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HIGHER EDUCATION *and* SOCIETY

Edited by Joseph L. DeVitis
and Pietro A. Sasso

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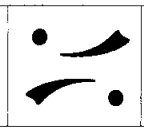

12. *Higher Education and the Capitalist Turn: Research and Reflections*

ERIC MARGOLIS AND MICHAEL SOLDATENKO

This chapter is the result of our personal experiences as well as research in the literature on higher education. Arizona State University (ASU) has the largest student body in the United States and during the 21st century has developed a model for the neoliberal university further than any state university—a self-acknowledged "New American University."[1] California State University Los Angeles (CSULA) is one of 23 campuses in the California State System, the largest four-year public university enrolling nearly 450,000 students and searching for its place in the neoliberal university marketplace. The authors each have about 45 years of experience in American universities ranging from the Ivy League to community colleges. During those years the most profound change took place in the history of the university; it transitioned from a state-supported institution primarily concerned with social betterment to a service institution that prepares students for future employment, competing in a market with similar institutions for student tuition and fees.

We briefly discuss four paradigms that have organized the university's mission over the centuries. These paradigms, actually long eras, have structured administration, faculty, curriculum, and student behavior. The ancient, medieval, and modern roots are important to recognize; remnants still survive, but maybe not for long. Most of the chapter examines the neoliberal turn; we focus on capitalism and today's institutions of higher education

1. Ancient

Places of higher learning developed organically when groups of scholars, typically, but not always, elite males, gathered together to share knowledge and practice. These faculties attracted students. The term "academia" is still

used, derived from the groves of academe where Plato may have taught. The Mideast and Mediterranean regions produced several notable institutions between roughly 400 BCE and 900 CE. The Academy of Gundishapur, in Persia, was the intellectual center of the Sasanian Empire, providing education and research in medicine, philosophy, theology, and science around 500 CE and a space for Greek and Syrian scholars escaping Christian/Byzantine persecution.[2] An important center dedicated to the study of philosophy, natural science and mathematics was the House of Wisdom in Baghdad between the 9th to 13th centuries. It was a school and "think tank" for Muslim and non-Muslim scientists and scholars.[3] Later, in the 9th century, Fatima al-Fihri, a woman in Fes, Morocco, converted a mosque into the University of al-Karaouine. The university in Fes is still extant, and since 1963 has been part of Morocco's modern state university system. Nalanda University in India, once an international center for Buddhist education and school of medicine, reopened this year after an 800-year hiatus. At its height, the university had 10,000 students from all over Asia but was sacked by a Turkic force of the Mamluk Dynasty seeking to eliminate Buddhism.

The Nalanda, Bagdad, and Fes centers had large libraries, supported by the state. From the very first there were direct links between higher education and the political apparatus of the state. An important element of advanced education in both the East and West was the study of the natural world. Astronomy had practical implications for navigating on the sea or desert. It was essential for forecasting the planting seasons. From yesterday to today, medicine has occupied a central spot in universities that taught practice and conducted research.

2. Traditional: The Second Era—From the Middle Ages to the 19th Century

Ancient centers of higher learning shifted into the traditional in different places at different times. Theology and church support became central to medieval universities East and West. Moreover, in places where the state lost power or legitimacy, churches, mosques, synagogues, and monasteries financially supported higher education and preserved rare handwritten texts. In medieval Europe, higher education was offered primarily to the clergy and to a few members of the ruling classes. It was not considered suitable for women. The practical disciplines served individuals preparing themselves for work, but more important aided the society at large by providing educated doctors, lawyers, priests, and teachers.

The medieval curriculum included the *trivium*: grammar, logic, and rhetoric. It was based on an idea that thinking relied on three "foundations" of how to think, reason, and argue. The *quadrivium* added more practical disciplines: arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. The entire curriculum was intended to exercise students' minds for further study and growth. Together they became the seven liberal arts. Along with theology, the *trivium*, and the *quadrivium*, medieval universities also taught law and medicine. The Sorbonne was established between 1160 and 1250, when Persians were simultaneously involved in the development of learning centers. East and West influenced each other in theory and practice as evidenced by the "Aristotelian shift." At the same time, the *Alma Mater*, Latin for "the nourishing mother," in Bologna was where the name "university" was coined: *universitas magistrorum et scholarium*, a "community of teachers and scholars," thus giving the European university its defining character as a community of scholars. Please keep in mind that community, more than anything, has been disestablished in the neoliberal university.

Oxford followed the Bologna model and in 1096 became the first university in the English-speaking world. The main curriculum continued to be the *trivium* and *quadrivium*. Before the Protestant Reformation, most Western universities were institutions of the Catholic Church and students paid no fees or tuition. An exception to free schooling was the Sorbonne, which charged the first tuition: during the 12th century, students paid 2 sous a week. The Sorbonne attracted many international students and its finances were also supported by the Catholic Church. By 1254, professors had organized their specialties into "Faculties," including theology, jurisprudence, medicine, and rational, natural, and moral philosophy. Sorbonne students, who had been scattered throughout Paris, organized themselves into residential colleges. These were originally boarding houses for students, but became learning institutions. This became a common model for most universities, often with limited autonomy, including those in the Americas.

Cambridge University was created by a group of faculty from Oxford, and by the 1520s it had joined the Reformation. Cambridge helped export Puritanism to the United States.[4] An alumnus of Cambridge, John Harvard, inspired the naming of the town of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and his name was given to the first university in the United States. Like most, it was established by clergy to train ministers. Curricula included Greek, Latin, geometry, ancient history, logic, ethics, and rhetoric. Rote learning, that is, memorization and recital, was the standard pedagogy. Harvard established its medical school in 1782. Following the Parisian model, Harvard also took on research functions—especially in medicine. Harvard Law School was founded in 1817.

