IT'S A SHIT SHOW, AND IT'S FINE: THE PRACTICE OF SYMBOLIC NONVIOLENCE

IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN 2020

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to educators who believe they are making the world a better place and to those who have momentarily lost their way.

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And thank you to Richard Waters who pushed the theory of symbolic violence into a new realm, one that coincided with my timely interest in nonviolence.

ABSTRACT

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The purpose of this study is to understand the ways in which COVID-19 created or exposed inequities among faculty and students in the context of higher education in 2020. In-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 22 faculty who taught during the Fall 2020 semester. Data was analyzed using a post-qualitative method of plugging theory into data. The term symbolic nonviolence was developed to describe the practice of healing inequities exacerbated or revealed by COVID-19 in the higher education classroom. Findings suggest that faculty and students of low socioeconomic status were similarly affected by the pandemic. Inequities experienced by students during the pandemic in the United States were caused by the interaction of COVID, identity, and participation in higher education classes. Immediate effects of such inequities were low grades, plagiarism, or disappearing from class. Faculty supported students by practicing three types of symbolic nonviolence: non-academic support, academic adjustments, and disciplinary superpowers. These symbolic nonviolence practices increased communication and social support for students, provided services that institutions were unable to provide, identified and remediated students who were suffering academically, adjusted academic expectations to be more suitable to pandemic learning, and taught students how to transform the world around them using tools unique to their academic disciplines. Although providing additional student support increased suffering for faculty, these symbolic nonviolence practices have the potential to change academic norms beyond COVID pandemic times.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Only when it is dark enough, can you see the stars.

—King, *I've Been to the Mountaintop*

Higher education is the portal to creating the future we dream of. For some. The ability to transcend socioeconomically depends on who we are and how close our vision of the world is to the one that already exists. A college degree is more likely to be a ticket to social mobility for those in the top socioeconomic (SES) quartile than those in the bottom (A. Kelly 2014). Universities and colleges are factories that reproduce the culture that legitimizes them (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). College degrees are vocationalized and thus have a role in the market economy, turning academic capital into economic capital (Bourdieu 1984a; Giroux 1999; Moodie 2008; Maclean and Pavlova 2013; McMillan Cottom 2017). Social capital is a currency for economic capital that sustains the dominant culture. In other words, oppression is taught in higher education classrooms (HEC) through the reinforcement of the dominant social capital. Bourdieu (1972) referred to this process as symbolic violence (SV). When the dominant culture maintains the oppression of some groups, we must look to legitimate institutions of cultural reproduction to learn how SV occurs and, most importantly, how it can be changed.

Higher education faced many challenges in 2020. COVID-19 hit the United States in the spring of 2020, and universities and colleges suddenly shifted classes online. Many campuses

closed, but faculty were still teaching from their homes to students in their homes. This created challenges because institutions provide many space-based supports for college students, particularly those from low SES. Students no longer had access to computers and the internet through the university. They also lost access in many cases to medical care, advising, tutoring and writing support, and social support. Some students lost jobs and had to find new means of employment, which often meant working more than one job and longer hours. Childcare centers closed, and students had to balance taking care of children while working and attending classes. In some cases the pandemic, coupled with the responsibilities of attending college classes, exacerbated or created SV. In other cases the inequities were always there, and the pandemic and loss of institutional supports simply revealed them.

In the midst of the unfolding of the pandemic, on May 25 the televised murder of George Floyd by a police officer catalyzed what some regard as the largest civil rights movement in history (Buchanan, Bui, and Patel 2020). Black Lives Matter protests occurred in cities nationwide. Meanwhile, the 2020 presidential election worsened racial tension as Americans were divided and those with differing identities and ideologies were weaponized against each other (Hoskin 2020).

This was the landscape of 2020. The U.S. economy was barely staying afloat from makeshift dining room offices and donut shop parking lots. Traumas from death, sickness, unemployment, racism, and politically divided communities were multi-layered and compounding. As the mechanization of higher education was outsourced to individual homes, the responsibility for student success rested heavily on the shoulders of faculty.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

It is in this context that this study examines SV and the role of faculty in higher education. The original goal of this study was to explore the role of classroom assessments in SV in 2020.

The study hinged on my assumption that faculty had major weight-bearing final assessments in their classes that held symbolic weight. I wanted to study the ways in which these assessments might have contributed to or ameliorated SV. My original research questions (RQs) were as follows:

1. In what ways is symbolic violence expressed in the administration of higher education classroom assessments during the pandemics of 2020?

2. Are some types of assessment less likely to produce symbolic violence at this time than others?

As I began conducting interviews, I realized that few faculty still administered large weight-bearing assignments. Admittedly, it had been a few years since I had taught a university course. The current pedagogical school of thought is that students are more likely to succeed when the weight of the course grade is distributed among many assignments over the course of the semester rather than one big assessment at the end. I realized that my original RQs were not valid.

Additionally, I realized that asking faculty about the SV that they were imparting on students was SV. I would have been prescribing the effects of their teaching. Around the same time, I found a study on symbolic non-violence by Waters (2017) about undoing the effects of SV in learning spaces. I began to realize that I wanted to learn about the nonviolence and healing that was happening in higher education amidst the suffering of 2020. When I made these realizations, I shifted my RQs to the following:

RQ1: What symbolic violence was present in higher education in 2020?

RQ2: How did symbolic violence impact students and faculty?

RQ3: What symbolic nonviolence practices were used by faculty in 2020 to lessen symbolic violence for students?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study uses a theoretical framework comprised of Bourdieu's (1972) theory of SV, King's (1958) fourth principle of Kingian nonviolence, and Waters' (2017) concept of symbolic non-violence. While often thought to be a deterministic theory applicable only to late twentieth century France, Bourdieu (1984b:xiv) created SV through a structuralist constructivist theoretical construct. He viewed it as a societal structure that predetermines human action, but one that we are in the process of making and unmaking all the time. This means that Bourdiesian reality can be transformed. King (1958) also believed that society can be transformed through love and suffering. Waters' (2017) expanded Bourdieu's theory of SV to what he called symbolic non-violence to describe the healing practices of teachers at Australian alternative schools. Applying King's (1958) definition that nonviolence requires intentional suffering for transformation, I removed the hyphen to create a new term, symbolic nonviolence (SNV). SNV is the intentional and systemic practice of recognizing and absorbing SV in order to lessen SV on others and change the habitus. In essence, SNV practices make efforts to stop the reproduction of oppression in the HEC, giving all students more opportunities to actualize their academic dreams.

SIGNIFICANCE

Through in-depth interviews with 22 faculty members who were teaching during the pandemic in 2020, this study examines SV as experienced by faculty and students and the SNV practices developed by faculty as a response. Jackson and Mazzei's (2012) method of thinking with theory allowed the flattening of the theory, the data, the context of 2020, as well as the student and faculty experience of SV to reveal inequities exposed by the pandemic. In as unique a time and context as teaching in the HEC in the United States in 2020, it was crucial to use a method that explored the interaction of these contexts.

In some cases, SV was caused by the pandemic, and in other cases the pandemic simply exposed inequities that were already there. Whereas SV has been applied in the literature as something that is a result of the actions of educators or administrators, in this study it is caused by the pandemic (Shannon and Escamilla 1999; Herr 2005; Cushion and Jones 2006; Toshalis 2010; Scott 2012; Adams-Romena 2013; Watson and Widin 2015; Coles 2016; Khanal 2017; McGillicuddy and Devine 2017; Nairz-Wirth, Feldmann, and Spiegl 2017; Archera et al. 2018; Gast 2018; Marsh 2018; Cooley 2019). This study addresses a gap that previously existed in the literature on the application of Bourdieu's (1972) theory of SV in the HEC. It also looks at SV as it is experienced by both faculty and students. The use of SV here is also unique in that it is a tool for transformation; in this study the recognition of SV is the starting point for the development of SNV practices that heal and transform SV. In doing so, this study expands on Waters' (2017) development of the concept of symbolic non-violence practices in educational spaces.

DEFINITIONS

Blue Hair Pedagogy (BPH): A symbolic nonviolence practice in which a faculty member lessens suffering for students by sharing their own vulnerability.

Domination: The reproduction of power by a dominant culture through symbolic capital and nonviolence (Bourdieu 1972).

Faculty: In this study, faculty refers to full-time or adjunct instructors at colleges and universities.

Habitus: The maintenance of a dominant group by covert social norms (Bourdieu 1972). Bourdieu (1984a:168) described habitus as "an alchemy which transforms the distribution of capital, the balance-sheet of a power relations, into a system of perceived differences, distinctive properties, that is, a distribution of symbolic capital, legitimate capital, whose objective truth is misrecognized."

Higher Education Classroom (HEC): Face-to-face or virtual teaching environment at the college or university level.

Misrecognition: Not realizing one's complicity in the reproduction of oppression (Bourdieu 1972).

Non-violence: The absence of suffering.

Nonviolence: Nonviolence without a hyphen indicates that nonviolence is not passive. Rather, it is the relief of suffering through the acceptance of suffering.

Oppression: Oppression is the Freirean term for Bourdieu's "domination." (Freire 1990; Burawoy 2019).

Recognition: The awareness of the actions that lead to the reproduction of dominant groups (Bourdieu 1990; Waters 2017).

Socioeconomic Status (SES): The social class or economic status of an individual or group.

Symbolic Non–violence: Symbolic non- violence as defined by Waters (2017) begins with recognition of symbolic violence to employ teaching practices that empower students to construct their social environment. This includes teacher reflection, student-centered assignments, authentic relationships between teachers and students, and non-violent communication.

Symbolic Nonviolence (SNV): The intentional and systematic practice of recognizing and absorbing SV in order to lessen the SV on others and change the habitus.

Symbolic Nonviolence Teaching Practices: Academic and non-academic actions taken by the instructor in the learning environment to heal the impact of symbolic violence for one or more students.

Symbolic Violence (SV): The invisible enforcement of the social rules of the habitus that perpetuates the reproduction of the dominant culture and is felt as oppression by those who were not born into the dominant habitus (Bourdieu 1972).

STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

In Chapter 2, I discuss in greater detail the theories that form the theoretical framework of this study: SV, nonviolence, symbolic non-violence, and SNV. I also give an overview of the literature on studies that have applied SV in education. Included in this chapter are additional concepts important to the field of the sociology of higher education, which forms the foundation of this study.

Chapter 3 details the methodology used to conduct this study. This includes a detailed description of the analytical questions I applied as well as justification of the procedures included in the post-qualitative method developed by Jackson and Mazzei (2012). I explain the theoretical construct that is revealed by applying Bourdieu's (1972) theories to the data. Also included in this chapter is my positionality as a researcher and description of the context and participants.

The theoretical analysis questions are applied to the data in Chapter 4. Here I apply each of the three analytical questions to the data. I pull quotes from the data set and analyze them through the lens of Bourdieu's (1972) SV, King's (1958) nonviolence, and through my working definition of SNV. Although expanded from Waters (2017) symbolic non-violence, SNV as I define it in this work is a new term. Thus, I developed a set of sub-analysis questions to test SNV and analyze the data in-depth for the third analysis question, which explores the SNV practices found in the data.

Chapter 5 summarizes the findings in the context of the theoretical framework and key literature. It is also in this chapter that I discuss the implications that this study has for the future of higher education and faculty. Included here are limitations of the study and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter defines the foundational theories of this study, namely SV and adjacent Bourdieusian concepts. SV is a phenomenon that occurs in all facets of social life. Cultural reproduction, however, is especially effective in institutions that are legitimized by the state such as institutions of higher education. Studies of SV in K-12 education have traced the effect of teaching practices on student success (Shannon and Escamilla 1999; Herr 2005; Cushion and Jones 2006; Toshalis 2010; Scott 2012; Adams-Romena 2013; Coles 2016; Khanal 2017; McGillicuddy and Devine 2017; Archera et al. 2018; Gast 2018; Marsh 2018; Cooley 2019). Some studies also found connections between SV and college retention (Watson and Widin 2015; Nairz-Wirth, Feldmann, and Spiegl 2017). This chapter also explores Waters' (2017) advancement of the theory of SV further by coining the term symbolic non-violence to refer to teaching practices that help under-represented students succeed. This chapter introduces my adaptation of Waters' (2017) symbolic non-violence to symbolic nonviolence to incorporate concepts from Kingian nonviolence. Also included in this chapter is the role of higher education faculty in the reproduction of SV, as faculty are situated within the habitus to reproduce or transform it. This chapter introduces the literature on critical incidents and how they connect SV, higher education instruction, the faculty role, and the pandemic of 2020. Chapter 3 details how this was approached with the methodology of Jackson and Mazzei (2012). Chapter 4 analyzes how the pandemic revealed inequities, increased recognition, and created opportunities for faculty to apply SNV.

Bourdieu's theory of SV has been successfully used in education as a tool to observe how oppression is reproduced (Shannon and Escamilla 1999; Herr 2005; Cushion and Jones 2006; Toshalis 2010; Scott 2012; Adams-Romena 2013; Watson and Widin 2015; Coles 2016; Khanal

2017; McGillicuddy and Devine 2017; Nairz-Wirth et al. 2017; Archera et al. 2018; Gast 2018; Marsh 2018; Cooley 2019). Oppression is reproduced through the maintenance of a habitus that shapes and is shaped by society through covert social norms (Bourdieu 1972). A class theory at its core, Bourdieu (1984a) posited that the role of the habitus is to transform economic capital into symbolic capital. While SV was developed to analyze French culture in the 1960s, dominant classes have been historically advantaged and tend to have greater influence in societies worldwide. A dominant habitus often adheres to racial, class, gender, and other identity-driven structures. People receive positive social capital in the habitus for behavior that supports the dominant norms, or doxa. Bourdieu (1972) referred to the legitimizing of the habitus through reinforcing behavior as orthodoxy. Acts of heterodoxy, or going against the doxa, bring about negative social capital. The invisible enforcement of these social rules for the purpose of reproducing the dominant culture is SV. This process is concealed by misrecognition, or not realizing one's complicity in the reproduction of oppression (Bourdieu 1972). Knowing how to exist in one's social circle is often misrecognized (Bourdieu 1984a). While it has been argued that the theory of SV is too determinist to enact positive change, many educational researchers have successfully used it as a tool to study the ways that oppression is reproduced in modern educational spaces (Shannon and Escamilla 1999; Herr 2005; Cushion and Jones 2006; Toshalis 2010; Scott 2012; Adams-Romena 2013; Watson and Widin 2015; Coles 2016; Khanal 2017; McGillicuddy and Devine 2017; Nairz-Wirth et al. 2017; Archera et al. 2018; Gast 2018; Marsh 2018; Cooley 2019). This study employs and pushes beyond the theory of SV to observe the ways in which barriers to academic success have been lessened by faculty in 2020.

SV during the pandemic is the same as the above definition in that people have suffered academically due to structural barriers either from pandemic limitations or from practices or policies imposed by institutions. However, the SV gap was wider in the pandemic. And SV

during the pandemic was different because there was an increase of recognition. People were more aware of the increased hardship because we were all going through it together.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VIOLENCE AND SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE

Educational studies conducted before 2020 saw Bourdieu's SV as "a mainstream setting which seems to be stacked against [students] in the form of school rules, structures, relationships and cultural practices" (Waters 2017:27). However, studying SV in 2020 while every U.S. citizen was affected by the pandemic and by the racial reckoning forces us to look at SV differently. College students' limited access to resources such as time due to an increase in work hours or lack of childcare meant that adhering to the requirements of university life, especially while not on campus, amplified SV. Those without resources to participate in virtual school were also more disadvantaged than before. There was a dearth of cognitive resources as people mourned the loss of loved ones and feared getting sick. People of color reported experiencing secondary trauma each time the murder of George Floyd was replayed on the news (Flowers and Wan 2020). Burawoy (2019) said that it is impossible to misrecognize the SV that occurs in the university due to the obvious influence of capitalism on the university system. I want to extend this sentiment to the time we are living in now in which pandemic-magnified inequities and racism are widely recognized. This does not change the impact of SV, but it does change the way the concept is worked with, leading to the expansion of the concept into SNV, which I elaborate on later.

Webb, Schirato, and Danaher (2002) identified a connection between violence and SV. Those who are systematically oppressed are more likely to experience actual violence in the way they are treated or in the lack of resources. This becomes SV when the subject rationalizes that they deserve inequality. This justification of systemic oppression is misrecognition. In this study we see this particularly in faculty who are adjunct status or seeking tenure. There is a desire to stay in the favor of the university so that they will eventually be granted more permanent

employment, even if it means unhealthy working conditions, which may include risking exposure to COVID. The pandemic inflicts violence on both faculty and students, and faculty accept the violence to keep their jobs or get eventual permanent employment status. This justification of teaching more classes or providing resources or services for students that the institution would have normally provided is an example of misrecognition. Faculty think that if they keep teaching and producing research and doing service, no matter how many students they are assigned to teach, that they will be seen as worthy of the academy. This internalization of success during a pandemic is SV.

This affects faculty as much as it does students. Both students and faculty are juggling work, childcare, and the structures of the higher education institution—demands that are intensified in the pandemic. Waters (2017:30) wrote, "institutions and systems tend to reinforce themselves," and we see this when universities lay off faculty, increase course sizes, and keep administrative organizational charts the same while faculty and students suffer.

SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE

The K-12 field provides many instances of how SV has been used as a theoretical framework to show how dominant culture is reproduced in education. For example, Khanal (2017) interviewed Yogmaya, a Nepalese girl in the eighth grade whose family moved to Kathmandu from the Nepalese countryside. After just 10 months of moving to the new urban school, Yogmaya dropped out. Through field interviews and inductive coding, Khanal (2017) determined that her exit was motivated by SV enacted through her experiences in school. The books, teaching, and classroom activities were not accessible from her habitus. In the interviews, Yogmaya shared her surprise that the same teaching methods were applied to all students. Eventually, all of Yogmaya's experiences led to her inability to pass the final test, which led to her dropping out of school. This study illustrates how teaching practices can culminate the

dominant habitus and create a moment of reckoning for students who are made to feel that they do not belong.

Gast (2018) used SV to identify disparities between the treatment of advantaged and working-class Black students in an urban high school. She interviewed 44 self-identified Black students and their teachers and counselors (Gast 2018). The data was coded into conceptual themes and found that both advantaged and working-class Black students acknowledged that the working-class Black students were treated more authoritatively by teachers in class than the privileged students, which illustrates SV being enacted on students from a different habitus to reproduce the dominant culture. The privileged students said it was because the working-class students were not trying hard enough, which is their misrecognition of the SV.

A similar misrecognition was observed in a study of coaches for a children's soccer team. Through participant observation and interviews conducted over 10 months, Cushion and Jones (2006) identified domination through discourse structures and capital assigned by the coaches. Those who were accepted by the coaches earned positive social capital through affirming terms and language and increased play time, and those who were labeled "rejects" by the coaches had fewer opportunities to play, were less likely to get a professional soccer contract, and were verbally abused by the coaches. The coaches were interviewed, and the data was organized using grounded theory, classified to describe coach-player interaction, and then applied to the theoretical framework of SV. The researchers found that the coaches considered their methods necessary for player success. Cushion and Jones (2006) classified this as misrecognition.

Several studies have used SV to trace a relationship between race, class, and tracking, or assigning students to remedial academic ranks (McGillicuddy and Devine 2017; Archera et al. 2018; Gast 2018; Cooley 2019). School policies about tracking lead to SV, affecting learning and academic success. Students of color and low SES are often put in remedial classes because

teachers say that their behavior will negatively influence the rest of the class. This is an example of the exclusion of a habitus that does not fit in with the dominant habitus of the teachers and the non-remedial groups of students. The behavior of the teachers also becomes more authoritative when teaching tracked versus mainstream students. Misrecognition is a common theme in these studies in that privileged students and teachers say that the tracked students deserve it and that the differential treatment is fair. Tracked students internalize SV and align their self-worth to their academic status. Such studies illustrate the impact of school policy on educational practice. They also make clear the usefulness of SV as a framework through which to trace the relationship between systematic practices and micro interactions.

A study of tracking in the United Kingdom analyzed survey data from 12,178 schools, discussion groups, and interviews and found that white, middle-class students are most likely to be in the mainstream groups, and working class and Black students are most likely to be in the bottom tracks (Archera et al. 2018). When interviewed, the more privileged students felt that they deserved to be there and that the process was fair. Students in the lower tracks had negative opinions about tracking and expressed that it was not fair. This misrecognition expressed by students in the mainstream groups enacts the SV on those in the lower tracks. Studies such as this show how SV can be used as a conceptual tool to see the ways in which the dominant culture is oppressing the dominated.

A study of tracking in mathematics found evidence of racialized SV in Brooklyn schools. Through interviews, class observations, reflections, and analysis of course materials, Cooley (2019) found that because of tracking decisions made by teachers and counselors, fewer students of color were placed in gifted classes. Cooley (2019) also identified relationships between students' behavior and tracking. Those who did not act like white teachers were tracked to lower math groups due to a concern by the teachers that the behavior would spread to the students in the

upper tracks. Students internalized this SV and aligned their value and self-worth to their track. Cooley (2019:11) explained:

> They had less self-confidence and viewed themselves as not having math ability, their 'have not' positions would become internalized, establishing mathematics as 'not for the likes of us," and manifesting racialized SV.

The school policy allows assumptions about behavior to influence tracking, and then tracking decisions made by teachers and counselors lead to SV, which affects learning and academic success.

To bridge these findings to the HEC, a study by McGillicuddy and Devine (2017) followed the relationship between tracking and teacher behavior to teacher preparation. A national teacher survey was used in combination with case studies of three schools, interviews with teachers, principals, and children, and questionnaires given to the children. Findings indicated that students in lower ability groups were more likely to be treated unfairly and receive microaggressions from the teachers, especially new teachers. The more teaching experience and professional development that teachers had been exposed to, the less likely they were to enact SV upon tracked students (McGillicuddy and Devine 2017).

A similar study by Toshalis (2010) found that SV is experienced by teacher candidates in college classrooms. Toshalis (2010) used inductive coding and connected emerging patterns to theory. He found that the same mechanisms of discipline were used both in the teaching of teacher candidates and in their teaching in the classroom. The teacher candidates in turn enacted SV on their students. Toshalis (2010) observed and interviewed teachers at a large urban high school to analyze patterns of discipline. He found that the same mechanisms of discipline were used in the teaching of teacher candidates and in the candidates' teaching in K-12 classrooms. For instance, the teacher preparation program ranked and labeled students who did not pass exams as

"failures." Exam performance affected classroom discipline in that if a student failed an exam, they received more authoritarian discipline in the classroom. "Learning to teach," wrote Toshalis (2010:197) "means . . . learning to receive, project, and enact disempowerment." If these practices exist in teacher preparation college classrooms, similar displays of SV are likely to be reproduced in other HECs.

A study using SV as a conceptual tool in higher education spaces was conducted by Adams-Romena (2013) of an on-campus student house at a wealthy liberal arts college. Smaller and more intimate than a traditional college dorm, the houses at Roberts College were an ideal space to observe the habitus. Some of the students living in the house were white and upper class, and others were from less privileged socioeconomic statuses and racial identities (Adams-Romena 2013). Those in the more privileged group had influence on the house norms and felt more comfortable occupying the common areas in the house. In other words, those who held more social capital dominated the habitus and enacted their habitus onto others. Students who did not feel that they fit in with the dominant group avoided the common areas and events such as the annual tea, which required specific attire and customs. Rather than the house being a space that welcomed difference, there was only one way to exist there. Adams-Romena (2013:28) wrote, "Sameness is not neutral, especially for students who embody identities that exist outside of the white, affluent paradigm." These findings are important because forcing house residents to fit into the same norms and imparting one teaching method on all students in the HEC are both forms of SV.

The mechanics of SV and the reproduction of societal norms operate deep beneath the surface. Symbolic interactionists such as Blumer (1969) and Mead (1940) theorized the ways in which we are programmed by society through language and other symbols. SV explains that our thoughts are made up of symbols that are created by society through language (Mead 1940;

Blumer 1969). Mead (1940) also described the "me" as society's view—the way we are impacted or shaped by society—whereas the "I" represents identity and response to what society thinks. The generalized other creates symbols, words, and meanings that represent society's structure and expectations of us (Mead 1940; Blumer 1969). In other words, the way that society views us contributes to our sense of self. This helps explain why a student who fails an exam internalizes feelings of failure.

In the literature on SV in higher education, there is a repeated theme of exiting as a reaction to SV. In a study by Nairz-Wirth et al.(2017), 12 non-traditional students were interviewed about causal mechanisms of their decision to drop out of the university. The researchers looked for three influences on the students' decision: (1) differences between their school and university habitus, (2) their family or community's influence on their decision, and (3) "lack of information, support, and social capital" during their time at the university (Nairz-Wirth et al. 2017:18). Using grounded theory, the data was merged into categories and organized according to Bourdieu's theory of SV (Nairz-Wirth et al. 2017). The inductive coding categories found to contribute to dropping out were "experiences of symbolic violence while in education' and 'willingness to submit to symbolic power structures'" (Nairz-Wirth et al. 2017:17). SV happened through the differences in teachers and classmates' body language, facial expressions, gestures, and language use. Even though the obstacles were outside of participants' control, all of the students blamed themselves for not succeeding, an example of misrecognition.

Watson and Widin (2015) conducted a similar study in which they compared two longitudinal case studies to examine the success of students in U.K. universities. George came from a privileged habitus and succeeded in the university, whereas Tracey came from an underprivileged habitus and eventually dropped out. Watson and Widin (2015:663) described Tracey as resisting "the imposition of symbolic violence" which led to her exit. These studies are

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important because they show the relationship between SV and retention in higher education. SV is an important concept to study for the sake of creating inclusive learning environments that retain all students in their academic endeavors.

Symbolic Non-violence

Waters (2017) coined the term "symbolic non-violence," expanding Bourdieu's SV to describe inclusive school policies and teaching practices at alternative schools in Australia. Waters (2017) conducted semi-structured interviews, quasi-ethnographic observation, and document analysis to identify a theoretical framework of symbolic non-violence that included an intention to change the student experience, removal of perception of coercion, and inviting new ways of learning that discourage competition with others. Waters (2017:29) identified various "structures, practices and relationships" that he categorized as symbolic non-violence. The alternative schools in the study recognized SV that occurred in mainstream schools and took intentional steps to practice symbolic non-violence. "Instead of being silenced, misjudged, and ignored by a system which did not take account of their life experience and perspective, [students] were recognized, accepted, noticed, embraced and encouraged to discover the possibilities education could offer them" (Waters 2017:34). Practices described as symbolic non-violence included those that gave students space to construct their social environment, teachers who regularly reflected, assignments that built upon student interest, an emphasis on authentic relationships between teachers and students, and non-violent communication.

Waters also expanded the concept of symbolic non-violence to include "recognition" in contrast to Bourdieu's misrecognition. In the alternative schools in Waters' study, students recognized that they were not to blame for their failure in mainstream school. School administrators and teachers also recognized the impact that policies and teaching practices had on students. Alternative schools have intentionally created symbolic non-violence practices to

relieve student suffering and build their confidence (Waters 2017). This approach worked particularly well with low SES students who were not successful in mainstream schools. Waters (2017) used SV to analyze mainstream teaching practices and symbolic non-violence to analyze practices found in alternative education.

