Critical Education

It's a Shit Show, and It's Fine: Symbolic Nonviolence Practices in Higher Education in 2020

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Abstract

Through in-depth interviews with 22 university and college faculty who taught during COVID in 2020, this study examines symbolic violence and symbolic nonviolence in higher education using the post-qualitative method, thinking with theory. The concept of symbolic nonviolence, the intentional and systemic practice of recognizing and absorbing symbolic violence to transform the habitus, resulted from this study. During an inequitable pandemic which caused low grades, plagiarism, and exiting, faculty practiced three types of symbolic nonviolence: non-academic support, academic adjustment, and disciplinary superpowers, which increased communication and social support for students, provided services that institutions were unable to provide, remediated students academically, adjusted academic expectations to be more suitable to pandemic learning, and taught students how to transform the world using tools unique to their disciplines. Symbolic nonviolence practices have the potential to transform the reproduction of exclusionary practices in the institution of higher education, improving academic success and social mobility.

In the Fall of 2020, the U.S. economy barely stayed afloat from makeshift dining room offices and donut shop parking lots. Traumas from death, sickness, unemployment, racism, and political chasms were multi-layered and compounding. The mechanization of higher education was outsourced to individual homes, resting the responsibility of student success heavily on the shoulders of university professors, or faculty, with assigned teaching loads. Unemployment brought on by the pandemic exacerbated pre-existing inequities, making higher education's promise of social mobility more urgent than ever.

However, a college degree is more likely to be a ticket to social mobility for those who already have economic capital because universities and colleges reproduce the culture that legitimizes them (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Kelly, 2014). College degrees are vocationalized and thus have a role in the market economy, turning academic capital into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Giroux, 1999; Maclean & Pavlova, 2013; McMillan Cottom, 2017; Moodie, 2008). Social capital is a currency for economic capital that sustains the dominant culture. In other words, oppression is taught in higher education classrooms through the reinforcement of dominant social capital. Bourdieu (1972) referred to this process as symbolic violence (SV). When the dominant culture maintains the oppression of some groups, it is necessary to look to legitimate institutions of cultural reproduction to learn how social reproduction occurs and, most importantly, how it can be changed.

SV heightened during the COVID-19 pandemic. Suffering due to structural barriers have had a greater impact on students marginalized by race, class, or gender than before the pandemic. Those without resources to participate in virtual school were also more disadvantaged than before. One in five students did not have access to a laptop or internet (Goldrick-Rab et al., n.d.) There was also a dearth of cognitive resources as people mourned the loss of loved ones and feared getting sick. The racial wreckoning brought on by George Floyd's public death intersected with the pandemic in the U.S. People of color reported experiencing secondary trauma each time the murder of George Floyd was replayed on the news (Flowers & Wan, 2020). College students minoritized due to racial and ethnic identities experienced an increased emotional and economic impact of the pandemic which affected academic performance and career goals (Molock & Parchem, 2021). The pandemic interacted with SES to impact college enrollment. While 88 percent of students from high-income high schools enrolled in college in 2020, only 79 percent came from low-income high schools (National Student Clearinghouse, 2021). Additionally, institutions of higher education that serve marginalized communities had lower enrollment than predominantly white institutions (Department of Education, 2021). Recognition of inequities during the pandemic also increased. In other words, people were more cognizant of the increased hardship because everyone experienced it collectively.

To study the impact of social reproduction in higher education, I used Jackson and Mazzei's (2012) method of thinking with theory to examine the role of university teaching faculty. I developed the concept of symbolic nonviolence (SNV) to characterize transformative faculty practice in the first year of the pandemic. This paper focuses on the research question (RQ), "What SNV practices were used by faculty in 2020 to lessen SV for students?

I begin by describing the theoretical framework that makes up the concept of SNV. Next, I recount my application of Jackson and Mazzei's (2012) post-qualitative method of thinking with theory to analyze the data. In the Symbolic Nonviolence Practices in 2020 section, I define three types of SNV that appeared in the data with illustrative examples of each. I conclude by discussing findings and implications.

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

The theoretical framework is a concept I developed called SNV, which is union of Bourdieu's (1972) theory of SV and Martin Luther King's (1958) fourth principle of Kingian nonviolence. Waters (2017) expanded Bourdieu's theory of SV to symbolic non-violence to describe the practices of teachers at Australian alternative schools. Applying King's (1958) definition that nonviolence requires intentional suffering for transformation, I adapted some aspects of Waters' symbolic non-violence and removed the hyphen to create SNV, the intentional and systemic practice of recognizing and absorbing SV to transform the habitus. The purpose of SNV is to lessen the institutional reproduction of the dominant culture, making college more inclusive for all. In this section I elaborate on each concept that comprises the theoretical framework.

Symbolic Violence

Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction involves the concept of the field, a social space where actors compete for social positions based on possession of capital (Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The academic field and other competing fields are situated inside of a larger field of power, ultimately governed by the economic market (Bourdieu, 1988; Bourdieu, 1990). Actors within the academic field mirror the larger field of power, competing relationally and following doxic rules of the academic habitus, reproducing habits that represent and exchange capital. This process of reproduction of the dominant culture is SV, which maintains a habitus that shapes and is shaped by society through covert social norms, particularly in institutions legitimized by the state (Bourdieu, 1972). According to Bourdieu (1984), classes reproduce because the dominated comply.

When college students seek the social capital afforded by a degree, they are complying with the rules of the academic field (Bourdieu, 1984). The academic practice of teaching and awarding degrees contributes to the reproduction of the larger social field of power (Bourdieu, 1972; Bourdieu, 1988). Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) wrote, "All pedagogic action (PA) is, objectively, SV insofar as it is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power" (p. 5). In other words, education is an objective structure in the field that shapes the subjective mental structures of the people who reproduce the habitus. PA always expresses the objective intentions of dominant groups or classes, reproducing the power relations that put the dominant culture into position in their field (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

Professors aid in the reproduction of the dominant culture through the subjects they teach and through social norms required of students in the higher education classroom. Content knowledge is an example of the objective structures that universities, legitimized by the state, are reproducing. An example of a subjective structure required to gain academic capital might be communication norms around how to address professors (Bourdieu, 1988). Covertly reproducing the norms of the academic habitus, also known as the misrecognition of SV, creates orthodoxy, the process of cultural reproduction (Bourdieu, 1988). Professors, trained to teach their academic disciplines, often misrecognize who or what these academic habits are serving. This act of reproducing the larger field of power through teaching practices is SV.

SV has been studied in a variety of educational settings. Studies of SV in K-12 education have traced the effect of teaching practices on student success (Adams-Romena, 2013; Archera et

al., 2018; Coles, 2016; Cooley, 2019; Cushion & Jones, 2006; Gast, 2018; Herr, 2005; Khanal, 2017; Marsh, 2018; McGillicuddy & Devine, 2017; Scott, 2012; Shannon & Escamilla, 1999; Toshalis, 2010). The limited number of studies on SV in higher education have found connections between SV and student retention (Nairz-Wirth et al., 2017; Watson & Widin, 2015). This study adds to the literature on SV in higher education and on transformation through recognition.