For two centuries, Harvard was a Puritan institution serving upper-class Protestant men. The first nondenominational Divinity School was founded in 1816, as the university was becoming increasingly secular. In addition to theology, Harvard offered 17 separate departments in the arts and sciences.

3. Modern: The Third Era—From the Mid-1800s to the Late 20th Century

In the West, the modern European university appeared with the establishment of capitalism, the shift of the scientific revolution to the human and social sciences, and the Industrial Revolution. Enlightenment thought influenced this new institution, although much from the ancient and traditional centers of higher learning remained. The development of technology affected the university in three main ways: (1) It spawned new disciplines in science and engineering; (2) new inventions such as trains and automobiles made it easier for students to attend; and (3) inexpensive printed material facilitated the spread of knowledge. The strengthening of the state with the development of a nonaristocratic national vision opened up higher education to new groups of students and capitalism provided for an increasing division of labor and created a demand for more highly skilled workers.

The development of distinct faculties or "departments" marked an important change in the basic mission of the university. The Sorbonne was increasingly seen as "comprehensive." The French National Convention proclaimed in 1793 that there should "be established in the Republic three progressive degrees of instruction:

- the first for the knowledge indispensable to artisans and workmen of all kinds;
- the second for further knowledge necessary to those intending to embrace the other professions of society;
- and the third for those branches of instruction the study of which is not within the reach of all men."[5]

All men indeed! During the late 1700s, a few seminaries for women had opened—more were established between 1820 and 1850. They instructed upper-class young women in the liberal arts, but much of the curriculum was decorum, discipline, and domesticity. Some training was provided for teachers, the only occupation for women that was socially acceptable at the time. Often teacher training seminaries became "Normal Schools" and admitted men. Higher education was perceived as an entitlement for wealthy young

men being prepared for a profession such as law or medicine and wealthy young women in seminary or the liberal arts.

In the United States, the shift to the modern university took longer than did its European counterpart. The colonial and antebellum U.S. colleges were primarily preparatory, focused more on character and moral discipline than intellectual growth. This was also a time that saw limited if any faculty governance but rather reflected an autocratic management style of boards and/or presidents. For example, the University of Georgia, a land-grant institution, was managed by the "Senatus Academicus," which was composed of a Board of Visitors and a Board of Trustees, presided over by the Georgia Senate; faculty had no input.

Most universities did not admit Native American or African American students. Therefore, they started their own universities. Throughout centuries of slavery it was forbidden to teach reading and writing to blacks. Blacks were not admitted to colleges or universities in the United States. In 1837, Cheyney University became the first institution of higher learning for African Americans. More than 100 historically black colleges were founded during the period of slavery and segregation.

In the United States, the rise of the modern university was spurred on by the passing of the Morrill Act, the first large-scale federal investment in higher education. As Morrill himself wrote:

> In 1862, I sponsored legislation that would for all Americans democratize higher education. Each state was granted land to establish a public college.

This led the innovation educating farmers, engineers, and scientists who built a stronger nation. Today land-grant schools solve problems with a global reach.[6] Gerber adds: "In paving the way for the creation of state land-grant universities, the act not only reinforced the slowly developing antebellum trend in both public and private schools toward integrating practical and scientific research and education with offerings in the traditional liberal arts; it also helped build the foundation for the later development of mass higher education."[7]

While the Civil War slowed or stalled developments in higher education, eventually every state created land-grant universities. One of the first goals of public state universities was to conduct research on agriculture. Land-grant schools were free or nearly free for students, and were intended to benefit society. The growth of higher education also gave the college degree a greater value, and by the end of the 19th century began to see the professionalization of the faculty. With professionalization came demands for greater autonomy and academic freedom for faculty to function as teachers, knowledge

producers, and researchers. But this also meant that as the United States joined the main capitalist nations, faculty with critical views, such as Edward Bemis at the University of Chicago, could be fired.

3.1 Modernism Comes to Fulfillment, During and After World War II

World War II drove technological advances in everything from radar to rockets. Perhaps most notable was the invention of the atomic bomb. Columbia, Berkeley, and the University of Chicago received large secret federal grants to build laboratories and fund faculty.

In 1944, the GI Bill became a law to pay returning servicemen's tuition and living expenses while attending universities. In fact, more than 2 million World War II veterans went to college or university under the GI Bill. Universities built housing for new students, many of whom had families. They also built new laboratories, theaters, classroom buildings, and dormitories. Today, much of the infrastructure built during the 1950s and 1960s is still in use. Of course, World War II did not end in peace but in a much longer "Cold War." In the 1950s, when the Soviets launched *Sputnik*, not only was science emphasized but also languages and the humanities were also important because the Cold War required ideological combat on every level. Growth in higher education was driven by the desire to "beat the Russians." The notion that federal money could and should fund higher education and research agendas was a hallmark of the modern American university. National security institutions continued to grow, such as Lawrence Livermore Labs, established in the 1950s as part of the University of California Berkeley campus.

When we get to the 1960s, we speak from experience as well as research. Parents who had lived through the Depression and fought in World War II believed in education as a social benefit. They wanted their children to have the opportunities for higher education that had once been available only to the upper classes. Margolis started college in 1965 at the State University of New York (SUNY) New Paltz; 14 years later, SUNY had become the largest system of public higher education in the United States. It grew from 29 campuses and 38,000 full-time students to 72 campuses and 232,000 full-time students. In 1965, tuition was $100 a quarter, $300 a year.

Margolis worked in a print shop and made enough to pay tuition, buy books, and live off campus. Thanks to government subsidies, he graduated with no debt. Soldatenko benefited from a financial aid system that together with part-time work allowed him to finish his various degrees with only a

small debt since he decided to have children on his way to a doctorate. The modern university lasted through the late 1970s.

