WHAT’S IT WORTH?

A MULTIFACETED APPROACH TO MEASURING THE VALUE OF UNDERGRADUATE HUMANITIES DEGREES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

A Study Conducted for UC Office of the President, Oakland, CA

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The humanities\(^1\) are a collection of disciplines that have shaped the way humans experience the world for centuries. Our ability to communicate, understand, interpret and empathize is in part thanks to experiences with the humanities—composing an essay, playing a piece of music, analyzing an argument. The study of humanities has been a cornerstone of liberal arts education in the U.S. since the country’s first colleges were founded in the 15\(^{th}\) century.

Today, scholarship in the humanities still happens mostly on college campuses, but the number of students enrolling and majoring in humanities programs is declining. Large research universities with a wide breadth of programs are particularly vulnerable to shifting economic trends that have pushed more students to major in science, technology, math, and social sciences. In tight economic climates, departments that provide less of their own financial support are the first to have their value questioned.

Although scholars have volleyed the existence of a “humanities crisis” in higher education for years, popular belief held that the humanities embedded social value would ensure its persistence in academia. The Great Recession accelerated this debate and thrust public policymakers to confront the tradeoffs between higher education and state industrial policy.

A systematic undervaluation of the benefits of humanities has led policymakers to propose reducing state expenditures for degrees not thought to lead to high paying jobs. These policies are short-sighted; they do not account for the long run supply of workers in the market nor do they take into consideration the speed at which technology is changing the nature of work. These policies present unnecessary market intervention; states have a poor track record of predicting future workforce needs and should heed advice from colleges and universities on policies that connect industrial policy and higher education. Finally, these policies inaccurately characterize humanities scholarship as useless and inefficient when in truth, bachelor’s degree holders in humanities on average make significantly above the national median and attend graduate school and

\(^{1}\) For a list of disciplines classified as humanities for the purposes of this report, see Appendix A.
work full time at rates comparable to their peers. Furthermore, humanities scholarship emphasizes generalizability and interpersonal skills development—qualities which transcend disciplines and varying levels of technology and automation.

Knowledge in both the humanities and STEM disciplines are highly complementary and important for every student in the 21st Century. UCOP is strongly positioned to lead the nation in using evidence and sound reasoning to promote better higher education and industrial policy making to protect the existence of humanities scholarship.

I recommend combatting the public’s undervaluation of humanities scholarship by rethinking the framework of value. The humanities cannot be valued solely on a return on investment. They offer more than just a monetary return—although that return is positive, contrary to popular rhetoric. Humanities scholarship emphasizes skills that are less easily mechanized and offer students diverse career choices. Humanities scholarship promotes civic engagement and collaborative problem solving—skills we should agree are direly needed in our political future. These elements must be included in a comprehensive measure of value.

UCOP can promote this framework in the following ways:

1. Protect campus degree programs and administrative efforts to support their persistence.
2. Invest in shared learning networks to enable campus collaboration.
3. Lead the nation in advocating for better higher education policy making.
INTRODUCTION

Art, literature, philosophy, and language are fundamental to the human experience. They contextualize our discoveries, help us construct codes of ethics, and allow us to communicate diverse experiences. Declines in humanities enrollments and degree completions at the University of California threatens the university’s founding mandate and commitment to a comprehensive education encompassing both liberal arts and technical and industrial trades.

This report presents qualitative and quantitative evidence supporting the continued need for humanities scholarship as a means of social conscience and as a smart investment in the future workforce. It then goes on to develop a new framework for rethinking the measurement of value for bachelor’s degrees in humanities and finally recommends actions for UCOP to take in promoting stronger higher education policymaking and the preservation of humanities scholarship.
BACKGROUND

A Brief Overview of the Organization of U.S. Higher Education

From the oldest Liberal Arts colleges to modern research institutions, higher education in the U.S. has continuously evolved and adapted, mirroring the prevailing political sentiments of history. What began as an effort to equip the sons of wealthy land owners with the skills necessary to succeed in law and government\(^2\) (skills like rhetoric, debate, philosophy, and grammar) later adapted to meet the needs of a more diverse group of young men who required mechanical, agricultural, and technical training as a result of the Industrial Revolution\(^3\). The 20th century saw colleges and universities diversify even more, many admitting students of color and women for the first time. This monumental shift also saw the rise of new degree programs such as ethnic and gender studies, which cemented the university as a center for social progress. In the last 100 years, the evolution of higher education in the U.S. has settled into a multi-pronged system of institutions with disparate mandates and functionalities\(^4\).

Colleges adapted in the Liberal Arts style today tend to be small, elite, and utilize a robust humanities curriculum to facilitate student learning—even if students are not majoring in humanities subjects\(^5\). This is in contrast to land-grant research and state flagship universities that tend to be large, vary in exclusivity, and often focus on


\(^3\) ibid.

\(^4\) http://www.studyusa.com/en/a/58/understanding-the-american-education-system

research and vocational subjects to facilitate student learning and skill-development. Humanities disciplines may be a core tenet of such institutions, but may not be emphasized as strongly for students majoring outside of the discipline. This distinction between Liberal Arts and Research institutions is critical to the origin of the University of California (UC) system and to understanding the role humanities disciplines play at each of its campuses.

**The History of Humanities at the University of California**

The Organic Act of 1868 established the University of California as the preeminent degree granting institution of the state of California. The Act relied on the federal distribution of land to help states create new institutions of higher learning that would instruct new generations in skills and trades required by the Industrial Revolution. Mandates of two previously existing institutions in California encompassed the mission of the new university. The College of California, founded in the Liberal Arts tradition was thus combined with The Agricultural, Mining and Mechanical Arts College in what Verne Stadtman in *The University of California 1868 – 1968* describes as:

> Not a merger of [the institutions]. It was, more accurately, the child of [a] very brief association in the fall and winter of 1867. From the College of California, the new University inherited a collegiate tradition, a site, and facilities. From the Agricultural, Mining and

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6 ibid.
7 ibid.
9 ibid.
10 ibid.
Mechanical Arts College, the new University inherited the challenge of serving popular demand for practical, as opposed to classical, higher education in California and eligibility for federal assistance.

