

## **I. Introduction**

Education is a reflection of society's members' beliefs, aspirations, cultural and ethical norms. Society and education share a co-evolutionary relationship, where society is shaped through education, and education is shaped through society. Education as a system, is a deliberately constructed human activity which operates at several levels, and is embedded-into and co-evolving with society to create functions of learning and generate human development.<sup>1</sup> The system's design of education is the purveyor of human development, and therefore summons symbolic capital to navigate education's implied systems. The implied system of education requires and produces symbolic capital. The French philosopher Pierre Bourdieu defines the forms of capital as having three entities; the first having material form as economic capital, while the second and third have the immaterial forms defined as cultural and social capital. Cultural capital is determined by intellect and educational qualifications, while social capital can be seen as lineage, association, and circumstance.<sup>2</sup> These forms of capital are transposed and fluidly loop throughout the systematic design of higher education, where economic capital (tuition) becomes cultural capital (scholarship) and social capital (social networks), and vice-versa. Fig. 1 The systematic design of education has deemed Harvard University America's archetype, where its' capital conversions transpose into luxury possession. Harvard has the highest return for capital conversions therefore making Harvard symbolic capital. How is it that capital conversions designed in Harvard's admission and education systems become luxury and determine social development?

Prior to America's Independence in 1776, Harvard dawned in 1636 to become America's oldest higher education institution and the best university in the United States. It possesses the largest financial endowment in the world, comprised of \$32 billion dollars. Harvard is globally

ranked second in the world only to the University of Cambridge in the United Kingdom.<sup>3</sup> This is clearly rooted in perspective since the University of Cambridge, Harvard, Oxford, and Yale have asserted preeminence deriving from various areas of focus and appraisals. Harvard is comprised of eleven academic units with approximately seven-thousand undergraduate students and nearly fourteen-thousand graduate students.<sup>4</sup> It is America's most affluent university having fashioned eight United States Presidents, seventy-five Nobel Laureates, one-hundred and forty-nine federal judges, in addition to the six out of the nine current United States Supreme Court justices.<sup>5</sup> All forms of capital convert at Harvard, but it is their alumni's economic capital that comprises 5% of the world's billionaires.<sup>6</sup> As of the fall 2010 semester, Harvard's 21,229 student body was defined as 43.8% Caucasians, 12.5% Asians, 5.6% Black/Non-Hispanic, 4.9% Hispanics, 0.4% Native Americans, and 20.0% International Students.<sup>7</sup> The demographics for Harvard's 2015 class stipulates that 38% derive from the Northeast defined as the Mid-Atlantic and New England, while the South claims 18%, the Midwest 11%, the Mountain States 4%, the Pacific 17%, and International 12%.<sup>8</sup> Harvard's faculty and staff statistics are far less diverse totaling 75% Caucasian, with only 23% of its ladder faculty being women.<sup>9</sup> It is avidly apparent after viewing Harvard's website, fact books, and annual reports that the statistics and information can be designed to appease Harvard's admission and education system. Harvard is an identity, a presence, and an aura, that when possessed by an individual it encompasses a notion of Harvardness. This is confirmed in the student vernacular where students compared the disclosure of attending Harvard to having dropped the "H-Bomb," and receiving the "Oh" factor; while students often omit from wearing logoed Harvard apparel.<sup>10</sup>

Regardless of the subject studied or its mastery, Harvard's capital conversions co-evolving in its educational and social systems materialize more money and opportunity to establish Harvard as a luxury status symbol and globalized brand.<sup>11</sup> The economic turnaround is much higher than any other American University diploma.<sup>12</sup> Harvard has a graduation rate of

98% percent which is extremely high in comparison with nation's graduation rate of 55.5%.<sup>13</sup> Systematically speaking, the odds favor graduating as part of the Harvard's 97% of the 21,653 student body, as opposed to being inducted as part of the 6.2% out of 34,950 undergraduate applicant body.<sup>14</sup> It is easier to graduate than to be accepted into Harvard. Over the past eighteen years Harvard has increased its student population between 0.8 to 0.6% each year.<sup>15</sup> This idea of exclusivity keeps Harvard's capital conversations illustrious.

Education systems are central in the socio-economic divisions in America, as well as the world. Capital conversions through education help determine how advantages and disadvantages are distributed throughout society.<sup>16</sup> Early American governmental and educational systems were founded on the philosophy of establishing a "natural aristocracy" where top colleges fostered the American dream of upward mobility and equal opportunity.<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately the truth became quite different, where capital conversions in the systematic design of education determine human development.<sup>18</sup> American's higher education has become an unavoidable experience, where the Ivy League academy's role has been primarily one of reproducing the status-quo and performing as a social "gatekeeper".<sup>19</sup> Through Harvard acceptance and its capital conversions, one obtains a luxury seat amongst elite gentlemen and scholars.<sup>20</sup> Harvard is held as the epicenter of American education where it has pioneered history, politics, economics, and medicine as a forerunner in computerized intelligence, discoveries in DNA, hybrid corn fuel, blood banks, and birth control.<sup>21</sup> These advancements were obtained through research conducted at Harvard, where federal and non-federal economic capital are systematically converted into social and cultural capital to aid in the development of society. Harvard's research in the form of social development is administered by the US Department of Health & Human Services, Department of Defense, Energy, EPA, CIA, as well as many unnamed non-federal agencies.<sup>22</sup> This research accounts for 21% of Harvard's annual income, a portion deriving from federal tax dollars, to therefore set the precedence of disseminated knowledge.<sup>23</sup>

The university admissions process has changed substantially over the course of time, especially as those pursuing college has drastically increased. The university admissions process is a designed system of education which obtains data to allow Harvard and other institutions to select the highest caliber students based on meritocracy. This systematic design of admissions collects information to better evaluate and understand applicants. Consequently Harvard's system for admission implies a complex system of regimented steps that applicants must follow. Exclusivity by jumping through these hoops is a procedure specifically designed into Harvard's admission and education system to ascertain paramount scholars. Candidates must complete a rigorous application; which includes essays, grade-point averages, race, letters of recommendation, SAT performance scores, and an interview. All of these elements are equally essential and must be executed with near perfection. These characteristics inherent in Harvard's admission and education systems designate whether or not symbolic capital will collide.