Symbolic Nonviolence

To more deeply understand the concept of nonviolence, we can draw inspiration from a well-known leader of nonviolence in the U.S. Martin Luther King Jr. developed a six-principle framework of nonviolence for the purpose of transforming society. This perspective of nonviolence was introduced in King's (1960) famous essay "Pilgrimage to Nonviolence," in which he explained how Gandhi's concept of satyagraha, which literally means "love force," influenced his thinking around nonviolence. King (1960) used an example of war as a "negative good" that is not passive but stops further violence.

I expanded on Waters' (2017) concept of symbolic non-violence by removing the hyphen and creating a new term, symbolic nonviolence. In Kingian nonviolence the absence of the hyphen is significant (Haga 2020a). It means nonviolence is not passive. Rather, it is the relief of suffering through the acceptance of suffering. Suffering is an important concept in Kingian nonviolence. The fourth principle of Kingian nonviolence states that suffering has transformative potential (King 1958). We see this later as faculty suffered in 2020 to create SNV practices for students, transforming the SV they experienced and potentially changing the academic habitus.

Haga (2020a) stated, "Laws and systems can be extremely violent," and similar to the way that laws and systems can inflict suffering, the pandemic is also a violent force. Institutions' responses to the pandemic could cause violence to institutions themselves and to faculty and students. However, this is not a study of violence and nonviolence, which would be easier to

detect due to the overtly violent nature of the pandemic. This study is about SV, defined earlier as the invisible enforcement of the social rules of the habitus.

SNV unites Bourdieu's (1972) SV with Waters' (2017) symbolic non-violence and King's (1958) nonviolence. I define SNV as the intentional and systematic practice of recognizing and absorbing SV to lessen the SV on others and change the habitus. All actors inside the habitus experience SV. Haga (2020b) elaborated on King's definition of nonviolence to add that it is not the opposite of violence. Rather, "It's the antidote to violence. It's the medicine" (Haga 2020b:live webinar). SNV works the same way in that it is not dichotomous to SV; it is inside of SV, transforming it and ameliorating the experience. This concept is illustrated in Figures 1 and 2.
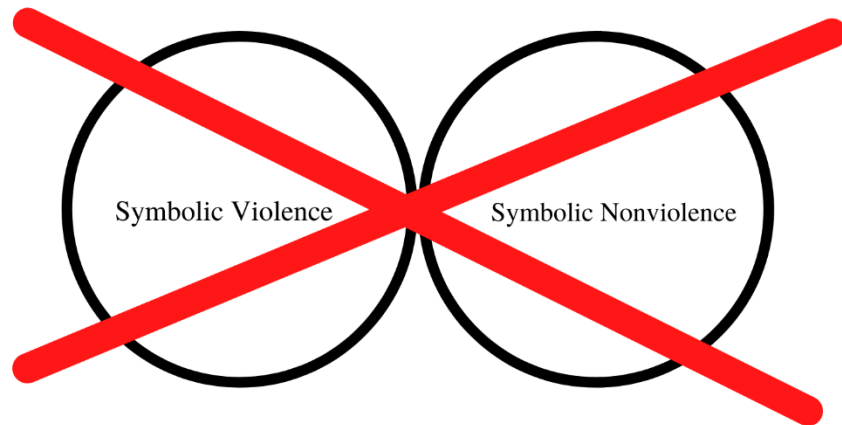
Figure 1. SV and SNV Are Not Dichotomous
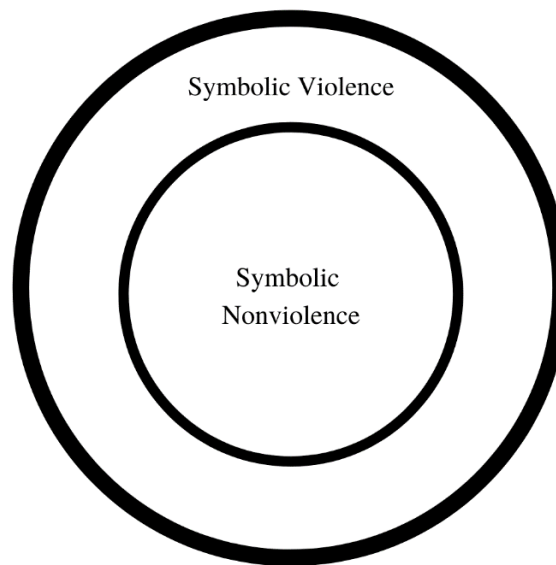
Figure 2. Symbolic Nonviolence Inside of Symbolic Violence

Actors practicing SNV take on some amount of suffering as they transform SV into SNV.

We see later how teaching faculty absorbed pandemic-induced SV to relieve SV for students,

change the habitus, and bring about recognition. In other words, faculty and students recognized

they were not to blame for pandemic-induced struggles. This also may mean that faculty

recognized the impact of their practices and policies. Where Waters (2017) compared mainstream

versus alternative education, in this study I compare SNV practices in the wake of pandemic-

induced SV. In other words, I examine SNV as practices that higher education faculty adopted to

fill the gaps left by society and institutions during the COVID-19 pandemic.

SNV answers Gale and Lingard's (2015) call to push the boundaries of Bourdieu's theory of SV.

Similarly, Burawoy (2019:32) asked, "Will Bourdieu's apostles see a virtue in dialogue with

other parallel traditions and thereby recognize the limitations of their founder and build upon his

ideas?" Although I do not consider myself an apostle of any sort, I am pushing the boundaries of

SV further in the context of teaching during the pandemic and racial reckoning in the United

States in 2020. Buroway (2019:174) wrote of Bourdieu's theories, "They are inspirational because they are imperfect, providing challenges for his followers." I seek, as Gale and Lingard (2015:1) put it, "not just to use theory but to do theory." Developing the concept of SNV practices out of the theory of SV is fitting since Bourdieu (1972) wrote about the relationship between theory and practice. In applying his theory, I have molded it to the context of teaching in higher education in 2020. This aligns with Jackson and Mazzei's (2012) method of finding the threshold of theory by plugging theory into data. My goal was to find that threshold by plugging Bourdieu's theory into teaching in 2020 to see how it was transformed by it, as we all have been.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND POWER

The HEC is an ideal place to look at the reproduction of power in society. Foucault ([1977] 1980:133) said, "'Truth' is linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it." The academic class reproduces the dominant culture, and the dominant culture reproduces the academic class. The institution of higher education is in a position to reproduce an oppressive culture because it is tied to the job market and labor force.

Higher education in America is increasingly vocationalized, and capitalism has turned college degrees into individual investments (Giroux 1999). Vocationalization in higher education can be described as the pursuit of competencies to increase productivity and employability (Maclean and Pavlova 2013). In the United States, for instance, people are expected to go to college to secure work. The assumption is the better degree someone has, the better job they will get. A college degree shows that a citizen has the cognitive skills necessary for knowledge work (McMillan Cottom 2017). The connection between capitalism and higher education runs deep because corporations can influence academic curricula as job market trends impact enrollment choices. In this way the free-market drives college enrollment, degrees, and even course content (Moodie 2008). Academic degrees have traditionally been viewed as a public good intended to

support a democratic society (Giroux 1999). Bloom (2016) suggests a relationship between authoritarianism and neoliberalism, in which case higher education is used as a tool to train citizens to contribute to the state's economic growth. This is what Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) meant when they said that although institutions of higher education are autonomous in their operations, governments allow this because they perpetuate the interests of the dominant class. Given the ways in which the HEC mirrors the power structures in larger society, let us turn the discussion to how this manifests in the HEC.

There is a power dynamic in a university classroom caused in part by the structural and bureaucratic processes in place. Policies are mandated down the chain of command, putting students at the bottom of this power hierarchy (Clabaugh 2008). Due to the instructor-student dynamic, which is embedded in the bureaucratic hierarchy of the institution, power differentials will always exist inside the classroom (Kifer et al. 2013). Naming the types of power that are present in a classroom can help us see and acknowledge the existence of power. SV is made possible by these power dynamics.

French and Raven's (1959) five social bases of power have been used to label power that is held by teachers inside of a classroom. The types of power are reward, coercive, legitimate, referent, and expert (French and Raven 1959). These bases can be applied to the classroom setting where the person with the most power is the instructor and the person with the least power is the student. According to French and Raven (1959), reward power is held by the ability to give rewards such as grades. Coercive power is when an instructor can in some way punish the student, perhaps with a bad grade or tarnished transcript. Reward and coercive power are based on what the instructor does. The last three types of power pertain to who the instructor is or their role in the reproduction of the dominant culture as the agent of pedagogic authority. Legitimate power is held by the instructor's degree and/or position in the bureaucratic hierarchy of the

university. As we saw earlier, the bureaucratic hierarchy of the institution creates legitimate power that puts the instructor in the position of power in the classroom (Dahrendorf 1959). Referent power is how the student identifies with the instructor, perhaps their desire to be like the instructor in knowledge or professional field. Finally, expert power is when the student perceives the instructor to have expertise or knowledge relevant to the situation. Realistically all five power bases are at work simultaneously, but legitimate, reference, and expert power are the bases of power that exist regardless of what the instructor does (Tauber 2007).

According to Anderson, John, and Keltner (2012), power can be studied in different realms ranging from the short-term to long term as well as a generalized power that exists in an individual's life in all settings. Power in the classroom is typically considered a short-term group setting or "objective situational characteristic" because we are looking only at how much power students have while they are in the classroom (Anderson et al. 2012:318). However, since institutionalized education is where societal oppression is reproduced and inequality is compounded, we must acknowledge the long-term impact of racial SV in the classroom (Fischer, 2016; Verschelden 2017).

The class emphasis of Bourdieu's original theory is limited in that it does not encompass other important sites of inequality central to the sociology of education. Bonilla-Silva (2003) expanded Bourdieu's theory of habitus to include a habitus shaped by a dominant culture that is ascribed by race. This proves to be important in studies that apply SV as several of the aforementioned studies identified SV caused by racial oppression. Bonilla-Silva's (2003) definition of white habitus is a "racialized, uninterrupted socialization process that conditions and creates whites' racial tastes, perceptions, feelings, and emotions and their views on racial matters" (Bonilla-Silva 2003:104). King (1960:421-2) referred to economic injustice as the "inseparable

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twin" of racial injustice. Given the connection between inequality and race in the U.S. today, the concept of a white habitus is applicable in a conversation about SV in education.

In the context of the classroom, racial oppression adds the presence of socio psychological underminers such as "microaggressions, stereotype threat, [and] belongingness uncertainty" that negatively impact students' cognitive capacity (Vershedlen 2017:6). A psychological study by Smith et al. (2008) found that people who are powerless are more likely to experience reduced executive functioning. Executive functioning, responsible for planning a course of action and initiating and staying focused on a task, is essential for learning to occur. In his theory of transformative learning, Mezirow's (1991:168) sixth step of perspective transformation is "planning a course of action." Since executive functioning is cognitively responsible for this step, and powerlessness reduces the potential for executive functioning to perform optimally, an empowering environment is a prerequisite for transformative learning. In the teaching of adults, who have relatively fixed meaning paradigms in comparison to that of children, an environment that enables transformative learning is essential to learning that is metamorphic and lasting (Mezirow 1991). Additionally, there has been little evidence to show that what college students learn in the classroom transfers to environments outside of the classroom (Barnett 2005). Perhaps the powerless state of the student is partly to blame for this. The power dynamics present in the HEC may make it cognitively harder to learn and autonomously apply classroom content in authentic environments. This study adds to the literature on SV in the HEC, which could be applied to restructure university classrooms so that students' feelings of empowerment and cognitive capacities are increased.

In addition to the structure of the institution, teaching practices can contribute to the disempowering environment of the HEC. Bowles and Gintis (1976) referred to this as the hidden curriculum, the role of education being to socialize people into becoming effective workers in

adulthood. This is also known as the correspondence principle (Bowles and Gintis 1976). School mirrors the class system and reproduces the division of labor (Bowles and Gintis 1976). In other words, the effect of SV that occurs in the classroom is the enabling of this reproduction. Since the latent function of education is to prepare students for work, and since hierarchical corporations often do not support employees having voice and choice, the lack of autonomy in the classroom is misrecognized as preparing students for "the real world" (Clabaugh 2008; Bowles and Gintis 1976). Mann (2008:5) agreed that higher education "creates pedagogic spaces which restrict autonomy."

In a typical university classroom, content is chosen by the university and/or the instructor, and often instructors tell students how they are to apply the content knowledge as well as how they will be assessed on it. Mann (2008:88) likens a classroom teacher to "communication manager—controlling who can speak." Even in university classrooms, adult students often raise their hands and wait to be called on before speaking, a visible representation of SV. Blum (2016:36) considers today's classroom "a performance that will yield rewards" in response to assignments that ask students to mimic rather than produce authentic work. Students learn how to appear to be learning or even how to produce evidence of learning. Blum (2016:91) referred to power dynamics such as these as the "black box of the classroom" referring to mechanisms of school that we accept and do not question or even notice. The study of the sociology of education helps us see the invisible mechanisms that uphold the dominant culture.

One way to look inside the black box is to think of classroom workings as fitting into two categories: external and internal institutions. External institutions are determined by external forces such as the university, state, or accreditation board whereas internal institutions are decided in the classroom by the instructor and students (Wustefeld 2018:937). While internal institutions can have the flexibility to invite students to act autonomously within the

infrastructure, the structure of the external institution gives a university degree the credentialed merit that makes it valuable in American society. Additionally, internal institutions happen in kairotic spaces, defined by Price (2011:60) as "the less formal, often unnoticed, areas of academe where knowledge is produced and power is exchanged." Price (2011:61) listed four criteria of kairotic spaces: "real-time unfolding of events; impromptu communication, in-person contact; a strong social element, and high stakes." What makes an academic space kairotic is the risk involved and the exchange of power; thus, this is the space where internal institutions begin. Learning activities such as content delivery and assessment are often internal institutions in that the instructor tends to have some options as to what content, mode, and processes are used. Internal and external institutions are a way to name the ways in which SV is enacted by systemic and structural influences on micro-interactions. We see in Chapter 4 how faculty found space inside of the internal institutions of the pandemic classroom to practice SNV.

When determining the internal institutions of the classroom, an important question for educators to ask is, "How we can increase student autonomy around learning?" The concept, "locus of control" refers to how much autonomy students feel that they have over their own lives and has been correlated to academic performance (Jaschik 2014; Vershedlen 2017:69). Having control, agrees Guinote (2007), is an innate need, and when people do not have control, they are affected cognitively. Even within the restrictions of external institutions such as credit hours and grading requirements, the flexibility of internal institutions offers faculty ways to increase autonomy in the HEC. Cook-Sather, Bovill, and Felten (2014:163) stated, "the discourse that frames and forms learning has the potential to disempower or to empower." Even in seemingly egalitarian classrooms, students know that instructors assign the course grade, and if the power imbalance is not explicitly stated, it can weaken the student/instructor relationship (Cook-Sather

et al. 2014). Power dynamics such as these can be studied using the theoretical framework of SV as a tool.

CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

Critical pedagogy is a neo-Marxian concept that encourages teaching methods that reduce inequalities between students and teachers. Pedagogic action such as assignments, assessments, and interaction can be designed in such a way to seek freedom from domination. McLaren (2002:ch 1) defined critical pedagogy as being about "self-empowerment and social transformation" and as "learning and action that are undertaken in solidarity with subordinated and marginalized groups." The educator's stance on critical pedagogy influences the learner's ability to realize autonomy and move toward social change (Mezirow and Taylor 2009). When citizens are taught to follow procedures and comply rather than challenge authority, this encourages an authoritarian state's protection of the capitalist market (Bloom 2016). Although using education strictly for vocationalization is more convenient than critical education, which encourages citizens to question and change power structures, it is the job of the nation state to teach autonomy (Giroux 1999; Reich 2002). hooks (2017) described authoritarian teachers as those who perpetuate the bureaucratic hierarchy by focusing on rigor as a measure for successful teaching and learning. Democratic teachers, on the other hand, "work to find ways to teach and share knowledge in a manner that does not reinforce existing structures of domination" (hooks 2017:45). The role that education can play in autonomy is to move toward a state of equanimity, neutralizing power in the classroom (Olssen 2009:175). Inoue (2015) said that one way to balance power is to measure labor rather than quality in course assessments because everyone can labor regardless of what habitus they are from. Educators who want to incite change can create lessons that apply critical thinking to everything, including our own authority as faculty. Practices such as these are a move away from SV and toward SNV.

FACULTY ORTHODOXY

In Bourdieusian terms, pedagogic authority, the right to impose SV through pedagogic action, has legitimacy in society. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977:6) viewed the pedagogic authority of educational institutions as a "monopoly of legitimate symbolic violence." For example, a degree is often a recognized qualification for employment. This legitimate authority perpetuates the transmission of SV. Students are powerless in the bureaucratic hierarchy of the university because the university is positioned as having legitimate authority within society at the macro level. Therefore, teachers, professors, and administrators are agents legitimized to reproduce the dominant culture through SV. Faculty practice orthodoxy, reproducing the norms of the dominant culture through both disposition and praxis (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). The transmission of social capital through a faculty member who holds reference and expert power is "the most efficient way of transmitting traditional, undifferentiated, "total' knowledge" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977:47). Earning a doctorate, the credential often required to become a faculty member, entails years of orthodoxy in the form of being repeatedly awarded for compliance. At the end of this process, heterodoxy is unlikely. The educational system does not tend to employ people who practice heterodoxy against the educational system because that will not further the reproduction of the doxa (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). Collins (1994:67) wrote, "intellectuals, although free in principle to formulate whatever ideas they can conceive, nevertheless tend to create ideologies favoring the class that feeds them" To do otherwise would be to practice heterodoxy and incur negative social capital.

Faculty orthodoxy facilitates SV in the HEC. Broadly speaking, people in groups are more likely to conform than to resist group norms (Hornsey and Jetten 2004). The phenomenon of conforming in a workplace is called "façades of conformity," where employees pretend to endorse the values of their employer or institution to succeed in the environment (Stormer and

Devine 2008). Particularly when group status is low, people are more likely to conform to group norms (Jetten, Hornsey, and Adarves-Yorno 2006). Faculty who are recruited from lower and middle-class sectors of society, for example, display loyalty to academia because of the social prestige their position endows; therefore, members of academia are careful not to do anything to impede their social standing. Submitting to conformity in this way can align with orthodoxy in that one never stands up for oneself or pushes against the status quo (Florian and Graham 2014). This particularly applies to junior faculty who are conditional employees until tenure is achieved as well as to marginalized groups such as faculty of color, those who are disabled, those who are not heteronormative, and those from a different SES. The "others" are tolerated as long as they conform and minimize "rather than queer in your face" (Jones and Calafell 2012:969). Jones and Calafell (2012:960) wrote, "We're not naïve enough to think that we'll get hired, retained, published, tenured, or promoted because we call people out for their privilege or question and queer the academy." In other words, the way to stay in the academic habitus is to support it through orthodoxy.

Ball (2012) referred to the conformity of academics as a technology to be productive in the neoliberal university. Ball (2012) says this leads to insecurity in the meaning of our product and can lead to imposter syndrome, the feeling that one is never good enough (Corkindale 2008; Mackey 2014). Imposter syndrome is a feature of SV; as we saw in the earlier study about students who left the university, they blamed themselves. Blaming oneself for not fitting into the habitus is a form of misrecognition. Furthermore, imposter syndrome is amplified by the "intersections of class, gender, 'race' and ethnicity, disability, [and] sexuality" (Breeze 2018). No matter what the academic does, they are inherently never going to match up to someone who appears to have been born into the academic habitus.

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Looking at the faculty role in the institution of higher education is important because SV in the HEC is not something that faculty do to students. Faculty are the medium through which the doxa travels. If a teaching practice, for example, is found to display features of SV, it originates either from society, the university, or the institution of higher education overall. In other words, SV is enacted upon faculty as well as students.

CRITICAL INCIDENTS

We have seen the ways in which education hides the reproduction of oppression. The methods used to conduct research about societal forces in teaching must be critical and intentionally selected. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) said that the truth about the ways in which educational practices benefit the dominant class is often not uncovered by research because of how cleverly neutrality is hidden in the system. Therefore, the method of enacting research is important in the sociology of education. Bourdieu and Passeron advised (1977:141):

> It is only by making a second break, this time with the illusion of the neutrality and independence of the school system with respect to the structure of class relations, that it becomes possible to question research into examinations so as to discover what examinations hide and what research into examinations only helps to hide by distracting inquiry from the elimination which takes place without examination.

It is also important to me to study SV in a way that does not impart SV on participants. We can make the second break by being honest about the expressions of power that exist in research. Burawoy (1998:22) said, "Relations of power are always there . . . to render our knowledge partial." Because we cannot take the risk of conducting research that only continues to hide and perpetuate the dominant norms, it is important to understand how reproduction operates in the process of academic knowledge production. Burawoy (1998:22) warned us that "intervention,

process, structuration, and restructuration are threatened by domination, silencing, objectification, and normalization."

Ade-Ojo and Duckworth (2019:338) used reflection as participant action research in which they asked participants to reflect on their experiences and actions because they wanted to "gain participants feelings and views without control or manipulation." They then used deductive coding to find themes of SV in the reflections. To avoid exercising control or manipulation in my study, I used a similar method to gather data from faculty on SV and SNV practices.

Critical incidents are a type of reflection on "business as usual" practices that reveal something important about values and social structure (Scott 2012:535). An example of a critical incident might be a meaningful encounter with a student which reveals a deeper, underlying meaning. In a study on the ways in which high school teachers misrecognized their schools' SV, Scott (2012:535) used critical incidents because they are "imbued with agency, and they are a great way to 'engage with symbolic violence as a productive analytic tool.'" In another school study, Herr (2005) used critical incidents to unearth the ways that a university was using one-on-one mediation as a tool to enact SV rather than change institutional structures. The critical incident allowed her to invite reflection from her participants and explore the ways the institutional culture underlie the event described. Shannon and Escamilla (1999) used reflections on critical incidents of teacher candidates in schools to explore the ways that SV was being enacted upon students who were Mexican immigrants. The teacher candidates' outsider status to the school provided fresh insights that revealed traces of SV. Through the critical incidents, the researchers were able to uncover coded language that showed the SV through language. For example, at the school in the study, use of the word "Bilingual" meant "academic difficulties," and "Mexican Culture" translated to "Undesirable." The critical incidents that were used to make such discoveries were collected in journals. Coles (2016) used critical incidents of Black high

school students to analyze the SV enacted by the school and how it affected students' identities. Students' descriptions of everyday incidents revealed insights that showed where SV shone through the cracks. For example, one student described moving from a white to minority school and noticed differences in test scores and content covered. In these studies, critical incidents served as an effective method for capturing SV without asking participants about it directly.

In this study, COVID-19 was the critical incident. Asking participants to talk about their experience teaching during 2020 in the context of a viral pandemic, civil rights movement, and election served as the reflective critical incident. I substituted questions about participants' experience teaching during the pandemic where critical incidents were used in the aforementioned studies to reveal SV.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the method and procedures used to answer the research questions. Also included is the rationale for the methodology as well as a description of the context of 2020 and participants. The selected method successfully applied Bourdieu's (1972) theory of SV and stretched the theory to further develop Waters' (2017) concept of symbolic non-violence into SNV. This chapter is organized as follows: (1) purpose of the study, (2) design, (3) procedures, (4) context and participants, (5) researcher positionality, and (6) conclusion.

PURPOSE OF STUDY

The purpose of this study is to explore SV, Bourdieu's (1972) theory of the covert maintenance of inequity in society, as experienced by faculty and students during COVID-19 when inequities were exacerbated and exposed (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC] 2021). While previous literature on SV exists in K-12 education, this study adds to the literature the application of SV in higher (Shannon and Escamilla 1999; Herr 2005; Cushion and Jones 2006; Toshalis 2010; Scott 2012; Adams-Romena 2013; Watson and Widin 2015; Coles 2016; Khanal 2017; McGillicuddy and Devine 2017; Nairz-Wirth et al. 2017; Archera et al. 2018; Gast 2018; Marsh 2018; Cooley 2019). This study goes beyond the limits of SV and expands upon Waters' (2017) concept of symbolic non-violence as teaching practices that heal the habitus. I added King's (1958) principle that through love and suffering, nonviolent practices can transform society. This led to the development of SNV. An additional goal of this study is to identify SNV practices that higher education faculty used in 2020 to lessen SV for students and heal the habitus. Like a vaccine, messages of hope and transformation were needed to eradicate the darkness of 2020. The findings of this study increase faculty and institutional awareness of the experience of SV for both faculty and students as well as bring about awareness of SNV practices

that can heal and change the habitus. I want to acknowledge the invisible labor of faculty as SNV is an intentional act that improves the student experience while often increasing suffering for faculty.

Key components of this study were (A) the pandemic, (B) attending college or university classes, and (C) identity markers such as race, class, and SES. I answered three research questions by applying three analytic questions to the data to employ Jackson and Mazzei's (2012) method of thinking with theory. The first research question examined the ways in which SV was present in higher education in 2020. The second research question looked closely at how SV impacted both students and faculty in higher education in 2020. The first two questions were necessary to answer the third research question, which was to uncover the SNV practices of faculty that ameliorated SV for students.

DESIGN

For this study I used Jackson and Mezzei's (2012) method of thinking with theory, which involved plugging analytical questions into the data to get to the heart of Bourdieu's (1972) theory of SV. The method of plugging theory into data flattens binaries between theory and data, researcher and participant, or subject and object. This is in line with Bourdieu's (1972) approach of decentering the subject or object in research. Jackson and Mazzei (2012) referred to this as finding the threshold, the passageway between two entities such as theories, points of data, or stages of the research process. The threshold is a post-structuralist instrument that helps us think beyond boundaries and binaries. To transform, we must break out of envisioning a reality that is categorizable and pass through the threshold without knowing what lies beyond it (Mezirow 1991). Rather than rearrange the furniture of dualisms, let us find the threshold between them (Deleuze and Guattari 1987). To see covert SV, it is important to find such a threshold. Education sits within society and society is reproduced through education. This study aimed to find the

threshold between the macro mechanisms of society at large and the micro interactions of the classroom.

Coding is not used in this method because Jackson and Mazzei (2012:1) view thematic coding as focusing on "the production of an end or commodity" with static meaning. Coding also puts distance between the researcher and the participant, centering one over the other (Jackson and Mazzei 2012). Coding similarly centers data over theory or theory over data (Jackson and Mazzei 2012). Instead, thinking about data through a theoretical lens makes new meaning while working the theory and data in unison and acknowledging the assemblage of data, society, and theory. The data is made and unmade; plugging theory into the data shows how they are united in the chaos. This method also decenters the theory or research, which is important because "the center always conceals something" (Jackson and Mazzei 2012:7).

Another reason why coding is not used in this method is because the goal is to push past the threshold of existing knowledge to create new knowledge. Coding, on the other hand, creates themes out of what is already known and understood. This leads to knowledge that has already been territorialized, whereas the plugging in creates new, deterritorialized meaning (Jackson and Mazzei 2012). Plugging theory into data by asking analytical questions emphasizes the incompleteness as well as how the theory and data make each other whole. There are no final answers; everything is in a process of becoming. This method finds where the data and the theory meet and then disrupts each one, calling each into question and pushing it further than it seems to be on its face. The data did indeed push the theory farther. As I started working with the data, I realized that this study was not about just SV, but SNV, a concept that existed in Waters' (2017) work but evolved in new ways in the context of this study.

