Privatization as the New Normal in Higher Education

Synthesizing Literature and Reinvigorating Research Through a Multilevel Framework

Kevin R. McClure, Sondra N. Barringer, and Joshua Travis Brown

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[$] All authors contributed equally to this work and share equal authorship.

K. R. McClure (✉)
University of North Carolina Wilmington, Wilmington, NC, USA
e-mail: mcclurek@uncw.edu

S. N. Barringer
Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX, USA
e-mail: sbarringer@mail.smu.edu

J. T. Brown
University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA, USA
e-mail: jtb8n@virginia.edu

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Abstract

Privatization in US higher education has recently been framed as the new normal, or something scholars treat as the default state of affairs with little expectation of change in the foreseeable future. In this chapter we synthesize the literature on privatization, calling for a renewed research agenda that challenges this normalization and reinvigorates study of this important topic. More specifically, we analyze the conceptualizations, origins, catalysts, and manifestations of privatization in the literature. We advance five arguments about the privatization throughout the chapter, underscoring conceptual murkiness, fragmented lines of inquiry, unanswered questions, and methodological limitations. We propose a multilevel framework to understand the privatization literature and bring together disparate strands of inquiry. We conclude by outlining a renewed research agenda on privatization, highlighting several directions for future research and advocating for improved data and research methods.

Keywords

Privatization · Higher education · College · University · Corporatization · Research · Framework · Commercialization · Financialization · Neoliberal · Market · Revenue · Academic capitalism · Policy · Finance · Funding · Inequality · State · Federal · Financial aid

Few topics in the study of US higher education received as much scholarly attention in the first decade of the twenty-first century as privatization. A significant share of scholarly works on privatization in higher education was published during this 10-year span. Now approaching the end of the century's second decade, the urgency around privatization has waned. Once described in calamitous terms, privatization has recently been framed as the new normal (Doyle and Delaney 2009), or something scholars treat as the default state of affairs with little expectation of change in the foreseeable future. Consequently, privatization has become a contextual feature within studies of other phenomena, rather than a focal point of research and coherent line of inquiry. The purpose of this chapter is to synthesize the literature on privatization, calling for a renewed research agenda that challenges this normalization and reinvigorates study of this important topic.

More specifically, we analyzed the conceptualizations, origins, catalysts, and manifestations of privatization in the literature and, in so doing, we: (1) bring order to the voluminous body of work on the topic and promote dialogue among disparate lines of inquiry; (2) develop a framework for understanding the privatization literature, drawing on existing conceptualizations and research to highlight the multilevel nature of this phenomenon; (3) critically review the literature on the manifestations of privatization using the four levels that we highlight in our framework: national, state, institutional, and sub-institutional, (4) identify key limitations and unanswered questions in the literature; and (5) highlight future directions for research that address these limitations, capitalizing on more nuanced data and methodological diversity to constitute a renewed research agenda focused on privatization and its implications for institutions[1] and the constituents they serve.

Our synthesis of the literature was informed through a two-stage literature collection and review approach. In the first stage we extracted peer-reviewed articles using variations of "privatization in higher education" search terms in 13 education databases.[2] While the query yielded 229 articles that employed variations of the keywords,[3] a total of 199 were excluded due to either a focus on international higher education ($n = 159$) or insufficient information and duplicate records ($n = 40$). In our assessment of the 30 confirmed privatization articles, we determined: (1) the low number of peer-reviewed journal articles that empirically examined privatization were not representative of the broader scholarly discussion on the topic; (2) the peer-reviewed journal articles discussed privatization interchangeably with other terms, such as markets/marketization, outsourcing, commercialization, and corporatization, among others; and (3) the peer-reviewed journal articles empirically examined privatization at different levels of analysis (i.e., national, state, institutional) and across institutional types (i.e., public, private, community college, research university). We used these findings from the first stage to inform our second stage of literature collection and review.

In the second stage of literature collection and review, we took a wide-angle lens to privatization with regard to publications and terms of inclusion. First, we expanded publications to include scholarly books, government reports, edited volumes, and nonprofit reports. Second, we did not limit our synthesis to works with variations of "privatization" in the title, as many studies relate to privatization without using the term. Rather, we located these publications using a variety of keywords and related concepts that were discovered in the peer-reviewed articles (i.e., corporatization, commercialization, and marketization) and particular manifestations we identified

[1]We reflect the literature and use "institutions" to refer to higher education organizations, including both colleges and universities, throughout this work.

[2]The 13 search Indexes were comprised of seven sub-indices of EBSCO Host (Academic Search Complete, Academic Search Ultimate, Education Research Complete, ERIC, Psychology and Behavioral Sciences Collection, SocINDEX, and Teacher Reference Center), as well as six additional indices that included ProQuest Education Database, Academic OneFile, Educators Reference Complete, JSTOR, and PsycNET. The search parameters begin with 1986 as it was the earliest year for the ERIC search index, which restricted all others.

[3]Initial queries included peer-reviewed works that used variations of privatization within the body of the article, but in our evaluation of the content, we discovered that the overwhelming majority of these works employed the term privatization in order to *contextualize* the study while examining something else of interest (i.e., the new normal). Thus, we limited queries to articles that only employed the term in the title, abstract, or keywords.

and discuss below (i.e., outsourcing of auxiliary services). Thus, our first and second stages of literature collection and review yielded a corpus of approximately 300 scholarly works for analysis that address the privatization of higher education or its manifestations directly or indirectly.

Main Arguments of the Chapter

Based on our review of the literature, we developed five main arguments which are weaved throughout the chapter. We outline each argument in turn before providing an outline of the chapter. First, we argue that the privatization literature is characterized by a murkiness around how to best conceptualize the phenomenon, resulting in confusion about the meaning and effects of privatization. This lack of clarity is partly due to scholars using multiple terms interchangeably with privatization, including commercialization, corporatization, marketization, and financialization (e.g., Eaton et al. 2016; Russel et al. 2016; Schultz 2015; Steck 2003; Taylor et al. 2013; Teixeira and Dill 2011). Moreover, there have been few efforts in the past decade to refine or extend conceptualizations of privatization in light of new policies and practices. The literature reveals the need for additional clarity about the relationships among various terms. We draw upon some of the most frequently used conceptualizations to develop a multilevel framework for understanding the privatization literature and establishing distinctions and commonalities among these terms.

Second, we contend that the prominence of privatization in the literature has diminished, and its fragmented nature results in limited dialogue across lines of inquiry. Almost all of the books that directly addressed privatization were published between 2000 and 2010 (Bok 2003; Canaan and Shumar 2008; Donoghue 2008; Duderstadt and Womack 2003; Gould 2003; Kirp 2003; Morphew and Eckel 2009; Newfield 2008; Priest and St. John 2006; Rhoads and Torres 2006; Schrecker 2010; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004; Washburn 2005; Weisbrod et al. 2008). While research on privatization has not disappeared, there has been an ebb in scholarship that explicitly addresses the topic. Studies published in peer-reviewed journals have often failed to link phenomenon to privatization and have treated privatization as a taken-for-granted feature of the higher education landscape. Normalization has resulted in scholars turning to more clearly measurable variables (e.g., completion or student loan debt) and more tangible consequences of privatization, such as the search for alternative revenues (e.g., Barringer 2016; Leslie et al. 2012; Li 2017; Webber 2017). As a result of both conceptual murkiness and the frequent use of privatization as a contextual factor, the privatization literature is disjointed and lacks the type of coherence that promotes incremental advances in understanding.

Third, we argue that there are a number of limitations to the literature on privatization and many unanswered questions. The normalization of privatization and its diminished prominence in the literature is not because privatization has been exhausted as a topic of study. Rather, conceptual murkiness and the fragmented nature of the research have left debates and questions unaddressed. The existing research has started to unpack empirical questions that can be connected to privatization. However, this research relies heavily on descriptive analysis, anecdotes, and quantitative analyses that are limited to those aspects of privatization that can be operationalized as measurable variables. We argue that there is a need for additional data, as well as more complex and multidimensional methods (e.g., social network analysis and mixed-methods designs), to address some of the shortcomings of the current literature and advance understanding of privatization. The combination of emerging questions and limitations in the literature suggests the need for a renewed research agenda on privatization, which we outline in the final section.

Fourth, we argue that privatization is manifested at four different levels in US higher education: national, state, institutional, and sub-institutional. Privatization is occurring along these levels simultaneously, and it is possible for privatization at one level (e.g., state policies) to influence the degree and nature of privatization at another level (e.g., institutional). Research has often focused on manifestations of privatization along one level (e.g., institutional) without tracing these manifestations back to policies at the state or national level. Although some conceptualizations of privatization implicitly address multiple levels, there has been no attempt to systematize this understanding or explicitly acknowledge privatization as a phenomenon involving multiple, interrelated levels. We contend there is a need for a framework for understanding the literature that can account for the multiple levels implicated in privatization.

Fifth, even as the currents of scholarly interest drift toward new topics, privatization continues along multiple levels and in various forms, raising concerns about the consequences of performance-based funding, increased competition for students, and private third-party service providers (e.g., Grawe 2018; Hillman 2016; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004; Taylor and Cantwell 2019; Webber 2017). Many contemporary manifestations of privatization point to rising inequality between institutions and within institutions (Taylor and Cantwell 2019), as well as mounting barriers to access and affordability for marginalized populations of students. As inequality increases within the organizational field, privatization may have real consequences for the diversity of the US higher education system, which has long been one of its key strengths (e.g., Harris 2013; Labaree 2017). Furthermore, as scholars attempt to identify policies and practices that create opportunities for an increasing share of Americans to move to and through higher education, privatization should be a major line of inquiry as a factor that may be limiting those opportunities. We argue for a return to privatization as an essential research topic and suggest five future directions as part of a renewed research agenda.

These arguments carry through the four main sections of this chapter. First, we begin the chapter by categorizing and discussing influential conceptualizations of privatization within the literature. As part of this section, we propose a multilevel framework for understanding the privatization literature, which we then use to organize the remaining sections. In the second section, we summarize the historical origins of privatization and discuss the political, economic, and sociocultural catalysts scholars have linked to privatization. In the third section, we analyze empirical literature on the manifestations of privatization across four levels, beginning with the national and state levels, then proceeding to the institutional and sub-institutional levels. Fourth, we evaluate the limitations and gaps in the literature, which help to justify a renewed research agenda and call for improved data and methods necessary to understand the complexities of privatization. We conclude with a brief summary of the key contributions of this work.

Conceptualizations of Privatization

This section provides definitions for terms associated with privatization and reviews influential conceptualizations of privatization in the literature. Conceptualizations, for the purposes of this chapter, are those efforts that authors have engaged in to explain how or why privatization has occurred in US higher education. Consistent with one of our main arguments, the majority of conceptualizations appeared between 2000 and 2010, with few conceptualizations published in the last decade. We discuss these conceptualizations in three parts. We begin by reviewing terms that are often used interchangeably or in conjunction with privatization. As we argue above, the intermingling of these terms with privatization reduces clarity about what privatization means. We offer succinct definitions of these terms and describe how they connect to privatization more broadly. Following this clarification, we identify limitations in all three categories of conceptualizations, and in the third part of this section, we describe the multilevel framework we developed to address these limitations and make sense of the literature.

Privatization and Associated Terms

Scholars use myriad terms in place of or in conjunction with privatization, which we argue reduces the clarity and coherence of this literature. Specifically, we focus here on four terms that are used most frequently within the literature, defining each in turn: (1) commercialization, (2) corporatization, (3) marketization, and (4) financialization (see Table 1 below). We contend these terms, while being central to understanding privatization, do not, by themselves, constitute privatization. These terms explain change processes that are related to privatization, yet fail to fully capture the phenomenon. In other words, corporatization is one part of privatization, but corporatization alone would not adequately capture the broader phenomenon of privatization. We include these change processes in our framework to better understand the privatization literature.

Commercialization is a term often used in conjunction with privatization. For example, Bok (2003) used this term in his frequently cited book, defining it as: "efforts within the university to make a profit from teaching, research, and other campus activities" (p. 3). As this definition demonstrates, commercialization is frequently used to denote institution-level activities designed to earn net revenues, or margins, sometimes referred to as "profit." Gumport and Snydman (2006) also discussed commercialization as academic activities designed to earn an institution net revenue. They maintained that commercialization of research, such as spin-off companies created

Table 1 Terms associated with privatization

Change process	Definition	Levels implicated
Commercialization	The process of offering or managing a university activity or service principally for net financial gain, as well as policies designed to encourage such activities or services	National, state, institutional, sub-institutional
Corporatization	The process of transforming the organizational cultures of institutions – including their management, values, and practices – so that they more closely resemble for-profit corporations	Institutional, sub-institutional
Marketization	The process of increasing market coordination or interaction to promote competition among buyers and sellers of higher education products and services	National, state
Financialization	The process of investing resources in financial markets to generate wealth and incur debt to achieve institutional goals	National, state, institutional

through university discoveries, and commercialization of instructional activities, including scaled-up online degree programs, have contributed to a hybridization of institutional forms in which features of public, private nonprofit, and for-profit colleges and universities are increasingly blurred. Based on this literature, *we define commercialization as the process of offering or managing a university activity or service principally for net financial gain, as well as policies designed to encourage such activities or services.* Not all revenue-generating activities in higher education represent commercialization, but those primarily geared toward net financial gain to support the institution would meet this definition. This definition suggests that commercialization can take shape in policies and practices at the national, state, institutional, and sub-institutional levels. The prioritization of net financial gain, similar to private firms seeking profits, suggests commercialization is a change process connected to privatization.

A second term commonly used along with or in place of privatization is *corporatization* (Giroux 2002; Gould 2003; Schultz 2015; Steck 2003; Washburn 2005). According to Schultz (2015), corporatization has been the "defining characteristic of higher education in the last forty years" and has "transformed" these institutions from a shared governance model into "a top-down bureaucracy that is increasingly managed and operated like a traditional profit-seeking corporation" (p. 21). Scholars often describe corporatization as a change to organizational culture (e.g., Giroux 2002; Steck 2003). For example, Steck (2003) emphasized organizational culture in his definition of corporatization: "the corporatized university is defined as an institution that is characterized by processes, decisional criteria, expectations, organizational culture, and operating practices that are taken from, and have their origins in, the modem business corporation" (p. 74). In light of this literature, *we define corporatization as the process of transforming the organizational cultures of institutions – including their management, values, and practices – so that they more closely resemble the organizational cultures of for-profit corporations.* Importantly, this transformation entails giving greater authority to managers and top-level administrators, which is why many studies using this term raise concerns about shared governance and academic freedom (Schrecker 2010; Washburn 2005). Additionally, the profit-motive central to corporations means that commercialization aimed at contributing to the maximization revenues is often related to the cultural transformation under corporatization. Because we define it primarily in terms of organizational culture, corporatization takes place mainly at the institutional and sub-institutional levels. Since it entails the organizational cultures of institutions increasingly mirroring the organizational cultures of for-profit corporations, corporatization represents an important part of privatization.

References to *marketization*, markets, quasi-markets, market forces, market mechanisms, market regulation, market competition, and market discipline are rife in privatization literature (Dill 1997; Jongbloed 2003; Marginson 2007, 2013; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004; Taylor et al. 2013; Teixeira and Dill 2011). In many cases, marketization refers to governments "devising policies trying to strengthen the (internal and external) efficiency of the higher education system by appealing to the use of market forces" (Teixeira and Dill 2011, p. vii). These policies often involve institutions competing for private resources instead of relying on government resources (Slaughter and Leslie 1997). The encouragement of competition, it is theorized, will lessen the probability of social over- or under-investment in higher education and "provide discipline to institutional decisions about costs, prices, and product quality" (Dill 1997, p. 168). Several scholars have provided nuanced analyses of the ways in which universities are not the same as private firms, and higher education does not function as a true economic market (Marginson 2013; Winston 1999). Given this literature, *we define marketization as the process of increasing market coordination or interaction through policies to promote competition among buyers and sellers of higher education products and services.* As this definition indicates, marketization is usually discussed in reference to policies at the national and state levels. Marketization underscores the effectiveness and efficiency of competitive markets and private over public investment in higher education, which ties it to privatization.

In recent years, several scholars have described *financialization* in the context of US higher education (Eaton et al. 2016; Russel et al. 2016). Generally, financialization refers to the increased use of financial transactions to allocate capital (Eaton et al. 2016). This process has amplified the power of the financial sector, including the people and firms that manage money and investments for organizations like colleges and universities. Although there is a tendency to focus on the growth of financial returns for wealthy institutions under financialization, the process also captures increasing costs associated with financial transactions and greater reliance on debt to finance institutional operations. As Russel et al. (2016) noted, financialization "has a number of disturbing consequences for higher education, including increases in overall borrowing by institutions, increases in the cost of interest payments on debt on a per-student basis, and a concentration of endowment assets at a small group of the wealthiest institutions" (p. 1). *We define financialization primarily as the process of investing resources in financial markets to generate wealth and to incur debt to achieve institutional goals*. National and state policies reflect financialization, as do institutional strategies for covering operational expenses with loans. Accordingly, financialization implicates national, state, and institutional levels. Financialization relies on financial markets, drawing a clear connection to marketization, and competing in these markets for wealth generation depends upon organizational cultures that develop as a result of corporatization.

We contend that marketization, commercialization, corporatization, and financialization are not equivalent to privatization, but rather are possible change processes in response to the catalysts we outline below. Each change process is an important part of understanding privatization, but cannot, by itself, fully capture the phenomenon. In effect, privatization, then, is an umbrella concept within which these change processes occur, interact, and in some cases, influence one another. These change processes implicate different levels to varying degrees, in that marketization primarily takes shape in the form of policies at the national and state level, while commercialization is manifested at all levels. We describe and visualize these relationships in the third part of this section, as we outline the framework we developed for synthesizing the literature. However, first we will outline several conceptualizations of privatization in the literature that ground our framework.

Conceptualizations of Privatization

The literature on privatization reveals three ways in which this phenomenon has commonly been conceptualized: (1) conceptualizations based on resources and governance; (2) conceptualizations based on hybridity or competing legitimating ideas; and (3) comprehensive conceptualizations. Within this section, we review each of these categories and highlight three limitations that cut across all three. First, they rarely explain the multilevel nature of privatization, but rather focus on a single level, particularly state- or institution-level changes. Second, only a few conceptualizations tie privatization to wider social forces – they direct attention to what privatization means in terms of institutional responses rather than addressing the origins and catalysts of privatization. Lastly, some conceptualizations too narrowly focus on a single variable, such as resources.

Conceptualizations based on resources and governance. The first category of conceptualizations views privatization principally in terms of changes in the distribution of public versus private funds in the revenues of public institutions (e.g., Ehrenberg 2006b; Franklin 2007; Lyall and Sell 2006; Meyer 2006; Morphew and Eckel 2009; Priest and St. John 2006). Resource-based conceptualizations hinge upon the government no longer being the primary investor in public higher education. For example, Lyall and Sell (2006) described privatization as a collection of budget and revenue decisions, which "have made states increasingly smaller shareholders in their public colleges and universities. At the same time, the influence of other shareholders – parents, donors, alumni and corporations – is growing" (p. 6). Typically, the notion of increased reliance on private money features prominently in resource-based conceptualizations, but for some scholars it is the primary way of understanding privatization. Priest et al. (2006b) reflected the centrality of private money in their definition of privatization as “the process of transforming low-tuition institutions that are largely dependent on state funding to provide mass enrollment opportunities at low prices into institutions dependent on tuition revenues and other types of earned income as central sources of operating revenue” (p. 2). Increasing tuition reliance is frequently positioned as a crucial aspect of resource-based conceptualizations of privatization.

