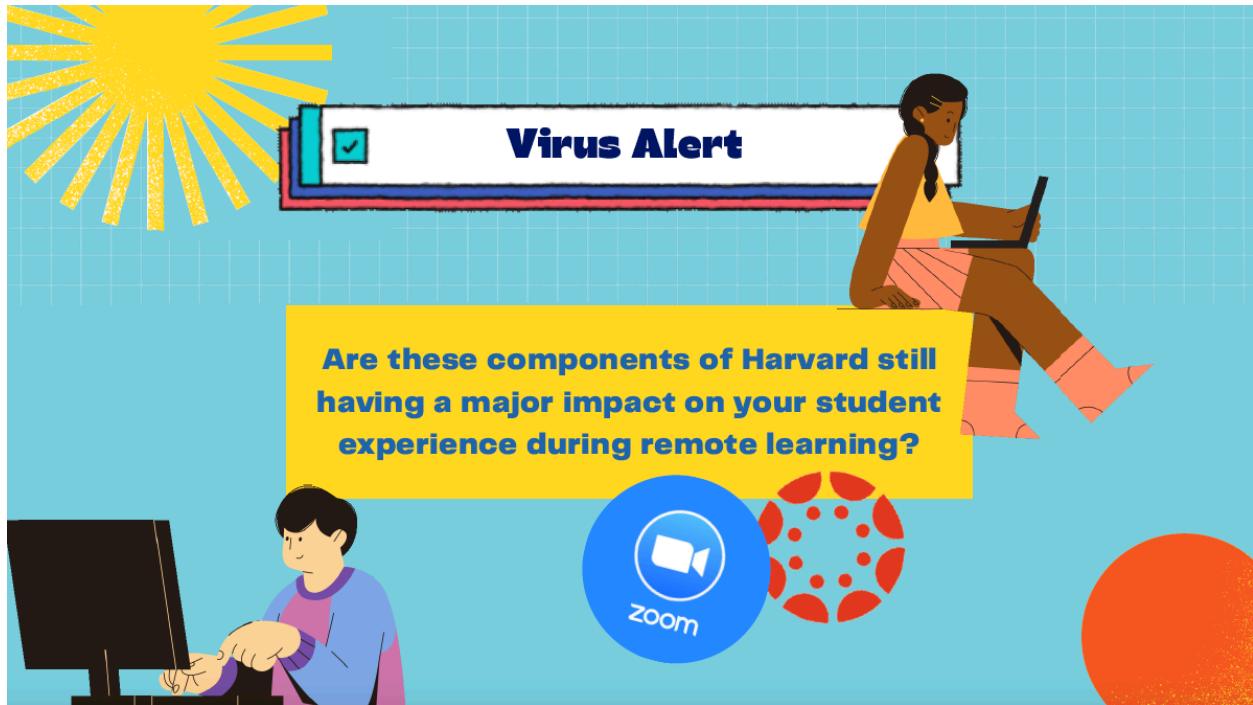


Our classmates, who read this piece by Hurtado, drew many connections to Harvard. Harvard – one of the most selective institutions – certainly creates social stratification on campus. Students from wealthy backgrounds may have more academic training but also additional resources to eat out, join social clubs, and participate in other activities. Even though the university attempts to mitigate for this stratification through common meal and housing plans, disparities seep through. Given that white students make up the largest portion of the population and the institution’s history, this environment can additionally be uncomfortable to students of color, sometimes compounding the social stratification as a result of selectivity.

Harvard is definitely a large institution but is broken down into smaller communities like the house system or student organizations. However, if students are not able to find community in these smaller subsections, they can feel alienated. Let us take Harvard athletes for example: Unlike some other division one schools, Harvard does not offer athletic scholarships, a large incentive for athletes at other colleges and universities. Though they are not offered athletic scholarships, they are highly boosted in the admissions process (Wang). Regardless of this boost, as a result of students having low school spirit and time-consuming schedules, athletics do not play as large of a role in producing or maintaining mass school spirit as it may on other college campuses. Feeling unsupported by non-athletes, athletes may integrate themselves into athletic student culture but not into the overall Harvard student culture. It would be incorrect to say that student athletes do not participate in any or extracurriculars other than their sport, however, their sports are very time consuming, often prohibiting them from participating in everything they want to.

Many of us in our class felt like we interacted with our environment at Harvard, rather than integrating. In our class discussion, we discussed sometimes integrating into a specific environment at the University or a friend group, but not the institution as a whole. In fact, many students disassociate themselves from the University - pretending to attend “a school in Boston”

or recognizing the university's troubled past. Much of this can be seen through Harvard's very low school spirit. It is very interesting that after graduation students will draw themselves close to Harvard names as a token in reaching success, however distance themselves from the Harvard name in the process of getting a degree.



The COVID-19 pandemic in many ways exacerbates some of these challenges. Many of the equalizing factors of living on campus are no longer present. Students might have varying home responsibilities, access to the internet, and varying pandemic lifestyles (for instance, size of your house). A sense of community has felt seemingly lost, and the University can feel much larger and harder to integrate with. However, perhaps size and racial composition play a less crucial role in a remote environment (as you can no longer visibly see your peers). This pandemic has and will continue to impact higher education globally. The literature and studies that are produced as a result of the pandemic will be integral to the sociology of higher education.

While the module was very comprehensive, many components of impact can still be explored. For instance, it would be interesting to look at other attributes of colleges and universities and how they might impact students. Does the type of institution (public vs private vs community college) change the impact on students? Does cost, location, and pre-professional vs liberal arts curriculum change the experience drastically? What components of student experience are most relevant? How do certain factors change academic experience, social experience, and career trajectory? Are each of these domains equally important when colleges and universities make decisions? How do colleges and universities make decisions that might impact students?

Another aspect of impact that could be explored more in-depth is students' impacts on colleges and universities. Students' work, both inside and outside of the classroom, makes a name for themselves and their schools. Students run tours and information sessions to attract the next class of students. Students create, destroy, and uphold social and institutional networks on

campuses. They are integral to the maintenance of both the outward and inward value of college and universities.