In their book, *Thinking with Theory in Qualitative Research*, Jackson and Mazzei (2012) interviewed two women about their experiences working in higher education and analyzed the

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data through the lens of six different theorists to explore what is made new by plugging in different theorists. Their method consists of three steps. The first step is to decenter either theory or practice by "showing how they *constitute or make one another*" (Jackson and Mazzei 2012:9; italics in original). The second step is to craft analytical questions that emerge from thinking about the data with the theory and vice versa. The third step is to work the data repeatedly to reveal how the data and theory evolve through this process.

I applied this method of analyzing my data through questions derived from Bourdieu's theory to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: What symbolic violence was present in higher education in 2020?

RQ2: How did symbolic violence impact students and faculty?

RQ3: What symbolic nonviolence practices were used by faculty in 2020 to lessen symbolic violence for students?

Before crafting analytical questions, I solidified my working definitions of SV and SNV. Then I deepened my understanding of Bourdieu's theory by expanding my familiarity with his body of work. Next, I crafted my analytical questions, adhering to the definitions I had written and also to Bourdieu's application of his theory in several of his texts. After reading over the entire data set collected by in-depth participant interviews, I crafted questions that arose as I kept "What would Bourdieu ask?" in my mind. I applied each of the following analytical questions to the entire data set one at a time:

Question 1: How did SV show up in higher education classrooms in 2020?

Question 2: In what ways did faculty recognize SV while teaching in 2020?

Question 3: How did faculty practice SNV in the academic habitus in 2020?

Question 1 answers RQ1 which was to identify SV. Question 2 was important in order to bridge from Question 1 to Question 3 since included in the definition of SNV is that the recognition of

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SV is the catalyst for developing the SNV practice. Question 2 allowed me to see what was

clearly recognized. Question 3 explored what SNV practices were being carried out by faculty. I

did not intend to identify themes in the data as Jackson and Mazzei's (2012) method does not

encourage the use of themes or coding. However, three types of SNV appeared organically. Since

Question 3 was the threshold where I was pushing the theory past Bourdieu and into new territory

by expanding on Waters' (2017) concept of symbolic non-violence, I developed the following

sub-analysis questions to analyze Question 3:

Question 3 Sub-Analysis Questions

1. Why is this considered symbolic SNV?

    a. What do faculty give?

    b. Is it intentional and systematic?

    c. Does it add SV for faculty?

    d. What is absorbed?

    e. Does it create SNV for faculty?

2. What is recognized? Or what SV is caused by higher ed in the pandemic?

    a. How did the faculty come up with it?

3. How is suffering lessened?

    a. How did it make things better for students?

4. How is the habitus changed by this SNV practice?

    a. What other effects does this SNV practice have?

5. How is SNV made and unmade?

6. Does the institution have a role? Why/why not?

My goal was to test my definition of SNV, and these sub questions helped me analyze how each

type of SNV practice either supported or did not support the definition.

I knew that Bourdieu's theory was about social class, but my goal in applying it to this data set was to stretch it and see the other ways that it applied. In my analysis of Question 1, "How did SV show up in higher education classrooms in 2020?" class-related SV was amplified the loudest. The power of Jackson and Mazzei's (2012) method is illustrated in this example. Not only did the theory allow me to see the class-related reasons why SNV practices were created, but it allowed me to see faculty members' positions in the habitus and how that impacted the SNV they created.

An important aspect of applying Jackson and Mazzei's (2012:5) method is to look at the "larger theoretical construct" that is made and unmade through analyzing data through the lens of SV. In other words, they ask what is being revealed by putting this theory with this data. Therefore, I will delve into Bourdieu's theoretical underpinnings. Bourdieu (1984b:xiv) considered himself a structuralist constructivist, or a genetic structuralist. He believed that structures, or invisible norms of dominant social groups, are central to our thoughts, language, and actions. Bourdieu (1972:72) famously described this phenomenon as "structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations." In other words, the habitus is shaped by the past and creates our current society which shapes our future. However, it is considered structuralist constructivism because agents make the structure that makes them (Bourdieu 1984b:xiv). He believed that people are always in the process of making and unmaking the habitus, which means we are capable of transforming it. Bourdieu was a contemporary of Foucalt and Derrida, and like them he pushed past structuralism, mainly in his emphasis on the importance of reflexive practice on the subjective and the objective voice in research (Bourdieu 1972; Calhoun 2002). Bourdieu (1984b) also resisted the notion that SV is structuralist and suggested that the reproduction of the habitus is being made and unmade constantly. In fact, he said that the structure of society is

capable of being transformed by taking an objective look at itself through scientific practice and historical knowledge (Bourdieu 1990:viii). It is this that makes SV a perfect candidate for plugging into data. Furthermore, Bourdieu's embrace of subjectivity moves beyond the structuralist notion of Cartesian thought (Calhoun 2002). Additional undercurrents of poststructuralism in Bourdieu's work are his criticism of the structures of society as well as his emphasis that they harness asymmetrical power dynamics. This is an important point because the fact that Bourdieu's theory is open to changing the structure of society is what makes SNV possible. When SNV is possible, changing the habitus is also possible.

SNV allows change and agency inside of the infrastructure of SV and Bourdieu's (1972) habitus. Whereas in the structured habitus people are destined to reproduce the doxa, SNV gives actors agency to heal and subvert the SV. This makes SV and SNV perfect companions to Jackson and Mazzei's (2012) method of plugging theory into data because through the plugging in, we can see how the theory and the data make each other. How do they construct the structure of the habitus? SNV is an ideal embodiment of constructivism because it moves the theory past the deterministic idea that there is no escaping the structure. One might even go so far as to call SNV Freirean (1990) because it is the idea that education can be transformed and in turn transform an environment of oppression or cultural domination. Through the SNV practices of 2020, we see how faculty transformed the habitus and constructed a new reality for themselves and their students.

Those who have achieved legitimization through "a long process of institutionalization have obtained sufficient recognition to be a position to impose recognition" (Bourdieu 1990:138). University professors have indeed gone through such a process and are therefore in a position to change the habitus. I posit that, using SNV to heal SV recognized in university classrooms in 2020, faculty changed the academic habitus.

PROCEDURES

After receiving approval from the Institutional Review Board at Texas Woman's University, I shared the call for participants on my Facebook page. Since I have been in higher education in the roles of faculty, instructional designer, and faculty developer for 18 years, I am connected to many faculty members through my networks. I posted on my personal Facebook page and received a few replies. I also tried to recruit participants through the National Institution for Learning Outcomes and Assessment (NILOA) newsletter and received no responses. I posted on the PhinishED Facebook group and also received no replies. Then I posted my study to the Pandemic Pedagogy Facebook page and received more replies than I needed. The Pandemic Pedagogy Facebook page is dedicated to effective teaching practices during the pandemic. This, in addition to the fact that I included words like equity and racial pandemic in my recruitment materials, may have led to a liberal-leaning sample who self-selected into the study (see Appendix C). Therefore, the participants may have been more equity-minded and open to SNV practices than a broader sample of teaching faculty might have been.

Participants contacted me via email to express interest in participating in the study, and then we agreed upon a time and date, and I sent a calendar invite including a Google Meets link. I electronically sent participants consent forms with Adobe Sign before the interview and asked them to return them to me before our scheduled conversation. Interviews took place between October 12 and December 10, 2020. At the start of each interview, I reminded participants what the interview was about and described the structure of the interview. I asked participants if they were comfortable being recorded for transcription purposes. Interviews occurred in and were recorded through Google Meets and transcribed using Otter AI's automated premium service. I later edited all transcriptions to correct any errors made by the automated transcription service. I informed participants that the interview was being recorded and that they could take a break or

stop the interview at any time. I asked participants the questions on the questionnaire (see Appendix B). Interviews lasted between 30 minutes to an hour and 45 minutes. At the end of each interview, participants were asked if there was anything else they wanted to add. Recordings were deleted after transcription, and data was de-identified. Code names have been used to protect confidentiality. The key identifying respondents was kept in a separate file from the data. The signed consent forms were stored separately from all collected information and will be permanently deleted three years after the study is closed. Transcripts were de-identified and stored on a password protected computer in my locked home office. Participants' names or any other identifying information will not be included in any written or oral presentation of this research. Participants were notified that there is a potential risk of loss of confidentiality in all email, downloading, electronic meetings and internet transactions.

To minimize the potential risks of emotional discomfort, tiredness, and loss of confidentiality risks, I watched for signs of emotional discomfort and offered a break or to end the call. Participants were informed that the study was voluntary, and that they may skip any question or end the interview at any time. There were no direct benefits to the subject. Generalizable benefits were that they will contribute to the literature on equitable teaching practices in higher education, particularly during an inequitable pandemic.

I interviewed faculty using semi-structured qualitative interviews. I developed an interview questionnaire (see Appendix B) using my knowledge of teaching and supporting students as a faculty member. I piloted the questionnaire with three faculty from two different disciplines. The vast differences between the two disciplines helped me tailor the questionnaire to use with different academic disciplines. SV and power are silent forces that operate effectively and covertly because it is impolite to acknowledge them. Therefore, when they were mentioned directly with my pilot interviewees, I sensed discomfort, and one interviewee became somewhat

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aggressive. I revised my questions to be less confrontational but still capture the information I was looking for.

I knew that all the interviews would take place using the virtual communication tool, Google Meets. Therefore, I made sure that I had a decent camera and headset to ensure the best quality of conversation and connection possible. It is also worth mentioning that my interviews took place after eight to nine months of quarantining. This has implications for a qualitative researcher because many people, particularly faculty who have been teaching online, were more likely to be isolated and grateful for the conversation. I made efforts to make the interviews feel like a comfortable conversation from one educator to another. Burawoy (1998) referred to the interview as an intervention into the participant's life. This gives the researcher a great responsibility to also make sure that the research is somehow beneficial to the participant. I wanted this to be a two-way conversation. If I expect not to be changed by my interactions with participants, that is heteronomy. I tried to remember to enter each conversation reflexively and prepare to remain open and be changed (Gullion 2018). During the pilot interviews. I also noticed that participants were interested in talking to me because they knew my study was about equity and teaching during the pandemic, and they wanted ideas to apply to their own teaching. Some participants paused the interview to write down ideas that occurred to them during our conversation.

I asked demographic questions at the beginning of each interview to learn about each participant's gender identity, race/ethnicity, and whether they were the first in their family to attend college. In my pilot interviews I found that interviewees seemed to warm up and relax more if I began the interview by asking about their experience teaching this semester during the viral and racial pandemics. Then I moved into questions about assignments since this was the original goal of this study. Since I was initially most interested in the most-weight bearing

assignment, which participants may or may not refer to as an assessment, I first asked participants

what assignment bears the most weight of the final grade and then asked them to describe it. I

also wanted to know the history of the assessment and whether it was passed down from previous

faculty or mentors or was standard in the participant's academic field, so I asked if they created

the assignment and if anything influenced the creation of it. I also asked what the assignment

measured to find out what the participant hopes students will learn. Since SV is the covert

imposition of the dominant habitus onto the student, I asked if there was anything that might be

required to know or do that is not stated in the instructions or rubric. With this question I hoped to

get insight into cultural knowledge or social norms required to succeed in a class that may not be

explicitly taught or stated in the class. I also was interested to know what feedback participants

may have received from students about the assignment, particularly with the challenges of

learning in the pandemic. This led to a question about how the faculty member predicted they

might react if a student wanted to change a component of this assignment. I also asked

participants about any changes they may have made to the assignment due to the racial or viral

pandemic, which became an important question after the focus of the study shifted to SNV

practices. I directly asked about inclusivity and power but left these questions until the end of the

interview based on the response of my first pilot interviewee. To again learn about participants'

habitus, I asked about similarities and differences between the way they were taught and the way

that they teach. One of my pilot interviewees suggested that I add a question about the

institutions' support or lack of during the pandemic, so I added a question about this.

　　　As mentioned in the first chapter, I had originally intended this study to be about

assessment. As I started interviewing, I realized that few faculty still administered classroom

assessments. Most of my participants did not have a weight-bearing assignment or assessment in

their classes because they found it to be an inequitable practice. It also occurred to me that

looking for SV in teaching practices was conducting SV on participants. So I shifted my focus of the study on the questions at the beginning and the end of the interviews which focused instead on participants' experience teaching in the pandemic. I found that participants' longest and most engaged responses were to these questions. It was then that the SNV practices started to take precedence in my study, and I realized that the focus of the study needed to be about SNV practices of faculty teaching in 2020.

CONTEXT AND PARTICIPANTS

In using the method of plugging theory into data, Jackson and Mazzei (2012) encourage the analysis of participants' interpretations of what they experience rather than the event in isolation. I did the same in my study by interviewing participants about their experience teaching during the pandemic. Due to the entangled nature of this study and methodology, context and participants are grouped together in this chapter. I consider the context of 2020 a participant in the study.

I conducted interviews between October 12 to December 10, 2020. The COVID-19 pandemic hit the country hard in mid-March, 2020. Many faculty had to suddenly shift from face-to-face to online teaching in as short a time as 10 days. Many worked through the summer to transition their classes to online teaching for the fall. That summer, innocent Black Americans were tragically killed: Breonna Taylor, George Floyd, and Ahmaud Arbery. The murders of George Floyd and Ahmaud Arbery were broadcast repeatedly on television, and protest rallies were held across the country, many of which resulted in violence. This led to secondary trauma for many people, but especially for people of color. It also made anti-Black racism in the United States impossible for white Americans to continue to ignore. This entangled with the violence of the pandemic to create a heightened awareness of inequity and injustice.

The Fall 2020 semester was a unique time because pedagogical decisions made by faculty could be made more intentionally than during the sudden shifts when the viral pandemic first hit in Spring 2020. It was also the first semester since public recognition of the racial pandemic. Therefore, interviewing during the Fall 2020 semester was an important component of this study.

We moved into the fall in some ways tougher and in other ways more sensitive. While faculty reported feeling more prepared to teach in the fall than they had during the spring transition, many were also trying to parent and homeschool children while working from home and survive the pandemic (Flaherty 2020). Some were teaching face-to-face in addition to managing online classes. For those who taught face-to-face, the classroom was different every day as students shifted in and out of quarantine. Faculty also experienced communication and connection challenges teaching with their faces covered with masks. Those teaching only online struggled to provide support that students needed beyond academics. Students schooling from home lost library support, counseling, health services, access to technology, advising, tutoring, social support, and many other services and experiences that the university typically provides, which in turn placed greater emotional labor on faculty (Lederer 2021).

At the time of my interviews, COVID vaccines had not yet been distributed to the public. This created feelings of uncertainty and anxiety, mixed with the impending presidential election, which was also tied up with the racial reckoning from the summer's events (American Psychological Association [APA] 2020). The vaccine and spread of COVID was worsened by a president who discouraged supporters not to wear masks and downplayed the seriousness of the virus (Stolberg and Weiland 2020). All of this grew a tension that was almost tangible during the time of my interviews. COVID, the election, and racial injustice mixed into a heavy fog by which we were all suffocated and weighed down (Norris and Gonzalez, 2020). I felt that my interviews

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both added a mixture of relief and added stress to participants. One participant asked if I minded that she was venting to me. I explained to her that it helped me sleep at night to know that my interviews were in some way benefiting participants. I also knew that adding another virtual meeting was adding on to faculty members' already full days.

Data collection consisted of in-depth interviews of faculty who taught at two- and four-year institutions of higher education in 2020. The recruitment flyer invited participants who were teaching at least one course in the Fall 2020 semester, have been faculty at the same four-year institution for at least three years, and serve non-traditional populations of students (see Appendix C). I wanted to talk to faculty who had been teaching at their institutions for at least three years because I suspected they were more likely to be aware of and impacted by institutional practices and policies. While recruiting, I decided to include participants who were teaching at two-year institutions as well because I was interested to see the comparisons between teaching at two and four-year institutions. Since my topic is on the HEC overall, I recruited participants from a variety of disciplines. I also wanted to interview a diverse representation of faculty regarding race, gender, and those who had been first generation college students. However, participants who answered my call were not as diverse as I had hoped. Eighteen (81%) out of the 22 participants identified as white, 17 (77%) identified as female and five (23%) as male, and seven (32%) identified as first-generation college students (see Table 1). The racial homogeneity was not surprising since 74% of faculty in the United States are white (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES] 2018). Participants were from institutions across the United States and two in Canada. Academic disciplines included dance, business, sociology, composition, history, communications, social work, English, business law, prevention science, outdoor recreation, design, and psychology.

Table 1. Participant Characteristics

Name*	Gender	Race/ Ethnicity	1st Gen?	Discipline	Role	Institution
Alicia	F	white	yes	dance	**FT:** faculty and director of a faculty center	state university
Jennifer	F	Subcontinental Indian	no	business	**FT:** full-time and tenured	state university and Minority Serving Institution
Judy	F	white	yes	sociology	**FT:** full-time lecturer	large online state university
Amanda	F	white	yes	compo-sition & queer and trans studies	**FT:** full-time on a 3-year contract, not tenure-track	arts & design university in Canada
Shelly	F	white	no	sociology	**ADJ:** adjunct	state university
Jim	M	Jewish	no	history	**ADJ:** adjunct	university that offers mostly technical degrees
Mark	M	white	yes	commun-ications/ media	**FT:** tenure track, director of a program	state university and HBCU
Carla	F	Chicana/ Mestizo	yes	social work	**ADJ:** retired faculty, former founding chair	state university
Michael	M	white	no	sociology	**ADJ:** adjunct	state university

Heather	F	white	no	English	**FT:** full-time faculty and department chair	community college that offers BA degrees
Amy	F	white	no	ESL	**FT:** full-time faculty	community college
Tara	F	white	no	English Literature	**FT:** full-time tenured faculty	community college
Oliver	M	white	no	commun-ications	**FT:** full-time new tenure track faculty	4-year university
Cynthia	F	Asian	no	business law	**ADJ:** adjunct with full-time job	community college
Danielle	F	white	no	ELL writing	**FT:** full-time tenured faculty	4-year university in Canada
Sandra	F	white	yes	prevention science	**FT:** administrator and faculty	4-yr private, open enrollment university
Kelly	F	white	no	outdoor recreation	**ADJ:** adj at time of interview.	4-year university
Olivia	F	white	yes	compo-sition	**FT:** full-time, non-tenure track	large 4-year public university
Emma	F	white	no	design	**FT:** full-time, visiting assistant professor	private 4-year residential
Philip	M	white	no	not disclosed	**ADJ:** adjunct at 2 institutions	4-year for-profit and community college

| Kimberly | F | white/ Jewish American | no | psychology | **FT:** full-time & tenured | state university and MSI |
| Mary | F | white | no | English | **FT:** full-time & tenured | diverse 4-year state university |

* All participants are referred to by pseudonyms.

Participants' roles as either full-time or adjunct faculty had important implications in this study, particularly in the second analysis question. Fifteen (68%) out of the 22 identified as full-time faculty. That means they were either somewhere on the tenure track (TT) or full-time lecturers. Seven (32%) were adjunct faculty. Some had other jobs and some adjuncted at more than one institution.

RESEARCHER POSITIONALITY

Although Jackson and Mazzei (2012) emphasized the importance of flattening the research, researcher, and theorists, I include a statement about my positionality as a researcher here because together it influences the study as part of the assemblage (Jackson and Mazzei 2012; Gullion 2018). This is particularly the case when studying a global phenomenon by which every living member of society was impacted in 2020. I was living through the pandemic along with my participants. And in this way I felt united with them. I also have been faculty, so I could relate in many ways to what participants shared. I was also a student in the same academic habitus in which they were faculty. It felt like we were connected and navigating the context together. Crafting the questions and applying them to the data not only "push[ed] research and data and theory to its exhaustion," but it made and unmade me as a sociological researcher (Jackson and Mazzei 2012:7).

Reflection is relevant in this study because as we saw in Chapter Two, power comes with the territory of being a faculty member, and SV is inherent in pedagogic action: "a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). In Waters' (2017) study on

symbolic non-violence in alternative education settings, reflection is an intentional effort made by teachers to not enact SV on their students. Reflection is essential in critical and social change pedagogies in challenging assumptions and previously held beliefs. Habermas (1973:254) wrote, "The higher level of reflection coincides with a step forward in the progress toward the autonomy of the individual." Freire (1990) agreed that humanity can be reborn through reflection, and Dewey (1933:118) characterized reflective thought as "active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusions to which it tends." Critical reflection, therefore, consists of identifying assumptions and challenging their validity followed by revising our previously held assumptions so that they better incorporate what we have learned about reality (Brookfield 1990; Mezirow 1991). Thus, reflection can be used to call attention to assumptions that maintain the status quo of the dominant culture. This makes reflection a companion tool to observe and unsettle the pattern of SV.

A study of SV by Marsh (2018) shows us what can happen if there is an absence of reflection. Marsh conducted a study at a high school in which he determined that "high risk" Black male students were treated differently than those not labeled "high risk." Marsh (2018) used classroom observation, interviews, and inductive open coding to find that the "high risk" label affected teacher and student behavior. For example, the teachers commented that the Black males who were labeled as "high risk" did not know how to be polite and this led to an increase in the teachers' authoritarian behavior. Marsh (2018) organized a photovoice project to call attention to the SV teachers were enacting upon the at-risk Black males in hopes that this would change the patterns of SV enacted by teachers to Black male "high risk" students. However, the photovoice project did not lead to any noticeable changes in the school culture. Marsh (2018:6) explained why this idea may not be effective:

This requires a level of humility and reflection from the adults. When adults cultivate a safe, affirming space for [the at-risk students] and allow students themselves to be a part of the formation and improvement processes, eventually the perpetual deficit ideologies diminishes and the symbolic violence against the boys should come to an end.

Educators need to embrace reflection and humility that includes students in the critical crafting of academic culture. To disrupt our own complicity in the reproduction of the dominant habitus, educators can begin by looking within. Educators need to self-actualize to help students self-actualize (hooks 1994). We can do so by tending to our own process of transformation learning, defined by Mezirow and Taylor (2009:22) as "learning that transforms problematic frames of reference to make them more inclusive, discriminating, reflective, open, and emotionally able to change." Reflection engages the emancipatory knowledge constituent and allows freedom from oppression, critical consciousness, and changing reality for oneself and others. Adopting a critically reflective practice is a way to move forward with hope and make change (Gannon 2020). Lyiscott (2019:13) urged educators to critically reflect on our role in education and in society:

If you are an educator who has never faced their story as it intersects with the various social locations that shape how you show up in our schools and in our world, then you are destined to do this work irresponsibly. What are the stories that shaped your view of the world?

In the practice of teaching and the transmission of SV, reflection can be used as a chisel to help educators make the crack that helps us see the threshold of change.

Reflection, or reflexivity, is also important on the part of the researcher. All researchers, but particularly researchers who study power, must acknowledge the expressions of power that exist in our work. Reflexivity can span from personal introspection to mapping our relationship to

larger macro societal structures (Finlay 2002). As we saw earlier in the discussion of academic conformity, there are structures in place to discourage heterodoxy within the academy. Dismantling a power structure invites a lot of resistance, especially when you are working inside of an institution that exists to uphold power structures. Reflexion is a technique developed by Vagle (2018) in which researchers are to document their experiences, assumptions, and biases in order to position their perspective alongside the phenomenon being studied. This process acknowledges that the researcher changes and is changed by research.

It was my own reflection as an educator and sociologist that led me to question my acts of SV on past students. The opinions, attitudes, and beliefs that I bring to this research project can be best illustrated by narrating the story of my 18-year career in higher education. I had a successful career teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in Taiwan and the United Arab Emirates and English as a Second Language (ESL) at a community college in New Mexico and a university in Texas. I taught my students about modal verbs, independent clauses, and the future perfect while enforcing grading policies and rules that mirrored the way I was taught. I was a good teacher. Students liked me, we had fun in class, and I built lasting relationships with people around the world with whom I am still in conversation today.

A series of events led me to begin a PhD in Sociology, and in a class on Race and Ethnicity, for the first time I learned and reflected on the concept of assimilation, which is the process of people socializing into another cultural group. I began to realize that in teaching ESL and EFL, I had been a global salesperson for assimilating to hegemonic, colonialist Western culture. There is a specific teaching moment that stands out in this light. I was teaching reading in an ESL class using a method of teaching that included timing students as they read passages and answered questions. The goal of the technique was to improve learners' performance on the Reading section of the TOEFL so they could be admitted to the university. The technique,

required in all reading classes, was taught to me by the Reading Coordinator. The technique required the instructor to stand at the whiteboard and write ten-second increments up to a certain time, say seven or twelve minutes depending on the reading level. Then as each 10-second increment passed, the instructor would erase that increment from the board.

At the end of a semester, one of my students, Miguel from Mexico, was sharing some of his reflections on American culture with me—all critical. He did not like how controlling the culture was, and he used my timed reading technique as an example. I was shocked and said, "That's not American culture! That's a teaching strategy!" He looked at me like I did not understand. It was not until 15 years later while learning about assimilation in a sociology Race and Ethnicity class that it clicked into place for me. I was not simply teaching reading or grammar, I *was* teaching culture through all of it. I was teaching the culture that had shaped me.

Lyiscott (2019:13) asked, "What people and places socialized you into accepting the norms and values that script your life either knowingly or unknowingly?" I had grown up being taught by white teachers in predominantly white neighborhoods. I had unknowingly been taught teaching strategies that perpetuated my white ways of knowing and learning. My parents were C-level corporate execs who had trained me to be competitive and "highly effective." My mom taught me to write my first resume at the age of 12. I had no idea that I brought all this socialization into my teaching. I thought the techniques I was teaching, the techniques that had made me successful, were the "right" way to learn and teach. Through SV I was imparting my culture on my students, and they had no power to resist because they wanted the opportunities and social mobility that proficiency in English or Western culture would afford them.

This realization early in my doctoral program led to my interest in studying power and SV in higher education. It also led me to seek employment with the non-profit organization with which I have been employed while designing and conducting this study. The mission of the

organization is to diversify the teacher workforce to more closely match the racial and ethnic demographics of students in K-12 education in the United States I challenge the status quo for a living. It is my job to talk to faculty nationwide about equity, inclusion, and diversity. This dissertation is not simply an academic exercise for me; it is my life's work. I believe that SNV is a tool to help reduce oppression through the institution of education.

Also important as my positionality as a researcher is that I am a faculty developer. Previously an adjunct and full-time faculty member, I have dedicated my career to supporting faculty in their important work of supporting students. Faculty are often overlooked and taken for granted by institutions. I experienced this myself as a faculty member in various contexts. I brought my past experiences and empathy into the interviews and analysis.