Throughout history, philosophers have analyzed education to formulate design theories that served to model the academy and scholarship. These design theories are exemplified in Harvard College's mission where it strives to;

create knowledge, open minds to knowledge, respect ideas, free expression, rejoice in discovery and critical thought, cooperation, explore full intellectual and human potential, Education at Harvard should liberate students to explore, to create, to challenge, and to lead, and Harvard expects that the scholarship and the collegiality it fosters in its students will lead them in their later lives to advance knowledge, to promote understanding, and to serve society.<sup>24</sup>

Harvard's mission illustrates the philosophy and design theories constituting its foundation such as idealism (Plato and Socrates), realism (Aristotle), essentialism (William Bagley), behaviorism (Edward Lee Thorndike, Harvard Alumni), social learning (Burhus Frederick Skinner, Harvard Alumni and Professor), democratic education, and critical theory.<sup>25</sup> The design of Harvard's admission and education systems through these theories has remained fairly stagnant, at least for thirty years, until in 2007 they overhauled their undergraduate general education

curriculum.<sup>26</sup> These theories are structured into the curriculum framework, where subjects rather than disciplines are emphasized. These theories epitomized in Harvard's mission, are theoretically executed in policy and systems designed by faculty, students, alumni, and administration. However there is often a disconnect between theory and execution, such as with the work of Howard Gardner Harvard's Graduate School of Education Hobbs Professor of Cognition and Education. The design of Gardner's education and learning theory stipulates humans possess numerous autonomous intelligences rather than those measured through IQ test, which is contradictory to Harvard's use of SAT scores for admission.<sup>27</sup> Gardner attracts students to Harvard because of this luxurious cultural capital and even though his theories directly correlate with the design of Harvard's admission and education systems, they fields no internal institutional change. In contrast to Harvard, the design theories of Tufts' university admission and education systems has been augmented where they have strayed from the pack by redesigned their admission policies and procedures to account for and assess leadership, creativity, and practical skills such as active citizenship potential, problem solving, advocacy, practical judgment, and communication.<sup>28</sup> The once prevalent notions of a liberal arts education were composed of true academic freedom, fully embracement of critical thinking, as well as lengthy time periods to analyze and process material. This has all but dissipated into the university functioning as a business. Harvard is too concerned with custom service, by making investors (students, parents, donors, and tenured faculty) happy, and maintaining a positive role in the media. Harvard has rather complacently drifted along with the flows of education design, rather than stir the waters in which they dominate with all forms of capital. The only way the design theories of Harvard's admission and education systems will change, is with the boldness of designing their own education, and or embracing their faculties progressive educational design theories.<sup>29</sup> It is in Harvardness's desire to please in education, as a business, and as a developer of society that they remain caught in the duality; of maintaining traditional luxurious

capital conversions, while staying stagnant in the design of education while disconnected from the execution of its own faculty designed theories of education.

## **II. Objective**

The admission and education systems structurally designed into Harvard maintain luxurious capital conversions. Universities were believed to be the “the breeders of the elite that would guide the emerging industrial society.”<sup>30</sup> Harvard students and alumni are revered for their brilliance, even so much as to be distinguish as American nobility. They possess the power of knowledge, fueling by a sense of entitlement. This power is a direct result of the symbolic capital conversions in Harvard’s admission and education system, where applicants spend their entire lives preparing for the day they are accepted.<sup>31</sup> This preparation is perceived as the designing of one’s life through the theory of behaviorism seen as behavior design, and the modification of the individual. These implied systems also have a direct result on the applicant by prescribing the required behavior design to be personified as a Harvard acceptant. Through its mechanisms of selectivity, Harvard’s admission and education systems utilize implied design to cultivate behavior design in demanding the best candidates. Harvard admits that “from the cradle-on” the chase for the prize begins, where applicants “are dazed survivors of some bewildering life-long boot camp.”<sup>32</sup> In theory the human becomes a modifiable and designable object, which through diligence and early preparation, with the aid of Bourdieu’s forms of capital, may join Harvard’s elite.

Harvard’s admissions and education system is similar to most universities, yet they set the precedence.<sup>33</sup> The objective of this paper is to critique university admissions and education systems by analyzing the seven divisions inherent to the undergraduate application. These seven divisions represent the structured systems innate in university admissions and education, which dictate behavior design through exclusivity. Harvard’s undergraduate admissions application has been chosen because of its luxurious symbolic capital conversations, which

identify Harvard as a luxury brand, while its diploma and education serve as a luxury possession. These seven undergraduate application divisions play a pivotal role in an applicant's success; originating with.... Fig. 2

- 1) Wealth
- 2) Legacy
- 3) Application
- 4) Letters of Recommendation & Evaluation
- 5) The Interview
- 6) Essays
- 7) SAT Score

Each application division will be analyzed to provide insight on how capital and behavior design are implied in Harvard's admission and education system. The distribution of life chances, seen as imbedded advantaged and disadvantaged classifications, are specifically designed into Harvard's undergraduate admission application.<sup>34</sup> The co-evolution of education and social development is founded in the design of admission and education systems. These systems ascribed in the undergraduate application categories should determine meritocracy and brilliance, not just smart test takers. Rather they recurrently monopolize access to the elite by excluding subordinate groups through a dubiously transparent admission and education system.<sup>35</sup>

### **III. Effects of Pressure & Perfection**

Harvard acknowledges the pressure on today's students is far more intense than the pressure on previous generations.<sup>36</sup> In upwardly-mobile suburban communities, there is a ubiquitous emphasis on college admission, which consequently creates achievement pressures and hyper parenting.<sup>37</sup> Parents and students who set overtly high standards in turn create anxiety, pressure, competition, depression, stress, over-scheduling and perfectionism. The *United Nations High Commission for Human Rights* has issued statements quantifying the need for "play" both for underprivileged and privileged children.<sup>38</sup> It's not that Harvard applicants do not play, but there is generalized consideration amongst applicants where behavior design in

the form of preparation and pressure began early in childhood, often in place of unstructured adolescence.

This pressure has manifested into an intense preparation for high-achieving adulthood stemming from the expectations associated with college admissions. *The US Center for Disease Control* stated that in 2007 nearly 9.5% of children in the United States were diagnosed with ADHD (Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder) and over half of this population nearly 2.7 million youth ages 4-17 years old were receiving medication.<sup>39</sup> This need for destiny control has even delineated into the bedroom, where in 2005 approximately 4.6% of all US births were aided by science and medicine through fertility assistance.<sup>40</sup> On top of this scientific engineering, the role of the parent and child are formulated through various systems of influence such as the media, government, and capitalism. The human aspect has been altered with the plethora of enrichment tools, extracurricular activities, travel, camps, and intensified expectations. Whether from the beginning with fertility drugs or with the aid of stimulants; science, media, and technology are helping to defeat the genetic lottery in order to enhance performance through designed children, and in turn perfect nature.<sup>41</sup> This bioengineering of the “self-made man” has altered society’s idea of what is realistic, rational, honest, our notion of family, consumption, morality, and even health. It is important to properly prepare for the future while living fully in the present.<sup>42</sup> It should not take psychologists and pediatricians to denounce this strive for perfection, nobody is perfect. Current Harvard students admit to feeling an overall pressure to perform, which in certain circumstances has led students to compromise their health either through stimulants such as Adderall for ADHD or their academic success through cheating.<sup>43</sup> Pressure and perfection are found throughout Harvard’s admission and education systems which personify exclusivity, manifest as desire and behavior design, which are applied to the seven divisions of the Harvard’s undergraduate application, and further instill Harvard as a luxury brand and possession.

