



EQUNET/CEPS Sympósion

Ljubljana, 23-24 Nov 2010

PROCEEDINGS

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Achieving true equity within Higher Education, despite being high on the education policy agenda for years, continues to remain a significant challenge for policy makers, who, despite years of initiatives, have not yet managed to make large enough inroads into the problem. To this end, two consortia researching the topic – the EQUNET consortium bringing together 8 partners from 6 EU countries, and the DEP project team have decided to merge efforts to create a one-of-a-kind instrument to synthesise the current debate and suggest ways forward.

The EQUNET/CEPS Symposium is a think-tank style event, which brought together researchers from both the projects together with the leading academics in the field for an intensive 3-day signature event intended to consider visionary and innovative policies to deal with the equity gap, and get away from the staid iterative and gradual process that has characterised EU policymaking and left millions stranded without better life-opportunities.

The themes of the meeting have been chosen by the visionaries themselves, in line with their views of the most pressing problems and the most effective solutions, with a format which allowed 6-8 ideas to be presented over the 3 days, with each idea needing to face the test of an expert audience, but also with the ability to be enhanced and matured by the audience, and for a few select ideas, to be further examined in detail by the research projects sponsoring the event.

Rather than a one-off event, the meeting formed the basis of a series of actions on equity – networking these experts together to form a joint consensus and joint voice on how to meet the challenges of Higher Education today.

Agenda

Monday, 22 November

Arrivals

EquNET working group meeting

Tuesday, 23 November

- 9.00 – 10.00 Opening; greetings
Chairs: Pavel Zgaga, CEPS University of Ljubljana
& Fabio Nascimbeni, MENON, EQUeT
- Greetings* by State Secretary Dr. Jozsef Györkös,
Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology
- Greetings* by Vice Rector, Dr. Juliana Kristl
- EquNET Report Presentation*
Anthony F. Camilleri, EquNET coordinator & Andreas Bohonnek, ZSI, Vienna
- discussion
- 10.00 – 10.30 Coffee break
- 10.30 – 13.15 Theme 1: Conceptualising Equity for Policymaking
Chair: Klemen Miklavič, CEPS, University of Ljubljana
- 10.30 - 11.30 *How to understand equity in higher education*
Zdenko Kodelja, Institute of Education, Ljubljana
- 11.30 – 12.30 *Theory of practice, mixed methods research and the development of social sensitivity accreditation in HE*
Karin Doolan, Institute for Social Research in Zagreb
- Discussion
- 12.30 – 13.30 *Segmentation in HE - frequently overlooked form of the reproduction of inequality*
Slavko Gaber & Veronika Tašner, CEPS University of Ljubljana
- Discussion
- 13.30 – 14.30 Lunch break
- 14.30 – 16.30 Theme 2: Universal Higher Education, diversity, society and equity
Chair: Manja Klemenčič, CEPS, University of Ljubljana
- 14.30 – 15.30 *Contradictory functions in higher education's contribution to social equity*
John Brenan, CHERI, The Open University, London
- Discussion
- 15.30 – 16.30 *Degrees, Jobs and Status in Society - the Tension between Meritocracy and Equality*
Ulrich Teichler, INCHER, Universität Kassel
- Discussion
- 16.30-16.45 Coffee break
- 16.45-17.45 Panel discussion and conclusions of the day
Chair: Pavel Zgaga, CEPS, University of Ljubljana

Panelists:

- Melinda Szabo, European Students' Union, Brussels, Belgium
- Povel Gregoric, University of Zagreb, Croatia
- Bardhyl Musai, University of Tirana, Albania
- Dionisis Kladis, University of Peloponnesus, Corinth, Greece

18.00-19.00 Reception
given by Prof. Dr. Stane Pejovnik, Rector of the University of Ljubljana

19.30 Dinner (old city; walking distance)
Guest of the evening: Dr. Franci Demšar,
Director of the Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS)

Wednesday, 24 November

09.00 – 12.30 Theme 2: Universal Higher Education, diversity, society and equity (continued)
Chair: Martina Vukasovic, Center for Education Policy (COP), Belgrade, Serbia

09.00 – 10.00 *The roles of reputational competition and positional goods in maintaining patterns of inequality*
Roger Dale, Centre for Globalisation, Education and Societies
University of Bristol
- Discussion

10.00 – 11.00 *University – a Stairway to Heaven and the Graveyard of Hopes*
Voldemar Tomusk, International Higher Education Support Program, Open Society
Foundations, London
- Discussion

11.00-11.30 Coffee break

11.30 – 12.30 *Who gets a degree? Access to tertiary education in Europe 1950-2009*
Jan Koucký, Education Policy Centre
Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Education
- Discussion

12.30-13.30 Lunch break

13.30– 15.30 Theme 3: Equity in Higher Education systems, mechanisms and financing
Chair: Claudio Dondi, President, SCIENTER

13.30 – 14.30 *Return-based contributions to finance higher education - a temporary graduate tax*
Dieter Dohmen, FiBS Berlin
- Discussion

14.30 – 15.30 *Strategies for ensuring equitable access to HE for immigrant groups*
Leon Cremonini, CHEPS, University of Twente
- Discussion

15.30-16.00 Coffee break

16.00-17.00 Panel discussion, seminar findings and conclusions
Chair: Janja Komljenovič, CEPS, University of Ljubljana

Panelists:

- Per Nyborg, former Head of the Bologna Secretariat, Oslo, Norway

- Blerim Saqipi, University of Prishtina, Kosovo
- Vanja Ivosevic, Center for Education Policy (COP), Belgrade, Serbia
- Kai Múhleck, Hochschul-Informationen-System GmbH, Hannover

17.00 Closing

Presentations & Abstracts

The event was introduced with 1 hour of presentation about the two projects jointly hosting the event.

The rest of the programme was divided into three 1.5 hour sessions on each day, with each session revolving around the discussion of a separate topic. Each session was introduced by two 20-minute set presentation by an expert in the field. Each speaker was given the following guidelines for their presentation:

- *The presentation should form a platform for following discussion, but should also work as a stand-alone presentation, as they will be filmed, as well as published*
- *The time should be kept to exactly – neither less or more.*
- *The topic of the presentation will be open to the presenter, within the limits of the framework set forth in this document*
- *Powerpoint slides will be required, however the format will not be open. Slides of only four categories may be used:*
 - *Fact*
 - *Analysis*
 - *Thesis*
 - *Question*

Depending on the topic, some items on the agenda were subject to two presentations taking opposite views of the topic. Following the presentation, 45 hour was given to discussion amongst the participants, moderated by a chosen moderator. At the end of the hour, the moderator took 5 minutes to summarise the discussion.

The topics were divided into three themes, each with several speakers:

▶▶ **Theme 1: Conceptualising Equity for Policymaking**

▶▶ **Theme 2: Universal Higher Education, diversity, society and equity**

▶▶ **Theme 3: Equity in Higher Education systems, mechanisms and financing**

Theme 1: Conceptualising Equity for Policymaking

How is equity in higher education understood?

Zdenko Kodelja, Educational Research Institute, Ljubljana

Zdenko Kodelja, Ph.D. is a senior researcher and Head of the Centre for Philosophy of Education at the Educational Research Institute in Ljubljana. He also teaches Philosophy of Education at the Department of Philosophy, Faculty of Humanities, University of Primorska; and Ethics of Educational Research, Faculty of Education, University of Ljubljana. He is a member of Philosophy of Education Network of the European Educational Research Association; International Network of Philosophers of Education; Philosophy of Education Society of Great Britain; Société Francophone de Philosophie de l'éducation. His complete bibliography includes more than 380 units (books, chapters in books, essays, articles, interviews, research reports).

Abstract

Although the term “equity” - which derives from the Latin word “*aequitas*” - originates from the concept of equality, equity is usually understood as a kind of justice. On the one hand, equity is the same as a rectification of legal justice (Aristotle), and on the other hand, it is nothing other than justice conceived as fairness (Rawls). When the term “equity” is used in higher education, it mainly refers to different conceptions of social justice and predominantly to the one which can be defined as equality of opportunities: to enrol in higher education institutions (equity of access), and to complete higher education studies (equity of results).

Full text

The question – How to understand equity in higher education? – presupposes that it is not clear enough what exactly equity means. If this assumption is justified, then before we ask how to understand equity in higher education, we should ask what we mean by “equity”. To answer this question is not of course to answer the question how to understand equity in higher education, but it is a necessary preliminary condition for doing so. Suppose now, that the previously mentioned assumption is justified because “equity” means so many different things, competing interpretations and conceptions. The fact that the term “equity” is sometimes used as a synonym for both “equality” and “justice” is an obvious proof for this semantic confusion. However, the confusion is not only terminological, but also conceptual. Therefore, some conceptual clarification is needed first. For this reason I will try - in the first part of my presentation – to show that equity, equality and justice are closely connected, but not identical.

The English term “equity” derives from the Latin word “*aequitas*”, which has two main meanings: equality and fairness.¹ But the concept of equity is even older. We can find the philosophical

¹ However, the Latin term “*aequitas*” was – among Roman legal and political philosophers – also used “to refer more broadly to the idea of fairness between individuals” (Q. Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, Vol. II., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2004, p. 49). But when in this context they want to describe something as “*aequus*”, they used the synonym “*planus*”, and in this way they describe it “as flat or level or smooth. So when Cicero” – in his book *De Officiis* – “speaks of the need for arrangements between citizens to be ‘*aequus*’”, he

explanation of the idea of equity in ancient Greece. The crucial text is Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. It is significant that Aristotle introduces his analysis of equity (*epieikeia*) - in order to explain its relation to justice (*dikaiosisyne*) - by means of an obvious paradox: equity is for him neither the same as justice nor different from it.² This paradox follows from two premises.³ The first is: the equitable is the same as good. The second is: the equitable is different from the just. If the first premise is true, and therefore the equitable is something good, then it follows that the just is not good. But this is absurd, it is illogical, since the just is something good. On the other hand, if the just is good, then the equitable cannot be something good. But in this case, the conclusion is in contradiction with the first premise which says that the equitable is the same as good. If, on the contrary, both, equitable and the just, are good, then they are identical. However, this is in contradiction with the second premise which stated that they are different. Therefore, we are faced with the following dilemma: either we should not regard both the just and the equitable as good; or, if they are both good, we must regard them as identical.⁴ Aristotle's solution for this dilemma is to define equity as a kind of justice. This means that equity is not generically different from justice. They are, therefore, connected but not identical. Equity, Aristotle says, is a 'rectification of legal justice'.⁵ That is to say, that the need for equity arises "when the strict letter of the law produces an unfair result and so the court relaxes the strict letter in order to reach a fair judgement".⁶ Such understanding of equity has had a significant impact on Roman law and English common law.⁷ In this context, the distinction between justice and equity can be compared with the distinction between positive laws and natural laws or in other words, between legality and morality. For this reason Kant claims that equity is not a matter of the tribunal, but rather a matter of the "tribunal of conscience."⁸

However, although *equity*, understood as a rectification of legal justice',⁹ is a *kind of justice*, it is also very closely connected with *equality*. This connection is clearly visible on the terminological and conceptual level. As we have already seen, the term "aequitas" means both equality and fairness. The Greek word for "fair", which Aristotle uses, is "ison", and its literal meaning is "equal". But the problem is that he uses the same word "ison" also as a synonym for "fair", when he differentiates two ideas of justice: universal justice as "lawful", and particular justice as "fair". As a result, "he describes the fair or the just as the "proportionately equal"". ¹⁰ Since distributive justice – which is concerned with the distribution of goods, honours or other things – is a sort of particular justice, a

says that "private individuals must live on level terms, on fair and equal footing, with the fellow citizens" (Ibid., 49. Cicero, *De Officiis*, I., XXXIV, 124).