The dichotomy between the missions of the two institutions that jointly made up the UC is evident in the language of the Organic Act itself. According to the statute, UC students were expected to obtain a comprehensive education that incorporated both generalized liberal arts prioritized by the College of California, and trade skills from the Agricultural, Mining and Mechanical Arts College:

The University shall have for its design, to provide instruction and thorough and complete education in all departments of science, literature, art, industrial and profession pursuits, and general education, and also special courses of instruction in preparation for the professions of Agriculture, the Mechanic Arts, Mining, Military Science, Civil Engineering, Law, Medicine and Commerce, and shall consist of various Colleges, namely:

First--Colleges of Arts.

Second--A College of Letters.

Third--Such professional and other Colleges as may be added thereto or connected therewith.

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11 1868 Organic Act to Create and Organize the University of California: Chapter 244
Since its founding, the UC has sought to educate students through a diverse and well-rounded curriculum, which unambiguously includes studies of humanities. The UC's commitment to liberal arts education and humanities scholarship is evident not only through its historical mission, but also in its continued excellence and contribution of research to the field. Indeed, some humanities programs at UC are ranked among the highest in the world today\textsuperscript{12}.

**Connecting Higher Education to State Industrial Policy**

**The Morrill Act**

In 1862, President Abraham Lincoln signed into law the Morrill Act, which granted federal land to states to resell for the purpose of establishing and financing institutions of higher education\textsuperscript{13}. This allocation of resources was the impetus for a majority of large research universities in existence today including the University of California. Although the land was bestowed on the basis that these institutions would educate students in military, agricultural, and technical pursuits, the law was careful to preserve the vision of liberal arts education established by early East Coast institutions\textsuperscript{14}:

\textit{...without excluding other scientific and classical studies and including military tactic, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the States may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life.}

\textsuperscript{12} https://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/news/uc-system-top-world-new-rankings
\textsuperscript{13} 7 U.S.C. § 304
\textsuperscript{14} ibid.
The Morrill Act established two important precedents. First, it inculcated states with direct decision making power over educational-industrial policies. Second, it diversified the pool of students seeking opportunities for higher education.

When states became the administrators of endowments made possible through the Morrill Act, it represented an important departure away from the British-based collegiate system of solely Liberal Arts-based education and opened the way for a research-oriented style of learning modeled after the German system to take hold. Simultaneously, the Industrial Revolution was rapidly shifting the expertise required to succeed in the workforce, from agrarian to mechanical. The Morrill Act enabled states to dovetail the emergent needs of their new economies with opportunities for technical and mechanical education. Indeed, one of the key characteristics of the German higher education system—on which Land Grant colleges were loosely based—was that the university system be closely tied to the industrial needs of the state without losing corporate autonomy over administrative decisions. This idea is still firmly present in many of today’s university systems.

Another major shift in the fabric of higher education to come out of the Morrill

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15 "Morrill Act's Contribution to Engineering's Foundation", Tau Beta Pi The Bent, Spring 2009
16 R. D. Anderson, Germany and the Humboldtian Model 2004
Act was the surge in opportunity afforded to students who otherwise would likely not have sought out higher learning. As Justin Morrill, author of the legislation, stated, the bill created a “college in every State upon a sure and perpetual foundation, accessible to all, but especially to the sons of toil...” This marked a dramatic change for the United States; now, not only were sons of the elite eligible for college, but less wealthy, more industrial classes were as well.

It must be noted that diversity in higher education at this time spanned social classes, but it rarely spanned race or gender. This would come later in the 20th Century at most institutions. However, the University of California was ahead of most in expanding learning opportunities to female students and students of color. Its first graduating class consisted of 22 women and both UC Berkeley and UCLA graduated black students decades before many campuses were racially integrated. Nonetheless, the UC has a long history of commitment to providing educational and research opportunities for a diverse student body. The Morrill Act helped establish this and paved the way for the UC to become a significant force of equity in elite education.

The State’s Role in Higher Education Governance

Governance over the University of California is the responsibility of the Board of Regents, whose presence was established by the state constitution. Once again reflecting the values of the German Humboldtian system of higher education, the constitution provides for a state university system that is altogether independent in its

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18 https://cals.ncsu.edu/news/accessible-to-all/
20 “The Centennial of The University of California, 1868-1968”
21 Certificate of Incorporation of The Regents of the University of California.
operational responsibilities from the state. Indeed, article IX, section 9 states that “The University shall be entirely independent of all political or sectarian influence and kept free therefrom in the appointment of its regents and in the administration of its affairs.”

This is an extremely important point when considering the research question presented in this report. The value of a degree is inextricably (though not in its entirety) tied to private and public return on investment. If a state’s industrial policies depend on the education provided by public institutions, there will naturally be an incentive for states to intervene in policies around higher education to ensure that the future workforce needs of the taxpayers are met. The explicit role of the Board of Regents, as outlined in the state constitution, buffers against such intervention on behalf of the state and preserves the autonomy of the university.

Paradoxically, the UC Board of Regents serves as a constitutional corporation comprised of political appointees and elected state officials. The Governor of the state is tasked with nominating most members, who must also be confirmed by the state senate, to 12 year terms. There are also seven ex-officio members: The Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Speaker of the State Assembly, Alumni Association President and Vice President, and President of the University. While the constitution clearly distinguishes the political and administrative roles of those serving on the Board of Regents, a certain level of trust is necessary to maintain that the industrial and academic needs of the state, while connected, are

23 Certificate of Incorporation of The Regents of the University of California.
24 ibid.
administered independently and objectively.