Many of the conceptualizations in this category are not just focused on resources but also center on the role of state governments in funding higher education, meaning they are conceptualizations partly premised on policy decisions (Kaplan 2009; McLendon 2003a; McLendon and Mokher 2009). A few conceptualizations recognize this relationship between resources and policy by underscoring the importance of state governance in privatization. For example, McLendon and Mokher (2009) identified multiple ways in which state policy encourages privatization, including increased reliance on private sources of revenue to finance public higher education. Eckel and Morphew (2009b) contended that much of the existing literature focuses on privatization as a fiscal or economic phenomenon, which fails to account for how privatization also includes changing state oversight and regulatory agreements. Moreover, Kaplan (2009) emphasized that privatization often entails deregulation, or institutions striving to achieve greater “distance from the state and more flexibility in budgeting and price setting” (p. 109). As these examples illustrate, some conceptualizations of privatization emphasize where colleges and universities get their money and the role of state governments in funding and regulating institutions.

Resources and governance are important considerations in privatization. However, we contend that conceptualizations based only on resources and governance are too narrowly conceived to provide a nuanced understanding of the complex phenomenon of privatization. This is primarily because these accounts almost exclusively focus on public institutions, and they emphasize a small set of organizational characteristics (e.g., tuition reliance and the search for alternative revenue streams). Privatization is occurring across the field of higher education and is, therefore, not strictly a process that affects only public institutions or just the financial behaviors of these institutions.

Conceptualizations based on hybridity and competing legitimating ideas. A second group of conceptualizations describes privatization as a process whereby public institutions and private nonprofit institutions become more similar, or public institutions acquire characteristics commonly associated with for-profit or private nonprofit sector organizations. This conceptualization extends resource and governance-based conceptualizations in the sense that it encompasses both public and private nonprofit institutions. However, the focus is still on public institutions becoming more like private nonprofit institutions, rather than both types of institutions being arranged at various positions along a continuum of privatization. For example, Gumport and Snydman (2006) acknowledged the ways in which public institutions and private nonprofit institutions differ, yet they also saw evidence to suggest that the boundaries between the two sectors are blurring into “hybrid organizational arrangements.” Lowry (2009) contrasted important characteristics of public and private universities along four dimensions, including ownership of land and assets, sources of operating funds, formal limits to discretion, and authority to exercise discretion. After drawing distinctions between public institutions and private nonprofit institutions, he conceptualized privatization in terms of "proposals that include a significant shift toward the characteristics associated with private universities along one or more of the dimensions" (p. 52). For some scholars, privatization is a process whose effect is to diminish distinctions between public institutions and either private nonprofit institutions or private for-profit organizations. One weakness of conceptualizations based on hybridity is that, despite the incorporation of private nonprofit institutions within the conceptualization, most of the change is attributed to public colleges and universities, suggesting that privatization does not occur among private nonprofit institutions.

Conceptualizations based on the logics or legitimating ideas of higher education – in contrast to those based on resources, governance, or hybridity – focus on higher education as a field and thus incorporate private nonprofit and for-profit institutions, along with public institutions. Gumport (2000) reflected this conceptualization in her examination of academic restructuring, arguing that higher education is transitioning from the "dominant legitimating idea of public higher education. . .as a social institution" and "toward the idea of higher education as an industry" (p. 70). She defined legitimating ideas as taken-for-granted understandings that constitute parameters for what is expected, appropriate, and sacred, and these understandings advance distinct propositions about what is valued, problematic, and in need of reform. The legitimating idea of higher education as a social institution has been historically dominant within the field and views institutions as devoted to a wide array of social functions. These functions include individual learning and development, the cultivation of citizens and political loyalties, and the preservation and transmission of knowledge (Gumport 2000). On the other hand, the legitimating idea of higher education as an industry "primarily views public colleges and universities as quasi-corporate entities producing a wide range of goods and services in a competitive marketplace" (Gumport, p. 71). The main tasks of higher education leaders, then, are to enrich customer satisfaction, increase efficiency and flexibility, and carefully weigh costs and benefits. Privatization gives primacy to the legitimating idea of higher education as an industry, emphasizing short-term economic needs over a wider range of social responsibilities and compromising the long-term public interest.

Conceptualizations based on legitimating ideas usefully highlight the role of institutional logics in motivating privatization and are not exclusively focused on public institutions. However, they often suffer from a lack of detail regarding the specific manifestations of privatization, as well as the mechanisms – beyond legitimacy – driving the phenomenon. Therefore, we now turn to the final group of conceptualizations, those we characterize as comprehensive.

Comprehensive conceptualizations. There are a number of conceptualizations that are more comprehensive than those discussed in the previous two sections. These are more comprehensive because they address the field of US higher education and not certain institution types, account for several levels and often multiple variables, dimensions, or tendencies, while also recognizing factors beyond legitimacy that drive privatization. In this section, we describe five comprehensive conceptualizations: (1) Johnstone's (2000) privatization as a tendency on multiple dimensions; (2) Ball and Youdell's (2008) endogenous and exogenous privatization; (3) Slaughter and Rhoades's (2004) academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime; (4) Weisbrod et al.'s (2008) two-good framework; and (5) Lambert's (2014) foundations of privatization model. We then conclude with a brief reflection on these models before turning to our multilevel framework of privatization, which brings together aspects of all of these conceptualizations and expands on them to fully account for this complicated literature.

Johnstone (2000) conceptualized privatization as a movement along several continua and was developed out of his research on cost-sharing in higher education. Cost-sharing involves shifting of some of the higher education cost burden from governments (or taxpayers) to students and families. Johnstone described cost-sharing as a global phenomenon, finding evidence of the introduction of or sharp increases in user fees (i.e., tuition) in and beyond the United States. This shift in cost-sharing forms one part of his conceptualization of privatization. According to Johnstone (2000), the key dimensions of privatization are: (1) mission or purpose, (2) ownership, (3) source of revenue, (4) control by government, and (5) norms of management. Institutions fall somewhere between high "publicness" and high "privateness" for each of these dimensions. For example, in terms of ownership, high "publicness" institutions are publicly owned and can be opened or closed by the state; however, high "privateness" institutions are for-profit and owned by shareholders. In contrast, in terms of sources of revenue a number of public research universities have a high level of "publicness" despite their public ownership. This conceptualization allowed Johnstone to specify several tendencies of institutions undergoing movement toward high "privateness," including a greater orientation to the student as a consumer and attention to image, competitor institutions, and "market niches" (para. 1). Although these tendencies primarily focus on how privatization is manifested at the institutional level, dimensions in his conceptualization, including "source of revenue" and "control by government," are designed to capture changes at the state and national level. Johnstone (2000) also identified and incorporated the change processes of marketization, commercialization, and corporatization into his conceptualization.

Like Johnstone, Ball and Youdell (2008) described privatization through reference to tendencies, but they emphasized policy tendencies on the part of governments globally, in contrast to Johnstone's emphasis on institutional tendencies. Although their conceptualization speaks to all levels of education, we believe it provides insights into privatization of US higher education. An important argument in Ball and Youdell's conceptualization is that some policy tendencies are named as privatization, but others are articulated in terms of "choice," "accountability," or "devolution." They contend these latter tendencies draw on techniques and values from the private sector and, therefore, constitute a type of "hidden privatization." Ball and Youdell specified two types of privatization: endogenous and exogenous. The endogenous type, or what they call privatization *in* public education, "involves the importing of ideas, techniques and practices from the private sector in order to make the public sector more like business" (p. 8). By contrast, the exogenous type captures privatization *of* public education, or the "opening up of public education services to private sector participation on a for-profit basis and using the private sector to design, manage or deliver aspects of public education" (p. 9). Privatization tendencies reflected in these two types change how education is managed and organized, how students and teachers are evaluated, how curricula are designed and delivered, and how teachers are prepared and what their employment conditions are. More than a set of technical changes, Ball and Youdell noted that privatization tendencies provide a new language and a new set of incentives in public education, and it introduces new actors into education services and education policy, such as consultants and foundations.

Slaughter and Rhoades's (2004) academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime also recognizes the role of new actors and organizations, though it was not specifically framed as a conceptualization of privatization. Academic capitalism began as a study of public universities in Australia, Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom between 1970 and 1995. In *Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies, and the Entrepreneurial University*, Slaughter and Leslie (1997) concentrated upon changes to the nature of academic labor in response to the emergence of global markets and reductions in government funding for higher education. Such external conditions "precipitated campus reactions of a resource-dependent nature," made manifest as "faculty and institutions began to compete or increased their competition for external funds" (p. 209). It was in this initial work that Slaughter and Leslie popularized the phrase "academic capitalism," which was chiefly designed to capture the encroaching motive to earn net revenues in public higher education. New income was pursued through what they called market and market-like behaviors. Market behaviors referred to activities to generate net revenues, such as patenting and collecting royalties, founding spin-off companies from research commercialization, and selling products and services. On the other hand, market-like behaviors were responses to competition for external money, including the pursuit of grants and contracts, endowment funds, and student tuition and fees. The first volume of *Academic Capitalism* did not attempt to generate theory, relying instead upon preexisting work on organizational resource dependence, or the idea that "the internal behaviors of organizational members are understood clearly only by reference to the actions of external agents" (Slaughter and Leslie 1997, p. 68).

In the second volume, *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy: Markets, State, and Higher Education*, Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) more explicitly conceptualized academic capitalism in US higher education. Using resource dependency as a conceptual foundation, Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) drew upon the scholarship of Michel Foucault, Horace Mann, and Manuel Castells to articulate how academic capitalism "focuses on networks. . .that link institutions as well as faculty, academic professionals and students to the new economy" as well as the "new investment, marketing and consumption behaviors" of those within these institutions that also create connections with the new economy (p. 15). One of the assumptions on which academic capitalism hinges is that universities cannot be separated from a global economy that treats knowledge as a raw material that can be marketed, sold, and owned like property. The knowledge-based economy, they maintain, was constructed through a partnership with industry and the neoliberal state, whose initiatives aimed at privatization, commercialization, deregulation, and reregulation were at times indirectly or directly endorsed by higher education leaders. In this way, academic capitalism is one of the few comprehensive conceptualizations that explicitly connects to wider social forces. The theory of academic capitalism brings to the fore the work's chief claim: that universities have shifted to an "academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime," from a "public good knowledge/learning regime." The academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime "values knowledge privatization and profit taking in which institutions, inventor faculty, and corporations have claims that come before those of the public" in contrast to public good values, such as basic science, academic freedom, and separation between public and private sectors (p. 29).

Similar to those within the academic capitalism tradition, Weisbrod et al. (2008) focused on understanding the behaviors of higher education institutions as they navigate their environments. To understand this behavior, the authors build what they refer to as the two-good framework, which focuses on understanding how universities navigate the tension between pursuing their mission and obtaining the revenues needed to survive in higher education's increasingly competitive conditions. This framework argues that higher education institutions pursue two types of goods, mission goods and revenue goods. Mission goods are those that are aligned with the mission of the institution but generally do not make a substantial amount of money for the institutions, such as graduate education, basic scientific research, and public service. Revenue goods are those that universities pursue because they provide excess revenues that institutions can use to subsidize the provision of mission goods.[4] Weisbrod and colleagues argued that institutions must pursue both goods to sustain themselves. However, institutions struggle to obtain mission goods as a result of privatization and increased competition. Consequently, to sustain themselves, institutions increasingly pursue revenue goods which leads to concerns that they are engaging in privatizing behaviors inconsistent with their mission.

Lambert (2014) focused more on the internal dynamics of an institution in his work on privatization, which contrasts with the emphasis on responding to changes in environments in the two previous conceptualizations. After analyzing and comparing privatization in six US states, Lambert (2014) identified six foundations of privatization, each of which is a continuum with two poles: "public focus" and "private focus." Lambert modeled his foundations of privatization model after Maslow's hierarchy of needs, in the sense that it is visualized as a pyramid, with each additional layer being influenced by the one below it. This model is designed to help examine privatization at the institution level. The first foundation, which is weighted as most important, consists of an institution's mission, history, and culture – together known as state

[4]The authors acknowledge the presence of hybrid goods due to the fact that not all, or even the majority of, goods will fit clearly in the revenue or mission goods category. However, they maintain that the two-good framework is useful in highlighting the fact that "all schools can be expected to seize opportunities to enhance profits" (Weisbrod et al. 2008, p. 69).

context. Institutions with a public focus would have a strong public agenda and would be viewed as a "public good," while those with a private focus would be viewed as a "private good" and the public would perceive it as "someone else's" university. The second foundation is vision and focus, which describes whom the institution sees as its "publics" or whom or what the institution serves. Departing from conceptualizations that prioritize resources and governance, Lambert's model positions autonomy and finance as the third and fourth foundations – not the first and second. The fifth foundation is enrollment and access, with "publicly focused" institutions enrolling more in-state and Pell-eligible students and emphasizing accessibility, while "privately focused" institutions pursued selectively and served more out-of-state students. The final foundation is leadership, or "those selected to lead the institution, interpret the issues facing it, and make sense of how best to maintain the public focus even while pursuing private means to achieve it" (p. 23). Although leadership is at the top of the pyramid, it is not less important. Rather, it signifies that lower foundations help to interpret leadership. By including institutional mission, access, enrollment, and leadership, Lambert's model specifies elements of privatization given only cursory treatment in other conceptualizations.

These comprehensive conceptualizations clearly demonstrate that scholars have attempted to situate privatization at certain levels of analysis. Typically, these conceptualizations seek to explain institution-level responses, and a few (e.g., Slaughter and Rhoades 2004; Johnstone 2000) describe these responses as a result of broader social forces, such as the advent of the global knowledge economy. However, missing from all of these conceptualizations, and the literature more broadly, is an explicit acknowledgment that privatization implicates multiple levels of manifestation and subsequent analysis. Several conceptualizations, such as Gumport's (2005) legitimating ideas and Slaughter and Rhoades's (2004) academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime, acknowledge the influence of broader cultural, political, and economic conditions that gave rise to privatization. However, these fail to explicitly acknowledge the multiple, interrelated levels that give rise to these changing legitimating ideas and knowledge regimes. Other conceptualizations are too reductionist, treating privatization as little more than changing resource patterns or state-level approaches to decision-making. Nevertheless, all of these conceptualizations highlight key aspects and processes that are critical for understanding privatization. We argue there is a need for a framework that synthesizes key aspects of these conceptualizations, while also expanding on them to incorporate the catalysts of privatization and its multilevel nature.

A Multilevel Framework for Understanding the Privatization Literature

Instead of proposing a new conceptualization that would only serve to further complicate the literature, we propose a framework within which the existing conceptualizations can reside to help make sense of the literature. We propose that privatization in US higher education can be understood within a framework –

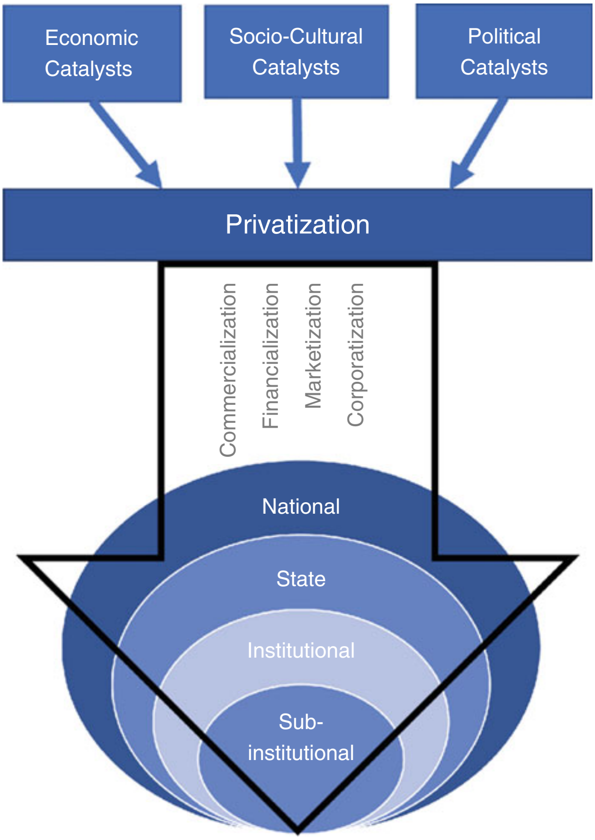

Fig. 1 A multilevel framework for understanding the privatization literature

visualized in Fig. 1 below – that systematizes privatization processes and draws upon the conceptualizations discussed above. This framework also allows us to build on these conceptualizations to acknowledge both the levels across which privatization is manifested and the societal forces, or catalysts, underlying privatization. This framework, through its various facets, also pulls together the disparate strands of the literature on privatization and creates connections between otherwise fragmented pieces of the literature. There are three essential facets of the framework: catalysts, privatization and its change processes, and the four levels along which privatization is manifested and can be analyzed.

Our framework begins by recognizing the broader political, economic, and sociocultural *catalysts* that created enabling conditions for the initiation of privatization change processes – conditions that commenced during the closing decades of the twentieth century. These catalysts have been recognized to various degrees in the existing conceptualizations (Gumport 2000; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004), but different authors have focused on one or another catalyst. We synthesize the literature as a whole to develop the three groups of catalysts that we describe in the next section. The political, economic, and sociocultural catalysts we focus on are the broader phenomena that influence multiple sectors of a society, including its systems of education, healthcare, welfare, and industry (Brown 2017, 2018). Given the embedded nature of societies, these broader forces influence, or catalyze, events across progressively smaller organizing levels – from nations to states, to organizations, to groups. Moreover, because these levels are embedded within each of the broader forces of which society is comprised, they are simultaneously subject to and influenced by multiple catalysts.

Central to our framework, and consistent with many of the above conceptualizations, we argue that privatization is fundamentally about *change*, meaning entities undergoing privatization are dynamic, adaptive, and moving or shifting in structure, purpose, and goals. However, we acknowledge that these changes can look different at different institutions and at different levels. Therefore, unlike other conceptualizations, we do not propose that privatization can be understood as a narrow set of changes (e. g., state disinvestment), or hypothesize a single root cause (e.g., changing knowledge regimes), but rather acknowledge that these changes take shape in multiple ways on multiple levels. Additionally, unlike other conceptualizations, we explicitly incorporate commercialization, corporatization, marketization, and financialization as a subset of processes that are part of privatization. These processes have occurred because privatization has created the "space" for them, and we situate them as falling under the umbrella of privatization. Therefore, we understand and conceptualize commercialization, corporatization, marketization, and financialization as key processes that fall under privatization, but are not terms that are interchangeable with privatization. For this reason, we show in Fig. 1 that these four processes flow from, and are part of, the larger process of privatization.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of this framework, and also the most explicit departure from the conceptualizations above, is our specification of four levels across which privatization can be manifested in different ways and to different degrees. The four levels are national, state, institutional, and sub-institutional. Taken together, our framework situates privatization as a consequence of societal level catalysts that gave rise to the process of privatization that is manifested at four different levels within US higher education. Within this framework higher-level manifestations of privatization (e.g., national) can influence lower levels (e.g., institutional). For example, at the national level privatization is manifested in the federal policies, such as the Bayh-Dole Act, that incentivized the commercialization of research at the institutional level by allowing institutions to keep revenues earned through intellectual property. At the same time, privatization is manifested at the state level via state disinvestment in higher education, which has led to financial manifestations at the institutional level (e.g., diversifying revenue streams and altered tuition prices). Figure 1 depicts these levels as nested to highlight that higher levels can exert influence lower levels.

This multilevel framework allows us to organize the fragmented literature in an attempt to capture the breadth of the literature, while also more clearly articulating the diverse manifestations of privatization along each of these levels and across institutions in some detail. In the next section, we trace the historical origins that established the conditions in which privatization developed, as well as the broader economic, political, and sociocultural forces that catalyzed the phenomenon. As highlighted in Fig. 1, these broader societal forces influence the manifestation of privatization at multiple embedded levels. In this vein, the manifestation section progressively presents the various outcomes of privatization along the descending levels of analysis, commencing with the national and state levels and proceeding to the more granular institutional and sub-institutional levels.