² "While we sometime praise what is equitable (...) at other times, when we reason it out, it seems strange if the equitable, being something different from the just, is yet praiseworthy; for either the just or the equitable is not good, if they are different; or, if both are good, they are the same" (Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1137b).

³ M. Zanatta, »Commento«, in: Aristotele, *Etica Nicomachea*, Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, Milano 1986, pp. 576-577.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 576-577.

⁵ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, 1137b-12-13.

⁶ D.D. Raphael, *Concepts of Justice*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 2003, p. 54.

⁷ In Roman law this influence is seen in the distinction between *ius* (law) and *aequitas* (equity), and in English common law in the attempt to incorporate the notion of the equitable mediation between legal rules and justice (J. Tasioulas, "Justice, equity and law", *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Routledge, London).

⁸ I. Kant, *Metaphysics of Morals*, Introduction to the Science of Right, F. 1.

⁹ In this context the "dictum of equity may be put thus: "The strictest right is the greatest wrong" (*summum jus summa injuria*) (ibid.).

¹⁰ D.D. Raphael, *Concepts of Justice*, p. 46.

distribution of them “is just if it conforms to ‘proportionate equality’”.¹¹ In this case, Aristotle “extended the idea of equality to cover an *unequal* distribution in accordance with differences of worth, calling it ‘proportionate equality’ because the differences of benefit were ‘in proportion’ to the differences of worth”.¹² This means that not all inequalities are unjust. Such a conclusion follows also from the principle of formal justice which is traditionally attributed to Aristotle: Equals must be treated equally, and unequals must be treated unequally (in proportion to their relevant similarities and differences). Application of this principle to situations, when several individuals compete to achieve the same goal that cannot be achieved by all – such as university admission, for instance – is in fact nothing but the application of the principle of justice as equality of opportunities.¹³ According to John Rawls, we should distinguish between formal and fair equality of opportunity. While formal equality of opportunity requires only that public offices and social positions be open to talents in the formal sense, fair equality of opportunity requires also “that all should have a fair chance to attain them. To specify the idea of a fair chance” Rawls says: “supposing that there is a distribution of native endowments, those who have the same level of talent and ability and the same willingness to use these gifts should have the same prospects of success regardless of their social class of origin”. One of the necessary conditions for accomplishing this aim is that society establishes “equal opportunities of education for all regardless of family income”.¹⁴

Fair equality of opportunity has in relation to formal equality of opportunity the same role as equity has in relation to legal justice. Equity *corrects* legal justice, and fair equality of opportunity corrects – as Rawls explicitly says – “the defects of formal equality of opportunity”.¹⁵

One way to correct them, important also for higher education, seems to be the introduction of *affirmative action* policies. Although they might be incompatible with Rawls’s principle of »fair equality of opportunity«, some authors claim that affirmative action can be “best understood as an attempt to promote *equality of opportunity* in a social context marked by pervasive inequalities, one in which many institutional criteria and practices work to impede a fair assessment of the capabilities of those who” belong to disadvantaged minorities.¹⁶

If so, why then do so many other authors claim that affirmative action is unfair? In this second part of my presentation I will try to take into consideration just the question of whether the policies of affirmative action in higher education are fair.

Is affirmative action in higher education fair?

In many elite American universities, affirmative action programs are in force, which give preferential treatment to socially disadvantaged minorities in the competition for student places. Since these programs involve selection on the basis of race, affirmative action policies generate intense

¹¹ Ibid., p. 47.

¹² Ibid., pp.234-235.

¹³ N. Bobbio, *Eguaglianza e libertà*, Einaudi, Torino 1999, pp. 24-25.

¹⁴ J. Rawls, *Justice as Fairness. A Restatement*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge. Mass. 2001, p. 43-44.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 43.

¹⁶ L.C. Harris and U. Narayan, “Affirmative action as Equilizing Opportunity”, in: H. LaFollette (ed.), *Ethics in Practice*, Blackwell, Oxford 2003, p. 451.

controversy. Opponents and defenders of affirmative action have used different arguments for and against preferential treatment of black and other ethnic minorities in university admissions.¹⁷

Now, I am going to present very briefly only some of those arguments that are directly related to the question as to whether or not affirmative action in higher education is fair. Opponents of affirmative action are strongly convinced that it is unfair. The reason: using race as a factor in university admission violates the rights of those white applicants who have not been accepted although they have achieved better scores in aptitude or admissions tests than some blacks who have been accepted because of their race. The essence of this argument is the claim that by accepting “blacks with lower test scores than those achieved by some whites who are excluded, affirmative action violates the right of applicants to be judged on the bases of merit”.¹⁸

Ronald Dworkin rejects this argument because of two reasons. Firstly, he argues “that what counts as merit cannot be determined in the abstract but depends on those qualities” of a particular person, which are supposed to be “relevant to the social purpose” that the university serves.¹⁹ Therefore, according to Dworkin, no applicant has such a right that it would imply the corresponding obligation of a university to define either its mission or admission criteria in a way that awards “above all any particular set of qualities – whether academic skills or something else”.²⁰ Just the contrary, a university is, in his opinion, free to “define its mission and set its admission standards”.²¹ This freedom can be understood as an unavoidable part of university autonomy. Consequentially, admitted will be those applicants who meet the admission standards better than other applicants. Among these standards can be either only academic qualifications or also some other features such as race, nationality, athletic abilities and so on. It depends on the mission of a particular university. If promoting racial diversity in socially strategic professions (doctors, lawyers, etc.) is, for instance, a mission of one university, then race is an important admission standard. But if so, does this mean, asks Michael Sandel, that every university is totally free to define its mission and admission criteria? If it is, then what is wrong with the admission criteria which denied blacks admission to racially segregated universities in the USA not so long ago?²² Another problem with this argument of Dworkin’s against the thesis that affirmative action violates the right of applicants to be judged on the bases of merit is a moral one. For, it allows using people as a means for achieving worthy social ends, and thus it seems to be in opposition to Kant’s second formulation of the categorical

¹⁷ Proponents of such university affirmative action policies give three main arguments for it: “correcting for bias in standardised tests, compensating for past wrongs, and promoting diversity” (M. J. Sandel, *Justice*, Allen Lane, London 2009, p. 169).

¹⁸ M. J. Sandel, *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1998, p. 136.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137.

²⁰ R. Dworkin, »Why Bakke has no case«, *New York Review of Books*, November 10, 1977. According to Dworkin, admission is not an honour bestowed to reward superior merit or virtue. Neither the student with high test scores nor the student who comes from a disadvantage minority groups morally deserves to be admitted. Her admission is justified insofar as it contributes to the social purposes the university serves, not because it rewards the student for her merit or virtue, independently defined. Dworkin’s point is that justice in admission is not a matter of rewarding merit or virtue; we can know what counts as a fair way of allocating seats (...) only once the university defines its mission. The mission defines the relevant merits, not the other way around. His account of justice in university admission runs parallel to Rawls’s account of justice to income distribution: It is not a matter of moral desert” (M. J. Sandel, *Justice*, p. 174).

²¹ R. Dworkin, »Why Bakke has no case«.

²² M. J. Sandel, *Justice*, p. 175.

imperative which says that we must always treat persons as ends in themselves, and never only as a means to the ends of others.

The second reason why Dworkin rejects the previously mentioned argument against affirmative action which claims that it violates the right of applicants to be judged on the basis of merit, is his belief that affirmative action does not violate it. What rights, he asks, have been denied to white applicants who have not been admitted? There are at least two possible answers to his question. The first such right can be the right “not to be judged according to factors, such as race, that are beyond their control”. Dworkin points out that “this does not distinguish race as a criterion but applies equally to most standards typically used in university admissions, including intelligence. While it is true that persons do not choose their race”, he says, “it is also true that those who score low in aptitude or admission tests do not choose their levels of intelligence”. Dworkin admits that it is true that a white applicant with marginal test scores would be accepted if he were black. But in the next step Dworkin shows the weakness of this argument, by arguing that it is also true, and in exactly the same sense, that he would be accepted, if he were more intelligent. Therefore, according to Dworkin, race is not, in his case, a different matter from these factors equally beyond his control.²³

The second right that affirmative action can violate is “the right to be considered according to academic criteria alone”. As we have seen, Dworkin has already rejected the possibility that this right would be “the right to be considered according to academic criteria alone”, by pointing out that there is not such a right.²⁴

At first glance these arguments seem to be persuasive, but the problem is, that despite this, they are not sufficient for rejecting the thesis that applicants have the right to be judged on the basis of merit; to be considered according to academic criteria alone; and not to be judged according to race. These rights are in fact recognized as basic human rights. The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and some other international documents clearly state that higher education must be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit and individual capacity.²⁵ In addition, interpretations of a “meritocratic” approach to educational fairness; understandings of educational injustice as *reproduction*, in Bourdieu’s sense; and some interpretations of justice as fair equality of opportunities, require that only people’s natural talents should affect their opportunities. For this reason they require that the

²³ M. J. Sandel, *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice*, pp. 135-136. R. Dworkin 1977, p. 15.

²⁴ M. J. Sandel, *Justice*, pp. 173-174.

²⁵ “Higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit” (the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, Article 26.1), “higher education shall be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity” (the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, Article 13.2c), the States Parties to this Convention shall “make higher education accessible to all on the basis of capacity by every appropriate means” (the *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, Article 28.1c), the States Parties to this Convention undertake “to formulate, develop and apply a national policy which ... will tend to promote equality of opportunity and of treatment in the matter of education, and ... make higher education equally accessible to all on the basis of individual capacity” (the *Convention on Discrimination in Education*, Article 4a). From the above indicated it is made evident that race should present neither an obstacle nor an advantage in the accessibility of higher education. If this proves to be the case, we are dealing with discrimination, which, within the context of the above-mentioned Convention includes “any distinction, exclusion, limitation or preference which, being based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, economic condition or birth, has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing equality of treatment in education and in particular: a) of depriving any person or group of persons of access to education of any type or at any level; b) of limiting any person or group of persons to education of an inferior standard” (the *Convention on Discrimination in Education*, Article 1).

impact of such factors as race, gender, nationality or social background, be neutralised as well. It seems that the prevalent understandings of equity in higher education, on the one hand, and the majority of university admission policies, on the other hand, are based on such interpretations. But does this mean, therefore, that affirmative action in higher education is unfair?