CONCLUSION

Jackson and Mazzei's (2012) method of thinking with theory invited me to examine how the pandemic, attending college, and race/gender/class identity markers impacted each other and led faculty to develop SNV practices. I applied Jackson and Mazzei's (2012) method by first showing how the theory and data are entangled. Next, I developed analytical questions to examine the data through a Bourdieusian lens. Finally, I applied my three analytical questions repeatedly to the qualitative data set from twenty-two participants in the context of 2020. Applying sub-analysis questions also allowed me to further develop the definition of SNV I adapted from Waters' (2017) concept of symbolic non-violence. In the next chapter, I discuss the results of the study.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

In this chapter, I discuss the results of the study. The data was analyzed by plugging in three analytical questions derived from Bourdieu's (1972) theory of SV and my definition of SNV. The first question looks at how SV was experienced by both students and faculty in higher education during the pandemic of 2020. The second analytical question examined the ways in which SV was recognized, as this is a key component of SNV practices. The third analytical question explored the types of SNV that were practiced by faculty in 2020 and how these practices could potentially change the habitus. While the data was analyzed through each question separately, the outcome is that together the three analyses scaffolded toward consistent and generative discoveries about SV and SNV in higher education in the United States in 2020. This chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the effectiveness of SV as an analytical tool to reveal inequities in the United States in 2020.

ANALYSIS QUESTION 1: HOW DID SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE SHOW UP IN HIGHER EDUCATION CLASSROOMS IN 2020?

The definition of SV established earlier is the covert reproduction of the dominant culture (Bourdieu 1972). The dominant culture is typically shaped by identity markers such as SES/class, race/ethnicity, or gender. Reproduction takes place via positive social capital for actions that reinforce the habitus, or orthodoxy, and negative social capital for actions that do not reinforce the habitus, or heterodoxy (Bourdieu 1972). Since all actors reside in and shape the habitus, both students and faculty experience SV.

We see in the data some similarities in the type of SV experienced by students and faculty. In the analysis of this first question, all of the SV that students experienced can be traced to SES Much of the SV that faculty experienced is also typically associated with low SES. For

example, we see that faculty were made to work while sick, fired from jobs mid-contract, and risked virus exposure for fear of being fired. These working conditions are often associated with low SES jobs. Some gender-related SV on faculty also appeared in the data.

One goal of this study is to identify SNV practices of faculty in 2020. Since the definition of SNV is "the intentional and systematic practice of recognizing and absorbing SV in order to lessen the symbolic violence on others and change the habitus," it is important to begin by identifying the SV that existed in the HEC in 2020.

Symbolic Violence on Students

Tara, who teaches at a college in New York, described the context of what life was like for her students when the pandemic hit. The following quote sets up the types of SV on students that has been amplified by the pandemic.

Tara:

> I have students who live right next to [the] hospital, which was where the kind of epicenter of the pandemic was in March. I had students at the end of the spring semester in June, who had not literally left their apartments since they stopped going to school in March because they were afraid to leave their house because infection rates were so high. I have students who are very poor. I have students who are sharing a device with five siblings who are all doing remote schooling, with no Wi-Fi trying to pick up the Wi-Fi from the [donut shop] a block away standing on street like I mean, it's been a freaking mess.

In Tara's description we see the ways in which the pandemic amplified SES. Students who did not get the resources they needed to complete classwork when the campus closed were being forced out of academia. We see how this shows up later when participants mention disappearing students. The disappearance of students impacted economically by losing access to resources

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provided by the institution illustrates how college has been designed for dominant classes. Tara's courses continued, but the campus support of Wi-Fi and other services that students needed to complete coursework did not. When there is no support to replace that which students rely on from campus, it affects students' ability to successfully complete coursework. Tara, who reported having a 95% retention rate in her courses pre-pandemic, saw students drop out more than ever before. This theme of exiting due to SV appeared in the literature (Watson and Widin 2015; Nairz-Wirth et al. 2017).

Tara:

> I've been teaching at the same institution for 17 years now. I generally have a, like a within semester retention rate of like, 95%. Um, I have lost at least 10 students per class. It's, it's unbelievable. And I have reached out to them. And again, we're doing—like we resurface, we disappear again, we need help, can you help me? Of course, I help them, they disappear again. Like, it's, you know, that they'll, I don't know what it is, I don't know if it's just the whole stress of all of this, right, like it is, there's a lot to be alive right now. So and then especially like, you know, it's a lot for me to be alive from my very cozy home with my children, two stable incomes, and a kid who I send to a learning pod every day. And a parent who cares for my, you know, my mom babysits, my daughter, um, I can't imagine how much it is for families that are college students who are still working, who are trying to balance online learning with work, who are balancing the different demands.

Tara was the only participant who quantified the rate of students exiting college during the pandemic, but several other participants mentioned "disappearing students."

Tara compared the impact of the pandemic on students to her own experience. She acknowledged her own privilege by listing the things that she has that her students are less likely to have:

- two stable incomes

- a cozy home

- childcare help

- a learning pod which includes internet and computer access

These things that separate Tara from her students can all be connected to SES. The items on this list are barriers to student success and present as SV during the pandemic. They were all SV before but are amplified by the pandemic. To succeed in college, students must do so in spite of SES barriers such as income stability, housing, childcare, and internet access. It is SV for students to have to have to find workarounds such as using a donut shop's Wi-Fi to succeed academically. Doing work in the parking lot of a donut shop is the social capital equivalent to using big words to sound academic in a college classroom. It is an academic class lifehack to complete academic work and get the degree.

College students often seek social mobility through higher education. Pandemic stress experienced by college students may likely be compounded by SES. While all people are experiencing pandemic stress, college students are likely to experience it more than professors who, as Tara put it, have stable jobs, homes, internet, and childcare. Whereas Tara's description of her students paints the external landscape of what students are experiencing, Philip's quote below paints a picture of what is going on with students internally. As a Trauma Support Specialist, Philip has skills to understand how students are cognitively responding to pandemic stress.

Philip:

> Assignment follow-through is the worst I have seen in five years. Um, and one thing that I do, I do a lot of work around trauma informed pedagogy, and I'm a Trauma Support Specialist. So I always do a check in—and I did this long before COVID of basically, I do a check in, that gives me a little information about where their nervous systems are at. And I'm noticing a lot of freeze responses. So like, there's this, there's a lot of energy, they have a lot of that nervous energy, but they don't know how to get rid of it. So they just kind of shut down. So it's like that deer in the headlights response. And I think that's why I'm not getting the assignments, like they're able to show up. And that's about it. They're not able to put in work outside of class right now.

Students disappearing due to lack of access or time because of finding additional work during the pandemic is one response to SV experienced by college students during the pandemic. Another response is this internal cognitive response that Philip noticed. Verschelden (2017) calls trauma-induced cognitive failure low cognitive bandwidth. The trauma from death, fear of sickness, unemployment, etc., caused students to have more difficulty focusing on the academic work than they did before the pandemic. It is an involuntary, physiological exit.

The freeze response Philip described, the cognitive inability to complete academic work, explains another common academic issue that participants raised: plagiarism. Judy shared how much more her students struggled on assignments than usual and gave an example of a student who turned in a journal article for an assignment. Plagiarism became an option for students unable to cognitively perform.

Judy:

> Our students are in severe distress—students who are severely distracted from school and really struggling to perform well. And then fall hit. And the fall semester, I would say

was, it was on the par with that spring B in terms of stress levels. But the students'

performance was horrible. I mean, just, awful. They turned in work that I don't know

what instructions they read. But they were not the assignment, it was not the assignment,

I had a student who had an A+, and her final project she turned in a journal article. I

mean, it's like—that has never happened. Students just completely off their game in

weekly quizzes. So these two courses that I taught in the first session. Now one of them,

I've taught eight or nine times the other one, I think I've only taught five or six times, but

I have a good sense of where they should be on their weekly quizzes. And my quizzes are

just reading checks. So they're pretty straightforward and pretty easy—pretty low stakes.

So about 50% of the class gets 85 or above and about 75% will get 80 or above. So I

mean, they typically do very well. In one class, I had about 30%, who got 85%, above

and about 40%, who got 80 or above. And in the other class, it was not quite as bad, but it

was still really bad. The reporting from the students have just been overwhelmed and

losing their jobs and losing loved ones and, and losing just everything losing their homes.

They were really—it was really tragic. It was really tough to try to support so many

students going through some things. And I asked some of them, you know, we have a

compassionate withdrawal. Is this something that you want to look at, because it won't

affect your GPA, you might get some of your tuition back. But the big thing is, it's not

going to affect your GPA, and then you can come back when you're healthy. And the

response I kept getting from so many students was, this is the only thing that's

predictable. Give me deadlines. You tell me what I have to do. I have to think but I don't

have to think. Somebody is telling me do this, do this, do this. So I don't know, I have a

lot of thoughts on what we're doing and why we're teaching. But if that's the only thing

that's stable, that's a tough place for a student to be.

Judy's quote connects Tara's observations of how SES impacted students' ability to perform academically and Philip's observations of how students are cognitively affected. Judy's quiz scores serve as evidence that student performance is lower during the pandemic. This is an interplay between academic performance, pandemic stress, and class-related SV. Students were losing everything in their lives, and it impacted their ability to be college students. The combination of the pandemic and SES caused lower grades and plagiarism.

Judy's quote also shows us the balance between higher education creating SV for students during the pandemic while also creating SNV. Student performance dropped because they were losing loved ones, homes, and jobs. But at the same time, they chose to stay in school because it was "the only thing that's predictable." In some ways college amplifies SES-induced SV and in other ways it lessens it. We see later more ways in which higher education created SNV for students otherwise suffering from SV and the pandemic.

In summary, students suffered during the pandemic because of lack of resources in the way of time, housing, childcare, and internet access. They also suffered cognitively from the trauma compounded from the pandemic and SES. While this combination of physical and cognitive resources led to students exiting, doing poorly on assignments and quizzes, and plagiarizing, some students stayed enrolled in classes because higher education provided SNV during the pandemic.

Symbolic Violence on Faculty

SNV is a reaction to SV and the absorption or increase in suffering by the actor practicing the SNV. Therefore, in addition to examining the SV that impacted students, it is also essential to look at the ways in which faculty were affected by SV during the pandemic. Table 2 lists SV experienced by the faculty whose SNV practices will be explored in the third analysis question. Later we will see how faculty SNV practices in some cases increased the SV they experienced.

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Table 2. Symbolic Violence Experienced by Faculty

	SV Experienced by Faculty	Cause of SV
Judy	- Increased time providing support for students - Dealing with her own pandemic-induced stress - Emotional labor	- Job - Age
Tara	- Increased work hours - Money spent on student support - Sharing 800-square foot house with 7-year-old, baby, and husband and teaching from dining room - Emotional labor	- Job - Family status - SES
Jennifer	- Increased time providing social support for students - Emotional labor	Job
Kelly	Laid off in her tenure year due to the pandemic	- Job - SES
Amy	"Hard" to let go of academic standards	Job
Shelly	- Fear of turning into DeVry - Fear of losing reputation as a "rigorous academic" - Sharing 720-square foot apartment with two young children and graduate student spouse - Fear of not being offered future classes as an adjunct - Double bind of helping students succeed and being hired in the future	- Job - SES - Family status
Cynthia	None mentioned	
Emma	None mentioned	
Mark	- Demotivated during COVID-19 - Getting students to engage on Zoom is "like pulling teeth" - Works extra hard to get students to share their interests so they can succeed on the assignments	Job
Mary	- Crying over racial injustice - Mary said, "My poor plant. It's had a hard time during the pandemic as well. Oh, no. Really just a manifestation of my having a hard time. There was a period where I just forgot to water it for a while. It's in shock, it's still alive, but it's in shock."	

As Table 2 illustrates, almost all faculty who provided SNV support for students experienced SV that was caused either by the pandemic, by the institution, or a combination of the two.

During the pandemic, institutions leaned heavily on faculty to provide support for students, even when faculty needed additional support themselves. One example is the president of Judy's institution telling faculty to keep teaching when they get sick with COVID.
Judy:

> And [the university president] made this comment during our faculty meeting, that the cool thing about remote was that even if you got sick, and even if it was COVID, you could keep teaching your students. I mean, needless to say, me and my colleagues, we're all texting each other. Did he just really say that? He did. And we get emails consistently saying, you need to do this for your students. You need to do this for your students.

Judy's quote illustrates that the emphasis is on providing support for students, even if it means increasing suffering for faculty. Judy mentioned that emails she received from her university always said what faculty needed to do for students. None of the participants said that the institution provided support for faculty outside of online teaching support.

The literature shows that faculty become faculty through years of orthodoxy (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). Faculty tend not to commit heterodoxy because they have repeatedly been rewarded for conformity and compliance. Another reason why a president might expect faculty to comply with working while sick with COVID is because he knows that there is a fear of losing jobs during the pandemic. This is especially a fear for those who are contingent or not tenured, but it is a fear for all faculty during the pandemic. It was on the news regularly in 2020 that departments and colleges were closing and that even tenured faculty were being fired. Kelly

explained that in 2020 she was fired by her university the year she was supposed to go up for tenure.

Kelly:

> I had been fired from my tenure track job at [state university]. Yeah, so they cut a quarter of the faculty. So I was one of the casualties. And if you didn't have tenure, you got a week's notice. And tenured folks got a year but you know, I was supposed to go up in October.

Kelly's response illustrates that the fear of being fired is real, and it appeared in several participants' responses, particularly those who were new to their institutions, not yet tenured, or adjunct. This fear is present in my dialogue with Oliver who just started as a TT professor at his institution in August. His institution required in-person classes. Although he did not want to teach in person, he did not feel comfortable as a new faculty member asking to teach remotely.

Oliver:

> And we've been in person. We also have some classes, more classes than normal that are online, but you have to have pre-existing health—what's it called?

Aubree:

> Oh, like high risk?

Oliver:

> Yeah, high risk and and it was something I did not know about—I probably could have qualified somehow, some way. But I, honestly I didn't want to, shoot you come in and, and cause trouble the first semester.

Oliver said, "Shoot, you come in and cause trouble the first semester," meaning he was worried that if he asked to teach online rather than face-to-face to protect his health, that it might be seen as "causing trouble." The subtext was that he was worried about getting fired or being looked

upon unfavorably by his new employer. Oliver shared with me during the interview that he had a newborn at home. Yet he did not ask the university to let him teach remotely because he did not want to rock the boat. Fear of being fired is SV, forcing faculty to conform and reproduce the social norms of the academic institution. This obligation to conform might look like teaching while sick, as Judy's president mandated, or it might show up as teaching in person even when one does not want to take the health risk. Oliver also shared that he was worried that by complying with the institution's request, he was putting students at risk, particularly since COVID cases among students were rapidly rising.

Oliver:

> I honestly felt bad having classes. I was nervous for me, but also feeling—am I complicit in having in-person classes? Am I causing students to get sick? And, and do I have a moral responsibility?

Oliver conformed to keep his job because he was new and did not want to commit heterodoxy, but it was outside of his realm of comfort for his own health and for his students'. While Oliver performed orthodoxy by teaching in person, he did in another way commit heterodoxy by finding a compromise to accommodate his moral conflict. Oliver said, "Pretty quickly I slacked on that, and I said, if you feel unsafe, just join via zoom and don't tell anyone." He allowed students to attend class from home as long as they did not tell anyone that Oliver let them break the institution's in-person policy. This still illustrates Oliver's sacrifice for his job because his act of heterodoxy did not serve him, it served only his students. He was willing to break the rules for his students' safety but not his own. We see similar sacrifices later in the analysis of the third question about SNV. In many cases SNV increased SV and/or suffering for faculty while lessening it for students.

Shelly experienced SV from her intersection of being a mom and low SES status as an adjunct faculty member. She described below how she continued doing her job while parenting a 4-year-old and 11-month-old in her 720 square foot apartment with the childcare centers closed in California.

Shelly:

> The only way I was getting anything done was to do it in the middle of the night. So I would put everybody to sleep. And I would record lectures between 11pm and 3 in the morning. And I would post them and I would go to sleep and my husband would get up with the kids in the morning and like play referee and be like, 'Don't jump on Mommy, she was up all night working.' So the only way I could get it done was to do that, until we hit a point that I was like, I can't do this anymore.

The only way that Shelly could do her job was to sacrifice her sleep. Childcare centers were shut down in her state, but her university was open and still offering classes. To keep her job, Shelly had to teach in the middle of the night. The university did not provide any support for Shelly but expected her to keep supporting students. Participants with young children reported much different experiences than those with older or no children. Children almost always literally showed up in my video interviews. They also came up frequently in reference to juggling the supporting of students while parenting young children.

I want to pause to give the reader a moment to prepare. There will be some coarse language used in this dissertation, but it is necessary. We must recognize SV in its stinking, taboo glory because talking about it politely is how it is covertly reproduced.

At one point in my interview with Tara, she said, about teaching in 2020, "It's been a—it's been a shit show. It's been like an unmitigated shit show." A shit show is obviously an undesirable thing. Shit is foul and unwanted, yet something that everyone does. Concealing it

behind the privacy of bathroom doors allows us to hide the fact that we all do it. The same is true for SV. We all maintain the reproduction of oppression but do not talk about it. The status quo is upheld because of misrecognition. A show, on the other hand, is a public event—something that people watch, perhaps for entertainment. When Tara calls teaching in 2020 a shit show, she is calling attention to the public display of something disgusting. Just as the pandemic made a public show of shit in this metaphor, the pandemic has made SV and inequity visible in an open, disgusting way. The shit has always been there, but now it is on show. We can no longer ignore the disgusting inequities in education.

A similar metaphor for 2020 is the dumpster fire, which shares several traits with the shit show. The term dumpster fire did not arise in the data but was ubiquitous in popular media throughout 2020 (see Figure 3). Like shit, a dumpster contains trash, a dirty byproduct of human existence. While undesirable, everyone owns and produces trash, and we hide it out of sight in bins, dumpsters, and landfills. When a dumpster is on fire, the trash is lit up, the center of attention. Like a shit show, a dumpster fire presumably magnifies the odor of garbage. The dumpster fire metaphor, like the shit show metaphor, represents the inequities in society that the pandemic showcases and we cannot ignore. Our dirty little secrets are front and center and ablaze, and we are ashamed. The fact that there are two parallel metaphors for our experience of the year 2020 indicates that there is likely truth behind what they symbolically represent.

Figure 3. Dumpster Fire Image Popular in 2020

(Dumpster Fire Flames Garbage, Pixabay, CC0)

Below Tara expands on some of the details that made teaching in 2020 a shit show.

Tara:

> So I spent all spring semester basically teaching—like I was in the classroom from my
>
> dining room, right? With my son who is seven, and my daughter who at the time was
>
> under a year old, and my husband who was also working from home, in our 800-square-
>
> foot apartment. Um, so it was a lot, but I mean, it was also really fine in a lot of ways.

Tara said it was "really fine in a lot of ways." She mentioned during the interview that she was

grateful that she did not have to drive. She also remained employed, had tenure at her institution,

and expressed not worrying about losing her job like so many others have during the pandemic.

By fine, Tara means that the pandemic was fine for her, not fine for all. Tara had students who

were seriously suffering. Tara knows it is not fine. The fineness of the pandemic is also despite

the fact that she is supporting students all day. During the interview she shared that students

texted her all day, sometimes as late as 11 PM. She said, "I feel like I am being pinged like, every

26 seconds, somebody needs something." Saying she is fine in these circumstances is misrecognition, and it allowed the institution to continue to enact SV on Tara. While Tara recognizes the SV of her students and absorbs some of their suffering in her non-academic SNV practices, she is misrecognizing her own complicity in the SV of the institution. The institution's lack of student support increases SV for Tara.

The pandemic increased SV for faculty because they were forced to fill the gaps in support that institutions were not able to provide for students. To enable the institution to keep offering classes, faculty were asked to work sick, sacrifice their health by teaching in-person, work instead of sleep in the face of no childcare, and fired months before earning tenure. Faculty complied with these work conditions because their job is to help students succeed academically. Therefore, they felt obligated to make up the gaps left by lack of institutional support during the pandemic. Another reason is that if students do not succeed or have a good experience at the institution at which they are employed, students could stop enrolling at their institution, it could shut down, and faculty would lose their jobs. Bourdieu (1984a) wrote that a person's cultural capital can be maintained, lowered, or raised by the conditions of their labor. For example, conditions such as how unpleasant it is or how much free time it allows can impact the cultural capital of the occupation. The quality of working conditions for faculty are poor, yet faculty are considered higher class and in many ways are thought to have privilege.

Bourdieu (1984a) observed that if nudity and the portrayal of fornication take place on the stage of an opera, they are not considered obscene. The cultural capital of opera overrides the low-class impact of smut. When faculty work all night due to lack of childcare and are asked to work while sick, it is still not seen as a low-quality job due to the high social status associated with academia. When social capital is high but economic capital is low, Bourdieu (1984a) called this asymmetrical capital. Bourdieu (1984a) specifically named higher education faculty as

having high cultural capital and low economic capital. This means that income is low, but cultural competence, including what and how culture is consumed, is high (Bourdieu 1984a). SV is reproduced through cultural capital and both faculty and students experience SV through cultural reproduction (Bourdieu 1984a). This low economic capital shows itself in the way that institutions treat faculty. While labor conditions are low, it is the culture of academia and perhaps the content of academic disciplines in which cultural capital is being reproduced. The social position of being an academic is paid for with suffering and orthodoxy.

Bourdieu (1984a) connected gender and the trajectory of an occupation. As more women enter a field, for instance, its cultural capital decreases. In a 17-year span, the percentage of women professors in the academy grew from 31% to 46% (B. Kelly 2019). In 2018, women made up approximately 46% of faculty in higher education in the United States (National Center for Educational Statistics [NCES] 2018). The poor labor conditions and expectation to make up the gaps left open by institutions' lack of support in a field made up primarily of women is SV, particularly when the pandemic disproportionately impacts mothers.

As previously mentioned, Bourdieu's theory of habitus and SV is a class theory. Therefore, looking at the data through the lens of this theory reveals (a) what class conditions led faculty to create their SNV practices, and (b) where faculty are positioned in the habitus. The poor labor conditions but high credentials needed to get the job show us the asymmetrical capital of faculty. This is important because all actors in the habitus are reproducing the habitus and systems of domination, which are being converted from economic capital to symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1984a). Recognizing where faculty sit in the habitus allows us to see how they are either reproducing the academic habitus or recognizing SV and employing SNV practices to transform the academic habitus.

It is a shit show, but it is fine in a lot of ways because faculty have no choice but to misrecognize their own SV. However, when it comes to SV on students, faculty are much more likely to recognize it, which leads to the next analytical question.

ANALYSIS QUESTIONS 2: IN WHAT WAYS DID FACULTY RECOGNIZE SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE WHILE TEACHING IN 2020?

Faculty Recognition of Symbolic Violence on Students

SNV occurs because an actor recognizes SV. Once the SV is recognized, the SNV practice is created as a response to ameliorate the SV and change the habitus. The SNV practices that are discussed later were responses to the recognition of the following types of SV on students:

- **Class/SES**: Five out of nine participants who created SNV practices did so as a response to class or SES-related SV.

- **Ethnicity/Race:** Three out of nine participants who created SNV practices did so as a response to ethnicity or race-related SV.

- **Gender**: One out of nine participants who created SNV practices did so as a response to gender-related SV.

These are approximations, as participants did not always disclose what caused the SV they recognized for students. Jackson and Mazzei (2012) remind us that insights gleaned from the data are from meaning constructed by participants. "The data is partial, incomplete, and always being re-told and remembered" (Jackson and Mazzei 2012:3). It is also important to point out that this SV is entangled with the pandemic and attending college classes. Figure 4 shows how the pandemic, college, and identity-related SV interacted to create SV for students in 2020.
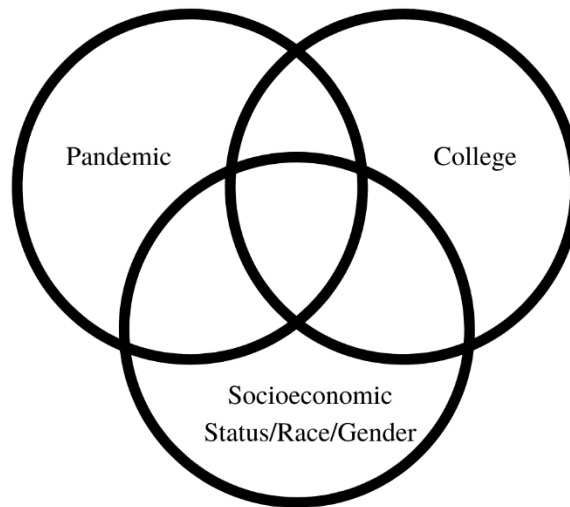
Figure 4. Pandemic, College, and Identity-Related Symbolic Violence Interaction

It is not a surprise that SES and class were the most reported type of SV, given what is known about the economic impact of the pandemic (CDC 2021). Students are often enrolled in college for the effect of social mobility. With the vocationalization of higher education in the United States, college degrees are often sought after in search of better jobs.

Many participants explicitly shared the ways in which they recognized the SV that impacted students due to their identities pertaining to class/SES, ethnicity/race, or gender. Amy, for instance, shared that it is particularly hard for her ESL students at the community college where she teaches. Amy recognized that the pandemic is harder for community college students than university students, and that it is harder for students with marginalized races and ethnicities. In the following quote she compares her students' experiences during the pandemic to her own. Amy:

> I teach English as a Second Language. And so I have a population of students who already are a little bit at the margins, and often taking too many classes for the amount of

work that they have outside of class and balancing those things. It's hard, I think it's hard for all students, and that it's especially hard for community college students. And then even within that population, you know, my students are often struggling even more. And so I've definitely seen that accelerate this semester, in terms of the number of hours that they report working, or even the number of jobs that they report having. A lot of my students have been sick. And we don't live in an area where we've had particularly high rates of illness. So you know, like, among my friends and colleagues, I know, I can count on one hand, the number of people who've had a confirmed case, but among my students, you know, one of them says, "Oh, you know, I missed this assignment, because I was in the hospital," and five or six others are like, "Oh, yes, I was sick just a couple weeks ago, here's what you can do." And I'm sitting there going, Oh, my gosh, you guys are sick at way higher rates than people in my social and family circles. So I know that they are struggling a lot with managing their kids being at home, our schools are closed in this area, and all of their jobs, and then trying to do, frankly, probably too many classes on top of that. I know that they're struggling, and it's showing in their work completion and in the quality of the work that they're handing in. It's just a very marked difference to last fall.

Amy recognizes that race, ethnicity, and class impact how her students experience the pandemic and how it affects their academic performance. Race and ethnicity are prominent in Amy's work as an ESL teacher. Part of her job is to learn about her students' ethnic and cultural background so that she can help them assimilate to American culture and succeed academically. Because of the nature of her work, it is not a surprise that Amy recognized her students' unique positionality. I find it interesting that she realized how her students' identities magnified the impact of the

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virus. She commented that her students were getting sick at much higher rates than those in her own social circles.

While Amy recognized that her students are "a little bit at the margins," it was phrased in a way that still misrecognized the SV in it. She did not say that her students are marginalized because then she would have to name who marginalizes them. Are they marginalized by the culture that Amy is trying to assimilate them to? Are they marginalized by Amy's classes, her colleagues, or the institution? As a former ESL teacher myself, I posit that the teaching of American academic culture to international students is SV because it is the teaching of how to assimilate in a culture that reproduces oppression.

Amy recognized that her students' race/ethnicity and SES/class status make pandemic and college life harder for them. She recognized that this impacted their ability to successfully complete academic work. This is the recognition that led Amy to her SNV practice that we will see in the analysis of question three. In her SNV practice we start to see Amy realize that some of the standards she required before were not as important during the pandemic. Since Amy teaches students from other countries how to succeed academically in this country, perhaps the lessening of standards implies that she recognized her role in her students' marginalization. Institutions of higher education are legitimized to reproduce the habitus (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). Therefore, faculty employed by them are reinforcing social norms.

