

HIDDEN ACADEMICS: CONTRACT FACULTY IN CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES

Over the past two decades, continual government cutbacks to higher education have forced universities to become increasingly dependent on full- and part-time contract faculty. This situation has reinforced the functional split in the academic labour force, a split that has resulted in dramatic differences in status, compensation, career opportunities, and professional development between faculty members.

In *Hidden Academics*, Indhu Rajagopal examines the multiple ways in which contract faculty have emerged as an underclass in academia. She explores the identity of the part-time faculty, the nature of their work, and their feelings about their status within the university. Central to these discussions is an analysis of occupational segregation and the feminization of the part-time workforce. In the course of the study, Rajagopal also looks at full-time faculty and their perceptions of part-timers, academic administrators' reasons for hiring part-timers, and the future of the university in this context.

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HIDDEN ACADEMICS

CONTRACT FACULTY
IN CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES

Indhu Rajagopal

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*For Amba, Raj, Arun, and Anil
without whose inspiration, generosity, and love,
this book would not have been possible*

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Preface

When I completed *Tyranny of Caste* (Rajagopal 1985), in which I examined caste politics and hierarchical power in India, I became keenly interested, as a political economist, in studying power structures in Canada. I grew up in India in a family that was politically conscious. Many of my relatives – the generation that participated in India's struggle for freedom – were socio-political leaders advocating the dismantling of caste hierarchy in southern India. My ancestral home in Madras, south India, has been the venue of many revolutionary speeches, events, and conflicts. On occasion my grandfather, as an officer of the Order of British India (OBI), quite dramatically, would symbolically brandish his First World War general's sword against social injustices. Those were times when caste powerfully shaped both social mores and political power. However, all his grandchildren learned not to observe caste traditions and discriminate against lower castes but to respect everyone as an individual.

When I left India in the late 1960s as a young student bound for the University of Toronto, I envisaged Canada as a young and attractive nation, not overburdened with the political rifts and social hierarchies that the long, tortured history of a nation may engender. When I earned my doctorate in the 1970s and started looking for academic positions, however, I found myself in a 'lost generation of scholars.' At that time, I could not understand why the Canadian immigration attaché had told me that educationally qualified people were what Canada needed.

When I was a part-timer in academe, no one inducted me into the pathways and problems of getting a 'full-time appointment' – I simply believed that everyone with merit would earn such a position. After

many years, in the late 1980s York University gradually began to consider competitively qualified candidates from among its large pool of part-timers for full-time positions. The Canadian Union of Education Workers, representing part-timers, bargained for and won a collective agreement by which every year a few – two or three – long-service part-timers would be candidates for what was called as ‘affirmative action’ for part-timers. Certain disciplinary areas and fields where part-timers had been teaching for a long time would create full-time positions for competition among the university’s internal candidates. This was a hard-fought struggle, not far different from deconstructing and resisting the caste system.

As a child, I was socialized to question and examine this system. Similarly as a young, idealistic, new arrival in Canada, I had the privileged view of one ‘looking in from outside.’ I was jolted by what I saw as the politics of academic hierarchy – not always merit based but often rank based. While a part-timer, I began to explore the feelings of others in a similar situation. As a tenured full-timer from the late 1980s on, my experiences broadened, enabling me, I believe, to look at matters from all sides. These perceptions inform the writing of this book.

Acknowledgments

A number of people provided information and helped in the collection of data on part-time faculty. Without their support and kindness, I could not have accomplished my work.

First and foremost, my sincere gratitude to the staff at various levels in universities across Canada; without their time and interest in processing the surveys I could not have made any headway in this project. I am most indebted to the senior administrators in each university – the presidents and vice-presidents – for their permission to conduct the surveys and their cooperation in many other ways. Their administrative staff were very prompt in distributing the surveys to the part-time faculty and also were generous with their time and personal commitment throughout the processing of many surveys and follow-ups. The survey respondents were generous with their time in answering my surveys, especially with their rich and incisive comments.