A structuralist constructivist, Bourdieu (1988) viewed societal structures that make and are made by actors as central to our thoughts, language, and actions. He famously described this phenomenon as "structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures," (Bourdieu, 1972, p. 72). The habitus is shaped by the past and creates our current society which shapes our future. Bourdieu (1988) resisted the notion that SV is structuralist and asserted that the reproduction of the habitus is being made and unmade constantly, suggesting we are capable of transforming it. I am not suggesting that individuals can stop or drastically reform the immense operation that is cultural reproduction. Rather, I propose there are small acts of resistance individuals can make. One way the habitus is unmade is through reflexive practice in research (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu wrote that the structure of society can be transformed by taking an objective look at itself through scientific practice and historical knowledge (Bourdieu 1990).

Bourdieu claimed that the way to avoid reproducing dominant structures is to be critical of our scientific instruments, worldviews, and position in the social space by way of "epistemological rupture" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 251). I believe that the COVID-19 pandemic forced participants in this study into an involuntary "epistemological rupture," which required critical reflection of every aspect of academic work. I also experienced such a reflexive break in this study, described in the methods section. This transformative experience included an exploration of Kingian nonviolence, which pivoted the study to the nonviolence and healing happening amidst the suffering of 2020.

Kingian Nonviolence

Martin Luther King Jr. (1958), developed a six-principle framework of nonviolence for societal transformation. In "Pilgrimage to Nonviolence," King (1960) explained how Gandhi's concept of satyagraha, literally meaning "love force," influenced Kingian nonviolence. Transformation through love is the goal of Kingian nonviolence. Non-violence with a hyphen simply means the absence of violence. King (1960) called this negative peace, the absence of tension but also of justice. For example, a KKK march could be technically considered non-violent if no physical harm is being done, but such an event is far from peaceful and far from achieving justice (Haga, 2020a). In Kingian nonviolence, the absence of the hyphen is significant, meaning nonviolence that is not passive (Haga, 2020a). Nonviolence without a hyphen is the relief of suffering through the acceptance of suffering. The fourth principle of Kingian nonviolence states that suffering and love have transformative potential (King, 1958).

There is a relationship between the physical violence that Kingian nonviolence addresses and Bourdieu's symbolic violence. If we zoom out to Bourdieu's field of power in which social fields compete for economic capital, we see symbolic violence as a "conversion of economic into symbolic capital" (Bourdieu, 1972, p.196). Symbolic violence, according to Bourdieu, is covert violence enacted in complex societies in situations in which overt physical violence would not be allowed. Violence still occurs to keep dominant groups in power, but it happens covertly. In state-

legitimized universities, SV is more effective than physical violence in ensuring that the dominant group's position of economic power is secured.

It is important to examine the theoretical underpinnings of Kingian nonviolence. However, I do so briefly and with trepidation, as King was a Baptist minister with a PhD in theology, and I am neither a theologian nor religious. Although King's core message of love is straightforward, it has connections to the concept of God and a force of love that runs through the universe (The King Center, 2020). King also drew inspiration from Ghandi's work, which is rooted in Hinduism (Mayton, 2001). As an atheist, I am not equipped to understand the implications of God and religion in this study. As a researcher, I must acknowledge the potential for their influence.

Symbolic Non-violence

Waters (2017) expanded Bourdieusiean SV to "symbolic non-violence," to describe inclusive policies and practices at alternative K-12 schools in Australia. Through semi-structured interviews, observation, and document analysis, Waters (2017) developed a theoretical framework of symbolic non-violence that started with Bourdieu's concept of recognition and included intentional and systemic structures, practices and relationships by teachers to change the experience of students with low economic capital.

Students in this study came from mainstream schools which enacted SV, reproducing dominant cultural norms and excluding students in the process (Waters, 2017). The symbolic non-violence practices described in Waters' (2017) study were an intentional move away from mainstream teaching practices such as giving students space to construct their social environment, teachers who regularly reflected, assignments that built upon student interest, an emphasis on authentic relationships between teachers and students, and non-violent communication.

Instrumental in Waters' symbolic non-violence is the concept of "recognition," the opposite of misrecognition. Students in alternative schools in Waters' study recognized that they were not to blame for their failure in mainstream school. School administrators and teachers also recognized the impact that policies and teaching practices had on students and intentionally created symbolic non-violence practices to relieve student suffering and build confidence (Waters, 2017).

Symbolic Nonviolence

I did not set out to study SNV. Through reflexivity during the first few interviews, I realized that the emphasis of this study was love and healing. As participants described the ways they were helping students succeed while struggling with trauma, caring for children, and juggling multiple jobs, I started organically seeing the data through the lens of SNV, the intentional and systematic practice of recognizing, absorbing, and lessening SV to heal and change the habitus. If SV is the process of reproducing doxic norms through exclusion, SNV is recognition of this process and the reflexive practice of inclusion.

Curious if others had combined SV and nonviolence, I found Waters' (2017) study on symbolic non-violence. It was similar to my conceptualization of SNV in that it identified healing practices of educators, but as indicated by the hyphen, it excluded Kingian (1958) nonviolence. I removed the hyphen to emphasize the intentional acceptance of suffering as is found in the fourth principle of Kingian nonviolence.

The concepts of suffering and SV both arose from the data. In some cases, participants experienced both pandemic-induced suffering and SV. Suffering came directly from traumas caused by the pandemic such as sickness, grief, and economic loss through unemployment. Suffering also increased for faculty as they increased work hours to try to alleviate pandemic-induced suffering for students. SV occurred as faculty reproduced the dominant culture through teaching as they always had, but they gained recognition from inequities revealed by the pandemic. Waters' (2017) emphasis on recognition applies during the pandemic with the increased awareness of structural gaps in resources for those with low economic capital. Participants recognized that students were not to blame for pandemic-induced struggles, and they adjusted their support of students accordingly. Those who have achieved legitimization through "a long process of institutionalization have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 138). University professors have gone through such a process and are therefore in a position to reflect, recognize, and enact change, however small. Just as nonviolence is "the antidote to violence," SNV makes progress toward healing SV (Haga, 2020b, Webinar). SNV is constructivist because it moves the theory past any deterministic inclinations that there is no escaping the structure. Through the SNV practices of 2020, we see how faculty played a role in making transformative changes to the habitus.