In 1961, the Chancellor of the University of California, Clark Kerr, proclaimed the new "multiversity," with increasing "uses" tied to government. In the moment of its triumph, however, the multiversity began to fail—especially rapidly in California where Clark Kerr was Chancellor.[8] Many forces were arrayed against the modernist project of a university. In 1961, President Eisenhower had warned against a military-industrial complex in his farewell speech. Some students paid attention. Students in the 1960s and 1970s were an important voice, protesting the university that both privileged them and treated them as children. In 1968, universities in Europe and the United States erupted with student protests.

More important for this chapter, turmoil on campus produced a long-term backlash. Many citizens saw student demonstrations as a threat to social stability. Students were seen as having a "free ride" at the taxpayers' expense and being rude instead of thankful. One of the first targets was cutting state taxes to support education. In 1975, spending on higher education represented 6.7% of all state appropriations; by 2000, the amount had fallen to 4.5%. Student per capita funding declined by 26% between 1990 to 2010.[9] In 1987, California voters limited property tax increases to 2% a year—producing a corresponding cut in state support of colleges and universities. Similar tax cuts were imposed across the nation. Students protested funding cuts, but to no avail. The result was to transform education from a public good to a private investment.

Tax cuts were not felt immediately, but they cut deeply. Still, few saw the way that funding cuts would completely change the university. State funding cuts led to rapidly rising tuition costs from 1987 to 2012. More than 90% of the increase occurred in the first decade of the 21st century. In five years, the state of Arizona cut funding per student by more than half. Cutbacks in state funding signaled the paradigm shift in higher education. It further shifted institutional interests toward bringing revenue, such as research dollars, endowments, and gifts. The neoliberal project began changing higher education structures and functions.

4. The Neoliberal University Eats Its Young and Puts Its Elders Out to Pasture

During the modern period, higher education had been considered social betterment; under the neoliberal regime, education is redefined as an individual benefit dependant on market forces. The university is transformed into

a corporation in a market competing with other similar corporations, often spending resources on activities and services not related to the institutional mission in order to attract customers (i.e., students). For the customer, the increasing costs of the university would be repaid in future job opportunities and potentially higher salary. Government support for higher education changed from grants and scholarships to government-backed loans. The total amount of debt held by students or their parents has reached $1,000 billion ($1 trillion). We have reached a point at which student loan debt is larger than credit card debt.[10] That averages to about $25,000 per student. If one falls on hard times, you can discharge debt for cars or credit cards by declaring bankruptcy and starting over. The law providing federally backed student loans specified that education debt *cannot* be discharged by bankruptcy.

For the first time, in the beginning of the 21st century, capitalism really took hold of higher education—displacing some of the role that government had played during modernism. While there had been funded research projects for capitalist corporations, and some corporate involvement in the form of food services and sports funding to advertise business, the university had been remarkably outside the major structures of capitalism and market demands.[11] The neoliberal project to privatize most public goods and services brought the full weight of capitalism to the academy.[12] What remained from the earlier expressions of higher learning from the ancient, traditional, and modern have now begun to melt away.

Alongside raising tuition, state universities began building large endowments similar to the ones used by private universities. This gave large donors power over some university policies. For example, wealthy philanthropists Mary Lou and Ira Fulton gave ASU $100 million in 2005. Some of the money was used to build the Fulton Center, an enormous new administration building. The Ira A. Fulton School of Engineering restructured its traditional departments of electrical, mechanical, and aerospace engineering. The re-branding produced the School of Biological and Health Systems Engineering and the School of Computing, Informatics, and Decision Systems Engineering.

Gifts often come with strings attached. The graduate faculty of education had opposed neoliberal "reforms" and the Fulton money was used to remove troublesome graduate faculty and build the new brand of the Mary Lou Fulton Teachers College. The new logo for the teachers college resembles the Master Card logo. Not an accident, ASU has entered into many deals with corporations including creating an ASU credit card. Walmart on campus occupies the ground floor of a student housing complex. A recent controversial corporate deal will provide low-wage workers at the coffee giant Starbucks

with free tuition money to attend ASU online and perhaps earn a degree. It is a good deal for the university since it guarantees a steady flow of new students from across the nation. However, students have only one choice of university and can enroll only in online classes.

Many academics are worried about the effect of big-money donations on academic freedom. The evidence from the sciences is disquieting. Washburn notes three cases to underscore this point: the Maize Controversy and Ignacio Chapela that arose from the Berkeley-Novartis agreement; the case of Betty Dong and her research on Synthroid that collided with her corporate sponsor Boots/Knoll Pharmaceuticals; and the Tyrone Hayes conflict with Novartis-Syngenta concerning the popular weed killer atrazine.[13] There is a major controversy right now. Professor Steven Salaita was fired from the University of Illinois for tweets he sent in support of the Palestinians in Gaza. Many big donors to the university threatened to withhold funding if he was not fired. Salaita has taken the university to court.

As well as developing new sources of revenue, the neoliberal university developed three new ways to save money: cut staff salaries, cut faculty salaries, and McDonaldize (which we explore below).

Labor is a big part of any corporate budget and universities require a huge staff: carpenters, building and grounds crews, secretaries, food services, and so on. As state funding decreased, universities outsourced many of these jobs to private contractors, transforming what were once moderately well-paid state jobs, with health care and retirement benefits, into low-wage and sometimes part-time jobs.

"Disestablishing" a unit is one way to get rid of workers. When the ASU College of Education was "disestablished," some staff were told to empty their desks and leave immediately; others, with more seniority, were expected to stay until their contract was over. Almost all were women, some of whom Margolis had worked with for 15 years.[14] Other schools and units were combined, a process that also eliminated staff. Staff cuts came quickly, but cutting faculty is tricky because tenure assures continuing employment, but we will show the ways this may be circumvented.