Mary also recognized the SV reproduced by her institution. In the following excerpt she connected academic performance to her own department's whiteness and the ways in which that affects grading practices in her academic department.

Mary:

I'm in a very white department—an effectively problematically white department, particularly for an institution like ours, but some of my colleagues still really believed

that they could just teach neutrally because they just teach writing. Um, and I was trying

to go kind of almost in the other direction, in terms of not just things like making

allowances for students who were struggling but being more active in terms of choosing

what I—what I would evaluate, what I would pay attention to, what I would validate in

the classroom. Um, an example of that would be deciding not to—not to attend to African

American English in scholarly papers. I used to be one of those professors who would try

to validate, and then talk about code switching and teach them, "Well, but in your

academic papers, you need to kind of learn to do this thing." But, um, but partly through

the research I had done and the listening I had done to African American scholars, I

realized that it's just another layer. And right now, that's not what my students need from

me. Right now they need to find their way through to ideas, they need to find their way

through to a sense of their own ability to succeed in a college class. And so I needed to

work harder at the idea-level things and the progresses and not worry about those nitty

gritty things that really were just another way of heaping messages of you know, you

don't belong here. Which was never what was meant by them, but there's intention, and

then there's the way things hit.

In this example, it is not the race or writing of the students that is the problem and is causing

academic failure, but it is the whiteness and grading standards of the academic culture that Mary

recognized. First, she recognized that her department was comprised of only white faculty and

that that was problematic. Second, she realized that the concept of a writing classroom as a

neutral space was a way to perpetuate oppression and that by telling students to code switch and

adopt white academic language, she was reproducing oppression. This is not specifically related

to the pandemic because Mary said that she had been aware of this for a while. However, in the

above excerpt she said, "Right now, that is not what my students need from me." I believe that by

"right now" Mary meant in the pandemic and in the racial reckoning what students need is to "find their way through to ideas." The events of 2020 increased recognition of racial SV that Mary could no longer ignore.

Another important type of SV that showed up in the data was how much students needed the support of their institutions. This is SES SV because there are some support systems and services that students do not have access to outside of their institutions. We see later the myriad of ways that students rely on the many services that institutions of higher education provide. In the following quote, Jim recognized the SV that was caused by universities when they continued to hold classes during the pandemic but stopped providing support for students.

Jim:

> The fact that there's no, you know, Writing Center, the fact that I can't sit down and help them with their academic writing, and the feeling that like, you know, okay, pass them along. And of course, there's a financial incentive as an adjunct to pass students along, because you don't pass students, they don't enroll in your classes, or the academic advisors say, don't enroll in their classes, you know, because there's no, you know, professional advising as opposed to, you know, professors advising and, and that's it. So in this way, of course, [my institution], like many colleges is shooting itself in the foot. And of course, they're all about—they're a tuition and revenue driven school. Like so many other small colleges, so their, their emphasis is getting, especially room and board, right room and board is where the financials happen. And so they're—they're essentially screwed, and they're screwing themselves by this model.

Jim recognizes that the university cannot afford to cancel class because they need the room and board and tuition, but they are unable to provide support that students need to be successful, so they put services such as the Writing Center and Advising on professors. Faculty have no choice

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but to pick up the slack because it is their job to help students succeed academically. As an adjunct, Jim is in an especially precarious position because if students do not pass his class, they will stop enrolling in his courses, and he will likely lose his job.

I would like to spend some time on Jim's comment that small colleges are "essentially screwed." In a similar fashion to "shit show" and "dumpster fire," there is much to be learned by diving into what Jim meant that the university is screwing themselves. What does it mean when someone screws themself? On one hand it could mean that they are screwing themselves over or messing themselves up—making a mistake. By this definition, Jim means that the university has created a model that is causing students to be unsupported academically and for faculty to pass students who are not academically prepared. This will continue to tarnish the already low reputation of the university. They are screwing themselves because they are producing unprepared graduates through their lack of support and emphasis on tuition, room, and board.

Another definition of the use of the word screwed which Jim might have meant by "screwing themselves by this model" could refer to fornication. "Screw yourself" is a polite way to say, "go fuck yourself." Jim could be implying that he wants the institution to go fuck itself because of its poor actions toward students and faculty. Self-fornication could also refer to the self-gratification the institution is getting at the expense of students and faculty by offering classes during the pandemic with no academic support. The data repeatedly shows that institutions stopped providing the resources and services students needed to be successful during the pandemic. Yet they kept offering classes, forcing faculty to make up the difference. Faculty adapted by developing the SNV that we see later.

The preceding quotes show that some of the SV faculty recognized was made worse by the pandemic, but it was all already there before (see Table 3). In Amy's excerpt, students were already "in the margins" because of their racial and/or ethnicity. The pandemic made this worse

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as her students were more prone to sickness and unemployment than people in Amy's circles. The white academic grading practices in Mary's department were always there, but during the pandemic, Mary realized that students needed to communicate ideas and understand messages surrounding current events more than they needed to mimic white academic grammar. Jim's students always needed the support offered by the institution's writing and advising centers. The fact that they were taken away by the pandemic revealed how needed they were. It is crucial to point out that all recognitions of SV are not a deficit of the students, but a deficit of the culture or institution. Amy's students suffer because they have not yet assimilated—this is a failure of a culture that does not provide equal support to everyone. Mary's department created barriers to student success through their white academic grading practices rather than adopting inclusive teaching practices. Jim's students did not have either the academic preparation or resources they needed to academically succeed without the institutional support that they had to stop providing during the pandemic. These are all failures of systems and structures—not of students.

Table 3. Recognition and Effects of Symbolic Violence

Participant	Recognized Symbolic Violence	Effect of Symbolic Violence
Amy	The ESL students she teaches are more impacted by the pandemic than she is due to race/ethnicity	Pandemic challenges make it more difficult for her students to complete schoolwork
Mary	White academic grading standards	Oppression by dominant culture through grading practices
Jim	Lack of institutional support	Students learn less

Faculty Recognition of Symbolic Violence on Faculty

Faculty also recognized how they were affected by SV. Whereas participants recognized standard identity markers that affect students, a new category appeared in the data for the

recognition of SV on faculty. The position of being an adjunct came up often in the data about

recognizing the impact of SV on faculty. While this can be tied to SES, it is slightly different. As

we saw earlier with Bourdieu's concept of asymmetric capital, economic capital is low while

cultural capital is high.

In the following excerpt Jim, an adjunct, recognized that his labor was being exploited, so

he decided to give multiple-choice exams. He did not pedagogically agree with multiple choice

exams but used them for his in-class assessments to push back against the injustice of the

academic machine.

Jim:

> And I was teaching at one point eight classes at three different institutions. So it was like,
>
> yeah, I'm using multiple choice. So a lot of it, right, is me choosing how to spend my
>
> labor, right? So it's my own labor and my unwillingness to do free labor or inordinate
>
> amounts of labor. It's not because I'm lazy, but because I'm (A) burned out and (B) I don't
>
> feel valued by the institution as an adjunct, and I'm unwilling to invest the time and
>
> energy in the institution.

While other faculty felt compelled to fill the gaps created by the lack of institutional support, Jim

refused to allow the university to exploit his labor. During the interview he said that his solution

is to "break the form and give a huge middle finger to the academy," the symbolic equivalent of

"fuck you." Fuck you often accompanies an act of resistance—refusal to comply. Jim's

recognition of the SV enacted upon him by the institution led to his heterodoxy (Bourdieu 1972).

Jim was the only participant that said outright said "fuck you" to the university. Others

recognized wrongdoing, but no one else translated that recognition into less support for students.

In fact, as we see later in the SNV practices, many faculty turned recognition into providing *more*

support for students even when it increased SV and suffering for themselves.

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Tara also recognized the SV that academia imposed on faculty. In the following quote Tara illustrates recognition that the academy previously made women's lives invisible but that during the pandemic, she feels more seen.

Tara:

> I wonder, like, what this is all going to do to the academy, right? Like, are we going to become a kinder and gentler academy? Because we now realize that people actually do have lives and that they live in places that aren't offices, and that there are pets and children and spouses that come to meetings and that show up or that you just hear in the background. Or are we just eventually going to pretend like none of this ever happened, and go back to like this really weird existence of academia being like this, you know, pure little tower of place that it never actually was.

By Tara's use of the words "kinder and gentler" I believe she means kinder and gentler to women. Women academics have been hiding their lives as mothers and spouses, but Zoom meetings have exposed them and forced institutions to accept them. No longer can we hide that we have familial responsibilities outside of academia. When Tara refers to academia as the "pure little tower of place that never actually was" I think she means the reproduction of SV. Academia reproduced itself by being untouchable and perpetuating an image of what an academic is — but no one actually is that. And just like a shit show reveals shit, Zoom reveals what has always been behind the wall of the tower that never was: professors nursing babies below the camera in 750-square feet apartments.

Shelly recognizes that her career as an academic may not be sustainable. In the following excerpt she shares that continuity of her employment is up to the office staff in her department. This shows her recognition of the instability of her employment as an adjunct.

Shelly:

Our staff is really cognizant of our precarity as adjuncts. The office manager in my

department is really good about assuring me that once I have a contract, they will not

cancel the course on me, for instance, which was helpful to know. But like, my evals are

still going into my record. And regular faculty are not having their evals put in their

record, you. And, you know, I'm so much more precarious to these kinds of things. And

I'm not given the same kind of resources that faculty are, and it might just be an

oversight, but I don't feel comfortable being the squeaky wheel. And my dynamic with a

department is different than some others because it's the department I graduated out of.

So I'm, I'm adjuncting while my spouse finishes his degree, and then I will, hopefully it—

maybe, maybe I won't be an academic after all this because the job market is awful.

Shelly recognizes that her employment is in the hands of the office staff in her department, that

she is evaluated differently and receives different resources than full-time faculty, and that she

may not be able to stay in higher education. She is keenly aware of her status and differential

treatment. Instead of shooting the middle finger and refusing to fill the gaps left open by the

institution like Jim, she does not "feel comfortable being the squeaky wheel," so she continues to

comply and be a victim of SV. In fact, we see later examples of how Shelly developed SNV

practices to further support her struggling students during the pandemic. Shelly did the opposite

of shoot them the finger—she did more than she had to make the pandemic better for students.

Philip suggests that the pandemic might provide recognition for all of academia.

Philip:

I was really kind of hoping that the pandemic would change higher ed, that, you know,

the world is completely upside down and destroyed in many ways. And therefore, it's a

lot less effort to build something new. You know, we don't have to fight against the status

quo, like the status quo is upside down. Cool. Let it be upside down, we're going to build

something else. And, and I wish that there was more support, particularly for adjuncts to do that. Without having to risk losing a job, or, you know, or your reputation ruined. I don't know what, um, but I really would love to see more change happening. Adjuncts make up 70% of higher ed. So, you know, it's not sustainable. So I hope that there is change on the horizon, and that we look at higher ed right now, or education as a whole right now and see it for what it is and instead of what we thought it was supposed to be.

Philip acknowledges the recognition that Jim and Shelly did and hopes that all of academia sees the ways in which higher education is producing inequity for adjuncts. Jim, Shelly, and Philip, all adjuncts, all recognize their exploitation of labor and expendability. Adjuncts are the marginalized academics. For adjuncts, recognition of the inequity and facade of academia seems to come more easily. Jackson and Mazzei's (2012) method encourages researchers to focus on data that is different. To find the threshold and new meaning, we must look to the "Voice that is not normative, but one that is transgressive" (Jackson and Mazzei 2012:4). I suggest that this transgressive voice is the voice of the adjunct—the *almost* legitimized agent of reproduction in higher education. The transgressive voice is also the voice that shoots academia the middle finger and refuses to fill in the gaps out of the kindness of their hearts.

Bourdieu (1984a) wrote that the academic habitus mirrors the broader habitus in that the hierarchy that exists in broader society also exists in academia. It appears neutral, and this misrecognition helps it reproduce inequity so adeptly (Bourdieu 1984a). We see this in Philip, Jim, and Shelly's responses. This common response from adjuncts in the data feels like this is the threshold that Jackson and Mazzei (2012) wrote about. In adjuncts' responses during the COVID-19 pandemic, we see SV seeping through the cracks of the "little tower of place that never actually was." Plugging SV into the HEC during the COVID-19 pandemic puts the show on the shit, the fire on the dumpster—it reveals inequities for both students and faculty.

Many of the faculty I spoke with took this shit show and turned it into something better for students. I do not have data on how institutions have done the same, but faculty have done what Philip suggested. They crafted SNV practices to break down what academia was and build something new.

ANALYSIS QUESTION 3: HOW DID FACULTY PRACTICE SYMBOLIC NONVIOLENCE IN THE ACADEMIC HABITUS IN 2020?

Burawoy (2019:32) said, "One can pick grapes only so many times before they perish if the vine itself is not replenished." I endeavor to reap fruit from the vine replenished by Waters (2017) in his development of the term symbolic non-violence, which I have expanded to SNV. Waters (2017) coined symbolic non-violence to describe the teaching practices of teachers at alternative schools in Australia. These were practices to help students heal from the SV-inducing practices used in mainstream Australian schools. I adapted this term to SNV to refer to the practices developed to ameliorate SV exacerbated by the pandemic. In addition, by SNV, I refer to intentional, systematic practices that were created as a response to the recognition of SV. SNV practices absorb SV and have the potential to change the habitus as an antidote to SV (Haga 2020b). I applied concepts from King (1958) that love combined with suffering create transformative nonviolence.

In plugging in the third question with the goal of surfacing SNV practices, three categories of practice emerged from the data. Although it was not my intention to identify themes, they emerged organically. The three types of SNV practices that I identified are non-academic support, academic adjustments, and disciplinary superpowers. All three are SNV practiced by faculty to ameliorate pandemic-induced suffering for students.

This is not to suggest that SV was only experienced by students. The plugging in of the first two questions revealed that faculty also experienced SV from the pandemic and their

institutions. However, the most poignant SNV practices that arose from this data set were practiced by faculty for students. Therefore, since SNV is a response to SV experienced by students, here I am going to revisit student SV identified in analysis Questions 1 and 2. Analysis Question 1, "How did symbolic violence show up in higher education classrooms in 2020?" revealed that most of the SV that faculty reported students being affected by was related to SES. Students struggled academically due to the lack of resources around time, housing, childcare, and internet access. This interaction between the pandemic, college attendance, and SES led to cognitive trauma which affected grades and, in some cases, exiting. In Question 2, "In what ways did faculty recognize symbolic violence while teaching in 2020?" faculty recognized SV that existed pre-pandemic but was heightened by the pandemic and/or institutions on students marginalized by race/ethnicity and SES.

I now discuss SNV practices that faculty created to lessen the SV on students. Table 4 lists the specific incidents of SNV that are described in this section, the type, and what SV each was a response to. There is also a column for how attending college enhances SV since the SV in this study is an intersection of pandemic, identity, and college attendance (see Figure 4). Due to the nature of the methodology used, these are different incidents than were identified in Questions 1 and 2. However, SES and race/ethnicity SV on students were identified by all three analytical questions with the addition of gender in Question 3.

Table 4. Recognized Symbolic Violence That Led to Symbolic Nonviolence Practices

Symbolic Nonviolence Practice	Type	Recognized Symbolic Violence	Identity that interacted with college and COVID
Judy's Blue Hair Pedagogy	Non-Academic Support	• Grades and completion rates and grades lower than previous semesters • Students having challenges with employment, housing, and death of family and friends while trying to keep up with academic work	• SES/Social Class
Tara's Amazon Primed Pregnancy Test	Non-Academic Support	• Decrease in retention • Student does not have access to healthcare	• SES/Social class • Gender
Jennifer's Kitchen Chats	Non-Academic Support	• Isolation and lack of social support caused by quarantining	
Amy's Not Heart Surgery	Academic Adjustments	• Students more affected by the pandemic than she is • Amy recognized that the learning is less essential "My class is not what's standing in between them now and doing heart surgery on you tomorrow." • Faculty concerns about losing jobs if lowering academic standards	• Class/SES • Race/Ethnicity
Shelly's Empathetic Allowance of Late Work	Academic Adjustments	• Decreased retention due to students' inability to complete academic work during COVID • Increased plagiarism	• Class/SES

		• Shelly recognizes that some academic rigor is the symbolic capital of the academic habitus • Students living at home due to the pandemic led to increased isolation and loneliness	
Cynthia's Meme Final Assignment	Academic Adjustments	• Students lost time to do schoolwork due to the shutdown • Students disappeared • Students were "just done" • Students working more hours to make up for lost work	• Class/SES
Emma's Design-Thinking Apps	Disciplinary Superpowers	• Fears from COVID • Fears from misinformation • Fears of racism	• Race
Mark's Riches & Niches Theory	Disciplinary Superpowers	• Students demotivated • Students of color more likely to be negatively impacted by the virus (HBCU context) • Students stop participating when suffering	• Race
Mary's Rhetorical Tools	Disciplinary Superpowers	• Students not able to interpret current events • Mary recognizes anti-Black racism and racial injustice	

I do not intend to imply that the data sampled below represents all faculty's responses supporting students in the pandemic. Some respondents practiced non-academic support, while

more SNV practices fell into the category of academic adjustments, and fewer reported using their academic disciplinary superpowers as a tool to heal pandemic suffering and change the habitus. A small number of respondents reported making no changes to their teaching whatsoever as a response to the pandemic.

Non-Academic Support Symbolic Nonviolence

The first type of SNV practice that I discuss is non-academic support. This is student support provided by faculty external to academic support in that it was not related to an assignment or exam. In some cases, it happened outside of class times and often arose from faculty's own experienced SV or pandemic-related struggles.

The pandemic manifested in Judy's hair. Hair salons were temporarily closed during quarantine, and many people chose not to patronize hair salons even after they were open to reduce the risk of exposure to COVID-19. Judy's inability to get haircuts led to insecurities about her appearance. She did not expect it to grow in white, and adjusting to it surprised her. She was dealing with this age-related embodied experience while enduring the isolation of quarantine. She also realized that her habit of getting regular haircuts was something that her mother had instilled in her. In the following excerpt, Judy describes the process of realizing that her hair was unexpectedly impacting her and how it was more deeply connected to her life than she first knew. Judy:

> Spring B was really rough. But I think we all were kind of in that, Oh, my gosh, we don't know what's going on. So we just kind of all bound together. And one of the things I did for my students—I really dislike seeing myself on recordings, and I really dislike doing them. I get very, very, very self-conscious. But I have done tips of the week for students kind of an on-and-off basis in spring B. I thought I need to get over my discomfort and I need to be there for the students. At the same time my hair was growing out because I

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couldn't go get it colored. And much to my surprise, it came in white. I thought it might be gray, but it wasn't—it was white. So that was happening. And I was going through all sorts of anxiety about my hair color. And then what I realized was like in many moments of reflection, self-reflection, I realized that my hair was a thing. And it was a big thing to me. And it was because my mom always went to the beauty salon every Friday. And having your hair done was a big deal. So both of her parents were stylists, beauty salon people, as we used to call them. So she still goes. She's 86 and she still goes every Friday to get her hair done. I didn't realize that's what it was. And when I realized that it was really one of those aha moments. And I was like, Well, I have literally fought for my kids to wear what they want to wear and do their hair the way they want to do their hair. Because it's just hair. So what is wrong with me? So I decided to color it blue and was just like, 'Okay, I'm just gonna do this.'

The need to appear on video conferences with her students amplified the stress she felt by the pandemic and by teaching in general. Judy came up with the idea of her SNV practice because she was devastated to be on camera with her students as her hair started growing in. It changed her perception of herself and shook her confidence. When she realized the deep reason why it was bothering her, she was able to embrace it and turn it into a pedagogic strategy. In the following excerpt, Judy describes the journey she went through transitioning into pandemic hair, and how she was able to find a way to embrace it and use it to connect with her students. What started as suffering became a way to heal through connection.

Judy:

So it kind of like—I was making fun of it. Because you know, it's growing in. So one week it kind of sticks up and does its own thing. And when my hair is short—and I keep it very short—I brush it back and I don't have to deal with it for the rest of the day. But

now it's like curly bits, weird legs, and it's doing all these weird things. I started making

fun of it. Partly to get over my own discomfort of being recorded. But the students loved

it. Ah, at the same time, I had started that semester by saying we need to lean into

kindness, we need to be there for each other. This is all unknown, we're all under stress.

And none of us really can understand what the other one is going through. Because I

teach 100% online, I had students who were in New York, I had students who were in

Pennsylvania, in New Jersey, and in Europe and in Asia. So I had students all over the

world having different experiences and different levels of crisis. I met with more students

in that seven-and-a-half-week session that I had met with in the previous three years. So

it was emotionally exhausting.

From this point onward, I use the term Blue Hair Pedagogy (BHP) to refer to Judy's method of

using her own vulnerabilities to connect with students and heal suffering. Judy's BHP can be

considered a SNV practice because it was a practice that she adopted in a systematic way. She

regularly used humility about her hair in videos and conferences with students. It was intentional

because she began each student conference by making fun of her hair and talking about kindness.

This is an example of non-academic support because it is not specifically tied to an assignment or

academic requirement. This SNV practice absorbed student suffering because Judy met students'

increased need for conferences even though she did not want to because of her hair. She found a

way to do her job and support her students while she was suffering.

Judy said she had met with "more students in that seven-and-a-half-week session" than

she had "met with in the previous three years." The increased workload caused her suffering. And

meeting with students when she was uncomfortable with her hair also caused suffering. While

meeting with students more often, she was also experiencing her own pandemic-related stresses.

She called this time of meeting with her students "emotionally exhausting." She was also sharing

her vulnerability, which may have increased the SV she experienced from her pandemic-induced hair challenges. Judy gave her students time in the conferences and shared with them a part of her personal pandemic experience. She also taught a lesson outside of academics about kindness. Her teaching extended beyond the classroom — it was about surviving the pandemic and becoming a stronger community through it.

While the additional meetings increased SV for Judy, she may have simultaneously been experiencing SNV from her own BHP because it gave her an avenue to talk about her suffering and make connections with people during the isolating time of quarantine. Another effect BHP had is that it gave Judy a strategy for pushing through. She may not have wanted to meet with students, but she did, and BHP gave her a framework for doing so.

Judy's idea for BHP started with her recognition that her students were struggling completing school during the pandemic. She shared earlier in the interview that assignment completion rates and grades were lower than in previous semesters teaching the class. She acknowledged that students were suffering with real life challenges such as employment, housing, and death of family and friends while trying to keep up with academic work as though their lives were not affected. College students had to keep up with faculty, whose lives may not have been as affected. Judy acknowledged suffering by sharing it with students. Even if Judy's pandemic is different from her students' pandemic, she acknowledged their suffering by relating with her own.

BHP decreased SV for students in several ways. First, it distracted them from their own struggles and also their academics, which Judy shared many students were abnormally struggling with that year. It also allowed a deeper connection and a laugh. By doing this she was showing students that she, too was suffering and that they were not alone. Judy showed her vulnerability while sharing the message to "Lean into kindness." Perhaps this helped heal her own suffering

because how can anyone not be kind to a woman with fun blue hair? She replied that the students loved it. Maybe they loved it because they felt kindness toward her. So she kept doing it because it created healing in the SV of the pandemic and the myriad of crises her students all over the world were facing. Another way that it helped students was that it allowed them to see a real part of her past her title and job and expertise. It allowed them to see her as a person suffering in the pandemic. It also showed that she valued and recognized their suffering. Even if Judy's problems are different from their problems, they are invited to see that she has problems.

Judy's BHP exemplifies what Haga (2020b) meant when he said that nonviolence is the antidote to violence. SNV is the antidote to SV in this example. Judy's BHP is the kind of transformative nonviolence that King (1958) said can be achieved through love and suffering. I believe that Judy's BHP may change the habitus by sharing her message of kindness and vulnerability in the hardest of times. BHP may also help to break down the barriers between professor and student. A professor's hair, let alone admission of weakness, is not something that professors often discuss with students. There are barriers put in place by expert, legitimate, and referent power dynamics as well as a socioeconomic boundary that is not often crossed (French and Raven 1959). By blurring this boundary, Judy is telling students that she is human just like they are. This could potentially change the habitus because they may feel less distanced from academia and from professors. It also allowed Judy to bring more of her whole self to the classroom. Rather than compartmentalize her academic self with her real human body self, she joined them. BHP makes space for aging in academia. Rather than hide her white hair as it came in, Judy highlighted it and used it in a positive way.

SNV is made and unmade through each faculty-student interaction. It is in the "non-academic moments" like the small talk at the beginning of a meeting. Each time Judy practices BHP, she is making SNV and simultaneously unmaking SV. In this case there was no role for the

institution to help Judy or the students in this specific way. This was an act of kindness Judy extended for the sole purpose of alleviating suffering for her students and herself.

Tara also practiced SNV in the way of non-academic support to alleviate pandemic-induced SV for her students. In the following excerpt, Tara explains how, upon checking in with a student who was struggling academically, she learned that the student was worried she might be pregnant.

Tara:

But like, just like the complexity of things right now are like nuts. Like I had a student last week, who's like—she's failing my developmental section of Composition I and I'm like, what is going on? And she's like, well, I've been throwing up for three weeks. So I actually think I'm pregnant. Oh, my God. I was like, okay, I was like—well, have you taken a pregnancy test? Because, right, like, that's the logical step. Like, if you think you're pregnant, take a pregnancy test. And she's like, well, I can't afford one. And I was like, Okay, I was like, could you ask your mom because like, I know, she lives with her parents because like her mom was on Zoom with me one day trying to get her into the Blackboard course. She's like, my mother said, 'If I ever got pregnant, she would kick me out.' I was like, Okay, I was like, 'Can I Amazon Prime you a pregnancy test?' She was like, 'Yes, that would be very helpful.' God—like, so it's—it's like that level of need plus the kind of academic stuff that is just like it's, it's really untenable.

By ordering a pregnancy test for her student, Tara gave her time, emotional labor, and money through this non-academic support. This is intentional because the support came after she asked her student why she was failing her class. Earlier in the interview Tara shared that before the pandemic she had a 95% retention rate in her class and that she regularly checks on students who are suffering academically. This is also systematic because later in the interview she shared

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another story about offering to bail students out if they got arrested at Black Lives Matter protests. Tara systematically supports her students in non-academic ways.

It added SV for Tara because she worked longer hours and spent her salary on a pregnancy test. She provided this support because the institution was unable to provide it due to the pandemic. Tara mentioned that the health clinic was not available to students because the campus was closed. Before the pandemic, the student might have gone to the campus health clinic to be tested. This is SV for Tara because it is her job to make sure students learn, and she may feel like it is her fault if her students fail; therefore, she may feel pressured to give non-academic support beyond the scope of her job duties.

Tara absorbed a lot for her students. In this case she absorbed the role of the parent and health services by deducing that the student may be pregnant because she was throwing up. She also comforted the student by listening and providing a solution. She absorbed fear of failure or guilt the student may have been experiencing by not completing the work. She may also be absorbing a responsibility to offer extended deadlines or reduced requirements through the intimate role she took on with this student. Offering non-academic support in this way may have provided SNV for Tara because in the face of so many pandemic casualties, she may have felt some relief in helping one person. However, I think the SV that increased for Tara outweighed the SNV she may have experienced.