SNV can be observed as intentional practices that lessen SV for populations experiencing inequity. First, covert social norms that reproduce oppression are recognized by legitimized actors. Those actors resist by systematically applying SNV practices to everyone impacted. The process of recognizing and lessening SV requires some absorption of it, and this may increase SV and/or suffering for practitioners of SNV. The outcome is that, in small ways, the institutional reproduction of the dominant culture is reproduced less or differently to eventually transform and heal the habitus. Applying SNV as a theoretical framework answers calls in the literature to push the boundaries of SV further in the context of teaching during the pandemic and racial reckoning in the United States in 2020 (Burawoy, 2019; Gale & Lingard, 2015). Jackson and Mazzei's (2012) method seeks the threshold of theory by plugging theory into data. My goal was to find that threshold by plugging Bourdieu's theory into teaching in 2020 to see how it could be transformed by it.

Methodology

St. Pierre (2021) wrote of post qualitative inquiry, "It doesn't have research designs like case study and ethnography. There are no post qualitative research *practices—except studying poststructuralism*" (p. 5, emphasis in original). I selected this post-structuralist method because it flattens binaries between theory and data, researcher and participant, subject and object and aligns with Bourdieu's (1972) emphasis of decentering subject or object in research. Jackson and Mazzei (2012) referred to this process as finding the threshold, the passageway between two entities such as theories, points of data, or stages of the research process. The threshold is a post-structuralist instrument that helps us think beyond boundaries and binaries. To transform, we must break out of envisioning a reality that is categorizable and pass through the threshold without knowing what lies beyond it (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Mezirow, 1991). To see covert SV, it is crucial to find such a threshold. Education sits within society and society is reproduced through education. This study aimed to find the threshold between the macro mechanisms of society at large and the micro interactions of the classroom.

An important aspect of applying Jackson and Mazzei's (2012) method is to look at the underlying theoretical construct that is made and unmade through analyzing data through the lens of SV. In other words, what is being revealed by putting this theory with this data? This aligns with Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992) because the habitus is made through the reproduction of capital and unmade through moments of reflexivity. We will see this making and unmaking in the analysis. This aspect of the method in combination with the reflexive push of Bourdieu's theory encouraged me to be reflexive and break open my study when I realized I was reproducing the academic habitus through my original RQs. This break contributed to the development of the theoretical framework of SNV.

Procedures and Participants

After receiving approval from the Institutional Review Board, I shared the call for participants on relevant Facebook groups. Twenty-two in-depth, semi-structured interviews took place between October 12 and December 10, 2020. Interviews occurred in and were recorded through Google Meets and transcribed using Otter AI's automated service. I asked participants semi-structured questions from a prepared and IRB-approved questionnaire. I have not included the questionnaire, as this paper comes out of a larger study. Interviews lasted between 30 to 100 minutes. Recordings were deleted after transcription, and data was de-identified. Code names have been used to protect confidentiality. To minimize the potential risks of emotional discomfort, tiredness, and loss of confidentiality risks, I watched for signs of emotional discomfort and offered a break or to end the call. Participants were informed that the study was voluntary, and that they may skip any question or end the interview at any time. There were no direct benefits to the subject. Generalizable benefits were that participants will contribute to the literature on equitable teaching practices in higher education, particularly during an inequitable pandemic.

Participants were teaching at least one course in the Fall 2020 semester, had been faculty at the same two- or four-year institution for at least three years, and served non-traditional populations of students. I wanted to talk to faculty who had been teaching at their institutions for at least three years because of the potential for an increased awareness of and impact by institutional practices and policies. Eighteen (81%) out of the 22 participants identified as white, 17 (77%) identified as female and five (23%) as male, and seven (32%) identified as first-generation college students. To learn about the higher education classroom broadly, I recruited participants from a variety of disciplines: business law, communications, composition, dance, design, English, history, outdoor recreation, prevention science, psychology, social work, and sociology. Participants were from universities and colleges across the United States and two in Canada. It is important to note that post qualitative inquiry does not seek representation. "Its goal is, instead, experimentation and the creation of the new" (St. Pierre, 2021, p. 6).

Analysis

The data was analyzed using Jackson and Mezzei's (2012) method of plugging theory-inspired analytical questions into data. This method consists of three steps. First, I decentered the theory and practice by "showing how they *constitute or make one another*" (Jackson & Mazzei 2012, p. 9, emphasis in original). The second step was to craft analytical questions that emerged from thinking about the data with the theory and vice versa. The third was to work the data repeatedly to reveal how the data and theory evolve through this process. Thinking about data

through a theoretical lens makes new meaning while working the theory and data in unison and acknowledging the assemblage of data, society, and theory (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012).

After reading over the entire data set, I crafted questions that arose as I kept the following question in mind "What would Bourdieu ask?" I asked three questions, as this data comes out of a larger study. I focus here only on the analytical question, **"How did faculty practice SNV in the academic habitus in 2020?"** As I read over the data repeatedly through the lens of this analytical question, three types of SNV organically surfaced: non-academic support, academic adjustment, and disciplinary superpowers. Since this analytical question was the threshold where I was pushing the theory past Bourdieu and into new territory, I applied sub-analysis questions to each piece of data that I identified as a SNV practice:

Questions to aid analysis:

1. Why is this considered symbolic nonviolence?

    a. Is it intentional and systematic?

    b. Does it add symbolic violence for faculty?

    c. What is absorbed?

    d. Does it create symbolic nonviolence for faculty?

2. What is recognized?

3. How is SV lessened?

4. How might the habitus be changed by this symbolic nonviolence practice?

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

The sub-analysis questions tested my definition of SNV and helped me analyze the data and identify each type of SNV practice. Crafting the questions and applying them to the data not only "push[ed] research and data and theory to its exhaustion," but made and unmade me as a sociological researcher (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, p. 7).

Researcher Positionality

Although Jackson and Mazzei (2012) emphasized the importance of flattening research, researcher, and theorists, I include a statement about my positionality as a researcher to stay true to Bourdieu's emphasis to bracket our social positionality (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Gullion, 2018; Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992) warned sociologists to be honest about our positions in the social structure and our epistemological worldview.

I began my career in higher education twenty years ago as an instructor and faculty member in a variety of contexts at universities and colleges. In 2014 I left the faculty role and moved into the field of faculty development. While conducting this study, I worked for a non-profit

organization that supported higher education but sat outside of it. The mission of the organization was to transform faculty practice to achieve racial representation of educators. In this and previous positions, my role has been to help maintain the effectiveness of teaching at universities. Part of that includes encouraging certain behaviors and actions of faculty with the hope that those actions will have a specific impact on learning outcomes and student retention. In doing so, I acknowledge that I reproduce the social organization of the institutions of higher education by which I am employed. Early in my interviews, I recognized that my original research questions about examining SV in classroom assessments were conducting SV on participants. Realizing this while conducting my study led to my "epistemological rupture" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 251). I immediately changed my RQs.

Additionally, I was living through the pandemic along with participants, which helped me to be more empathetic and see acts of love come through the interviews. I have also been faculty and could relate in many ways to what participants shared. I was also, of course, a doctoral student in the same academic habitus. It felt like we were navigating the context together.