Theory of practice, mixed methods research and the development of social sensitivity accreditation in HE

Karin Doolan, Institute for Social Research in Zagreb

Karin Doolan was a Visiting Scholar at Columbia University's Harriman Institute in the spring term of 2009/2010, following receipt of her PhD in sociology of education from the University of Cambridge. Since 2004 she has worked at the Institute for Social Research in Zagreb as a researcher and consultant on projects with a prominent social justice agenda (e.g. gender equity in compulsory schooling, ethnic minorities in Croatia and their involvement in school life, socio-economic inequalities and higher education participation). She has also contributed as a policy analyst to developmental projects both in Croatia and the UK; her most recent international engagement was a project on family policy for the British Prime Minister's Strategy Unit in London in 2008, whereas in Croatia she is currently involved in a European Commission funded project 'ACCESS: Towards Equitable and Transparent Access to Higher Education in Croatia'. She has a particular interest in theorisations of social reproduction across different political and economic contexts (with a particular interest in Bourdieu's conceptual tools), theorisations of social justice, as well as the ways in which educational institutions can be organised to contribute to it.

Abstract

The presentation begins by promoting a slightly extended version of Bourdieu's theory of practice (originally consisting of capitals, habitus and field) as a holistic theoretical lens for noticing and interpreting the ways in which social inequalities are created and reinforced in higher education. It then moves on to express scepticism towards the international dominance of quantitative research in the higher education participation field, and endorses a mixed methods approach as a more refined way to meet common policy requirements of pattern identification, but also to capture the subtleties of educational experiences at the individual level (highlighted as particularly significant for under-represented groups in higher education yet often overlooked in higher education policy development). Since Bourdieu was an advocate of 'methodological polytheism' it is argued that such a mixed methods approach is compatible with his theoretical framework. Finally, the presentation calls for a more complex conceptualisation of the social dimension in higher education as it is spelled out in Bologna process policy documents and proposes the development of a European-wide HE accreditation process which would grant successful higher education institutions the status of a 'Socially sensitive HE space'.

MS Power Point

Theory of practice, mixed methods research and the development of social sensitivity accreditation in HE

Karin Doolan: Institute for Social Research, Zagreb

Overview

- ▶ The necessity for mixed methods research;
- ▶ Bourdieu's conceptual toolbox;
- ▶ Holistic education policies.

Empirical base

- (1) Explored the educational choices and experiences of Croatian first-year undergraduate university students from different socio-economic backgrounds;
- (2) Bourdieu's theory of practice (capitals, habitus, field) extended in terms of emotional capital, gender and place;
- (3) Multiple case, mixed methods (642 questionnaires, 28 students interviews, visual data, secondary statistical data) research study.

The need for mixed methods research

Higher education participation and methodology

- ▶ Predominantly quantitative research;
 - ▶ Need for qualitative research – voice to disadvantaged students;
 - ▶ Example of interview data;
 - ▶ Example of visual data.
 - ▶ Need for education policy to be informed by qualitative data.
-

The importance of interview data – The Jump

....you're doing something good for yourself because *every student gets his godfather who takes care of you while you study*. And let's say you get a godfather who is a professor from your faculty, then you get *privileges at the exam* and if it's someone working in your branch, then he can *help you find a job later*.

Visual data 'Snobbish? So what!'



Visual data ('Me, where I belong')



A Bourdieuean perspective



Theory in HE participation literature

- ▶ No theory: Reay, David and Ball (2005) note this in terms of higher education choice : 'under-researched and under-theorised';
- ▶ Theory: Boudon or **Bourdieu**?



Bourdieu in empirical data

Students' educational pathways (in terms of socio-economic status) shaped by:

- ▶ inherited or acquired capitals (cultural, social, economic and emotional);
- ▶ fields of the past (secondary education field), present (HE field) and future (labour market);
- ▶ place of residence.

Institutional practices educationally reinforce social differences through their (mis)recognition of resources which are unevenly distributed among students.



Cultural capital

Form	Institutional aspect
Parental educational level, parental educational support and type of completed secondary schooling	Lack of institutional provision of educational advice (gender aware) Teachers assuming grammar school knowledge
Study materials	Poorly equipped libraries
Vocabulary and eloquence	Oral exams



Social capital

Source	Resource	Institutional aspect
Family friends, tennis partner, career advisor, teachers, course colleagues, friends	Educational advice, employment advice, financial benefits, study materials, educational knowledge, practical and emotional support	Lack of institutional provision of educationally beneficial contacts and resources (career centres, counselling services – virtual)



Economic capital

Form	Institutional aspect
Financial means for tuition fees	Few needs-based scholarships, where allocated insufficient to cover total costs of study
Financial means for study materials	
Financial means for living costs	Tuition fees determined based only on academic criteria



Field – institutional habitus

Inclusive aspects	Exclusive aspects
career advice	admission procedures (grammar school)
direct contact with helpful and supportive academic staff (preferably face-to-face, but also via e-mail), mentoring	entrance exam including 'general culture' questions academic staff offering private tutoring to applicants
lecturer sensitivity to differences in prior knowledge	assumptions of prior knowledge
clarity in course transmission	unclear transmission of course content
objective assessment	subjective assessment
good organisation (timetable) and availability of resources	overcrowded timetable, lack of resources
a socially mixed student intake	socially homogenous student intake

Holistic education policies

Measures to address social inequalities in HE

Tailored educational and career advice in primary and secondary schools (early intervention); institutional provision of both 'cold' and 'hot' knowledge about educational careers; student record books without information on secondary school completed; teaching staff sensitive to different educational backgrounds; objective assessment; measures to prevent corruption; institutional opportunities for meeting colleagues and working with them (e.g. induction days, collaborative learning); virtual meeting spaces; teacher-student mentoring schemes; sufficient numbers of needs-based scholarships; student loans; well equipped libraries; internet provision of resources; sufficient and adequate student accommodation; provision of quiet spaces for learning; orientation advice at induction sessions; career orientation before enrolling to university and during the course of study, with particular attention to the gender dimension of educational and career choices; opportunity for direct contact with helpful and supportive academic staff; clarity in course transmission; professional development of teaching staff; implemented procedures to follow student progress; encouragement with regard to course difficulty; and good course organisation (timetable).

Policy considerations

- ▶ Political recognition;
 - ▶ Holistic policy recognition: multiple issues requiring multiple responses at all levels of education;
 - ▶ Legal recognition: discursive and practical (funding, accreditation: new world university rankings based on social sensitivity indicators?);
 - ▶ Institutional policies.
-

Segmentation in HE – a frequently overlooked form of the reproduction of inequality

Slavko Gaber & Veronika Tašner, CEPS, University of Ljubljana

Abstract

The last decades have witnessed important rise of the enrolment in tertiary education. With it bigger shares of age cohorts enrolled, absolute number and relative shares of students from lower social strata, ethnic minorities and women grew. In line with the above mentioned process one is in the position to conclude that educational inequalities are diminishing. They are still there yet they are less and less present. We are claiming that we are facing few conflicting, contradicting processes:

- a) on the one hand – while enrolment is growing – number of better educated citizens is growing
- b) on the other hand the relative value in terms of validation of the degree reached at the market of cultural capitals is diminishing and we are experiencing new and/or additionally emphasised divisions inside the same levels of degrees.

For understanding of these divisions concept of social capital as factor facilitating/supporting actualization of the cultural capital acquired is important. Yet there is another element of significant conceptual importance: segmentation (socially horizontal and vertical). Segmentation (Bourdieu-Passeron; Ringer) as important factor and sign of the reproduction of social and ethnic inequality is in our understanding frequently missing element of the conceptualisation in empirical research and policy making. We will support our claim for social inequality with empirical evidence for Slovenia.

MS Power Point



Segmentation in HE - an overlooked form in the reproduction of inequality?

Slavko Gaber, Veronika Tašner
University of Ljubljana – PEF
(CEPS): Contribution to the Equity
in Higher Education Symposium
Ljubljana, 22-24 November 2010

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Slavko Gaber, Veronika
Tajner CEPS(UL-PEP)

Indicators of equality in HE.....

- **Thesis: Equity indicators:**
 - Access to education
 - Material conditions
 - Survival in education
 - Degrees
 - Quality
- **No doubt: all very important for equity in HE.**

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Slavko Gaber, Veronika
Tajner CEPS(UL-PEP)

One indicator more.....

- **Thesis: Need for an additional indicator**
- **Argumentation:**
 - Fairly early in 1964 – *Les Héritières* – study programs »forbidden« for lower class« (medicine and pharmacy); and segmentation of gender and class
 - Ringer(1989), *On segmentation in modern European educational systems....*
 - *Vertical and horizontal segmentation*

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Slavko Gaber, Veronika
Tajner CEPS(UL-PEP)

Segmentation as a blind spot.....

- Ringer: for an evidence based evaluation of education systems: *inclusiveness(population), progressiveness(lower strata incl.) and segmentation – not conceptualized.*
- Common sense perception is that there are a number of different study programs and tracks and students can decide among them:
 - in relation to their attainment in previous education (if capable and laborious);
 - relative to the prospects for employment;
 - and in relation to their choice and interest.

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Tajner CEPS(U.L.PEP)

Social construction of

- Such a blindness (mis-conception) is successfully covering:
 - the fact of social construction of the seemingly free and neutral choice of individuals.
- Not free:
 - dependent on CC acquired (Bourdieu) in previous education
 - related to the perceived cost and risk related to social position and status of the candidate(Boudon, Goldthorpe)
- Not neutral: contrary to common perception – substantially determines the future status of degree bearers and even their children.

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Tajner CEPS(U.L.PEP)

Facilitating illusions.....

- **Number** of tertiary education students is a **dangerous facilitator** of possible illusions related to education and its equity and equality potential.
- Evidence 1: educational “elevators” after WW2 moved numerous proportions of the population to a higher level of education scale
- Question: Social inequalities disappeared?

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Tajner CEPS(U.L.PEP)

Inclusive higher education - YES - and still.....?

- **For Slovenia:** the number of those enrolled in tertiary education tripled over the last 15 years (30.000- 90.000 – app.)
- While the number of graduates also went up from app. 6.000 to app.. 18.000, social origin still counts in educational achievement.

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Slavko Gaber, Veronika Talner CEPS(U.L.PEF)

And yet inequalities persist.....

- How come?
- We don't deny:
 - growing number of population reaching higher education – elevator effect
 - the importance of provided places in tertiary education
 - the importance of average (1.3) EU investment in HE
 - more students from lower strata
- We find persistence as socially dependent (family stock of CC; ethnicity, gender etc.) while monitoring segmentation in HE.

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Vertical segmentation.....

- The students from the lower and lower middle class “opted” for shorter cycle study programs
- And in a number of cases, they have “decided” to attend less prestigious university programs (**teachers, technical professions etc.**),
- On the other hand students of upper middle class and higher class origins “opted” for and achieved degrees in **law, architecture and medicine** - a case of vertical segmentation (Ringer 1989).

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Segmented tertiary educated Slovenia.....

Fathers' education	Enrolled -total %	Enrolled of children in education						
		Higher ed. – short cycle	Higher ed. – short cycle 2	Professional Higher ed.	University	Specialisation	MA	PhD
Together		%						
Primary education or less	100	11,1	0,7	52,5	33,4	0,3	1,8	0,1
Lower or secondary vocational ed.	100	9,0	0,8	44,6	42,6	0,5	2,2	0,2
Secondary professional or gymnasium	100	6,3	0,5	35,4	53,5	0,6	3,3	0,3
Higher – short cycle	100	4,1	0,6	27,4	62,1	0,8	4,5	0,6
Professional higher ed.	100	0,9	0,5	25,7	67,6	1,1	3,9	0,2
University ed.	100	2,2	0,3	19,4	71,0	0,8	5,3	0,9
Postgraduate studies	100	1,3	0,5	12,5	75,5	1,2	7,4	1,6

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Tajner CEPS(U.L.PEP)

Segmentation from upper secondary on.....