Origins and Catalysts of Privatization

One notable shortcoming of the privatization literature is that it rarely chronicles the historical origins that gave rise to the phenomenon. Although the privatization of US higher education is a contemporary phenomenon, it possesses origins that date back to the establishment of the country's earliest postsecondary institutions, when the distinction between public and private institutions had yet to be formally established. The literature also lacks a synthesis of the broader societal forces that scholars identified as having catalyzed the phenomenon. We show here that at the close of the twentieth century, a combination of broader economic, political, and sociocultural forces catalyzed persistent reductions in public funding across multiple sectors of society, including its systems of education, healthcare, welfare, and industry – a complex, multifaceted process that came to be known as privatization. This section addresses both shortcomings by first tracing the origins of privatization and then proceeding to synthesize the literature that covers the economic, political, and sociocultural forces that catalyzed privatization processes.

Origins of Privatization

The origins of privatization in US higher education are grounded within five historical eras. In the first era, during the colonial period, it was commonplace for colleges to receive a mix of funding from private sources as well as public subsidies from their respective state legislatures. In the second era, a ruling by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1819 established the public and private division for colleges which delineated matters of institutional governance, property rights, and autonomy. The public and private sectors of higher education underwent a period of considerable organizational expansion during the third era in the nineteenth and early twentieth century as they were supported by resources from two different social institutions – the state and the church. In the fourth era, substantial federal financial investment following World War II ushered in the golden era of postsecondary public resource allocation, which was then succeeded in the 1970s by the fifth, and present, era of state disinvestment. We argue, consistent with the literature, the present phenomenon of privatization in higher education commenced during the fifth era of state disinvestment. This section addresses the notable historical gap in the privatization literature and succinctly delineates the five eras that gave rise to privatization.

In the first historical era, colleges were autonomous from the state, but they were dependent upon a mix of private and public funding sources to survive (Kerr 1990). The public sources of funding came in the form of government subsidies that included cash, land, direct subsidies, and tax exemptions that were financed through excise taxes, lotteries, and government enterprises (Bennett 2014). For example, the Massachusetts legislature and courts provided Harvard with multiple cash subsidies and 2,000 acres of land, as well as 200 years of consistent revenues from the Charles River ferry and bridge tolls (Rudolph 1962). Also, the subsidies provided to Yale accounted for approximately 12% of the legislative budget (Beck 2006). In addition to the land and monies it was allocated as part of its charter from the British Queen Mary, the College of William and Mary continued to receive annual subsidies in the amount of £2,300 (Bennett 2014). Scholars have estimated that from the end of the seventeenth century to the American Revolution that one-third to two-thirds of the annual operating budget for the colonial colleges was accounted for by government subsidies (Cheit and Lobman 1977). The precedent for government involvement in the financial sustainability of a college or university has existed since the colonial era. However, government subsidies brought about governance liabilities for some universities.

During the second historical era, continued government financial support resulted in increased power struggles between colleges and early state lawmakers who sought to secure an element of control over a number of the private universities and eventually led to the establishment of the public/private divide. One historian noted that the time period at the close of the eighteenth century was characterized by "repeated efforts to bring the existing colleges under some sort of direct government control" (Brown 1903, p. 31). The University of Pennsylvania was the first to experience such struggles in 1779, followed by Yale, Harvard, William and Mary, Columbia, and the most notable case – Dartmouth College (Bennett 2014). In 1819 the Supreme Court ruled in Trustees of Dartmouth Coll. V. Woodward (17 U.S. 518) that because the college was established via a land grant from the British Crown, the New Hampshire state legislature did not have the authority to amend the charter, which was deemed a contract between a private corporation and the British Crown. The ruling safeguarded the founding and property rights of a private college and strengthened institutional autonomy such that a private college was free from legislative purview (Tewksbury 1932; Trow 2010). Some have attributed this defining moment as the official entrée of capitalism into higher education (Herbst 1975; Cohen and Kisker 2010). The Dartmouth ruling defined the public/private divide in higher education and decreed that an entire sector would remain free from government control.

In the third era, the public and private sectors of US higher education both experienced substantial expansion throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century due to resources from two different social institutions – the church and the state. The growth of the private sector predominantly occurred through the formation of myriad religious colleges, each denomination having established its own institution, such as the founding of Baylor University by Baptists and the establishment of Villanova University by Catholics (Lucas 1994). With little regulatory oversight in place, the barriers to entry were minimal, which further encouraged the proliferation of hundreds of denominational colleges. The era of private expansion and innovation brought about increased competition, duplication, and high instances of "exit rates," or college closure particularly during the Civil War (Bennett 2014; Cohen and Kisker 2010). The public sector also substantially expanded during this time, but through Congressional involvement and not denominational involvement.

The public sector expansion during this same period primarily occurred as a result of three Congressional acts – the Morrill Act (1862/1890), the Hatch Act of 1887, and the Smith-Lever Act of 1914. The Morrill Act of 1862 allocated 30,000 acres of federal land to each state for the express purpose of establishing a public university with specific emphases on agriculture, engineering, and military training. These institutions became known as "land grant" colleges and universities. The second Morrill Act was passed in 1890 and established 17 historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs). The Hatch Act allocated funds to land grant colleges to further develop agricultural and experimental research centers, whereas the Smith-Lever Act established programs designed to apply laboratory research findings to the farms, households, and businesses within the local community, such as cooperative extension programs (Gavazzi and Gee 2018). Taken as a whole, the three Congressional acts leveraged federal resources to establish public universities with the express purpose of developing a more educated citizenry, particularly those from the industrial class, which included, women, African Americans, and immigrants (Lambert 2014).

During the fourth historical era known as the "golden age of higher education," the US system of higher education began a period of "massification" of the public good in the years immediately following World War II when funding shifted from an emphasis on establishing universities to supporting scientific research and providing increased access through student financial aid (Peterson 2007). Federal research funding was primarily provided in two waves – the first through the National Science Foundation and the National Institutes of Health, and the second through the National Defense Education Act (1958). Substantial research and defense spending developed what some have termed "the Cold War university" (O'Mara 2004). The federal government also expanded access by providing direct funding to students in the form of financial aid. The 1944 Servicemen's Readjustment Act (GI Bill) provided 2.25 million veterans with college tuition and benefit payments and quickly burgeoned student enrollments at most institutions (Loss 2011; Thelin 2011). These benefits were extended beyond veterans to include all students as a result of the Higher Education Act (HEA) of 1965. The collective funding efforts across federal, state, and local governments significantly increased opportunities for access, research, and service to the community in an era characterized as the strengthening of the public good.

The fifth era, which continues today, began in the early 1970s when support for US public higher education began its seismic shift toward privatization (Geiger and Heller 2012). This commenced with the release of three national reports (Newman Commission 1971; Carnegie Commission on Higher Education 1973; and the Committee for Economic Development 1973) that suggested state legislatures change from a low-tuition policy to a need-based means of allocation for individuals (Chen and St. John 2011). In response to these reports, two fundamental changes occurred, which we briefly introduce here, as they will be discussed further in the manifestations section below. financial aid funding First, at the federal level, the Higher Education Act of 1972 introduced legislation that established the foundations of the present financial aid system. The policies expanded the limited system of grant, loan, and work-study options as well as broadened the types of institutions eligible to include vocational education, community colleges, trade schools (Loss 2011). By the turn of the twenty-first century, student loans became the primary form of financial aid allocation, shifting the primary burden of covering the cost of college attendance to individuals (Baum et al. 2014; Dennison 2003; Dynarski and Scott-Clayton 2013). Second, state legislatures reduced the amount of public funding they allocated for higher education. State governments faced rising costs across multiple social services and programs, specifically Medicaid, prisons, and the P-20 system of education (Ehrenberg 2006b; Levy 2013; Titus 2009). Taken together, the changes in federal and state financing fundamentally altered the resource environment for colleges and universities in ways that required them to focus on securing private sources of revenue to sustain themselves (Brown 2010).

In sum, the origins of privatization in US higher education can be traced across five historical eras that include colonial subsidization, the establishment of the public/private divide, substantial public/private expansion, massification of the public good, and state disinvestment. The historical eras serve as a benchmark that broadly highlights how resources have changed at the societal level over time and address a notable oversight within the literature. Scholars contend that the societal changes in the present era of privatization (i.e., fifth era) were driven by various economic, political, and sociocultural catalysts. Next, we synthesize the three groups of catalysts before turning to the manifestations of privatization in US higher education.

Economic Catalysts of Privatization

While the context for privatization developed across the formative eras of the US system of higher education, scholars have contended that broader economic, political, and sociocultural catalysts ultimately set privatization into motion at the close of the twentieth century and continue to sustain the phenomenon. The economic catalysts of privatization in higher education relate to two fundamental transformations – improvements in communication and transportation which ushered in an era of globalization and the change in the structure of the national economy from a manufacturing-based emphasis to a knowledge-based emphasis.

Remaining competitive amidst globalization. The latter decades of the twentieth century introduced a widespread societal transformation known as globalization. Globalization is an interconnected set of processes that cross nation-state boundaries – such as the flows of capital, people, and ideas – which transformed the social, political, cultural, and economic facets of nations (Clotfelter 2010; Hearn et al. 2016; Kauppinen and Cantwell 2014; Rhoads and Torres 2006). The global transformation in communication and transportation impacted how people moved within and across nation-state boundaries. These transformations had significant implications for US higher education institutions, as students and faculty from abroad entered institutions to secure a credential or experience within the US system of higher education (Stein and de Andreotti 2016). Some public universities welcomed the available supply of full-paying international students to offset declines in state appropriations (Lee 2008; O'Mara 2012). As globalization forces have persisted over time, institutions have had to compete to retain international student enrollments given competitive advancements from foreign universities in the areas of enrollment, productivity, and rankings (Clotfelter 2010; Shin et al. 2011).

Scholars noted that transformations in communication and transportation resulted in a dramatic increase in global competition, which meant organizations changed more rapidly to keep pace with one another by improving products, streamlining production processes, and responding to new market opportunities (Zumeta et al. 2012). To remain competitive in an era of globalization, institutions were required to comply with a new set of normative expectations and practices. Decision-making was no longer driven solely by local or state factors, but a new set of exogenous global logics, which heavily influenced institutional strategies. Governments worldwide required institutions to connect their activities to economic growth and development (Hearn et al. 2016). The role of the university and its relationship with the economy changed to focus on the development of human capital and knowledge production as many multinational corporations moved US jobs to overseas facilities. Moreover, a global economy placed a greater importance on the production and application of knowledge over manufacturing, an emphasis which further underscored the importance of higher education institutions and its interconnectedness to economic matters.

Transition to a knowledge economy. In the knowledge economy, US society shifted in its emphasis from an industrial manufacturing-based economy to a post-industrial service-based economy. The major structural features of the industrial economy – capital and labor – were replaced with the structural features of information and knowledge (Bell 1976). During this era, financial capital was leveraged to generate new forms of knowledge and technology that were easily commodified and resulted in sizable increases to the national productivity output. Given that knowledge was vital to establishing both productivity and value, companies began to identify various types of "human capital" owned by employees in order to strategically transform it into "structural capital" controlled by the company (Newfield 2008). Companies increasingly leveraged forms of human capital that generated additional wealth for the firm. Scholars contended that companies desired a specific type of education in prospective employees that ". . .had to be technical, adaptable, and, perhaps most important, responsive to market pressures rather than abstract intellectual goals" (Newfield 2008, p. 8). This type of education provided individuals with increased levels of human capital and a competitive advantage in the new knowledge-based economy that yielded material benefits in the form of increased wages. As a result of the added capital and advantages, it was increasingly seen that the individual, not the state, should bear the cost of human capital development.

Political Catalysts of Privatization

The literature also highlights that the development of privatization of higher education was driven by political catalysts – broad forces that influence states and organizations. The convergence of a complex array of political and economic ideologies in the form of neoliberalism replaced educational values with market values as privatization took hold. Additionally, there was a movement to "reinvent government" and improve public service delivery that has altered notions about how public higher education should be governed to focus on accountability, efficiency, and responsiveness.

The neoliberal state and culture wars. During the latter decades of the twentieth century, many Western democracies experienced an "economization" of their constituent elements and processes, an ideological transformation known as neoliberalism. Harvey (2007) defined neoliberalism as a constellation of practices based on the idea that "human wellbeing can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (p. 2). The mode of reasoning within the neoliberal paradigm seeks to economize social spheres governed by other values (i.e., liberty, justice, fairness, rule of law, public good, citizenship, etc.) and replace them with market values (Brown 2015; Giroux 2002). Neither entirely political nor entirely economic neoliberalism is described as "a complex, often incoherent, unstable and even contradictory set of practices that are organized around a certain imaginary of the 'market' as a basis for the universalization of market-based social relations, with the corresponding penetration in almost every single aspect of our lives of the discourse and/or practice of commodification, capital-accumulation, and profit-making" (Shamir 2008, p. 3).

Scholars purport that neoliberalism emphasizes the capture and reuse of the state (Peck 2010). Some have conceptualized this reuse as a "Schumpeterian workfare state" whose core objectives include "the subordination of social policy to the demands of labor market flexibility and structural competitiveness" (Jessop 1993, p. 9). The neoliberal state transformed a variety of its social sectors and services, including welfare, healthcare, and education (Giroux 2005; Kamerman and Kahn 1989). It sought to redefine or dismantle big government, positioning itself in negative relation to the bureaucratic welfare state and its perceived inefficiency (Morrow 2006). Across these social sectors, the state jettisoned the financial responsibility of developing and reproducing human capital as it shifted the costs to the individual who acquired the good or service – loans for higher education, fees for public infrastructures, and personal savings for social security (Brown 2015). Those who embraced a neoliberal ideology advocated that state agencies and services should function more like private firms that emphasize profit, competition, and evaluation (Ehrenberg 2006c). For example, traditional metrics of education quality were replaced with economic ones that emphasized return on investment or "best value" (Brown 2015). Through neoliberalism the constituent elements of the state were remade to resemble those of the corporate firm, while citizenship became a private affair that produced self-interested individuals (Giroux 2002). Neoliberalism influenced views on how to best structure and deliver public services, giving rise to a movement to "reinvent government" through reforms borrowed from the private sector.

The "reinventing government" movement. In the 1980s and much of the 1990s, public higher education was implicated in critiques that the top-down, bureaucratic approach to providing state services resulted in poor performance, responsiveness, and accountability (McLendon and Mokher 2009). These critiques gave rise to a movement to "reinvent government" through a new model of public sector governance in order to promote effectiveness and efficiency (Thompson and Riccucci 1998, p. 231). The movement resulted in reforms to public sector management and service delivery, many of which were inspired by the private sector, including decentralized government, flattened bureaucratic hierarchies, greater public entrepreneurship, enhanced organizational competitiveness, emphasis on internal markets, and increased measurement of performance (McLendon et al. 2007). This model of public sector governance is frequently referred to as new managerialism, or New Public Management (NPM) (Deem and Brehony 2005). According to Deem et al. (2007) NPM promoted "a form of 'market populism' in which free markets and private business enterprise were regarded as universal and infallible solutions to the governmental and organizational problems that continued to beset advanced capitalist societies" (p. 9). Many of the initiatives that came to fruition as a result of NPM were based upon knowledge and experiences that were developed in business management and related disciplines and transferred to the public sector (Verger and Curran 2014). McLendon and Mokher (2009) suggested the combination of structural and cultural changes occasioned by NPM fostered the privatization of higher education, especially at the state-level.

Sociocultural Catalysts of Privatization

The final group of catalysts highlighted by the literature is sociocultural in nature. These catalysts, which helped to bring about privatization processes in higher education institutions, are the result of broader changes in the way society thinks – or logics – about education and economics. They also include changes in the way society moves – or demographic shifts, which helped to catalyze and shape the privatization of higher education.

Changing social logics: Public good versus private good. Scholars note that higher education is an influential institution that serves society by generating knowledge and developing citizens with the capacity to create knowledge. Because these two emphases – generating knowledge and developing citizens – benefit all of society rather than a single individual, therefore they are understood to be "public goods" which are provided by higher education. Public goods are collective and equal, such as police protection and air pollution control (Labaree 1997). The American university provides society with public goods by carrying out its organizational mission, one that is focused on research, teaching, and service (Owen-Smith 2018). Yet, colleges and universities often experience tension between advancing their public mission and obtaining necessary funding (Weisbrod et al. 2008). In contrast to a public good, a private good is one that is accrued by an individual for his or her own benefit. Private goods are selective and differential, such as property and patents (Labaree 1997). The more of a private good a person acquires, the more one can competitively differentiate oneself from other individuals in the marketplace. Recent years have seen a broader social shift whereby a college education became predominantly viewed as a private good rather than a public good. This has been chronicled by a variety of scholars and therefore will not be discussed in detail here (e.g., Kezar et al. 2015; Labaree 1997; Marginson 2011; Owen-Smith 2018). However, the societal shift has resulted in education increasingly being viewed as a commodity to secure, particularly if one can secure the type of educational credential that is highly valued or stratified, rather than something that should be supported because of its contributions to the public good. This shift was a necessary condition in privatization becoming normalized in US higher education.

Despite this shift, universities continue to receive funding from federal and state governments because they play a key role in developing citizens and advancing the collective human capital of society. However, because obtaining a college education has been increasingly viewed as securing a private good that permits a person to earn increased wages in the labor market, state legislators have argued that the students receiving the benefits should bear the cost of obtaining the degree, driving the continued rise of tuition prices (Dennison 2003). The emphasis that an individual user pays for the production of the good or service used has been applied to other government services beyond higher education and highlights a distinct societal change in logic.

Changing social logics: Homo economicus. Scholars also contend that a distinct change in the social perception of capitalism also influenced higher education privatization processes. This shift in logic is evidenced by the transitory state of homo economicus, or “economic man,” an ideal typology of a figurative person developed to explain the role of individuals in a capitalist society. Homo economicus is a conceptual tool employed to discuss the behavior of the “average” individual – or rational actor – within economic principles and economic phenomena. In the present era, homo economicus is characterized by a shift from human capital to financialized human capital, which places an emphasis on enhancing one’s portfolio value through efforts of self-investment or securing investors (Brown 2015). The financialized logic of enhancing one’s portfolio – or future value – is no longer reserved solely for investment banks or corporations. Rather, individuals also extend a mindset of enhancing one’s future value into many areas of life, such as monetizing actions, leveraging rankings (i.e., choosing a college), quantifying value (i.e., credit scores), securing social media influence (i.e., followers), and evaluating activities (Feher 2009). The typology of homo economicus has transformed from an emphasis on basic economic exchange to financialized human capital. The two most recent caricatures of homo economicus, which focus on human capital and financialized human capital, highlight the extent to which individuals in a competitive marketplace seek to not only advance their present position but also their future position by applying a corporate logic to multiple areas of life, including higher education. As discussed in the following section, this shift in logic is seen via the manifestations of privatization across multiple levels.

Changing demographics. The dynamic patterns of a population over time – known as demography – influence the actions of colleges and universities. Grawe (2018) argued that three demographic patterns influence the financial sustainability of colleges and universities – birth rates, immigration, and interstate migration. Not only did the World War II era bring about the G.I. Bill that initiated the "golden age" of higher education financing, it also brought about an increase in birth rates as servicemen returned from the war. Consequently, institutions experienced these two broad consecutive expansions leading up to the era of privatization. The expanded higher education campuses were immediately confronted with a drop in the college going population in the late 1970s and 1980s, which resulted in increased competition among institutions seeking new financial resources amidst declines in government funding (Grawe 2018). The demographic changes prompted institutions to adopt innovative enrollment strategies in order to leverage the federal financial aid that was distributed on a per-student basis (Kraatz et al. 2010). Institutions entered what researchers have come to call the "enrollment economy," a phenomenon where public and private institutions see themselves as similar to corporations that seek to maximize tuition revenues while minimizing costs (Jaquette 2013).