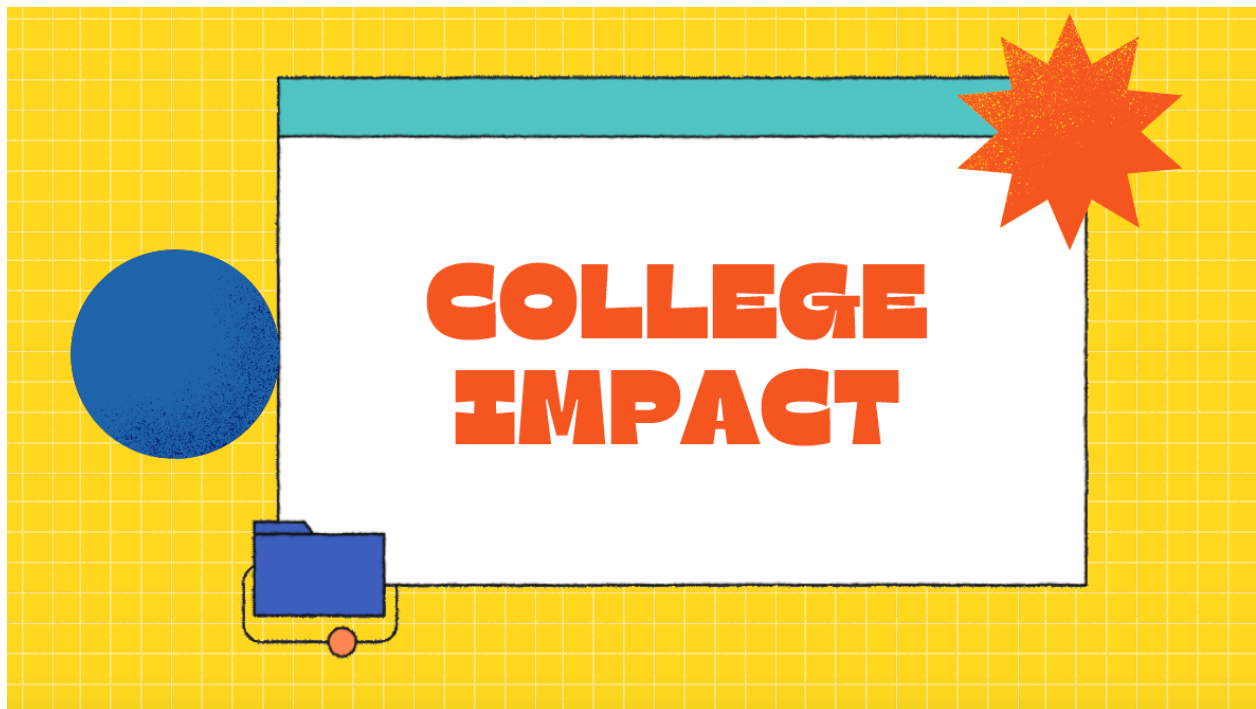
Works Cited

Chickering, A. W. and Reisser, L. (1993). Education and identity. 2nd Ed. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Hurtado, S. (2007) The Study of College Impact. In Gumport, P. J. (ed.) Sociology of Higher Education. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press. (pp. 94-112)

Kroger, Jane & Marcia, James. (2011). The Identity Statuses: Origins, Meanings, and Interpretations. 10.1007/978-1-4419-7988-9_2.

Wang, William L. "Filings Show Athletes With High Academic Scores Have 83 Percent Acceptance Rate: News: The Harvard Crimson." News | The Harvard Crimson, 2018, www.thecrimson.com/article/2018/6/30/athlete-admissions/.



Equity and inequalities, and diversity, inclusion and belonging in higher education

By Romina Lilollari & Samantha Gamble

Higher education institutions in the United States have become increasingly mindful of diversity and the ways that it can improve the quality of education that students receive. This module will explore the ways in which higher education admissions considers diversity when making student selections through the investigation of key concepts such as meritocracy and affirmative actions. It will also explore the different types of educational benefits that diversity creates within the context of higher education. This module will then address issues of equity and inequality within higher education, providing insight into how different types of students experience college in different ways depending on their backgrounds. Finally, this module will explore strategies and best practices for equipping students in higher education institutions with the essential skills to communicate and connect across differences.

How to approach diversity in admissions?

Diversity in Admissions

Access & Choice

Even though more and more students are attending institutions of higher education compared to decades ago, the issues of access and choice are still prevalent when discussing matters of equity within higher education. Access refers to whether a student has any opportunity to attend an institution of higher education. Choice refers to the specific selection that a student has to pick from when deciding to attend an institution of higher education. Throughout the years, more students have had access to higher education. In other words, more students have had the opportunity to attend a college or university, even if it is not of great quality. Scholars must now turn their attention to increasing the choices that students have to choose from so that students of all backgrounds have the opportunity to choose from quality options.

There are three barriers to increasing students' access and choice to higher education institutions: affordability, academic preparation and information. Importantly, there have been some efforts to ease these barriers so that more students can access quality educational options.

For example, federal and state governments have worked on decreasing the cost of college by offering financial assistance such as Pell Grants to students. Some colleges and universities have implemented remedial and development courses so that students feel prepared to take college courses even if they did not have a quality high school education.

Access & Choice of Higher Education

- **Access**: refers to whether a student has the opportunity to attend a higher education institution.
- **Choice**: refers to a student's selection of higher education institutions.
- **Barriers to college access and choice:**
 - **Affordability**
 - **Academic preparation**
 - **Information**

Meritocracy

Meritocracy is the idea that people should be rewarded positions based on their level of ability or achievement, attained through a culmination of hard work. Within the field of higher education, proponents of meritocracy argue that students should receive admission to institutions based on their level of achievement or success. These proponents believe that other factors such as a student's unique experience or identity should not be taken into account. On the other hand, critics of meritocracy raise several issues with the framework. First, meritocracy within education creates an "education arms race" in which wealthier families invest more and more in their children's human capital in order to improve their skills and thus ability to access a top tier college or university. These parents spend money on enrichment activities, tutoring, test prep services, etc. in order to cultivate their children's ability and make them more competitive. Moreover, critics of meritocracy also argue that a perfect meritocratic society cannot exist if people are raised in completely different socioeconomic conditions. Society cannot fairly assess people's skills and abilities since individuals have had access to different amounts of resources to cultivate their talents.



- Idea that people should be rewarded based on their level of ability, attained through their hard work.
 - Higher education: students receive admission based on level of success (other factors like identity not considered)
- Issues with meritocracy:
 - “Education arms race”
 - Does not take into account people’s different social and economic positions.

Affirmative Action

Affirmative action is a practice used within higher education admissions to increase the representation of a specific group of people within the population. For example, many colleges and universities use affirmative action to increase the representation of Black and Latinx students within their student body. This specific higher education policy has faced significant amounts of scrutiny from individuals. Throughout the years, many suits have been filed in court in an attempt to challenge the constitutional validity of the policy. One of the most recent cases, *Students for Fair Admissions, Inc. v. President and Fellows of Harvard College*, involved one organization challenging Harvard’s use of the affirmative action policy. This organization argued that Harvard’s policy discriminated against Asian American applicants and thus should be struck down as unconstitutional. Overall, the courts have upheld the constitutionality of affirmative action on the basis that it was valid for universities to have an interest in promoting diversity since it improved the educational quality of institutions of higher education.

Affirmative Action



- Practice used in higher education admissions designed to increase the representation of a specific group.
 - United States higher education institutions use affirmative action policies to increase representation of Black and Latinx students.
- Many court cases used to challenge the constitutional validity of the policy.
 - Regents of the University of California v. Bakke, Grutter v. Bollinger, Fisher v. University of Texas, Students for Fair Admissions, Inc. v. President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- Constitutional validity upheld because diversity provides educational benefits to students within higher education.

Benefits of Diversity in Higher Education

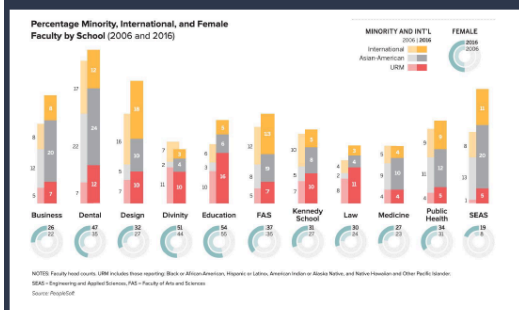
Since the policy of affirmative action is upheld by courts on the premise that diversity improves educational quality, it is necessary to explore the ways in which diversity creates these educational benefits. There are three types of educational diversity: structural, informational interactional and classroom diversity. Structural diversity refers to the numerical representation of diverse groups. In order for a university to have structural racial diversity, it must have different racial groups represented in their student body to an appropriate degree. Informal interactional diversity refers to the frequency and quality of intergroup interactions. In other words, informal interactional diversity focuses on the extent to which different groups of people meaningfully interact with each other on campus through things such as extracurricular activities, campus events, etc. Finally, classroom diversity refers to the extent to which students learn about diverse people through their curriculum and gain experience with diverse peers within the classroom.