#### **IV. Economic Capital as Wealth**

Pierre Bourdieu's philosophy and forms of capital theory analyzes how capital dictates social classes, aided by formal education and habitus.<sup>44</sup> There is a systematic tendency that those with greater resources have more advantages, meaning wealth can be invested in behavior design to prepare for Harvard's implied system of admission; through specialized prep schools, councilors, extracurricular activities, SAT courses, etc. The various forms of capital transferring from one generation to the next, both material and immaterial capital constitutes as habitus.<sup>45</sup> The conversation of capital is inherent in the system design of education, where the admissions system is the gatekeeper. Harvard is need-blind, meaning financial need is not an impediment on their education or admission process.<sup>46</sup> The economic capital required to attend Harvard for the 2011 school year was \$50,723, where as the average median family income for 2011 was \$32,658 in as single parent-home in Mississippi and \$68, 243 in a two-parent home in Massachusetts.<sup>47</sup> Harvard's tuition has more than doubled over twenty years, while federal minimum wage has barely increased 16.5% over the past thirty years.<sup>48</sup> This cost alone could be a deterrent, but Harvard has generously committed themselves to helping students by giving \$347 million in graduate and undergraduates need-based scholarships in 2010, while pledging to contribute \$166 million in need-based scholarships to undergraduates alone starting in 2012.<sup>49</sup> Harvard creates financial equal opportunity for all socio-economic classes.

In Harvard's meritocracy based admission and education system, the roll of financial need and excess still pay into its design. The role of "need" divulged in Harvard's admission and education system provides the opportunity to assist those from lower economic statuses, while filling quotes, disbanding previous notions of gate-keeping, keeping the media and public happy, plus drawing new philanthropic funding. The role of "excess" divulged in Harvard's admission and education system is also beneficial to Harvard by identifying worthy prosperous investors. Even though Harvard's admission application is financially need-blind, it is still not

financially excess-blind, where wealthy applicants are identified or announced by word-of-mouth and by name alone. Economic capital is essential to the universities function and purveyor of status. Bourdieu states economic capital is the most significant and effective capital, therefore it is easier to convert into habitus.<sup>50</sup>

Economic capital is the most valuable and transferable, which fabricates an ongoing cycle of capital conversion where students, faculty, research, alumni and other donors are constituents. Fig. 3 Regardless of past socio-economic statuses or the form of capital contributed, each constituent invests capital for the maintenance of returns on their investment. Since Harvard has the largest endowment of any university, these benefactors contribute with these ulterior motives to preserve this cycle of prosperity. It's proven that Ivy League graduates are paid more, and are better connected with elite networks of donors, alumni, and faculty upon acceptance.<sup>51</sup> When compared with other universities Harvard kids are described as the "happiest, healthiest, and wealthiest of the bunch".<sup>52</sup> The blog *IvyGate* states that in order to achieve guaranteed admission "you need to be the child of a major donor, the kind who writes seven-digit checks to their alma-mater and have buildings named after them."<sup>53</sup> Universities are businesses, and like businesses they are just as susceptible to the lure of money, whether its Harvard faculty conducting profitable research, alma-maters ensuring their degree is advantageous, or donors ensuring acceptance. Wealth in the form or economical capital makes Harvardness as a luxury possession by funding and maintaining the luxurious cycle of capital conversions that ensure returns on investments for all constituents (students, faculty, alumni, donors, research).

## **V. Social Capital as Legacy**

Habitus enables us to link not only patterns of admission to Harvard, but to applicant's social backgrounds and capital.<sup>54</sup> It is one thing to have money, but it is another to have status through birthright as a member of the upper echelon. Harvard was founded on the notions of establishing a "natural aristocracy" with regards to meritocracy, however they are the purveyor

American nobility.<sup>55</sup> In 1960 The Ford Report called for Harvard's reduction in preferential treatment to legacy applicants, where parentage should not be the basis for acceptance of weak candidates.<sup>56</sup> Author and Harvard alum Daniel Golden, critiqued his alma-mater in 2006 when he exposed that over than half of Harvard's 425 member *Committee On University Resources* (COUR), had one child attend or enrolled in Harvard.<sup>57</sup> This quantifies as more than Harvard's 2006 Native American population, 1% of its entire student body and 3% of its undergraduate student body.<sup>58</sup> Overall legacies constitute 13% of Harvard's student body, by the acceptance of one third of alumni children at a rate nearly four-times of its overall admission rate.<sup>59</sup> These notions of legacy and birthright are a significant influent in Harvard's admission and education system. *IvyGate* Blog published an Ivy League student's experience, whose grandfather was a prominent university trustee and legacy which aided his acceptance. The student, referred to as "silver-spooner", partook in an opulent admissions tour where he had the rare and odd opportunity to meet with the university president.<sup>60</sup> Also with regards to Presidents; Harvard has cultivated eight US President's and it is the most common school of choice for US Presidents' children and lineage. It has often been compared that both lineage applicants and applicants of race embody categorical advantage in the design of Harvard's admission and education systems.<sup>61</sup> Legacy in the form of social capital makes Harvardness a luxury possession by perpetuating exclusivity, maintaining permanence in one's repertoire, advantageously upholding the brand, and acting an aristocrat purveyor through limited transferability.

## **VI. Application**

Applying for college requires the completion of a systematic form which solicits financial information, personal and family information, ethnicity, age, academic standings, extracurriculars, and employment. Each of these categories is systematically designed into Harvard's admission and education system to summarize each applicant. However a mandatory unwavering requirement is the requisite of a high grade-point-average. Forms of capital can be divulged in an individual's personal information and family information. Economic

and social capital can be easily determined based on the applicant's surname, analogous with European aristocracy, as well as in one's zip code or neighborhood.

Harvard's admission and education system has significantly matured over the course of time to eliminate race and gender categorical disadvantages. In some sense, depending on the source, these once categorical disadvantages have flip-flopped making minority status advantageous and comparatively equal to say legacy status.<sup>62</sup> It remains to be determined what percentage of Harvard's population derives from poverty stricken areas, and how this related to America's overall education system. The only gauge of whether Harvard is successful in creating equal opportunity via their transparent application process is for the anonymous statistical disclosure of past and future student zip coding, in addition to their current United States residence demographics.

Other's forms of social and cultural capital inhabit academic and extracurricular information. The upper-eschlonce has historically and systematically cultivated capital and etiquette through education at prestigious schools. One of the oldest founded in 1440 is the British primary school Eton College which has produced nineteen English Prime Ministers.<sup>63</sup> Even though Harvard and America were founded with the intention of accessible upward mobility, the English caste system in admissions and education crossed the pond. Many American prep and boarding schools act as Harvard's virtual factories, where

- This fall 2011, 5% or 15 of Phillips Academy Andover students attended Harvard, while 22% attended an Ivy League school. Current yearly tuition cost \$45,300.<sup>64</sup>
- Between 2007-2011, 3% or 11 of Dalton School students attended Harvard, while 30% attended an Ivy League school. Currently yearly tuition cost \$36,970.<sup>65</sup>
- Between 2007-2011, 2% or 17 of Brearly School students attended Harvard, while 20% attended an Ivy League school. Current yearly tuition cost \$36,800.<sup>66</sup>
- Between 2006-2010, 36 students from Trinity School attended Harvard, while 41% attended an Ivy League school. Current yearly tuition cost \$38,180.<sup>67</sup>

Harvard also pulls from public schools, such as Boston Latin School where 8% or 25 students from its 2011 class attended Harvard this fall, as well as Thomas Jefferson High School and Stuyvesant High School where 9% of their demographics attend Ivy League schools.<sup>68</sup> Private tutoring is also available for those who might be dissatisfied with the school system. Tutoring can be prescribed as early as preschool, with tutor services such as *Kumon* cost \$99-\$115 per subject, per month, and *Sylvan Learning* where they run \$65-69 an hour based on assessment.<sup>69</sup> Over time Harvard has modified its admission and educational system to offer equal opportunity, but there is still an advantage constructed into the system for those who possess capital.

