

National Research University - Higher School of Economics,
Moscow

Summer School on Higher Education Research
4-10 June 2016, St Petersburg

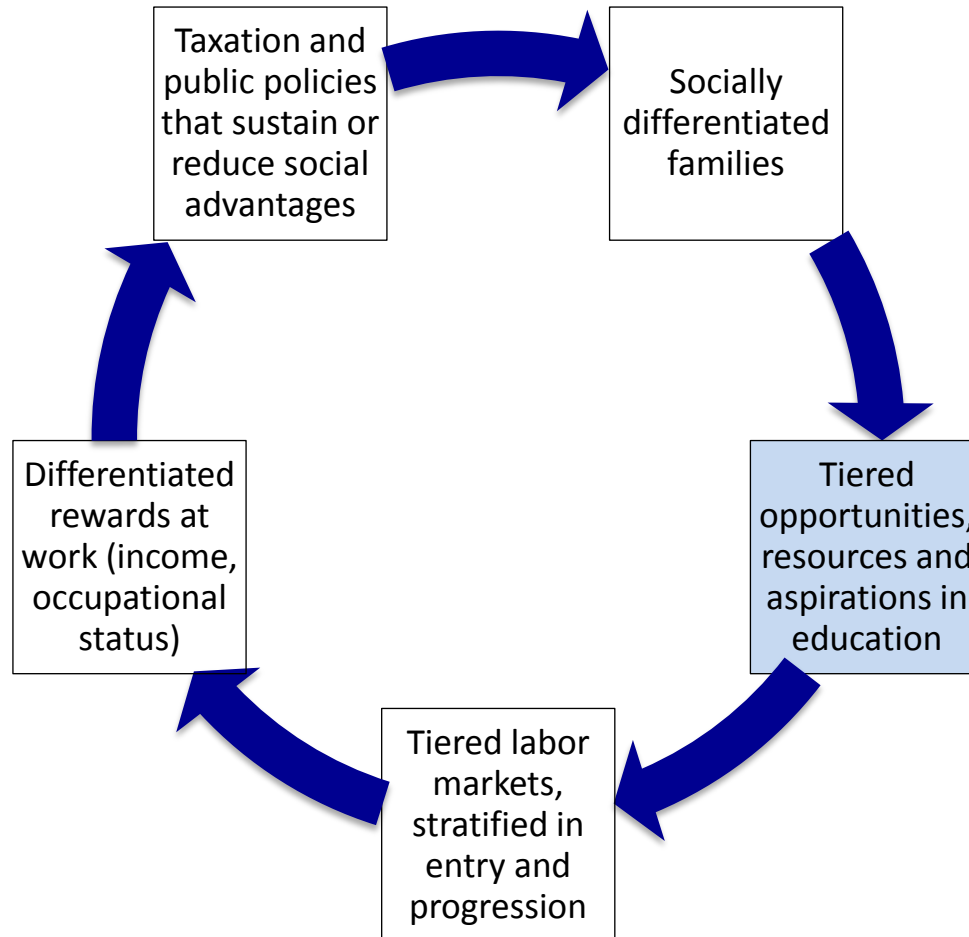
Higher education and social inequality

Simon Marginson

s.marginson@ucl.ac.uk

1. Introduction: Three human constructs
2. Concepts: Social equity, equality and mobility
3. Social inclusion
4. Stratification of value within participation
5. Variation between higher education systems
6. Concluding thoughts