Types of Educational Diversity

- **Structural diversity:** numerical representation of diverse groups.
- **Informational interactional diversity:** frequency and quality of intergroup interactions.
- **Classroom diversity:** learning about diverse people and gaining experience with diverse peers in the classroom.

Diversity can impact the quality of education that students receive by influencing the learning and democracy outcomes of these students. Diversity within higher education can improve learning outcomes as exposure to diversity fosters active thinking and personal development among students. Educational diversity can also improve the democratic outcomes of students as students can better participate in a diverse society if they meaningfully participated in a diverse institution. Moreover, these different types of diversity shape these outcomes in different ways and with varying degrees of success. For example, while classroom diversity is important for introducing students to diverse perspectives, informal interactional diversity is usually more important since it exposes students to diverse perspectives through positive day to day interactions.

Does diversity affect the quality of education?



- **Learning outcomes:** exposure to diverse perspectives fosters active thinking and personal development.
- **Democracy outcomes:** students who are educated in diverse institutions will be better able to participate in the diverse society.
- **Classroom diversity not enough to access educational benefits of diversity.**
 - Informational interactional diversity as/usually more important than classroom diversity.

Equity and Inequality in Higher Education Theoretical Framework

In the introductory chapter to their book *Paying for the Party: How College Maintains Inequality*, sociologists Elizabeth Armstrong and Laura Hamilton (2018) propose a theoretical framework to explain how relatively small differences in demographics and individual backgrounds can dramatically impact the future life prospects of any given student. Diagrammed below in Figure 1.1, Armstrong and Hamilton argue that a student’s experiences in college as well as their class trajectories after graduation are fundamentally shaped by the “fit” between their individual characteristics (such as class, race, gender, etc) and the organizational structure of their higher education institution (such as the “pathways” provided for students). This fit can either lead to relative success after graduation or relative failure (Armstrong and Hamilton, 2018).

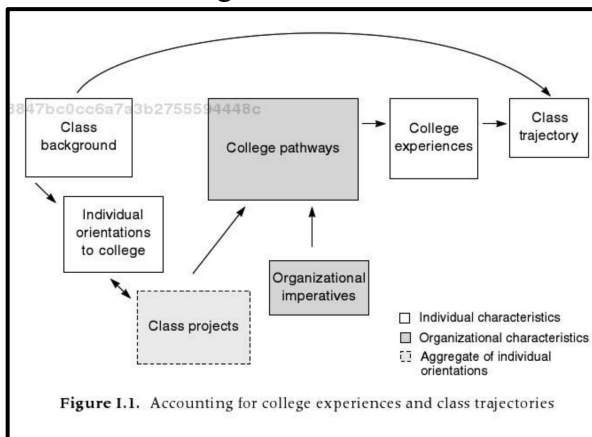
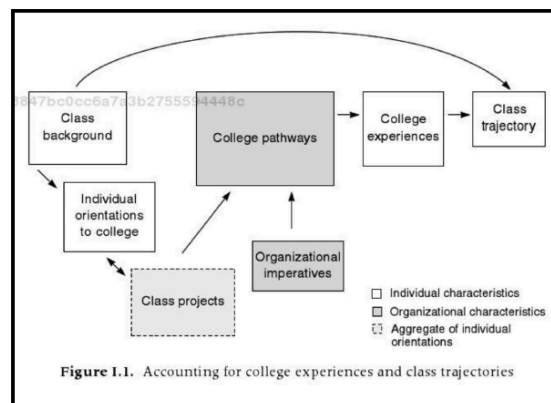


Figure 1.1. Accounting for college experiences and class trajectories

Figure 1.1 (Armstrong and Hamilton, 2018, p. 8).



Armstrong, E. A. and Hamilton, L. T. (2013) *Paying for the Party: How College Maintains Inequality*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. (Introduction)

Theoretical framework: College experiences and class trajectories are shaped by the “fit” between individual characteristics (class/SES, race, gender, family, etc) and the college organizational structure (the pathways provided for students) → this “fit” can lead to success or failure for students

How does diversity actually manifest in higher education?

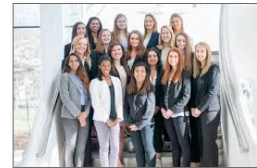
Class Projects

Armstrong and Hamilton (2018) summarize individual students' characteristics in terms of their "class projects," which they define as the concept that students from similar class backgrounds will naturally congregate together to achieve shared goals. This is also known as "class reproduction," and it largely manifests in higher education institutions in three ways: class reproduction through social closure, class mobility, and class reproduction through achievement. Social closure occurs when wealthy students socialize exclusively with each other and are necessarily isolated from less wealthy students. This manifests on college campuses in social activities such as paying sorority or fraternity "dues," eating out, going on spring break vacations, or going out for drinks, among others. The financial barrier separates the wealthy from the less privileged and ensures that wealthy students primarily create friendships, romantic relationships, and professional connections solely with each other, effectively shutting out the less wealthy and furthering the existing inequalities between them.

Class mobility, on the other hand, is the notion that the less wealthy students (such as working class and/or middle class students) view higher education as an opportunity for social mobility. Class mobility is defined by hard work and a dedication to academics, and thus seeks not to reproduce the class status of those students, but help them achieve upward mobility and overcome the barriers of inequality. Finally, class reproduction through achievement describes the set of students who arrive with the specific goal of getting a high-paying or elite job; these students often come from privileged backgrounds where they were able to reach high levels of achievement in high school (such as stellar SAT scores and a top GPA). Unlike the social closure "project," the achievement agenda seeks to reproduce their wealthy class status through professional achievement (Armstrong and Hamilton, 2018).

Class Projects

- ❖ **Class projects:** students from similar class backgrounds naturally congregate together to achieve shared goals
 - Also known as “class reproduction”
- ❖ This happens in 3 main ways:
 - Class Reproduction through Social Closure: when wealthy students socialize exclusively together and **isolate** from less wealthy students
 - Ex: sorority/fraternity “dues,” eating out, spring break trips, going to bars, etc
 - Class Mobility: when working class + middle class students see higher ed as an opportunity for social mobility; defined by hard work
 - Class Reproduction through Achievement: when students arrive with the specific goal of getting a high-paying/elite job; characterized by high SAT/GPA/high school accomplishments



College Pathways

Once these groups of students arrive at their college or university, Armstrong and Hamilton (2018) propose that the higher education institution also has specific “college pathways” carved out to suit the needs of each set of students. For the wealthy and socially-oriented students, there is the Party Pathway. Students who had moderate academic achievement in high school (and often are legacy students) tend to gravitate towards this pathway: they are more interested in making social connections in college than they are in making academic or professional strides. This pathway is generally heavily influenced by Greek life, as the sororities and fraternities provide social spaces and events that the university otherwise would have to provide themselves. Moreover, students who choose this pathway tend not to cost the university very much, as they often can pay full tuition and don’t compete for financial or merit-based aid or scholarships. Thus, higher education institutions often accommodate the party pathway more than they otherwise might; for example, there are usually certain majors at the college or university that are considered “easy” (such as recreation studies, fashion, or communications) and make the party pathway more feasible (Armstrong and Hamilton, 2018). The party pathway further perpetuates the social closure and class reproduction of the elite, deepening the divide between the privileged and the disadvantaged and exacerbating existing inequity.