The sports and recreation offered at Harvard is blatantly atypical to those offered at public schools. Harvard offers all of your common college sports, in addition to crew, fencing, sailing, skiing, squash, swimming, diving, and water polo.<sup>70</sup> These extracurriculars become cultural capital because of their rarity and the economic capital required for their pursuit. Harvard's admission and education system have better structured the notions of transparency and equality through quotas. As opposed to the fair value of meritocracy, Harvard reserves admission spots based on sports, race, gender, economic contributions, and legacy. The application constitutes Harvardness as a luxury possession by providing a systematic approach for analyzing and comparing applicant's capital with the maintenance of exclusivity through high standards.

## **VII. Letters of Recommendation & Evaluation**

Notions of symbolic capital are evident in an applicants' letters of recommendation and evaluation, where the author's signature signifies cultural and social capital inherent in one's habitus, or the applicant's willingness to use economic capital to gain advantage. It's reminiscent of a *Seinfeld* or *Curb Your Enthusiasm* episode, where the last thing on earth anyone wants to do is ask for, or write a letter of recommendation. These letters first convey capital, second converge capital, and lastly come with a price tag; whether it is a sincere thank

you, a lunch, or a monetary exchange. Harvard refers to its undergraduate letters as supplementary recommendations, where they hypothetically derive “from people directly familiar with applicants' lives outside the classroom.”<sup>71</sup> These recommendations intrinsically designed into Harvard’s admission and education system, allow applicants to stand-out, while formulating an opulent third-party opinion. Obviously it is in the interest of the applicant to receive the best review by asking the “right confidant” who could be a university alumnus, prominent public figure, or in most proletariat circumstances, a high school teacher.

Luckily in today’s conspicuous consuming society, you can convert your economic capital into social and cultural capital, with the help of college admission services. These services vary in price, based on what they offer, but in the typical all-inclusive package the consumer receives application guidance, help with essays, letters of recommendation or evaluations, SAT tutoring/classes, as well as interview coaching. These services can start as early as seventh and ninth grade, where *Essay Review* offers an all-inclusive service starting at \$30,000 a year while *Ivy Select* runs about \$40,000 a year.<sup>72</sup> This conversion of economic capital into social and cultural capital, with the of aid college admission services, allows applicants the ability to edit and even dictate letters of recommendation through their advisor’s management. Equivalent to insider trading and business headhunters, these college admission service companies hire former university admission councilors, who provide privileged information about the system, and work as leverage over the vast majority who do not subscribe. The implementation of these admission services efficiently help navigate Harvard’s admission and education system, whilst hindering those less endowed with capital and habitus. Letters of recommendations and evaluations as social capital, make Harvardness a luxury possession by disclosing valuable social networks, one’s willingness to utilize and convert economic capital into social capital, and a valuable third-parties’ perspective.

## **VIII. Interview**

This third-party perspective carries over to the undergraduate interview process, where Harvard attempts to interview applicants nearby and facilitate interviews between alumni and applicants abroad.<sup>73</sup> Harvard does not require an interview for their undergrad application, which would be nearly impossible given 34,950 applications were admitted for its 2015 class.<sup>74</sup> These interviews allow Harvard to effectively accommodate and market themselves to a larger global audience, while philanthropically involving alumni. Interviews as a part of Harvard's admission and education system provide candidates with an opportunity to express interest, see the school from the interviewer's perspective, as well as present their physical and personal attributes. College admission services in the form of interview coaching provide research on the interviewer, school background, written scripts, and rehearsal help.

It goes unspoken, but physicality plays a substantial role in nearly every facet of human life. Candidates who are physically attractive possess symbolic capital which is transferable and can be seen as a leveraging tool. Possessing beauty and character are forms of symbolic capital, which compounds when pooled with economic, cultural, and social capital. Physicality and personality are extremely valuable attributes which are not necessarily characterized in Bourdieu's forms of capital. The interview designed into Harvard's admission and education system, functions to uphold the cycle of capital conversions. Former students have a role in selecting and asserting Harvard's future. We would like to believe the alumni is using their best judgment when interviewing candidates, but since it is a volunteer position, the majority of the interview is based on perspective and it is difficult to regulate where physicality and personality fall into play. The interview constitutes Harvardness as a luxury possession by permitting the use of physicality and personality as capital, as well as the sway of the interviewer's perception of the candidate and the interviewer's beliefs for Harvard.

## **IX. Essays**

The idea of personality existing as capital, carries over into the essays and evaluations required in Harvard's undergraduate application. Harvard asks that applicants submit 500 words or fewer through their outsourced application systems *The Common Application* and *Universal College Application*.<sup>75</sup> The online provider *The Common Application* asks applicants to submit an essay regarding experience, achievement, risk, concern, influence, interest, and or perspective to basically divulge their personality capital in 500 hundred words or less.<sup>76</sup> The essay serves dual purposes of conveying the applicant's reflections via writing samples and providing Harvard with further incite. Symbolic personality capital plays an evident role here, where the chosen topic acts as representation of the individual.

Often time's large sums of economic capital are invested in creating personality through transformative experiences, which are endorsed in these essays. Transformative experiences vary, but include summer camps, volunteering, and research. *Putney Student Travel* an online source sells a multitude of experiences; whether it be learning French in France for over five weeks for \$9,390, or going above the American law to visit Cuba for an undisclosed sum.<sup>77</sup> *Earthwatch* converts \$3,495 of tax deductible economic capital into environmental research, ranging from archeological digs to oil spills clean-ups.<sup>78</sup> The implied system of submitting essays as part of Harvard's admission and education system, forces one to market their habitus. Similar to letters of recommendation, the essays force one to endorse themselves while conjures up thoughts and feelings revolving around some form of capital. Essays in the form of personality and cultural capital make Harvardness a luxury possession by disclosing personal reflections by means of a writing sample, which also identify and transmit of one's finesse.