4.1 The Problem of Tenured Faculty

After his U.S. presidency, Dwight Eisenhower became president of Columbia University and made a speech that included a remark about how it was always good to see "an employee of the university" receive recognition. At that point, a professor interrupted him and said, "Excuse me, sir, but the faculty are not employees of the university. The faculty are the university!"

Eisenhower loved the comment. However, the days of the faculty being the university are over. Even "faculty governance" has become a spectator sport.

There had been a few direct attacks on tenure. In 2012, Wayne State tried to do away with tenure: "In an email to staff, WSU President Allan Gilmour said the changes are designed to allow for more efficient evaluation of faculty."[15] Arguments are made that tenure protects incompetent teachers and unproductive researchers, or that it makes the university cumbersome and unable to act quickly during times of rapid social and technological change, or even that it makes it impossible for public universities to compete with private and online schools that never offered tenure, for example, the University of Phoenix. However, direct attacks generally go nowhere because a university that did not offer tenure would be unable to attract skilled teachers or researchers. Nonetheless, the attempt to end tenure parallels attacks on faculty governance and academic freedom. In place of direct attempts to abolish tenure, a series of steps have been taken to eviscerate the power of the faculty. The two most important are, first, mitigating the role of the faculty in setting policy while replacing faculty governance with cadres of professional administrators; and, second, replacing tenure-track lines with contract workers.[16]

For most of its history, the university was governed by the faculty. In the modern university, this was changed to "shared governance" that sought to integrate faculties with administrators in shared decision making. However, shared governance has been uneven since its inception and has often resulted in a wide variety of interpretations. At times, some "responsibilities" remained with the faculty. During the modern university era, it was common practice for senior faculty to move into administrative positions such as a deanship for a term, and then return to their departments. This maintained an academic culture and mitigated the creation of a detached and professional administration. Still, decision making remained murky since "final" decisions were usually in the hands of either some body, such as campus trustees, or an individual provost or president.

Documents like the AAUP's "Statement on Government of Colleges and Universities" use language of "inescapable interdependence," "joint effort," "substantial contribution," and the "interests of all are coordinate and related."[17] The language suggests that in the modern university, shared governance meant that all parties participated in decision making. It also suggested that certain decisions, like "curriculum, subject matter and methods of instruction, research, faculty status," remained in the hands of faculty, even though the final decision may be made by the administration.[18] Shared governance in the modern university theoretically gave faculty a voice in decisions and fostered open communication. In reality, the procedures never fully

operated and often faculty and administration found themselves battling over procedures and the meaning of both "shared" and "governance." At the various intuitions where we have worked, we have participated with a wide variety of expressions of shared governance often through academic senates. In all cases, the desire for effective decision making fell victim to the limitations of shared governance in the modern university.

With the change to the neoliberal university, shared governance has been radically transformed. In a recent essay, Leslie Bary noted that because the neoliberal university "incorporates elements and appearances of the old one [the modern university], (it) speaks to us in familiar words," but "we have misjudged the magnitude of the shift currently underway."[19] Furthermore, her experience on her faculty senate at the University of Louisiana Lafayette has led her to see that faculty have a "simulacrum of faculty governance."[20] Quoting a colleague at ASU, Bary points out that on her campus the faculty senate has been transformed from "a deliberative body to an administrative forum."[21] Unless faculty challenge attempts to "edit" the senate's constitution, Bary argues, this produces not some preconceived design to weaken faculty, but rather the entrance of market practices into education, borrowing language and material practices used in business.[22] The goal is "to market and create markets for [educational] products, as well as to 'flexibilize' staffing in our increasingly corporatized educational institutions."[23] Critics of market efficiency are presented as Luddites who only wish to protect their self-interest. Bary argued that the neoliberal university has ruptured shared governance, since the very idea of "joint effort" has already been replaced by an increasingly corporatist mentality. While Bary remains optimistic, we believe otherwise. The agenda or corporatism of the hidden administrative curriculum has disrupted any notion of teaching a critical thinking citizenry and insists that professional managers copy corporate practice. "Shared" has come to mean "complicit." The neoliberal university presents itself as a corporation in which students are customers and faculty are service providers; faculty are expected to labor for a common corporate goal or "brand." In the process, the ideal of decision making is replaced with accountability, and communication with students, faculty, and the public takes place via communiqué.

An excellent example of neoliberal thinking is present in *The Next Generation University.* The document highlights universities that have earned the title, among them ASU. In the introduction, one of the criteria noted to earn the title "Next Generation" was to increase in size without losing academic quality and prestige. Of course, if the institution can be "more inclusive and less expensive," so much the better.[24] The authors mention four points to make this happen:

(1) "An intentional student-focused vision matters." The goal is to link "student-focused" to executive choices about productivity, technology, student success, and budget allocations. The vision is to be realized by "senior leadership," noting that faculty are critical players. Faculty will be swayed by a system of incentives. As the document demonstrated, becoming student-focused means employing technology whose aim is increased productivity and budget constraint. Technology is "merely" a neutral tool disconnected from the social and economic reality in which it is embedded.[25]

(2) "Bigger can be good." Like any business, the university needs to balance scale and efficiency. Institutions square the circle, initially by creating small communities within the whole, and adopting online technologies: Institutions can presumably "reach more students at manageable cost without sacrificing student learning."[26] The neoliberal university does not contest cuts in state funding because they have accepted the logic that less is good. At CSULA, our student population increased by 1,500 students in the fall of 2014; our budget remained the same.[27] As CSULA plans to grow more with no or little increase in budget, we get larger classes and a wide variety of technological uses from online or hybrid courses to "flipped" classrooms. Not to mention that there are days of the week in which classrooms are not fully used—Saturdays and Sundays. SFR (student-faculty ratio) is the most important statistic in public higher education, since it is the fulcrum on which the budgeting process is hinged. Defined as the number of full-time equivalent students to full-time equivalent faculty (FTES/FTEF), it is a crude measure of average class size and of the availability of faculty for extracurricular advising and mentoring. Both of these variables are widely recognized as being critical to effective pedagogy. One tactic is replacing tenure-track faculty with high numbers of adjunct or contract faculty: Thus, it is easy to manipulate the SFR to make the university appear to offer smaller classes even while growing.