For the pragmatic and career-oriented students interested in class mobility, there is the Mobility Pathway. This is the most inclusive and accessible of all the pathways; the university structures the mobility pathway to be a “level playing field” where any student could succeed regardless of class background, family support, or generational knowledge. This pathway is therefore characterized by straightforward majors such as nursing, accounting, or teaching

(Armstrong and Hamilton, 2018). The mobility pathway seeks to mitigate the existing inequalities between students upon arrival in college.

Finally, there is the Professional Pathway for the ambitious and privileged students interested in class reproduction through achievement. This pathway is narrow, competitive, and fast-paced, tailored primarily for those students who attended top high schools and are highly motivated and ambitious. To succeed in this pathway, students must have some amount of class advantage (private school, tutoring, SAT prep, etc) that will directly translate into academic merit in college and allow them a higher degree of success (Armstrong and Hamilton, 2018). Thus, this pathway also exacerbates existing inequalities between students and systematically shuts out less wealthy or privileged students.

College Pathways

- ❖ **College Pathways:** when the interests of specific groups/classes are reflected in the organizational structure of the university -- creating “pathways” through college
- ❖ **Party Pathway:** for the wealthy and socially-oriented students
 - Moderate academics; often get in as “legacy” students
 - Don’t cost the university much → often pay full tuition and don’t qualify for aid or scholarships
 - Often join sororities/fraternities
 - “Easy majors” (recreation studies, fashion, communications, etc)



College Pathways cont.

- ❖ Mobility Pathway: for the pragmatic and career-oriented
 - Straightforward majors where anyone can succeed/family knowledge isn't required (nursing, accounting, etc)
 - "Level playing field" so this pathway is more inclusive of anyone who seeks upward mobility

- ❖ Professional Pathway: for ambitious students from privileged families
 - Competitive and exclusive
 - Class advantage (SAT prep, tutors, top high schools, etc) = translated into academic merit/advantage



Flow of Students through the University

Armstrong and Hamilton (2018) conclude that the class projects and college pathways come together and produce a "classification" for each type of student in higher education. For the most part, students in higher education self-select into the appropriate pathway, but sometimes there is a disconnect between the class background/project and the college pathway chosen by the student. This most often leads to struggling while in college and can potentially have negative ramifications for class trajectories after college as well. The socialites or "wannabes" are the students whose primary goal in college was to socialize and form friendships or romantic connections. This is the type of student who normally has the most success, particularly because the party pathway is financially inaccessible to any student who did not fit the "mold." There are also the strivers, who cannot afford (financially or otherwise) to party and socialize as their primary activity in college. The strivers work hard to graduate with a degree that will lead to secure employment and position them (and potentially their families) for upward social mobility. The strivers seek to overcome the inequality of their class background upon arrival in college.

Finally, there are the achievers and the underachievers, who pursued the professional pathway and attempted to reach high levels of professional achievement. The achievers graduate with a solid major and GPA, good employment and post-graduate prospects, and in a good position to get married if they so choose. The underachievers, on the other hand, graduate with a slightly too-low GPA, poor employment and post-graduate prospects, and more constrained options for marriage. The only difference between them is that achievers generally are "cultivated for success:" Armstrong and Hamilton conclude that these students come from families where the parents can financially support them during and after college, for example. While an achiever probably attended a top high school that prepared them for college and had the freedom to devote

all of their time to academics while in college, an underachiever might have attended a regular high school that didn't prepare them as well, or had to work a part-time job while in college which took away time from their academics (Armstrong and Hamilton, 2018).

However, it's not as simple as Armstrong and Hamilton make it out to be. In Anthony Abraham Jack's book *The Privileged Poor*, he discusses the idea that there are actually two types of disadvantaged students: the "Privileged Poor" and the "Doubly-Disadvantaged." The privileged poor are those students who might not come from wealthy class backgrounds but attended top high schools on scholarship and therefore accumulated some of the social and cultural capital necessary to succeed at higher levels once in college. The doubly disadvantaged, on the other hand, are those students who did not come from wealthy class backgrounds nor did they attend top high schools, and therefore are significantly underprepared to achieve at higher levels in college. This demonstrates that there are layers to the inequality in higher education that go beyond just the class backgrounds of the students.

Flow of Students through University

- ❖ Self-selection: class background and pathway through college are often linked, but sometimes there is a disconnect and that's when students suffer

- ❖ **Class Project + College Pathway = Classification**
 - > 1) Socialites or "wannabes"
 - Primary goal was to socialize and form friendships/romantic connections
 - > 2) Strivers
 - Worked hard to get a degree that leads to secure employment
 - > 3) Achievers/underachievers
 - Pursued a professional pathway
 - *Achievers*: solid major/GPA, good employment/post-grad prospects, good place for marriage
 - *Underachievers*: slightly too-low GPAs → poor post-grad/employment prospects, more limited prospects for marriage
 - Key difference: achievers have to arrive "cultivated for success"
 - Allison: "Privileged poor" vs. "Doubly-Disadvantaged" (Anthony Jack)

Real World Applications

Communication across Differences

Preparation

The class projects and college pathways demonstrate that there is immense stratification of students in higher education institutions which only serves to deepen the existing inequities. Nancy Thomas (2019) discusses various approaches for how to prepare students in higher education to discuss different issues across these inequalities and differences, rather than allowing the stratification to isolate students from one another. “College and university students should graduate with the knowledge and skills they need to discuss issues across differences of identity and ideology, affirm democratic principles and responsibilities, manage conflict, compromise, and engage in collaborative action for the common good” (Thomas, 2019, p. 2). To achieve this, Thomas recommends that leaders and facilitators in higher education take steps to break down barriers in discussions rather than reinforcing them. It is important, therefore, to establish expectations of cooperation, community, and shared responsibility for each other’s learning.

These recommendations are in practice at Harvard within the Office of Diversity Education and Support. Interns for the Office, known as Diversity Peer Educators, work hard to establish spaces of open dialogue and shared learning where all participants feel like equals. One way that the Diversity Peer Educators do this is by setting Community Norms at the start of every event or dialogue. Some frequently used ones are

1. Speaking from the “I” perspective
2. Confidentiality
3. Assume best intentions
4. Take space, make space
5. Be present

Facilitating Discussions despite Inequality in Higher Ed Institutions

Nancy Thomas: Readiness for Discussing
Democracy in Supercharged Political Times.

“College and university students should graduate with the knowledge and skills they need to **discuss issues across differences** of identity and ideology, affirm democratic principles and responsibilities, manage conflict, compromise, and engage in collaborative action for the common good” (2)

The Neutrality Challenge

When discussing difficult topics or sensitive issues, Thomas highlights another common challenge to overcoming inherent inequalities between students. The Neutrality Challenge describes the dilemma that a facilitator may have of striking a balance between being open and sharing personal experiences and opinions while also making room for opposing viewpoints and perspectives. This is a common challenge for the Diversity Peer Educators as well, as they often struggle to balance neutrality with fostering a safe and inclusive space for all. “Some viewpoints are not simply misinformed; they may be antithetical to the institution’s values and goals. Should hateful, misogynistic, homophobic, xenophobic, anti-Semitic or anti-Muslim, White or Black nationalist, and similar perspectives get a fair hearing in a discussion?” (Thomas, 2019, p. 10). Therefore, there is a necessary tradeoff between being neutral and holding space for all opinions while also not allowing hateful speech or speech that goes against the values of the institutions.

Facilitation as a Diversity Peer Educator!