Here, the Academic Senate plays an important role. The UC is unique in the level of authority offered to its faculty. Although most state university systems have an administrative board to represent faculty and students, UC’s Academic Senate enjoys significant responsibility and shared governance over educational policy thanks to a series of events directly after WWI that formally inscribed their duties25. In what became known as the “Berkeley Revolution” and subsequently the “California Plan,” faculty members requested that the academic board be given an explicit role in the administration of the university after a few failed attempts at informally acknowledging their contributions26. In 1920, the Academic Senate officially gained the right to

- Advise the president on all “appointments, promotions, demotions, and dismissals” of professors and on the appointment of deans.
- Advise the president regarding “changes in the educational policy of the university.”
- Advise the President regarding budget issues.
- And to choose its own committees and organization “in such a manner as it may determine.27”

Thus, the Academic Senate is explicitly entitled to advise the UC Board of Regents on issues of education policy. And while the relationship between the Regents and the Academic Senate has evolved over time, the role of each entity is still abundantly clear. For the purposes and motivations of this report, the role of the state

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26 ibid.
27 ibid.
is articulated as completely separate from the role of the UC Board of Regents and the Academic Senate.

**The Great Recession & Shifting Expectations**

Since its origin, studies of humanities and technical training have served as complimentary disciplines at the University of California. This integration “helps create an educated workforce that keeps the California economy competitive.” The Great Recession significantly altered the mechanisms of higher education funding in the U.S. Large public universities such as the UC, depending heavily on state investment, were hit particularly hard. Between 2007 and 2010, California public university systems saw a severe contraction in state funding (see Figure 1).

Tuition increases for students have made up for some of the deficit experienced by campuses, but they have also changed students’ expectations about where they end up post-degree. As students become responsible for an increasing proportion of their educational costs (see Figure 2), they are looking to offset that cost with jobs that earn higher wage premiums. This response is easily predicted by a basic understanding of economics. It has also been argued that this is an appropriate realignment of the market; the true cost of education is exposed and borne by the consumer, allowing value to be accurately measured on the free market.

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29 "Higher Education in California: Institutional Costs," Public Policy Institute of California
While this may be true for the cost of higher education overall, the argument breaks down when its applied to the choices students face about majoring in a specific discipline. Undoubtedly, when the full cost of education is hidden from students, issues of moral hazard can arise. Students feel compelled to take on more risk in terms of future job outlooks because they bear less of the cost of that choice. However, arguments for policies that attempt to mitigate this through subsidizing certain areas of study (effectively defunding the ones deemed less valuable to the current labor force) miss the mark. The economic hardships brought on by the Great Recession mask a complete definition of value—one that not only measures private and public financial gains, but also the evolution and unpredictability of future labor markets and the added social benefits of a comprehensively educated citizenry.

31 California Budget Project, From State to Student.

32 See University of California Accountability Report 2015
THE CONSEQUENCES OF UNDERVALUING HUMANITIES DISCIPLINES

Public Perception

News stories about the future of work and what skills it will require are quite easy to come by. Sources ranging from The Washington Post to Forbes to McKinsey consistently publish articles on the various sizes, shapes, and depths of the workforce yet to come. Many of these articles center on public comments made by state officials.

33 https://www.forbes.com/sites/jeffreydorfman/2014/11/20/surprise-humanities-degrees-provide-great-return-on-investment/#49fe1ac92031

and policy makers who draw on the connection between workforce development and higher education to call for state interventions in higher ed policy-making. One such leader is Kentucky Governor Matthew Bevin, who, in 2015, outlined his education and economic policy platform in a speech that decried the value of a Bachelor’s degree in French Literature. His 2016 budget proposal went on to recommend that funding for Kentucky’s higher education system be restructured using performance-based outcomes including an indicator for how many “skilled” employees a university graduates. In the proposal, he states “[t]he net result of putting public tax dollars into education is to ensure that we are actually graduating people who can go into the work force and get out of their parents’ basement among other things.” Governor Bevin’s consistent disdain for academic scholarship which is not precisely matched to specific and currently open jobs in the state is indicative of the broader rhetoric around the study of the humanities. The idea that English or Philosophy majors are unemployable and destitute upon graduation arose quite frequently in my research of media coverage on higher education issues.

While my analysis finds that there relatively few differences between the post degree plans of humanities students and those of their peers, the idea that humanities majors would have trouble finding jobs was a reoccurring theme. This is important because it highlights a troubling trend of myopia among policymakers entrusted to lead state

economies into the future. It also sets a tone for taxpayers and voters who rely on the media for guidance on where to stand on issues. Statements equating the role of public universities with better jobs should unequivocally make sense to taxpayers, as they appeal directly to the highly coveted return on investment metric that lets them know their dollars are being put to good use. However, the most widely shared and publicized comments often disregard or mask facts about the rich diversity of jobs and opportunities available to humanities majors, in favor of prioritizing the needs of specific technical industries. For example, former Governor of North Carolina Pat McCrory, in an interview in 2013, publicly supported his host’s questioning of gender studies courses offered at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill when he said “if you want to take gender studies that’s fine, go to a private school and take it, but I don’t want to subsidize that if that’s not going to get someone a job.”\(^{37}\) In truth, many gender studies programs are offered through colleges of liberal arts, which require a wide breadth of classes and levels of skill development before degrees are conferred. According to Payscale.com, a site which aggregates salary data by student majors, gender studies majors earned $48,000 - $61,000 one to four years after graduation, not significantly different than the national average for engineering students after graduation, which in 2015 was $64,891\(^{38}\). Even if the data available was skewed to the top of the earnings range for gender studies, halving the figure would still keep it in range of the national average salary of a first year teacher\(^{39}\).