An equally crucial role was played by two successive vice-presidents (finance and administration) at York University, Bill Farr, who was actively involved in the survey stage, and Sheldon Levy, who continued to support my work. Their long-term interest, knowledge, and resourcefulness helped to ensure depth in the information sought through the questionnaires. They understood the real dimensions of the situation of part-timers, and I cannot express adequately my gratitude to them for their support.

Enormous thanks go to David Northrop and John Pollard of the Institute of Social Research (ISR). They brought professional strength to this project, and their warmth was a constant throughout the project. David Northrop was committed to accomplishing every detail of my exceptionally complex and voluminous surveys. John Pollard, sincere

and gentle, guided me through the entire process; he was a dream-come-true project director. Overall, I am grateful to all the many people in ISR who have been involved in this project, from the survey stage to data processing. I could not have chosen a better academic home than the ISR and feel enormously fortunate.

I extend special gratitude to my colleague, distinguished researcher Michael Ornstein, whose advice on revisions, editing, and the shaping of the surveys made them less intimidating to the respondents and able to yield rich data. Also, I am thankful to Paul Axelrod, Gordon Darroch, Lillian Lerman, and Arthur Siegel, colleagues whose advice and support were invaluable.

I also wish to acknowledge the help of many other colleagues, administrative staff, officers of part-timers' unions, and friends, who made implementation of this project less onerous. Gary Brewer, Noli Swatman, James Brown, Judy Horwood, and Gladys Strangways, to name a few special people at York University, were warm and generous with their time and unwavering support.

My research assistants were superb. Zeng Lin prepared the survey data and processed them for analysis. His sensitivity to the statistical data and his background knowledge on many issues in higher education were invaluable for this project. Maher Wehbe assisted me for many years in library research. Although he has taken up a full-time career elsewhere, he continues to provide research support whenever I need it. He loves libraries and, given a chance, he would probably live in one.

The staff at the University of Toronto Press, especially Virgil Duff, deserve my special thanks for their encouragement and hard work in successfully bringing the project to completion. John Parry and Catherine Frost superbly edited the book and brought their magical touch to shaping the manuscript and sharpening its focus. Their intense involvement and creative suggestions have made the final product more satisfying for me. I also appreciate the enormous care and insight with which the two anonymous reviewers commented on the manuscript.

The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) of Canada gave me a research grant for the project, which enabled me to establish a national database on part-time and limited-term faculty in Canada. The Aid to Scholarly Publishing Program (ASPP) of the Humanities and Social Science Research Federation of Canada supported the publication of the book.

Finally, and most centrally, my family's constant support, unwaver-

ing confidence, and deep understanding made this book possible. My greatest debt goes to my late mother, whose endless love, continuous care, and constant inspiration nurtured my love of learning. To my daughter, Sudha Rajagopal, and my husband, Raj, who understood my time commitments, encouraged my research, and stood by me, and my two angels, Arun and Anil, who had to forgo much of my time with them – I owe everything I can think of.

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Abbreviations

AAUP	American Association of University Professors
AUCC	Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada
AUT	Association of University Teachers, United Kingdom
CAUT	Canadian Association of University Teachers
COU	Council of Ontario Universities
CAUBO	Canadian Association of University Business Officers
FTE	Full-time equivalent
LTFT	Limited-term, full-time faculty
NATFHE	National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education, United Kingdom
NCES	National Center for Education Statistics, United States
NCSCBHEP	National Center for the Study of Collective Bargaining in Higher Education and the Professions, United States
NEA	National Education Association, United States
NP	Never part-time
NSOPF	National Survey of Post-Secondary Faculty, United States
OCUFA	Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PP	Previously part-time
UTFA	University of Toronto Faculty Association
YUFA	York University Faculty Association

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Introduction

‘Changing Times and Changing Mission’