Fathers' education in correlation with student enrolment in high school

Enrolment	Father's education			
	Elementary	Vocational	Secondary professional	University or higher education
Lower vocational(2years)	41,50 %	39,90 %	12,70 %	5,90 %
Higher vocational(3years)	35,10 %	47,70 %	12,90 %	4,30 %
Lower secondary(4years)	17,00 %	43,60 %	23,80 %	15,60 %
Higher secondary(4-5 years)	11,80 %	45,30 %	27,00 %	15,90 %
Gymnasium	6,70 %	30,60 %	26,10 %	36,60 %

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Segmentation in HE - 2010

Students' background 2010 – pilot (Faculty of Arts, Faculty of Education)

Study program		Father – level of education					Together
		Obligatory education	Upper secondary	Tertiary short cycle	Tertiary university	Postgraduate degree	
Class teachers	N	21	133	27	20	9	210
	%	10,0%	63,3%	12,9%	9,5%	4,3%	100,0%
		56 / 26,7%					
Special needs teachers	N	12	81	12	26	8	139
	%	8,6%	58,3%	8,6%	18,7%	5,8%	100,0%
		46 / 33,1%					
Psychology	N	3	24	8	9	2	46
	%	6,5%	52,2%	17,4%	19,6%	4,3%	100,0%
		19 / 41,3%					
Together	N	36	238	47	55	19	395
	%	9,1%	60,3%	11,9%	13,9%	4,8%	100,0%
		121 / 30,6%					

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Slavko Gaber, Veronika
Tajner CEPS(U.L.PEP)

Segmentation in HE - 2010

Students' background 2010 – pilot (Faculty of Arts, Faculty of Education)

Study program		Mother – level of education					Together
		Obligatory education	Upper secondary	Tertiary short cycle	Tertiary university	Postgraduate degree	
Class teachers	N	17	108	30	49	6	210
	%	8,1%	51,4%	14,3%	23,3%	2,9%	100,0%
		85 / 40,5%					
Special needs teachers	N	11	72	25	28	4	140
	%	7,9%	51,4%	17,9%	20,0%	2,9%	100,0%
		57 / 40,7%					
Psychology	N	3	21	8	12	2	46
	%	6,5%	45,7%	17,4%	26,1%	4,3%	100,0%
		22 / 47,8%					
Together	N	31	201	63	89	10	396
	%	7,8%	50,8%	15,9%	22,5%	3,0%	100,0%
		162 / 40,9%					

Conclusion 1.....

- reproduction of social inequalities in tertiary education in Slovenia is taking place under **seemingly horizontal** (they are all part of tertiary education) and **socially neutral distribution** (they deserve it and they have decided for) of students and degrees.
- the same is going on at the transition from primary to upper secondary education.
- **Segmentation is today a typical form** under which reproduction of social inequalities is taking place.

Conclusion: inequalities via differentiated inclusion.....

- each year, a significantly disproportional higher number of students from families with more cultural capital is enrolled in more demanding programs of secondary and in particular tertiary prestigious studies
- institutions of secondary and tertiary education in Slovenia are taking part in reproduction of social inequalities not through exclusion but mainly **via differentiated inclusion**.

Theme 2: Universal Higher Education, diversity, society and equity

Contradictory functions in Higher Education's contribution to social equity

John Brennan, CHERI, The Open University, London

John Brennan is Professor of Higher Education Research at the UK Open University where he also directs the Centre for Higher Education Research and Information. He is also a Visiting Professor at the University of Bath. He has directed and participated in many national and international projects on higher education addressing topics such as graduate employment, quality assurance, universities and social transformation. By training a sociologist, he is a founder member of the Consortium of Higher Education Researchers and an elected Fellow of the Society for Research into Higher Education. He currently chairs the Scientific Committee of the European Science Foundation's research programme on 'Higher Education and Social Change'.

Abstract

The presentation will argue that modern higher education systems simultaneously provide both a mechanism for the reproduction and legitimisation of deep-rooted structures of social inequality and a means for social mobility within such structures. To do so, they require a steep vertical differentiation and stratification of their institutions. The UK will be used to illustrate the argument, providing as it does both steep levels of social inequality and a highly stratified higher education system.

The paper will distinguish between 'import' and 'export' aspects of higher education's potential contribution to social equity. The former refers to widening participation in higher education to people from traditionally under-represented backgrounds. The latter refers to the wider social impacts of higher education, through ensuring that the knowledge produced and transmitted in higher education is available for the use and benefit of all..

The 'rival' claims of 'elite reproduction' and 'liberal' theorists will be considered, particularly with reference to evidence from the UK case, a society characterised by high levels of social inequality and by a higher education system characterised by steep 'vertical differentiation' of its institutions. It will be argued that this steep institutional differentiation enables contradictory social functions of higher education to be performed and 'legitimised' simultaneously.

The paper will also consider some of the policy claims made for the contribution of higher education to the achievement of social equity and some of the empirical literature about whether such claims have validity. Suggestions for a research agenda on the relationship between higher education and social equity will be made.

MS Power Point

Contradictory functions in higher education's
contribution to social equity

John Brennan
Centre for Higher Education Research and Information
The Open University, UK

Symposium on Equity in Higher Education,
Ljubljana, November, 2010

Equity, social justice and higher education

'Import' notions

Social compositions of HE students and staff
How can they be made more representative of the
larger society?

'Export' notions

'How can we contribute to the creation of a more
equitable, respectful and just society for
everyone?' (Zajda, 2006)
'Making the hoard of knowledge produced or
preserved by universities available to society more
broadly' (Calhoun, 2006)

Assumptions of 'liberal' theorists:
education and 'progressive social change'
(Rob Moore, 2005)

- Producing the 'human capital' required by an increasingly high-skill, science-based economy
- Promoting 'civic' values and behaviour appropriate to advanced liberal democracy
- Developing a 'meritocratic' selection system ('achieved' rather than 'ascribed' status)
- Facilitating an 'open society' characterised by high levels of social mobility reflecting the relationship between ability and opportunity

Assumptions of 'elite reproduction' theorists:
Education maintaining privilege and power
(Rob Moore, 2005)

- Reproduce the privileges and dominance of the ruling class
- Secure the legitimacy of capitalist social relations through the inculcation of the dominant ideology
- Block the development of counter-hegemonic working-class consciousness that could effectively challenge capitalism
- Systematically prepare pupils for their differentiated future positions within the capitalist economy and social structure

Policy assumptions:some examples

OECD (2006): 'promote democracy, tolerance and social cohesion' and 'fuel economic development through creation of knowledge and skills'

IAU (2005): 'instil the critical thinking that underpins responsible citizenship'

CoE (2006): developing 'democratic culture', 'active citizenship' and 'well-being of whole society', 'human rights and social justice', 'environmental sustainability and dialogue'

General observations on policy messages

- National bodies tend to place greater emphasis on the 'economic' and international organisations more likely to emphasise equity and social justice?
- Nationally, equity considerations may be subsidiary to the economic (full utilisation of national talent for wealth creation)?
- Inevitably, international organisations tend to emphasise mobility and trans-national education
- Policy bodies tend to be critical of HE's performance in terms of equity and participation
- But make brave and optimistic statements about what is possible – 'liberal assumptions'

‘The social construction of legitimate difference’

1. HE can provide opportunities for people to ‘succeed’ in a meritocratic society.
2. Achievement in HE ‘legitimises’ this success.

“differential status and differential income are based on technical skills and higher education, and few places are open to those without such qualifications” (Bell, 1974)

“It’s all your own fault if you don’t succeed”

- Credentials getting more important in determination of life chances.
- There is unequal access to credentials.
- Credentials are a vital route to social mobility – but possibilities of ‘status congestion’.
- Credentials link with and may disguise continuing importance of other social and cultural factors.
- Differentiation – different ‘classes of higher education’ come to serve different social classes.
- Opportunity structures and ‘social order’.

Empirical literature on access and participation shows....

- Large differences in HE participation rates between social and cultural groups
- Expansion of enrolments fails to help
- Barriers include ‘cost’, ‘entry qualifications’, ‘lack of flexibility (curriculum and learning)’, ‘limited support services’, ‘institutional culture’ (Thomas, 2001)
- Different conclusions about whether problems lie within HE or elsewhere
- Importance of institutional differentiation – functions of ‘elite’ and ‘mass’ sectors/institutions

The UK case: maintaining 'elite' in 'mass'

- A society marked by high levels of social inequality
- A higher education system marked by strong 'vertical differentiation'
- 'Where' you study matters more than 'what' you study
- 'Where' you study is largely determined by your social background

The UK case: A route to social mobility

- Entering higher education is a major route to social mobility
- 'Small steps for the many' rather than 'giant leaps for the few' (Chapman)
- A 'training and skills' agenda for the masses – meeting economic needs
- 'Unintended' consequences of personal transformation

On 'exporting' social equity....

Credential inflation....

"expanded access may imply more open and meritocratic distribution of existing credentials, but of course it actually produces an inflation in credentials and a new emphasis on prestige differentiations among apparently identical credentials" (Calhoun, 2006)

And credentials combine with factors connected with social and cultural capital in determination of life chances.

Wider benefits?

- Private and public benefits?
- Benefits especially for non-participants
- Linked to debates about ‘marketisation’, ‘management and accountability’, ‘perceived erosion of academic autonomy’
- Linked to theories of ‘social capital’, ‘class and gender reproduction’.

No shortage of claims.....

- University as ‘pivotal institution in...
...process of collective self-enlightenment’
(Barnett, 2000)
- Public benefits through contribution to economic success
- And through contribution to democracy
- And through taking ‘truth’ to ‘power’, maintaining ‘critical space’

Research agenda (on participation)

- Equity at entry *and* exit
- Regional disparities and local actions
- Better understanding of and reasons for country differences (including secondary education effects)
- Effects of different HE structures, especially types of differentiation, lifelong learning etc
- Effects of initiatives to widen participation
- Effects of increasing international mobility
- Different issues for different social groups
- Non-participation: values/aspirations of youth

Degrees, Jobs and Status in Society – the tension between Meritocracy and Equality

Ulrich Teichler, INCHER, Universität Kassel

Ulrich Teichler is a professor and former director of the International Centre for Higher Education Research, University of Kassel (Germany). Born in 1942; study of sociology, Free University of Berlin; researcher, Max Planck Institute for Educational Research Berlin; doctoral dissertation on higher education in Japan. Extended research periods in Japan, the Netherlands and the U.S.; for some period professor on part-time/short-term basis at the Northwestern University (U.S.), College of Europe (Belgium), Hiroshima University (Japan), and Open University (UK). Key research areas: higher education and the world of work, comparison of higher education systems, and international mobility in higher education; more than 1,000 publications. Member of the International Academy of Education and the Academia Europaea, former chairman of the Consortium of Higher Education Researchers, former president and distinguished member of EAIR; Dr. h.c. of the University of Turku (Finland).