Tara recognized that the pandemic limited many options for the pregnant student. It limited her ability to get healthcare as well as the ability to leave her mother's home to seek support outside of the home. The pregnancy could limit her academic outcome and future SES. Tara may have offered this level of support because of values her mother instilled in her. As she describes in the following excerpt, she learned from her mother that being a good person is about fixing problems once you know about them.

Tara:

> But like, that type of labor as like a faculty member, like, I'm not equipped for that, like, I'm good on teaching English and talking about politics. But like, my mother's a therapist. There's a reason I didn't go into social work, right? Like, I don't enjoy hearing sob stories, and I don't enjoy having to fix things. But if I hear them, I have to fix them. Because if you don't, you're just a bad person.

Tara was able to "fix" her student's problem by giving her a tool for finding more information, which allowed the student to decide how she would handle the pregnancy if she was indeed pregnant. This SNV practice lessened suffering for her student because her mother said she would kick her out if she got pregnant. This could make it better for her student because it could give her more options. It may have been hard for Tara's student to face the possibility of being pregnant and hard for Tara to ask her that. I think in the context of education, this is what King (1960) meant by "negative good," and the meaning of the absence of the hyphen that Haga (2020a) referred to. SNV, like nonviolence, is not passive. To ameliorate suffering, we must accept suffering.

Tara's non-academic support could change the habitus because it communicated to her student that body and whole health is welcome and important in academia. Knowing whether or not she is pregnant could help the student finish her degree. If the student is pregnant, she may be more likely to finish knowing that her professor would allow her possibly pregnant self to exist in the academic space. Tara's non-academic support SNV practice could make academia a friendlier place for women's bodies.

SNV is made by Tara reaching out to her student and removing barriers to academic success. In this way she is also unmaking SV for the student. By the institution not providing this non-academic support, SV is being made for Tara. If Tara did not send a pregnancy test to the

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student, she may have been more likely to fail the class and drop out of school, which is a support that institutions of higher education traditionally provide as health services to students.

Jennifer shows us another example of non-academic student support. In the following excerpt she describes the changes she saw in her students during the pandemic and their increased need for non-academic connection with her.

Jennifer:

I've observed that students are much more anxious. And I understand that because they are dealing with young children at home, work pressures, either they have lost jobs or their spouse, their partners have lost jobs. They're caring for, you know, elderly, parents or relatives who are either afflicted by COVID, or are likely to be, and so that stress has definitely tolled on them. So how is it manifesting? I find that they are—they're wanting to talk more, they're wanting to communicate more, and not just about classes, but just, they're just looking for some connection. And I think part of it is also the isolation because of you know, the quarantine and just being socially distant. So, so I think they're reaching out a lot more, and I'm having more conversations that are non-class related, just because of that.

Jennifer continues to explain how and when she provided increased communication for students to meet their increased need for connection during the pandemic and how it affected her.

Jennifer:

And I've actually been doing this in the evenings, I'm cooking dinner. I have my laptop open on the kitchen counter and I'm just waiting—because I'm just waiting for them to drop by right? So I'm not gonna waste my time, but I'm cooking and I'm talking to them. So there's one woman who just logged in. And so I asked her 'Okay, well, do you have any questions?' So she said, 'No, I just came by to say hi. I just want to hear.' and she stays on while I'm talking to other people. And you know, because we don't talk about

anything that's confidential. But she just stays on. And we just chat about life in general, which is stressful on me.

The non-academic support Jennifer provided is SNV because it is intentional and systematic. As a response to her students' anxiety and need for increased communication, she increased her virtual office hours to every evening while she cooked dinner. Her system is that she kept her usual routine of cooking dinner, and she invited students to join her in her kitchen virtually. She gave her time, and she also gave emotional labor and support to ease students' suffering. She absorbed students' loneliness and isolation. Jennifer indicated that it did increase SV for her. She said, "we just chat about life in general, which is stressful for me." The word "just" reminds me of the word "fine" in Tara's response. It indicates that the SNV is a minor offering, but it is juxtaposed with "it's stressful for me," indicating that it is not "just chatting." It does not seem that Jennifer experienced any SNV herself from this act because it added to her labor; she was in fact laboring for students while laboring in her home to prepare meals.

Jennifer recognized that students were suffering from the pandemic. She also recognized that she could offer them something. By sharing her normal everyday life of cooking in her kitchen and carrying on small talk or non-academic conversations, she recognized that students benefit from this. This is SV caused by the pandemic and not necessarily academia or the institution, but the institution could have provided more social support for students during this time. In fact, the university classes in general may have provided SNV for students who voluntarily chose to attend her office hours to ease their other demands and stresses in life.

While students hung out with Jennifer in her kitchen, their suffering was eased while she offered companionship and acceptance. The message she sent them was "You can hang out with me, even if you don't need help." She accepted the additional suffering it added to her to relieve suffering for students. This could change the habitus because, like Judy's non-academic support,

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Jennifer was softening the boundaries between student and professor. In this pandemic, we are all equals connected by Zoom and not spatially separated by university parking lots or commute times. And we are all in need of connection. The university classroom provides a vector for that communication. It is the communication that is important, not the reason. The university class is just as likely as any other to provide an opportunity for connection and comfort. Will this boundary remain blurred when the pandemic is over? Will Jennifer continue to invite students into her kitchen in the evenings, or will the invitation be restricted to her office up high in a university tower?

Jennifer made SNV each time she turned on Zoom in her kitchen for students to join. SV was being unmade because she showed students that they were not alone. She was also showing students that her kitchen is a real place, and she cooks like a real person. The walls around academia get thinner. The institution could have offered more support and connection to meet students' needs. In traditional university brick and mortar spaces, students connect with each other in class and on campus, but this is not an option during a pandemic. So Jennifer provided support that the institution was not providing. If she were to stop providing this support, the SV on students might increase, and they might be less invested in completing their coursework. Jennifer accepted her increased SV, letting the institution off the hook.

Bringing it all together: Non-academic support symbolic nonviolence.

Judy, Tara, and Jennifer are in different disciplines: sociology, English literature, and business, respectively. They are at different types of institutions in different regions of the country. They are not the same race, not all tenured, and not all first generation. They are all full-time faculty, and the only other thing they seem to have in common is that they are all women. It is interesting that both Judy and Tara mentioned their mothers being connected to their SNV practices. For Judy, her mother was connected to her commitment to grooming her hair. Tara's

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mother taught her the value of helping those in need. The anecdotes are about hair, pregnancy, and cooking. These are all intimate, body-related, and may have been less likely to arise as part of professor-student rapport in on-campus spaces. They may also be topics traditionally connected with the feminine and with nurturing. Perhaps Judy, Tara, and Jennifer are making academia a more feminine space.

The pandemic made these inequities, or SV, apparent in a way that faculty could no longer ignore. Students may have felt more comfortable accepting the SNV practices than they would have pre-pandemic because they knew the inequities were no longer a secret. In other words, the shit was on show. Students might not have shared with Jennifer before the pandemic that they were lonely and wanted to hang out with her while she cooked dinner. But their isolation and loneliness were out in the open.

The pandemic made SV for their students and for all three faculty. Judy, Tara, and Jennifer made SNV and unmade SV for their students. In Tara and Jennifer's case, the institution made SV for the students and the faculty by not providing alternative health services for Tara's student and social support for Jennifer's students. These are needs that exist in non-pandemic times, and their necessity is made apparent by the pandemic. This also shows us what services and SNV institutions of higher education typically do provide for students. The U.S. government does not provide these yet. Also, the SES and social support of students may limit their access to these services outside of the institution. While academic expectations can exacerbate SV by expecting students to keep up with requirements while having potentially reduced access and limited resources such as time and childcare, the pandemic has also revealed the SNV that the institution provides in normal times.

In all these scenarios, faculty gave time and emotional support. On top of the increased labor for their jobs, faculty experience increased SV both by the inoperability of the institution

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and by experiencing the pandemic themselves. Judy, Tara, and Jennifer shared that they were feeling the pressures of the pandemic (see Table 5). Judy called the extra conferences and SNV support "emotionally exhausting." Tara said that the level of need of buying a student a pregnancy test on top of her academic job duties is "really untenable." She also described working from her dining room table in an 800 square foot house that she shared with her 7-year-old son, under-a-year-old daughter, and husband as "a lot." And of course, Tara also called the experience a "shit show," and said she doesn't "enjoy hearing sob stories or having to fix things." Jennifer used the word "stressful" when she said that chatting with her students about lift in general is "stressful on me."

Table 5. Expressions of Symbolic Violence

Participant	Words chosen to express SV
Judy	"emotionally exhausting"
Tara	"That level of need plus the kind of academic stuff that is just like it's, it's really untenable."
Tara	"shit show"
Tara	"I don't enjoy hearing sob stories, and I don't enjoy having to fix things."
Tara	"a lot"
Jennifer	"stressful on me"

In the interviews, I felt the weight of the world on participants' shoulders. Everyone, including me, was carrying more than we comfortably could and were not at our best. Who comforts faculty? When I asked faculty how their institutions supported them in 2020, many participants replied through communication or through online teaching support. There was not a single response to my question about institutional support in the set of 22 interviews that did not

feel sterile and performative. But the participants' support of students: blue hair jokes, pregnancy test, and cooking chat—these are the epitome of warmth. Judy, Tara, and Jennifer practiced SNV because they eased student suffering by not being passive but by accepting increased suffering for themselves.

I believe that Judy, Tara, and Jennifer are making the world a better place through their non-academic support SNV practices. However, it is important to be honest about the systemic and structural causes for the increased suffering to begin with. The pandemic increased SV on institutions of higher education, which caused them to shut down or reduce services. The students still need these services to successfully complete academic work, so it fell to faculty employed to teach the classes. Faculty are spatially flexible and are also pressured into compliance. As we saw earlier, it is the job of faculty members to guide students to successfully complete their classes. If the university does not provide the non-academic support students need, there is an unstated expectation that faculty must provide whatever support is needed for students to be academically successful. It could be reasoned that providing non-academic SNV is part of the job. When faculty are exploited due to their expendability, that is SV. If faculty do not provide the support, they could either be fired or students will suffer.

As a student myself, I cannot imagine one of my professors blurring the student-professor boundaries in the way that Tara and Jennifer did. I can see Judy's SNV more likely to happen, but that would still be rare. If more professors blurred these boundaries, I wonder if it would eventually change who is recruited to college and who is retained in college (see Table 6). If pregnancy were to become something students could talk about with professors, would more women get degrees? Another participant, Shelly, talked about how quiet her classmates had to be about their pregnancies when she was in grad school. One of her colleagues hid her pregnancy as long as she could. Tara's pedagogy could change the landscape of academia. If more Judys talked

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about their whitening hair and their emotions around their appearance, could academia and society be more open to aging and aging people? Might we also learn to be less afraid of emotions and learn to do the shadow work of bringing to the surface the things we have learned to hide. Might this create more whole citizens? Jennifer shows her students that she has a life outside of being a professor. At the end of the day work stops, and she cooks dinner. This lesson about work-life balance could be life changing to business students.

Table 6. How Non-Academic Support Symbolic Nonviolence Could Change the Habitus

SNV practice	How can change the habitus
Blue Hair Pedagogy	Breaks down professor-student barriers; professor's whole self has a place in academic; age has a place in academia
Tara's Amazon Primed Pregnancy Test	Communicates that body and health are important in academic success; women's bodies accepted into academic spaces
Jennifer's Kitchen Chats	Breaks down professor-student barriers; eliminates spatial barriers of location-bound office hours; academia more accessible

In all of these examples, SNV was practiced in conference-style conversations. This kind of connection cannot happen during routine assignment submissions or no-contact MOOC (Massive Open Online Courses) style classes. These are all one-on-one interactions with students. These professors have made space and time for their students. This is how SNV is made and SV is unmade.

Academic Adjustments Symbolic Nonviolence

Another form of SNV practice that rose from the data was academic adjustments. During the pandemic faculty changed academic assignments or expectations to relieve suffering and increase academic success. We see examples of how expectations were changed and standards

were "lowered," as well as examples of how modifications were made to assignments to lower the cognitive lift of academic work.

In the following quote, Amy explains her academic adjustment SNV that she practiced as a faculty member to relieve suffering for students and also for her faculty colleagues at the community college where she teaches ESL.

Amy:

We have to lower our expectations. And if that means that students pass classes, that in a normal semester, the work that they're doing would not be a passing grade, like, it's not the end of the world. You know, my English class is not what's standing in between them now and them doing heart surgery on you tomorrow. You know, right, there are going to be other places that will catch the students who are not performing to expectations. And, you know, that's a really hard thing, I think, for faculty to let go of, because we feel that passion for our discipline and for the standards that we hold our students to. And we have high expectations of them and even more of ourselves.

So I'm trying to use my position of a little bit more longevity and seniority to say it's okay to lower your expectations because it's the only way we're going to survive 2020/2021. And, you know, get to next Fall and hopefully things will be somewhat more normal then.

Amy's practice of lowering her academic expectations is SNV because she is lessening the pressure on students. She stated earlier during her interview that her students' friends and families were getting sick with COVID at much higher rates than Amy's friends and family are. She adjusted her academic expectations because she knew that students did not have the same capacity for learning and producing work as they did before. This is also a SNV practice to her faculty colleagues. Amy has seniority at the institution and can lower standards, but her newer

colleagues do not have the security in their positions to make that decision. Amy gave up her academic expectations—the academic rigor she required in the past. It is intentional and systematic because she practiced it and regularly counseled colleagues to lower their expectations as well.

Amy's SNV practice creates SV for her and her colleagues. She says that it is "a really hard thing, I think, for faculty to let go of, because we feel that passion for our discipline and for the standards that we hold our students to." Is that "hard" feeling the SV that she was socialized to reproduce? Amy added, "And we have high expectations of them and even more of ourselves." What Amy did not share was whether her junior colleagues would be held accountable for higher standards than Amy's students would be held accountable for. Amy absorbed the suffering of students and her junior faculty colleagues. Since Amy mentors faculty, it may be that she absorbed responsibility for the department or college's academic standards. This SNV practice might also create SNV for Amy and her colleagues because presumably, if standards are lowered, they will expend less energy in grading and upholding the standards of rigor. It also relieves stress on faculty for students to succeed as they did in a "normal semester," which is likely an impossible feat during a pandemic.

Amy teaches ESL, which means that her students are non-native speakers of English, and many are also international students who have moved to the United States to get a degree, but first they need to improve their English skills. This adds a complex layer of assimilation and socialization to American culture that in some ways makes SV a necessary part of the learning experience. Amy recognized this when she stated that her students are being affected by the pandemic in ways that she is not. In this case her classes may be helping them assimilate more fully into American culture so that hopefully they can, one day, like Amy, be less affected by inequitable catastrophes. She recognized that the learning in her class is less essential when she

said, "my English class is not what's standing in between them doing heart surgery on you tomorrow." By reducing academic standards, which are largely there to teach students how to succeed in mainstream American culture through language and writing instruction, she is healing the SV. If suffering is caused by writing and speaking more like an American, she is lessening her students' suffering by lowering academic expectations. Students can focus on surviving the pandemic and worry less this semester about fitting in to American academic and work culture. It is not heart surgery.

Amy's SNV practice could change the academic habitus because she is telling herself, her colleagues, and perhaps her students that what they are learning is not "standing in between them doing heart surgery on you tomorrow." Some may start to wonder, how important is it at all that everyone speaks and writes academically and grammatically correct? The pandemic has made us think more about what is essential: our health, survival, each other. If we became more focused on that and less on APA citation rules, could it eventually put ESL instructors out of a job? More importantly, could it lead to more inclusive, diverse, and culturally sustaining educational and workspaces? This SNV also de-centers the minutia of writing and grading and centers the human. Amy is not only humanizing her classroom for her students; she is also humanizing teaching by telling her colleagues that it is okay to acknowledge that her students are humans first and students second as they lessen the rigor of the classes and grading. Amy is using her privilege of academic seniority to humanize and heal the habitus.

SNV is made by the changing or increased leniency around academic standards in the ESL classes at this institution. Language assimilation becomes less important as does cultural assimilation. As someone who previously taught ESL, I know that it is not only language that is taught through ESL classes; it is also culture through cultural capital. Amy's international students are not graded only on their use of the present perfect progressive tense. Through

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misrecognition they are also covertly graded on where they fit in the social hierarchy. They learn how to dominate and be dominated. When Amy and her colleagues loosen standards, they are unmaking SV and making SNV that heals/ameliorates the reproduction of domination. The risk she takes is that she could make herself redundant by devaluing her profession. But she takes this risk to help her students and heal the pandemic SV. This is what makes Amy's practice SNV.

The institution has a role in academic adjustment SNV. It could enable or disable the reduction of academic standards. Presumably, Amy would not steer her mentees astray by advising them to go light on grading requirements. The institution has created an environment in which faculty have enough agency to decide how strictly they adhere to standards.

Shelly, an adjunct sociology professor at a large public university on the west coast described her academic adjustment SNV practice in how she and her colleagues negotiated the boundary between empathy and rigor during the pandemic.

Shelly:

> There's a sort of, it's like a push/pull. There's like an acknowledgment, but also an impatience. Some professors are being very accommodating. And then I'm hearing from students or from faculties and people are being really not, because—and the fear is that we'll loosen standards and the students won't learn enough. And there's, there's these outside fears that the university is already a threatened entity. Hey, there's an existential fear of this sort of decline of the university system to begin with. And then it's like, well, we're not—fill in the blank, right? We're not DeVry—we're not whatever. There have to be standards, people got college degrees in World War II, you know, whatever you want to put it. And so there's this tension right? between a sort of mandated empathy that's coming from the university in the form of—we're not allowed to require attendance. We're not allowed to do certain things out of an acknowledgement of—there's more

retroactive withdrawals than I've ever seen in my life. There's all these different things going on, institutionally that push you toward it, while also getting at this message of, 'But don't let standards slip.' Like there's more cases of academic integrity violation being reported than ever before, to the point that there's a backup in our academic integrity office. So there's this tension, right. And it's like, hard, I think, for us to know— I'm just seeing people sort of not—I think part of the missing piece is an acknowledgement that like, students aren't trying to take advantage of you. But they're genuinely overwhelmed.

Shelly said that faculty use a fear of turning into DeVry as a reason to not have empathy and uphold academic standards to maintain rigor. DeVry University is a for-profit institution that has advertised on daytime television for decades. They are known as being a technical school that is not considered academically prestigious for two reasons. The first reason is that the degrees are technical rather than academic in nature. They are the kind of degrees that "blue collar workers" get to obtain employment. The second reason is that it is not selective. DeVry is advertised as available to everyone who calls the number on the screen.

This fear of becoming DeVry is an example of misrecognition. Faculty can justify not using humanizing or inclusive teaching practices because of a fear of losing legitimacy as an academic institution. The tension that Shelly describes is between the fear of "becoming DeVry" and the decreased retention and "backup in the academic integrity office" due to students' inability to successfully complete academic work during the pandemic. The tenuity of this balance is depicted in Figure 5.
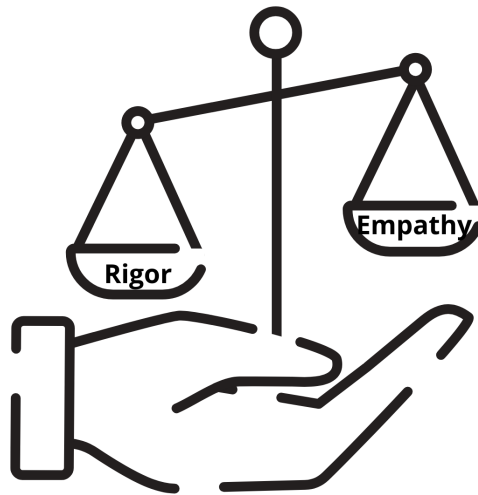
Figure 5. Faculty Sought a Balance Between Rigor and Empathy During 2020

I asked Shelly what she thought the professor's role is in choosing between rigor and empathy, and she responded by explaining where she would and would not adjust academic standards.

Shelly:

So that's why to me, that was the gift of all of this is, is that I've had to sit down and really think, what do I—in order to maintain personal integrity and the integrity of the program—what do I need you, as a student to know when you walk out of this classroom, so that I can feel good that you got a grade that represents what this is supposed to be? Right? Like, this is supposed to be that you've met a certain benchmark toward a degree that, you know, a certain number of things, right? Especially when we were teaching passing/no pass, it was like, what do I need you to know, to feel that I can give you that grade, and I can feel confident that you walk into the world knowing what you need to know. And if a student comes to me, and they've, you know, they've missed three weeks of interaction because they got really sick, and I look at what they've done, and I think, you know, well, you know, these are the things you have to do to show me, you've,

you've absorbed enough information, like I can't just give you a pass and be like, the world is crazy, get an A. But I can say, you know, okay, you know, maybe a little gradation, a little, a little rubbing away of those fine differentials between what makes an A minus and an a and a different an A, B, maybe a little fudging of those lines isn't the end of the world. If what I know that you get out of it is like you didn't, you didn't dot your i's and cross your t's. But you got what you needed to earn that grade, right? Because often, in the past, I see some of those sort of procedural things as part of the classroom. Right, you're learning to show up every day learning to communicate with me on time, if there's a problem. If those kinds of things end up like that a student gets an A minus when probably their content was worthy of an A, I don't lose sleep over it, because that's also part of the life lesson that is college. But I don't know that the life lesson that is college is, if there's a pandemic, we're not going to bend at all. Right? So as long as I can feel like and look at their work, I know that they've done the work, they've absorbed it, who I mean, if it's two weeks late. I don't think that it's reasonable to hold them to that same kind of standard of procedure when everything's crazy. But like, I had a student athlete, this week, and he's like, Can I just not do anything? I said, No, of course not. Yeah, you're responsible for the same standard as everyone else. Okay. There's a bar. So I guess the way I feel like it is like there's a bar and everyone has to jump over the bar. But if you need two weeks longer to do it, because your life blew up. I think that's fine. I don't think that changes the integrity of the institution, for me to give you two weeks to jump over the bar as long as you still do it.

Although some of Shelly's colleagues feared "becoming DeVry" and were resistant to adjusting academic standards, Shelly did adjust academic standards. Although unlike Amy who viewed lowering academic standards as harmless in juxtaposition to performing heart surgery, Shelly

viewed academic standards in her sociology classes as important. What she was willing to adjust however, were due dates and the process of adhering to the academic standards. This is SNV because she alleviated suffering for students for whom completing academic work was more challenging during the pandemic. Since she stated that students are withdrawing and plagiarizing more this year, Shelly's SNV practices could make it more possible for students to successfully complete her courses.

What Shelly potentially risks by offering this SNV is a reputation as a "serious academic" who sets high academic standards for her students. In part she has more to lose than full-time faculty in her department because she is an adjunct. If she ever wants to make the transition to TT faculty, she will need to be seen as a "serious academic." In this way her SNV practice could be adding SV for Shelly. She is absorbing those elements of "academic rigor" for students to enable them to successfully complete her classes. On the other hand, perhaps her adjunct status is what allows her to extend empathy and make adjustments to academic rigor in her classes. And since it is her job to retain and teach students, she may be in a double bind. On one hand she is expected to maintain rigor and keep the university from "becoming DeVry." But on the other hand, she wants to keep being employed by the university, so she must do her job of teaching and retaining students. She is absorbing this tension for her students, for the institution, and for the sake of her own employment.

Shelly's SNV is intentional because she sees due dates and learning how to perform in class as different than the learning that happens in the classroom. Bourdieu (1984a) identified dispositions that are found in each class. These dispositions might be action, verbal, or body language (Bourdieu 1984a). In the academic habitus, addressing the professor a certain way and turning things in on time is important to show that you belong in the academic habitus. Shelly recognized that things like this are more for the reproduction of academia than for student

learning. She negotiated that with herself and let go of the dispositions that were not connected to learning disciplinary content. It is also systematic because she established a bar for her academic standards. She described that she has not lowered the bar but that she makes it easier to jump over in a pandemic.

Shelly recognized that some of what is considered academic rigor is the symbolic capital of learning how to talk to the professor, turn things in on time, and gain respect for the professor. By allowing late work, she chose not to reproduce that SV. What is still misrecognized, however, is the need to not become DeVry and the reason why academic rigor is there at all.

The reason why Shelly decided to adjust her academic expectations is because in her research class in the spring of 2020, she assigned her class a qualitative group research project of interviewing each other about how they were coping with COVID-19. She said that she learned a great deal about what her students were going through from that research project and that she otherwise would not have known as much about her students' experiences during the pandemic. For instance, many of her students in their early 20s were thrown into their parents' households having to care for their younger siblings and abide by parental rules again. She said that her students also experienced isolation and loneliness. Through teaching qualitative research, Shelly gained empathy. It was this learned empathy that led her to adjust academic standards in her summer and fall courses. Like Tara who felt compelled to fix problems once she knew about them, Shelly turned what she learned about students into SNV practices to reduce their suffering. Through changing the deadlines, she was able to listen and respond, helping students feel heard. This SNV also gave students more time to successfully complete the academic requirements.

One way that Shelly's SNV practice could change the habitus is that it may be less likely to reproduce the reproduction of dominance in "fear of becoming DeVry" and therefore not like DeVry, rather more legitimate than DeVry and reproducing class dominance as "not like DeVry."

If the fear of being less selective and rigorous were to go away, perhaps the reproduction of domination would disappear, as well. Another way Shelly's SNV could change the habitus is that like Amy, she is humanizing the higher education classroom. She said, "I don't know that the life lesson that is college is, if there's a pandemic, we're not going to bend at all." She is reproducing a human-first value rather than separating academics from the human and world around it.

Each time she personally adjusts "the bar" for a student, Shelly is making SNV and unmaking SV. During the interview, Shelly also shared that she had challenged a TT faculty member in a departmental meeting about his strict monitoring of students' academic performance. She wielded her empathy and possibly her adjunct status to unmake SV and make SNV. Shelly's practice is SNV because she is proactively lessening SV for students despite the potential risk to her career.

The institution has a role because the fear of becoming DeVry comes from somewhere. Also, the fact that Shelly grapples with the tension between rigor and empathy is not something that Shelly should have to risk her professional reputation and employment for. There should be clear institutional or departmental standards around academic adjustments made in pandemic times.

Cynthia also practiced academic adjustment SNV but rather than lowering academic standards or rigor, she took creative liberty in the type of assignment she used to measure students' understanding of the content of her community college business law class. In the following example, Cynthia described why and how she changed the end-of-semester assignment. Cynthia:

> I think that a lot of the students felt very, very pressured because we, we, we lost a week, and yet had to push all of our plans into the remaining time. So a lot of them felt very pressured. And so at the end, instead of giving them their last assignment, which would

have been just another written assignment, instead, I had them still do a discussion board.

But instead of posting writing, I directed them to a meme generator. And I told them that

I wanted them to pick a meme. And I wanted them to design a meme so that it reflects

either one of the concepts or their reaction to one of the case studies that we looked at.

And they were all so happy to do that. Because it was very simple for them to do. But it

still allowed me to see, you know, something about how they processed one of the case

studies, you know, and how they reacted to it. So there were a lot of them that were very,

very entertaining.