## **X. SAT Score**

The SAT Reasoning Test is a standardized schematic developed to divulge a student's readiness and capabilities for college by impartiality and broadly testing one's IQ. It has become a solid intelligence measurement and element in the design of Harvard's admission and

education system. The SAT measures aptitude in three areas reading, writing, and math, yet fails to consider other areas of knowledge such as art, foreign languages, and or common sense. This standardization of quantifying intelligence and success fueled America's public schools "No child left behind, Standardized Tests". Most American college applicants receive some sort of guidance and assistance with the SAT. This assistance with the SAT is the most common denominator for converting economic capital into cultural capital through admission services. The all-inclusive packages aid with an undergraduate's overall application, but the SAT is the most sought after resource. *Princeton Review* offers SAT classes and tutors where the premier package costs \$8,400, while *Kaplan* another service provider offers classes from \$149 to \$999 and tutoring at \$1,299 to \$4,799.<sup>79</sup> This is an unregulated industry that promises big scores backed by no data. *Ivy Global* who has gotten 11 students into Harvard, guarantees "that your child will achieve a score increase of 200 points or more on the SAT or 4 points on the ACT or we will offer two free refresher lessons" while *Kaplan* states "you'll score higher, or you'll get your money back."<sup>80</sup>

The unregulated supplemental education sector is a multi-billion dollar industry, where *Washington Post Co.* who owns *Kaplan* posted earnings \$4.7 billion in 2010 and *Princeton Review* posted 2010 revenues at \$214.4 million.<sup>81</sup> Interesting enough thought that currently *Washington Post's* CEO was the former President of *The Harvard Crimson* while *Princeton Review's* Independent Director received his MBA at Harvard.<sup>82</sup> A conflict of interest exists when Harvard designs and dictate's implied admission and education systems standards, yet Harvard has interest in and benefits from the supplemental education sector. With Harvard's demand for high SAT scores, business and need are generated in the supplemental education sector, which in turn cycle economic and social capital back into Harvard therefore reconfirming exclusivity and a cash-cow. The SAT converges all forms of capital to promote Harvardness as a luxury possession by setting a precedent through exclusive standards, generating financial backing, while determining trained and skilled test takers.

## **XI. Conclusion**

Harvard's historic admission and education systems invoke pressure, perfectionism, brilliance, power, and entitlement, personified in the notion of Harvardness. This is exemplified in former Harvard professor and current Parsons The New School for Design professor Clive Dilnot's testament that Harvard "is a very smug place, where there are few exceptional minds amongst many confident smart minds, that fit the mold." Professor Dilnot spoke of how other university professors, particularly those in Boston, were slightly envious and revered him and his position; yet all the while he was still excluded and classed as a non-tenured Harvard faculty member.<sup>83</sup> This along with Harvard's precedence in scholarship, research, and publications unveil a *Diderot Effect* for the consumption of status and cultural capital, never reaching perfection.<sup>84</sup> Therefore meaning that once at Harvard the consumption for status and knowledge is rarely ever stagnant, with this perpetual strive for advancement. Harvard is incorrigibly self-secure, where it can call the Museum of Modern Art to inquire about the best photographer in the world, call and hire them on the spot. Harvard's cycle of capital conversions accompanied with exclusivity are intrinsic to its admission and education systems, which are self-reinforcing and generate confidence.

The seven divisions in Harvard's undergrad application signify there is an innate design present in these systems which is better navigated with capital. All of this is not meant to discount the possession of a Harvard diploma and education, but to actualize it as a permanent luxury possession, forever an individual's souvenir regardless of hard work and dedication expended or not expended. Unlike a Louis Vuitton handbag or Rolex watch, Harvardness as a luxury possession that is permanently affixed to someone and can never be lost or stolen. The Harvard diploma and education is the ultimate luxury possession, which designed through Harvard's admission and education systems and exclusivity, maintains capital conversions that promote higher chances of success.<sup>85</sup>

The estimated cost of raising a child in America till they are 18 has been actualized at \$222,360 dollar, but with these added costs of prep schools, tutoring, extracurricular activities, and college admission services the cost of raising a child can easily range \$750,000 to a million dollars.<sup>86</sup> Harvard's admission and education system utilizes theory, implied design and behavior design; as to where the human is modified to fit the mold, as opposed to the mold or system being augmented. Harvard's exclusivity and capital conversions make it difficult for them to see themselves from society's perspective. Harvard with the help of non-Harvard scholars must pursue design theory as the means for formulating admission and education systems; with regards to true academic freedom, overall critical theory from all constituents (including staff and administration), embracing and experimenting with design education theories, and abandoning complacency and standardization. In turn this may compromise Harvardness's role in purveying immediate legitimacy, elitism, and class statuses; but it is in this risk that real ingenuity will prevail.