Social reproduction of (in)equality via education



INTRODUCTION: THREE HUMAN CONSTRUCTS

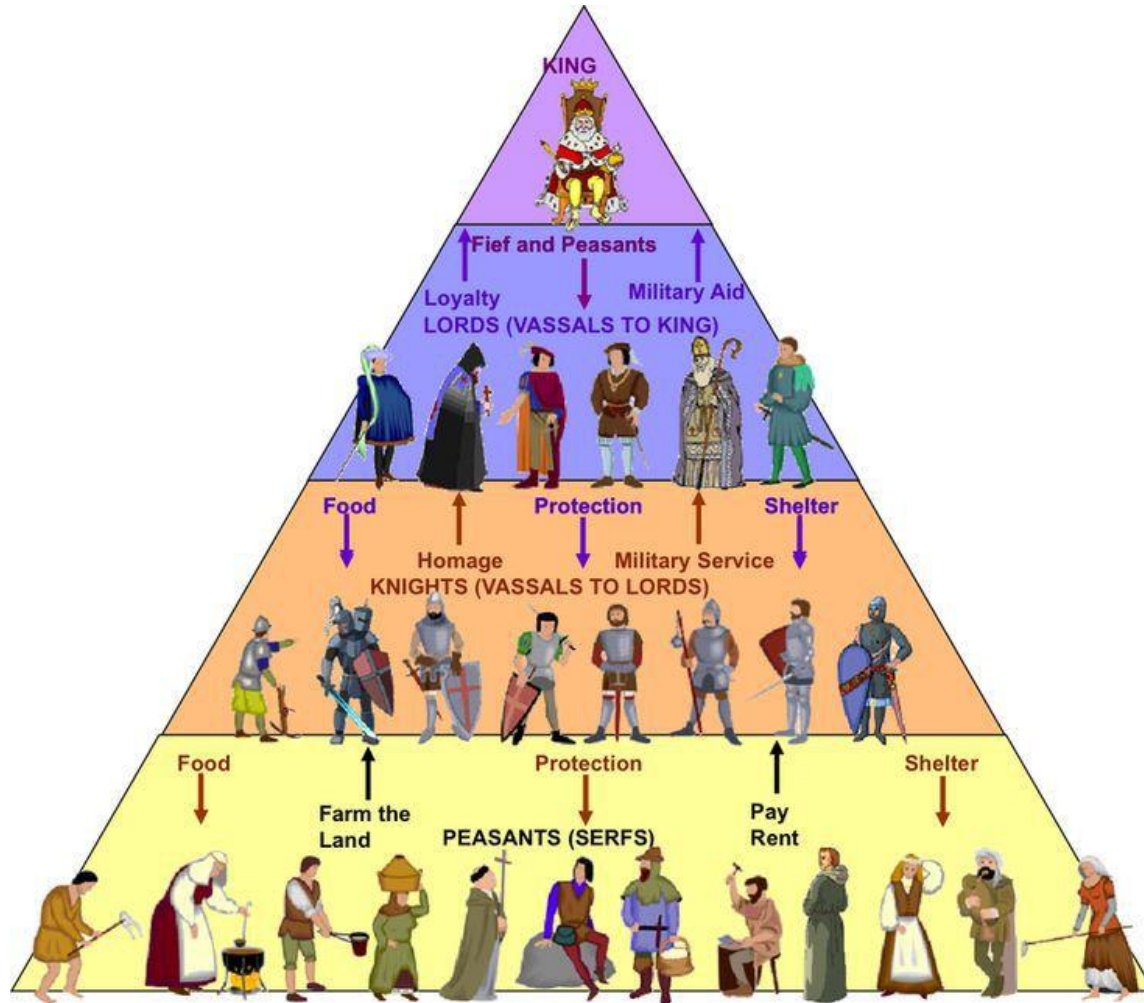
1. Desires for social position

‘betterment’ as relative advantage

‘The desire of bettering our condition ... comes with us from the womb and never leaves us till we go into the grave’

~ Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (1776/ 1979), p. 441

2. Habits of hierarchy



The new 'meritocratic hierarchies': The case of the United States

“What primarily characterizes the United States at the moment is a record level of the inequality of income from labor (probably higher than in any other society at any time in the past, anywhere in the world, including societies in which skill disparities were extremely large) together with a level of inequality of wealth less extreme than the levels observed in traditional societies or in Europe in the period 1900-1910.”

~ Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-first Century*, 2014, p. 265



Income shares top 1% and lower 50%

Thomas Piketty, Capital in the Twenty-first Century, 2014

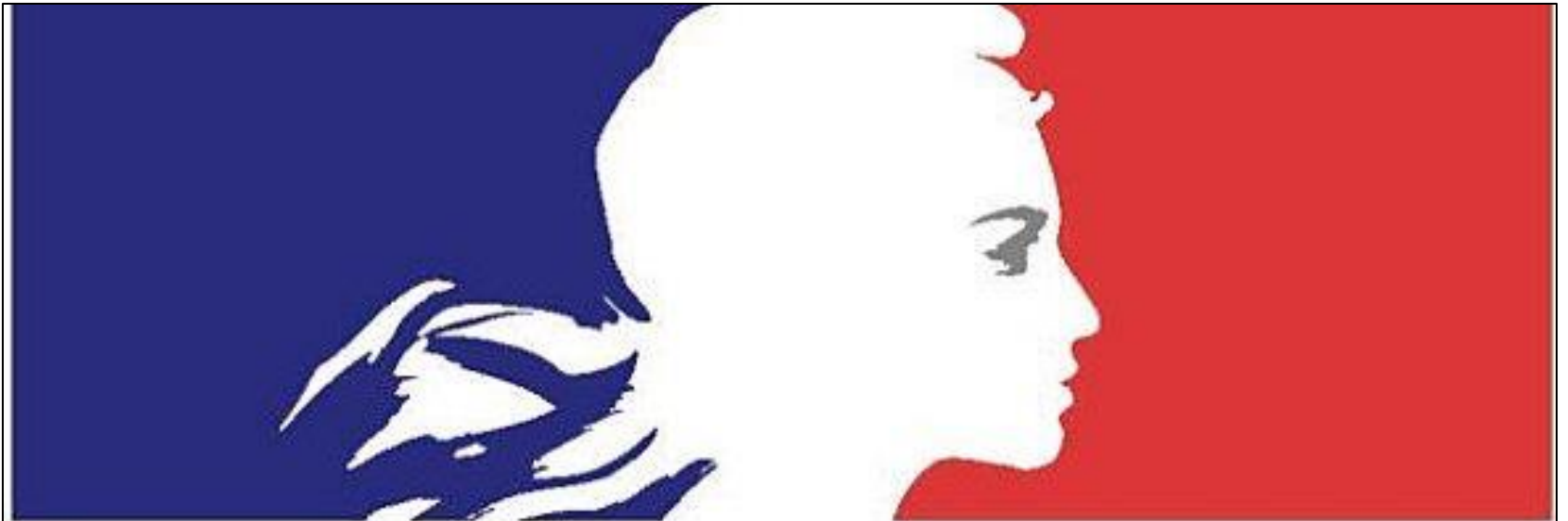
	EUROPE 1910 High inequality	SCANDINAVIA 1970s/1980s Low inequality	EUROPE 2010 Medium-high	United States 2010 High inequality
TOP 1% share of labor income	6%	5%	7%	12%
TOP 1% share of income from capital	50%	20%	25%	35%
TOP 1% share of total income	20%	7%	10%	20%
LOWER 50% share labor income	n.a.	35%	30%	25%
LOWER 50% share capital income	5%	10%	5%	5%
LOWER 50% share total income	20%	30%	25%	20%

Top WCUs by number of high citation papers

Data from Leiden University CWTS ranking 2016

Universities		Papers 2011-2014	% of these papers in top 10% of field	Number of top 10% papers	
1	Harvard U	USA	32,253	21.9	7060
2	Stanford U	USA	14,615	22.1	3223
3	U Toronto	Canada	21,544	13.7	2956
4	U Michigan	USA	17,867	15.4	2756
5	U California, Berkeley	USA	12,764	20.9	2669
6	MIT	USA	10,439	25.0	2606
7	Johns Hopkins U	USA	15,631	16.2	2539
8	U California, Los Angeles	USA	13,994	17.3	2424
9	U Oxford	UK	13,300	18.1	2414
10	U Washington, Seattle	USA	14,018	16.6	2321
11	U Pennsylvania	USA	13,037	17.3	2253
12	U Cambridge	UK	12,506	17.3	2169
13	U College London	UK	13,032	16.6	2126