- ❖ Community, Trust-Building, and Sharing Responsibility
 - Students often interact in classes in ways that reinforce barriers based on social identity, political ideology, or lived experiences
 - So it's important to establish expectations of cooperation and shared responsibility
 - **DPE Tip: we establish "Community Norms" at the beginning of every event/dialogue/conversation**

Intros

Community Norms

- Speaking from the "I" perspective
- What is said here is confidential, so feel free to talk about broader experiences or anecdotes
- Assume best intentions
- Take space, make space
- Be Present

Facilitation as a Diversity Peer Educator!

The Neutrality Challenge

Balance between sharing personal experiences and also making room for opposing opinions/viewpoints



"Some viewpoints are not simply misinformed; they may be antithetical to the institution's values and goals. Should hateful, misogynistic, homophobic, xenophobic, anti-Semitic or anti-Muslim, White or Black nationalist, and similar perspectives get a fair hearing in a discussion? To some, allowing speech of this nature is a way to shine a light on it, and as Supreme Court justice Louis Brandeis famously said, sunlight is said to be the best disinfectant. To others, that kind of speech alienates people and shuts down speech, probably as it was intended to." (10)

Conclusion

Equity and inequality in higher education manifest in many ways: individual backgrounds can contribute to inequality on campus, but the structure of the institution itself can also exacerbate these inequalities. This makes diversity and inclusion efforts in higher education both extremely necessary and also extremely challenging, as institutions fight to not only bring students of diverse identities and backgrounds to campus, but also to make them feel included, supported, and set them on a path that suits their wants and needs. Initiatives such as the Office of Diversity Education and Support at Harvard demonstrate that these efforts are only just the beginning.

Works Cited

Armstrong, Elizabeth A., and Laura T. Hamilton. *Paying for the Party: How College Maintains Inequality*. Harvard University Press, 2018.

Gurin, Patricia, et al. "Diversity and Higher Education: Theory and Impact on Educational Outcomes." *Harvard Educational Review*, vol. 72, no. 3, 2002, pp. 330–367., doi:10.17763/haer.72.3.01151786u134n051.

Long, Bridget Terry. "Access to Higher Education: Barriers to Enrollment and Choice." *Encyclopedia of International Higher Education Systems and Institutions*, 2017, pp. 1–4., doi:10.1007/978-94-017-9553-1_42-1.

Markovits, Daniel. *The Meritocracy Trap How Americas Foundational Myth Feeds Inequality, Dismantles the Middle Class, and Devours the Elite*. Penguin Press, 2019.

Thomas, Nancy. *Readiness for Discussing Democracy in Supercharged Political Times*. Institute for Democracy and Higher Education Report, 2018.

The academic profession, higher education professionals, and workers in higher education

By Rachel Seevers



Guiding Questions

What are possible inequalities that may arise in academic profession?

How are conditions of academic work changing and why?

What are possible implications of COVID on academic profession?

Who are higher education professionals?

What are conditions of work for university administrative staff?

The Readings

Archer

Young Academics &
Inauthenticity

Schneijderberg

Higher Education
Professionals Growth

Szekeres

Administrators' Roles in
Universities

I'm sure that all of you remember the graduate student strike from last year, maybe some of you even participated in it, but the truth is that graduate student workers from higher education institutions around the country are fighting for the same rights and causes that we were. Grad student workers (or even undergraduate workers like myself as a CA or Starr in the admissions office, etc.) generally fall under the category of "Higher Education Professionals (HEPRO)" proposed by Schneijderberg in their piece entitled "Higher Education Professionals: A Growing Profession." When first hearing this term, it is likely that many think of the faces of a college professional: your professors, maybe the president, a provost, or really any man in a tweed suit.

Higher education professionals (HEPROs)

Definition: highly qualified persons in universities who are neither top managers nor in charge of the academic functions of teaching, research and teaching and who are hinges of academic and administrative structures and processes in universities.

However, the HEPROs that Schneijderberg refers to are not these typical professionals. In his own words, they are “highly qualified persons in universities who are neither top managers nor in charge of the academic functions of teaching, research and teaching and who are hinges of academic and administrative structures and processes in universities.” For me, it helps to understand some examples of this nuanced definition, as it focuses more on who they aren’t rather than who HEPROs are. Some HEPROs might be counselors, managers, budget analyzers, and administrators among many other roles. This definition overlaps slightly with the term “Invisible Workers,” coined by Szekeres in our third reading of week 9, which refers to administrators in higher education. Szekeres, who shares the same distaste for anti-definitions as I do, defines administrators as those whose “focus is about either supporting the work of academic staff, dealing with students on non-academic matters or working in an administrative function such as finance, human resources, marketing, public relations, business development, student administration, academic administration, library, information technology, capital or property.”

Now, the reason that these definitions needed to be put forth in the first place is that the composition and demographics of these groups are rapidly changing alongside the massive expansion of the student body. At the beginning of this course we spent many days, if not weeks, focusing on the fact that the student body is expanding as the United States is moving from an elite to mass to universal college education system; however, we have not focused as much on the impacts that this change has had on the professionals- specifically that professionals need to expand as well to meet the need. This shift is referenced even in the title of the Schneijderberg reading but is much more subtle in the Szekeres as she focuses more on the actual composition of the group as it changing. She points out that administrators were, and still are, predominately women and that many still view the work of administrators as “women’s work”.

Invisible Workers

Definition: Administrators whose focus is about either supporting the work of academic staff, dealing with students on non-academic matters or working in an administrative function such as finance, human resources, marketing, public relations, business development, student administration, academic administration, library, information technology, capital or property

The discrimination along the line of gender is something that is indeed referenced multiple times by several different authors, particularly by Archer in her piece “Younger academics’ constructions of ‘authenticity’, ‘success’ and professional identity.” Archer was certainly a fan favorite of our class, as most of us chose this reading to expand on in the discussion posts. I believe what makes Archer’s piece so appealing is the parallels to other modules and the close personal applications. While the two other authors focused on administrators and non-traditional professionals, Archer takes a closer look at a different perspective: young professionals. Particularly, Archer investigated what she called “inauthenticity” in younger professionals, which refers to an “increased feelings of insecurity and uncertainty.” Of the young professionals who participated, all of them reported feeling “inauthentic” at least once during their time- as Samantha pointed out in her discussion post, this feels a lot like imposter syndrome except in professionals not students. Now, this feeling is possibly caused by a variety of factors, ranging from the gender discrimination listed above to the differing views on professional titles. Archer summarizes these as “(a) the current dominant performative ethos, (b) their age, (c) race, class, gender, and (d) status – but especially for those who are contract researchers.” The idea of status refers to the difference in professionals either awarded tenure or on the tenure track and those who have the title of associate/adjunct professor or who are not on a tenure track. Manja has provided some striking statistics for the current composition of tenured professionals: “75.5% of college faculty are now off the tenure track, meaning they have NO access to tenure. This represents 1.3 million out of 1.8 million faculty members. Of these, 700,000 or just over 50% are so-called part-time, most often known as “adjunct.”” Even though most professionals are off the tenure track, those select few who aren’t do hold unequal power. Tenured professionals are not held to the same standards that contracted professionals are, and many even continue to teach far after the retirement age. While this can clearly cause issues of inadequate education, even worse controversies can arise.