To date, national birth rates never returned to the post-War "boom" level. Higher education institutions remain embedded in an enrollment economy and have responded to increased levels of competition with additional enrollment strategies such as leveraging out-of-state students (Jaquette and Curs 2015) and online programs (Ortagus and Yang 2018). Moreover, some demographers have cautioned that the drop in birth rates since the 2008 Financial Crisis is a "birth dearth" that will significantly impact the financial sustainability of higher education institutions beginning in the mid-2020s (Grawe 2018). These demographic changes suggest that competition among individual institutions for students and resources will continue to increase over the next decade, thus continuing to drive practices in privatization. Whereas catalysts of privatization represent the broad social forces that preceded and enabled privatization, we use "manifestations" to describe what privatization actually entails, what forms it takes, and how it affects governments, organizations, and people.

Manifestations of Privatization

A central premise of our framework is that privatization is manifested across four different levels: national, state, institutional, and sub-institutional. "Manifestations," in this sense, refers to the policies, practices, activities, services, values, and goals that constitute the change processes and attendant consequences associated with privatization. Our conceptualization proposes that higher-level manifestations can influence lower-level manifestations. For example, disinvestment in public higher education is a state-level manifestation of privatization that influences institution-level privatization because it has resulted in a diversification of financial behaviors. Despite this relationship between levels, we argue that policies, regulations, and reforms at the national and state levels are themselves forms of privatization that affect higher education institutions and other organizations.

In this section, we synthesize empirical literature on manifestations of privatization, organizing the section into four subsections according to the levels in our framework. Figure 2 provides a visualization of each level and the categories of manifestations we identified in the literature. National-level manifestations center on federal strategies, policies, and court cases that have direct implications for higher education institutions. At the state level, privatization is manifested as state disinvestment in public higher education, the diffusion of performance-based funding, as well as governance reforms and private-sector partnerships. The diversification of finances due to state disinvestment represents a manifestation of privatization at the institutional level, along with the blurring and shifting of organizational boundaries. Changes in the nature of governance and – in response to federal policies encouraging commercialization – new patterns in the creation and dissemination of knowledge represent the final institution-level manifestations. Lastly, sub-institution-level manifestations of privatization focus more on two important stakeholder groups within institutions, documenting efforts to target students as revenue sources and view them as consumers, as well as changes to faculty work and hiring practices. Our multilevel framework makes it possible to identify these various manifestations and link them back to privatization, creating connections that are not always evident in the literature.

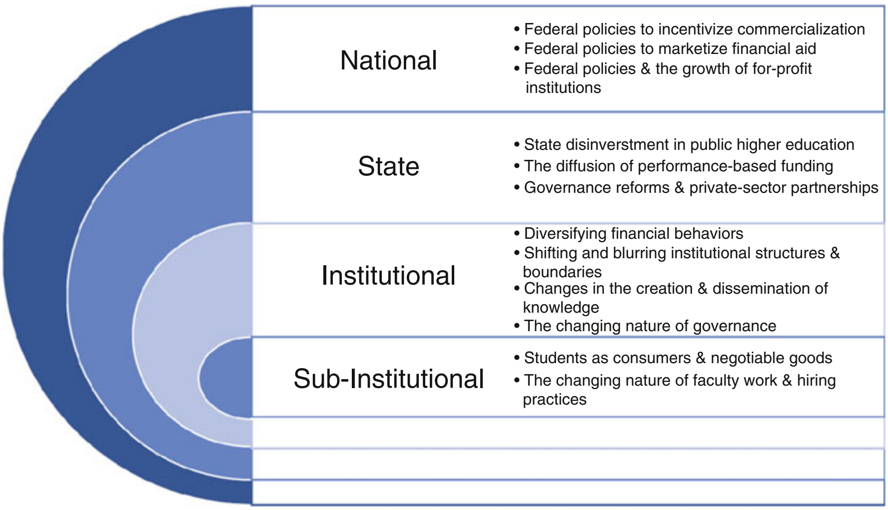

Fig. 2 Manifestations of privatization across four levels

National-Level Manifestations of Privatization

Literature on privatization at the national level is limited compared to the other levels. This is partly a function of the highly decentralized system of higher education in the United States, where the states generally have more influence over governance and finances of public institutions than the federal government (Kelchen 2018). Nevertheless, the literature has emphasized three ways in which the privatization of higher education takes shape at the national level: (1) federal policies to incentivize commercialization; (2) federal policies to privatize financial aid; and (3) federal policies that influenced the growth of for-profit higher education. The literature on commercialization is most frequently tied to privatization, while the relationship between privatization and both financial aid policy and for-profit higher education has received less attention and fewer explicit ties to privatization. Although several seminal studies related to national policies promoting research commercialization were published in the first decade of the twenty-first century (e.g., Geiger and Sá 2008; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004; Washburn 2005), the literature on national-level manifestations is less concentrated in a particular time period. Because there has been less research on privatization at the national level, there are a few significant gaps in the empirical literature to which we return in the section on future directions for research.

Federal policies to incentivize commercialization. Several studies demonstrate that the federal government played a significant role in incentivizing the commercialization of research and instrumentalizing academic science for economic growth (e.g., Berman 2011; Geiger and Sá 2008; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004; Washburn 2005). Berman (2011) showed that up until the 1970s, linkages between the academic science produced by universities and the marketplace were scarce due to a range of legal and financial barriers, and there was little expectation that institutions contributed to economic growth. However, by the late-1970s, "policy decisions began to change universities' environment in ways that removed many of these barriers and in some cases replaced them with incentives" as economic conditions changed (p. 2). Industrialized countries experienced low growth rates in the 1970s, exacerbated by oil crises in 1973 and 1979. In the United States, unemployment and inflation steadily increased, resulting in an economic phenomenon known as "stagflation." Meanwhile, economic productivity decreased until the late 1980s (Harvey 2007). By contrast, competition from Pacific Rim states as their economies grew encouraged markets to become increasingly global (Slaughter and Leslie 1997). The United States fared poorly in the face of such competition, running a trade deficit for the first time in almost a century and losing shares of the world market (Cohen 1993). According to Berman (2011), "policymakers, desperate for a way out, began arguing that this was, at least in part, an innovation problem, and that policies that explicitly connected science and technology with the economy could help close a growing 'innovation gap' with countries like Japan" (p. 3). As a result, the federal government developed a policy agenda focused on innovation for economic competitiveness (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004).

The literature demonstrates that one part of this policy agenda involved reorienting federal research funding to applied research and industrial partnerships (Berman 2011; Geiger 1993; Washburn 2005). Before the problems of the 1970s, there was dramatic growth in federal financial support for university research (Labaree 2017). In fact, between 1960 and 1968, federal funding for university research grew at a 14% rate annually (Washburn 2005). According to Washburn (2005), because of the Vietnam War, a global energy crisis, and economic stagflation, the expansion of federal support for academic science slowed and began to shift to applied projects starting in the 1970s. In 1972, President Nixon called on the National Science Foundation (NSF) and other federal agencies to foster university-industry partnerships and spur industrial innovation through applied research. After experimenting with a few university-industry partnerships, NSF launched in 1978 the University-Industry Cooperative Research Projects Program. Grants under this program required joint funding from industrial partners and collaborative work with corporate sponsors. Many industries were unprepared for the importance of knowledge creation in economic competitiveness, and they found a solution in "closer ties to federally financed researchers at the universities, who could provide access to cutting-edge science at deeply discounted prices" (Washburn, p. 59). Within the government's supportive policy environment, "[e]conomic competitiveness and technology transfer became the cornerstones of an emerging consensus on university research" (Geiger 1993, p. 305). The proportion of university research money coming from private industry doubled between 1972 and 1990, with the greatest period of growth between 1979 and 1986 (Berman 2011).

Perhaps the most common piece of federal legislation related to privatization referenced in the literature is the University Small Business Patent Procedures Act, otherwise known as the Bayh-Dole Act (Berman 2011; Rooksby 2016; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004; Washburn 2005). Passed in 1980, the Bayh-Dole Act was a way of incentivizing universities to facilitate economic competitiveness and address the "innovation gap." Prior to this landmark legislation, few universities saw research products as intellectual property or sought to patent discoveries. With the passage of Bayh-Dole, both small businesses and universities were able to claim rights of ownership over inventions discovered with the help of federal research money. Although the US Supreme Court ruled in *Stanford v. Roche* that faculty, not institutions, have primary ownership over inventions, many institutions altered contracts to ensure that faculty disclosed discoveries that could be patented (American Association of University Professors 2014). One indicator of commercialization of research is the number of patents awarded to universities, which tripled between 1984 and 1994. Fewer than 100 patents were issued to universities by the 1960s, but by 1999 the total number had risen to 3,300 (Berman 2011). The number of technology-transfer offices increased from 25 in 1980 to 200 in 1990. According to Washburn (2005), "by giving universities the opportunity to generate royalties and other revenues – indeed, positively encouraging them to do so – Bayh-Dole introduced a profit motive directly into the heart of academic life" (p. 70). In the same year that Bayh-Dole was passed, the US Supreme Court ruled in *Diamond v. Chakrabarty* that living organisms could be patented, and the following year it ruled that software could be patented, which encouraged universities to pursue research in the emerging field of biotechnology (Rooksby 2016).

Subsequent policy provided the legal infrastructure to better protect industry-university ventures and consortia from antitrust litigation. Additionally, the Internal Revenue Service in 1981 issued a private-letter ruling that royalties from licensing names, logos, and insignia were not taxable, and the 1982 US Court of Appeals case *University of Pittsburgh v. Champion Products, Inc.* propelled the growth of federal trademark registrations in higher education (Rooksby 2016). Increasing numbers of institutions established trademark and licensing programs staffed with full-time professionals. The number of federal trademark registrations issued to higher education institutions per year has increased from less than 100 in 1980 to 1,000 in 2010 (Rooksby 2016). Also beginning in the 1990s, universities were able to copyright digital information (e.g., databases) and various services and products (e.g., courseware) that could then be traded internationally. In the words of Slaughter and Rhoades (2004), "although universities were not the focus of this legislation, they restructured to intersect the new policy thrust. Networks within universities. . .began developing intellectual property, technology transfer, and economic development offices, bringing their institutions into closer alignment with the new economy" (p. 56). Through legislation, administrative directives, and court rulings, the federal government fostered the commercialization of various university activities and products.

Federal policies to privatize financial aid. There is some discussion in the literature about federal financial aid policies as a form of privatization (Doyle et al. 2010; Mumper et al. 2016; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004; Slaughter and Rhoades 2016). However, federal financial aid policies are not frequently linked back to privatization. Since the early 1970s, these policies have manifested privatization by creating quasi-markets, including a market for students receiving financial aid vouchers and a secondary market for student loans (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004). Quasi-markets are planned markets to provide a public service, such as voucher systems in K-12 education (Le Grande 2011). Federal policies have also financialized government support for higher education by increasing the percentage of loans compared to grants in total financial aid awarded. In 1972, the Higher Education Act of 1965 was amended so that financial aid was awarded directly to students, not institutions. Doyle et al. (2010) referred to this legislation as "policy privatization," or abroad shift in public policy that strategically situated the burden of financial responsibility for higher education on individuals and families rather than the state. According to Slaughter and Rhoades (2016), "[w]hen students were able to spend their grants at the institution of their choice, proponents. . .argued that they were introducing market discipline to institutions of higher education, forcing colleges and universities to provide better services at lower costs to attract students" (p. 507). This approach was designed to provide students with choice about where to enroll and use their financial aid, thereby promoting competition among institutions (Peterson 2007). Federal financial aid could be used at both public and private institutions, meaning government money was also making it possible for students to use grants at elite private institutions. This change established precedence whereby both public and private institutions would function within the same funding structure and therefore influence one another, an approach that individual states later followed (Curs et al. 2011; Goldin and Katz 1998).

The 1972 reauthorization of the Higher Education Act introduced market principles into the system that have contributed to stratification among institutions. Although this piece of legislation has been frequently discussed in the literature (Goldrick-Rab 2016; Kelchen 2018; Lumina Foundation 2015; Mumper et al. 2016; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004), its connection to privatization is underresearched. The 1972 reauthorization of the Higher Education Act created the Federal Family Education Loan (FFEL) program, which was a system of private loans guaranteed and subsidized by the federal government through a public-private partnership. The guarantees were designed to protect private lenders from default and subsidies were designed to keep interest rates low. An important part of this system was a government-sponsored enterprise called the Student Loan Marketing Association, also known as Sallie Mae. A government-sponsored enterprise is a for-profit, privately operated corporation chartered by the government to increase investments in a specific sector of the economy. According to Dillon (2007), Sallie Mae sought to "increase the supply of lendable funds under the then-decade-old federal student loan program," by serving as a secondary market, "buying and managing loans from banks and other lenders that used their proceeds from Sallie Mae to make new loans." (p. 1). Sallie Mae grew at a phenomenal rate, and by the early 1990s, it held 27% of federally guaranteed student loans, making it the largest originator and servicer of student loans in the nation. As part of the Student Loan Marketing Association Reorganization Act of 1996, Sallie Mae was granted the ability to undergo full privatization, and it achieved complete independence from the federal government in 2004. The FFEL program and creation of Sallie Mae are examples of the federal government encouraging marketization and incentivizing private-sector participation in financial aid.

The creation of government-sponsored enterprises like Sallie Mae, the expansion of loan eligibility and limits, and steadily increasing tuition prices contributed to significant growth in student loans (Lumina Foundation 2015). Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, policymakers were pressured to expand the benefits of financial aid to a wider range of students (Mumper et al. 2016). As the price of college increased, financial aid in the form of grants failed to keep pace (Goldrick-Rab 2016). Consequently, students and families have relied more heavily on loans to finance higher education, and loans as a percentage of total federal financial aid has steadily increased. In the words of Mumper et al. (2016), "what had been a grant-centered system was transformed into a loan-centered system. . .[which] resulted in shifting limited federal resources away from the neediest students toward less-needy students" (p. 220). The Taxpayer Relief Act, passed in 1997, further assisted middle- and upper-class families in paying for college by creating tax-sheltered college savings accounts and penalty-free IRA withdrawals for college-related expenses. According to Slaughter and Rhoades (2004), these programs promoted competition among universities for preferred customers who use nonpayment of taxes to access and pay for prestigious schools. The result, they argue, is that federal policies have contributed to market segmentation in higher education. However, the relationship between college savings accounts and institutional stratification or inequality has not been subject to empirical evaluation. Similar to financial aid, federal policies regarding for-profit institutions are a national-level manifestation of privatization and discussed in the next section.

Federal policies and the growth of for-profit institutions. The third area in which privatization has been manifested at the national level is through policies that encourage the expansion of for-profit institutions in recent years. The literature makes clear that one of the most striking trends of the first decade of the twenty-first century was the growth in for-profit higher education (Beaver 2017; Cottom 2017; Klor de Alva and Rosen 2017). Between 1990 and 2010, enrollments at for-profit institutions increased by 600% (Beaver 2017). Of the 4.4 million new students who enrolled between 2000 and 2009, 28% enrolled in a for-profit institution. During the previous decade (1990–1999), just 7% of new students enrolled in for-profit institutions (Klor de Alva and Rosen 2017). Federal policies supported this dramatic expansion while efforts to regulate this sector of the higher education industry have been inconsistent due to changing politics over this period. The 1972 reauthorization of the Higher Education Act allowed students to use federal financial aid at for-profit institutions for the first time, sparking a surge in for-profit enrollments in the 1980s (Beaver 2017). Concerns with recruitment practices of for-profit institutions led to regulations in the 1992 reauthorization of the Higher Education Act banning for-profit institutions from awarding bonuses or other types of compensation based on recruiting students. However, these regulations were weakened in 2002, allowing for-profit institutions to adjust the salaries of recruiters twice per year so long as the adjustment was not based solely on the number of students they recruited or how much financial aid was awarded. The combination of federal policies allowing students to use federal financial aid at for-profit institutions and weak regulations fueled the for-profit sector's growth in higher education.

The federal government represents the largest investor in for-profit higher education. According to Kelchen (2018), in 2010 nearly 40% of for-profit institutions received between 80% and 90% of their revenue from federal financial aid. This is partly a reflection of the large numbers of low-income students that attend for-profit institutions, but also a result of "unsavory practices to maintain the flow of taxpayer dollars" by "marketing to veterans and low-income students eligible for the maximum amount of federal financial aid" (Shireman 2017, para. 2). These practices led to efforts to regulate for-profit higher education. The 1992 reauthorization of the Higher Education Act included a provision limiting the percentage of revenue that for-profit institutions could earn from federal financial aid to 85%. This was expanded to 90% in 1998, resulting in the rule being called "90/10" (Kelchen 2018). Surpassing this threshold for two consecutive years results in a for-profit institution losing eligibility for federal financial aid for 2 years. Even with these regulations, all for-profit institutions receive at least 70% of their revenues from the federal government in the form of financial aid (Kelchen 2018).

The Obama administration assumed a more active role in regulative for-profit higher education (Deming et al. 2013). Changes to federal regulations led to several for-profit institutions closing and declining enrollment in for-profit higher education broadly. Enrollments at for-profit institutions have declined every year since 2015, often with annual reductions of 10% or more (National Student Clearinghouse Research Center 2018). In the wake of allegations of misconduct and institutions closing, the US Department of Education introduced borrower defense regulations to erase the student loan debt of defrauded students at for-profit institutions. However, federal policies regulating the for-profit higher education sector may be short-lived. In 2018, US Department of Education Secretary Betsy DeVos ended the gainful employment rule implemented during the Obama administration. Additionally, the Department of Education is reconsidering borrower defense regulations, potentially restricting eligibility for loan forgiveness. Federal policies played an important role in the growth of for-profit higher education, and efforts to regulate the industry have been effective but subject to changing political priorities. Volatility produced by changing administrations means that new issues related to for-profit higher education are emerging regularly, and the literature suggests that this area needs additional attention from researchers to understand these changes and their effects. Whereas federal policies contributed to privatization by enabling the growth of for-profit higher education, state-level manifestations would portend more immediate consequences for public nonprofit institutions.

State-Level Manifestations of Privatization

There is a rich scholarly tradition examining the relationship between states and higher education institutions (e.g., Kaplan 2009; Kelchen 2018; McGuinness Jr. 2016; McLendon 2003b), and studies of privatization have often focused on describing and conceptualizing changes to this relationship (Ehrenberg 2006b; Franklin 2007; Lyall and Sell 2006; McLendon and Mokher 2009; Morphew and Eckel 2009). Not surprisingly, most of this research focuses on public institutions over which state governments have more authority than state-level manifestations of privatization that also affect private nonprofit institutions. Substantial scholarly attention has been paid to the causes, trends, and effects of state disinvestment. There is also a growing body of literature on performance-based funding and changing approaches to state governance as manifestations of privatization. The heyday of research on determinants of state appropriations to public higher education was between the late 1990s and 2010, with research thereafter mainly examining the effects of the Great Recession. The first part of this section focuses on state disinvestment in public higher education.