‘Professors Ripped Off: Part-Time Faculty at Poverty Level,’ read a headline in the *Halifax Chronicle-Herald* (Erskin, 1997), capturing the continuing malaise brought on by misplaced political and administrative priorities in academe undertaken in the name of financial efficiency. The harm caused by these policies is most severe for marginalized groups, that is, contract faculty. Canadian higher education faces an ominous situation. There is an increasing tendency to look at universities as corporate businesses and at education as a commodity for profit. John Ralston Saul warns us about the all-encompassing influence of corporatism in western civilization:

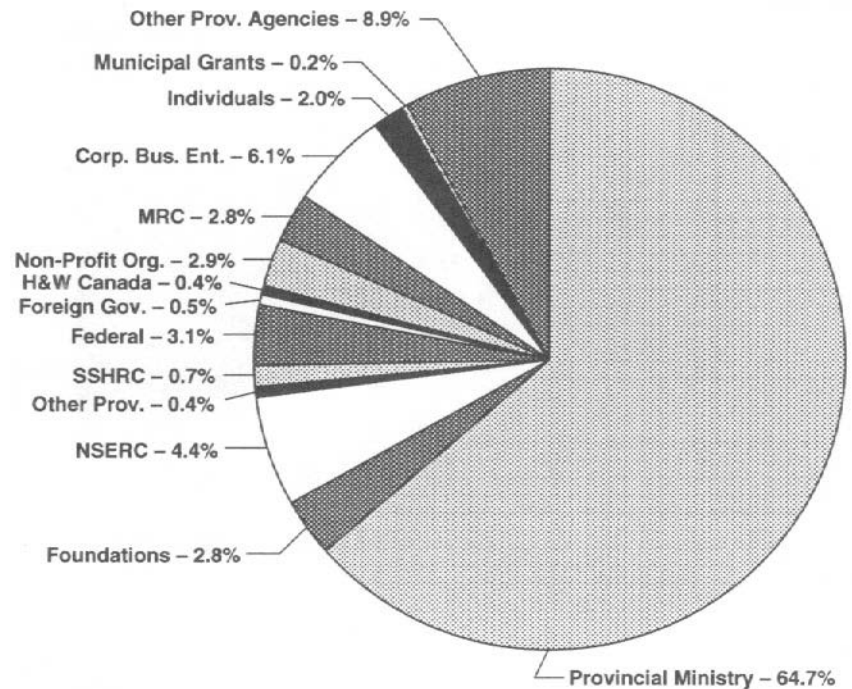
Our civilization [is] locked in the grip of an ideology – corporatism, an ideology that denies and undermines the legitimacy of the individual as the citizen in a democracy. The particular imbalance of this ideology leads to a worship of self-interest and a denial of public good. While corporatism limits society to self-interest, it is far more than that. The origin of corporatism in the second half of the nineteenth century lay in two things – the rejection of citizen based democracy and the desire to react in a stable way to the industrial revolution. These original motives would evolve into the desire for a stable managerial, hierarchical society. Democracy is weakening. Corporatism is strengthening. Certainly corporatism is creating a conformist society. An expected development in a corporatist society [is that] the larger picture, the longer term, is lost in the incremental details of specialization, and .fact collecting stretches deep into our universities. (1995: 191, 90, 94, 106)

Governments in Canada, as the major sources of public funding for

universities, have moved towards an ideological stance that focuses on privatization and corporatization. Those who argue that higher education is a business insist that there is no need to provide universities with huge research grants and that these institutions should be required to return a profit on the capital invested by the provinces.¹ In contrast to views that became popular in the 1960s, that education is a public good, governments in the 1990s pushed hard for job-market-oriented education and research that further corporate interest. 'Universities which are financed like private corporations also tend to be managed like private corporations and to generate corporate cultures' (Graham, 1998: 4).² The consequences of this approach are all too evident: 'Administrations, looking for cost savings, are resisting salary increases, trying to limit benefits, and demanding greater workloads. Limited term faculty with little security are being used in greater numbers. University administrations are replacing the traditional collegial approach of self-governance with private sector managerial models' (Flynn, 1998: 9).³