3. Equality: Respect for each other



Liberté • Égalité • Fraternité

RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE



ICELAND

Reykjavik

Arctic Circle

Faroe Islands

SWEDEN

FINLAND

Helsinki

Åland

Stockholm

Oslo

NORWAY

DENMARK

Copenhagen

**CONCEPTS:
SOCIAL EQUITY, EQUALITY
AND MOBILITY**

Social equity and equality

- *Equity* in education: normative, custom-bound, varies according to the specific setting and prevailing expectations. An intention to justice, not a fixed quality comparable between sites
- One way to assess equity is in terms of *measured equality*
- Conservative, liberal and radical notions of equality in education.
- Equity as *social inclusion*
- Equity as '*high quality educational access and outcomes to all citizens, with no distinctions on the basis of socio-economic status, gender or location*' (Torsten Husen's 1974 radical notion of equality)
e.g. equal social access to academically elite institutions

‘Equality of opportunity’ was born as equality of human capital

- Postwar economic growth with ‘flat’ wage structures, room at the top, rapid growth of American middle class and high social mobility, accompanied by high growth of higher education
- Twin discourses: Equality of opportunity + human capital theory
- Access progressively extended to all American school leavers, in steeply stratified higher education systems
- Becker’s belief that *human capital alone* determined incomes and thus provided upward mobility
- Emblematic Californian Master Plan for Higher Education (1960): ‘excellence plus access’—top 12.5% go to University of California, rest to State Universities and Community Colleges

THIS IS NOT ‘high quality educational access and outcomes to all its citizens, with no distinctions on the basis of socio-economic status, gender or location’; note also that the upward transfer function is crucial

Intergenerational social mobility and higher education

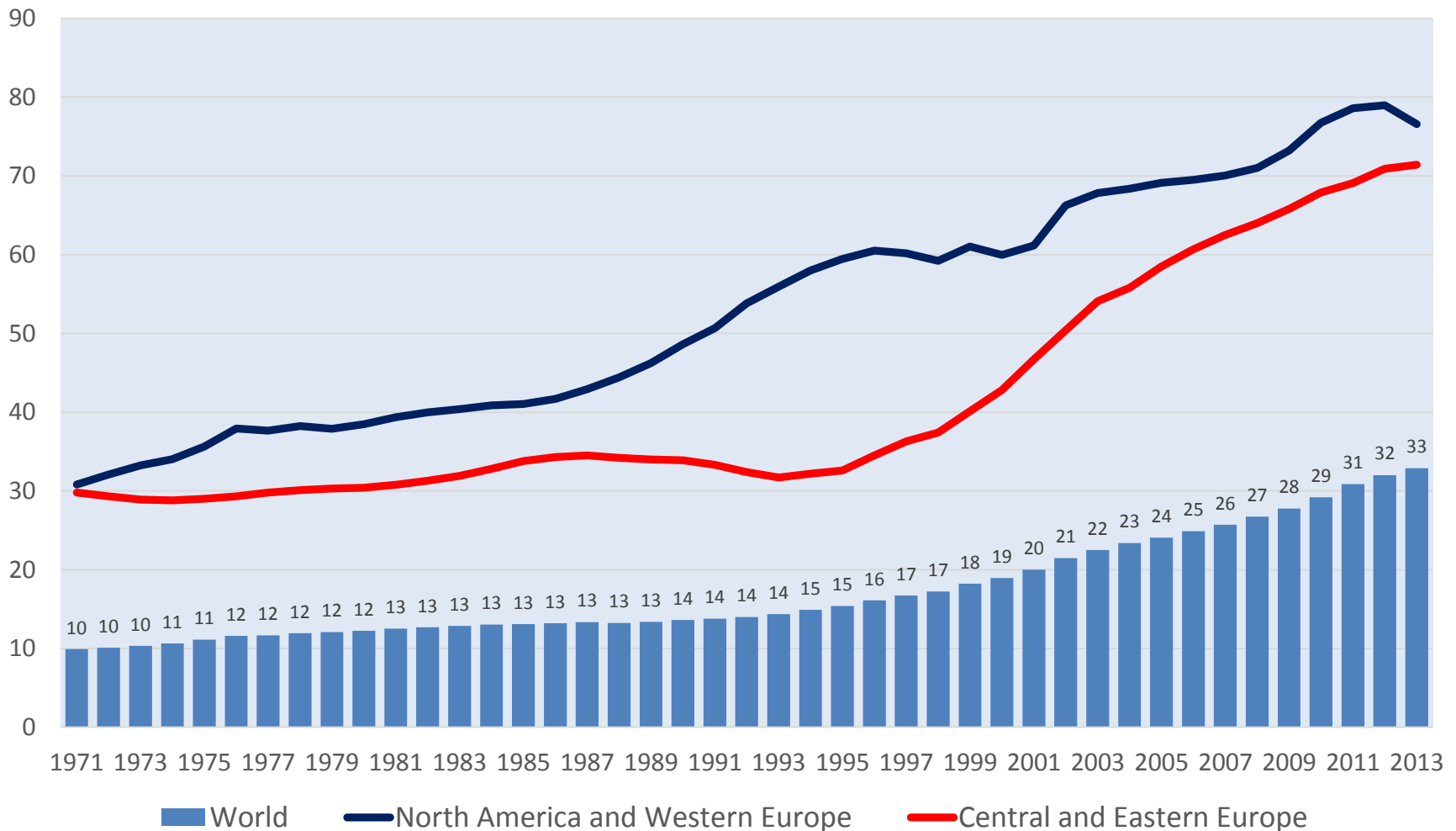
- There are strong statistical associations between Gini coefficients (measure of inequality), high rates of return to graduates, and social mobility in terms of earnings
- HPS with relatively inclusive, low cost and 'flat' higher education structures are associated with relatively high social mobility (e.g. Nordic, Low countries, German speaking world)