Symbolic Violence in Higher Education in 2020

When I interviewed Tara, a faculty member at a college that serves a large population of underserved students, about teaching in 2020 she said, "It's been like an unmitigated shit show." She described how her students with limited social and economic support before the pandemic lost access to college resources such as internet and medical care when COVID hit. She was putting in overtime to make up the gaps.

A shit show is obviously an undesirable thing. It is foul and unwanted yet something that everyone does. Concealing it behind closed doors allows us to hide the fact that everyone does it. Similarly, we maintain the reproduction of oppression by not recognizing or talking about it, and the status quo is upheld because of misrecognition. A show, on the other hand, is a public event—something that people watch. When Tara calls teaching in 2020 a shit show, she is calling attention to the disgusting, public display of inequity that can no longer be ignored. Tara expands on some of the details that made teaching in 2020 a shit show.

Tara:

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

By "fine in a lot of ways," Tara was grateful that she did not have to drive. She also remained employed, had tenure at her institution, and was not worried about losing her job like so many others. However, Tara knew that many of her students were suffering. By fine, Tara meant that the pandemic was in some ways fine for her, not fine for all.

Institutions continued to teach and reproduce structures of the dominant culture although society was breaking down. Institutions stopped providing support such as campus resources and medical care. This means that students who did not have the same economic and cultural capital as others in the academic field were excluded. Instead of universities providing additional supports

to students in 2020, they closed campuses, taking away relied-upon resources, and made student support the sole responsibility of faculty. SV, as a process, increased exclusion because only those with social and economic capital of the dominant class had access to the academic capital needed to complete academic work during the pandemic. Tara saying she is fine in these circumstances was misrecognition, and it allowed the institution to continue to enact SV on her and her students. While Tara recognized this, she misrecognized her own complicity in SV. It is in this context of SV, some recognized and some misrecognized, that faculty supported students.

Not all faculty were as fine as Tara. Table 1 lists experiences of other participants in this study as they were impacted while teaching for colleges and universities during the pandemic.

Table 1
Pandemic-Induced Suffering Experienced by Faculty

Participant name	Pandemic-Induced Instances of Suffering
Jennifer	• Increased time providing social support for students • Emotional labor
Jim	• Burned out from feeling exploited as an adjunct
Judy	• University president asked faculty to work while sick • Increased time providing support for students • Dealing with her own pandemic-induced stress • Emotional labor
Kelly	• Laid off by university with a week's notice the year she was going up for tenure year due to the pandemic
Mark	• Demotivated during COVID-19 • Getting students to engage on Zoom is "like pulling teeth"
Oliver	• Taught in person despite fear of bringing COVID home to his infant son.
Shelly	• Double bind of helping students succeed while upholding rigor and employment uncertainty as an adjunct • Sharing 720-square foot apartment with young family • Worked through the night to record lectures

The pandemic increased suffering for faculty because they were forced to fill the gaps in student support that institutions stopped providing. To enable the institution to keep offering classes, faculty were asked to work sick, sacrifice their health by teaching in-person, work instead of sleep due to no childcare, and fired months before earning tenure. Faculty complied with these work conditions because their job is to help students succeed academically. Therefore, they felt obligated to make up the gaps created by the lack of institutional support. If students were to not succeed or have a good experience, they could stop enrolling at their institution, causing faculty to potentially lose employment. The fact that faculty efforts toward social change took place through

student support rather than standing up to their institutions reveals a great deal about the amount and type of power they hold in the academic field.

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

Bourdieu (1984) wrote that a person's cultural capital is maintained, lowered, or raised by the conditions of their labor. For example, conditions such as how unpleasant it is or how much free time it allows can impact the cultural capital of the occupation. The quality of working conditions for faculty are poor, yet faculty are considered higher class and in many ways are thought to have privilege. When faculty work all night due to lack of childcare and are asked to work while sick, it is still not seen as a low-quality job due to the high social status associated with academia. Bourdieu (1984) specifically named higher education faculty as having asymmetrical capital, or high cultural capital and low economic capital. Income and conditions are low, but cultural competence, including what and how culture is consumed, is high (Bourdieu, 1984). SV is reproduced through cultural capital, and both faculty and students experience SV through cultural reproduction (Bourdieu, 1984). The social position of being an academic is paid for with suffering and orthodoxy.

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

Symbolic Nonviolence Practices in 2020

When I filtered the data through the analytical question, "How did faculty practice symbolic nonviolence in the academic habitus in 2020?" three types of SNV practices emerged: non-academic support, academic adjustment, and disciplinary superpowers. All three were practiced by faculty to ameliorate pandemic-induced suffering and SV for students. Many participants turned the "shit show" into something better for students. I do not have data on how institutions did the same for faculty.
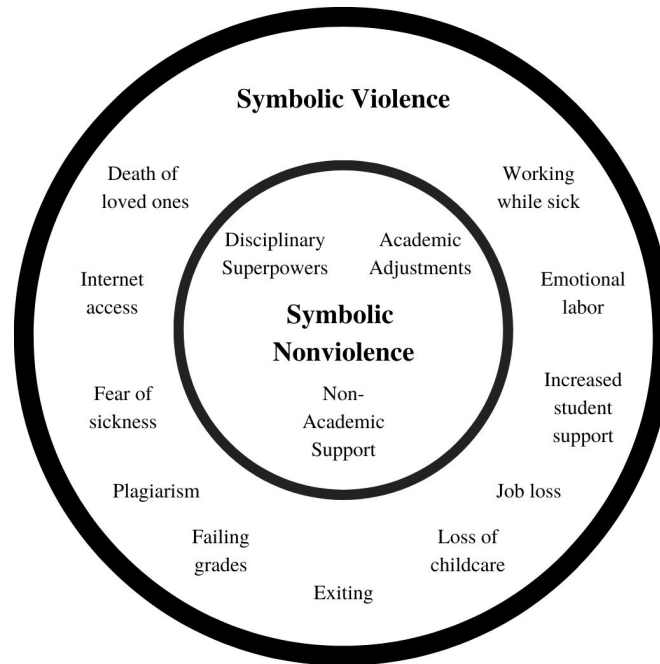
Most of the participants' recognition of SV was related to economic capital. Students struggled academically due to the lack of resources around time, housing, childcare, and internet access. This interaction between the pandemic, college attendance, and economic capital led to cognitive trauma which affected grades and, in some cases, exiting academia. Once SV was recognized, the SNV practice was created as a response to ameliorate SV and change the habitus. The SNV practices discussed here were responses to recognition of the economic capital SV, ethnicity/race SV, and gender SV on students. These are approximations, as participants did not