Furthermore, many employers seek skills that transcend discipline when making

\(^{38}\) http://www.payscale.com/research/US/Degree=Bachelor_of_Arts_(BA)%2C_Women%27s_Studies/Salary
hiring decisions. For example, Table 1 demonstrates how employer respondents in 2015 rated job skills they sought in prospective 2016 applicants. Results are from an annual survey conducted by the National Association of Colleges and Employers (NACE). Skills such as verbal and written communication, organization, and working on a team are imbedded in college curricula in all disciplines. Perpetuating the perception that only certain majors are employable falsely undermines the institution of higher education.

**TABLE 1: EMPLOYERS RATING OF JOB SKILLS AND QUALITIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skill/Quality</th>
<th>Weighted Average Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ability to verbally communicate with persons inside and outside the organization</td>
<td>4.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability to work in a team structure</td>
<td>4.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability to make decisions and solve problems</td>
<td>4.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability to plan, organize and prioritize work</td>
<td>4.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability to obtain and process information</td>
<td>4.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability to analyze quantitative data</td>
<td>4.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical knowledge related to the job</td>
<td>3.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proficiency with computer software programs</td>
<td>3.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability to create and/or edit written reports</td>
<td>3.60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

40 5-point scale, where 1=Not at all important; 2=Not very important; 3=Somewhat important; 4=Very important; and 5=Extremely important
Moreover, Jeffrey Dorfman, a professor of economics at the University of Georgia found in a 2014 report that humanities majors, while earning less than STEM majors over their lifetime, still earned a return on investment of 300 to 700 percent. As he states in his article, “...the humanities have been selling themselves short. In addition to adding invaluably to our culture, humanities majors are a wise financial investment as well.” This information is noticeably missing from policy conversations and budget proposals. Changing public perception with better information is an important step to significantly improving public policy making.

**Ill-conceived Debates on Wage Premiums**

Unambiguously, STEM majors tend to earn more on average than humanities majors today. As discussed, this earnings premium is the source of heated debates about whether states should incentivize certain majors over others to encourage the existence of more high paying jobs. This debate lacks a clarity that is critical to improving social mobility and opportunity for people through higher education. Namely, the wage premium between different majors—particularly at highly selective institutions—is far less significant over typical lifetime earnings than the wage premium between graduating from college and graduating from high school. A recent Pew Research study found that the early career wage gap between college graduates and high school graduates has grown consistently from about $7,500 in 1965 to about $17,500 in

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2012. All amounts in the study are in 2012 dollars\textsuperscript{45}. Wages for high school graduates have stagnated over the last two decades and if this trend continues as predicted, the difference between them and four-year college graduates will far outpace the median difference in salary earned by bachelor degree holders in different careers (see Figure 3.)

Debates centered around incentivizing the most lucrative college majors ignores the fact that if policy makers truly want to see wages increase and more qualified job applicants filling open positions, they should be looking at ways to increase the educational opportunities of high school graduates instead of limiting opportunities for college level scholarship. In fact, an occupational outlook report from the Bureau of Labor Statistics published in 2012 lists many of the highest paying jobs not requiring a college degree; most of the jobs listed are in technical and mechanical fields\textsuperscript{46}. If policymakers are searching for a workforce to fill the anticipated gap between STEM job openings and qualified applicants, high school graduates who already possesses some of the expertise and knowledge required would be a much more logical choice. Getting those students into higher education is ultimately a more equitable, efficient and effective route to mitigating the current STEM skills gap than diverting funding away from other scholarly disciplines.

**Short-sighted Policy Making**

Incomplete information leads to short-sighted policy making that does not serve the best interests of taxpayers and constituents. For example, current public discourse on how to prioritize majors tends to focus on the immediate earnings of today's

\textsuperscript{45} ibid.

\textsuperscript{46} https://www.bls.gov/careeroutlook/2012/summer/art03.pdf
graduates without looking ahead to predicted trends on future earnings and jobs. As my analysis indicates, skills which are often developed through the humanities are closely aligned to the skills rated most important by employers. Of course, this does not negate the fact that certain professions such as engineering and physical or health sciences

**Figure 3: Median Annual Earnings Among Full-time Workers Age 25 - 32 in 2012 Dollars**

require highly specific skill sets that tend to come with premium wages. However, it is important to consider that while part of the high premium of specialized skills is indicative of society’s inherent value of them, some of it also comes from the principles of supply and demand in a manipulated market. When fewer people have highly specialized and desirable skills, their wage premium will tend to be higher than those

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with less specialized or less desirable skills. However, as more students are encouraged or incentivized to pursue opportunities with higher wage premiums, we would expect the difference in compensation to dissipate, and the wage premium to begin to equilibrate away from shortage pricing⁴⁸.

Policymakers have consistently tried to manipulate these market trends in an attempt to influence specific professions. Indeed, this may have been one of the mechanisms driving policy changes for medical residency programs over the last 20 years. The number of medical school students accepted each year is a function of the number of residency programs expected to be available upon graduation—a number that is controlled through federal health spending. In the 1980s and 1990s, Congress and the American Medical Association predicted a surplus of doctors and responded by instituting a gating function for eligible students by capping medical school enrollment and residency programs⁴⁹. In 2002, this program was reversed when it became evident that a shortage in doctors and health professionals was anticipated⁵⁰. Market interference has led to U.S. medical professional salaries well above other western countries while a significant shortage of doctors and nurse practitioners persists⁵¹.

Policymakers who advocate incentives for STEM degree seekers based on current wage premiums fail to recognize the anticipated effects those policies will have on the market in the future. While more STEM degrees are needed, expecting wage premiums to remain well above average for four-year degree holders, all else being equal, is an

⁵⁰ ibid.
unlikely result. Thus, a stronger policy argument for maintaining high paying jobs should involve incentivizing skills which are fluidly applicable across careers and disciplines, allowing the market to dictate ebbs and flows in sector growth.