Income inequality (2012), and two indicators of social mobility (2000s and 2012), OECD countries with available data

	Gini coefficient after tax/ transfers (2012)	Ratio between 90/10 incomes after tax/ transfers (2012)	Social mobility1: IIE, Corak study (2000s)	Social mobility 2: Odds ratios, OECD (2012)
Denmark	0.249	2.8	0.15	3.0
Slovak Republic	0.250	3.2	---	---
Norway	0.253	3.0	0.17	2.0
Czech Republic	0.256	3.0	---	---
Finland	0.260	3.1	0.18	1.4
Sweden	0.274	3.3	0.27	2.3
Austria	0.276	3.5	---	5.1
Netherlands	0.281	3.3	---	2.8
Switzerland	0.285	3.5	---	---
Germany	0.289	3.5	0.32	5.1
Poland	0.298	3.9	---	9.5
Ireland	0.304	3.8	---	3.3
France	0.306	3.6	0.41	6.0
South Korea	0.307	---	---	1.1
Canada	0.315	4.2	0.19	2.6
Australia	0.326	4.4	0.26	4.3
Italy	0.327	4.4	0.50	9.5
Spain	0.335	4.9	0.40	3.9
Estonia	0.338	4.7	---	4.7
United Kingdom	0.350	4.2	0.50	6.4 *
United States	0.390	6.2	0.47	6.8
Japan	---	---	0.34	5.1
Chile	---	---	0.52	---

SOCIAL INCLUSION

Gross Tertiary Enrolment Ratio: World, North America/Europe, 1971- 2012



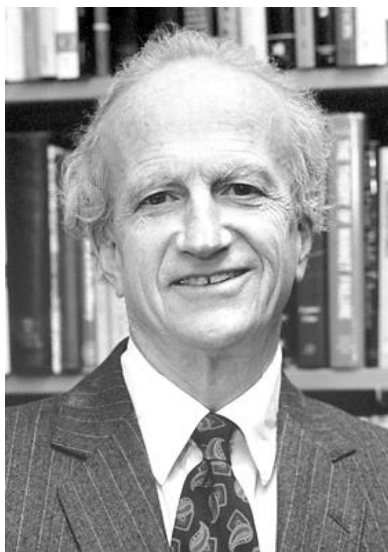
Regional growth in Gross Tertiary Enrolment Ratio (%), 1970-2013

UNESCO 2015 data

	1970	1990	2010	2013
World	10.0	13.6	29.3	32.9
North America/ W. Europe	30.6	48.6	76.9	76.6
Central and Eastern Europe	30.2	33.9	67.9	71.4
Latin America and Caribbean	6.9	16.9	40.9	43.9
East Asia and Pacific	2.9	7.3	27.3	33.0
Arab States	6.0	11.4	25.5	28.1
Central Asia	n.a.	25.3	26.7	26.1
South and West Asia	4.2	5.7	17.4	22.8
Sub-Saharan Africa	0.9	3.0	7.7	8.2

What drives participation growth?

*Economic development? Labour market demand?
States expanding access? Popular demand?*



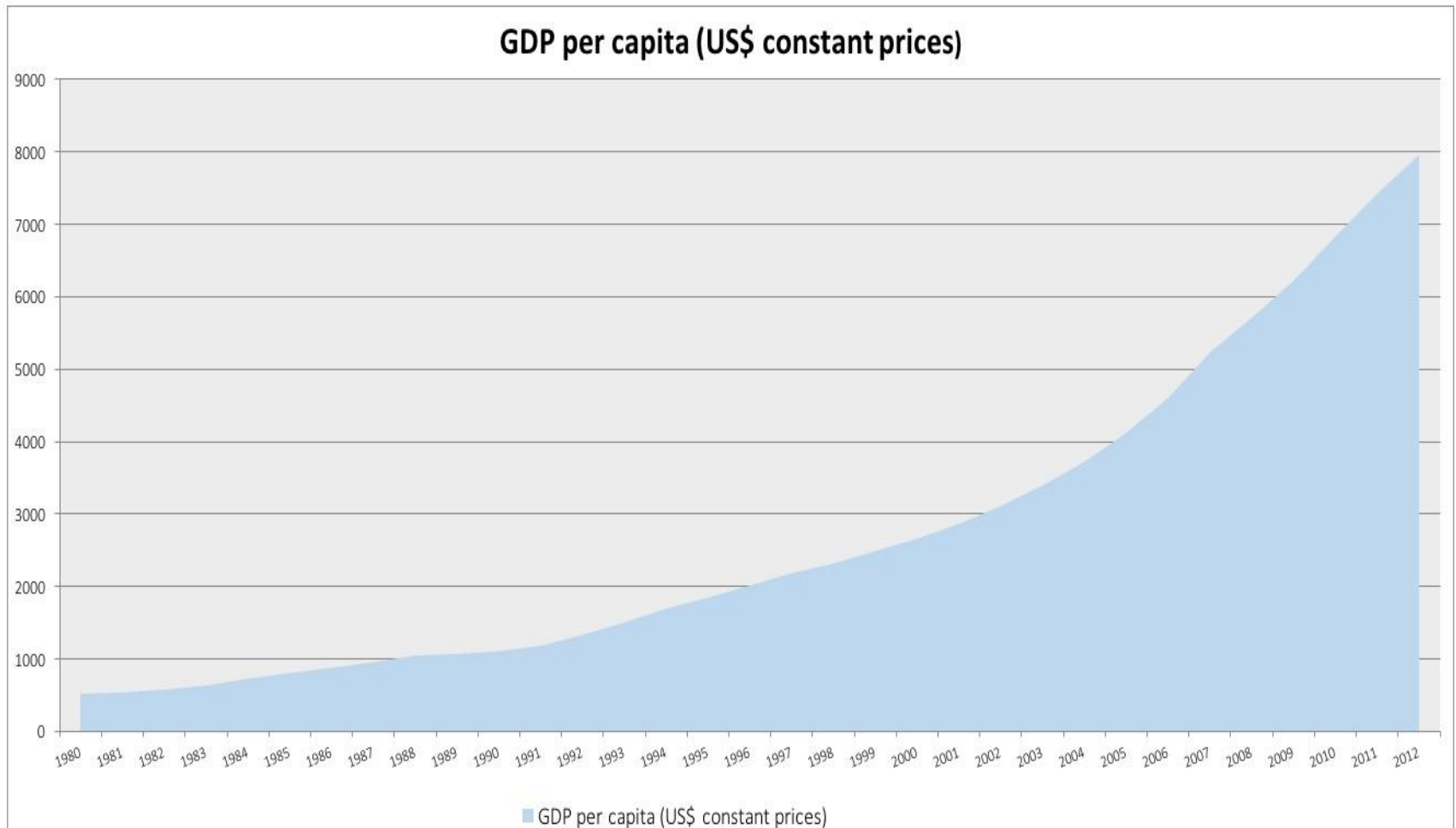
I say growth is fully
explained by ECONOMIC
demand. Don't listen to
Marginson!