always disclose what caused the SV they recognized. Jackson and Mazzei (2012) remind us that insights gleaned from the data are from meaning constructed by participants. "The data is partial, incomplete, and always being re-told and remembered" (Jackson and Mazzei, 2012, p. 3). It is also important to point out that this SV is entangled with the pandemic and attending college classes. Figure 1 shows how the pandemic, college, and identity-related SV interacted to create SV for students in 2020.
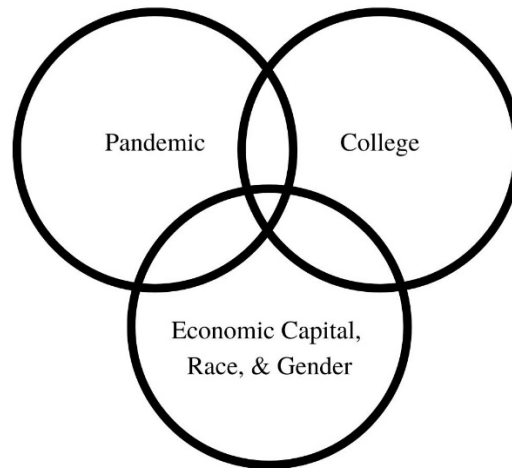
Figure 1. *Pandemic, College, and Identity-Related Symbolic Violence Interaction*

Economic capital was one of the most recognized types of SV, which is not a surprise, given what is known about the economic impact of the pandemic (CDC, 2022). Students are often enrolled in college for the effect of social mobility. Participants recognized that SV existed pre-pandemic but was heightened by the pandemic. The recognition of SV by faculty led to SNV practices represented in Figure 2.

Symbolic Violence

Death of
loved ones

Working
while sick

Disciplinary   Academic
Superpowers   Adjustments

Internet
access

**Symbolic
Nonviolence**

Emotional
labor

Non-
Academic
Support

Increased
student
support

Fear of
sickness

Plagiarism

Job loss

Failing
grades

Loss of
childcare

Exiting

Figure 2. *2020 Symbolic Nonviolence Inside of Symbolic Violence*

I do not intend to imply that these findings represent the experiences of all faculty who taught during the pandemic in 2020. Some respondents practiced non-academic support, while more SNV practices fell into the category of academic adjustment, and fewer reported using their academic disciplinary superpowers as a tool to heal pandemic suffering and change the habitus. Some participants reported making no changes to their teaching as a response to the pandemic.

Non-Academic Support Symbolic Nonviolence

Non-academic support is a SNV practice provided by faculty that is not related directly to coursework. In some cases, it occurred outside of class time like when Jennifer chatted with students informally over Zoom while she cooked dinner to help them feel less isolated during quarantine. This practice often arose from faculty's own pandemic-related struggles. As Judy's hair grew in white because she was unable to get it cut or colored when salons were closed due to quarantine, she developed feelings of aging-related discomfort while on camera with students. This was worsened by the fact that students requested more one-on-one conferences with her.

Judy:

One of the things I did for my students—I really dislike seeing myself on recordings, and I really dislike doing them. I get very, very, very self-conscious. But I have done tips of the week for students kind of an on-and-off basis in spring B. I thought I need to get over my discomfort and I need to be there for the students. At the same time my hair was growing out because I couldn't go get it colored. And much to my surprise, it came in white. I thought it might be gray, but it wasn't—it was white. So that was happening. And I was going through all sorts of anxiety about my hair color. And then what I realized was like in many moments of

reflection, self-reflection, I realized that my hair was a thing. And it was a big thing to me.

To help deal with her own and students' pandemic-induced stress, Judy developed the strategy of dying her hair blue and using it as a prop. She began student conferences with jokes about her blue hair to help break the ice, show vulnerability, and establish rapport. This started with Judy's recognition that her students were struggling academically during the pandemic. Assignment completion rates and grades were lower than in previous semesters. Students were suffering with life challenges such as employment, housing, and death of family and friends while trying to keep up with academic work. Judy acknowledged suffering by sharing her own with students.

Judy's SNV practice exemplifies what Haga (2020b) meant when he said that nonviolence is the antidote to violence. SNV is the antidote to SV in this example. Judy's practice is the kind of transformative nonviolence that King (1958) said can be achieved through love and suffering. Judy's SNV may help change the habitus by sharing her message of kindness and vulnerability in the hardest of times. It may also help to break down the barriers between professor and student. A professor's hair, let alone admission of weakness, is not something that professors often discuss with students. There are barriers put in place by expert, legitimate, and referent power dynamics as well as a socioeconomic boundary that is not often crossed (French & Raven, 1959). By blurring this boundary, Judy told students that she is human, too. This may have helped students feel less distanced from academia and professors. It also allowed Judy to bring more of her whole self to the classroom. Rather than compartmentalize her academic self, her SNV practice made space for aging in academia. Instead of hiding her white hair as it came in, Judy highlighted it. Applying Jackson and Mazzei's method allowed me to view moments where, in the social construction of reality, SV is unmade, and SNV is made and unmade through each faculty-student interaction. It is in the "non-academic moments" like the small talk at the beginning of a meeting where Judy made SNV and simultaneously unmade SV.

Tara practiced non-academic support SNV when she learned that the reason for a student's falling grades was that she was worried she might be pregnant.

Tara:

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

By ordering a pregnancy test for her student, Tara gave her time, emotional labor, and money through this non-academic support practice. This is intentional because the support came after she asked her student why she was failing her class. Before the pandemic, Tara had a 95%

retention rate in her classes, in part from her intentional and systematic practice of checking on her students.

Tara's non-academic support could change the habitus because it communicated to her student that body and whole health is welcome and important in academia. If the student knows she is pregnant, she may be more likely to finish knowing that her professor would allow her pregnant body to exist in the academic space. Tara's non-academic support SNV practice could make academia a friendlier place for women's bodies.

SNV is made by Tara reaching out to her student and removing barriers to academic success. In this way she is also unmaking SV for the student. By the institution not providing this non-academic support, SV is being made for Tara. If Tara did not send a pregnancy test to the student, she may have been more likely to fail the class and drop out of school, which is a support that institutions of higher education traditionally provide as health services to students.

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

Jennifer:

And I've actually been doing this in the evenings, I'm cooking dinner. I have my laptop open on the kitchen counter and I'm just waiting—because I'm just waiting for them to drop by right?

While students hung out with Jennifer in her kitchen, their suffering was eased while she offered companionship and acceptance. She sent the message that they could hang out with her even if they did not need help even though it added additional labor for her. This could change the habitus because, like Judy's non-academic support, Jennifer softened the boundaries between student and professor. Jennifer made SNV each time she turned on Zoom in her kitchen for students to join. SV was being unmade because she showed students that they were not alone. She was also showing students that her kitchen is a real place, and she cooks like a real person, making the walls around academia thinner.

The institution could have offered more support and connection to meet students' needs. In traditional university brick and mortar spaces, students connect with each other in class and on campus, but this was not an option in fall of 2020. Jennifer provided support that the institution was not providing. If she were to stop providing this support, student suffering might have increased, and they might have been less invested in completing their coursework. Jennifer took on this role of social support, letting the institution off the hook.