There have been several cases sexual harassment, quid pro quo sexual extortion, and more Title IX violations conducted by professionals using their power over students. This power difference is exacerbated and even reinforced by the inequalities of tenured, male, white professors. Harassment can of course take many forms, including in the form of the so-called “glass-ceiling,” a barrier preventing the advancement of women and people of color. While actual actions may contribute to this glass ceiling, small remarks and even the thought that menial-work performed by “invisible workers” is “women’s work” are documented examples of gender/race discrimination and harassment. While there have unfortunately been some examples of these controversies at Harvard, the most recent is probably the David Kane controversy that Samyra has spoken to us about. Kane, a professor at Harvard, was found to be publishing racist statements and ideas on an online forum. Not only did the ensuing outrage exemplify these controversies, but the treatment of the student workers, who attempted to stand up for the students in the class, is a prime example of HEPROs and lower-level professionals not receiving the respect they deserve.

Controversies

- Invisible workers not given the same level of respect/acknowledgment (“Imposter Syndrome”)
- The Glass Ceiling preventing the advancement of women and people of color
- Tenured professors not performing up to standard
- Title IX violations/sexual assault & harassment

Works Cited:

[Archer, L. \(2008\) Younger academics’ constructions of ‘authenticity’, ‘success’ and professional identity. *Studies in Higher Education* Vol. 33, Issue 4, 2008](#)

[Schneijderberg C. \(2017\) Higher Education Professionals: A Growing Profession. In: Shin J., Teixeira P. \(eds\) *Encyclopedia of International Higher Education Systems and Institutions*. Springer, Dordrecht. \[https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-9553-1_303-1\]\(https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-9553-1_303-1\) \(Links to an external site.\)](#)

[Judy Szekeres \(2004\) The invisible workers, *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, 26:1, 7-22, DOI: 10.1080/1360080042000182500](#)

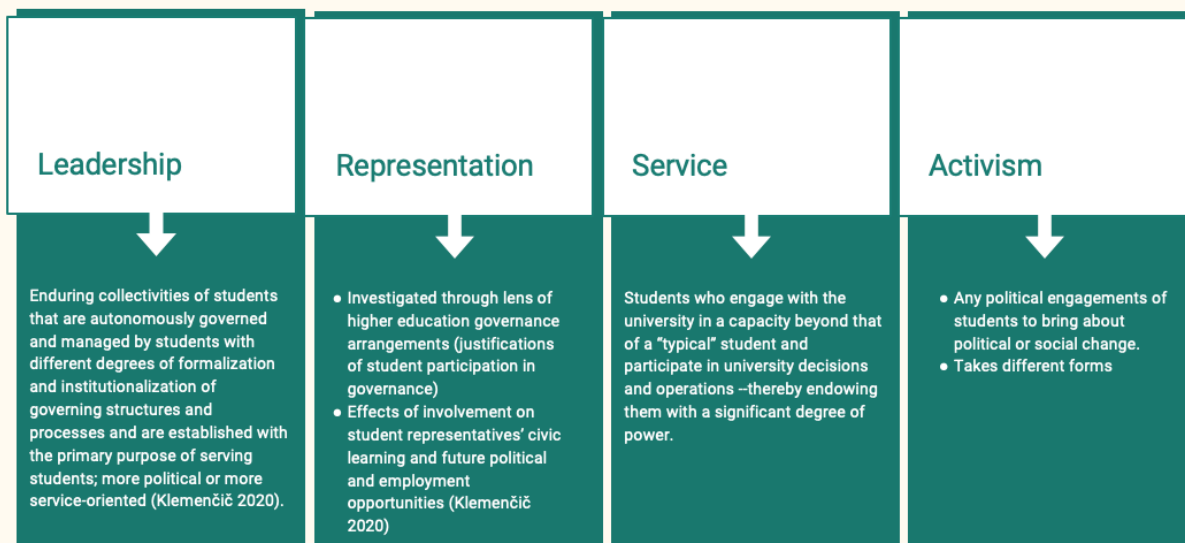
The impact of students on higher education

By Kimberly Woo

Not yet recognized as a formal, independent domain in the Sociology of Higher Education, students' impact on higher education is an emerging field of study. In a reversed conception, the sociological study of higher education's impact on students has been extensively researched. Research has explored student engagement on retention, persistence, and success (Kuh in Klemenčič 2020). Still, investigating the effects of student leadership on academic and social life has rarely garnered attention (Klemenčič 2020).

Students can directly impact higher education institutions through their role in a student organization or do so indirectly through signaling. Students can impact colleges vis-a-vis four types of involvement (Klemenčič 2020).

Ways that students have impact:



Leadership, activism, service, and representation comprise the primary types of organization. Student groups differ in structure and across various levels of institutional hierarchy (Klemenčič 2020). Student organizations are defined herein as "enduring collectivities of students that are autonomously governed by students with different degrees of formalization of governing structures and processes and are established with the primary purpose of serving students . . . the most common types include:

- (a) representative student associations (e.g., student parliaments, student councils, and student unions);
- (b) advocacy and affinity groups (e.g., first-generation student associations or undocumented students' associations);
- (c) religious and political party

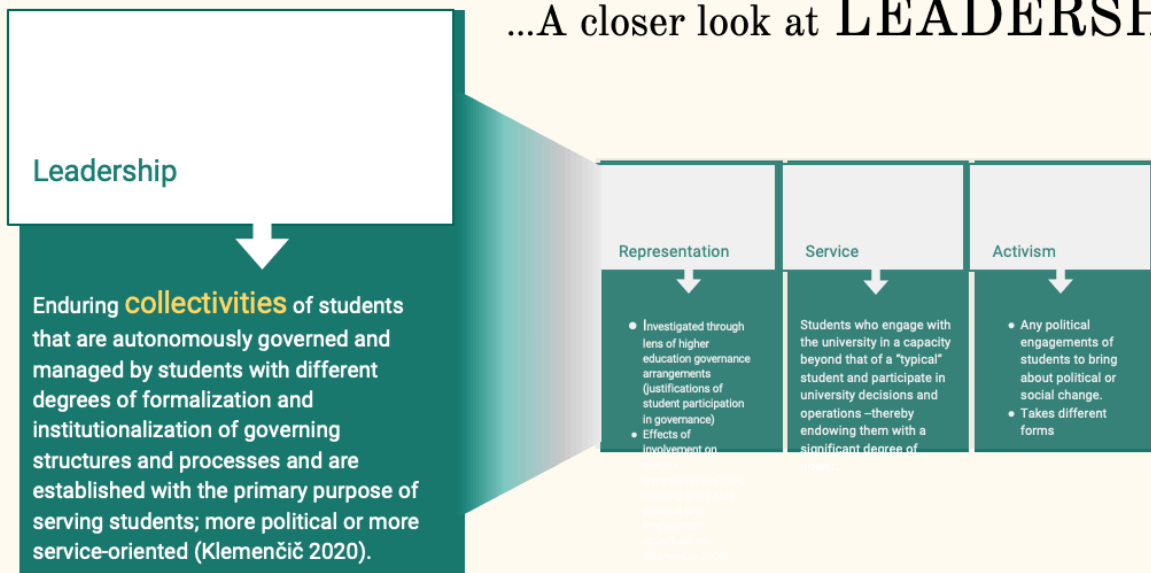
groups; (d) social clubs (e.g., fraternities and sororities); (e) athletic and cultural and art groups); (f) pre-professional groups (e.g., computer society or medical students' association); (g) community service groups (e.g., student volunteer groups in schools, homeless shelters, or in natural disasters); (h) student newspapers and publishers; and (i) student-run campus business organizations (e.g., student cafes, travel agencies, printing service)" (Klemenčič 2020).