State disinvestment in public higher education. Declining state appropriations to higher education since the late 1970s is among the most studied manifestation of privatization in higher education research (e.g., McMahon 2009; Newfield 2008; Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Tandberg 2008; Tandberg 2010a; Tandberg 2010b; Tandberg and Griffith 2013; Weerts and Ronca 2012). Research frequently notes that public higher education institutions, faced with ever-increasing costs, competed with other state budget priorities for scarce state funds (Archibald and Feldman 2014; Burke and Minassians 2002; Delaney and Doyle 2011; Hovey 1999; McLendon et al. 2006; Zumeta 2001). The literature uses multiple metrics to indicate that states have reduced their investment in public higher education over the last 30 years, including inflation-adjusted state appropriations per student to higher education, the share of public institutional income coming from state appropriations, and state funding per $1,000 of personal income (Lambert 2014; Lyall and Sell 2006; McLendon and Mokher 2009; McMahon 2009; Tandberg and Griffith 2013; Weerts and Ronca 2012). Webber (2017) calculated that the average public university has seen its inflation-adjusted, per-student state appropriations decline by 30% over the past 30 years. State disinvestment has contributed to greater tuition dependence and calls among some public institutions for greater autonomy in setting tuition prices. These and other consequences of state disinvestment are discussed extensively in the institutional manifestations section below.

One state level consequence of declining state support for public higher education identified in the literature was the delegation of greater tuition-setting authority to institutions (Kelchen 2018; Marcus 1997; McBain 2010; McLendon and Mokher 2009). Because public institutions lack authority to determine levels of state funding, providing them with greater autonomy in setting tuition levels has been viewed as a state-level policy response to compensate for declining state appropriations. New Jersey was one of the first states to allow all four year institutions to determine their own tuition prices, which then had to be approved by the state board of education. Texas and Florida both passed legislation to allow governing boards at public institutions to propose differential tuition rates, so long as a portion of the revenue was invested into financial aid (McBain 2010). Other state policies have been more restrictive, only allowing public research universities to set their own tuition or only providing greater autonomy for nonresident or graduate tuition. Virginia provides various levels of autonomy to public institutions, including tuition-setting authority, in exchange for reduced state appropriations and compliance with several state goals (McBain 2010). According to McLendon and Mokher (2009), “despite these differences in the degree of autonomy granted to colleges in each state, together these policies represent a general movement away from the more highly centralized tuition setting processes of the past and towards greater institutional control” (p. 13). Recently, many state legislatures have become concerned with rising tuition prices and pursued tuition freezes or capping tuition for in-state undergraduate students (Pingel 2018a). Some policy leaders have also sought greater control over tuition-setting, but as Pingel (2018b) noted, “Very few states maintain legislative control of tuition-setting, with more states decentralizing this authority over time” (p. 1). State disinvestment is a state-level manifestation of privatization that paved the way for a redefinition of the state-institution relationship, allowing for institutions to have greater autonomy in setting tuition prices (McLendon 2003a; Marcus 1997).

The diffusion of performance-based funding. Numerous studies have argued that the “new accountability” movement and, in particular, performance-based funding are offshoots of New Public Management and represent state-level manifestations of privatization (Harbour and Jaquette 2007; McLendon et al. 2006; Orphan 2018). State-level governance of higher education has typically been a balancing act, with legislatures and governing boards seeking to ensure institutional autonomy while also providing oversight of the use of public resources (McLendon 2003b). Until the 1980s, governance focused on the design of systems to effectively regulate the flow of resources to institutions and the decision-making of campus leaders (McLendon et al. 2006). For the past three decades, state legislatures and higher education governing boards have started to "look more critically at institutional roles, at the availability and distribution of functions, at effectiveness, and at educational and operational costs" (Schmidtlein and Berdahl 2005, p. 75). As part of a "new accountability" movement in public higher education, policymakers and state system leaders are concerned not only with inputs like enrollment and resources but also outcomes (Burke and Minassians 2002; Kelchen 2018). They increasingly seek to influence institutional behavior to improve performance on graduation rates, access measures, learning outcomes, licensure pass rates, student diversity, and job placement rates (McLendon et al. 2006). This influence has recently been exercised through performance-based funding (PBF) initiatives, which directly tie state appropriations to performance on outcomes (Kelchen 2018). However, it is important to note that studies on PBF rarely connect this policy trend back to privatization.

There has been a surge of research on PBF, and studies can be grouped into three categories: (1) origins and diffusion (Dougherty et al. 2013; Hearn 2015; Hillman et al. 2015; Gandara et al. 2017; Li 2017; McLendon et al. 2006; Miller and Morphew 2017), (2) evaluation of effectiveness, and (3) concerns about unintended consequences and equity. Kelchen (2018) noted that performance funding started as early as 1979 in Tennessee, and by 1997 ten states had adopted similar systems. The number of states adopting performance funding systems grew significantly after the Great Recession, with 34 states using some form of performance funding by 2015. Kelchen (2018) attributed this wave of what some scholars call "PBF 2.0" to support from governors, but also influence from foundations like the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, which viewed PBF as a means to encourage institutions to focus more on college completion. Multiple studies have sought to explain the diffusion or adoption of PBF. McLendon et al. (2006) examined the drivers of three types of performance accountability policies and found that states with consolidated governing boards and larger Republic presence in state legislatures are more likely to adopt PBF. Some scholars have analyzed whether neighboring states are more likely to adopt PBF, with results showing no relationship (McLendon et al. 2006) or that a higher proportion of bordering states with PBF reduces likelihood of adoption (Li 2017). Lastly, there is substantial evidence that intermediary organizations, including philanthropic foundations and policy organizations, encouraged the spread of PBF (Dougherty et al. 2013; Gandara et al. 2017; Hearn 2015; Hillman et al. 2015; Miller and Morphew 2017). Accordingly, evidence shows that, due to a variety of influences, the majority of states have embraced the "new accountability" movement in the form of PBF. Most of these studies focused on explaining the spread of PBF or assessing its outcomes. Although the research often references state disinvestment in tandem with these accountability policies, as we note above, scholars rarely situate PBF as a form of privatization.

Performance-based funding is premised on the logic that institutions will become more effective and efficient because of financial incentives. Research suggests that institutions are changing the ways they budget, advise students, collect and analyze data, and engage in strategic planning, which could result in improved performance (Dougherty and Reddy 2011; Kelchen 2018; Li and Zumeta 2016). Nevertheless, the effectiveness of PBF has been called into question due to limited evidence, to date, that the systems improved key outcomes. Hillman (2016) reviewed the 12 quantitative studies evaluating the effectiveness of PBF and concluded: "research comparing states that have and have not adopted the practice has yet to establish a connection between the policy and improved educational outcomes." Whether looking at graduation rates or degree production in two- and four-year institutions, the literature has thus far failed to show that states adopting PBF outperform those that do not (Hillman et al. 2014; Volkwein and Tandberg 2008; Tandberg and Hillman 2014; Umbricht et al. 2017).

Research on the unintended consequences of PBF point to equity concerns, leading for calls to center equity in accountability policies. Several studies point to institutions that are subject to PBF systems becoming more selective and enrolling fewer low-income students (Dougherty et al. 2013; Kelchen and Stedrak 2016; Orphan 2018; Umbricht et al. 2017). Scholars have also argued that PBF systems disadvantage minority-serving institutions (MSIs) (Boland and Gasman 2014; Jones 2014), though one study of two-year MSIs in Texas and Washington found these institutions are not disadvantaged compared to non-MSI institutions (Li et al. 2018). McKinney and Hagedorn (2017) examined PBF policies for two-year institutions in Texas and predicted that the funding model would incentivize institutions to enroll larger percentages of white and higher income students. Similarly, Hagood (2019) analyzed the flow of resources and found evidence that PBF benefited wealthy institutions and imposed financial burdens on low-resource institutions. The literature on the unintended consequences of PBF suggest that these policies may exacerbate inequality between institutions and disadvantage institutions serving marginalized student populations. PBF was not the only privatization-oriented governance reform at the state level that sought to achieve better efficiency and performance.

Governance reforms and private-sector partnerships. A few studies have pointed to governance reforms and efforts to promote private-sector partnerships as examples of privatization at the state level (Kaplan 2009; Marcus 1997; McClure 2017; McLendon and Mokher 2009). There was a wave of reforms to state-level higher education governance in the 1980s and 1990s with the goal of improving effectiveness, efficiency, and performance (McLendon 2003a). Many of these reforms stemmed from the "reinventing government movement," which critiqued public sector governance for its poor performance and lack of responsiveness. This movement borrowed private-sector management ideas, fostering reforms and partnerships that McLendon and Mokher (2009) described as state-level privatization. McLendon (2003a) noted that during this period "a diverse array of higher education 'reorganization' and 'restructuring' initiatives" were launched, which after decades of postwar centralization amounted to "a countertrend toward decentralization of decision authority from the state to more local levels of campus control" (p. 480). Not all reforms were geared toward decentralization, such as Minnesota's move to consolidate its public two-year and four-year colleges (excluding the University of Minnesota) under a new governing board and New Hampshire's decision to merge six of its seven technical colleges into three two-campus regional institutions (Marcus 1997). However, there was an increasing number of reforms aimed at decentralization and deregulation, including: "flexibility legislation" to give institutions more control over select management functions, designating institutions as hybrid public-private entities or public corporations (e.g., Hawaii and Maryland), and dismantling statewide coordinating systems in the 1990s. Between 1981 and 2000, at least 16 states passed laws decentralizing authority from the state to the campus level (McLendon 2003a).

States have also pursued reforms aimed at procurement processes and have encouraged more partnerships with the private sector. However, the literature on these structural reforms and public-private partnerships is underdeveloped. A 2010 survey of procurement officers at public institutions reported concerns with state regulations that created "bureaucratic 'red tape'" and impeded efforts to contain costs and achieve efficiency (American Association of State Colleges and Universities [AASCU] 2010). The report recommended that states give institutions more autonomy with procurement policy, make participation in state purchasing contracts voluntary, and allow institutions to form group-purchasing consortia. The report highlighted how Colorado, Kansas, and Virginia reformed procurement regulations to "provide cost savings, increased flexibility, improved purchasing power, and better quality of products and services" (p. 29). More recently, Illinois passed procurement reform making it easier for public institutions to purchase goods and services necessary for research projects, and the Iowa Board of Regents has pursued procurement reform after the consulting firm Deloitte suggested improving their procurement system to cut costs (McClure 2017). In addition to procurement reform, state policies have encouraged partnerships with the private sector to decrease costs and improve service delivery. For example, several states made it easier for public institutions to pursue public-private partnerships, particularly as a way to construct residence halls (McClure et al. 2017a). In Kentucky, legislation created a framework and regulations for state and local governments on public-private partnerships, which includes public colleges and universities (AASCU 2018). Moreover, New Jersey passed law as part of the Higher Education Institutions Public-Private Partnerships Program allowing public institutions to enter into arm's length agreements with private developers. McClure et al. (2017a) suggested that state policies to promote partnerships are premised on bringing certain practices and management functions of higher education institutions closer in form to those of the private sector, connecting them to privatization. However, research on public-private partnerships in higher education is limited, as well as studies explicitly articulating their relationship to privatization.

The main contours of state-level privatization were reduced state investment in public higher education, reforming public sector governance to encourage entrepreneurship, marketization, efficiency, and accountability systems based on performance metrics. The result of these changes has been greater institutional autonomy and decentralization of certain functions (e.g., tuition-setting authority) yet higher expectations for institutional efficiency, productivity, and performance. In sum, state-level privatization exemplifies the common refrain among public higher education leaders that they are expected to do more with less support.

Institutional-Level Manifestations of Privatization

Despite the fact that privatization is increasingly viewed as an "entrenched phenomenon," or the new normal that few are questioning (Eckel and Morphew 2009b; Priest et al. 2006b; Stater 2009, p. 154), there has been limited discussion of how privatization affects organizational behaviors within the literature. Therefore, the focus of this section is on enumerating the various ways in which institutions are manifesting privatization, and in some cases, the consequences of those manifestations to address this limitation in the literature. It is important to note, however, that institutions are not simply reacting to privatization. As Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) argued, they are also actors who are initiating privatization.

Additionally, in reviewing this literature, it is clear that how privatization affects institutions is fundamentally dependent on the organizational mission of the institution. For example, how privatization is manifested at a large public research university is likely to be, and should be, different than how it takes shape at a public, open-access regional university or at a private nonprofit liberal arts college (Morphew and Eckel 2009). For this reason, there is not a consistent set of behaviors, cultures, and practices that are indicative of privatization across all higher education institutions. Instead, because each institution is engaged in varied configurations of research, teaching, and service according to their mission (Eckel and Morphew 2009a; Harris 2013), the specific manifestations of privatization differ substantially across institutional types and sectors (Eckel and Morphew 2009a). For example, research universities are organizational anarchies that have more space and slack to absorb privatization (Cohen et al. 1972), and privatization is occurring across different aspects of these complex institutions (Eckel and Morphew 2009a). In contrast, smaller public regional universities do not have the same slack or resources with which they can respond and adapt to privatization – in essence their choice set of responses is heavily constrained relative to public research universities. The diversity of responses is perhaps most clearly seen in the various ways that privatization is manifested at public and private nonprofit institutions. As Breneman (2005) argued, all sectors are being forced to become more entrepreneurial in the face of economic pressures, including privatization. Institutions in all sectors are experiencing manifestations of privatization, but it takes shape in different ways and to different degrees, depending on the particular opportunities and constraints of a given institution.

We begin where much of the discussion of privatization starts, first outlining the various financial behaviors that institutions are engaged in which manifest privatization.

From there we outline the changing nature of institutional boundaries that has resulted from, for example, the increased engagement in partnerships that bridge industries and sectors. From there we discuss the changes in the creation and dissemination of knowledge. We conclude our discussion of institutional manifestations with an examination of the manifestations of privatization within the governance of these institutions before turning to the manifestations of privatization at the sub-institutional level. As the breadth of these topics might suggest, we are pulling from a diverse set of literature. Not all of these studies are explicitly tied to privatization, which speaks to our argument regarding the disjointed nature of this literature. This is also consistent with our argument that privatization has become a taken for granted condition within the literature.

Diversifying financial behaviors. Empirical investigations of privatization have focused heavily on state disinvestment and the various ways in which institutions have responded financially to these changes (e.g., Barringer 2016; Hearn 2006; McMahon 2009; Newfield 2008; Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Tandberg 2010b; Tandberg and Griffith 2013; Weerts and Ronca 2012). However, understanding the finances and financial behavior of higher education institutions is also critical to understanding their behaviors and decision-making beyond the finances of these institutions (Weisbrod et al. 2008). Therefore, exploring how privatization has manifested in the financial behaviors of institutions has implications for balance sheets but also beyond them, which is why we start here. We focus on four manifestations in this section: (1) the increased emphasis on revenue generation, (2) the increasingly competitive environment of these institutions, and (3) the increased reliance on alternative sources of revenue, and (4) changes in the boundaries of institutions as they develop interstitial organizations and seek to generate additional auxiliary revenues.

First and foremost, the literature indicates that the privatization of higher education has led to a shift in the priorities of institutions toward ensuring that they are generating sufficient revenues (Hearn 2006; Morphew and Eckel 2009; Priest and St. John 2006; Weisbrod et al. 2008). While this has been a long-standing focus for private nonprofit institutions (Toutkoushian 2009), this is a more recent shift for public institutions (e.g., Kaplan 2009; Priest and St. John 2006). As state funding for public institutions has declined, these institutions have been forced to rely on sources other than state support, which has resulted in public institutions becoming increasingly like private nonprofit institutions in terms of both their revenue profiles and their emphasis on cost reduction (Hearn 2006; Priest and St. John 2006; Weisbrod et al. 2008). In essence, the patterns of educational subsidies are becoming increasingly similar between public and private nonprofit institutions (Toutkoushian 2009). These shifts are evident in the changing revenue profiles of public four-year institutions. As Barringer (2016) showed there is a clear tradeoff for public institutions in their reliance on state appropriations and tuition, on average, between 1986 and 2010. However, she also highlighted how there is substantial variation around those averages as these institutions are adapting in different ways to declining state appropriations. This shift in emphasis toward revenue generation has increased competition within the field as a whole, and some have argued it has also changed the nature of competition, which is a manifestation of privatization at the institutional level (e.g., Rosinger, et al. 2016b; Taylor et al. 2013; Taylor and Cantwell 2015).

Privatization, due to both declining state funding and a change in the underlying behavioral logic of organizations, has led to an increase in the competitive conditions faced by institutions, such that "competition permeates every facet of the higher education industry" (Gumport 2000; Hossler 2006; Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Weisbrod et al. 2008, p. 110). In the case of government funding, competition has increased due to a declining resource pool (Lambert 2014; Lyall and Sell 2006; McLendon and Mokher 2009; McMahon 2009; Tandberg and Griffith 2013; Weerts and Ronca 2012). However, higher education institutions also compete in a multitude of market places wherein competition has increased as more institutions have been forced to continuously search for alternative revenue streams as traditional sources of funding have declined (e.g., state appropriations) (e.g., Hearn 2006) and become more unstable (e.g., endowment and investment income) (Cantwell 2016). These competitive markets include, but are not limited to, the markets for students, including out of state and international students; productive and renowned faculty; research funding and collaborations from both government and nongovernment sources; athletic success; and private donations and endowment income (Gumport 2000; Hossler 2006; Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Weisbrod et al. 2008). In short, the decline in state funding has increased competition for this funding stream directly while also indirectly increasing competition for other sources of revenue as institutions that historically were not part of the market for donations or external research funding, for example, moved into these markets as they attempt to make up for declining government funds through diversifying their financial resources (e.g., Barringer 2016; Hearn 2006). Therefore, though increased competition originated with state disinvestment, it affects both public and private nonprofit institutions as institutions shifted into new markets.

As competition has increased, and state funding has declined, the literature on alternative revenue streams for public institutions has primarily focused on two sources: private donations along with endowments and tuition revenues. Donations are increasingly important to higher education (Weisbrod et al. 2008). Institutional advancement has become a central component of public institutions, especially larger institutions with presidents frequently highlighting this as one of their central concerns (Conley and Tempel 2006). Drezner (2010) has gone so far as to say that philanthropy "is central to the mere existence and daily function of academe" (p. 194). However, the nature of donations (i.e., the size, focus, source, etc.) and their impact on these institutions is not well understood. For example, we know there are differences in the levels of giving generally, and alumni giving specifically, across public and private institutions (Conley and Tempel 2006; Weisbrod et al. 2008; Zeig et al. 2018). Furthermore, Zeig et al. (2018), in their study of trustee philanthropy at eight public institutions, found that trustees do engage in institutional advancement in different ways and for different reasons. Their findings suggest that public institutions are increasing their focus on institutional advancement and thus expanding into university fundraising, which has historically been dominated by private universities (Zeig et al. 2018). In short, higher education institutions of all types are increasingly engaging with donors and philanthropists as they seek to capitalize on this alternative source of revenues.

Higher education institutions, in addition to their increased reliance on donors, have routinely turned to philanthropic foundations as another source of donative revenues and to achieve goals ranging from construction projects to sponsoring research (Clotfelter 2007; McClure et al. 2017b). McClure et al. (2017b) explored philanthropic giving on the part of foundations to institutions in North Carolina in 2013 and found that high status universities are in a better position to both compete for and obtain donations from foundations. This suggests that as donative revenue becomes more prominent as an alternative revenue stream within the field this could exacerbate existing inequalities. This is consistent with Cheslock and Gianneschi (2008), who found a positive relationship between state appropriations and private giving, suggesting that the institutions that are more successful at obtaining state funding are also more successful in obtaining private gifts. Furthermore, they found that the level of institutional inequality in private giving exceeds the institutional inequality in state appropriations. Therefore, if private donations replace state revenues this could "increase resource inequality across public institutions" (Cheslock and Gianneschi 2008, p. 224).