Abstract

The relationships between education and employment are primarily shaped in modern societies by “educational meritocracy” and additionally by three factors: (a) Reinforcement of privileges, (b) compensatory mechanisms in favour of equity, and (c) luck and opportunities for the smartest. The meritocratic links between achievement in higher education and career success are challenged by the fact that the more higher education expands the smaller differences of achievements become important for career success, thus opening the door for reinforcement of privileges or luck.

MS Power Point

**Degrees, Jobs and Status in Society –
the Tensions between Meritocracy
and Quality**

**Contribution to the Joint EQUINET and DEP Symposium
on Equity in Higher Education**

**Center for Higher Education Policy Studies
University of Ljubljana**

Ljubljana, 22- 24 November 2010

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Ulrich Teichler: Degrees, Jobs and Status in Society

Towards Educational Meritocracy

The Basic Trend of Modernisation:
Achievement Society

- Opening up of education
- Educational success based on achievement
- Professional and social success based on determined by educational success




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Relativisation of the Ideal-type Model of Educational Meritocracy

- Varied dimensions of professional and social success
- Varied dimensions of educational success
- The dilemmas of educational meritocracy
- Actual limitations vis-à-vis the ideal type model of openness and achievement-reward



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Varied Dimensions of Professional and Social Success (I)

- Income
- High-level occupation (managers, professionals, etc.)
- Power
- Occupational status, prestige
- "Good" employment and work
- Job satisfaction
- Fulfilment of varied goals



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Varied Dimensions of Professional and Social Success (II)

- Substantial differences of income of high-level occupations according to economic sector and occupational group
- Graduate surveys show that occupations are highly appreciated according to intrinsic values (job autonomy, challenging job, utilization of knowledge, etc.)
- Diverse occupational and life values (e.g. "post-industrial values", "occupation-life compatibility", social change agents, etc.)
- Increasing value of competences only partly or not at all linked to educational success

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Varied Dimensions of Educational Success

- Educational attainment
- Credentials
- Education-based competences

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The Dilemmas of Educational Meritocracy

The achievement society – open access to education, education based on achievement and high reward of educational achievement – turns out to be disruptive:

- "Over-competition" destroys the quality of education
- Educational meritocracy de-motivates the majority of "losers"
- "Credentialism" and "degreeocracy" destroys reward of achievement
- Selection becomes artificial in the process of mass higher education (based on minute differences)
- "Educational hospitalism" (declining competences not strongly shaped by formal education)
- Do we need a "moderate educational meritocracy"?

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The Actual Limitations vis-à-vis the Ideal-type Model of Openness and Reward of Achievement

Professional and social success is not only determined by educational meritocracy; factors competing:

- The privileges of the privileged
- Compensatory policies for the disadvantaged
- Luck, smartness
- The coexistence of these factors actually leads to “moderate educational meritocracy”

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The “Equality” Debate: Persistence of Arguments and Fuzziness of Decades

What is meant by “equality”?

- Destruction of barriers against open education?
- Compensatory educational measures?
- “Fair selection” at entry to careers and within careers?
- “Affirmative action” or “positive discrimination” of the under-privileged?
- Changing criteria of “quality” and “success”?

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Changing Egalitarian Concerns

- Parental occupational background, parental education, gender, ethnic minorities, migrants, etc
- Changing proportion of the under-privileged: From the majority in the class society to the minority of the “socially excluded”
- From “meritocracy” to “social cohesion”?
- From national to international perspectives?

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Conclusions

- Egalitarian policies remain subordinated to policies of strengthening educational meritocracy
- More attention will be paid in the future to the “dilemmas” of educational meritocracy
- Are we helpless victims of these “dilemmas”?
- “Globalisation” as an excuse for non-policies?

UNICHER

The roles of reputational competition and positional goods in maintaining patterns of inequality

Roger Dale, Centre for Globalisation, Education and Societies

Abstract

One notable feature of the landscape of Universities is the growing prominence of particular forms of inter-University competition, in particular of reputational competition, typically mediated through ‘league tables. It may be considered that this, alongside a formal audit culture, will replace or reduce the ‘positional’ significance of University qualifications. This presentation will seek to show that and how this is not the case, and discuss the implications of this for continuing inequality production through higher education, including possible mitigation through changing modes of valorisation.

MS Power Point

The roles of reputational competition in maintaining patterns of inequality in Higher Education.

Presentation to joint EQUNET & DEP Symposium
on Equity in Higher Education
University of Ljubljana, 22-24 November 2010

Roger Dale, ESRC LLAKES Research Centre,
University of Bristol

Metatheoretical Preamble

- **“a whole series of key concepts for the understanding of society derive their power from appearing to be just what they always were and derive their instrumentality from taking on quite different forms” (Smith 2006, p. 628).**
- **Institutional fetishism, ‘the identification of abstract institutional conceptions like the market economy or representative democracy with a particular repertory of contingent arrangements’ Unger 1996, 12**
- **I have seen my friends in the Open University change the vocabularies through which they describe their work, and as a result, without them changing their values or their political views in any way, the nature and meaning of what they do has changed completely (Stuart Hall 1993) (paraphrase)**

A New Social Contract for Education

- ‘Traditionally’, Education seen as the means of realisation of the project of Modernity via combinations of Personal Development (better people); Social Mobility (better chances); Economic Growth (better economies benefit all)—with these things a collective, ‘social contractual’, responsibility
- Currently, the goals remain, in different forms and combinations, but the main shift is the limiting of the state’s role to making it possible for everyone to access the opportunities to realise these goals themselves--
- A return to a kind of ‘doux commerce’, ‘liberal dream’, where markets encourage personal virtues of honesty, integrity, trust, civilized and cooperative behavior, consumer sovereignty and freedom in the public sphere, and provide incentives and opportunities for innovation

Outline of Argument

- The emergence of reputational risk in the calculus of Universities
- Reputational risk and the modes of distribution of knowledge in Higher Education
- Reputational risk and the modes of valorization of knowledge; the issue of positional competition

From Quality Assurance to Risk Management

- The 'institutionalisation' of 'Quality' as a notion, a set of practices and evidential base for membership of an international HE community has been an increasingly dominant feature of the HE landscape over the past 20 years.
- The emergence of 'Indicators' of quality enabled/required the quantification of quality, and that in turn enabled *rankings*, a key addition to the regulatory armamentarium of those who would shape, control and direct Universities

Differences between Quality and Rankings

1

- Indicators of quality are threshold concepts, not comparative
- They are in effect zero-sum; you either have them or you don't
- They are 'non-rivalrous' one University possessing them doesn't prevent another being quality assured
- They are a framework for action that can be met in diverse ways
- They are subject to formal audit
- Hence not available informs amenable to ranking
- The move from QA to international rankings is a shift from (national and international) consumer protection to global competitive comparison

Programme Ontologies and Logics of Intervention

- POs are the theories behind intervention rather than the intervention itself. Pawson argues that it is POs, not Programmes, that 'work'; e.g. smoking cures
- Why does ranking pose such a qualitatively different threat from other programme ontologies?
- Because it involves active and *competitive* comparison between *individual* institutions, whereas naming and shaming, for instance, threatens membership of a category.
- In rank ordering, *competitive comparison* drives all, prevents complacency within group, whereas *categorisation* works via thresholds, and about avoiding the 'failure' category/ies.
- Both may be used within different logics of intervention— WHY are we doing this? What do we want to change, sustain, promote, etc? Is it to concentrate resources for research and innovation, to incentivise the laggards, as a means of control, all of these?

Rankings and Risk

- 'Whereas trust, on the one hand, deals with the inherent unknowableness of the future by assuming away aspects of uncertainty, risk management seeks to bring a certain degree of measurability to expectations, even though certainty about the future is impossible.
- In this way, risk reflects how 'the nature of modern culture, especially its technical and economic substructure, requires precisely such "calculability" of consequences' (Brown and Calnan, 2009 12-13).

Definition as 'Risk'

- 'something only becomes a risk if it is socially considered to be one. A disadvantageous ranking therefore just an unfavourable position in an arbitrary data sheet, but as soon as it is defined as a risk, it needs to be avoided, registered, anticipated, dealt with, recorded, audited, and so forth. Thus the power of definition becomes an important one as it shapes the organisation's future scope of actions and self perception.' (Huber, 2010, 85)

Risk Management

- QA neither creates significant comparative risks, nor would be sufficient in itself to manage the risks of being in global knowledge economy
- This is crucial, when ' mandatory risk management makes HEIs become strategic entrepreneurial actors.universities become organisational actors (Krücken & Meier, 2006) which must engage in practices like competition and strategy development formerly exclusive to the private sector'.(Huber)
- So the rationale behind risk management becomes a dominant one as it is reproduced through internalisation (Power, Scheytt, Soin, & Sahlin, 2009). The organisation has no other means to see itself but through the lens of risk management.

'Reputation' as the currency of risk in HE

- 'Reputation' has emerged as the key and dominant currency of risk to Universities world wide.
- This has been enabled and fuelled through a process where agencies external to the organisation, and initially possibly peripheral to, and even parasitic on, the field, not only collect information from institutions within the field, but combine and produce it in new forms, typically aggregate rankings.
- 'these dense, often single-figure, calculative representations of reputation constitute a new kind of performance metric and are a growing **source** of man-made, institutionalised risk to organizations as they acquire increased recognition in fields' (Power et al 2010, 311)

Consequences

Reputational Rankings generate 'self-reinforcing behaviours and shifting cognitive frames and values over time...and have the potential to shift motivations and missions by constructing self-reinforcing circuits of performance' , so that

'organizational performance indicators for internal purposes come to be reactively aligned with those which inform an evaluation or ranking system' (Espeland and Sauder 2007)' (312

'Reputation, as a perceptual construct may be one component of a ranking metric in the first instance, but the rank itself come to influence the perceptions of key constituencies, such as clients'

Consequences for Mode of Distribution of Knowledge

- Who has access to what knowledge, where, when and through what means?
- How, in pursuit of what manifest and latent social, economic, political and educational purposes; under what pattern of coordination of education governance; by whom; and following what (sectoral and cultural) path dependencies, are these things problematised, decided, administered, managed?
- What are the individual, emotional, private, public, social, economic, collective and community **outcomes** of 'education', at each scalar level? What are their consequences for equity, individual and collective capability, democracy and social justice?

Reputational risk and the modes of valorization of knowledge; the issue of positional competition

- All economic goods are scarce, but, while the supply of regular goods can be increased by production over time, supplies of other goods are fixed (Hirsch 1976, 22). Builders can build more skyscrapers, but there can only be one tallest building, and competition will involve wasteful social climbing. Similarly, for highly positioned jobs, the credentials required might increase, and the resulting resource utilization might be wasteful overall.
- Degrees have different positional value, associated with the status, prestige, reputation of the University awarding them.
 - **University reputation** is increasingly the key source of positional advantage.

Consequences of 'University reputation' as basis of positional status

- 'economic models in which individual utility depends not only on absolute consumption, but also on relative consumption.identify a fundamental conflict between individual and social welfare.
- The conflict stems from the fact that concerns about relative consumption are stronger in some domains than in others.
- The disparity gives rise to expenditure arms races focused on positional goods-those for which relative position matters most. The result is to divert resources from nonpositional goods, causing welfare losses'. Frank
- ??? One basis of continuing inequality if education???