METHODOLOGY AND PROJECT GOALS

This report is motivated by highly politicized debates currently shaping conversations about higher education—more specifically, the questioning of the value of humanities disciplines offered to undergraduate students in the United States. University departments, administrators, students, and taxpayers cannot make informed decisions regarding the future of their higher education systems without considering the long term educational and economic effects of current public discourse on the topic. To better equip university stakeholders in this debate, this report aims to do the following:

- Analyze the current landscape of undergraduate humanities education in the UC system and nationally
- Demonstrate innovative ways in which UC campuses and other universities are supporting and broadening their humanities programs
- Provide a framework for comprehensively valuing and communicating the value of humanities degrees
- Recommend a series of actions to be taken by UCOP to support humanities scholarship and research.
Methods

The methodology introduced in this report analyzes and directly addresses the research question in three phases. First, I identify root causes of a problem facing many UC campuses and universities nationwide: decreasing undergraduate humanities enrollment. Next, I analyze employment and campus survey data from UC undergraduate students who graduated between 2000 and 2014, examine market trends in employers’ hiring practices, and complete a benefit-cost analysis of earning an undergraduate degree to establish a comprehensive public and private valuation model for humanities degrees. Finally, I consider the potential long run effects of government intervention in higher education policy and introduce a new framework for university stakeholders to utilize in understanding and articulating the benefits of humanities scholarship.

Goals

This report provides several tools for understanding and communicating the value of specific higher education degree programs. It also recommends several actions UCOP should consider taking in support of its campuses’ humanities disciplines. While this iteration focuses on undergraduate humanities, the methods for analysis, strategies, and frameworks provided are intended to help university stakeholders of all levels and disciplines contextualize the impacts of policy interventions that directly impact their mandate as educators.
TRENDS IN HUMANITIES ENROLLMENT
NATIONALLY AND AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

National Humanities Degree Trends

The Humanities Indicator project is a collaboration among academic institutions in the U.S. which charts trends and maintains high quality data on humanities scholarship across the country\(^{52}\). The data is intended to provide statistical evidence for researchers and policymakers looking to draw conclusions about the condition of humanities-related fields. The project is maintained by the American Academy of Arts & Sciences. Some key findings exposed through the Indicators for graduates through 2014 are as follows:

1. Bachelor’s degrees in “core” humanities disciplines fell by 8.7% from 2012 to 2014.

2. The greatest decline in the share of all bachelor’s degrees experienced by humanities disciplines occurred in the 1970’s and early 1980’s when degrees conferred fell from a high of 17% to a low of about 7%. Since this time, the share has stayed fairly constant around 8% until falling in 2012.

3. Most humanities disciplines experienced declines in the number of degrees conferred proportional to trends annually. English and history, two of the most consistently popular humanities majors saw lower declines than archeology and classics in 2012\(^{53}\).

\(^{52}\) See www.humanitiesindicators.org

\(^{53}\) http://humanitiesindicators.org/content/indicatordoc.aspx?i=34
Figure 4 demonstrates the decline in humanities degree completions as a proportion of all degrees conferred between 1948 and 2014. The trends appear to loosely align with periods of economic recession. The blue line indicates humanities as they are outlined in the Classification of Instructional Programs (CIP) standard taxonomy. CIP codes were first introduced in 1980. The yellow line indicates only core humanities disciplines.

*Figure 4: Bachelor’s Degree Completions in the Humanities as a Percentage of All Bachelor’s Degree Completions, 1948–2014*  

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54 Information could not be obtained for 1979 and 1983. The percentages do not include “second majors.”  
55 [http://humanitiesindicators.org/content/indicatordoc.aspx?i=34](http://humanitiesindicators.org/content/indicatordoc.aspx?i=34)
Humanities Degree and Enrollment Trends at the University of California

Degrees in arts and humanities disciplines across the UC system have consistently declined over the last ten years, with steepening declines seen more recently\textsuperscript{56}. However, the number of degrees conferred remains slightly above the national average at 11\% in 2016, falling from 13\% in 2014 (see Figure 5).

\textbf{Figure 5: UC Bachelor’s Degree Completions in the Humanities as a Percentage of All Bachelor’s Degree Completions, University Wide}

\textbf{Figure 6: Change in Humanities Degrees Conferred From 2009 - 2016 at UC Campuses}

\textsuperscript{56} Author conducted analysis, with proprietary data from UCOP
The magnitude of decline across the UC system varies by campus. Figure 6 demonstrates that UC Riverside and UC Davis experienced the lowest decline in humanities degrees conferred between 2009 and 2016, while UC Santa Cruz and UC Santa Barbara experienced the greatest declines.

Enrollment in humanities majors as a percent of total enrollment has correspondingly declined in recent years, even though the number of students enrolled increased this year for the first time since 2009. The overall decline that continues is due to an increase in the number of students admitted to the UC. Although more of them are enrolled as humanities majors this year than last, less students overall are choosing humanities centered majors. Figure 7 shows the relationship between total humanities enrollment and humanities enrollment as a percent of all students over time.

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**Figure 7: UC Humanities Enrollment Over Time**

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ibid.
WHAT IS CAUSING DECLINES IN HUMANITIES ENROLLMENTS AND DEGREE COMPLETIONS?

Shifting Expectations from Outcomes-based Evaluative Models

In 2015, the Department of Education under President Obama initiated the College Scorecard, an interactive tool developed to help prospective college students make decisions about where to apply to college based on a diverse set of criteria about each school. Notably, the Obama administration, despite public opinion to the contrary, included alumni salary data as an outcome metric by which schools could be compared. This focus on outcomes, rather than inputs, is a trend that has been growing with regional accreditation agencies (organizations who oversee the credentialing of most private and public non-profit institutions) since the early 2000’s. The Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC) is the regional accreditor in the western U.S. and without its endorsement, institutions like the University of California and Stanford University would be unable to provide federal student aid to their students; accreditation is an indication to the federal government that colleges and universities have met specific standards.