(3) "It is possible to enroll and educate large numbers of unevenly prepared students well, without diminishing quality." This is apparently achieved by using technologies to diagnose and personalize a student's learning experience so he or she can make successful choices. It is further assisted by transfer articulation partnerships with local community colleges to help students to catch up. However, two questions are left unanswered. First, What is meant by "educate"? At CSULA, a recent attempt to provide the president with a "vision

for the future" defined "educate" as synonymous with job training. The initial premise was that the function of CSULA was to satisfy the developing job needs of the Los Angeles Basin. The myth was to prepare students for strong middle-class jobs, but research on the globalization of Los Angeles has demonstrated that most new jobs will be in low-wage service industry occupations.[28] The second unanswered question is, Why are students "unevenly prepared"? The level of unpreparedness has been normalized and detached from the political, economic, and social realities of "under-resourced" public schools, segregated neighborhoods, and developing charter schools. ASU is also shifting research into "use-inspired" research, "that is, research closely aligned with employers, workforce development, and job creation through spin-off companies" often in partnership with business and government.[29]

(4) "It is possible for institutions of higher education to innovate fast and at scale." What institutions need to do is employ "data analytics" to see where the institution breaks down. Then, they must develop possible solutions that can be tested with pilots or small experiments before upscaling those that work. Furthermore, these institutions can also influence state policy. The assumption behind this is that data are neutral, like industry's use of statistical quality control. There is, in our minds, a clear connection between student learning outcomes and assessment; the purpose of assessment is not to improve instruction but rather to manage what we as faculty do. The concept of measuring ***value added*** is gaining strength at every level of education—because it is presumed to be a better measurement than input/output models when students arrive ***unevenly prepared.***

Of all the universities discussed, ASU has "embraced growth to drive change."[30] Using niche marketing ASU has targeted specific student/customers, the "overflow" from Brigham Young University, Arizona minority groups, international students from Asia,[31] and California students who didn't get into the University of California system, to name a few. ASU is proud of its retention and graduation rates, thanks, it argues, to its use of high-impact learning practices like undergraduate research and technology. At the same time, "[t]o manage the cost of new enrollment and create a platform for personalized learning technologies, half of Arizona State's students who take face-to-face classes also take at least one online class each semester."[32] This is important because ASU has not had to build new classrooms to satisfy

enrollment growth. At the same time, the use of "data-driven advising system," adaptive technology for remedial students, and shorter semesters mixed in with regular semesters have all served to manage costs.[33]

Thus, the "success" of ASU comes from greater efficiencies: "The university's expenditures per student has [*sic*] dropped $1,000 in that time to $15,200, some $3,000 lower than the average cost per student for research universities across the United States."[34] Faculty productivity as measured by numbers of students remains high while research remains competitive. Thus, the authors conclude that "greater size has resulted in greater efficiency."[35] ASU has also addressed the uneven preparation of incoming students by relying on community colleges (CCs) for the first two years of undergraduate education. One CC advertises on the Tempe campus that it sells credit hours for $86.00 while "ASU undergraduate tuition ranges from $480 to $543 per credit hour, regardless of residency status."[36] Required 101 courses such as Comp Lit are labor intensive and benefit from low SFRs. "The Maricopa (CC) to ASU Pathways Program" was created to smooth the transition between institutions.[37] On campus, "Working with for-profit partner organizations, Pearson and Knewton, and a team of ASU faculty, the university is transforming these courses from their current large lecture format to an adaptive and active learning classroom approach."[38] This technology will "improve [ASU's] ability to track individual student performance on learning objectives and their progress towards mastery."[39] Thus, to manage the neoliberal university the ranks of highly paid administrators continue to grow even as the number of full-time faculty continues to shrink.[40]

4.2 Eating the Young

Why go through the political battles of eliminating tenure when the same goal can be accomplished by waiting for senior faculty to retire and replacing them with what are euphemistically termed "contract workers or adjuncts"? More than three-quarters of U.S. higher education teaching positions are currently filled with contract and teaching-assistant labor often working for $2,000 or $3,000 per class.[41] Contract positions have increased by more than 300% between 1975 and 2011. Adjuncts can make $25 a day, about $3.12 an hour. Teaching two classes does not reach the federal minimum wage, which is $7.25 an hour, and there are no guarantees of employment, health, or retirement benefits.[42] Many adjuncts do not have office space or access to departmental letterhead. They are not eligible for travel funds to attend disciplinary conferences so their possibilities to build the vita that might allow them to move up the ladder are truncated.

Adjunct instructors are truly proletarianized laborers, having been alienated from the tools, raw materials, and products of their labor. They are also the reserve army of the underemployed, keeping non-tenured faculty anxious about their position. It is essential to understand that these workers are the product of our graduate schools that continue to churn out PhDs with the full awareness that most of the students we teach and mentor will never attain a tenure-track position. "American universities awarded 52,760 doctorates in 2013, up 3.5 percent from nearly 50,977 in 2012 and nearly 8 percent from 48,903 in 2011."[43]

Adjunct and part-time faculty do much of the heavy lifting in lower division classes with increasingly large undergraduate enrollments. (Remember, big is better.) Yet, the AAUP reports that:

> individuals employed in contingent academic positions have limited academic freedom, since their employment is subject to termination or nonrenewal without due-process procedures that are vital as protectors of academic freedom. Faculty members with contingent appointments risk dismissal if they challenge students by assigning significant reading loads or in-depth writing assignments. ... [Moreover], the unabated growth of contingency constitutes an ongoing threat to academic freedom that should be of concern to all who value higher education.[44]