‘Experience Goods’?

- ‘Reputations rule in higher education competition, and reputations are a factor only in markets where providers sell “experience goods.” An experience good is any good/service where the consumer does not know quality prior to purchase; he has to “experience” the good before he can judge quality. Quality uncertainty leads consumers to use the provider’s reputation for *previous* quality produced as an indicator of *current* quality. In extreme cases, the consumer assumes the higher the cost, the higher the quality.
- Notice the perverse incentive this creates. If the institution spends more per student, the public assumes quality is increasing; if the institution cuts cost per student, the public assumes quality is declining. Hence, *prudent cost control (which might make it possible to lower prices) lowers academic reputation!*

Reputational Risk and ‘Massification’

- Expansion of access to HE increases the number of people competing for the same outcomes, but they are not competing on the same playing field, either when they are seeking access to HE, or expecting to derive benefits from it.
- As universities seize upon knowledge to legitimize themselves as drivers of the new economy, they compete with each other in ways very different to the older and more intangible measures of ‘reputation’ that were created over time.; from mystique to technique
- For elite Universities, reputational risk management entails replacement —or at least complementing-- of mystique as basis of reputation (and bestower of positional status) by technique.

Summary: Effects of rankings as forms of reputational risk on modes of knowledge production, distribution and validation

- Production: What counts as knowledge? The struggle over the meaning of knowledge may disappear in a competitive environment where it is the ranking agencies who measure the value of knowledge.
- Distribution: Who is taught, (or learns through processes explicitly designed to foster learning), what, how and why, when, where, by/from whom, under what immediate circumstances and broader conditions, and with what personal, professional and institutional consequences?
- Validation: What is knowledge *for*? Who uses the knowledge provided by rankings? (NB dangers of data-matching)
- Tightening of agenda, Diversification of response....? And differentiation of sector?

University – a Stairway to Heaven and the Graveyard of Hopes

Voldemar Tomusk, International Higher Education Support Program, Open Society Foundations, London

Voldemar Tomusk is the Director for Policy and Evaluation of Open Society Foundations' International Higher Education Support Program (HESP), based in London, UK. He holds a doctoral degree in Social Sciences in Sociology of Education from the University of Turku, Finland. Prior to joining Open Society Institute in Budapest in 1995, he served as the head of the Higher Education Division and acting director of Higher Education and Research in the Estonian Ministry of Education. He has written extensively on higher education and higher education reforms. His works include "The Open World and Closed Societies: Essays on Higher Education Reforms 'in Transition'" (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2004), and an edited volume "Creating the European Area of Higher Education: Voices from the Periphery" (Dordrecht: Springer 2006).

Abstract

With the higher education systems expanding and the public becoming increasingly concerned how their money is being spent, universities have come under the pressure to deliver mutually excluding outcomes. Fragmented nature of universities and systems allows confirming all the agendas while avoiding being diagnosed with an obvious psychiatric disorder, needed, among the others, to qualify as holding a "beautiful mind". Whether Russell Crowe would be able to act with an equal success in the complex role of European higher education is not yet entirely obvious to this author.

What is particularly disturbing here is the fact that there seems to be no problem at all in European higher education addressing almost in the same breath the programmes for the "brand Europe" and world "class universities". In an interesting twist, voices are now heard in the UK for two-year degrees, perhaps as another "third way". How exactly would any of these programmes contribute towards building better societies, whatever the latter may mean to any of the publics involved, remains unclear. While the public may still expect higher education to provide social mobility to everybody in almost no time, the effort reminds increasingly certain tricks performed by baron von Munchhausen. Perhaps it's a time to take a reality check here.

Exactly half a century ago Burton Clark realized that: "A major problem of democratic society is inconsistency between encouragement to achieve and the realities of limited opportunity." In those days in California two-year colleges served the somewhat unfortunate goal of cooling out the less hopeful. It would perhaps be naïve to think that in the Europe of our own days opportunities for social mobility are not limited. Clearly, in mass systems the burial of the expectations never to be met is becoming one of the major tasks of certain types of institutions or fields of studies. If nothing else, it would be an interesting thought exercise to look for the cooling out tracks in our own higher education systems.

Who gets a degree? Access to tertiary education in Europe 1950-2009

Aleš Bartušek, Education Policy Centre, Faculty of Education, Charles University

Aleš Bartušek is a junior researcher in the Education Policy Centre (Faculty of Education, Charles University in Prague). His main field of interest are expansion and diversification of tertiary education and equity issues. He holds a master's degree in statistics (University of Economics in Prague).

Abstract

Although large international surveys focused on inequalities in access to tertiary education are rather an exception, it is still possible to carry out comparative analyses based on data gathered from surveys conducted on other themes. This has been the aim of our latest study (<http://svp.pedf.cuni.cz/download.asp?Whogetsadegree.pdf>) that has utilized data of the European Social Survey (2002-2009). Although limited by the data available, the study can still contribute to the understanding of two central problems: how the inequalities have changed during the last sixty years, that is during the period of an unprecedented expansion of tertiary education in twenty-five European countries, and what has been the relative weight of four main factors of socio-economic background – of the education and occupation of both parents.

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Who gets a degree?
Access to tertiary education in Europe 1950-2009

Jan Koucký, Aleš Bartušek

EQUNET & CEPS Symposium on Equity in HE
University of Ljubljana, 23-24 November 2010

Who gets a degree?

- The output of activity „Inequality in Higher and Tertiary Education Attainment in the Czech Republic and other European Countries.
- Concluded in May 2010; an updated version of 2009 study „Who is more equal?“.
- Using empirical data gathered by the European Social Survey (ESS 1-4), it has tried to find out what is the level and the character of inequality, how it has changed in Europe in the last sixty years, particularly how it has been related to the expansion of tertiary education.

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European Social Survey (ESS)

EPC study uses the data of four ESS rounds from 25 countries (roughly 160 thousand respondents):

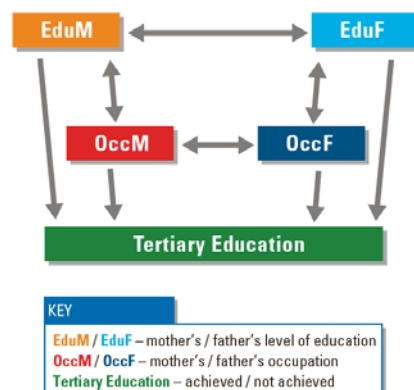
- ESS-1 conducted in 2002/2003
- ESS-2 conducted in 2004/2005
- ESS-3 conducted in 2006/2007
- ESS-4 conducted in 2008/2009

ESS allows to:

- combine ESS rounds to increase the size of the sample
- cover almost the whole Europe and use relatively fresh data
- analyse inequalities in tertiary education attainment

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Analysis of inequality Conceptual model



Logistic regression model

Explained variable (respondent's characteristic)

- The attainment of **Tertiary Education**

Explaining variables (respondent's parents)

- Father's and mother's level of **education**
- Father's and mother's **occupation** at the respondent's age 14 years

Six age cohorts since 1950

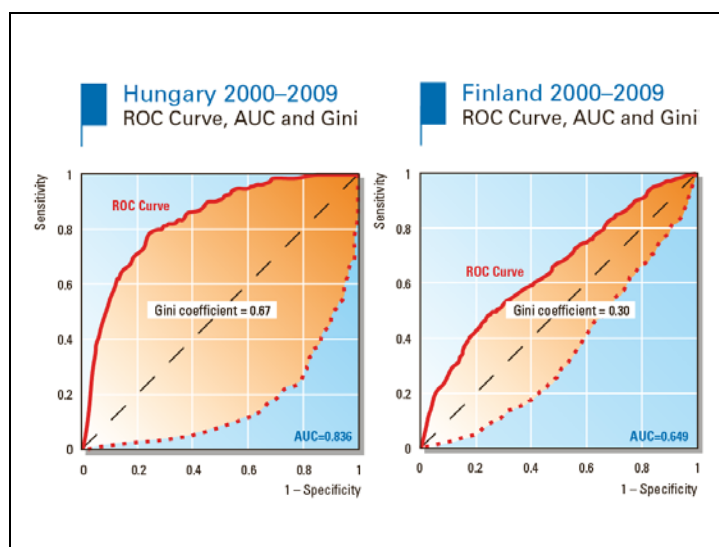
- Defined by the decade in which respondent's tertiary education was attained

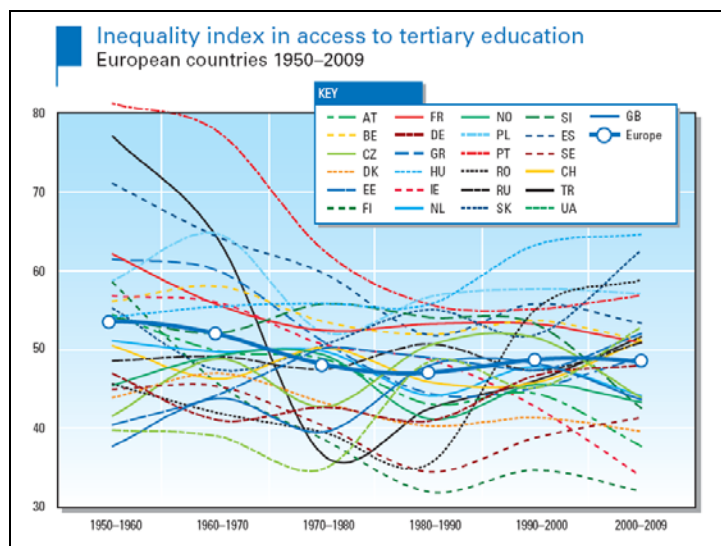
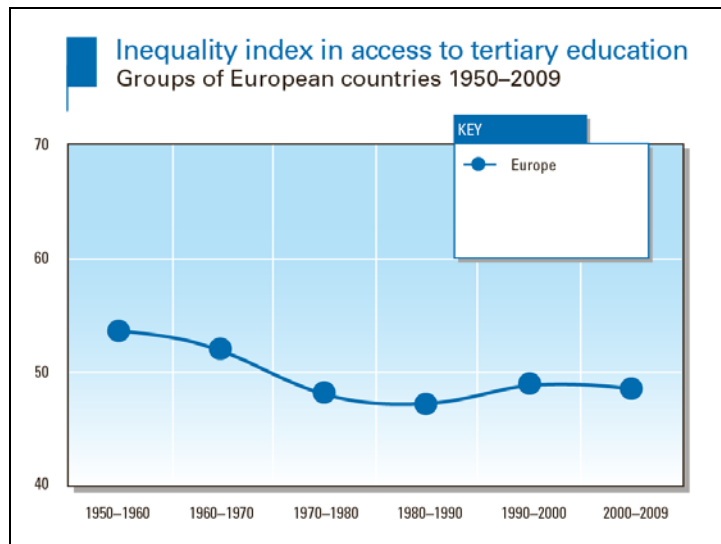
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Odds ratios and Inequality index

- **Odds ratios** of tertiary education attainment between the top and bottom quarters of the most and the least disadvantaged children by the family background factors.
- **Inequality index (I_i)** indicates the overall level of inequalities in Tertiary Education attainment
- I_i assumes values within the $<0; 100>$ interval (the higher the index, the higher the inequality and vice versa)
- I_i (Inequality index) = $(2AUC - 1) \times 100 =$ **Gini index**