Common Types of Collectivities



Student organizations can differ by their purpose and their formality and power to influence institutional decision-making (Klemenčič 2020). Groups tend to evolve with the shifting demographics of the student body; their purpose may serve to advance a political agenda and provide services to peers, for example. Student organizations may function autonomously and may also collectively join other groups to bolster the power of the student voices across a spectrum of political and service driven organizations (Klemenčič 2020). While the range of purpose and formalization varies, organizations offer students opportunities to take on leadership roles that help prepare them for future careers.

...A closer look at LEADERSHIP



Student involvement in higher education governance demonstrates powerful examples of this preparation serving as a path directly into a political career. Student government representatives ensure that students remain stakeholders in their education. These scholars speak on behalf of many students -- addressing institutional hierarchies and advocating for the advancement of student representation in higher education systems at the state, national, and supranational levels (ESU 2018). These experiences develop pre-professional and professional skills that benefit students throughout college and adulthood (Klemenčič 2020). Student participation in institutional governance is critical to creating communities that serve them. The European Students' Union concept of Modern Collegiality articulates a vision of balanced roles:

Academic collegiality in the 21st century involves recognising that students and academic staff are united in a common purpose and should partake equally in the management of higher education institutions (European Students' Union 2016).

...A closer look at REPRESENTATION



Student governments:

are political institutions which

Organize

Aggregate and

Intermediate

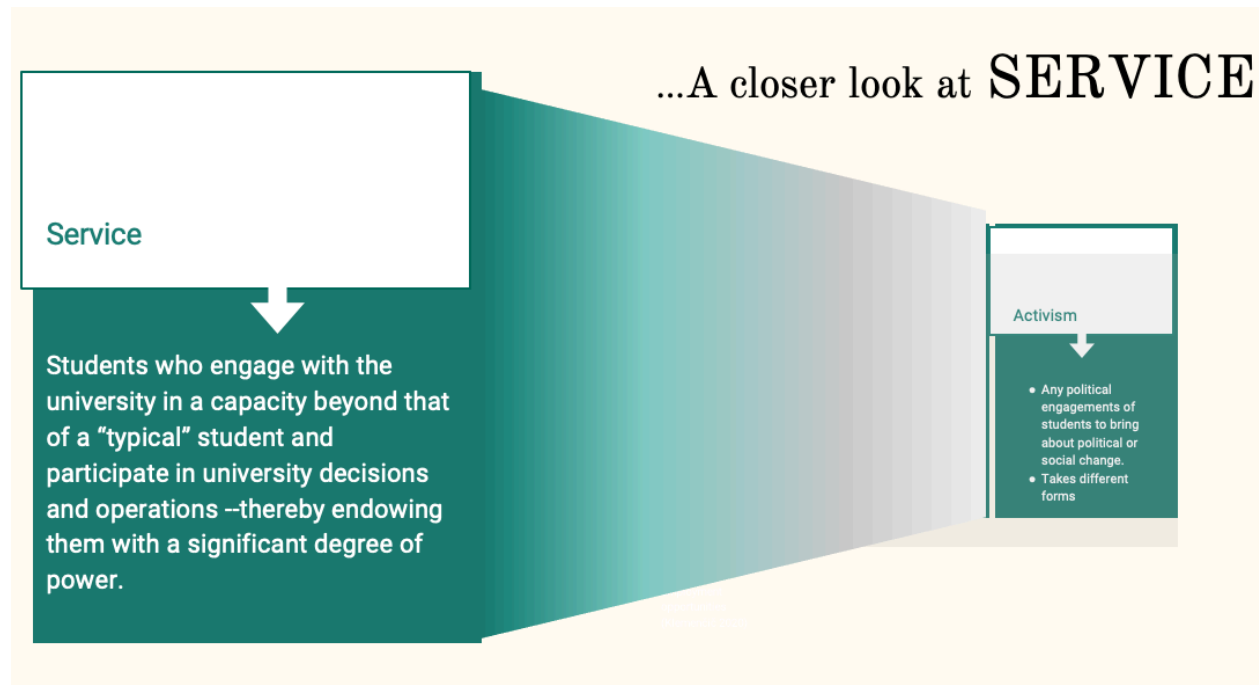
the interests of students (and provide services and organize activities).

The challenges:

- As student bodies gain diversity, it becomes harder to maintain quality education and social integration for everyone
- Multilevel governance
- Representatives are not guaranteed to be truly representative of student body
- Student groups often have blurry boundaries between activism and service... it is important to better connect organizational theory to social movement theories

Student service roles in higher education, like student governance, provide value beyond the ascribed role and its function within the college. Student administrators are uniquely positioned as both students and participants in university decision-making. Student employees experience the institution through two identities and encounter different challenges accordingly. Despite challenges, however, student administrators' exceptional dual positionality imbues influence through formal and informal channels. Similarly, unpaid student volunteers are increasingly

important in their roles as experts and consultants to measure quality assurance and accountability (Klemenčič 2020). The need for institutional responsibility and quality assurance rises as institutions grow and serve an increasingly diverse student body.



Types of student service

EMPLOYMENT

Student employees hold part-time, paid positions at their institution in an array of different positions

Student employment effects social life and academic performance -- much research focuses on those areas... but very little research exists on the **VALUE** of that work to the institution.

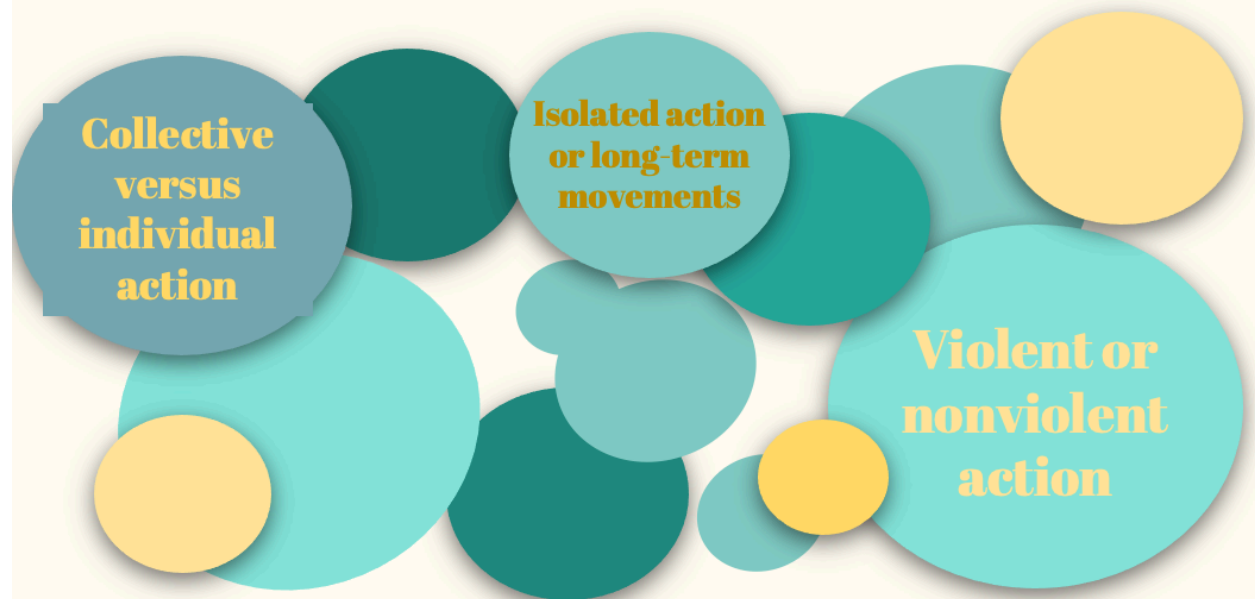
VOLUNTEER

Students who are not paid for the service that they provide.