Fig. 1

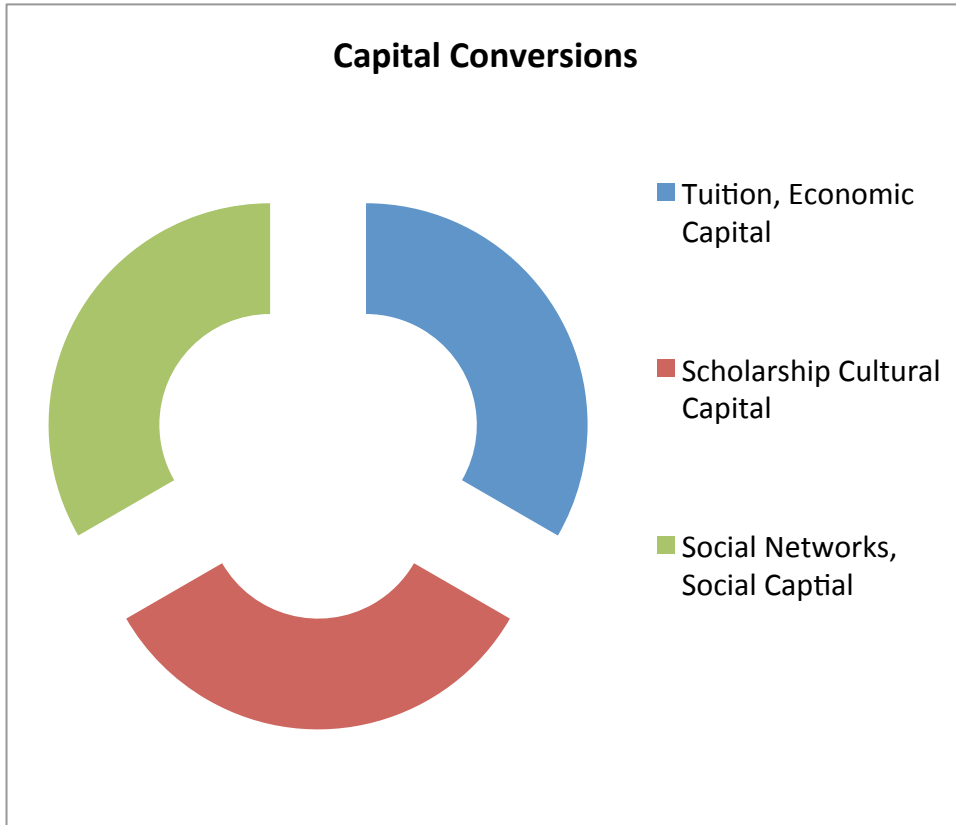


Fig. 2

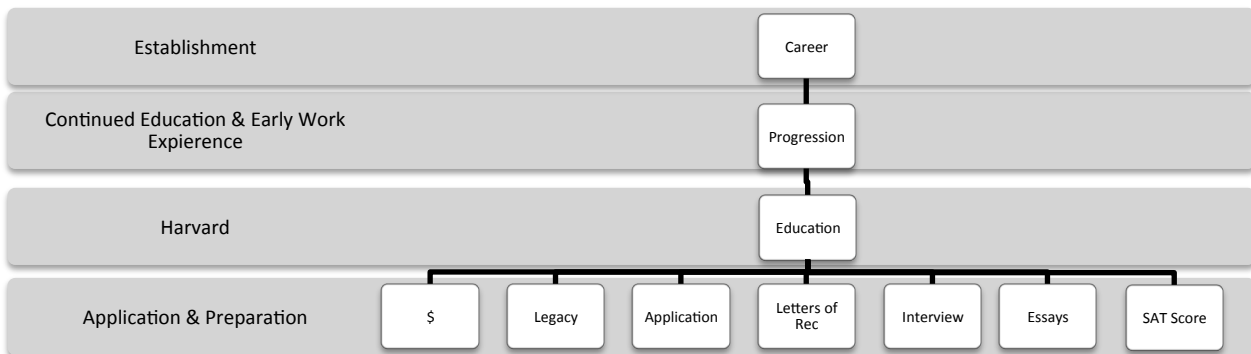
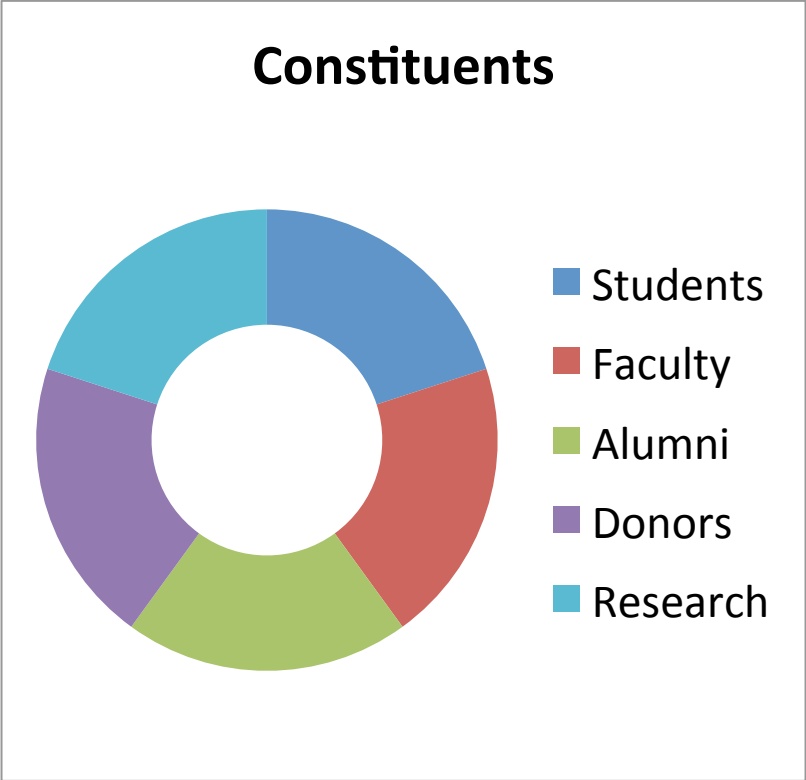


Fig. 3



- 
- <sup>1</sup> Bela H. Banathy. *Systems Design of Education, A Journey to Create the Future*. (Educational Technology Publication: Englewood Cliffs New Jersey, 1991), 30-31.
- <sup>2</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, and J.E. Richardson ed. and Richard Nice translator., "The Forms of Capital" *Handbook of Theory of Research for the Sociology of Education* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 241-258.
- <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xvii, xxi, 241-258.
- <sup>3</sup> "Harvard University," *U.S. News and World Report LP*. (accessed November 23, 2011)  
<http://colleges.usnews.rankingsandreviews.com/best-colleges/harvard-university-2155>
- <sup>4</sup> Harvard University. *Harvard University Fact Book, 2010-2011*. Cambridge: Presidents and Fellows of Harvard College (2011): 7.
- <sup>5</sup> Daniel Golden. "For Five Supreme Court Justices, Affirmative Action Isn't Academic." *The Wall Street Journal*. May 14, 2003. (accessed November 23, 2011) <http://online.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/golden4.htm> AND Richard Norton Smith. *The Making of A University To A Nation*, (Simon and Schuster: New York, 1986), 11, 12, 222, 310.
- <sup>6</sup> Marie Thilbault. "Billionaire University," (accessed, October 30, 2011)  
<http://www.forbes.com/2009/08/02/billionairestudy-harvard-stanford-business-billionaires-colleges-09-wealth.html>
- <sup>7</sup> Harvard, *Fact Book 2010-2011*, 6-13.
- <sup>8</sup> "Harvard College Admissions, A Brief Profile of the Class of 2015," *Harvard University*. (accessed December 12, 2011)  
<http://admissions.college.harvard.edu/apply/statistics.html>
- <sup>9</sup> Harvard, *Fact Book 2010-2011*, 21.
- <sup>10</sup> Lindsey Jochets, "Is a Harvard Education & Diploma a Luxury Possession?" *Survey Monkey*, 2011. (accessed December 12, 2011) [http://www.surveymonkey.com/MySurvey\\_Responses.aspx?sm=loOdSHAx0rCMrpkOO5GDz9qn1V38MeV1wun3FftoVYY%3d](http://www.surveymonkey.com/MySurvey_Responses.aspx?sm=loOdSHAx0rCMrpkOO5GDz9qn1V38MeV1wun3FftoVYY%3d)
- <sup>11</sup> Stephanie K. Kim. "No Skipping Class, Ivy League Brand Names Lead Globalized of Higher Education," *Policy Innovations For a Fairer Globalization, Carnegie Council*, 2008. (accessed November 23, 2011)  
<http://www.policyinnovations.org/ideas/briefings/data/000056>
- <sup>12</sup> Mark Koba. "Are Ivey league diplomas still worth the price of admissions?" *USA Today*, March 7, 2011, accessed December 12, 2011. [http://www.usatoday.com/money/perfi/college/2011-03-05-cnbc-ivy-league\\_N.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/money/perfi/college/2011-03-05-cnbc-ivy-league_N.htm)
- <sup>13</sup> "Retention Rates- First Time College Freshmen Returning Their Second Year," *NCHEMS Information Center, for Higher Education Policymaking and Analysis*. (accessed November 23, 2011).  
<http://www.higheredinfo.org/dbrowser/index.php?submeasure=223&year=2008&level=nation&mode=graph&state=0>
- <sup>14</sup> "Applying to Harvard Frequently Asked Questions," *Harvard College Admissions*. (accessed November 23, 2011)  
<http://www.admissions.college.harvard.edu/apply/faq.html> and "An Unprecedented Admissions Year," *Harvard Gazette*. (accessed November 23, 2011). <http://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2011/03/an-unprecedented-admissions-year/>
- <sup>15</sup> "Institutional Research, 1992-2011," *Harvard University*, (accessed November 23, 2011)  
[http://www.provost.harvard.edu/institutional\\_research/factbook.php](http://www.provost.harvard.edu/institutional_research/factbook.php)
- <sup>16</sup> David Karen, "Achievement" and "Ascription" in Admission to an Elite College" A Political-Organizational Analysis," *Sociological Forum* 6 (1991): 368.
- <sup>17</sup> Lexington, "The curse of nepotism, A helping hand for those who least need it." *The Economist*. January 8, 2004. (accessed November 23, 2011) <http://www.economist.com/node/2333345>
- <sup>18</sup> Banathy, *Systems Design of Education*, 30-31.
- <sup>19</sup> W. Bruce Leslie, "The American University as Gatekeeper," *History of Education Quarterly*, 18 1978: 349-356.
- <sup>20</sup> Jerome Karabel, *The Chosen: the hidden history of admission and exclusion at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton* ( Houghton Mifflin Company: New York, 2005), 280.
- <sup>21</sup> Smith, *The Harvard Century*, 12.
- <sup>22</sup> Harvard, *Fact Book 2010-2011*, 25-29.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 25-29.
- <sup>24</sup> "The Mission of Harvard College," *Harvard College*. (accessed December 12, 2011)  
<http://www.harvard.edu/faqs/missionstatement>
- <sup>25</sup> B. R. Hergenhahn, *An Introduction of Theories of Learning* (Prentice Hall: Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1976).
- <sup>26</sup> Robert Mitchell, "Harvard Faculty Approve New General Education Curriculum for Undergraduate Students," *Harvard Faculty of Arts and Sciences*. (accessed December 12, 2011) <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/home/news-and-notice/news/press-releases/release-archive/releases-2007/gened-05152007.shtml>