One expert I spoke with claimed that WASC’s and the federal government’s emphasis on outcomes has significantly impacted the expectations of institutions and students. In an effort to comply with accreditation standards, institutions may prioritize meeting these outcomes in ways that can impact the programs and courses

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58 https://www.insidehighered.com/views/2015/09/14/essay-criticizes-obama-administrations-new-scorecard-colleges
60 See Appendix B for a list of Expert Interviews
they offer. For example, majors and disciplines with more easily quantifiable measures of success, such as professional exam scores or research grants, may be emphasized over majors with more nuanced measures of student learning. Here, humanities disciplines are at a disadvantage as they less characteristically involve pre-professional certifications and grant-funded research.

**The Modern STEM Student**

Another cause of declining enrollment and degree completion in humanities disciplines is something most would agree is resoundingly positive. Women and underrepresented minority students are graduating with STEM bachelor’s degrees at increasingly higher rates\(^61\). Prior to the mid-1990’s, these student populations made up a more significant proportion of humanities degree earners\(^62\). As disciplines continue to diversify, humanities disciplines are experiencing overall declining enrollment with more people leaving the major than entering it.

**Notable Effects of an Economic Recession**

Page 9 discusses how state funding for higher education has steadily declined since the early 2000’s, significantly dropping off during the Great Recession. As funding recedes, students are responsible for a growing proportion of their educational expenses. This has led more students to seek career pathways associated with higher wages as way of offsetting their costs. In many ways this is an indication that the private market is working effectively, however public market interference through state policymaking could exacerbate and crystallize this likely temporary trend.

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\(^{62}\) ibid
The Changing Structure of Academia

Pressure to graduate students in four years and reduce a metric known as time-to-degree has changed the way some universities structure general education requirements. Increasingly, students are able to use Advanced Placement and International Baccalaureate coursework completed in high school for college credit, shortening the list of requirements for graduation. Students with this option may spend more time on major and pre-professional coursework, bypassing whole departments that do not specifically apply to their degree. The University of Maryland, College Park has struggled with this problem since 2012, when administrators changed the general education requirements for incoming students. In an effort to reduce pressure on faculty in large departments like English, students were given more flexibility to fulfill their required courses; writing credits could be completed in a number of departments, rather than being funneled only through English. While this idea was widely supported at the time, faculty began to see less and less students inspired by entrance courses that were no longer required. Prior to the policy change, some students would seek new opportunities beyond the mandated courses and go on to pursue other experiences in philosophy, history, or English. An administrator I spoke with from the university felt strongly that changes to course schedules and offerings negatively impacted broad humanities disciplines.

63 https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2015/01/26/where-have-all-english-majors-gone
64 ibid.
65 See Appendix B.
A Systematic Undervaluation of Humanities Scholarship - The Root of the Problem

Changing student demographics, economic hardships and curricular modifications have all contributed to a decline in humanities enrollments and degree completions. However, they are each linked to a broadly systematic undervaluation of the humanities. That is, if students better understood their realistic prospects in the job market, or universities better prioritized the flexibility and universality of liberal arts skills, humanities disciplines would not be as susceptible to economic fluctuations. The latter half of this report develops a framework for building and communicating this understanding.
“Value” is a difficult term to articulate. It includes measurable and unmeasurable facets and its interpretation is fluid and defined by the purpose it is used for. In many cases, value is a proxy for monetary worth, measured in costs and benefits. This mechanism works well in the realm of public policy because individual preferences can be predicted based on values derived by the market. However, value is also attributed to things that are difficult to quantify - and crafting policy around these elements is less straightforward. For example, society has a collective agreement about the types of behaviors that classify as positive and negative traits; telling the truth is positive, lying is negative. What value does society place on telling the truth? To answer, we must understand what it is about telling the truth that makes it a positive quality. This may change with each individual! There is no clear-cut way to measure the value of telling the truth. In the U.S., we solve this problem through rule of law, allowing a jury to deliberate and interpret what value is placed on specific actions. That is, we use consensus and reasoning to determine the magnitude of the positive and negative externalities when things are hard to quantify explicitly.

Humanities scholarship is one of those things. Returns to education spending can easily be calculated for any academic experience. And if we considered economic returns alone as indicative of value, humanities would put up a strong showing. However, the humanities offer more than just a practical monetary investment. Humanities scholarship emphasizes skills that are less easily mechanized and offer students diverse career choices. Humanities scholarship promotes civic engagement and collaborative problem solving—skills we should agree are direly needed in our political future.
Measuring these positive externalities is not simple, but analyzing trends that describe them can expose the magnitude of their reach, enabling policymakers to confront the tradeoffs ahead.

**Humanities Disciplines Show Strong Economic Indicators**

Figure 8 displays the average median wage growth for all cohorts by discipline over a seven-year period from 2005 - 2012. All disciplines saw a contraction in wage
growth during the recession which has now begun trending toward recovery back to pre-recession levels. Noticeably, the humanities saw a smaller decline in wages during the recession and are recovering faster than disciplines in the social sciences and STEM. Using salary information from unemployment tax records for students who graduated from the UC in 2005 and 2012, I used a linear regression to model the difference in wage growth between cohorts who graduated in 2005 and 2012 and predict the point at which 2012 cohorts would completely recover from recession-era wages. All else being equal, humanities disciplines are expected to catch up to prerecession salary rates in 6.9 years and STEM salaries are expected to catch up to prerecession rates in 11.7 years.