Cynthia changed the final assignment from a written assignment to a meme assignment, which

required a lower cognitive lift for students who had lost a week of the semester. She was still able

to measure their understanding of how law was represented by the case studies, but it took less

time and cognitive capacity. Several other participants I interviewed in this study shared how

students were not able to think as deeply and complete assignments. Some participants said that

this manifested as plagiarism;Shelly mentioned her institution having the highest incidents of

academic dishonesty it had ever had. Other participants said that it manifested in students just

simply not doing the work or dropping out. Cynthia reacted to students' reduced cognitive

capacity and time by reimagining the assignment to one that was quicker to complete. Cynthia

commented that many of the submitted meme assignments were, "were very, very entertaining."

Memes, which are commonly used to bring levity to a situation and blend an image with

something an audience can relate to in a humorous way, are often used to relieve stress. They are

also part of informal communication on social media whereas academic papers generally only

have lifespans in academia. By changing the paper assignment to a meme assignment, Cynthia

brought real life and authentic communication into her classroom.

When I asked Cynthia why she decided to change from the writing piece to the meme piece, she replied that she observed that they had more on their plates than they could handle and needed relief somewhere.

Cynthia:

> Part of it was that I could see that the students—they were just done. They—they did all the things that they were supposed to do. There were some that—last semester, last spring, much more than this semester. During the spring, I had so many students that just—they just disappeared. Um, they disappeared even though when we were in person, I saw them regularly in class, some of them just disappeared. Some of them I knew were also working a ton more hours. They were working at, you know, jobs and grocery stores and things like that, that had not shut down. And they were working more hours. And the ones that had their hours cut, because they were doing things like working food service or something that was slowed down, they still went out and picked up, you know, some other type of work, like working at a grocery store or something like that, because they needed the money. So I saw a lot of them just disappear. And for the ones that were still hanging on, I just wanted to give them something easier. Just so that, you know, they could still have a chance to show me that they were paying attention. But it wasn't really gonna require a huge investment of time on their part.

Changing the written final assignment to a meme assignment is an academic adjustment SNV practice because Cynthia adjusted her academic expectation to boil down what she really wanted students to be able to demonstrate. She absorbed student suffering since the pandemic took a week of class away. She also absorbed their loss of time as many of them were working more hours to make up for pandemic-induced employment loss. It is intentional because she said she had noticed that they were working longer hours during the pandemic, had lost a week, and did

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not have as much time to write the final paper. It is also systematic because she changed the assignment for her whole class, and after being pleased with the results, plans on giving the meme assignment again in the future. This SNV practice does not seem to add SV for Cynthia. In fact, it took her less time to grade than the original written assignment, so it may have increased SNV for her as well as the students. She did not mention it being "hard" to lessen standards as Amy and Shelly had expressed.

Cynthia recognized that her students were economically impacted by the pandemic. She also recognized that the written aspect of the assignment was not essential for them to show what they had learned. Perhaps the fact that the traditional academic paper is not actually necessary indicates that the traditional paper format is a type of SV. It is a display of domination in that students are doing more labor than they need to show that they possess symbolic capital to play the academic game. When Cynthia saw her students struggling to get everything done and saw how many were disappearing, she came up with the idea to measure their learning in a way that was faster and more fun to complete.

The meme assignment lessened students' suffering because they went from being "just done" to "all so happy to do that." Also, she received many that were entertaining and met her academic standards in terms of successfully measuring the students' learning. Also, presumably, disappearing students became less of a problem.

This SNV practice can change the academic habitus because, like Shelly, responding empathetically to students caused them to boil down the parts of the class that students really need to learn what is most important. Apparently not everything that was being done before the pandemic was necessary for learning, and the pandemic has opened up what can be dropped. If learning becomes less about showing that you have the symbolic capital through performing norms in the doxa and more about showing understanding of the content, oppression may be

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reproduced less often in the academic classroom and academic habitus. This SNV practice also invites alternative ways of knowing, learning, and communicating. It also blurs the boundaries between academic ways of communicating and nonacademic ways of communicating. And memes are fun, and fun is healing. Fun is SNV.

SNV is made when Cynthia assigns a weight-bearing assignment that reduces students suffering, which in this case is time and cognitive resources. SNV is also made by bringing fun into academics. SV is unmade because removing the doxic rituals such as writing a paper for the sake of writing a paper reduces the reproduction of dominating and being dominated. SV is also being unmade as the line between the "real" world and the academic world becomes thinner.

The institution has not necessarily contributed to the SV brought on by the pandemic. However, it may have enabled Cynthia to practice SNV by giving her the agency to make her own final assignment and other class requirements as she saw fit. Cynthia is helping the institution retain students through her practices.

Bringing it all together: Academic adjustments symbolic nonviolence.

In Amy, Shelly, and Cynthia's practice of academic adjustment SNV, the faculty let go of standards, formats, and requirements that they had always used in the past. Amy and Shelly said this letting go was difficult. It was the most difficult for Shelly, an adjunct at a large R1 university. It was less hard for Amy, a senior full-time faculty member at a community college, and it was the least hard for Cynthia, a lawyer who adjuncts business law courses on the side at a local community college. The amount of sacrifice in the academic adjustment SNV varied between the three professors. Shelly supported her family on her contingent adjunct salary and had the most to lose of the three. Amy had been at her college for a decade and was not worried about losing job over adjusting academic standards. The amount of SV the faculty experienced because of practicing the SNV seemed to depend on how dependent they are on the institution for

employment and how secure they felt in that employment. The more secure, the more the faculty experienced SNV because of practicing their SNV. For instance, Cynthia found the memes enjoyable, and grading memes instead of papers reduced her workload. Amy felt relief over loosening academic standards and urged her colleagues to do the same.

All three faculty intentionally and systematically adjusted academic standards in different ways to absorb some of the suffering students faced trying to survive the pandemic while trying to successfully complete their college courses. Faculty knew that if they could make it easier for students to complete their studies and earn higher degrees, those students might someday be in a position where a pandemic would not affect them as much as it does now.

All faculty recognized that students were suffering while trying to complete college work and survive the pandemic. Students were disappearing and plagiarizing. Time was mentioned as a big factor as students in some cases had to find alternative means of employment. Faculty came to realize the impact of SV on students by talking to them. Both Amy and Cynthia said that students shared what they were going through with them. Shelly learned a great deal about what her students were experiencing through the qualitative research project she conducted with her class in the spring.

The adjustment of academic standards lessened suffering in more than one way. First, it forced faculty to evaluate what is necessary and what is unnecessary. All three discovered practices that were unnecessary. Cynthia realized that a meme could measure students' understanding of business law. Amy realized that ESL writing is not a life and death situation. Shelly realized that some of the rituals of how to talk to the professor and turning assignments in on time is more about learning how to act in college and less about what they learned in the class. Suffering is also lessened because all three professors modeled empathy to students. Additionally, this SNV practice gave students more time to work and take care of sick family members because

they had to spend less time doing classwork. And they were presumably less likely to be in a position where they had to choose between earning a degree and surviving the pandemic.

The SNV practice of academic adjustments has huge potential to change the academic habitus (see Table 7). We saw in the SV on students section that faculty noticed that students were suffering due to their SES or lack of economic capital. Bourdieu (1984a) posited that in universities, academic capital is more important than economic capital. In other words, students can overcome low economic capital by succeeding in classes. Whereas there is not much help that faculty can provide to ameliorate the suffering students faced during the pandemic as a result of their SES, faculty could make academic success more attainable. This is key since in the academic habitus, academic success has precedence over economic capital. Only faculty can provide this kind of academic support since faculty are responsible for the internal institution of their classroom. The institution does not typically have access to academic standards and the determination of grades.

Table 7. How Academic Adjustments Symbolic Nonviolence Could Change the Habitus

Symbolic Nonviolence Practice	How it can change the habitus
Amy's Not Heart Surgery	Learning could become more about understanding and less about social capital; SV could be reduced because domination is reproduced through social capital; invites alternative ways of knowing and communicating; fun heals; it could lead to the reproduction of a human-first value rather than separating academics from the human and world around it
Shelly's Empathetic Allowance of Late Work	Fear of becoming "like DeVry" could increase SV practices, particularly around class; increased empathy could center the human and decenter the social capital of more rigorous institutions; it could lessen the dichotomy between rigor and empathy; it could lead to the reproduction of a human-first value rather than separating

	academics from the human and world around it
Cynthia's Meme Final Assignment	Learning could become more about understanding and less about social capital; SV could be reduced because domination is reproduced through social capital; invites alternative ways of knowing and communicating; fun heals

The pandemic-induced exposure of inequities helped faculty find out what is necessary. What is effectively impacting student understanding, and what is simply reproducing the academic norms through the performance of symbolic capital? This could help college become more about learning and less about reproducing patterns of dominating and being dominated. Another way that it could change the academic habitus is that the modeling of empathy in practice will create a more empathetic society and reduce the reproduction of dominant groups in the habitus. Allowing alternatives to traditional academic assignments can invite culturally diverse ways of knowing and communicating.

I am hopeful that academic adjustment SNV could potentially have the biggest impact on academia. Shelly's empathy should not feel like tension. It should feel like Amy's confidence to counsel colleagues relax and let go of the strict standards. It should feel like Cynthia's "fun" meme assignment. The symbolically violent reproduction of dominance falls on those who experience SV the most in academia—those who are in much of the same class as their students for whom they are practicing SNV to heal the academic habitus.

Each time a faculty member challenges a senior faculty member or mentors newer faculty members to put more weight on empathy than on rigor, SV is unmade and SNV is made. Each time a ritualistic requirement is scrutinized by faculty and deemed unimportant for learning, SV is unmade. Each time the line between the academic space and the real-world space is blurred, SV is

unmade. I offer this as a torch to Philip, all adjuncts, and everyone who is hoping that the pandemic will turn the status quo upside down.

This is not to let institutions off the hook. It takes both faculty and institutions. Universities and colleges, make your institution an environment in which faculty are able to let go of the pomp and circumstance. Make it so that adjuncts are not afraid that if they make an assignment fun, that they will lose employment. Take the fear of becoming DeVry out of faculty's heads. Humanizing the classroom is more important than the legitimacy and reproduction of academic prestige. X Factor is useless if your students disappear.

Disciplinary Superpowers Symbolic Nonviolence

Some of the faculty I interviewed shared unique teaching strategies they had developed specifically to solve the problems of 2020 using the superpowers of their academic disciplines. Higher education faculty are specialists trained in a disciplinary niche. Each discipline views the world from a slightly different angle and solves problems using different methodologies. In this section we see how three faculty taught students how to solve 2020's problems using the tools of their trades.

The pandemic was the most universal life-changing event of 2020, and most of this paper has focused on SV caused by both the pandemic and higher education. As a reminder of the broader context, there were other types of SV occurring at the same time. The United States has been enacting anti-Black racism for 400 years, and more Americans recognized this reality when George Floyd's murder was televised. This was the same summer that other Black Americans such as Breonna Taylor and Ahmaud Arbery were murdered. At the same time, we had an outgoing President who was running for reelection while condoning and beckoning racist hate groups. During my interviews, I asked faculty about their teaching in this whole context. In the responses that follow, faculty at times referred to this multi-dimensional context.

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Emma, a design professor, described how she used her discipline to teach students how to make the world better in the context of 2020. Emma's SNV practice impacted students' lives while in the class, and their work is likely to have a positive impact on society.

Emma:

> In the spring, I was teaching a UX/UI design a design thinking course. And I changed the entire end of the semester based off of COVID. So that we had this opportunity to discuss our fears. What was happening, how does this impact you? And then what kind of solution can we as designers create, to help our neighbors, to help our community deal with this type of situation? And that's part of what design thinking is, is this feedback, this iterative process where you're asking questions, you're discussing your own fears, or they're your potential users of discussing what's going on in their lives, so that you can create something to help them. So in the end, students created all these wonderful apps. They were mockups because they're not programmers. But these apps for like games to help you communicate with other people or these news filters that would help you see what the actual facts are. You can get factual information instead of the rumors, yeah, and things like that. So they were dealing with their own fears, and the fears in their family, as well as thinking about others outside of themselves.

Emma's assignment asked students to use what they had learned in her design class and apply an important concept of design, which was the iterative process of design thinking, to make life better for people in 2020. The rumors Emma mentioned may have referred to the President at the time, who was hiding facts and encouraging misinformation to support his reelection. One aspect of the misinformation was the seriousness of the pandemic, which led to people not protecting themselves with masks, greatly increasing the spread of the virus.

I asked Emma when she came up with this idea, and she said she came up with it after the 2016 election, which was when the aforementioned President was elected. She also shared that the idea was not only a response to tragic events but that it connected to her larger goals as a design professor, which is to help designers see themselves in the context of a broader community.

Emma:

> I don't know when that formed. Um, I know that after the election in 2016, I had a lot of students who were first generation whose parents—who are Dreamers, whose parents were illegal immigrants, because I lived in a town where in the high school, there were 19 languages spoken as a first language. Oh, it was a—this community. And I had a lot of students who were really afraid and upset after the 2016 election. And so I opened the door and said, Okay, let's talk about this. Now, how—what do we do as designers, so they could also see the power that we have as designers to create messaging, etc.? But so that they could alleviate their fears and think, broader as well. So that's always been—I don't know when that started. But that's always been one of my goals is to help the community or help designers see themselves as part of a larger community, instead of this isolated behind a keyboard or doing some work that's so self-involved. I don't know where it started.

Emma's use of her discipline's superpowers is SNV that impacted students' lives because it absorbed their fears. Emma did not absorb students' fears. Rather, she gave them a tool to act on their fears, absorbing them by themselves for themselves. Not only did students' fears have an outlet, but they were also given a tool to solve the world's problems. So this SNV did not just heal the suffering of students; it healed the whole habitus, providing SNV for the world by designing apps that solve real problems such as the spread of misinformation.

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This SNV practice was intentional because it was a response to students' real-world fears in the xenophobic, racism-heightened election of 2016 and again in the context of 2020, which induced similar fears on top of other fears. It is also systematic because it is an assignment that all students are assigned and specifically during times of stress such as 2020 and 2016.

Through this SNV practice, Emma is sharing her design expertise with her students. I do not think this SNV practice increased SV for Emma because teaching design is in her normal scope of duties as a design professor. She is also able to enact her greater purpose of helping designers see their connection to the wider community—a social justice purpose. Emma was so full of positive energy that she seemed to vibrate. While talking to her, everything seemed possible. And this energy seemed to just bubble up from within her. This is another reason why I do not think this added SV to Emma. It seemed that teaching design fueled Emma. Perhaps giving the world the gift of her students creates SNV for Emma.

Emma's comment about her Dreamer students feeling fear after the 2016 election indicates that she recognized the racial SV that has existed in this country for centuries but was elevated in the era of the last President. She was in touch with her community and listened to their fears and came up with a way to acknowledge the fears of her students and community. Not only would students feel like their fears are valid, important, and heard, but she gave students an opportunity to empower themselves with the superpower of design. This lessened suffering for students because they had an opportunity to discuss and express their feelings, and they were also able to design an app that could actually be marketed and possibly created one day. Emma's students could propose their app in a job interview or get funding to develop it themselves. This could be a life-changing, career-starting skill and assignment.

The academic habitus could be changed in so many ways by Emma's SNV practice. First, an app that improves communication in the face of racism and a viral pandemic which are both

killing Americans, could literally save the world. Also, applying disciplinary concepts to solve real-world problems carries classroom assignments outside the classroom. This is authentic assessment. Many assignments only have value in the classroom. Emma's assignment allows students to create something that responds to a valid need in the lives of her students, not just an artificial academic prompt. If the academic habitus were to change to reflect real life instead of the lives of academics, academia might cease to reproduce the needs of the dominant class and more accurately represent real-world needs. Another way that Emma's SNV practice could change the academic habitus is that students' emotions are invited into academic spaces. By asking students to use their fear to complete an assignment, Emma is telling students that academia is a space for their whole selves. When faculty ask students to do academic work that is relevant to their lives and can make an impact outside of the classroom, academic SV is being unmade. By asking students to heal the world by taking control of their fears, SNV is being made.

This SNV practice is bigger than the institution. The institution does have a role in whether they create an environment in which Emma has agency over her assignments. Also, since students' position in the larger community is central to Emma's work, her institution's relationship to its surrounding community is important for Emma's SNV. However, Emma's SNV practice ripples out deeper and wider than the university. She shared during the interview that she has used this assignment in more than one university, in more than one city, and at more than one point in time. Clearly her unstoppable energy is not bound by place, time, or institution.

Mark, who teaches communications at an HBCU (historically Black college or university), shared with me that some of his students turn his assignments into business for themselves. He teaches students how to communicate an idea and reach an audience. One student, for instance, started a successful YouTube channel about shoe repair. In the following excerpt, Mark talked about using a media theory called "riches and niches" to engage with students in the

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pandemic. Through this theory, he also taught students that they can be successful even during a pandemic because there are still niches in pandemic times.

Mark:

> One of the keys to this success, one of the things that you have to do with this, is you have to be engaged with them. And so that's been—that's probably been the hardest thing about this pandemic, is—that engagement is tough. Because students are super demotivated right now. And to be honest—I am at times demotivated, as well. So I do try to keep focus on the fact that, that even though we're in a pandemic, we, the world will continue to turn and the opportunities will present themselves eventually. So if you keep putting forth the effort, you should be able to come out the other side with genuine material and, and opportunities. So yeah, what, what I've tried to do is to stay focused and engaged with them. And I think students, for the most part, are very responsive to that. And I think that's, that's actually a media theory that I teach. This idea—so if you ever heard the phrase, there are riches and niches? This is—this is more of the like hustle mentality. But the idea is that if you can see a need, and you can meet the need, you can make money off of meeting that need. And so by exploring the niche by exploring the like—you'll have your interest.

Mark's use of the "riches and niches" theory is SNV because it gives students an outlet to create something useful that can turn into a means of income. This is particularly useful during a pandemic when many people are out of work. Also, assigning an authentic assessment that is engaging and meaningful to students could turn the pandemic from something that detracts from students' time and ability to generate income. Mark shared several times throughout the interview how hard he works to get students to tell him what they are interested in. He said that he is eager to learn what his students are interested in and turn it into something marketable. This is

intentional because he knows that students are suffering during the pandemic—he called it "demotivated." He gives them hope that even during a pandemic, there are still needs, and the "niches and riches" theory creates opportunity from those needs. The application of this theory to the pandemic could absorb students' feelings of hopelessness and give them a purpose to find the niches so they can make the riches. Through the pandemic, he taught the disciplinary superpower of media theory. It was systematic because his assignments gave students a choice to choose their own topics. Mark shared with me that he treats everyone the same and is genuinely interested in learning what all his students are interested in. He then uses what he learns about their interests to help them turn that into a project that has a life even beyond the class.

This SNV practice adds SV for Mark because he said that his students tend to shut down when they are suffering, particularly on Zoom.

Mark:

In person it's like pulling teeth to get them to respond at times. When it's on Zoom. Oh, my gosh, I'm losing my mind. Because I don't require cameras because I mean, I don't— number one, know that internet can be terrible. But number two, I don't want anybody to feel pressured or anything like that. But just having blank black boxes. And I'm like, guys, I don't even know if you're here. But yeah, it's—it's brutal to get them to talk because again, I think there's a certain peer pressure is the only thing I can think of to say.

Getting students to talk about what they are interested in is like "pulling teeth" in person and "brutal" on Zoom. This SNV practice clearly increases Mark's SV teaching virtually during the pandemic. When this happens, he has to work extra hard to learn what students are interested in so he can teach communications. Mark shared that he is also at times demotivated, which may indicate an increase in SV. However, he also shared how much he enjoys it when students teach

him about what they are interested in and even more so when they take what they learn in his class and take it outside the classroom such as the student with the shoe repair YouTube channel.

Mark is a white man who teaches at an HBCU. He said that early in the pandemic he knew that it was disproportionately affecting people of color. He was concerned for the safety and wellbeing of his students and colleagues. He took his knowledge of suffering and assigned something not only to get students engaged and interested in school but gave them a theory that can give hope even in a pandemic.

Mark's SNV practice lessened suffering in a couple of ways. First, like Emma's app assignment, it was not an assignment just for the sake of an academic assignment. It was authentic, meaningful to students, and applicable outside the classroom. It can even give students profitable work if they apply all the concepts Mark teaches. Mark shared during the interview that he is a positive person. Teaching that there is a niche even during a pandemic and that his students can make riches even during a pandemic teaches resilience and positivity.

The academic habitus can be changed by Mark's riches and niches assignment for the same reasons why Emma's SNV practice can change the habitus. First, the authentic nature of it bridges students' real careers and lives to academic work. Classroom assignments are not just for the sake of symbolic ritual. Also, students can choose their topics and study what they care about and what affects them, which is honoring each students' unique experience of the world. Like Emma's app assignment starting from her students' fears, Mark's students start from what they are missing in their lives (niches) and create something that fills that need (riches). This brings students whole lives into the class and can help them work through pandemic-induced suffering.

SNV is made when Mark earnestly attempts to learn what his students are interested in so that he can help them find a topic to apply "riches and niches." By not letting students shut down, SNV is made. Each time he does not assign work just for the sake of repeating an academic

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exercise, SV is unmade. Mark's SNV practice takes communications as a discipline past just being an academic subject and puts it to work in a broad sense. The institution in this case is a venue for Mark and his students to meet. In class he works tirelessly to bring students' interests and niches into the workshop of the classroom to apply communications theories to them.

Mary, a professor of rhetoric, used her disciplinary superpower to help students navigate the conflicting messages delivered by the news in 2020. In this way she practiced SNV to teach students critical thinking and rhetoric to help them understand and communicate about the racial, political, and pandemic news of 2020.

Mary:

> I have been a classroom teacher through a number of tragic events, including school shootings, including other mass shootings, including the death of Eric Garner, the death of Trayvon Martin. Um, before we get to, you know, a few years later, the deaths of this past year and when something really heavy like that happens, I, I feel like it's important to ask my students how they're doing, ask them if they want to talk about it or ask them, how are you learning about this? And where are you having conversations about this? And what they most often say is, well, I'm you know, seeing it on social media, or my mom sent me a CNN thing or—but where are they having the conversations? They're not. And so they're, they're hit with these heavy things, but they don't know how to interpret what they're even reading. So um, so recognizing that knowing how, knowing how to read something like a news article, and knowing that there's not a news article from any outlet that they can read, that is not carrying somebody's perspective. That's really important to me. So they're, they're learning. They're learning to look for those perspectives.

Mary shared with me that when she assigns a paper, she tells students that the paper is not about the topic they choose. Rather, she wants them to critically analyze the perspectives and motivations of the authors they are reading and citing. Mary's academic discipline is rhetoric, and she teaches students the superpower of rhetoric by applying it to the conflicting misinformation of 2020. This is SNV because she gave students a tool to not be persuaded and misguided by sources with ulterior motives. She empowered students with critical thinking, which likely will help them in a myriad of ways throughout their lives. She also absorbed students' suffering of not being able to interpret what is happening. By teaching rhetoric and critical thinking, she helped students process the events of the world as they were happening. Being able to make sense of what is happening can reduce suffering. Also, when we are informed, we have more autonomy to make our own decisions.

Mary did not specifically name any ways that teaching her students to apply rhetoric to current events added SV for her. In fact, I suspect that putting this healing tool into the world creates SNV for Mary because she knows its power. The reasons I suspect that is because at one point in the interview, Mary was describing that she knows she has the luxury, "as a white girl" to stop thinking about racial injustice and turn off her brain and go to bed. While sharing this insight, she took off her glasses, and I could see that she was crying. I think this SNV practice creates SNV for Mary because it appears that racial injustice causes her suffering. Teaching freshman undergraduate students how to question information is a tool for equity and justice.

Mary's SNV practice is intentional because she recognizes anti-Black racism and injustice in the United States, and she has built the SNV practice into this paper assignment every semester so that she can systematically teach students to question the perspectives of others. She came up with this idea many years ago. Trayvon Martin was murdered in 2012, and Eric Garner in 2014. For at least close to a decade, Mary has been practicing this SNV to intentionally change

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the habitus. Teaching students not to accept information as fact and to look for the perspectives can teach them to look for bias, assumption, and the ways in which oppression is being reproduced. By questioning the perspective of a source, students can see whose perspectives are being privileged and whose are being disadvantaged. By questioning perspectives and talking about and understanding these events, students learn how to recognize SV, which can lead to social change.

The kind of critical thinking skills that Mary empowered her students with may, I suspect, lead to increased suffering in the short term as they recognize SV in the messages they consume. But by teaching students to question, she is teaching autonomy as a life skill. This is democratic teaching. She is teaching students how to free themselves. Each time Mary tells students that the how and the why of what the author writes is more important than their topic, she is unmaking SV. Applying her discipline to the world around her students is making SNV.

To address the question of the role of Mary's institution in SV and SNV, I believe that the purpose of higher education is to teach critical thinking skills. Learning how to question the messages around us and the status quo is the core value of academia. To follow this line of thinking, Mary's institution is practicing SNV by employing Mary and giving her academic freedom. Universities are important, but they were especially important in 2020. In a year in which the American public were consistently being lied to about reality, rhetorical tools were one of the few things that saved us. Mary's disciplinary superpower served the most essential function of education.

Bringing it all together: Disciplinary superpower symbolic nonviolence.

Emma, Mark, and Mary's disciplinary superpowers are considered SNV because it absorbed SV for students in that in all three cases, the practice alleviated suffering for students. It recognized student suffering as either caused by the pandemic or racial injustice and gave

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students space to acknowledge and work with their suffering and then turn it into something useful. In all three examples, students faced what is reproducing oppression. In Emma's design class, students acknowledged their sadness or fear caused by current events, whether racism or pandemic related. In Mark's class, students faced a need, a niche caused by the pandemic, and explored ways to bring their assets to fill that niche for social mobility. In Mary's classes, students learned to recognize bias in rhetoric to be liberated from oppressive messages.

All three are practiced intentionally because the faculty all learned something about what their students were experiencing during challenging times and developed assignments that used disciplinary tools to address what students needed. All three are systematic because they are assigned as part of the curriculum, and they are assigned in response to student experience. This practice seemed to create SNV for faculty rather than add SV to them—except for Mark. Mark's riches and niches SNV practice requires him to get students to share with him what they are interested in. The black boxes of Zoom make this harder for Mark, adding to his SV and stress. Otherwise, the act of using the disciplinary tool to teach authentic skills that help students and the broader community enables faculty to stop the reproduction of SV in the academic habitus. I would call this increasing SNV for these faculty since they all recognized the SV.

In all three examples, the faculty recognized the oppression caused by world events. In these cases, it was not necessarily SV caused by the interaction between school and world events. It was just world events, and attending university classes made SNV and unmade SV because of the disciplinary superpowers students learned in these classes. Faculty also recognized the emancipatory power of their disciplines and used that recognition to give students skills to free themselves.

The habitus is changed by this SNV practice because the classroom is not just a place to practice obeying and learning how to act and talk like educated people. In the classrooms of

Emma, Mark, and Mary, the college classroom is a place of social justice and change (see Table 8). Students are empowered and are given tools to empower others.