Gary Becker, author of *Human Capital*
(1964)

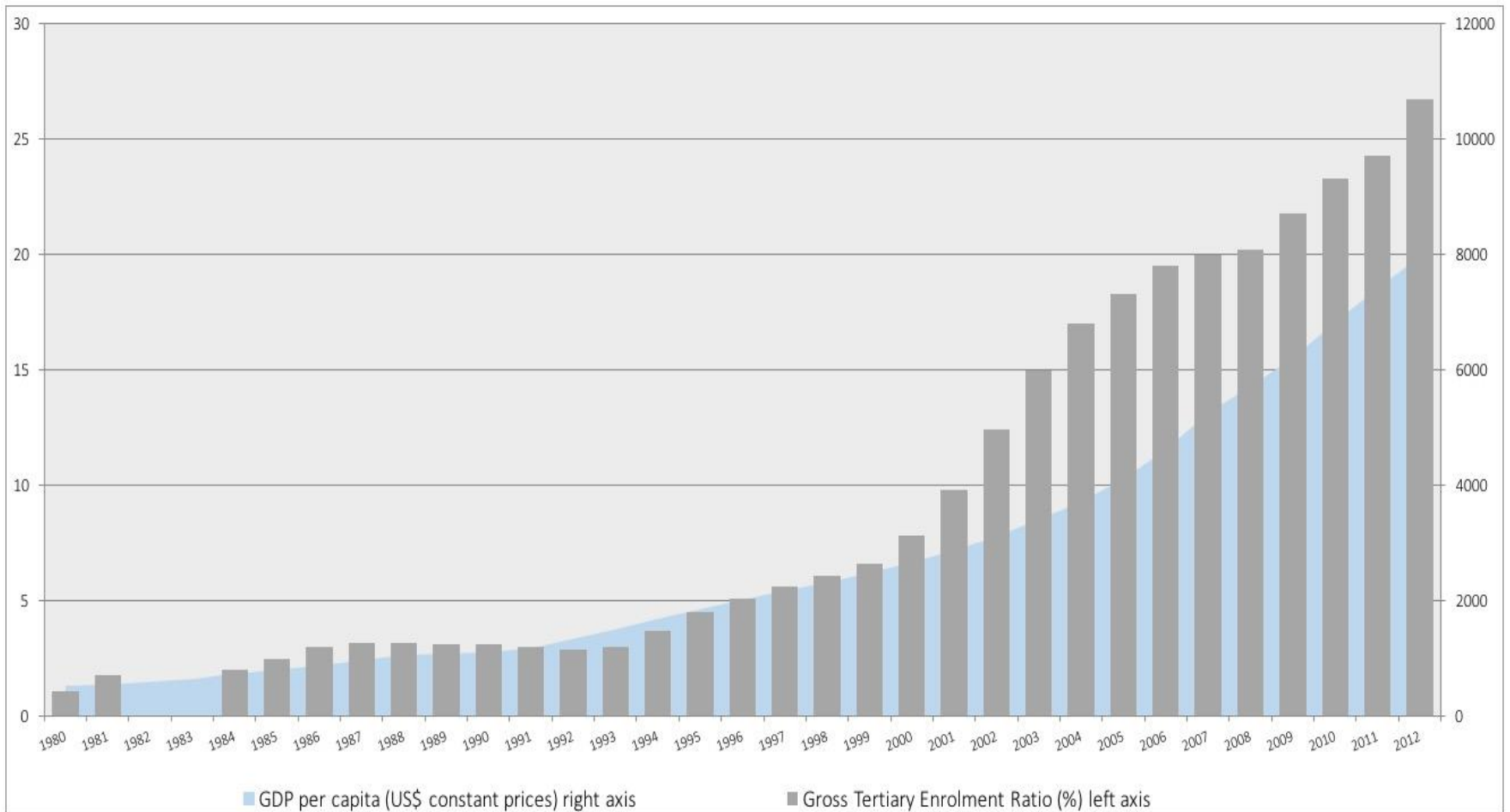
“The rapid expansion of higher education in the 1960s does not coincide with especially large historical changes in occupational structures, job skill requirements, or labour market demands that would create a need for massive expansion of higher education”

~ John Meyer and Evan Schofer (2005)