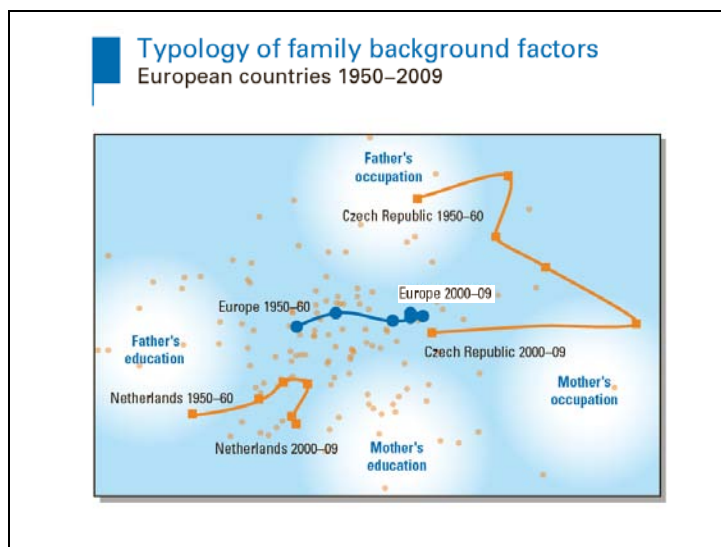
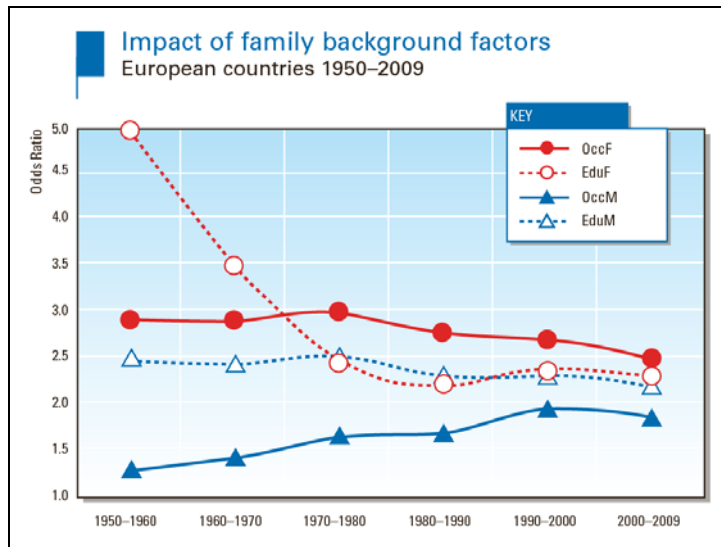
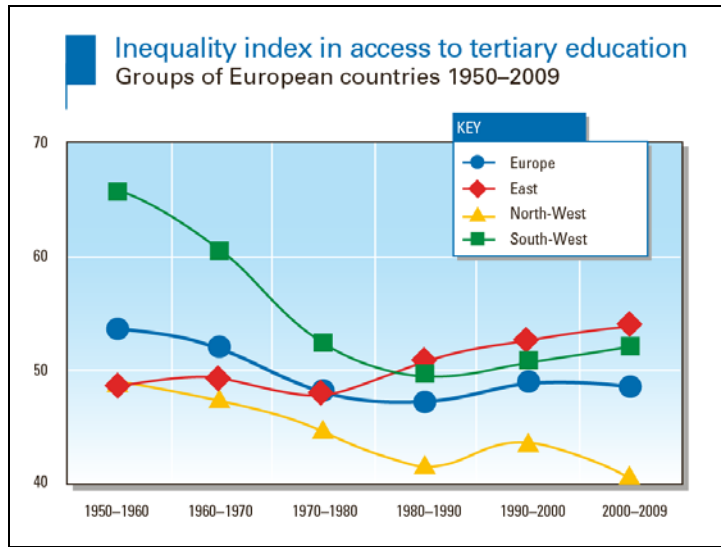
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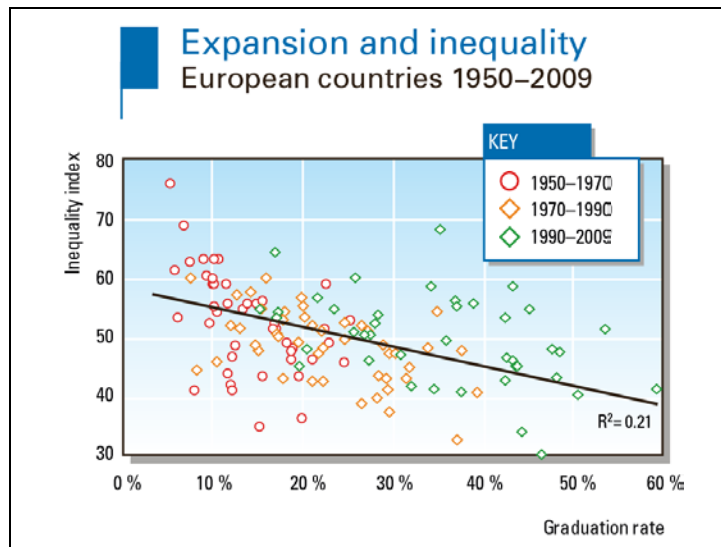




Groups of countries

- **NORTH-WEST** = Austria (AT), Denmark (DK), Finland (FI), Germany (DE), Ireland (IE), the Netherlands (NL), Norway (NO), Sweden (SE), the United Kingdom (GB);
- **SOUTH-WEST** = Belgium (BE), France (FR), Greece (GR), Portugal (PT), Spain (ES), Switzerland (CH), Turkey (TR).
- **EAST** = the Czech Republic (CZ), Estonia (EE), Hungary (HU), Poland (PL), Romania (RO), the Russian Federation (RU), the Slovak Republic (SK), Slovenia (SI), Ukraine (UA);

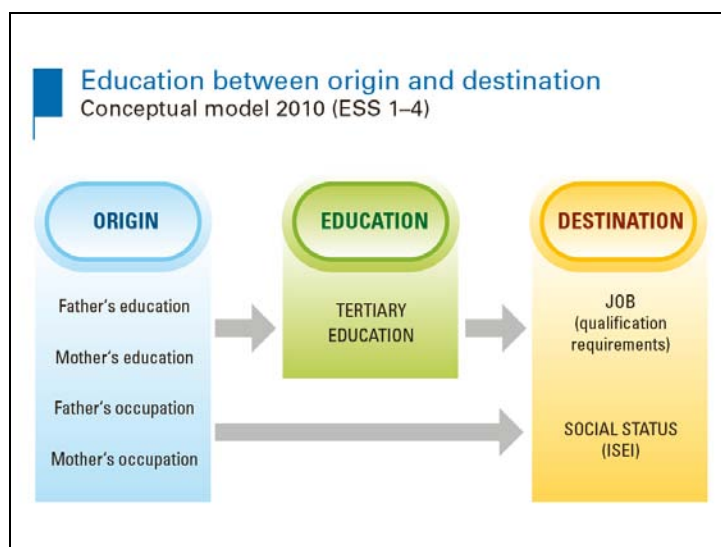




Conclusions of the 2010 study

- The EPC model and the ESS data have allowed to construct the **Inequality index** and to measure the level of inequality in tertiary education attainment in Europe as a whole and in individual countries during last decades.
- It changes over time, falling down till the 80's, then raising slightly again in the 90's, and remaining at the approximately same level after 2000.
- Considering the impact of family background, it is necessary to take into account education and occupation of both parents.
- Quantitative expansion is not automatically followed by a reduction of inequalities.

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Theme 3: Equity in Higher Education systems, mechanisms and financing

Strategies for ensuring Equitable Access to HE for immigrant groups

Leon Cremonini, CHEPS, University of Twente

Leon Cremonini has a Laurea in International Political Science (with a concentration in European integration) from the University of Bologna (Italy). He also holds a Post-Graduate Diploma in project Management and EU policies, from the 'Profingest School of Management', Bologna, Italy. Leon's particular interests lie in quality assessment at the institutional and programme level, and accreditation. He has several years experience in higher education reform, policy formulation and implementation in several countries around the world.

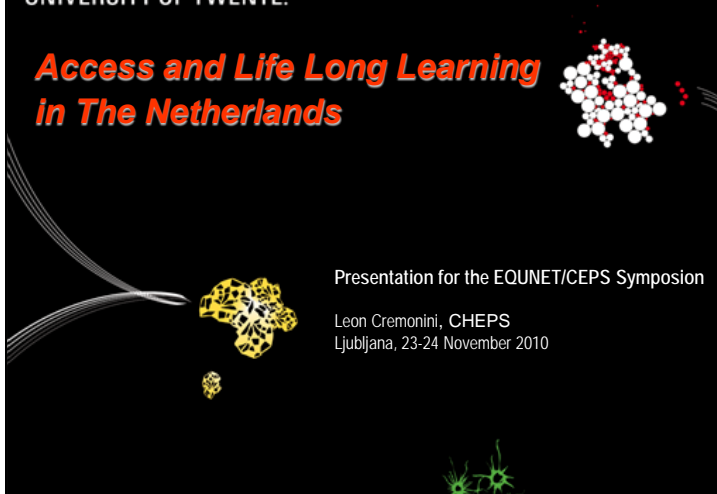
Abstract

Obstacles in accessing higher education often result in subsequent missed career opportunities. In some systems (e.g. in the Netherlands) students must make important choices at an early age. Such "early tracking" can limit certain groups' participation to higher education and maintain persistent social inequalities. The valuation of prior learning (VPL) is meant to enable more individuals to be in higher education and remain employable throughout their lives. However, it is also said to promote "degree inflation" and perpetuate social inequities. Is VPL, then, a measure of change or is it an easy way of legitimizing persistent social inequality? Should its scope eventually cover all levels of tertiary education?

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Access and Life Long Learning in The Netherlands



Presentation for the EQUINET/CEPS Symposium

Leon Cremonini, CHEPS
Ljubljana, 23-24 November 2010

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Education and Inequality

- An important avenue for social mobility for people from lower social strata who can not inherit privilege
- Contributes to the transmission of inequality between generations since it is unequally distributed between strata

Ensuring access is critical, but what access?