In other words, there are structural guarantees that critical thought, of the type that motivated many faculty and students to protest in the 1960s and 1970s, will be much less likely under neoliberal regimes. ASU has eliminated most of the critical social sciences; there is no sociology department; the College of Education that once taught critical pedagogy was basically turned back into a state Normal School; and Cultural Anthropology has been overshadowed by Human Evolution and Social Change.[45]

This trend underscores the deprofessionalization of the faculty and with it the limited hope of shared governance and academic freedom. As the institution turns to contract labor, the role of teaching and research is torn asunder and only the lucky will get to retain the unitary function of faculty. Already some institutions have a bifurcated faculty; some retain the unitary function while others only teach. Equally shared governance becomes increasingly difficult, as there are fewer tenured faculty to battle corporatist administrators in academic senates and university committees. These committees and other bodies of shared governance are overwhelmed by cadres of administrators with increasingly absurd titles and constantly increasing "competitive" salaries."[46] AAUP in 2012 recognized this future and began to look at ways of incorporating faculty on contingent assignment in governance.[47]

4.3 Putting the Elders Out to Pasture

At the top of the academic hierarchy are older faculty who might once have been considered founts of wisdom and who maintain the institutional memory of modern universities, but who are being encouraged to retire. Recently, the *Chronicle of Higher Education* had an article arguing that: "Professors approaching 70 who are still enamored with hanging out with students and colleagues, or even fretting about money, have an ethical obligation to step back and think seriously about quitting."[48] Discussions on a faculty website articulated concerns. Senior faculty wanted to vent their circumstances and wisdom for younger colleagues and students:

> I don't believe I will ever retire. I will die at work, and when I am gone they might replace me with an adjunct if they even deem it necessary to offer history courses anymore, let alone European history.
>
> The heck with the 2008 crash and political developments. Try the cheap-as-hell, lowballed "retirement packages" our dynamic, transformative administrators offer us. Thank you, I do not wish to spend my old age living in an unheated slum and eating cat food.
>
> Another aspect of our profession that makes it impossible to retire at, say, 65, is student loan debt. I had to "freeze" my debt several times and didn't complete the payoff till I was 43. That process of paying off also meant that I didn't start saving for my retirement in a substantial way till then. I assume I'm not the only one so I think this is an important systemic factor to consider.

Many faculty members who depend on state retirement systems worry whether it will be there at all and if it will provide them with a livable wage. In California, the California Public Employees' Retirement System and California State Teachers' Retirement System is underfunded and badly managed; it promises a dim future for all California instructors.[49] The faculty in private institutions, many of whom rely on 401Ks, may find the market when they retire to be unfriendly. The entire process of not outliving your savings is fraught with anxiety

Across the wide spectrum of higher education in the United States, it seems both ends of the spectrum of faculty are being squeezed. Older and more expensive faculty are being encouraged to retire.[50] But even if they don't, the graying of the faculty will eliminate them, many of whom were from the baby boom generation. A few of our students will get prized tenure positions. After all, the university still wants to shore up its brand by advertising superstar faculty. Unfortunately, the majority will eke out a living as contingent faculty or leave the professions they invested so much time and effort in attaining.

4.4 McDonaldization as the New Paradigm

One hidden curriculum of neoliberalism is what George Ritzer called "McDonaldization." It has a number of projects. One is recreating the university using the model of fast-food restaurants. At a McDonald's restaurant you are your own waiter, get your food and condiments, and clean up after yourself. In the McDonaldized University, students do the work online of registering, choosing classes, drop/add, fulfilling requirements, graduation paperwork, and so on. Email and the Internet connect faculty 24/7. Faculty also undertake many jobs that were once done by staff. We are expected to handle grading and paperwork, research proposals, and IRB applications online. We are also expected to respond to students and administration day, night, and weekends. We have lost any control of the length of the workday.

With McDonaldization comes a language that guides teaching and curriculum development. Just like McDonald's, the new university needs to think about education as a "deliverable" and students as consumers. Given this thinking, it is easy for administrators to accept instructional technologies, in particular online education, as simply another deliverable. Thus, consider the interesting case of Georgia Institute of Technology's or California State University San Jose's partnership with the for-profit corporation Udacity or the turn to online "advising" as a way to deal with the increased number of students. It is clear that the goal of using technologies is to make money by cutting costs.

An important McDonaldization project is to remove mid-level employees so that only administrative bosses and line workers remain. Following a model long developed in the community colleges, one highly paid professor designs the course—including video modules, reading assignments, tests, and requirements. The class can then be "presented" by adjunct faculty.[51] Even the function of department chair is replaced or turned into an administrative position in which faculty in a department might at best select a convener who then reports to a dean.

Another aspect of McUniversities is competition for students and the need to create brands to advertise widely to attract customers. ASU, for example, claims to offer a better "return on investment" than other universities. On the ASU website one is told, "Eight design aspirations guide ASU's transformation." This is a kind of McDonaldized thinking—make the ordinary seem extraordinary—after all, what university doesn't "Enable Student Success" or "Conduct use-inspired research"?[52] At CSULA, the institution brings in consultants to help the institution in its branding campaign. In a city with large institutional sharks, how does a mid-level campus sell itself?

> An organization's brand is more than a slogan or a logo. It captures how the organization is—and wants to be—perceived. Brands are built on feelings and perceptions of an organization and its performance by those who use its services or are impacted by its actions. That is why every organization has a brand, whether it plans for one or not. In point of fact, "brand happens," so we need to understand our brand essence and its core values. A good brand contains both practical and emotional elements that make it feel right.[53]

As part of ASU's eight design aspirations, number six is "Fuse Intellectual Disciplines." ASU created a number of transdisciplinary schools. Among these are the schools of "Earth and Space Exploration," "Human Evolution and Social Change," "International Letters and Cultures," and "Social and Family Dynamics." The department of sociology was disestablished and rehoused in "Family Dynamics." Anthropology was re-branded "the ASU School of Human Evolution & Social Change" and thus there was no longer direct connection with the professional associations that might interject in matters of promotion and tenure or research ethics. Some of these centers were acquired by cluster hires, for example, bringing the Institute of Human Origins from Berkeley to ASU.