This growing diversity of students has heralded concomitant increases in student activism, which can be understood broadly as "any political engagements . . . to bring about political and social change" (Klemenčič 2020). Klemenčič identifies activism through three categories:

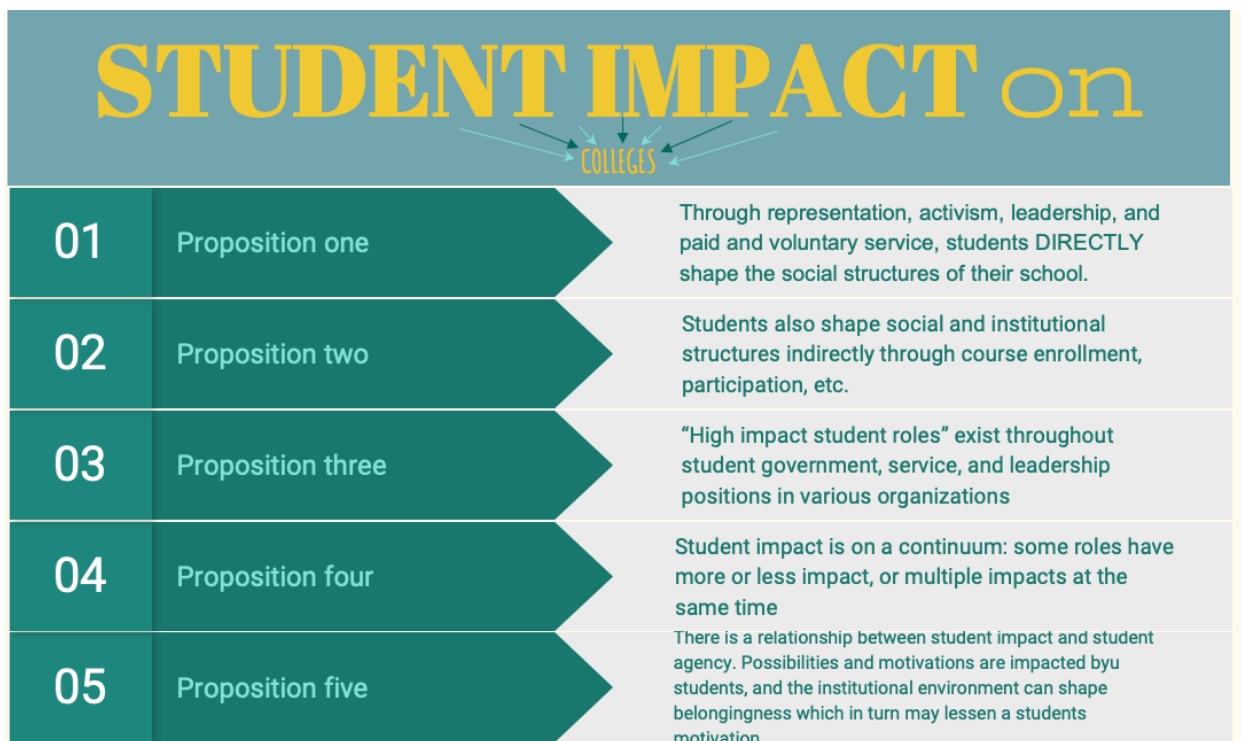
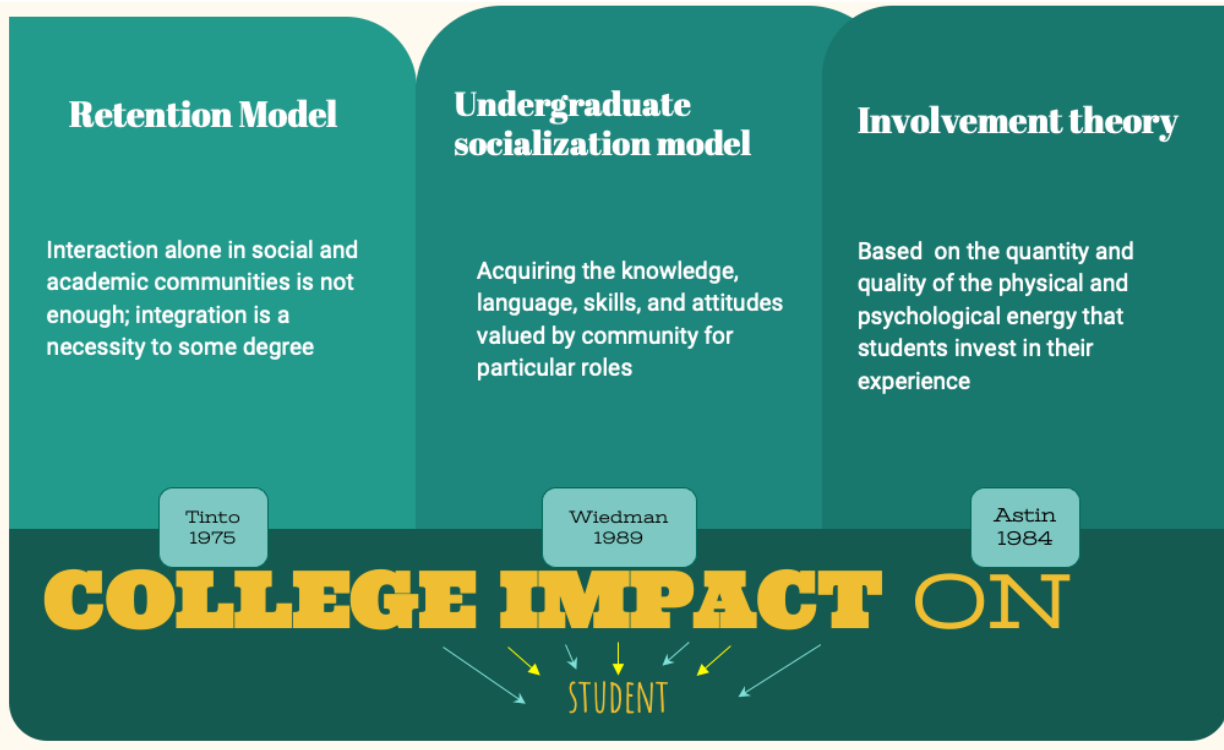
(a) collective versus individual action; (b) one-off acts or events versus organized and durable engagement (e.g., student movements which imply that a collective of students formed a collective identity with a sense of shared purpose and that there is an informal network built around that common cause), and (c) violent and nonviolent action (2020).

Student activism can be distinguished based on...



Student activism in the United States, once perceived as deviant and disruptive, is now widely accepted as a means by which students learn to practice civic engagement and agency. Student activism may yield different results, institutionally and regionally. The aggregated impact of student activism lessened negative perceptions, thereby framing activism as a political discourse tool, empowering student populations as they grow in numbers, geography, and diversity (Klemenčič 2020).

In summary:



Please cite this publication as:

Klemenčič, M. (ed.) (2020). *Sociology of Higher Education Through Student Eyes. A Student Course Review Handbook from SOCIOL1104: Sociology of Higher Education*. Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University. 16 December 2020, pp. 78.

@ Manja Klemenčič
SOCIOL1104 Sociology of Higher Education
Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University
FALL 2020