It is important to comprehend the role of expansion in shaping inequality in educational opportunity, because expansion is an important policy tool that governments use in attempts to reduce IEO between social strata

(Yossi Shavit, Meir Yaish, and Eyal Bar-Haim, 2007)

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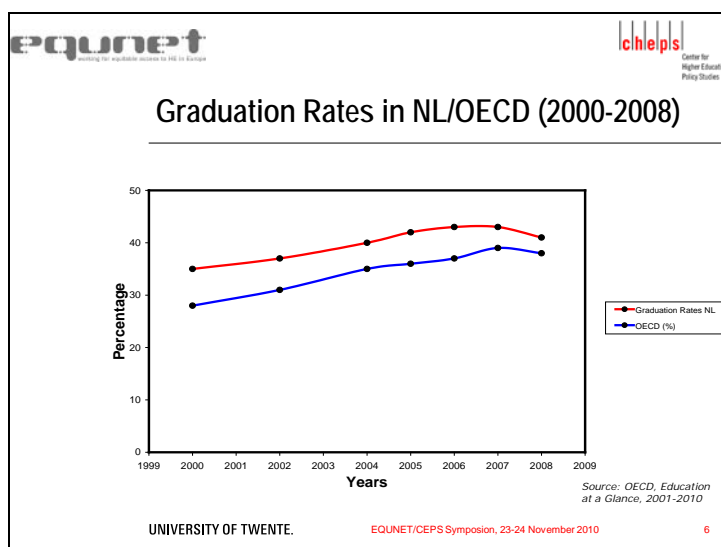
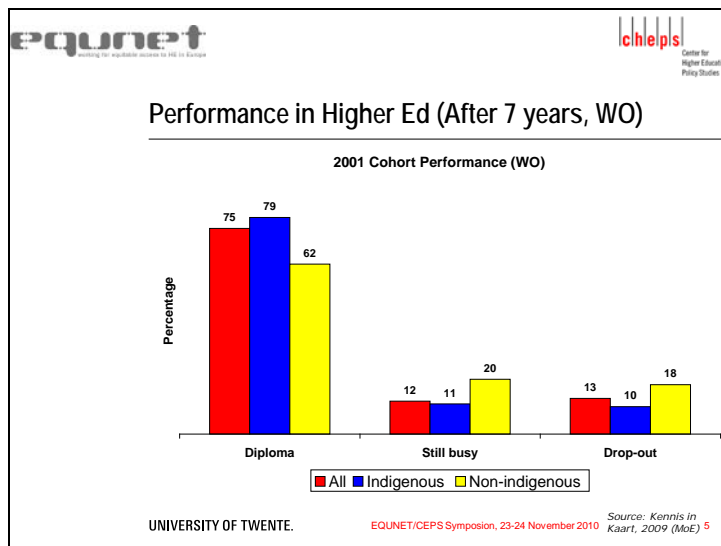
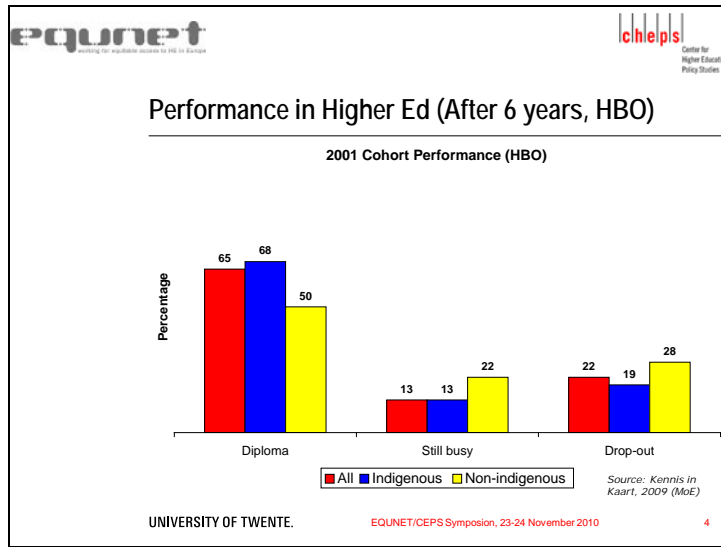
Defining Access

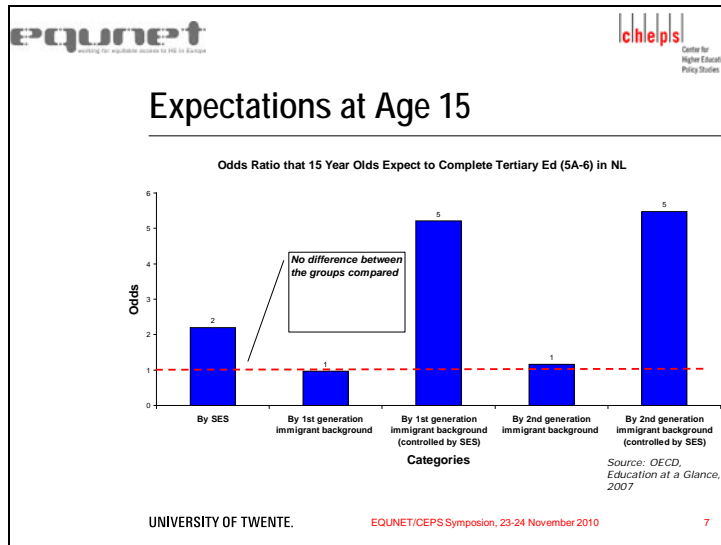
- Access with participation:
 - Ensuring that students are granted entry and acceptance at a higher education institution
- Access with success:
 - Need to monitor and enable students' success in their studies

In the Netherlands students with the appropriate secondary qualification are entitled to enter tertiary education.

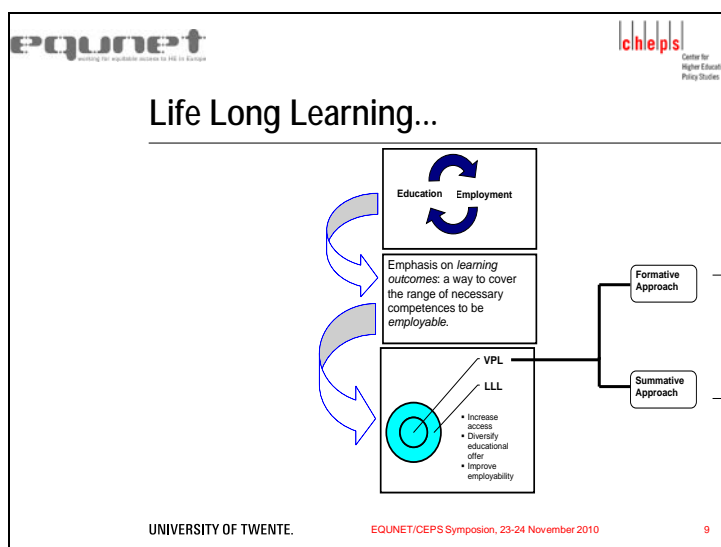
Entry with participation is not the biggest problem

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-
- Key Access Issues in the Netherlands**
- Drop-outs
 - Differentials in access among different groups in society
 - Immigrant vs. non-immigrant background
 - Socio-economic status
 - "Mature" students vs. "traditional" age cohorts
 - *Early tracking is an issue that will have to be addressed*
 - *If the Netherlands wants to be a knowledge-based society and effectively contribute to the Lisbon objectives, its efforts in Life Long Learning (LLL) should be intensified*
- (OECD, 2008)



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... And Valuation of Prior Learning

Source: Feenstra, et al, 2003 (taken from Dovckot, R., 2008)

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What is Valuation of Prior Learning (VPL)?

VPL is the process of :

- Assessing and matching personal competencies within the socio-economic context, including the HE system
- Offering a personal development-strategy
- Creating the **learning triangle** individual/organisation/learning system

A way to expand participation (with success) in Higher Education

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VPL in Dutch Higher Education

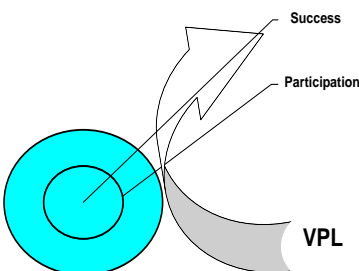
- On Bachelor-level: project EVC in HBO
- Master-level: pressure from companies
- Connecting VPL with EQF
- Arranging knowledge circulation between business and university
- Building a peer-assessment system
- Building up new learning route for LLLers

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VPL and Access



Success *VPL can lead to success*

Participation *VPL has helped many drop-outs return to study, thanks to credit exemptions. This has helped successfully complete the educational path*

VPL *VPL as a tool for educational expansion:*

Issues of quality and persistent inequalities

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Example of VPL Process

- Candidate fills in application form
- Candidate gets personal information
- Candidate builds up showcase/portfolio
- Assessors perform pre-assessment
- Actual assessment
- Valuation & advice
- Validation & offer learning made-to-measure

(Duvekoot 2007, EVC centrum – HvA)

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Example: Bachelor 'Social-Legal Advisor'

Seven competencies:

1. Implementing laws and regulations
2. Informing citizens on rights, appeal, etc.
3. Advice & support in social-legal procedures
4. Indication and linking to legal services
5. Assisting clients and representing them
6. Developing policy and innovation
7. Supporting professionals and volunteers

(Duvekoot 2007, EVC centrum – HvA)

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Example: Bachelor 'Social-Legal Advisor' (cont.)

Example of Accepted evidence:

- Case-reports
- PR-plans
- Client-dossiers or legal advice
- Appeals
- Policy-plans
- Coaching programmes

(Duvekoot 2007, EVC centrum – HvA)


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Does VPL Reduce Inequality in Higher Ed?

- Dispersion of education and saturation
 - Does expansion in Higher Ed favour immigrants or lower SES groups?
- Postponed selection and differentiation
 - New inequalities in the odds of placement in the more selective track and subsequent transitions?

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THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION !

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Return-based contributions to finance higher education - a temporary graduate tax

Dieter Dohmen, FiBS Berlin

Dr. Dieter Dohmen is founder, owner and Director of the Institute for Education and Socio-Economic Research (FiBS) in Berlin, as well as co-owner of FiBS Consulting GbR. He was born in 1962. Dr. Dohmen works as researcher and consultant in the economics of education for 25 years and began his career already before he founded FiBS. Additionally, he worked as consultant for student support and as president of Cologne's student association. He was lecturer at the University of Bielefeld, the University of Oldenburg and the Berlin

His core expertise is on education financing and educational management and planning in a national and international perspective. He works across the education system from early childhood education and school education to higher education and initial and continuing vocational education and training. He wrote his PhD-thesis on the tax and transfer system, with a special focus on incentives for education by including legal aspects into the economic analysis. Over the last few years the financing of higher education as well as further professional training was at the core of his focus. He had the major responsibility for developing the new model for the financing of lifelong learning in Germany and for a recent study on demand-led financing of professional training. At the moment, he has conducted several studies on the financing of education and training, e.g. for DG EAC, the (German) Institute for Adult Education as well as for the Dutch Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment. He has also developed vouchers model for the financing of higher education in the German states Berlin and Baden-Wuerttemberg and contributed to the national and international debate of student support schemes and tuition fees.

A topic that is presently at the focus of his work is the identification of additional (private) sources to increasing the resources for education financing.

Abstract

The higher education system is hit by several challenges. One is the growing number of students; another is the budget's limited ability to pay for. For example, Germany may have to finance another 1mln first grade students over the next decade; UK has announced a serious budget cut and Austria is about to plan it for 2013. In all cases additional new funding sources are needed to increase student enrolment and/or to compensate for budget cuts. Student fees have been playing its role over the last decades though the debate about the best suitable way is going on. The presentation will contribute to this debate by introducing a new approach of return-based contribution, which would have, by and large, a similar effect than a temporary graduate tax for university graduates, as they would have to pay a certain (fixed) share of the monthly income. However, one of the core requirements is that universities get fresh money (almost) immediately, thus, a link to either tuition fees or pre-financing arrangements is needed. The presentation will discuss the pros and cons of this approach compared to mortgage or income-contingent loans on the one hand and discuss different approaches of pre-financing arrangements.

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