Growth of tertiary participation faster than GDP per capita, China 1980-2012



Growth of tertiary participation faster than GDP per capita, China 1980-2012



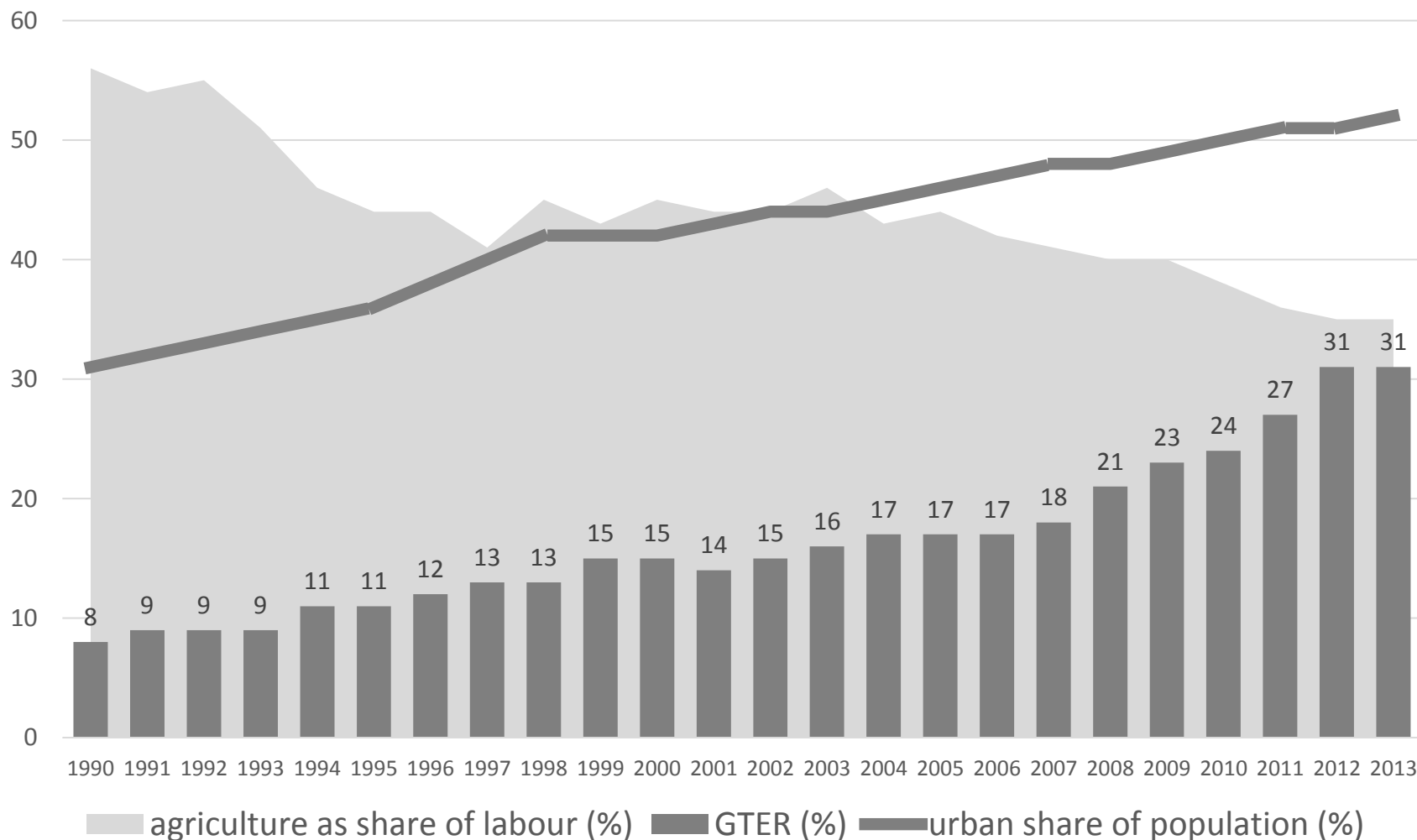
Martin Trow and the social drivers of participation

- “There will be continued popular demand for an increase in the number of places in colleges and universities. It seems to me very unlikely that any advanced industrial society can or will be able to stabilize the numbers”
- Despite “loose talk about graduate unemployment or of an oversupply ... people who have gone on to higher education thereby increase their chances for having more secure, more interesting, and better paid work throughout their lives”

Martin Trow, 1973, pp. 40-41)

NEVERTHELESS minimum economic conditions, including transition from an agricultural economy, and initial state building, seem to be essential conditions of mass higher education systems

GTER and urbanization in Indonesia 1990-2013



STRATIFICATION OF VALUE WITHIN PARTICIPATION

Conditions that enhance the stratification of value, 'stretching' HEIs vertically

- Inherited institutional hierarchies
- Growth of participation itself (as will be discussed)
- Neoliberal competition policies
- AT TOP OF SYSTEMS: World-Class University movement
- AT TOP OF SYSTEMS: Rankings
- MASS EDUCATION: Under-funding of public systems
- MASS EDUCATION: Relatively low quality for-profits
- MASS EDUCATION: Other low cost expedients such as MOOCs in place of face-to-face learning

Factors facilitating the social differentiation of opportunity in stratified systems

- Elite schools and school sectors that affect selection
- Classification hierarchies, and horizontal institutional diversity that becomes vertical
- Public and private sector distinctions
- Fields of study differences
- Tuition barriers and differentiated tuition prices
- Differentiated aspirations, 'under-matching' in applications
- 'Under-learning', which penalizes the poor student for whom
acquired merit = ability + effort
- Intensified competition between HEIs
- Social and economic inequality beyond higher education