Closely tied to this emphasis on donations are endowments and endowment management which have become more critical in response to both privatization and increased competition (St. John and Priest 2006; Weisbrod et al. 2008). The research on endowments, much like the research on philanthropy, is limited with the bulk of this work taking the form of technical reports, how-to guides, or reports prepared for key stakeholders (e.g., trustees and presidents) (Cantwell 2016). However, there is substantial evidence that higher education institutions are increasingly turning to money managers and more aggressive investment practices in order to increase endowment returns (e.g., Weisbrod et al. 2008). For example, Cantwell (2016) used a structural analysis to show that current endowment management practices are a form of financial-academic capitalism in which "universities engage in market activities to generate profit in order to secure advantage over competitor institutions by amassing wealth, which is in turn associated with prestige and field status" (Cantwell 2016, p. 173). For example, Eaton et al. (2016) showed that while there has been growth in the financialization of higher education, the investment returns are concentrated at wealthy institutions while the increased costs of financing were outpacing returns at poorer institutions between 2003 and 2012. In short, while this literature is still developing, the findings so far on the use of endowments by higher education institutions echoes findings on private donations which show that increased reliance on these revenue streams has substantial potential to increase stratification across institutions.

Perhaps the most discussed consequence of privatization has been the increases in both tuition and fees that public institutions have undertaken to recuperate some of the decline in state funding that have occurred in recent decades (Ehrenberg 2006b; Hearn 2006; Kaplan 2009; Toutkoushian 2009; Webber 2017). In addition to the widespread policy of increasing tuition, there has also been an increase in attempts to differentiate tuition as universities have obtained greater authority over tuition setting, as we discussed above (McLendon and Mokher 2009). Hearn (2006) argued that universities, in their desire to diversify their revenue streams and increase tuition income, will begin to differentiate tuition not only by level (i.e., graduate vs. undergraduate price differences) but also by delivery mode, major, or college and school. This has become much more common at the undergraduate level in recent years (Weisbrod et al. 2008). Consistent with the literature as a whole, the work on tuition increases highlights the diversity of ways in which states (discussed above), and institutions, are attempting to capture additional tuition revenues and thus diversify their revenue profiles.

Athletics is another source from which universities are looking to increase revenues; however, this is not something new per say. According to Slaughter and Rhoades intercollegiate athletics has been in the business of academic capitalism for "a long time" (2004, p. 256) to the extent that athletics being seen as a "big business" is no longer in doubt (Weisbrod et al. 2008, p. 218). It has been widely acknowledged that athletic success can be critical for supporting the goals of many institutions both directly (e.g., revenues from ticket sales, contracts, and licensing) and indirectly (e.g., increasing status or promoting identity and loyalty with students, alumni, community members) (Lifschitz et al. 2014; Weisbrod et al. 2008). However, it is important to realize that the benefits of athletics as a "big business" are not distributed evenly (e.g., Weisbrod et al. 2008). Cheslock and Knight (2015) contended that intercollegiate athletics is an area of higher education where "divergent returns," coupled with "cascading expenditures" and the "ensuing subsidies," while beneficial to a small number of schools, is a source of growing financial strain for the majority of institutions and their students. Athletics, while it has long been a part of higher education, is increasingly seen as an alternative source of direct and indirect revenues for institutions as traditional revenues have declined or become increasingly competitive in light of privatization. At the same time, concerns about the ways in which athletics are reaffirming or increasing stratification across institutions is unlikely to dissipate as institutions are unlikely to step away from athletics *en masse*.

A fourth area in which universities are financially adapting to privatization is via the cultivation and expansion of their boundaries to include interstitial organizations that are designed to obtain additional revenue streams as well as auxiliary services.[5] Interstitial organizations are a relatively new organizational form that span the boundaries between different higher education institutions, corporations, and the state (e.g., technology transfer and fundraising divisions) (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004). Researchers have argued that these organizations are most likely to be created closer to the periphery of institutions, rather than within their core activities or divisions (Eckel and Morphew 2009a) and are generally developed with the goal of increasing the revenues of an institution. Auxiliary enterprises on the other hand

[5]Research commercialization, which can also be a source of alternative revenues for some schools, is discussed in the section on the changing nature of the creation and dissemination of knowledge below.

have been a long-standing practice in higher education (Doane and Pusser 2005), and these units are playing "increasingly significant roles in the modern American university in recent decades" (Priest et al. 2006a, p. 189). This takes many different forms across institutions ranging from banking services and insurance (Hearn 2006) to having grocery stores on campuses (Weisbrod et al. 2008) and universities capitalizing on their real estate and other assets through the creation of retirement communities, renting out their facilities, or even authorizing natural gas drilling (Hearn 2006; Weisbrod et al. 2008). Privatization is also manifested in efforts to extract an increasing amount of revenues from auxiliary services like campus dining, student housing, and bookstores. Research has begun to show that these changes to auxiliary services may increase the prices students pay to access higher education (McClure et al. 2017a), which we will return to in the sub-institutional manifestations section below. However, literature on these changes is still underdeveloped.

In sum, the key concern with this shift away from state funding and toward private sources of revenue as outlined above is that institutions will change their behavior in ways that are "socially troubling" or not in the public interest (Dill 2003; Weisbrod et al. 2008, p. 103). In the case of financial behaviors discussed so far, it is clear that these changes will continue to increase inequality between institutions (e.g., Cantwell 2016; Cheslock and Gianneschi 2008; Cheslock and Knight 2015; Weisbrod et al. 2008). There is also substantial evidence that changes in finances lead to alterations in the organizational structure of universities (Clark 1998; Eckel and Morphew 2009a; Slaughter and Leslie 1997) which, along with institution boundaries, is the focus of our next section.

Shifting and blurring institutional structures and boundaries. In addition to the changing financial behaviors of higher education institutions, privatization has manifested in a blurring of the boundaries between higher education institutions and external organizations, as well as an expansion of the boundaries (e.g., by incorporating activities not historically part of the mission of higher education) of these organizations. For example, Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) argued that "[t]he 'firewall' that once separated public and private sectors has become increasingly permeable" (p. 27). Eckel and Morphew argued that institutions, in particular research universities, have opened their borders to a "range of external influences" (Eckel and Morphew 2009a, p. 100). This blurring and expanding of the boundaries of these institutions has significant potential to shift the "organizational patterns and modes of production within universities" (Cantwell and Kauppinen 2014, p. 6; McClure 2016). This expansion and blurring of organizational structure and boundaries can take many forms; however, we focus on two here: (1) partnerships with various external entities (e.g., corporations and other universities) and (2) the emergence of interstitial and affiliated organizations. We briefly discuss each in turn before turning to how these practices vary within and between institutions.

Institutions have engaged in partnerships for decades around research, education offerings (e.g., partnerships to offer degrees across institutions), and economic development (e.g., with the state or local communities) with a variety of partners, including corporations, other universities, nonprofits, and state and local governments (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004). Industry partnerships have focused on a range of activities including research collaborations; the generation of specialized programs that fit firm needs; continuing or distance education; or economic development (Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff 2000; Lyall and Sell 2006; Pusser et al. 2005; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004; Weisbrod et al. 2008). A key realm in which this is undertaken is around research collaborations. Research on university-industry collaborations and joint ventures suggests these can be beneficial to both the universities, companies, and in some cases the economic development of the surrounding area.

Institutions have also undertaken joint ventures with corporations in a number of areas beyond research. These ventures range from facilities-management and public-private partnerships in university housing to the creation of a learning services company, InStride, by Arizona State University and The Rise Fund, to name a few (Green 2019; McClure et al. 2017a; Weisbrod et al. 2008). There are also numerous examples of this within the realm of continuing education, which has been one of the key areas in which universities are engaging in “profit seeking behaviors” either via the creation of internal divisions or via partnerships with external organizations (Breneman 2005; Pusser et al. 2005). Institutions can also capitalize on existing external organizations in other areas as they outsource existing services in an attempt to cut costs and increase profits (Phipps and Merisotis 2005). This has been undertaken in a number of areas including, but not limited to, operation of hotels and university housing, food services, laundry services, and operating other affiliated facilities (Doane and Pusser 2005; McClure et al. 2017a; Priest et al. 2006a; Weisbrod et al. 2008). However, the extent to which this is beneficial to these institutions remains unclear despite the ubiquitous nature of these practices due to a lack of research in this area (Phipps and Merisotis 2005).

Institutions are also collaborating with one another and nonprofit research and policy organizations in a number of areas. Many of the collaborations between universities have existed for decades or more in the form of simple research partnerships around particular grants to shared library resources and joint degree programs. However, in recent years, universities have expanded their collaborations to include joint ventures, such as the Pittsburgh Life Science Greenhouse, which is a partnership between the University of Pittsburgh and Carnegie Mellon University to foster economic development in life sciences in the region (Cohen 2002; Pittsburgh Life Sciences Greenhouse 2019). A number of institutions also have long-standing partnerships with their local communities or states around economic development initiatives as well (Harris and Holley 2016). For example, Holley and Harris (2017) argued and show how universities can help cities retool around the knowledge economy in their recent case study. Etzkowitz et al. (2000) used two university cases to highlight the different ways universities can contribute to economic development via academic entrepreneurship.

Another form of partnership that deserves mention is the relationship between institutions and affiliated nonprofit organizations (ANPOs), such as alumni associations/foundations, research foundations, endowments, and athletic associations (Taylor et al. 2018). These organizations have existed almost as long as universities, but their numbers have increased substantially in recent years, particularly in the areas of academics and research (Taylor et al. 2018). However, this strategic response is diffusing across public and private universities in ways that are patterned by resources and status suggesting that the changing ties between universities and ANPOs are consistent with academic capitalism, specifically that increased competition leads to heightened stratification between institutions over time (Slaughter and Cantwell 2012; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004).

In summary, as institutions have increasingly engaged in partnerships in a variety of ways and with different entities, it is clear that the boundaries and structures of universities are not all changing in the same ways. This is consistent with the larger discussion of privatization that manifestations will take different forms across institutions and also occur at different rates both between and within organizations. Research on ANPOs and research commercialization highlights how the benefits of these strategic adaptations are concentrated within a small number of institutions (e.g., Powell et al. 2007; Powers 2006; Taylor et al. 2018). Within universities there is also an uneven distribution of commercialization and privatization with those units (both academic and nonacademic) that are closer to the market being most likely to benefit as they are able to capitalize on their proximity and "built-in advantages" (Eckel and Morphew 2009a; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004, p. 27). These inequalities that occur as a result of these manifestations can have real consequences for institutions, and they can potentially alter the power dynamics within institutions, concentrating power within already advantaged units, and increasing stratification both within and between institutions (McClure 2016; Rosinger et al. 2016a; Taylor et al. 2018; Taylor et al. 2013).

Changes in the creation and dissemination of knowledge. Privatization has also had implications for how knowledge is created and disseminated through its impacts on research behaviors and practices, as well as academic structure and curriculum.[6] This is manifested within institutions in two primary ways: first, within the changing nature of the academic structure and the ways in which resources are allocated within this structure, and second, through the research behaviors of institutions. We discuss each in turn highlighting key findings from this literature.

Academic departments are "the focal point of academic work" (Hearn 2007, p. 224), which both makes them central to higher education institutions and also makes these institutions "bottom heavy" organizational forms (Hearn 2007). Understanding the nature of academic restructuring, resource allocations, and how departments are interfacing with university leaders sheds light on the changing norms, dynamics, and priorities of higher education institutions over time as a result of privatization. For example, research by Slaughter (1993) has demonstrated that academic restructuring has shifted resources toward departments, colleges, and schools that are already resource-rich, exacerbating existing inequalities within these institutions (Hearn 2007; Slaughter 1993; Slaughter and Leslie 1997). Research has shown that departments have been under increased pressure to generate new/more revenues and increase efficiencies (e.g., Slaughter et al. 2004; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004),

[6] It has also done this via the impacts it has on the nature of faculty work, which will be discussed below.

which suggests that privatization had infiltrated the academic core of universities. This becomes even clearer when we look at the studies of internal resource allocations. Research by Pfeffer and Salancik (1974) suggested that a department's ability to accumulate power and obtain external research funding are critical to obtaining additional resources. Volk et al. (2001) highlighted the unequal flows of resources within universities, establishing the fact that this benefits those departments that already possess substantial resources and also those departments that have more male and full-time faculty, graduate degrees, and research funding. This echoes previous findings from Slaughter (1993) showing that the gendered nature of departments plays a role in resource allocations. These shifts are also evident in the growing adoption of incentive-based budgeting systems, particularly at public institutions (Priest et al. 2006b; Priest and Boon 2006; Toutkoushian 2009). These budgeting systems are being undertaken in an attempt to increase accountability and transparency within higher education institutions and are part of the shift toward greater accountability and increased efficiencies discussed in the state-level manifestations section above (e.g., Hearn 2006; Toutkoushian 2009).

Institutions have also altered the norms and priorities of research activities in response to privatization in ways that contribute to inequalities between and within institutions. As Powell et al. (2007) put it, there is "little doubt that U.S. universities are focused on commercialization" (p. 123). Slaughter et al. (2004) argued that universities increase the commercialization of research (i.e., increase patenting, research partnerships, and the formation of startups) as a result of federal and state policy changes that legitimized these activities in an attempt to bolster economic development and competitiveness (Powers 2004, 2006; Slaughter and Leslie 1997). As noted above, since the 1970s, and especially since the Bayh-Dole Act in 1980, the nature of university research activities has changed as institutions now have the potential to profit from research undertaken by their faculty that is funded by the federal government. This, in turn, moved universities closer to the market as they became more entrepreneurial, resulting in the boundaries between universities and these external entities (e.g., corporations) beginning to "blur" (Powers 2006; Slaughter et al. 2004, p. 129; Slaughter and Leslie 1997). This is not to say that the blurring has been uncontested, of course. Owen-Smith referred to technology transfer within universities as a "big, controversial business" administered by managers that are part of a "profession in the making" (Owen-Smith 2011, p. 71). However, Owen-Smith (2003) demonstrated how the relationship between commercial and academic systems, despite this initial tension, has resulted in an integration of public and private science between 1981 and 1998, such that the success of both public and private science is interdependent.

In addition to changes in the norms and priorities of research activities, practices are also changing with respect to copyright practices and industry-funded research. For example, within the realm of copyright practices, Slaughter and Rhoades's (2004) analysis showed that, while historically faculty have held copyrights over their intellectual property, this may be changing, particularly as the prevalence of online education course content (e.g., for courses as well as certificate and degree programs) grows. They argued that this shift represents another way in which universities are engaged in the "aggressive pursuit of external revenues based on instruction and curriculum" (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004, p. 132). This pursuit has occurred through the expansion of continuing and distance education across campuses nationwide, as well as the pursuit of certificate programs. Similar shifts are seen in the acceptability of research funding from industry. Whereas previously this money would be considered questionable based on its source, it has become more acceptable and even sought after (Slaughter et al. 2004). In a similar vein, Owen-Smith and Powell (2001) highlighted the importance of faculty considerations about institutional support for commercialization as they decide whether or not to disclose and patent new inventions.

Much like the situation with finances and academic structures, these behaviors and practices are not occurring evenly across and within universities; in fact, success in research commercialization is concentrated among only a handful of universities (Powell et al. 2007; Powers 2006). Within universities the bulk of patenting has occurred in or around the biomedical fields (Owen-Smith and Powell 2003; Powell and Smith 2002). Others have characterized technology transfer as occurring in those fields that are closest to the market (Eckel and Morphew 2009a; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004). Across universities the extent to which universities are engaging in these practices differs dramatically, ranging from research universities, which Eckel and Morphew characterized as "quasi-private organizations" that are heavily engaged in research commercialization to smaller public and private nonprofit institutions that are barely engaged in research commercialization at all (Eckel and Morphew 2009a, p. 88; Weisbrod et al. 2008).[7] Furthermore even among those universities that are heavily engaged in this practice, it has only been highly profitable for a small number of schools (Powell et al. 2007; Powers 2006; Weisbrod et al. 2008). The spread of research commercialization and associated practices, despite its uneven nature, has had significant consequences for the nature of faculty work. However, before addressing these sub-institutional manifestations of privatization, we turn to the manifestations of privatization in the governance of these institutions to close out our discussion of institutional manifestations.

The changing nature of governance. Privatization has resulted in substantial changes in the governance of higher education institutions; however, these manifestations and their implications have been shortchanged in the literature due to the "strong focus on the fiscal dimensions or privatization" (Eckel and Morphew 2009b, p. 89) and the emphasis on research commercialization in the wake of Bayh Dole. Privatization has, particularly for public institutions, come with the implicit understanding that as government support declines their role in governance should also decline (Kaplan 2009). We see this as states' attempts to modify the governance systems of higher education have increased since the mid-1980s (McLendon and Mokher 2009; Travis 2012). As discussed above, this has taken the form of states decentralizing their governance structures moving decision-making authority to

[7]Though they are likely engaged in privatization and academic capitalism in other areas including athletics or competition for students (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004).

campuses, providing institutions with greater autonomy and weakening statewide coordinating boards (McLendon and Mokher 2009). We focus on three key ways in which privatization has been manifested in governance at the institutional level here: (1) the increased complexity this creates for the individuals and groups managing and governing these institutions, (2) how administrators manifest and promulgate privatization through their actions and decisions, and (3) the changing nature of university trusteeship in light of the spread of privatization.

The clearest manifestation of privatization in governance is the increased complexity that the administrators of these organizations (e.g., presidents, provosts, trustees, deans) are facing. For example, the challenges for university presidents have increased substantially since the 1990s (Harris and Ellis 2018), as institutions, particularly public institutions, are in more complex environments than in earlier times (Gagliardi et al. 2017; Priest and Boon 2006). Presidents are frequently expected to manage financial crises precipitated by state disinvestment and secure new revenue sources (McClure 2016). These pressures, which arise from state-level manifestations of privatization, may be contributing to greater turnover among presidents, creating difficult conditions to properly govern institutions. This is clear in the work of Harris and Ellis (2018), which showed that while average presidential tenure has remained unchanged, there has been an increase in involuntary turnovers since 2008. The seven reasons for turnover in their study include financial controversy, loss of board confidence, poor judgment, and athletics controversy, suggesting complexity is a key factor in understanding this increase. Recently, the president of a major university system described being president as the "toughest job in the nation" (Thomason 2018, para. 1).

This is not to say that presidents and other administrators are simply reacting to privatization. In fact, Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) argued the opposite, asserting that "institutions could not engage in academic capitalism without the involvement of university presidents," who are actually becoming more important to institutions in light of the complexity, particularly at research universities (p. 207). For example, some university presidents have been advocates for increasing in-state tuition and recruiting out-of-state students, both of which are practices aligned with privatization (Hossler 2006). Furthermore, McClure (2016) illustrated the key role administrators play in facilitating academic capitalism as they fostered entrepreneurship and innovation at a public research university.

Privatization has also manifested in the changing nature of university trustees as well. Research has shown that universities are becoming increasingly tied to the knowledge economy via their trustees' affiliations and the involvement of both trustees and their affiliated firms within the universities that they steward (e.g., Barringer and Slaughter 2016). This is because trustees, at least at public and private research universities, are no longer buffers between institutions and their environments but rather are "boundary spanners" (Barringer and Riffe 2018) that benefit from the ability to scan the research activities of universities and to benefit the universities via the connections and resources that they bring with them (Pusser et al. 2006; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004). Trustees no longer simply govern these institutions, but also, as part of the micro-foundation of universities, shape their behaviors, structures, and policies through donations and involvement in both new and existing initiatives and in some cases via their trustee-affiliated organizations (Barringer and Riffe 2018). For example, Mathies and Slaughter (2013) and Slaughter et al. (2014) demonstrated that the affiliations of trustees are related to the research and patenting behaviors of elite private research universities and suggest that the potential for institutional conflict of interest has increased as a result. Furthermore, Barringer et al. (2019) showed that trustees of elite research universities have an extensive network of connections to external organizations in industry, as well as government and nonprofit organizations. These patterns of connections differ substantially across sectors and institutions, as well as over time, in ways that suggest a relationship between the governance and financial resources of these universities. In short, trustees are serving as networks of power and knowledge that universities can draw on and take advantage of as other resources decline or become less stable. They may offer universities, as the research above suggests, connections to industry and government organizations as well as additional avenues for securing resources that would allow institutions to solidify their position or increase their prominence within the field (Barringer et al. 2019; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004).