Table 8. How Disciplinary Superpower Symbolic Nonviolence Could Change the Habitus

SNV practice	How it can change the habitus
Emma's Design-Thinking Apps	Academia solves real-world problems instead of reproducing academic performativity; emotions invited into academic spaces
Mark's Riches & Niches Theory	Academia solves real-world problems instead of reproducing academic performativity; students are given a tool to help them achieve social mobility
Mary's Rhetorical Skills	Academia solves real-world problems instead of reproducing academic performativity; students question authority rather than reproduce it; students also learn how to talk about current events

Symbolic Nonviolence Practices in Higher Education in 2020

Jackson and Mazzei (2012) invoked Deleuze and Guattari (1987) in their reference to plugging theory into data as a machine. They provoked the question, "What happens when you put parts together that create something new?" Bourdieu's theory of SV was created for 1960s France, but when plugged into pandemic America in 2020, it ran smoothly, exposing inequities. It did precisely what it was designed to do. It is only fitting that 2020 America, imbued with energy around racial injustice, brought love and nonviolence from Martin Luther King and America's last Civil Rights period to Bourdieu. SV is often thought of as detrimentally deterministic, but these pandemic times have no use for a theory that does not bring hope. Waters' (2017) creation of the concept of symbolic non-violence is the perfect update to Bourdieu. Not only because it

gives actors agency, but because it is a tool through which "to do theory" (Gale and Lingard 2015:1).

As Waters' (2017) symbolic non-violence practices helped students at alternative Australian schools heal from their experiences in mainstream schools, the SNV practices discovered through this study were intended to help American college students heal from the inequities exposed by 2020. The SNV practices helped heal pandemic-induced loneliness, filled gaps in medical and social support, tailored academic standards to be more attainable and appropriate, and wielded academic disciplinary tools to transform suffering. These showed up as non-academic support, academic adjustments, and disciplinary superpowers SNV practices. I propose that these are SNV according to my working definition: "the intentional and systematic practice of recognizing and absorbing symbolic violence in order to lessen the symbolic violence on others and change the habitus."

Like the students in Waters' (2017) study, the students in this study experienced SV due to inequities caused mostly by SES. I attribute this to the fact that Bourdieu's theory is a tool for viewing class structures. I adopted Waters' (2017) definition that symbolic non-violence starts with the recognition of SV. This is powerful because it takes failure off the student and puts it on the structure, in this case societal or institutional. The removal of the hyphen in nonviolence is important in this study because the practices carried out by these participants were not passive (King 1958; Haga 2020a). These SNV practices were not the avoidance of SV, they were intentional, systematic, and often increased suffering or SV for participants. I have also appended Waters' (2017) symbolic non-violence with King's (1960) concept of nonviolence in that SNV relieves suffering through acts of love. Finally, I applied King's (1958) principle that suffering and love can transform the world by addressing in this study the ways in which SNV faculty practices can potentially change the habitus.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This chapter offers a summary of the findings of the study as well as a discussion of future implications. Also included are limitations of the study and suggestions for future research.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this study was to examine SV in higher education as well as to identify SNV practices used by faculty to lessen SV for students. The literature, which is mostly from the institution of K-12 education, shows the ways in which SV has been applied to examine the differential treatment of those who are in a non-dominant habitus. In other words, many of the recipients of SV in the literature were treated differently by teachers or peers because they did not belong either due to SES, race, and/or gender (Shannon and Escamilla 1999; Herr 2005; Cushion and Jones 2006; Toshalis 2010; Scott 2012; Adams-Romena 2013; Watson and Widin 2015; Coles 2016; Khanal 2017; McGillicuddy and Devine 2017; Nairz-Wirth et al.2017; Archera et al. 2018; Gast 2018; Marsh 2018; Cooley 2019). In this study, however, the actor imparting SV was the COVID pandemic. The inequities that the pandemic revealed have existed all along. But we saw through this study how the pandemic revealed and exacerbated SV. Thus, this study is not about how teachers or faculty caused SV; it is what the pandemic exposed and how it affected some students and some faculty more than others. It is also about how faculty used the internal institutions of their classrooms to ameliorate the SV caused by the pandemic, even if it meant increasing SV or suffering for themselves.

This study adds to the literature the experience of SV in the higher education setting for both students and faculty. As previously mentioned, there are many studies on SV in K-12 but few in higher education. Those that have been conducted in higher education have rarely focused on teaching practices in the HEC. There is also a gap in the literature on the recognition of SV.

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Many studies have discussed the ways that faculty and staff in higher education misrecognize SV and reproduce dominant cultures and have not looked specifically for recognition. Also, as far as I am aware at the time of writing this, no studies have been done specifically on the intersection of SV during pandemics or other catastrophes of such widespread impact as COVID-19.

This study also builds upon Waters' (2017) concept of symbolic non-violence. Waters (2017) coined the term symbolic non-violence as an extension of Bourdieu's (1972) SV to describe the teaching practices of teachers in Australian alternative schools. I started with Waters' (2017) definition of symbolic non-violence and added additional concepts from King (1958) to create my own version of SNV. In line with the Kingian definition of nonviolence, I removed the hyphen in symbolic nonviolence to indicate the intentional act of accepting suffering in the practice of relieving it for others (King 1958; Haga 2020a). As stated earlier, my working definition of SNV is the intentional and systematic practice of recognizing and absorbing SV in order to lessen the SV on others and change the habitus. I approached the analysis of SV and SNV practices through the application of Bourdieu's (1972) theory of SV and my working definition of SNV to the context of teaching in higher education in 2020.

The method of plugging theory into data allowed me to study how the pandemic, the HEC, and identity markers entangled (Jackson and Mazzei 2012). The pandemic served as a window that allowed many to see inequality clearly. In general, it heightened many people's discomfort and enhanced our feelings of responsibility, while at the same time making us feel less in control. We know that inequities have been amplified by the pandemic (CDC 2021). People who can be described as having low SES or low economic capital suffered more than those who did not lose jobs and homes. In this study, attending college classes during the pandemic in some ways exacerbated inequality because it stressed students' already limited resources. In other ways, attending college helped students by providing access to resources they would not have

otherwise had and by providing routine and socialization during a time that was otherwise nebulous and isolating. This is one way that the pandemic, higher education, and identity formed an assemblage in this study.

I applied the method as outlined by Jackson and Mazzei (2012) by working the data repeatedly through three analytical questions. These questions were chosen to intentionally get to the heart of Bourdieu's (1972) theory of SV and to bridge to my definition of SNV. While the data was analyzed somewhat independently through the three questions, the analyses built on existing and new knowledge around SV, symbolic non-violence, and SNV. The results of the three questions are summarized below.

Since one of the goals of this study was to explore SNV practices of faculty in 2020, the first step was to identify the SV that faculty were responding to in the development of their SNV practices. Therefore, the first analytical question, "How did SV show up in higher education classrooms in 2020?" revealed how students and faculty experienced SV during 2020. Since Bourdieu's theories center around social class, I should not have been surprised that this question primarily illuminated SES inequities. Faculty and students of low SES were similarly affected by SV. Students without computers and internet at home lost access to class when campuses closed in the spring of 2020. Also, job loss and caring for sick family members led to disappearing students. For those who continued to attend classes, grades often suffered due to having less time to complete work or due to loss of cognitive functioning caused by trauma.

It is important to also look at how faculty were impacted by SV because everyone, including faculty, is inside the habitus and is impacted by it. In fact, results revealed that SV on faculty had a similar SES impact as for students. Labor conditions of faculty during the pandemic may represent low economic capital (Bourdieu 1984a). For instance, faculty were in some cases sharing extremely confined living spaces with working spouses and children, fired mid-contract,

encouraged by university administration to work while sick, and risking potential sickness to retain employment. This was worse for adjunct faculty who were not guaranteed employment and were often evaluated with different requirements than full-time faculty. It is important to note that all these inequities existed before the pandemic. The pandemic simply made them more transparent.

The first analytical question is also indicative because SV for faculty was in some cases exacerbated by providing SNV support for students. For instance, offering additional support for students translated to increased work hours as faculty offered additional conferences and recorded lectures. Faculty were also offering additional emotional support to suffering students while balancing their own trauma-induced stress. While faculty were working to help students feel better as they struggled with job loss, trauma, and lack of childcare, they were grappling with these things themselves. And providing this kind of support added to faculty's working hours and secondary trauma. All the while some felt morally conflicted knowing that holding class during the pandemic was adding to their students' SV. Students had enough to deal with without schoolwork being added to it. I felt the same about my study. Faculty had enough to worry about without having a voluntary interview added to it.

The second analytical question, "In what ways did faculty recognize SV while teaching in 2020?" functions as the bridge from the first to the third analytical question. Included in the definition of SNV is the recognition of SV. Therefore, it is important to identify what SV faculty recognized to see in what ways SNV was a response. The results of the second analytical question showed that faculty recognized the impact SV had on students in the categories of social class/SES, ethnicity/race, and gender. This study is not just a study of SV caused by holding a marginalized identity, nor is it merely about the effects of COVID-19. This is a study of the intersection of COVID-19, identity, and participation in the higher education classroom in the

United States in 2020. The results of this study show how the pandemic exacerbated and/or revealed inequities for those with marginalized identities who were enrolled in higher education classes during 2020 and what faculty did to make it better.

The concept of recognition is important in this study because one of the effects of the pandemic is that it increased recognition of inequities. Another reason why recognition is important is because one of the ways that SV operates is through the internalization of failure. The pandemic increased recognition of SV, which meant that both faculty and students realized that it was not the students' fault that they were failing and had limited access. In some cases, it was the pandemic's fault. In some ways it was exacerbated by a lack of support by the institution and sometimes also by classroom teaching practices. Potential effects of SV recognized by faculty could be persistent oppression by dominant culture groups and student failure or attrition.

The SV that faculty recognized experiencing themselves was the expectation by the institution for faculty to fill the gaps for student support. The data also revealed recognition of mothers having to hide parts of their lives to uphold the image of academia. Another type of recognition identified in this study was of the instability and exploitation of adjunct faculty. Interestingly, in general the most recognition came from adjunct faculty, which is the most marginalized faculty status in academia. Similar to the SV that was revealed in Question 1, the SV that was recognized in Question 2 has always been there; but the pandemic made it harder to ignore.

The third analytical question was "How did faculty practice SNV in the academic habitus in 2020?" I believe this is where Jackson and Mazzei's (2012) method shines because it flattens the theory, data, context, participants, and researcher and makes something uniquely new amid the context of 2020. The method, data, and theory used in this study *responded to* 2020. In the darkness and suffering, something new was created to change the habitus and bring hope and

agency. SNV augments Bourdieu's (1972) theory of SV and expands on Waters' (2017) theory of symbolic non-violence to add King's (1958; 1960) insight that love and suffering can transform society. King (1958) wrote that suffering has the power to transform the suffering for others, and this study shows us how this was accomplished by higher education faculty SNV practices in 2020.

Whereas Waters (2017) compared the symbolic non-violence practices of teachers at alternative schools in Australia to that of mainstream schools, this study compared teaching practices from pandemic to non-pandemic times. A difference that I find noteworthy is that perhaps teachers chose to teach at alternative schools in Waters (2017) study. However, faculty did not choose to teach during the pandemic. Therefore, this study allowed us to see what faculty would do when they are thrown into a disorienting dilemma without choice.

Three types of SNV practices organically emerged from the data: non-academic support, academic adjustments, and disciplinary superpowers. Although this study examined SV as experienced by faculty as well as students, an additional goal was to identify and analyze SNV practiced by faculty to support students and heal the habitus, particularly around SV that was an effect of SES, race/ethnicity, and gender. Faculty created SNV supports to make the experience of the HEC better for students during 2020.

Non-academic support SNV was support that faculty offered to students that was not related to content or academics. It often took place outside of class time and was not academic in nature. Judy, for example, used her discomfort with her graying hair to connect with students on a personal level and to communicate an intentional message of kindness. Tara also practiced non-academic support SNV by reaching out to a struggling student to find out that her fear of possible pregnancy was keeping her from submitting assignments. Tara sent her a pregnancy test so that she could find out for sure and keep moving forward in school. Jennifer offered open Zoom

sessions while she cooked dinner in the evenings to help relieve students' isolation-induced

anxiety. All these examples of non-academic support broke down traditional barriers between

professor and student and provided support that the institution might have provided pre-

pandemic. In these examples, non-academic support also increased suffering for faculty through

added work time and emotional labor.

The second type of SNV practice that arose from the data was in the form of academic

adjustments. Participants of this study changed academic expectations or standards to improve

student success. Amy, an ESL instructor, reduced academic rigor, noting that what students learn

in her class is not a life-or-death situation. Since her students are international students, there is

the implication that Amy's standards may have been primarily about cultural assimilation. Shelly

also practiced academic adjustment SNV by softening the boundaries between empathy and rigor.

She also acknowledged that there were cultural academic habitus expectations that she let go of

during the pandemic. She referred to this as her university's "fear of becoming DeVry." Cynthia

practiced academic adjustment SNV by changing the way she measured learning. She recognized

that students had less time, so she changed the final assignment from a paper to a meme

assignment, which still allowed her to measure the course learning outcomes but added fun and

reduced completion time for students. In all of these examples of academic adjustment SNV,

participants closely scrutinized the necessary from the unnecessary components of their courses. I

perceive that this SNV practice has the most potential to change the academic habitus because

these participants are stripping away the parts of the HEC that exist merely for the sake of

reproducing the academic habitus. This may invite learning and empathy to replace the

reproduction of symbolic capital of the dominant classes. This SNV practice illustrates the power

of the HEC to help students succeed academically and gain academic capital in the face of low

economic capital (Bourdieu 1984a). This is where faculty have a great deal of power in the internal institution of the classroom.

The third type of SNV practice is disciplinary superpowers. This refers to how faculty used the unique strengths and approaches of their academic disciplines to help students survive and in some cases thrive during the pandemic. Emma used design thinking to turn student fears into app designs that solved pandemic problems. Mark used the "riches and niches" media theory to turn his students' interests into gainful employment during the pandemic. Mary taught her students how to think critically about the information they were getting from news in 2020, which helped them discuss and process current events. Disciplinary superpower SNV can change the habitus because it gives students tools to change the world around them, even when things seem hopeless. This type of SNV strongly pushes against SV. It starts with acknowledgement of suffering and then, rather than reproducing the status quo and oppressive structures, it encourages students to stop SV and heal the habitus.

All three types of SNV practices ignore some of the protocols of the academic habitus that exist just for the reproduction of academic norms. For example, in non-academic support, the boundaries between professor and student are virtually erased. In academic adjustments, rigor and academic standards previously replicated without scrutiny are now being scrutinized and, in some cases, made redundant. In disciplinary superpowers, the emphasis has become about responding to real-life authentic needs and actively changing academic norms.

We saw earlier how SV and SNV are not dichotomous. Rather, SNV occurs inside of SV like an antidote (Haga 2020b). Figure 6 illustrates the types of SV that appeared in 2020 and the types of SNV practices that worked to heal SV and change the habitus.
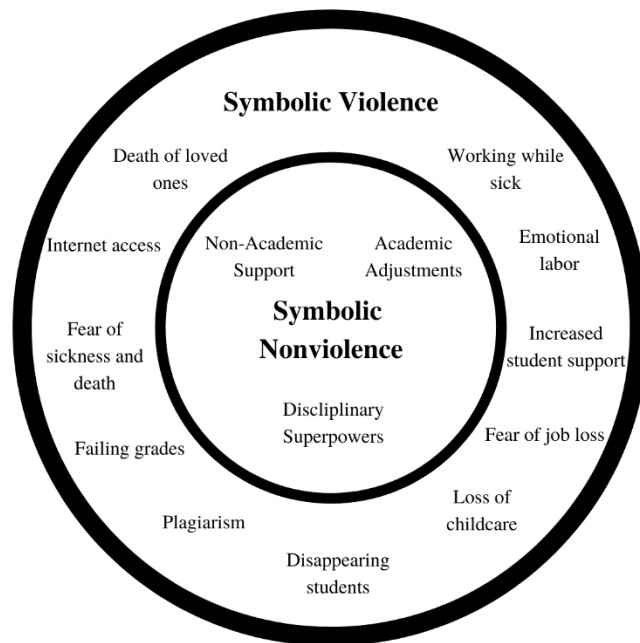
Symbolic Violence

Death of loved ones

Working while sick

Internet access

Non-Academic Support

Academic Adjustments

Emotional labor

Symbolic Nonviolence

Fear of sickness and death

Increased student support

Disciplinary Superpowers

Failing grades

Fear of job loss

Loss of childcare

Plagiarism

Disappearing students

Figure 6. 2020 SNV Inside of 2020 SV

As depicted in Table 4, the specific ways that SV was experienced, noticed, and recognized by faculty informed their SNV practices. And in turn the SNV practices can serve as the remedy for that same SV and change the academic habitus. Jackson and Mazzei (2012) wrote that their method intends to reveal something about the reality that flashes through the cracks of the threshold. What Bourdieu's (1984b:xiv) structuralist constructivist theory revealed is the potential for change. Faculty, who have achieved legitimization, are primed to recognize, change, and heal the habitus. Through SV and SNV practices, the habitus is made and unmade.

IMPLICATIONS

The literature showed how teacher candidates who experienced SV in their university classrooms replicated those teaching practices in K-12 classrooms (Toshalis 2010; McGillicudy and Devine 2017). This study has important implications for teaching faculty in higher education because of the opportunity they are afforded to model SNV practices for all students. This is not only significant in teacher preparation programs, but for all disciplines, academic and non-

academic. Students who see inclusive practices modeled in the HEC may be more likely to reproduce similar inclusive practices in their workplaces, with their families, and in the public sphere in general. SNV practices invite students' whole selves into the classroom. SNV says that learning is about learning, not reproducing the social capital of the dominant social groups.

SNV practices are also authentic in nature in that they serve students as whole people and not just require performance on academic tasks for the sake of academia. SNV practices are about learning and less about performing symbolic capital rituals that simply reproduce the dominant culture through the academic habitus. By raising awareness of SNV practices, my hope is that academia loses hidden curriculum requirements that do not matter, requirements that exist only because of institutions' fears of "becoming DeVry." That fear is SV. That fear is what is reproducing oppression in the institution of higher education. That fear equates to the misrecognition of academic standards as essential components of learning. When you strip those away, what is left worth teaching?

SNV practices invite students to bring their interests and fun into academic assignments. They are also about learning knowledge that changes the world outside of the classroom. Tara referred to academia as a "pure little tower of place that it never actually was." SNV practices demolish that ivory tower and create authentic work and solutions for students that have functions outside of the tower.

There are themes in the literature about SV decreasing academic success and, in some cases, leading to an exit of the academic habitus (Shannon and Escamilla 1999; Herr 2005; Cushion and Jones 2006; Toshalis 2010; Scott 2012; Adams-Romena 2013; Watson and Widin 2015; Coles 2016; Khanal 2017; McGillicuddy and Devine 2017; Nairz-Wirth et al. 2017; Archera et al. 2018; Gast 2018; Marsh 2018; Cooley 2019). If SNV stops such SV practices, there may be potential to increase awareness of SNV practices to increase academic success and

retention. Institutions could provide professional development on SNV practices. I believe that the SNV observed in the pandemic will be applicable outside of pandemic times, as well. The data showed that the pandemic did not always cause the inequities in SES, race/ethnicity, and gender; rather it simply exposed what was already there.

Working in academia is losing its appeal for many faculty, who are increasingly unhappy and seeking other options (Flaherty 2020; Loeb 2020; Woolston 2020). I propose that institutions need to step up faculty support and acknowledge the invisible labor they consistently provide that allows institutions to continue to recruit and retain students. This does not mean sending emails saying, "we support you," or offering additional "sit and get" Zoom calls where the administrators discuss strategic plans. It also does not necessarily mean instructional design support or webinars on how to increase engagement in online classes. Faculty support means acknowledgement of the gaps in student support that faculty are expected to fill. Make invisible labor visible. Administrators of universities and colleges, look closely at what you expect from faculty. What is the complete job description? Does it include providing supports to students outside of the realm of content and learning support? If your answer is yes, then your institution has work to do.

I also implore administrators at institutions of higher education to look at the supports and requirements of adjunct faculty, faculty of color, junior faculty and mothering faculty and ask how the odds might be stacked against them. How do standards for adjunct faculty differ from that of full-time faculty? Do faculty of color and junior faculty feel increased pressure to conform to the status quo of the academic habitus or university? How does the university invite mothering into academia so that that part of a faculty member's life is not pushed "off camera?"

My hope is this study makes faculty feel seen in their invisible and emotional labor. I also hope that faculty and students feel empowered to change the world through empathy and also

through academic work. We need to say goodbye to teaching the way we were taught and say goodbye to classroom norms as they have "always been done." We also need to resist the pressure of being reputed as a "rigorous academic." Faculty should not have to walk a tightrope between empathy and rigor. Rigorous teaching should *be* empathetic teaching. The internal institution is the powerful space inside the classroom where students and faculty can begin to invite autonomy, practice democratic teaching and learning, and visualize the future they want to live in.

LIMITATIONS

As mentioned in Chapter 3, I posted the recruitment materials for this study on a Facebook group called Pandemic Pedagogy. The audience consisted of faculty who were experienced in discussing the pandemic and its implications for teaching. The flyer also stated that I was "conducting research on equity and classroom assignments during the racial and viral pandemics of 2020." I believe that the word choice in combination with the civil rights movement happening at that time attracted participants who were already interested in equity and teaching practices. All participants voluntarily brought up issues of diversity, equity, and inclusion. This self-selection may have limited the sample and not accurately represented university faculty in the United States. The sample was also not as diverse as I had hoped it would be. Eighty-one percent of participants identified as white. This is above the national average of faculty, which is seventy-four percent white (NCES 2018). The homogeneity of the sample was a limitation of this study.

The research questions changed while I was collecting data. Therefore, many of the questions on the questionnaire pertained to the original research questions. If I had been able to develop more questions that contributed to the new set of research questions, it could have led to additional findings or deeper analysis. For instance, I would have developed more questions

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about the experience of teaching during the pandemic and about institutional support provided for both students and faculty.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Further research is needed on SNV practices and their effects on academic success and retention. For instance, studies could be followed up with students who were recipients of SNV practice to see if their academic performance was different than those of students whose faculty did not practice SNV. Also, retention studies could be done to see if students who are recipients of SNV teaching practices are more likely to graduate.

Research on SNV practices could also benefit from interviewing students about their experience learning during the pandemic. This study focused narrowly on faculty, but interviewing both faculty and students could paint a more complete picture of how SV and SNV was experienced from the perspective of both faculty and students.

Additional research is also needed on the support that institutions provided to faculty in 2020 and beyond. While the focus of this study was on the support that faculty provided to students, my questionnaire also included a question about the support that the institutions provided to them. The data from this question could be used to pilot a deeper study of institutional support for faculty. This may be related to a need for further research on faculty mental health and what faculty need in the ways of support, particularly during 2020 and 2021.

Research is also needed on the SNV practices of faculty at Minority Serving Institutions (MSIs) compared to that of predominantly white institutions (PWIs). While some of the institutions of the participants in this study were MSIs, I did not identify the designation of the institution for each participant as this was not a goal of this study. Findings indicate that MSIs, and in particular HBCUs are better at retaining and providing social mobility for students of color

than PWIs (Hardy, Kaganda, and Aruguete 2019). Such a study would be an opportunity to illuminate the assets of MSIs.

While I hope that a disaster such as COVID never happens again, there is much to be learned by studying the strategies of educators during catastrophic events. Educators have a lot of wisdom around what learners need in times of trial. I invite educators, scholars, and students to document the experience of learning and teaching during times such as these to see what can be learned for future generations.

CONCLUSION

Higher education faculty are a group that is not studied as frequently as other groups because they are the ones conducting the research. Similarly, SV is often applied to K-12 instead of higher education because of its explicit effects on future generations. However, higher education is also a legitimized institution of cultural reproduction. Studying SV and SNV in higher education can reveal a great deal about norms that are valued in the academic habitus and society at large, including how they can be transformed.

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APPENDIX A

IRB APPROVAL LETTER

Texas Woman's University
Institutional Review Board (IRB)
irb@twu.edu
https://www.twu.edu/institutional-review-board-irb/

September 4, 2020
Aubree Evans
Sociology
Re: Exempt - IRB-FY2020-429 High Stakes in Hard Times: Pandemic-Era Classroom Assessments
Dear Aubree Evans,

The above referenced study has been reviewed by the TWU IRB - Denton operating under FWA00000178 and was determined to be exempt on September 3, 2020. If you are using a signed informed consent form, the approved form has been stamped by the IRB and uploaded to the Attachments tab under the Study Details section. This stamped version of the consent must be used when enrolling subjects in your study.

Note that any modifications to this study must be submitted for IRB review prior to their implementation, including the submission of any agency approval letters, changes in research personnel, and any changes in study procedures or instruments. Additionally, the IRB must be notified immediately of any adverse events or unanticipated problems. All modification requests, incident reports, and requests to close the file must be submitted through Cayuse.

On December 31, 2021, this approval will expire and the study must be renewed or closed. A reminder will be sent 45 days prior to this date.

If you have any questions or need additional information, please contact the IRB analyst indicated on your application in Cayuse or refer to the IRB website at http://www.twu.edu/institutional-review-board-irb/.

Sincerely,

TWU IRB - Denton

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

In addition to requesting access to the syllabus and an assessment that participants mention in the interview, I will also ask participants the following guiding questions. I may have follow-up questions depending on the participants' responses.

1. What gender do you identify with?
2. What race and ethnicity do you identify with?
3. Were you the first in your family to attend college?
4. Can you tell me a little about your experience teaching this semester, given the viral and racial pandemic?
5. Thinking of one class that you teach, what assignment bears the most weight of the final grade? Can you please describe that assignment?
6. Did you create the assignment? If so, what influenced your creation of it?
7. What does the assignment measure?
8. What might be required to know or do that is not stated in the instructions or rubric? [I can give examples if that's helpful. Ex. social norms, knowledge of writing or presentation skills, certain language use, etc]
9. What kinds of reactions or feedback have you received from students regarding this assignment?
10. How do you think you might react if a student wanted to change a component of this assignment?
11. What about this assignment, if anything, has changed due to the racial or viral pandemic?
    a. [Optional] Why did you decide to change it/keep it the same?
    b. [Optional] If not, how do you think you might change it in the future?
12. Would you be willing to send me the instructional materials (syllabus, rubric, etc) for the assignment after our interview?
13. How do you know if your assignments are inclusive to all learners?
14. How might power dynamics show up during a class assignment in general?
15. What similarities or differences do you see between the way that you were taught and the way that you teach?
16. How has your institution's response to the viral or racial pandemic influenced your experience teaching this semester?
17. Is there anything you'd like to add about teaching this semester?

APPENDIX C

RECRUITMENT FLYER

TEXAS WOMAN'S
UNIVERSITY

Are you interested in talking to us about teaching during the pandemics?

We are conducting research on equity and classroom assignments during the racial and viral pandemics of 2020.

We invite participants who:
- are teaching at least one course during the Fall 2020 semester
- have been faculty at the same 4-year institution for at least 3 years,
- and serve non-traditional or under-represented populations of students.

The study will consist of an interview lasting approximately 1-2 hours and the sharing of relevant instructional materials. Participation is voluntary. There is a potential risk of loss of confidentiality in all email, downloading, electronic meetings, and internet transactions.

For more information or to express interest in participating, contact Aubree Evans at aevans13@twu.edu.