Access to U.S. higher education hierarchy is income-stratified

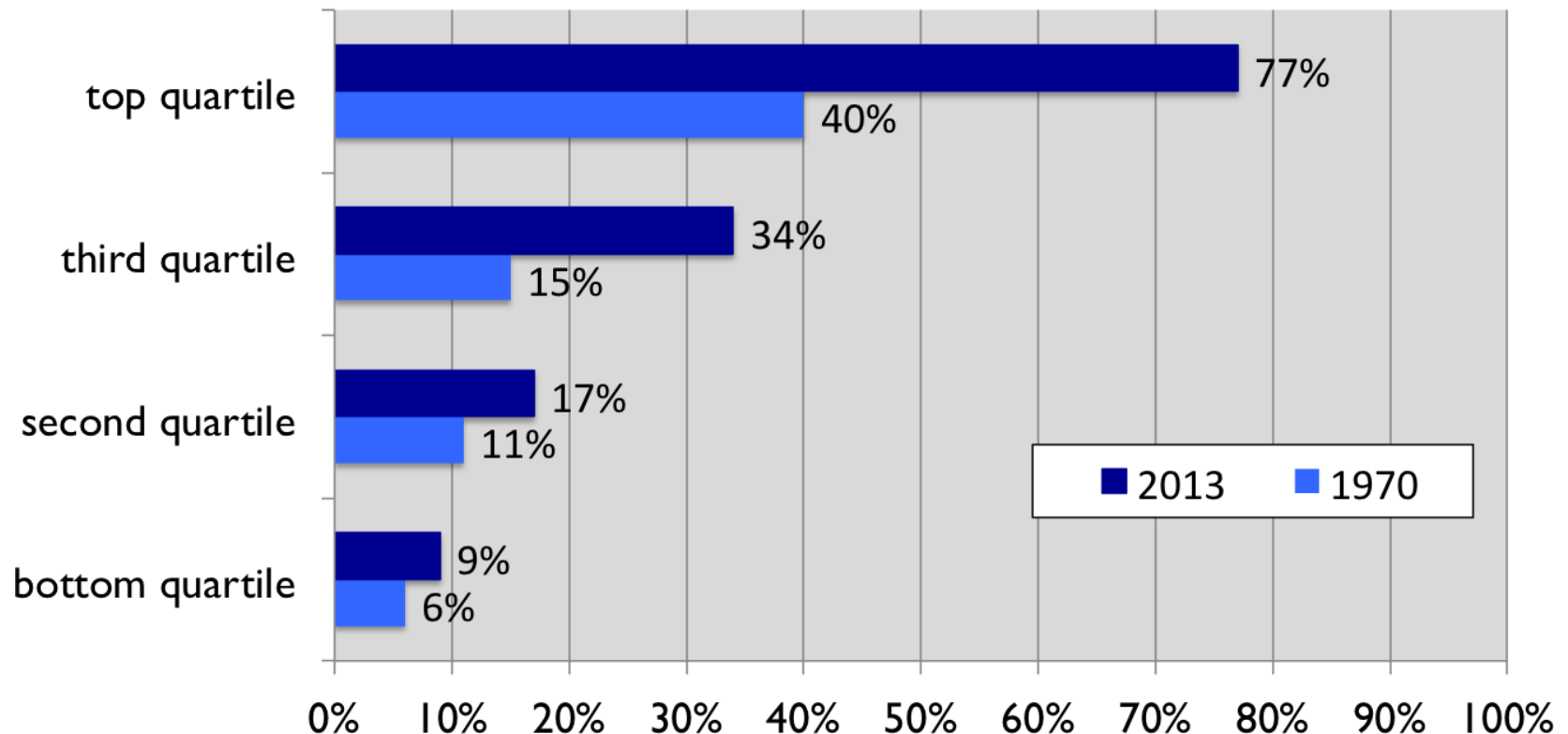
Data from Soares 2007, p. 167

Category of institution	Proportion of all students drawn from the top 10% of American families in terms of family income
Tier 1	64%
Tier 2	44%
Tier 3	32%
Tier 4	21%
Tier 5	20%
Tier 6	11%
Tier 7	11%
University of California, Berkeley	28%

Social inequality in achieved college degrees, USA 1970/2013

Bachelor degree by age 24, family income quartile

Source: The PELL Institute and Penn Ahead, 2015



What happens to social equity when higher education systems grow to 50% and beyond?

1. Higher education becomes more *socially inclusive*
2. The penalties of exclusion (non-participation) increase
3. Higher education systems become more vertically stratified, unless compensating government policies are applied
4. *Social inequality in access to elite higher education institutions increases*, unless compensating government policies are applied
5. Governments find it more difficult to change the social distribution of opportunities (and mostly focus on the boundary of inclusion, not on access to elite institutions)

VARIATION BETWEEN HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEMS

Three kinds of state/ higher education

	United States	Nordic	Post-Confucian (East Asia and Singapore)
Nation-state	Limited liberal state, separate from economy and civil order, constrained in intervention. Federal	Comprehensive Nordic welfare state, equated with society, fosters cooperative institutions. Unitary	Comprehensive Sinic state, politics commands economy. Unitary. High status (eg top graduates enter state service)
Educational culture	Meritocratic and competitive. Highly stratified, but education seen as common road to wealth/status within advancing prosperity	Egalitarian, free of charge, cooperative, universal. Low stratification of HEIs. State guaranteed medium for equal opportunity	Confucian commitment to self-cultivation at home. Education for filial duty and social status via exam competition in stratified system
State role in higher education	Frames hierarchical market and steps back. Autonomous university leaders and strategy	Supervises high quality egalitarian provision. Grants autonomy to HEIs	Supervises, shapes and drives the sector. Managed devolution and autonomy

Equality and HE: similarities and differences 1

	United States	Finland	Russia	China
Market income inequality (2012)	High: Gini 0.513 Rapidly increasing	Moderate: Gini 0.488	Moderate: Gini 0.481.	Gini n.a.
Post-tax income inequality (2012)	High: Gini 0.390	Low: Gini 0.260	High: Gini 0.396	High: Gini n.a.
Social Mobility (early 2000s)	Low: IIE 0.47	High: IIE 0.18	Low: IIE n.a.	Low: IIE 0.60, rapid middle class growth
Redistributive role of state	Weaker than in most OECD countries	Strongest of all OECD countries	Weak. Low income tax, stronger transfers	data n.a.
Higher education participation (2013)	Very high, GTER 89.9. Falling	Very high, GTER 91.9	High, GTER 76.1	Medium, GTER 29.7 Rapid growth
Distributional social outcomes of growth of HPS	Leads to enhanced social stratification	Facilitates mobility, no increase equality	Feeds into social and labour stratification	HE facilitates middle class. Not an equalizer?
Main effect of higher education in equality	HPS, unequal society make each other	Facilitates not creates egalitarian society	Probably increases social inequality	HPS facilitates and sorts rising middle class