- 
- <sup>27</sup> Jill Anderson, "Multiple Interests, Gardner Reflects on His Breakthrough Theory, Later Pursuits." *Harvard Gazette*. (accessed December 12, 2011) <http://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2010/01/multiple-interests/>
- <sup>28</sup> Robert J. Sternberg, Christina Rhee Bonney, Liane Gabora, Linda Jarvin, Tzur M. Karelitz, and Lee Coffin. "Broadening the Spectrum of Undergraduate Admissions," *College & University Journal*, 86, 2010. (accessed December 12, 2011) <http://periodicals.faqs.org/201007/2148808531.html>
- <sup>29</sup> Harry R. Lewis, "Has Harvard Lost Its Way?" *The Chronicle of Higher Education The Chronicle Review*, 2006. (accessed December 12, 2011) <http://chronicle.com/article/Has-Harvard-Lost-Its-Way-/6951>
- <sup>30</sup> Michael Grenfell, *Bourdieu and Education*. (London: Falmer Press, 1989), 350.
- <sup>31</sup> Jochets, "Is a Harvard Education & Diploma a Luxury Possession?"
- <sup>32</sup> William Fitzsimmons, Marilyn E. McGrath, and Charles Ducey. "Taking Time Off, Time Out or Burn Out for the Next Generation," *Harvard College, Office of Admissions*. (accessed November 24, 2011) [http://www.admissions.college.harvard.edu/apply/time\\_off/index.html](http://www.admissions.college.harvard.edu/apply/time_off/index.html)
- <sup>33</sup> Patricia M. McDonough, "Buying and Selling Higher Education: The Social Construction of the College Applicant," *The Journal of Higher Education* 65 (1994), 427-446.
- <sup>34</sup> Grenfell, *Bourdieu and Education*, 55.
- <sup>35</sup> Lexington. "The curse of nepotism," <http://www.economist.com/node/2333345> and Karen, "Achievement" and "Ascription," 349-380. and "Application Tips," *Harvard College, Office of Admissions*. (accessed December 12, 2011) <http://admissions.college.harvard.edu/apply/tips/index.html>
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid., <http://admissions.college.harvard.edu/apply/tips/index.html>
- <sup>37</sup> Michael J. Sandel "The Case Against Perfection," *The Atlantic*, 2004. (accessed November 4, 2011) <http://jrichardstevens.com/articles/sandel-genetics.pdf>
- <sup>38</sup> Kenneth R. Ginsburg, "The Importance of Play in Promoting Healthy Child Development and Maintaining Strong Parent-Child Bonds," *American Academy of Pediatrics* 119 (2007): 182. (accessed, October 30, 2011) <http://www.aap.org/pressroom/playFINAL.pdf>
- <sup>39</sup> "CDC-ADHD, Data and Statistics, NCBDDD," *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*, last modified December 12, 2011., accessed November 6, 2011. <http://www.cdc.gov/ncbddd/adhd/data.html>
- <sup>40</sup> "Fertility Drugs Impact on US Births," *Center For Disease Control*, last modified February 24, 2011, accessed November 8, 2011. <http://www.cdc.gov/Features/dsFertilityDrugs/>
- <sup>41</sup> Sandel. "The Case Against Perfection."
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid., <http://jrichardstevens.com/articles/sandel-genetics.pdf>
- <sup>43</sup> Jochets "Is a Harvard Education & Diploma a Luxury Possession?"
- <sup>44</sup> Bourdieu "The Forms of Capital", 241-258.
- <sup>45</sup> Ibid., xvii, xxi, 241-258.
- <sup>46</sup> "Financial Aid," *Harvard University*. (accessed December 12, 2011) [http://www.admissions.college.harvard.edu/financial\\_aid/index.html](http://www.admissions.college.harvard.edu/financial_aid/index.html)
- <sup>47</sup> "State and County Quickfacts," *U.S. Census Bureau*. (accessed November 24, 2011) <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/index.html>
- <sup>48</sup> Robin, Donna Cosmato, "Answering Your Questions About the Minimum Wage Increases," *Bright Hub*, August 13, 2010, accessed December 12, 2011. <http://www.brighthub.com/money/personal-finance/articles/82248.aspx>
- <sup>49</sup> Jeff A. Neil, "Harvard Increased Financial Aid to Low-Income Students," *Harvard Faculty of Arts and Sciences*. (Accessed December 12, 2011) <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/home/content/harvard-increases-financial-aid-low-income-students> and "Institutional Research, 1992-2011," *Harvard*.
- <sup>50</sup> Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," *Handbook*, 241-258.
- <sup>51</sup> Zac Bissonnette, "Is an Hermes Bag a Better Investment Than an Ivy League Education? Maybe." *Daily Finance*, April 5, 2011, accessed December 13, 2011. <http://www.dailyfinance.com/2011/04/05/is-a-hermes-bag-a-better-investment-than-an-ivy-league-education/>
- <sup>52</sup> Peter Finocchiaro. "NewsBeast Releases Dozens of Arbitrary College Rankings," *IvyGate*, August 30, 2011. (accessed October 30, 2011) <http://www.ivygateblog.com/2011/08/newsbeast-releases-dozens-of-arbitrary-college-rankings/> and Winfried . "Occupy the Ivies: An Overview," *IvyGate*, October 15, 2011, accessed October 30, 2011. <http://www.ivygateblog.com/?s=Occupy>
- <sup>53</sup> Maureen O'Connor. "How to Get Into An Ivy League School" *IvyGate*, January 13, 2009, accessed December 12, 2011. <http://www.ivygateblog.com/2009/01/how-to-get-into-an-ivy-league-school-a-step-by-step-guide-featuring-testimony-from-a-real-live-silver-spoon-legacy-and-a-racial-minority/>
- <sup>54</sup> Karen, "Achievement" and "Ascription," 349-380.