Like a McDonald's playground for children, Spectacle is everywhere. In McDonaldization, Ritzer noted a function he called "implosion." Fancy and expensive new dormitories at ASU resemble resort hotels with granite countertops and spa-like swimming pools. The new recreation center and swimming pool are designed to attract customers. But nothing compared to what some other universities advertise. "Students [can watch] 'Jaws' at a 'dive-in movie' at Missouri State's aquatic center in Springfield"[54] or float "on the "lazy river" at Texas Tech's water recreation park, an $8.4 million complex includes a water slide and deck.[55]

4.5 Intellectual Property

Grants for research still bring in billions of dollars from government alphabet soup agencies, NSA, DARPA, NIH, but increasingly big money flows from industries and foundations. Contract research supports new "practical" enterprises doing independent research using outside academia for everything from Astronomy to Zoology. University services are sold to the private sector—"the ASU Research Park is now a vibrant and thriving hot-spot of technical innovation and realization. This is not an incubator where people try to be successful in technology; this is where people who are successful with technology come to get stuff done."[56] As even nonprofit public universities see themselves as corporate entities, inventions, discoveries, and the

intellectual work of faculty have been claimed by ABOR (the Arizona Board of Regents):

> Arizona Science & Technology Enterprises (AzTE), ASU's exclusive intellectual property management and technology transfer organization, works to transform this use-inspired research into societal impact.
>
> AzTE executes rapid and efficient deals on reasonable terms, with an emphasis on speed to market, flexibility and, where appropriate, shared risk.[57]

In potentially lucrative research, for example, new drugs that are tested in a university laboratory with grants from a pharmaceutical company, the practice is to write a contract in which the university shares in future profit. Thus, this new paragraph appeared in the doctoral defense form. One can embargo the dissertation from being published for two years or longer to protect work that has the promise of "commercial value, patentable rights, or classified information."

However, embargo also hinders the process of normal science, which must be public so other investigators can test experimental results.[58]

At CSULA, that arrived to the neoliberal table late. ASU is their aspirational peer institution. Recently, an agreement was reached to develop an incubator on campus.[59] As the campus Office of Communication and Public Affairs informs: "The incubator promises to give birth to new opportunities for students, businesses." It is also a way for the institution to develop space in a building that the state is unwilling to develop. Thus, the same economic restrictions that come from reduced state funding force the institution to sell itself just to get improved classrooms and lab space.

Conclusion

The economic crisis and austerity measures have made neoliberal policies easier to implement as states cut back further on support for higher education. Students and faculty have been resisting in many countries. During the student demonstrations in the 1970s, protestors loudly rejected the model of the university as a factory, arguing for a community of learners. They also wanted higher education to be inexpensive and a source of social change. Today, in graduation speeches the president of ASU frequently refers to students as "products." Elements of the curriculum that once were "hidden" have been revealed. Someone from the chamber of commerce in Ohio wrote: "The business community is the consumer of the educational product. Students are the educational product. They are going through the education system so that they can be an attractive product for business to consume and hire as a workforce in the future."[60]

We have come to the point of the final and complete realization of the operation of the not so metaphoric hidden hand in the university. Not, as some might infer from Adam Smith, but as articulated by Mandeville in *The Fable of the Bees.* In 1705, *The Grumbling Hive, or Knaves Turn'd Honest* was followed in 1714 by *Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Public Benefits with Remarks.* In a way, changes in the title of Mandeville's book and the addition of essays reflect what occurred in the shift from the modern university to its neoliberal form.[61] Some would have us believe that capitalism takes our vices (grumbling bees) and turns them into public virtues (honest knaves); or in the case of the university, that the chaos of the modern university with its historical antecedents will change to one in which the market reigns free to assert its will. Smith was always careful to understand the limits of the market; unfortunately, today neoliberal administrators, like Mandeville three centuries ago, allow the market to dictate their decisions, rejecting education as social betterment and reducing it to an ideological expression of capital. Inherent in this view is that the function of education is not to help society but rather to allow us to engage our base instincts and behavior.

Notes

1. http://newamericanuniversity.asu.edu/
2. http://www.iranreview.org/content/Documents/_Academy_of_Gundishapur.htm
3. http://www.historyofinformation.com/expanded.php?id=1905. http://www.amnh.org/exhibitions/past-exhibitions/traveling-the-silk-road/take-a-journey/baghdad/house-of-wisdom
4. The first universities in the Americas appeared more than a century earlier, in 1551—first the Royal and Pontifical University of the City of Kings in Lima and then the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico.
5. Gerber, L. *The Rise and Decline of Faculty Governance: Professionalization and the Modern American University.* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 15–16.
6. Ibid, 24.
7. Ibid, 24.
8. Ironically, later Kerr would speak out against the commercial threat to academic life. As Washburn notes, "[h]e was particularly worried that a 'money-seeking group on the inside' and a 'for-profit group on the outside' could collude to undermine the university's mission" (Washburn, J. *University, Inc.: The Corporate Corruption of Higher Education.* (New York. NY: Basic Books, 2012), 2).
9. Gerber, 120.
10. http://www.demos.org/data-byte/us-student-loan-and-credit-card-debt-0
11. Universities capitalized on changes in federal law such as the 1980 University Small Business Patent Procedures Act (Bayh-Dole Act) that allowed universities to patent federally funded research, which fostered extraordinary university-industry links. This act, as Washburn underscores, "introduced a profit motive directly into the heart of academic life" (70).