In each scenario, faculty gave time and emotional support. On top of the increased labor, faculty experienced increased suffering both by the inoperability of the institution and by experiencing the pandemic themselves. They were struggling to take care of themselves, but students needed more time and attention from them. Although Judy, Tara, and Jennifer did not want to give longer hours and emotional labor to the increased need from students, they did. This is what King (1960) meant by "negative good," and why the absence of the hyphen is significant (Haga, 2020a). SNV, like nonviolence, is not passive. To ameliorate suffering, we give through love and empathy event when our own suffering is increased.

SNV is made when faculty reach out to students outside of academic requirements with the intention of removing barriers to academic success. This practice unmakes SV for students. During

the pandemic, institutions were unable to provide the medical, tutoring, and social support provided in pre-pandemic times. By having to fill bigger gaps in institutional support, SV was made for faculty. If faculty did not fill these gaps, students may have been less likely to succeed academically.

Academic Adjustment Symbolic Nonviolence

Academic adjustment SNV was practiced by participants who changed academic assignments or expectations to relieve suffering and SV and increase academic success. The data surfaced the ways in which expectations were changed, standards "lowered," and modifications made to lower the cognitive load of academic work during the pandemic.

Amy is an English as a Second Language (ESL) instructor who noted that her students' friends and families were impacted by COVID more than her own communities. Amy explained how she made the decision to change academic standards during COVID.

Amy:

> We have to lower our expectations. And if that means that students pass classes, that in a normal semester, the work that they're doing would not be a passing grade, like, it's not the end of the world. You know, my English class is not what's standing in between them now and them doing heart surgery on you tomorrow.

She practiced SNV by adjusting academic expectations because she knew that students did not have the same capacity for learning and producing work as they did before. It is intentional and systematic because she practiced it consistently and advised colleagues to do the same. Amy's SNV practice could change the academic habitus because as she repeatedly told herself and colleagues that English grammar standards were not "standing in between them doing heart surgery on you tomorrow," some may start to wonder about their importance post-pandemic. The pandemic has made us think more about what is essential: our health, survival, each other. If we became more focused on that and less on grammar rules, perhaps we could create more inclusive, diverse, and culturally sustaining educational and work environments. When Amy loosened standards, she unmade SV and made SNV.

Shelly, an adjunct sociology professor at a large public university allowed for flexibility in due dates in her classes but maintained all other academic standards. She noticed that students were withdrawing and plagiarizing at high rates. "Adjusting the bar," as she called it was a way to practice empathy for her students' increased suffering. Even this amount of change was a risk for her as an adjunct. Many of her colleagues did not believe in adjusting academic standards during the pandemic in 2020.

Shelly:

There's an existential fear of this sort of decline of the university system to begin with. And then it's like, well, we're not—we're not DeVry.

Shelly said that faculty at her university used a fear of turning into DeVry as a reason to not have empathy and uphold academic standards to maintain rigor. DeVry University is a for-profit institution that has advertised on daytime television for decades. It is a technical school that is not considered academically prestigious for two reasons. The first reason is that the degrees are

technical rather than academic in nature. The second reason is that it is not selective. DeVry is advertised as available to anyone who calls the number on the screen.

This fear of becoming DeVry is an example of misrecognition. Faculty at Shelly's institution justified not using humanizing or inclusive teaching practices because of a fear of losing legitimacy as an academic institution. The tension that Shelly described is between the fear of "becoming DeVry" and the decreased retention and "backup in the academic integrity office" due to students' inability to successfully complete academic work during the pandemic.

Unlike Amy who viewed lowering academic standards as harmless in juxtaposition to performing heart surgery, Shelly said there was a fine line between having empathy and lowering standards. What Shelly potentially risked by offering this SNV was her reputation as a "serious academic" who sets high academic standards. As an adjunct, she had more to lose than full-time faculty in her department. If she ever wants to make the transition to tenure-track faculty, she will need to be seen as a "serious academic." In this way her SNV practice could be adding SV for Shelly. On the other hand, perhaps her adjunct status is what allowed her to extend empathy and make adjustments to academic rigor. Since it is her job to retain and teach students, she is in a double bind. On one hand she is expected to maintain rigor and keep the university from "becoming DeVry." But on the other hand, she wants to stay employed, so she must do her job of teaching and retaining students. She is absorbing this tension for her students, for the institution, and for the sake of her own employment.

Shelly's SNV was intentional because she saw due dates and learning how to perform in class (subjective structures) as different than learning content knowledge (objective structures). Bourdieu (1984) identified dispositions that are found in each field or social class. These include actions, verbal communication, or body language (Bourdieu, 1984). In the academic habitus, addressing the professor a certain way and turning things in on time is important to show that you belong in the academic habitus. Shelly recognized that things like this are more for the reproduction of academia than for student learning. She negotiated it within herself and let go of the dispositions not connected to learning disciplinary content. Shelly recognized that some of what is considered academic rigor is the symbolic capital of learning how to talk to the professor, turn things in on time, and gain respect from the professor. By allowing late work, she chose not to reproduce that SV. What is still misrecognized, however, is the need to not become DeVry and the reason why academic rigor is there at all.

Shelly's SNV alleviated suffering for students for whom completing academic work was more challenging during the pandemic. This SNV practice could make it more possible for students to successfully complete her courses. One way that Shelly's SNV practice could change the habitus is that it may be less likely to reproduce the reproduction of dominance in "fear of becoming DeVry" and therefore not like DeVry, rather more legitimate than DeVry and reproducing class dominance as "not like DeVry." If the fear of being less selective and rigorous were to go away, perhaps the reproduction of the dominant culture which excludes some students would lessen, as well. Another way Shelly's SNV could change the habitus is that like Amy, she is humanizing the higher education classroom. Shelly said, "I don't know that the life lesson that is college is, if there's a pandemic, we're not going to bend at all." She is reproducing a human-first value rather than separating academics from the human and world around it. Each time she bends for a student, Shelly is making SNV and unmaking SV.

Cynthia practiced academic adjustment SNV by taking creative liberty in the type of assignment she used to measure student understanding in her business law class. In the following example, Cynthia changed the end-of-semester assignment when she realized that students were working more hours and were "just done."

Cynthia:

I directed them to a meme generator. And I wanted them to design a meme so that it reflects either one of the concepts or their reaction to one of the case studies that we looked at. And they were all so happy to do that. Because it was very simple for them to do. But it still allowed me to see, you know, something about how they processed one of the case studies.

The meme assignment required a lower cognitive lift for students who were suffering from pandemic-induced trauma and who had less time for schoolwork. Many participants shared that students were not able to think as deeply and complete assignments. Sometimes this manifested as plagiarism; other times it manifested in students simply not doing the work or exiting the institution.