As this literature suggests, privatization has been manifested in a variety of ways across both public and private nonprofit institutions. We specifically address manifestations of privatization at the institutional level in four areas: financial behaviors, shifting boundaries and structures, changes in knowledge creation and dissemination, and the changing nature of governance. As we argue and show above, the literature on manifestations of privatization, in particular institutional manifestations, tends to treat privatization as a taken-for-granted aspect of these institutions and is also disjointed and frequently not in a collective dialogue on these issues. It is for these reasons that while we have some knowledge of how privatization is manifested at the institutional level, a number of unanswered questions remain. We elaborate on these below after discussing the sub-institutional level manifestations of privatization.

Sub-institutional-Level Manifestations of Privatization

In addition to institution-level manifestations, privatization has also been manifested at the sub-institutional level via the conditions experienced by the employees and students of these institutions. We focus on two groups which appear most frequently in the literature, students and faculty, discussing the manifestations of privatization for each in turn.

Students as consumers and negotiable goods. Students, as privatization has become the new normal, have become both revenue targets and consumers; in an extreme sense they are “negotiable goods” that can be traded with corporations for resources via contracts for sports, test beds, single product agreements, and direct marketing (Gumport 2000; Kleinman and Osley-Thomas 2016; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004). Competition for students has increased as institutions have become increasingly reliant on tuition revenues and are therefore recruiting across a wider geographic area than ever. Some institutions are intentionally targeting international students and, in the case of public universities, are targeting out-of-state students who net higher revenues for institutions (e.g., Hossler 2006; Jaquette and Curs 2015).

There has been a substantial amount of research on the enrollment economy that has evolved in the wake of privatization. This is because state disinvestment is forcing public institutions to behave like the historically tuition-dependent private institutions, and thus institutions in both sectors are now exerting substantial energy and resources to attract "paying customers" (i.e., students) (Jaquette and Curs 2015, p. 536). There is also evidence that higher education institutions are increasing recruitment of international students in response to resource constraints (e.g., Coco 2015; Mamiseishvili 2011). This is a strategy that does result in increased tuition revenues for some institutions but not for others (Cantwell 2015). Research has shown that the enrollment economy is causing public universities, in particular public research universities, to increasingly recruit out-of-state students as they seek to increase their tuition revenues (Jaquette and Curs 2015). The increased competition for students has also led to mission drift on the part of private liberal arts colleges that are becoming universities in an attempt to deal with declining enrollments and other environmental changes (Jaquette 2013). Increased competition has also led to the increased pursuit of master's and professional programs at public research universities (Eckel and Morphew 2009a). Echoing the themes above from our discussion of institutional manifestations, these shifts also have substantial implications for inequality, but in this case, it is argued that the increased reliance on tuition revenue, and the associated shifts we discussed above, can challenge equal access. Researchers have demonstrated that as privatization has spread, advantages (e.g., resources and cultural capital) accumulate to those who are already advantaged (McDonough and Fann 2007). This is compounded by the fact that as admissions criteria become more selective, access is even further out of reach (McDonough and Fann 2007; Posselt et al. 2012). In short, the institutional manifestations of privatization, in particular the diversification of resources, also have direct impacts on access and affordability.

The changing nature of faculty work and hiring practices. While institutional manifestations of privatization can impact faculty in a number of ways, it is important to realize that faculty can also be agents of privatization. For example, Cantwell (2014) shows how faculty in the natural sciences serve as the "building blocks" of academic capitalism via their role as part of the microfoundations of their institutions, which we discuss below. As institutions of higher education have acclimated to privatization by changing their finances, academic structures, research behaviors, and governance structures as we outline above, this has significantly impacted the balance of power within these institutions (Gumport 1993; McClure 2016). In general, these changes have led to a change in staffing arrangements and a growth in the nonfaculty professionals within institutions in areas such as technology transfer development, student admissions, and financial aid (Conley and Tempel 2006; Eckel and Morphew 2009a; Hossler 2006; Owen-Smith 2011; Rhoades 1998, 2007; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004). The growth in these "managerial professionals" has, according to Rhoades (1998), directly challenged faculty authority to such a degree that faculty have now become "managed professionals" who are managed by these managerial professionals. Faculty are also experiencing substantial pressures to pursue economic opportunities to generate additional revenues for their institutions (Rhoades 2007; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004). This has resulted in two key manifestations of privatization for faculty: (1) the changing nature of faculty work and (2) the changing nature of faculty hiring practices. We address each before turning briefly to how research has tied these manifestations to increased faculty stratification.

The nature of faculty work has changed in light of privatization as faculty are increasingly involved in market-like behaviors and, as this happens, the boundaries between, first, institutions and, second, faculty and the market are blurring (Slaughter et al. 2004). This has led to quandaries, particularly for those faculty in the fields closest to the market, as they reside in nonprofit organizations but are being increasingly urged to generate revenues and profits (Slaughter et al. 2004). Hermanowicz (2016) argued that as a result of these changes, institutional priorities have shifted such that the institutions "valorize shiny things" that are closer to the market rather than "knowledge of its own accord" (p. 324). Furthermore, McClure (2016) showed that when administrators enact academic capitalism, it "generates tension and creates a hierarchy of faculty work based upon their contributions to revenue generation" (p. 538). However, again faculty, like administrators, can contribute to the spread and reinforcement of these shifts and, as Cantwell (2014) demonstrated, the "establishment and maintenance of academic capitalism" (p. 488).

While faculty can be agents of privatization and academic capitalism, the nature of faculty work has also changed in response to institutional manifestations of privatization such as changing structures and boundaries of higher education institutions and the changes in the creation and dissemination of knowledge. Privatization is manifested in the nature of faculty work perhaps most prominently in the unbundling of the faculty role such that there is both growth in research focused positions such as postdocs as well as the creation of new positions that specialize in research or teaching only (Cantwell and Taylor 2015; Eckel and Morphew 2009a). Privatization has also increased the financial incentives to hire nontenure-track faculty across all types of institutions. This practice, of hiring part-time and full-time nontenure-track faculty, has been on the rise since the 1970s (Ehrenberg 2006a; Hurlburt and McGarrah 2017b); however, the extent to which universities are doing this varies (Eckel and Morphew 2009a; Hurlburt and McGarrah 2017a). Despite these established trends, we still know little about the lives of these faculty (Kezar and Sam 2013; Kezar 2013; Rhoades 2007) and the impact of these changes on students. Additionally, it is unclear to what extent rising reliance on part-time a nontenure-track faculty serves as a cost savings tactic on the part of universities (Hurlburt and McGarrah 2017a).

It is important to realize that institutional and sub-institutional manifestations of privatization are not distributed evenly across or within institutions. For example, the faculty in different fields are engaging in market-like behaviors to different degrees and in different ways as privatization is manifested to different degrees in different fields depending on their proximity to the market or periphery of the organizations (Morphew and Eckel 2009; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004). For example, market-like behaviors, at least in the realm of the commercialization of research, are occurring most frequently in the life sciences and STEM fields (e.g., Rhoades 2007; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004). Different fields and disciplines have also experienced different conditions within institutions based on their proximity to, or distance from, the market and the availability of external research funds within their fields leading to greater horizontal segmentation within institutions (e.g., Rosinger et al. 2016a; Volk et al. 2001). This is also manifested at the sub-institutional level as different institutions are utilizing contingent faculty to different degrees, and there are also growing gaps in faculty salaries across different institutional types and between different groups of faculty (Curtis 2019; Ehrenberg 2006a; Hurlburt and McGarrah 2017b; Johnson and Taylor 2018). Furthermore, different departments and fields are using contingent faculty to different degrees (Kezar and Sam 2013; Rosinger et al. 2016a). These inequalities can reinforce or exacerbate differences within and across institutions from the bottom up as privatization is manifested at the institutional and sub-institutional levels within these institutions.

Future Directions for a Renewed Research Agenda on Privatization

We argue in this chapter that privatization has become the new normal within US higher education research. Privatization, as conceptualized here, is a process by which both the resources – including their power, sources, modes of allocation – and logics of higher education have changed such that it was both possible, due to the changing logics, and desirable, due to resource changes, for the commercialization, marketization, financialization, and corporatization of higher education to occur. Privatization and its attendant change processes occurred not simply within institutions or at the state-level but rather across four interrelated levels – national, state, institutional, and sub-institutional. We argue, and show above, that the particular way in which privatization is manifested across these four levels differs. Based on our multilevel framework of privatization and its manifestations, we use this section to articulate the (1) limitations and tensions within the literature on privatization; (2) five directions for future research based on this synthesis of the literature; and (3) the methodological approaches that we assert will be necessary to advance the literature on privatization, its manifestations and its consequences in the directions outlined here.

Tensions and Limitations Within the Privatization Literature

While there has been a substantial amount of scholarship related to privatization, this research is concentrated in a few areas, or it is not explicitly connected to privatization. The institutional manifestations section highlights the varied levels of empirical inquiry within the privatization literature. For example, the work on research commercialization and enrollment management is considerable, whereas work in other areas, such as state-level governance restructuring and public-private partnerships is more limited. Furthermore, privatization, along with its manifestations (e.g., increased competition, declining state funding, and marketization of financial aid), is frequently used as a way to contextualize research studies in a wide range of areas, particularly research on higher education organizations. However, frequently this work is not explicitly linked back to privatization, such that the literature on privatization as a whole is disjointed. In essence, much of the empirical research on privatization, at least at the organizational level, is studying the manifestations and their consequences, without clearly linking these manifestations back to their source – privatization.

The disjointed nature of this scholarship, in addition to the normalization of privatization, contributed to a tapering off of research that explicitly focused on privatization after the mid- to late-2000s. Ironically, throughout the privatization literature, there are calls for more research, particularly around how privatization is impacting higher education institutions and their stakeholders (e.g., students, faculty, employees, trustees) (e.g., Eckel and Morphew 2009b; Rhoades 2007; Weisbrod et al. 2008). For example, Eckel and Morphew made an explicit call for more research when they argued that "a deeper and more nuanced understanding of how privatization interacts with the organizational structure of public research universities is needed" (Eckel and Morphew 2009a, p. 89). As we show above, even though it is not explicitly focused on privatization per say, research on manifestations and consequences, particularly at the state, institutional, and sub-institutional levels, is ongoing. It is simply that researchers have stopped studying it under the mantle of privatization and instead studied the changing nature of institutional boundaries, faculty work, research commercialization, and so forth. This has resulted, as we will show below, in the identification of a number of frontiers for research on privatization but has left them relatively unexplored.

In addition to its limited nature, the privatization literature lacks conceptual clarity as we argue above. This is partially a result of the focus on manifestations and their consequences as opposed to privatization itself. However, this conceptual murkiness is also a function of the intermingling of terms like commercialization, financialization, corporatization, marketization, and privatization. The comprehensive conceptualizations of privatization do little to improve this ambiguity. Two of these are clearly situated in the privatization literature: Johnstone's (2000) privatization as a tendency on multiple dimensions and Ball and Youdell's (2008) endogenous and exogenous privatization. However, the other two, Weisbrod et al.'s (2008) two-good framework and Slaughter and Rhoades's (2004) academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime, are grounded in larger shifts and tensions that are part of privatization but distinct from the literature on it. Specifically, Weisbrod et al. (2008) focused on the tension between mission and revenues, which is a function of privatization and increased competition, which is a direct result of privatization. Thus, while this is a theory of organizational behavior and how institutions respond to privatization, it is not framed as such. The same is true for academic capitalism. Academic capitalism is a theory of higher education organizations and how they have integrated themselves into the knowledge economy in light of their new and shifting financial constraints (e.g., Kauppinen 2012; Rhoades and Slaughter 1997; Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004; Slaughter and Taylor 2016). The literature on academic capitalism is extensive, exploring these processes at the micro, meso, and macro levels in the United States and across a number of countries (e.g., Barringer et al. 2019; Cantwell 2014; Cantwell and Kauppinen 2014; Mars and Rhoades 2012; McClure 2016; Mendoza 2012; Metcalfe 2010; Taylor et al. 2018). In essence, academic capitalism is a theory of how colleges and universities are navigating privatization, commercialization, and corporatization. Although the bulk of academic capitalism literature is focused on responses to privatization, studies are rarely framed as such, which results in a separation between this literature and research focused on privatization.

Related to this is the question of whether or not privatization is only impacting public universities, which is an implicit tension within the literature, particularly as it relates to institutional-level manifestations. Much of the literature on privatization focuses on public institutions (e.g., Barringer 2016; Cheslock and Gianneschi 2008; Jaquette and Curs 2015). However, privatization at all four levels, particularly the national and sub-institutional level manifestations, cuts across all sectors. Furthermore, a number of the institutional-level manifestations, especially those related to knowledge creation and dissemination, diversification of finances, and changing nature of governance, cut across public and private institutions (e.g., Barringer et al. 2019; Cantwell 2016; Slaughter et al. 2004). We argue that if privatization incorporates change processes like marketization, commercialization, corporatization, and financialization, then privatization cuts across all sectors. However, public and private nonprofit institutions are starting from very different places and, as such, privatization takes different forms among institutions in these two sectors. As Priest et al. (2006a) put it “private universities are by definition already privatized in many ways” and have been for decades or centuries (p. 190). Therefore, they are – and should be – part of the privatization story. They have simply been doing this longer, whereas this is a “new” feature of public higher education.

A second, related tension within this literature is the fact that all institutions, in particular research universities, experience privatization differently. This was addressed most explicitly in our discussion of institutional manifestations above. In light of this, the critical question becomes how we acknowledge such variance but still identify patterns and connect manifestations in ways that reflect a larger trend and broader conceptualization of privatization. As the institutional and sub-institutional manifestations sections above make clear, not all institutions engage in these various behaviors to the same degree, nor are they starting from the same point. For example, outsourcing, a frequently touted manifestation of privatization, “can take a different shape in each institutional situation for each different service area" (Priest et al. 2006a, p. 193). Furthermore, as organizational practices travel and diffuse across a field, their success at each institution is dependent upon the specific context of the institution (Powell et al. 2007). Therefore, while there are commonalities in the manifestations of privatization across institutions, there are also stark differences. The fact that privatization does not take shape in uniform ways creates difficulties in delimiting and describing the phenomenon. This tension necessitates, as we elaborate below, the utilization of both large-N quantitative analyses to understand variation and also case studies and other qualitative research to reveal institutional context and particularities across cases. In addition, to fully understand the nuance and larger trends, this work must be iterative, moving back and forth between the two methods, to generate a body of work that explores the complexity and nuance.

As our discussion of these tensions and limitations suggests, we are explicitly calling for a renewed research agenda focused on privatization, its manifestations, and their consequences within the higher education literature. This return is necessary in order to: (1) fully understand the consequences of privatization for organizational behavior, structures, and decision-making; (2) understand the consequences of inequality within the field between institutions and within institutions between units that results from privatization; and (3) to understand the implications of privatization for people within the institutions as the nature of work and hiring practices have changed for faculty and the barriers to access and equity for students potentially grow. As part of a renewed research agenda, we also call for research that explicitly engages in organizational-level analyses, whether it be work focused on understanding the institutional-level manifestations or multilevel work at both higher (i.e., national and state) or lower (sub-institutional) levels. Privatization is enacted across all four levels, but it is most fundamentally changing the nature of colleges and universities. Therefore, research on the consequences for students or faculty, for example, that does not acknowledge the institutional context of these individuals, or the state policy research that ignores institutional diversity within the states, will fail to fully conceptualize and empirically map the nuance and complexity of privatization. To help develop a renewed research agenda on privatization, we outline future research directions at each level of privatization (national, state, institutional, and sub-institutional), beginning with the need to obtain a better understanding of national policy shifts.

Future Directions: Consequences of National Policy Shifts

As we discussed above, privatization has manifested at the national level in three ways: through the incentivization of commercialization, the privatization of financial aid, and both fostering and not adequately regulating the growth of the for-profit sector of higher education. Within this context there are two avenues for future research that, if undertaken, would further flesh out the role of the federal government in enacting privatization and the consequences of their policies. First, there has been only limited examination of the history and evolution of Sallie Mae and the ways in which it has marketized student loans. Furthermore, there has been scant research on the consequences of the privatization of Sallie Mae and its transition to Navient Corporation. More specifically, it is not clear what role the creation of Sallie Mae played in the growth of student loans compared to grants as a way for the federal government to assist students. A related question centers on how recent programs and policies to help families pay for college, such as tax-exempt college savings accounts, has contributed to market segmentation in higher education (Slaughter and Rhoades 2016). In addition to these specific questions, research on the ways in which federal financial aid relates to inequality between institutions is a ripe area for future research.

The second direction for future research is centered on for-profit higher education institutions. Efforts to regulate for-profit institutions have vacillated. Federal policies in the 1990s created conditions under which for-profit institutions were able to rapidly expand. However, more recent years have seen a wave of for-profit closures as a consequence of federal policies that were put in place to protect students. This begs the question of what the consequences of these closures are, particularly for the historically disadvantaged groups traditionally targeted by for-profit institutions (Cottom 2017). One question that researchers should pursue centers on the experiences of students, faculty, and staff employed at for-profit institutions that close. Moreover, research should also examine the ways in which uncertainty related to the future of for-profit institutions affects the experiences of students currently enrolled in those institutions. Another avenue of research that merits attention is the role of lobbying and partisanship in efforts to regulate for-profit industry. Similar to research on partisanship as it relates to state appropriations, future research should examine how the composition of congress and other political factors relate to policies that either support or seek to regulate the for-profit sector. Although the federal government has been an active player in privatization, too frequently national policies are positioned as context or background. Future research should better uncover national-level manifestations of privatization both as an end in itself and to help us better understand how federal policies influence privatization at the other levels.

Future Directions: Assessment of State Policy Shifts

At the state level, privatization has been manifested in three ways: state disinvestment, the rise of performance-based funding, and governance reforms and private-sector partnerships. Several questions emerged from synthesizing literature on state-level manifestations of privatization. First, although several studies discuss the decentralization of tuition authority (e.g., Kaplan 2009; McLendon and Mokher 2009), little research has evaluated how deregulation has influenced tuition prices for in-state, out-of-state, and graduate students. In another area, there have been many calls for institutions to become more efficient in the wake of state disinvestment, yet the research on cost efficiency in public higher education is scarce, making it difficult to determine if achieving greater efficiencies are possible and in what areas (Titus et al. 2016; Titus et al. 2019). In the same vein, governance reform efforts aimed at decentralization to give institutions greater control over select management functions have not been evaluated to determine if they have been successful in improving cost efficiency and performance. Another direction for future research related to state-level manifestations of privatization revolves around states' efforts to reform certain institutional functions like procurement and encourage private-sector partnerships. Some of these topics require specialized knowledge of state- and system-level governance, which are not topics extensively discussed in the field. Furthermore, there are relatively few researchers who focus on state-level higher education governance, creating a gap in our knowledge that should be addressed in order to more fully understand privatization.

A significant share of recent research on state-level manifestations of privatization examines the diffusion and outcomes of performance-based funding. The volume of recent research on this topic may yield a false sense of saturation. However, questions remain about the ways in which performance-funding encourages competition between institutions along a narrow set of metrics. Moreover, current research has only partially addressed the ways in which performance-based funding differentially impacts institution-types, especially Minority Serving Institutions and regional comprehensive universities (Orphan 2018). As an alternative to performance-based funding, Hillman et al. (2015) advocated that states incentivize equity, and researchers should explore such alternatives to privatization-based policies to determine if they produce more positive effects.