12. It is a sad commentary how many of our colleagues have been seduced by the profit motive that blinds them to the social responsibilities they once had to the public.
13. Washburn, 3–23. Washburn provides other examples.
14. Cf. Margolis (2013).
15. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/07/23/wayne-state-university-tenure-detroit-faculty_n_1695661.html
16. We should not underestimate the negative potential that post-tenure review could have on the eventual renewed attack on tenure.
17. http://www.aaup.org/NR/rdonlyres/431ABA0A-019B-4ECD-B067-14EE81F-37ABA/0/StatementonGovernmentofCollegesandUniversities.pdf, 136.
18. http://www.aaup.org/NR/rdonlyres/431ABA0A-019B-4ECD-B067-14EE81F-37ABA/0/StatementonGovernmentofCollegesandUniversities.pdf, 139.
19. Bary, L., draft of "On Faculty Governance in the New University," 3 Academe. (Washington, DC: AAUP, 2013).
20. Ibid, 8.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid, 12.
23. Ibid, 11.
24. Selingo, J., Carey, K., Pennington, H., Fishman, R., and Palmer, I. *The Next Generation University.* (Washington, DC: New American Foundation, 2013), 2.
25. Two other elements are left unstated in this vision. First, the neoliberal administration is very different from the modern university. Where before administrators may have risen from the ranks of the faculty and saw administration as a way to achieve student and faculty success, the new administrators typically see administration as a career in and of itself, often never having been instructors. They view their training as different from that of faculty. They have the skills to manage the new corporatist ship. The second element is the de-professionalization of faculty. The shift toward the use of contract labor, the reserve army of adjuncts and teaching and/or graduate assistants, marks the breakup of the once unitary faculty's role of teaching and research.
26. Selingo et al., *The Next Generation University*, 3.
27. ASU had 76,771 in 2013, on its way to 100,000. State funding of Arizona universities was cut by more than 50% between 2008 and 2013. http://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2013/03/a-truly-devastating-graph-on-state-higher-education-spending/274199/
28. Sasken, *Globalization and Its Discontents. Essays on the New Mobility of People and Money* (New York, NY: New Press, 1998).
29. Selingo et al., *The Next Generation University*, 17.
30. Ibid, 4.
31. There is an ongoing issue now (December 2014) about what to do about Chinese and some Saudi students who apparently bought their TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) score and arrived unable to speak English. So far, ASU has refused to test incoming students' English proficiency, leaving faculty in a quandary about how to grade them. Perhaps this is because international students are the highest-paying customers?
32. Selingo et al., *The Next Generation University*, 4.
33. Ibid, 5.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid, 6.
36. asuonline.asu.edu/what-it-costs
37. Selingo et al., *The Next Generation University*, 16.

38. Ibid, 11.
39. Ibid, 12.
40. http://reclaimuc.blogspot.com/2011/09/senior-administrators-now-officially.html
41. The lowest pay in CSULA is $3,500 with a PhD. TAs make less but have tuition waivers and health insurance as students. At ASU, we were encouraged to hire adjuncts from outside the university because they were less expensive
42. http://www.aaup.org/report/heres-news-annual-report-economic-status-profession-2012-13
43. https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2014/12/08/number-phds-awarded-climbs-recipients-job-prospects-dropping
44. http://www.aaup.org/report/heres-news-annual-report-economic-status-profession-2012-13
45. Cf. details in Margolis (2013).
46. For a glimpse of the administrative salaries paid with Arizona state tax dollars see http://archive.azcentral.com/salary/employees.php/?oid=ASU
47. Gerber, 149. Given this scenario, it makes political sense that institutions that are lucky to have unions see them increasingly represent the interests of contingent faculty.
48. http://chronicle.com/article/Retire-Already-/149965/
49. http://articles.latimes.com/2012/jul/16/business/la-fi-mo-calpers-returns-paltry-20120716; http://articles.latimes.com/2011/mar/14/business/la-fi-calpers-probe-20110315; http://www.latimes.com/opinion/editorials/la-ed-calstrs-budget-20140516-story.html;http://www.latimes.com/opinion/opinion-la/la-ol-gov-brown-calstrs-school-budgets-20140513-story.html
50. While we were writing this chapter, NPR aired an interview with Laurie Fendrich, who argues that it is older faculty members' duty to retire. http://hereandnow.wbur.org/2014/12/29/retired-professors-fendrich
51. Harry Braverman's (1974) book *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century* described the process of de-skilling. While many academics read it, few understood that it would apply to our profession.
52. http://sundeviladvocates.org/index.php/asu-facts/a-new-american-university
53. https://commguide.asu.edu/brand/brand-overview ASU protects it's trademark to the point of prohibiting us from publishing their images while critiquing university branding. The university has more lawyers than we do.
54. http://blogs.missouristate.edu/ebulletin/tag/dive-in-movie/
55. http://www.depts.ttu.edu/recsports/aquatics/leisure.php
56. http://www.padtinc.com/blog/news/asu-research-park-celebrates-30-years
57. http://www.azte.com/
58. The state apparatus changed the rules on intellectual property; note the impact of *Diamond v. Chakrabarty* and *Diamond v. Deihr*, shifting large amounts of knowledge into private hands.
59. http://www.calstatela.edu/univ/ppa/publicat/cal-state-la-receives-35-million-fund-bioscience-incubator; http://www.socaltech.com/cal_state_l_a_plans_bioscience_incubator/s-0057941.html
60. http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/answer-sheet/wp/2014/08/27/the-quote-that-reveals-how-at-least-one-corporate-school-reformer-really-views-students/
61. In 1705, *The Grumbling Hive, or Knaves Turn'd Honest* was republished in 1714 in *Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Public Benefits* with *Remark*, and an essay ("An Enquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue"). Later editions included *An Essay on Charity and Charity Schools* and *A Search Into the Nature of Society.*