**FIGURE 8: ANNUAL MEDIAN WAGE GROWTH FOR UC STUDENTS 2005 - 2012**

This analysis does not account for the fact that STEM wages had farther to fall initially, given their typically higher wage premiums. However, their slower recovery rate hints at a wage bubble that may have already burst.
Another strong indicator of economic viability comes from data analyzed by the salary aggregator website payscale.com. The website crowdsources compensation and employment data and analyzes trends in workforce compensation and career ROI. It claims to administer more than 150,000 surveys each month, adding to more than 54 million salary profiles, which are then aggregated into data visualizations that describe the current trajectory of various career paths and degree programs. Figure 9 demonstrates the data for humanities majors with bachelor’s degrees. Each line represents a different major; history and English majors tend to earn the most over a career, while theatre majors tend to earn the least. About half of the humanities majors included in the figure show career salaries above $70,000. This is important because in a study published in 2010, psychologist Daniel Kahneman and economist Angus Deaton identified $75,000 as being most correlated with individual happiness. In the widely publicized study, Kahneman and Deaton found that individuals sampled who made more than $75,000 were not significantly happier than those who made about that amount. Individuals making much less than $75,000 were found to be less happy at a level that was statistically significant. Humanities majors that focus on generalizable skills do better over time than humanities majors who focus on skills suited for a single profession. However, according to the data, all majors end their careers at salary levels well above the U.S. median, and according to Kahneman and Deaton, at a level which equates to relatively high levels of satisfaction.

66 See www.payscale.com
67 http://www.payscale.com/about/methodology
Humanities Disciplines Support Skill Building for California’s Future

As a nation, the U.S. has a meager track record in predicting future changes in the labor force. For decades, researchers have warned about the rise in automation and its consequences on job availability. Foresight of the interactive effects of technology and labor tends to come too little, too late, until market distortion occurs and political leaders layout plans for improvement with the levers available to them. Colleges and universities provide one of those levers in the case of publicly funded institutions. If policymakers want to improve their predictive track record on the economy, their policies for the future should focus on positions that will likely be available in the future, not ones that are available right now. The job market is unpredictable; changes in technology will occur faster than the time in which we can expect to see the effects of workforce policies made today. Moreover, as Figure 8 demonstrates, economic turbulence has lasting effects on wages that can interfere with...

predictive models. Automation puts 47% of U.S. jobs at risk\textsuperscript{70}. Even majors like computer engineering - that present an excellent investment in today’s market are predicted to be affected by automation in the near future\textsuperscript{71}.

We will not cease to be humans. The future of work will inherently include skills that humanities majors tend to emphasize. Talents like teamwork, interpersonal communication, and critical thinking are most highly rated by employers when looking for prospective hires. Studying the humanities is a great investment because it is an insurance policy against the persistent automation of the future. This is not to denigrate other vital disciplines—the future will continue to require expertise in math and science. Maintaining strong humanities programs is a crucial compliment to technological learning that will change the world, particularly because UC students report high levels of growth in many of the skills are employers prioritizing. Table 2 identifies skills that employers rated highly on the 2015 NACE survey and the self-reported growth of UC students in 2015.

\textsuperscript{71} http://spectrum.ieee.org/at-work/tech-careers/are-engineers-designing-their-robotic-replacements
### Table 2: Highly Rated Job Skills Compared to Self-Reported UC Student Growth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skill/Quality</th>
<th>Growth Reported by Humanities Students</th>
<th>Growth Reported by STEM Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working with diverse teams</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem Solving</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project Management and Organization</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written and Oral Communication</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Humanities Disciplines Promote Active Civic Engagement

In 1965, Congress established The National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), a federal agency mandated to support and proliferate humanities scholarship and research. The NEH provides grants to academic and cultural institutions as a means of strengthening teaching and learning in the humanities, facilitating humanities research, preserving access to cultural heritage, and providing opportunities for lifelong learning. In the 1970’s, state councils of humanities were established to impart more equity into federal grant funding. Since then, state humanities councils and the NEH have been a bedrock of financial support encompassing everything from keeping cultural institutions open to the public to funding academic research.

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72 Analysis of UCUES student indicators compared with NACE Job Outlook 2015 Report
73 https://www.neh.gov/about/history
74 https://50.neh.gov/projects/founding-state-humanities-councils
75 https://www.neh.gov/about/
The NEH also supports the idea of public humanities—that subjects like ethics, literature, history and philosophy should be available to all citizens\(^\text{76}\). Public institutions and state humanities councils play a significant role here. For example, the Pennsylvania Humanities Council (PHC) maintains reading lounges for teenagers in 79 public libraries across the state. Some of the programs are part of a pilot initiative that helps students engage in conversations and discourse about difficult topics involving race, gender, and social justice. Reading and debating together offers these students an opportunity to learn how to engage in civic matters and voice their opinions. Humanities are helping these students become more engaged in their communities\(^\text{77}\).

In a 2013 report on the impact of humanities and social sciences, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences describe the importance of the humanities as the mechanism which reminds us of our shared history as a country and which teaches us the fundamentals of participatory democracy\(^\text{78}\). These essential components are not innate in us as humans or citizens of a particular country. They are ingrained through education, literacy, and interaction with our communities. Literature and history are outlets from which students learn about the world before they were in it and begin to imagine the world of the future. Philosophy and ethics help students articulate how they feel about those worlds and decide what they want to do about it.

\(^{76}\) https://www.neh.gov/grants/public/public-humanities-projects  
\(^{77}\) http://www.pahumanities.org/initiatives/teen-reading-lounge  
\(^{78}\) http://www.humanitiescommission.org/_pdf/hss_report.pdf
In an all-campus survey that measures students’ self-reported learning, humanities students were more likely to say that activities they did on campus inspired them to continue community focused work after graduation. Figure 10 shows the surveys responses by academic discipline.