Beyond performance-based funding, some states' interest in performance and reducing waste has led them to consider closing and/or merging institutions (i.e., Georgia and Pennsylvania). Closing and/or merging institutions has not been explicitly connected to privatization, though the practice of merging, acquiring, and closing is common in the private sector. There is reason to examine the relationship between mergers and closures to privatization, as well is a need for more research on the approaches and consequences of institutional mergers and closures. To date, most conversations about institutional mergers have focused on community colleges and regional comprehensive universities, two sectors that educate a disproportionate share of adult, first-generation, low-income, veteran, and minoritized students (Orphan 2018). In sum, the literature on state-level manifestations of privatization has tended to cluster around resources for understandable reasons. However, there are many other facets of privatization that should be examined as part of a renewed research agenda.

Future Directions: Growing Inequality Within the Field of Higher Education

Many of the behaviors institutions are engaging in as they adapt to privatization as the new normal have resulted in increased stratification within and between higher education institutions on a number of dimensions (e.g., resource inequality due to uneven donations or endowment returns or success in research commercialization) (Barringer et al. 2019; Cantwell 2016; Leslie et al. 2012; Rosinger et al. 2016a, b; Taylor et al. 2018; Taylor and Cantwell 2019; Taylor et al. 2016; Volk et al. 2001).

This suggests that not only do these manifestations have consequences for the institutions themselves but also for the field as a whole. However, beyond the increased stratification, and growing potential for increased stratification as these practices continue to spread throughout the field, we know little about the organizational field level implications of privatization. Therefore, we suggest two directions for future research that can help address this limitation within the literature.

First, does privatization result in greater homogeneity or greater differentiation within the field of higher education? Eckel and Morphew (2009b) argued that mimicry should increase across public institutions as privatization takes hold. However, there is also acknowledgment that those institutions with specialized niches or missions may choose to further differentiate. Empirical investigations of this have, to date, been limited. Recent work by Harris and Ellis (2019) showed that institutional diversity is decreasing as the field homogenizes due to the number of niche schools declining and institutions pursuing similar paths over time (e.g., expansion of doctoral programs and increasing enrollment). However, Barringer (2016) found that there is growing differentiation in public college and university revenue profiles between 1986 and 2010; therefore, evidence across behaviors is mixed. Research that expands on this work to explore differentiation or homogenization of higher education institutions within the field as a whole will help to address this gap. Particularly of interest is research that incorporates differences in the manifestations and starting points of privatization across institutions (Hearn 2006; Hirsch 1999). Addressing this limitation in the current literature would allow us to ascertain the impact of privatization on institutional diversity which has frequently been touted as one of the key strengths of the US higher education system (Harris 2013).

Second, it is clear from the literature on institutional manifestations that not all institutions are poised to respond to, or take advantage of, privatization, which has significant consequences for the relative success of and stratification between institutions. For example, Hearn (2006) argued that research universities are in the best position to take advantage of alternative revenue streams and, therefore, benefit from resource diversification. Eckel and Morphew argue that "those institutions best positioned to benefit will likely be the diversified, entrepreneurial universities that already have a reputation and track record of financial success" (Eckel and Morphew 2009b, p. 188). This can even be seen in the research on university athletics wherein the increase in commercialization and marketization of athletics is shown to have differential effects across universities in different divisions and with different sports (Cheslock and Knight 2015; Weisbrod et al. 2008). However, empirical studies in this area are lacking.

As a result of these differences, privatization has and likely will continue to benefit all organizations in unequal ways. This is clear in the scholarship on research commercialization, where the benefits are heavily concentrated within a handful of institutions. For example, the majority of licensing revenues came from a handful of institutions, and at those institutions, it was only a small number of licenses that generated the bulk of these revenues (Powers 2006). In fact, the technology transfer offices at most universities "barely break even" (Powell et al. 2007, p. 128). This inequality is also evident in donations and endowment revenues, where accumulated advantage is the rule (Cantwell 2016; Cheslock and Gianneschi 2008). However, more research is needed on the extent to which stratification is increasing between and within groups of institutions, such as those defined by sector (e.g., public institutions) or institutional type (e.g., research universities) (Taylor and Cantwell 2019). We know there is significant potential for increased stratification across universities as inequality has grown in certain areas of these institutions.

Future Directions: Changing Internal and External Dynamics

In addition to reaching a greater understanding of the changing stratification within the field of higher education institutions the research on institutional manifestations section also suggests four additional directions for future research at the institutional level. First, a number of researchers have warned that privatization can unbalance institutions, or to put it another way, cause them to start pursuing socially undesirable behaviors (Hearn 2006; Hirsch 1999; Weisbrod et al. 2008). The implicit recognition that these statements make is that revenues drive behaviors and missions as has been demonstrated in the nonprofit finance literature (e.g., Fischer et al. 2011; Froelich 1999). There has been concern about this within the higher education literature in the work on institutional diversity and academic or mission drift (Barringer and Jaquette 2018; Harris 2013; Harris and Ellis 2019; Jaquette 2013; Morgan 1998). However, we know little about if and how privatization is leading to drift within these institutions, and perhaps more interestingly how this differs across institutional sectors and types. Addressing this limitation in the literature would provide empirical evidence on two central questions about the impacts of privatization, specifically (1) does it lead to homogenization or differentiation across universities and (2) has the new normal of privatization fundamentally altered the nature and conditions (e.g., changed the level of competition, increased institutional stratification) of the organizational field of higher education as a whole. Ascertaining answers to both of these questions, while also important in their own right, has the added benefit of laying the foundation for better understanding the consequences of privatization for students, faculty, and the other key stakeholders of higher education which we elaborate on in more detail below.

Understanding how these changes have affected the internal structure and stratification of colleges and universities is an additional direction for future research. It has been widely acknowledged within the literature that a number of these behaviors, in particular research commercialization and changes in both academic structure and internal resource allocations, have privileged certain departments over others with those departments that are already successful usually receiving preference (Pfeffer and Salancik 1974; Powell et al. 2007; Rosinger et al. 2016a; Slaughter 1993; Taylor et al. 2013; Volk et al. 2001). There is also inequality in the extent to which different academic units are utilizing contingent faculty (Hurlburt and McGarrah 2017a; Weisbrod et al. 2008). These differences are due to variations in the proximity of units to the market, potentials for research patents, and administrator preferences (Hearn 2007; Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004). However, the individual faculty and departments also have agency in this, these units and those within them can make different decisions on privatization activities that they wish to engage in (St. John and Priest 2006). However, we know very little about why academic units choose to engage in certain behaviors but not others. Addressing this limitation by studying academic units and their decision-making structures would help us to obtain a better understanding of the role of faculty, department chairs, and deans in the process of privatization and in so doing help us to understand the mechanisms by which this impacts academic structures and behaviors as well as the internal stratification of universities.

We also do not have a clear understanding of the impact this increased within-institution stratification has for these institutions, which suggests a third future direction for research. Specifically, we know a number of the factors that have led to increased internal stratification (e.g., Gumport 2000; Pfeffer and Salancik 1974), but have less understanding of the consequences or effects of stratification. For example, what is the impact of the increased stratification between units (i.e., departments or colleges and schools) within universities having on the culture and structure of these institutions? Is the structure becoming even more loosely coupled and are some units become more tightly coupled as they are facing increasing hierarchies around them? Does this create tensions within the existing cultures of these institutions? Is the culture within the institution overall changing to accommodate these shifts or is there a proliferation of subcultures? Does this increase the complexity of governance within these institutions? If so how? Research that addresses these questions, and others, about the consequences of these increasing inequalities will address the impact of this shift for the conditions of work faced by those within these institutions and that have the potential to impact faculty retention, student culture, and the nature of academic work.

It is also clear from the research above that privatization has fundamentally, at least for a number of institutions, altered the boundaries of these organizations both shifting and expanding them (Barringer and Slaughter 2016; Gumport and Snydman 2006; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004). However, as with the increased internal stratification, we do not have a clear sense of what these boundary shifts mean for the structure and governance of these institutions. For example, how have the trustee connections outlined above changed the nature of the governance and policies of these institutions, if at all? How much do these boundary shifts vary across institutions and what does that mean for differences in the governance of different institutional types? Is there a point at which these organizations will become too big, diverse, and unwieldy for effective governance? Does this vary depending on the institutional mission or type of the organizations? Addressing some of these questions will allow us to better ascertain the consequences of privatization, and again more clearly articulate the mechanisms by which it is influencing various aspects of university behaviors. This, while useful in its own right, again also lays the foundation for obtaining a better understanding of the impacts of these changes wrought by privatization on the individuals and stakeholders of these institutions which we turn to next.

Future Directions: Implications for Constituents Within Higher Education Institutions

There are also implications for the individuals within these institutions that remain underexplored. We first address the implications for access, equity, and student-level inequality before turning to the implications for faculty. It is important to, within both of these strands, recognize and incorporate the institutional level because, as we argue and show above, privatization looks different both across and within institutions therefore it is necessary to account for these organizational-level differences as we study the impact of privatization on students, faculty and other groups.

A number of scholars have argued that privatization is, or has the potential, to increase barriers to access and decrease equity for students (Eckel and Morphew 2009b; Hossler 2006; St. John and Priest 2006). For example, as McDonough and Fann put it "with the spread of privatization, resources information, and cultural capital are accumulated further by those who already have them, admissions criteria become more demanding as wealth students receive assistance and coaching, and equality of college opportunities becomes further out of reach" (McDonough and Fann 2007, p. 84). Jaquette and Curs (2015) have shown that declining state appropriations leads to increased recruitment of out-of-state students which could decrease access for in-state students. Posselt et al. (2012) showed that admissions selectivity increased between 1972 and 2004, such that despite increasing levels of preparedness, racial inequality has been maintained in selective college enrollments during this period. Despite these arguments and evidence, we still lack a complete picture of how privatization is impacting student access, equity, and on a distinct but related note, the quality of the education they are receiving that these institutions. Further research in this area that more clearly explicates the mechanisms by which privatization is impacting institutional financial aid, selectivity criteria, student recruitment, the availability of educational offerings, as well as their delivery and quality would allow us to ascertain the effects of privatization on one of the key stakeholders of higher education institutions, students.

Faculty have also been affected by privatization, specifically as we discussed above in terms of the nature of their work and in hiring practices in both the institutional and sub-institutional manifestation sections above (Eckel and Morphew 2009a; Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Slaughter et al. 2004). However, despite this work, there are still a number of questions that remain about how privatization is manifested in the working conditions and lives of faculty. For example, we lack a full understanding of the nature of the lives of part-time and contingent faculty and how this relates to the lives of full-time faculty, as well as the relationships between these groups (Rhoades 2007). We also know little about "how faculty collectively wield and resist the exercise of power at the level of departments, colleges, universities and municipal or state systems of higher education institutions" (Rhoades 2007, p. 123). This means we have only a minimal understanding of how faculty are internalizing, adapting (or not) to the new normal of privatization, and what this means for how they conceptualize their work (Rhoades 2007). Furthermore, picking up on another theme from above, we do not have a good sense of how privatization has impacted the nature of faculty work outside of research universities. Much of the work on faculty has focused on these institutions; however, as we note above, privatization looks very different across different institutional types so focusing on faculty at other types of institutions could fill a fundamental gap in the literature on how privatization impacts the nature of faculty work.

Methodological Innovations

As we make an explicit call to return to research in this area, and outline the future directions above, we also want to highlight the various methodological approaches used to date in this work and suggest three methodological approaches that will be particularly helpful in reinvigorating research on privatization.

Overall, there have been a variety of methods utilized to study both privatization and its various manifestations. These fall into three broad camps. First, and perhaps unsurprisingly, the work that focuses on the financial manifestations, as well as much of the state-level manifestations, utilizes quantitative research techniques and frequently, though not always, relies on available secondary data, such as the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), the Beginning Postsecondary Students (BPS) Study, and the National Postsecondary Student Aid Study (NPSAS) (e.g., Barringer 2016; Jaquette and Curs 2015; Posselt et al. 2012). A second methodological strand within this work is quantitative research that either relies exclusively or in part on original data collection. This includes, for example, a number of the articles cited above that explore trustees' connections and their impacts on the behavior of research universities (e.g., Mathies and Slaughter 2013; Slaughter et al. 2014), the work on the role of foundations (McClure et al. 2017b), and the research on internal resource allocations within institutions (e.g., Pfeffer and Salancik 1974; Volk et al. 2001). The third and final methodological strand in this literature is the qualitative work, usually using case studies or comparative case studies (qualitative and quantitative), which relies on a variety of types of data including, but not limited to, interviews, document analysis, and historical analysis (e.g., Gumport 1993; Rosinger et al. 2016b; Slaughter et al. 2004).

While these three methodological strands have added a richness and diversity of perspectives to the research on privatization, we argue that to address the future directions for research in this area different approaches will also need to be incorporated. Specifically, based on the future directions for research outlined above, and the current state of the literature, we advocate for the utilization of four methodological approaches in the future research on this area: (1) mixed methods research techniques, (2) relational approaches, (3) methods that focus on capturing variation within populations, and (4) research using causal inference. We discuss each in turn below. This is of course not to say that other approaches are also not warranted (e.g., exclusively qualitative work) but rather that based on the directions for future research we outline above these four approaches would be particularly useful.

First, more research on privatization that combines qualitative and quantitative methods, either as part of a single paper or within a single project that results in a body of work across multiple papers, allows for the iterative nature of these methods to complement and enhance each other. Mixed methods research such as this would allow for the investigation of both the breadth of behaviors (e.g., via a quantitative analysis of a large group of institutions) and the depth (e.g., exploring a small subset of cases from the larger analysis in some depth), which is necessary for exploring and understanding complex phenomena such as privatization. This complexity is difficult to capture using either exclusively quantitative or exclusively qualitative approaches.

Second, we also call for more research that capitalizes on the fundamentally interrelated process of privatization and the interconnectedness both of organizations (both higher education institutions and those they are related to outside of higher education (e.g., state governments, corporations, ANPOs)) and levels (e.g., state policy impacts institutions and institutions impact state policy). In order to account for and empirically evaluate these connections, a methodological approach that is specifically designed to see these patterns, such as social network analysis, is needed. Both qualitative (e.g., Barringer and Riffe 2018) and quantitative (e.g., McClure et al. 2017b; Metcalfe 2006) social network analyses conceptualize and map these relationships and their impact. This is useful to utilize for a topic such as privatization where the connections between institutions are increasingly central to understanding the dynamics at play within the field and also within institutions. However, even beyond the specific techniques of analysis, this approach and its associated literature and theories, which focus on the position of organizations and individuals within a field or web of connections (e.g., Biancani and McFarland 2013; Burt 1992; Granovetter 1985), is useful as we seek to better conceptualize the changing boundaries, interrelationships, and cross-level interactions of the forces and manifestations of privatization.

Third, we suggest using methods that are specifically designed to capture variation within a population and parse that out in meaningful ways, such as cluster analysis, latent class analysis, or multilevel latent class analysis. Given the variation in the ways in which universities are engaging in privatization, traditional quantitative techniques that focus on averages are problematic as they are not ideal for understanding populations that contain distinct subpopulations. These traditional methods, of course, can be adapted to study this in various ways through interactions and comparisons across a series of regression models for different groups of institutions (e.g., Leslie et al. 2012; Taylor et al. 2018). However, utilizing techniques such as latent class analysis and cluster analysis (e.g., Barringer et al. 2019; Barringer 2016; Rosinger et al. 2016b; Taylor and Cantwell 2019) allow researchers to empirically determine the specific groups within a larger population based on factors of interest and then analyze those groups as distinct subpopulations thus capitalizing on the variation within the population while not losing the ability to engage in quantitative work and the benefits that this can entail.

Fourth, we propose that privatization research use more techniques that infer causation (e.g., instrumental variable and difference-in-differences regression, and synthetic control methods). The literature indicates that, although quantitative studies of institutional or state finances are common, there has been limited application of techniques that show how one variable causes a particular effect. In fact, some have questioned whether state disinvestment is responsible for tuition increases precisely due to the lack of causal research designs (Cooper 2017). Webber's (2017) study of tuition pass-through rates provides an example of how causal research designs can respond to such critiques and provide empirical evidence of how privatization affects institutions and various constituents. There is room for causal research to help establish the influence between levels of privatization and the effects of privatization on various constituents.

In short, our synthesis of this disparate and complex literature points to a number of limitations but also opens up a number of directions for future research. These future directions of research that we have outlined on privatization, as well as our call to engage in work that is focused on, or accounts for, the organizational-level, clearly establish the need for additional research in this area.

Conclusion

The collective discourse that has addressed privatization in higher education is comprised of a rich array of participants who have penned thoughtfully diverse pieces for nearly three decades. This group includes scholars of sociology, education, and other social scientists that have empirically examined its various manifestations, humanities scholars concerned about the type of citizen higher education produces, economists who have evaluated its diffusion of policies and return on investment, university executives confronted with securing sufficient financial resources, policymakers tasked with the responsibility of ensuring efficient monetary oversight, and alumni who mortgaged their future in order to shoulder the consistently rising price of postsecondary tuition. In this chapter, we have attempted to capture the rich complexity of the privatization literature while simultaneously bringing its disjointed diversity into a more coherent whole with our multilevel framework.

Through our multilevel framework, we acknowledged broader economic, political, and sociocultural forces that catalyzed the privatization of higher education. The changes, that commenced in the final decades of the twentieth century, were preceded by five historical eras whereby each progressively strengthened differences between the public and private sectors of higher education. Moreover, these changes were brought about by four distinct processes – commercialization, corporatization, financialization, and marketization – that interact with one another in a dynamic manner within and across multiple levels of manifestations and analysis. While prior studies on privatization advanced our understanding of a specific national, state, institutional, or sub-institutional level, our multilevel framework highlights that the embedded nature of these multiple levels collectively comprise a broader interrelated organizational ecosystem that more accurately reflects the complexity and diversity of this phenomenon occurring in US higher education.

Greater understanding often presents greater opportunities for action, and we responded, in kind, with opportunistic calls for scholars and practitioners act at multiple levels through research, policy creation, and local practice. We underscored that collective and coordinated actions across multiple levels of society will begin to help confront the increasing inequality that exists among institutional types, particularly in areas of donations, endowment returns, research commercialization, and alternative revenue streams. The pervasive financial disparity – whether among institutions or individuals – is not a sustainable position to maintain one of the most notable strengths of the US system of higher education, its diversity. Such resource inequalities can only persist for a given period of time before their deleterious effects become more widespread. We hope that a further understanding of the complexity of privatization prompts further action in the form of research, policy creation, and practice to address this pressing matter.

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Kevin R. McClureis an Associate Professor of Higher Education in the Department of Educational Leadership at the University of North Carolina Wilmington. His research focuses on higher education administration, finance, and management. Recent studies examine fundraising, public-private partnerships, and public regional universities. His work can be found in *The Journal of Higher Education*, *Research in Higher Education*, *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, *Journal of Student Financial Aid*, and *Philanthropy & Education*.

Sondra N. Barringeris an Assistant Professor of Higher Education in the Department of Educational Policy and Leadership at Southern Methodist University. Her work focuses on understanding the interrelationships of higher education organizations and the implications of these connections for institutional policy, finances, and the organization and governance of these organizations. Her work can be found in *The Journal of Higher Education*, *Community College Review*, *Scientometrics*, and *Innovative Higher Education.*

Joshua Travis. Brownis an Instructor of Higher Education in the Department of Educational Leadership, Foundations, and Policy at the University of Virginia. His present vein of research was supported by the National Science Foundation to examine the strategies that tuition-driven institutions leverage to financially sustain themselves in an increasingly competitive resource environment. He is past Editor of *Research & Practice in Assessment*, and his work can be found in a diverse array of outlets including *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice*, *Journal of American College Health*, *Social Forces*, *Teacher's College Record*, *Change*, and *Journal of College Student Psychotherapy.*