Equality and HE: similarities and differences 2

	United States	Finland	Russia	China
Families and higher education	Fragmented HE commitment in low SES families	Universal support for free education	Weaker HE commitment in low SES families	Universal commitment includes tuition
Directions of state policy in higher education	Marketisation, foster for-profits, funding cuts	Maintains socially egalitarian system	Partial neglect. Quasi-marketisation	Builds capacity: quantity and quality
Vertical stratification of higher education	Steeply vertical, growing inequality	Modest hierarchy, universal excellence	Steeply vertical, incoherent structure	Steeply vertical, coherent structure
Role of private sector in higher education	Minority, Ivy League low value for-profits	Negligible	Public sector primary, auxiliary participation	Public sector primary, auxiliary participation
Relations between HEIs	Competition within classifications	Cooperation, research funding competition	Competition within localities	National competition plus local competition
Tuition fees	Increasing in all sectors, high private	None, free access in financial terms	Half public students pay full tuition	Growing, highest in low tier institutions
Student financial support	Commercial tuition loans, PELL grants	Grants for living costs	Low level grants and loans	Loans for tuition and living costs

State-political culture, social competition and equality: Post-Soviet variations

Alexei Izyumov (2010). Human Costs of Post-communist Transition: Public policies and private response. *Review of Social Economy*, 68 (1), pp. 93-125

- ‘Prior to transition, poverty in the transition economies (TEs) region was largely a non-problem... In the 1990s, eastern Europe and the former USSR experienced a drastic decline in living standards. Before the start of reforms in 1987–1988, the number of poor in the region living below the international poverty line of \$2.15 a day was 14 million, or 3.1 percent of the population. By the end of the 1990s, 88 million people or almost 20 percent of the population lived here below the international poverty line’ (p. 100, pp. 93-94)

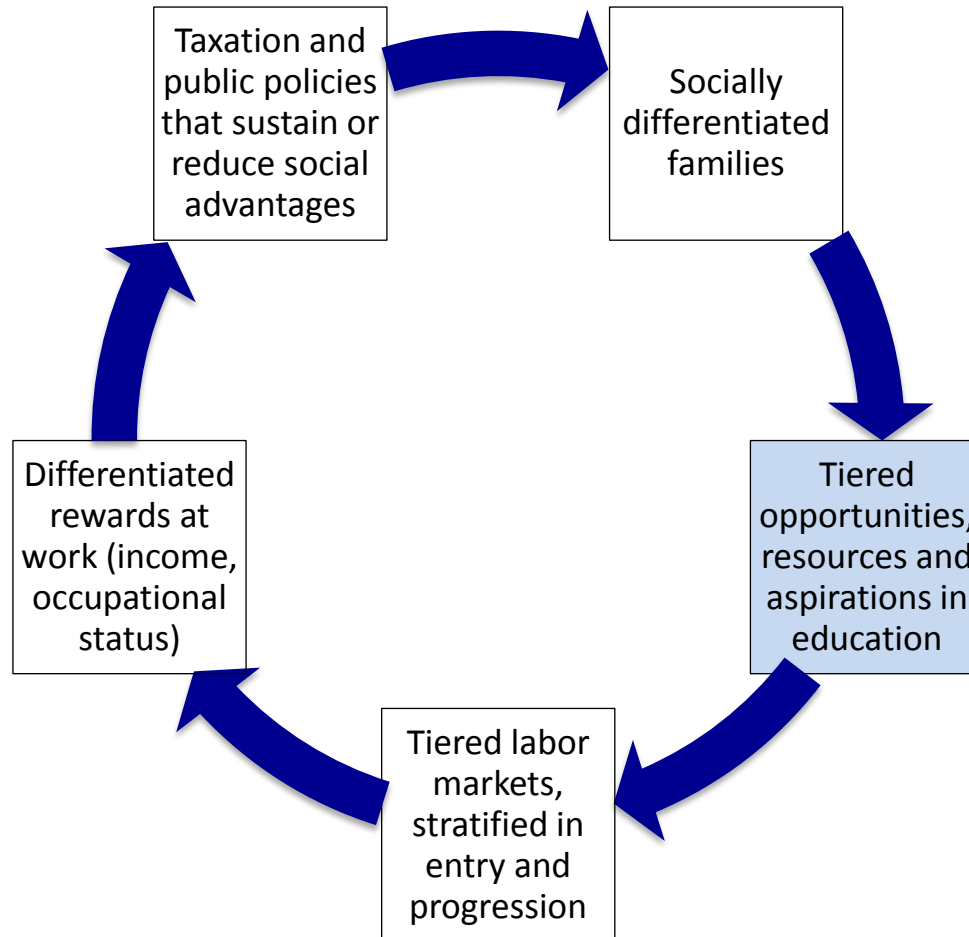
But the implications of the transition differed by country

Three groups of post-Soviet nations

Group of countries	State regime	Outcomes
CENTRAL EASTERN EUROPE & BALTIC (CEB) Czech Rep, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovak Rep, Slovenia	Democratic regime with open market economy. Broad social interests affect transition. Benefits of privatisation spread	Late 1990s: 12% poverty. Income inequality restrained. Social protections maintained, public goods largely sustained.
SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE (SEE) Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Romania	State and privatisation controlled by former bureaucrats and special interests	Late 1990s: 30% poverty. Social protections largely maintained, some loss of public goods, reduced role of government
COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES (CIS) Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Rep, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine	Corrupt oligarchic capitalism. State and privatisation controlled by former bureaucrats and special interests. Reduced government responsibility for living standards	Late 1990s: 60% poverty. Large jump in inequality. Accelerated inflation with weak protections. Dramatic lessening of government role and public goods, decline of higher education & research

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Social reproduction of (in)equality via education



That's all Folks!