**Figure 10: UC Student Response to: “Community-focused activities at this campus influenced the desire to continue community-focused activities after graduation.”**
BRINGING THE FRAMEWORK TOGETHER:

Strategies UCOP can implement to support humanities for the future

UCOP is strongly positioned to lead the nation in using evidence and sound reasoning to promote better higher education and industrial policy making. Putting the framework above into action will require protecting campuses from curricular intervention on behalf of the state, investing in and supporting campus innovations that promote the comprehensive mission of the UC, and advocating on behalf of the highest rated research institution in the world for better state industrial and higher education policymaking.

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1. Protect Campus Programs

UC Campuses are strategically and creatively supporting their humanities departments despite budget shortfalls and strains on faculty. UCOP should protect these efforts by promoting collaboration and learning among the campuses.
UC Santa Barbara continues to invest in interdisciplinary efforts across the university.

UC Santa Barbara has a long history of interdisciplinary scholarship. Administrators and faculty at the university have developed numerous degree programs that connect disciplines across the university such as the Global Studies Major, which combines courses in history, ethics and world languages with economics and politics. One expert I spoke with considers the university’s emphasis on interdisciplinary work the best way to keep general subjects relevant and contextualized79.

UC San Diego is building connections between careers and the classroom.

Undergraduates humanities majors at UC San Diego have a wealth of internship opportunities at their fingertips thanks to efforts by administrators on campus who are building an active college to career pipeline for them. The division of arts and humanities actively works to bring students and professionals together through classroom lectures, small group seminars and community building. The division also works hard to get the message out about careers and opportunities in the humanities. Undergraduate interns with the division serve as community liaisons, promoting arts and humanities scholarship at local high schools and community colleges80.

UC Irvine encourages students to dive deep into the content.

Students at UC Riverside who need to complete breadth requirements have an

79 See Appendix A
80 See Appendix A
option to choose a unique sequence of English composition courses that are taken in succession for three out of four quarters of their first year. This sequence is taught only by the English department which guarantees new students from across the campus connect with the department every year. It also offers a fresh and efficient approach to general education; it is taught by different professors each time and student complete all of their English requirements their first year of school. Because students stay in the sequence for three quarters, they develop a deep knowledge of English composition, writing for different audiences, and utilizing different types of analysis as they progress. One administrator I spoke with believed that the level with which students are asked to think and synthesize throughout the sequence encourages many of them to choose writing or English as their major81.

2. Invest in Shared Learning

After speaking with faculty and department administrators at five UC campuses, one thing is obvious: everyone has their finger on the pulse of what is happening with humanities enrollment at the UC. Each expert I spoke with described what their campuses were doing to protect humanities scholarship with a distinct urgency. UCOP can leverage the actions happening across the university to promote shared learning system-wide. I propose the following actions as investments in innovated organizational learning:

- **Encourage campus leaders to convene for the explicit purpose of sharing new ideas about how to address student enrollment.**
- **Produce literature and data reports that aggregate campus activities and share it with the UC community electronically.**

81 See Appendix A
• Highlight innovative campus and national approaches to solving enrollment problems on the UCOP website and in printed literature.

3. Lead the Nation in Advocating for Better Higher Education Policymaking

California is the sixth largest economy in the world. The University of California produces about one third of all bachelor’s degrees in the state and one tenth of the academic research in the country. If any university system is going to lead the country in advocating for better policymaking, the UC is a strong contender. UCOP can actively support advocacy efforts now and in the future in the following ways:

1. Continue making student and alumni data available to the public and to researchers who can push policymakers to promote objective, honest policies with foresight.

2. Make public statements in support of humanities scholarship, the continuing importance of the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the need for comprehensive undergraduate education.
CONCLUSION

For too long, public figures and partisan political leaders have undermined the legitimacy of arguably one of the most important scholarly disciplines that exists. Their actions directly impact the educational climate of our public universities and their false narratives must be discredited through objective reasoning and persistent questioning of their assumptions. Swayed by the need to flex political might, policymakers are perpetuating short-sighted reforms that could be disastrous for future workforces. UCOP can reverse this trend by supporting its campus innovations in humanities scholarship, investing in and sharing collaborative strategies for ongoing work in institutional research, and leading the country in advocacy efforts on behalf of better higher education policymaking.

“The arts and humanities define who we are as a people. That is their power -- to remind us of what we each have to offer, and what we all have in common. To help us understand our history and imagine our future. To give us hope in the moments of struggle and to bring us together when nothing else will.”

-Michelle Obama
Appendix A: List of Humanities Disciplines

UCOP classifies the following majors in its broad discipline measure of arts and humanities:

- Visual/Performing Arts
- English Literature
- Foreign Languages
- Philosophy
- History
- Liberal Arts

Appendix B: List of Expert Interviews

I wish to extend my sincere thanks to the following experts who volunteered their time and knowledge to enhance my understanding of humanities scholarship across the country and at the University of California:

- Pamela Brown, Vice President of Institutional Research and Academic Planning, UC Office of the President
- Anthony Cascardi, Dean of Arts and Humanities, UC Berkeley
- Chris Furgiuele, Director, UC Office of the President
- Peter J. Graham, Professor of Philosophy and Associate Dean for Arts and Humanities, UC Riverside
- Todd Greenspan, Director of Academic Planning, UC Office of the President
- David Marshall, Executive Vice Chancellor and Professor of English and Comparative Literature, UC Santa Barbara
- Brianna Moore-Trieu, Institutional Research and Planning Analyst, UC Office of the President
- Alma Palazzo, Assistant Dean, Division of Arts and Humanities, UC San Diego
Kimberly Peterson, Manager of Academic Planning, UC Office of the President

Chris Procello, Academic Planning and Research Analyst, UC Office of the President

Georges Van Den Abbeele, Dean, School of Humanities, UC Irvine