Changing the written final assignment to a meme assignment is an academic adjustment SNV practice because Cynthia adjusted her academic expectation to boil down what she wanted students to be able to demonstrate. This absorbed student suffering as well as students' lost time. It is intentional because she noticed they were working longer hours during the pandemic and did not have as much time to write the final paper. It is also systematic because she changed the assignment for the whole class and planned to repeat the assignment in future semesters.

This SNV practice invites alternative ways of knowing and learning and blurs the boundaries between academic ways of communicating and nonacademic ways of communicating. Memes are fun, and fun is healing. Fun is SNV. SNV was made when Cynthia assigned a weight-bearing assignment that reduced time and cognitive resources. SV is unmade because removing the doxic rituals such as writing a paper for the sake of writing a paper alters the reproduction of the academic habitus.

In their practice of academic adjustment SNV, Amy, Shelly, and Cynthia recognized pandemic-induced SV and systematically and intentionally let go of some pre-pandemic requirements. This SNV practice has the potential to change the academic habitus, making it more inclusive by inviting more ways of knowing. As previously noted, faculty noticed that students were suffering due to their lack of economic capital. Bourdieu (1984) posited that in universities, academic capital is more important than economic capital. In other words, students can overcome low economic capital by succeeding in classes. Whereas there is not much help faculty can provide economically, they can make academic success more attainable. Only faculty can provide this kind of academic support since they are responsible for the inner workings of their classroom.

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

Disciplinary Superpowers Symbolic Nonviolence

The third type of SNV practice that appeared in the data was participants' use of the superpowers of their academic disciplines to empower students to heal themselves and the world around them. Higher education faculty are specialists trained to analyze the world through a disciplinary niche. Each discipline views the world from a unique lens and solves problems using different methodologies. In this section we see how participants taught students how to solve some of the challenges in 2020 using the tools of their trades.

Emma, a design professor, used her discipline to teach students how to make the world better in the context of 2020. Emma's assignment asked students to apply the iterative process of design thinking to address concerns.

Emma:

In the spring, I was teaching UX/UI design—a design thinking course. And I changed the entire end of the semester based off of COVID. So that we had this opportunity to discuss our fears. What was happening, how does this impact you? And then what kind of solution can we as designers create, to help our neighbors, to help our community deal with this type of situation? And that's part of what design thinking is, is this feedback, this iterative process where you're asking questions, you're discussing your own fears, or they're your potential users of discussing what's going on in their lives, so that you can create something to help them. So in the end, students created all these wonderful apps for like games to help you communicate with other people or these news filters that would help you see what the actual facts are. You can get factual information instead of the rumors, yeah, and things like that. So they were dealing with their own fears, and the fears in their family, as well as thinking about others outside of themselves.

The rumors Emma mentioned may have referred to the President at the time, who was encouraging misinformation about the pandemic to support his reelection. This led to people not protecting themselves with masks, increasing the spread of the virus.

The academic habitus could be changed by Emma's SNV practice. First, an app that improves communication in the face of racism and a viral pandemic which are both killing Americans, could save the world. Also, applying disciplinary concepts to solve real-world problems carries classroom assignments outside the classroom. Whereas many assignments only have value in the classroom, this is authentic assessment. Emma's assignment allows students to create something that responds to a valid need in the lives of her students, not just an artificial academic prompt. If the academic habitus were to change to reflect real life instead of the lives of academics, academia might cease to reproduce the needs of the dominant class and more accurately represent real-world issues. Another way that Emma's SNV practice could change the academic habitus is that students' emotions are invited into academic spaces. By asking students to use their fear to complete an assignment, Emma is telling students that academia is a space for the whole self. When faculty ask students to do academic work that is relevant to their lives and can make an impact outside of the classroom, academic SV is being unmade. By asking students to heal the world by designing tools to address their fears, SNV is being made.

Disciplinary superpowers bring the higher education classroom into students' real lives. Mark, a communications professor at an HBCU, had students apply the media theory, "riches and

niches" to teach students how to be successful even in a pandemic. One of Mark's students started a successful YouTube channel about shoe repair. Mark's use of "riches and niches" is SNV because it gives students an outlet to create something useful that can turn into a means of income. This is particularly useful during a pandemic when many people were out of work. Mark also recognized that students were demotivated during the pandemic, and "riches and niches" gave them hope. Mark said that early in the pandemic he knew that it was disproportionately affecting people of color and was concerned for the safety and wellbeing of his students. He applied this recognition to an assignment that got students engaged and helped spread hope.

Mark said that getting students to talk about what they are interested in is like "pulling teeth" in person and "brutal" on Zoom. This SNV practice increased Mark's suffering. He had to work extra hard to learn what students were interested in. Mark shared that he was also at times demotivated, which may indicate an increase in SV.

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

The use of disciplinary tools to teach authentic skills to help students and the broader community could change the academic habitus because the classroom is not just a place to practice obeying and learning how to act and talk like educated people. Emma and Mark practiced Bourdieu's "epistemological rupture" by honestly reflecting on what students needed during the disruption of the pandemic and created intentional assignments to help them succeed rather than rotely regurgitating the academic discipline (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 251). If the academic habitus were to change to reflect life outside of academia, perhaps it would cease to reproduce the needs of the dominant class and more accurately represent real-world needs. When faculty ask students to do academic work that is relevant to their lives and can make an impact outside of the classroom, SV is unmade in this way.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to identify SNV practices used by faculty to lessen SV for students. The existing literature on SV in education shows the ways in which SV has been applied to examine the differential treatment of those who are in a non-dominant habitus (Adams-Romena, 2013; Archera et al., 2018; Coles, 2016; Cooley, 2019; Cushion & Jones, 2006; Gast, 2018; Herr, 2005; Khanal, 2017; Marsh, 2018; McGillicuddy & Devine, 2017; Nairz-Wirth et al., 2017; Scott, 2012; Shannon & Escamilla, 1999; Toshalis, 2010; Watson and Widin, 2015). This study fills a gap in the literature on using recognition of SV to change inequitable practices in higher education.

The inequities that the pandemic revealed have existed all along. The findings show how the pandemic unveiled and exacerbated SV. Applying SNV to faculty teaching practices during the pandemic demonstrated how faculty used the internal institutions of their classrooms to ameliorate the SV caused by the pandemic, even if it meant increasing SV or suffering for themselves.

The method of plugging theory into data allowed me to study how the pandemic, the higher education classroom, and identity markers entangled (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). I applied the method as outlined by Jackson and Mazzei (2012) by working the data from the research question "How did faculty practice SNV in the academic habitus in 2020?" repeatedly. This is where Jackson and Mazzei's (2012) method shines because it flattens the theory, data, context, participants, and researcher and makes something uniquely new amid the context of 2020. In the darkness and suffering, something was created to change the habitus and bring hope and healing. SNV augments Bourdieu's (1972) theory of SV and expands on Waters' (2017) theory of symbolic non-violence to add King's (1958;1960) insight that love and suffering can transform society. King (1958) wrote that suffering has the power to transform suffering for others.