- 
- <sup>55</sup> Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," *Handbook*, 241-258.
- <sup>56</sup> Golden. *The Price of Admission*, 4.
- <sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.
- <sup>58</sup> Harvard, *Fact Book 2010-2011*, 9-13.
- <sup>59</sup> Golden. *The Price of Admission*, 41. AND Nathan Thornburgh, "Education: How VIPs Get In." *TIME*, August 6, 2011, accessed December 12, 2011. <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1226164,00.html>
- <sup>60</sup> O'Connor. "How to Get Into." *IvyGate*,
- <sup>61</sup> Karen, "Achievement" and "Ascription," 367.
- <sup>62</sup> O'Connor. "How to Get Into." *IvyGate*,
- <sup>63</sup> "History, Famous Etonians," *Eton College*, (accessed December 12, 2011) <http://www.etoncollege.com/FamousOEs.aspx>
- <sup>64</sup> "Fast Facts, Tuition," *Phillips Academy*, (accessed December 12, 2011).  
<http://www.andover.edu/About/Pages/FastFacts.aspx>
- <sup>65</sup> "College Counseling Office, Tuition" *The Dalton School*, (accessed December 12, 2011).  
<http://www.andover.edu/About/Pages/FastFacts.aspx>
- <sup>66</sup> "College Advising, Tuition," The Brearley School, (accessed December 12, 2011)  
<http://www.brearley.org/academics/college.aspx>
- <sup>67</sup> "College Counseling Matriculation, Tuition," Trinity School, (accessed December 12, 2011).  
<http://www.trinityschoolnyc.org/podium/default.aspx?t=123873&rc=0>
- <sup>68</sup> "History," Boston Latin School, (accessed November 20, 2011) <https://www.bls.org/podium/default.aspx?t=113760> and "Stuyvesant High School," Inside Schools, (accessed December 12, 2011)  
<http://insideschools.org/high/browse/school/97>
- <sup>69</sup> "Frequently Asked Questions," *Kumon*. (accessed December 12, 2011) <http://www.kumon.com/> and "Unlock Your Child's Potential," *Sylvan Learning*. (accessed December 12, 2011) <http://tutoring.sylvanlearning.com/>
- <sup>70</sup> Harvard University. *Harvard, Leadership and Competitive Excellence in Division Athletics*. Harvard University. (accessed December 13, 2011) <http://www.gocrimson.com/landing/index>
- <sup>71</sup> "Applying to Harvard Frequently Asked Questions," *Harvard University*.
- <sup>72</sup> "Taking Time Off," *Harvard College Office of s*. (accessed October 30, 2011) [http://www.admissions.college.harvard.edu/apply/time\\_off/index.html](http://www.admissions.college.harvard.edu/apply/time_off/index.html)
- <sup>73</sup> "Interviews," *Harvard University*. (accessed December 12, 2011)  
[http://www.admissions.college.harvard.edu/apply/application\\_process/interviews.html](http://www.admissions.college.harvard.edu/apply/application_process/interviews.html)
- <sup>74</sup> "Applying to Harvard, Frequently Asked Questions," *Harvard University*. (accessed November 23, 2011)  
<http://www.admissions.college.harvard.edu/apply/faq.html> and "An Unprecedented Admissions Year," *Harvard Gazette*.
- <sup>75</sup> "First Year Admissions Application," *Universal College Application*. (accessed December 13, 2011)  
[https://www.universalcollegeapp.com/Library/PrintPreview/Universal\\_College\\_Application\\_Blank.pdf](https://www.universalcollegeapp.com/Library/PrintPreview/Universal_College_Application_Blank.pdf)
- <sup>76</sup> "2011-2012 First Year Application," *Universal College Application*. (accessed December 13, 2011)  
[https://www.commonapp.org/CommonApp/Docs/DownloadForms/2012/2012AppFY\\_download.pdf](https://www.commonapp.org/CommonApp/Docs/DownloadForms/2012/2012AppFY_download.pdf)
- <sup>77</sup> "Find A Program, All Summer 2012 Programs" *Putney Student Travel*. (accessed December 13, 2011)  
<http://goputney.com/allprograms/>
- <sup>78</sup> "Join an Expedition," *Earthwatch Institute*. (accessed December 13, 2011) <http://www.earthwatch.org/>
- <sup>79</sup> "College Bound and SAT Test Preparation," *The Princeton Review*. (accessed December 13, 2011)  
<http://www.princetonreview.com/> and "College Admission, PSAT & SAT," *Kaplan Test Prep*. (accessed December 13, 2011)  
<http://www.kaptest.com/>
- <sup>80</sup> "Consulting and FAQ," *Ivy Global*. (accessed December 12, 2011) <http://www.ivyglobal.ca/SAT/> and "College Admission, PSAT & SAT," *Kaplan Test Prep*. and E.G. Gottschalk. "Better Odds? Parents Hire Advisers to Help Children Get Into College." *The Wall Street Journal*, 7 (1986): 33.
- <sup>81</sup> "Washington Post-Class B, WPO: New York" *Bloomberg Businessweek*. (accessed December 12, 2011)  
<http://investing.businessweek.com/research/stocks/snapshot/snapshot.asp?ticker=WPO:US> and "Princeton Review Inc. REVU: NASDAQ GM," *Bloomberg Businessweek*. (accessed December 13, 2011)  
<http://investing.businessweek.com/research/stocks/earnings/earnings.asp?ticker=REVU:US>
- <sup>82</sup> "Washington Post-Class B, WPO: New York" *Bloomberg Businessweek*. (accessed December 12, 2011)  
<http://investing.businessweek.com/research/stocks/snapshot/snapshot.asp?ticker=WPO:US> and. "Princeton Review Inc. REVU: NASDAQ GM," *Bloomberg Businessweek*. (accessed December 13, 2011)  
<http://investing.businessweek.com/research/stocks/earnings/earnings.asp?ticker=REVU:US>
- <sup>83</sup> Clive Dilnot. *Interview by Lindsey Jochets*. Question and answer over the phone. New York, New York. November 11, 2011.

---

<sup>84</sup> Janet A. Lorenzen, "Diderot Effect," *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology Online*. (accessed December 12, 2011)  
[http://www.sociologyencyclopedia.com/public/tocnode?id=g9781405124331\\_yr2011\\_chunk\\_g978140512433110\\_ss1-57](http://www.sociologyencyclopedia.com/public/tocnode?id=g9781405124331_yr2011_chunk_g978140512433110_ss1-57)

<sup>85</sup> Jochets, "Is a Harvard Education & Diploma a Luxury Possession?"

<sup>86</sup> Lisa Belkin. "The Cost of Raising a Child, Motherlode, Adventures in Parenting, Style," *The New York Times*, 2010. (accessed December 12, 2011) <http://parenting.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/06/25/the-cost-of-raising-a-child/>