HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE PROMISE OF AN INCLUSIVE AND EQUITABLE SOCIETY

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ROADMAP FOR TALK

• The Value of Higher Education for Expanding Equal Opportunity
• Federal HE Policy and the Fight for Equal Opportunity in the United States
• Lessons for Policymakers
THE VALUE OF HIGHER EDUCATION
New America Survey

Minimum level of education needed to ensure financial security for Americans (n=1,517)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High school diploma/GED</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical certificate</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate degree</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's degree</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's degree</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctoral or professional degree</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fishman, Nguyen, Newhouse, "Varying Degrees" New America, 2022
New America Survey

How much do you agree or disagree that education beyond high school offers a good investment for the student? (n=1,517)

- Strongly/somewhat agree (%): 76%
- Strongly/somewhat disagree (%): 24%

Note: The numbers in this figure and the narrative may not match due to rounding. In case of mismatch, please refer to the narrative.

Source: Varying Degrees 2022 • Get the data • Download image

NEW AMERICA

Source: Fishman, Nguyen, Newhouse, "Varying Degrees" New America, 2022
New America Survey

Who should be responsible for funding higher education? By party identification:

- The government, because it is good for society (%)
- Students, because they personally benefit (%)
- Don't know/skipped (%)

Democrats (n=659):
- 77% The government, because it is good for society
- 22% Students, because they personally benefit
- 1% Don't know/skipped

Republicans (n=589):
- 36% The government, because it is good for society
- 63% Students, because they personally benefit
- 1% Don't know/skipped

Note: The numbers in this figure and the narrative may not match due to rounding. In case of mismatch, please refer to the narrative.

Source: Varying Degrees 2022 • Get the data • Download image

NEW AMERICA

Source: Fishman, Nguyen, Newhouse, "Varying Degrees" New America, 2022
HIGHER EDUCATION AND EQUITY?
What is the value of higher education for expanding equal opportunity in the United States?

What role have policymakers played in promoting equity through higher education?
“Women need not apply.”
History of Gender Discrimination in U.S. Higher Ed

- Gender quotas
  - Fierce competition for limited seats
- Outright exclusion of women
- Limited access to private funding
- Unequal treatment on campus
  - Discrimination against pregnant and parenting students
  - Limited access to programming, resources, and honors
  - Discrimination against women faculty
Education and Political Participation

Education provides information and skills

- Access to civic skills like attending, planning, or chairing a meeting; public speaking; fundraising.

Education can promote a heightened sense of civic duty that facilitate participation.

Educational attainment is a determinant of SES, which shapes the extent to which Americans participate in politics.

Those with more education are more likely to be mobilized by interest groups, candidates, and other activists.
Bachelor's Degrees Conferred in the U.S. by Gender, 1910-2010

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics
Bachelor's Degrees Conferred in the U.S. by Gender, 1910-2010

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics
Landmark Higher Ed Policies

• The National Defense Education Act of 1958
• The Higher Education Act of 1965
• Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments
Puzzles

- Landmark HE policies that did a great deal for women emerged even though...
  - They were dramatic departures from higher education AND social policy precedents
  - Women were marginalized politically
Fighting Sex Discrimination

A “One-Two” Punch

- **First Punch**: Redistributive Policy
  - Financial Aid under the 1958 National Defense Education Act and the 1965 Higher Education Act
    - Student Loans
    - Pell Grants
    - Work Study
- **Second Punch**: Regulatory Policy
  - Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments
THE NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT (NDEA), 1958
HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY PRECEDENTS...
CARL ELLIOTT (D-AL)

Asking to Represent

- BLOUNT
- CULLMAN
- FAYETTE
- FRANKLIN
- LAMAR
- MARION
- PICKENS
- WALKER
- WINSTON

CARL ELLIOTT For CONGRESS
FROM THE SEVENTH DISTRICT
"From Farm Boy To Congress"
(Subject to action of Democratic Primaries May 4 and June 1, 1948)
SPUTNIK: A WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY
ACCIDENTAL EGALITARIANISM?
THE HIGHER EDUCATION ACT (HEA), 1965
A NEW POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

ELECTION OF 1964

Johnson (Democratic) 486 electoral votes
Goldwater (Republican) 52 electoral votes
INCREASING WOMEN'S ACCESS TO COLLEGE BY INCREASING AFFORDABILITY
SEX DISCRIMINATION ON CAMPUS

Dr. Bunny Sandler
“The Godmother of Title IX”
Activist with the Women’s Equity Action League (WEAL)
SEX DISCRIMINATION ON CAMPUS

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Congresswoman Edith Green (D-OR)
“The Mother of Title IX”
SEX DISCRIMINATION ON CAMPUS

Marvella Hern
SEX DISCRIMINATION ON CAMPUS

Marvella Hern Bayh
SUBCOMMITTEE HEARINGS ON SEX DISCRIMINATION
POLICY DESIGN: REGULATION

1964 Civil Rights Act
Title VI—Nondiscrimination in Federally Assisted Programs
Sec. 601.

“No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.”
POLICY DESIGN: REGULATION

1972 Education Amendments
Title IX—Prohibits Sex Discrimination in Federally Assisted Education Programs
Sec. 901.

“No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.”
CARROTS...AND STICKS
What should lawmakers prioritize if they want to help actualize the promise of an inclusive and equitable society in the 21st century?
1. Note the value of **strategic policy design** to achieve substantial change:
   - Watching for windows of opportunity
   - Building on existing policies
   - Note the efficacy of redistributive + regulatory policy formula ("Carrots and Sticks")

2. **Policy entrepreneurs from diverse backgrounds** can play a central role in driving non-incremental change
   - Outsiders' perspectives and insiders' know-how

3. **Not your grandma's and grandpa's higher education problems**
   a. 21st century problems require 21st century solutions
   b. Thinking outside of the box
1. The next frontier: inclusion on campus
   a. Eradicating the range of inequalities present on college campuses is a must
   b. Expanding resources and support for first-generation college students
2. Restoring trust in higher educational institutions
   a. Leaving the ivory tower behind us
   b. Addressing rising costs and controlling the campus development race
THANK YOU!