Three types of SNV practices organically emerged from the data: non-academic support, academic adjustments, and disciplinary superpowers. Non-academic support SNV was offered by faculty to students unrelated to content or academics. It often took place outside of class time and was not academic in nature. Judy, for example, used her discomfort with her graying hair to connect with students on a personal level and to communicate an intentional message of kindness. Tara practiced non-academic support SNV by sending a student a pregnancy test when the college's medical clinic was closed in the pandemic. Jennifer offered Zoom sessions while she cooked dinner in the evenings to help relieve students' isolation-induced anxiety. These examples of non-academic support broke down traditional barriers between professor and student and provided support that the institution might have provided pre-pandemic.

The second type of SNV practice that arose from the data was the making of academic adjustments to improve student success. Amy, an ESL instructor, reduced academic rigor, noting that what students learn in her class is not a life-or-death situation. Since she taught international students, there is the implication that Amy's standards may have included cultural assimilation. Shelly also practiced academic adjustment SNV by softening the boundaries between empathy and rigor and acknowledging the cultural academic habitus expectations that she let go of during the pandemic. She referred to this as her university's "fear of becoming DeVry." Cynthia practiced academic adjustment SNV by changing the final assignment from a paper to a meme assignment, which still allowed her to measure the course learning outcomes but added fun and reduced completion time for students. In these examples of academic adjustment SNV, participants closely scrutinized the necessary from the unnecessary components of their courses. I believe that this SNV practice has the most potential to change the academic habitus because these participants are stripping away norms that exist merely for the sake of reproducing the academic habitus.

The third type of SNV practice is disciplinary superpowers. This refers to how faculty used the unique strengths of their academic disciplines to help students survive and in some cases thrive during the pandemic. Emma used design thinking to turn student fears into app designs that solved pandemic problems. Mark used the "riches and niches" media theory to turn student interests into gainful employment during the pandemic. Disciplinary superpower SNV can change the habitus because it gives students tools to change the world. This type of SNV strongly pushes against SV. It starts with acknowledgement of suffering and then, rather than reproducing the status quo, it encourages students to stop SV and heal the habitus.

All three types of SNV practices ignore some protocols of the academic habitus that exist just for the reproduction of academic norms. For example, in non-academic support, the boundaries between professor and student are lessened. In academic adjustments, rigor and academic standards previously replicated without scrutiny are now being scrutinized and, in some

cases, made redundant. In disciplinary superpowers, the emphasis is on responding to real-life authentic needs. SV and SNV are not dichotomous. Rather, SNV occurs inside of SV like an antidote (Haga, 2020b). The specific ways that SV was experienced, noticed, and recognized by faculty informed their SNV practices. And in turn, the SNV practices can serve as the remedy for that same SV and change the academic habitus.

Jackson and Mazzei (2012) wrote that their method reveals something about reality that flashes through cracks in the threshold. Bourdieu's (1984) structuralist constructivism revealed the potential for change. Faculty, who have achieved legitimization, are primed to recognize, change, and heal the habitus. Through SNV practices, the habitus is unmade and remade.

Implications

Teacher candidates who experience SV in their university classrooms replicate those teaching practices in K-12 classrooms (McGillicudy & Devine, 2017; Toshalis, 2010). This study has important implications for teaching faculty in higher education because of the opportunity they are afforded to model SNV practices for students. This is not only significant in teacher preparation programs, but for all disciplines. Students who see inclusive practices modeled in the higher education classroom may be more likely to reproduce similar inclusive practices in their workplaces, with their families, and in the public sphere. SNV communicates that learning is about learning, not reproducing the social capital of the dominant social groups. SNV practices are also authentic in nature in that they serve students as whole people and not just require performance on academic tasks for the sake of academia. SNV practices are more about learning and less about performing symbolic capital rituals that simply reproduce the dominant culture.

By raising awareness of SNV practices, my hope is that academia loses hidden curriculum requirements that do not matter, requirements that exist only because of institutions' fears of "becoming DeVry." That fear is SV. That fear is reproducing oppression in the institution of higher education. That fear equates to the misrecognition of academic standards as essential components of learning. When you strip those away, what is left worth teaching? SNV practices invite students to bring their interests and fun into academic assignments. They are also about learning that changes the world outside of the classroom.

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

Working in academia is losing its appeal for many faculty, who are increasingly seeking other options (Flaherty, 2020; Loeb, 2020; Woolston, 2020). I propose that institutions need to step up faculty support and acknowledge the invisible labor that allows institutions to continue to recruit and retain students. This includes the acknowledgement of the gaps in student support that faculty are expected to fill. Administrators of universities and colleges, look closely at what you expect from faculty. What is the complete job description? Does it include providing supports to students outside of the realm of content and learning support? If your answer is yes, then your institution has work to do.

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

We need to resist the pressures of being reputed as "rigorous academics." Faculty should not have to walk a tightrope between empathy and rigor. Rigorous teaching *should be* empathetic teaching. The classroom is a powerful space where students and faculty can invite autonomy, practice democratic teaching and learning, and visualize the future they want to live in.

Limitations

Eighty-one percent of participants identified as white, and seventy-seven percent identified as female, both of which are higher than the national averages in race and gender among higher education faculty (NCES, 2018). The inclusion of the word "equity" on the recruitment flyer may have attracted participants with an interest in equitable and inclusive teaching practices, leading to selection bias. It is also possible that the call to discuss emotional labor drew more women to participate in the study since women disproportionally perform emotional labor in academia (Lawless, 2017). In addition, most of the participants were recruited from a Facebook group in which equitable teaching practices were often discussed. It is possible that those were already interested in and practicing equitable teaching responded to the study.

Conclusion

Jackson and Mazzei (2012) invoked Deleuze and Guattari (1987) when they provoked the question, "What happens when you put parts together that create something new?" Bourdieu's theory of SV was created for 1960s France, but when plugged into pandemic America in 2020, it ran smoothly, exposing inequities. It did precisely what it was designed to do. It is only fitting that 2020 America, imbued with racial injustice, brought love and nonviolence from Martin Luther King and America's last Civil Rights period to Bourdieu. SNV is a tool through which "to do theory" (Gale & Lingard, 2015, p. 1).

The SNV practices discovered through this study were intended to help offset inequities experienced by college students in fall 2020. SNV practices helped heal pandemic-induced loneliness, filled gaps in medical and social support, tailored academic standards to be more attainable, and wielded academic disciplinary tools to transform SV. The practices carried out by these participants were not passive (Haga, 2020a; King, 1958). They were intentional, systematic, and often increased suffering or SV for practitioners. SNV applies King's (1958) message that suffering and love can transform the world.

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