In contrast to declining academic budgets, non-academic salaries in Canadian universities have been increasing: 'In many institutions, savings from faculty salaries were spent on technology. This is the university of the future; it seems more administration, more technology, fewer teachers' (Melchers, 1998: 10).⁴ Many administrators hoped that universities could cut costs by replacing faculty members with technology or by turning universities into business enterprises. Universities tend to look for ways of increasing their financial autonomy and reducing their current dependence on uncertain government funding (figure 0.1). In May 2000 the Council of Ontario Universities (COU) released statistics showing the decline in university operating grants from provincial governments and widening gaps between provinces in their funding levels. During the period 1996–2000, while funding for Canadian universities declined drastically, state funding for U.S. universities grew by 28 per cent on average. Ontario, the richest province in Canada, ranked second to last among the ten provinces and fifty U.S. states in government spending on universities (figure 0.2). Also, faculty numbers in Ontario universities declined by 10 per cent between 1988–7 and 1998–9. Since 1991–2 faculty and staff salary and benefit costs declined by about 12 per cent in Ontario (CAUT, June 2000). In the 1970s, as Janice Newson⁵ points out, Canadian universities responded to 'the shift in higher education funding policy from expansion to contraction' by rationalizing budgets, and academic

FIGURE 0.1
University revenues by source, 1997–8



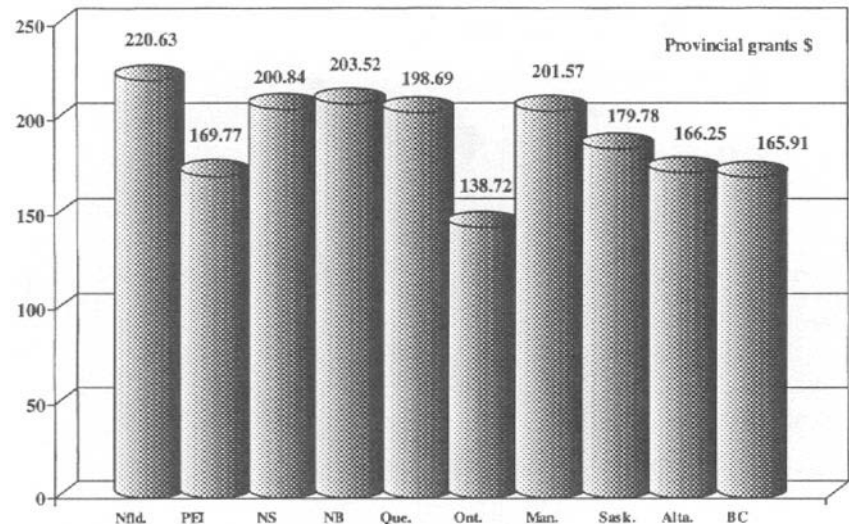
Revenue sources are: provincial ministries responsible for universities; Medical Research Council (MRC); Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council (NSERC); Health and Welfare Canada; Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC); federal funding; foreign governments; other provinces; non-profit organizations; foundations; corporate business enterprises; individuals; municipal grants and contracts; other provincial ministries and agencies; Canadian Association of University Business Officers (CAUBO).

Sources: *CAUT Bulletin* (Dec. 1999); data from Statistics Canada and CAUBO

workers reacted to this situation through collective bargaining and other structural changes in the academic workplace (2000: 9). A significant development from budget rationalization was the creation of a cadre of part-time members of faculty. At the same time there was, and still is, a lurking fear among university administrators that their entrepreneurial role may compromise the university's quality and effective-

FIGURE 0.2

University operating grants per capita, Canada, 1999–2000



Canada's provinces: Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia
 Source: CAUT Bulletin (June 2000)

ness as an educator (Lewington, 1997). Patricia Gumpert's warning about U.S. universities has a clear resonance in Canada: 'While the public universities and colleges have increasingly come to rely on market discourse and managerial approaches in order to demonstrate responsiveness to economic exigencies, they may end up losing legitimacy as they move away from their historical character, functions and accumulated heritage as educational institutions' ((2000: 67).

In an international survey Altbach and Lewis⁶ found that fewer than 10 per cent of the faculty respondents in 1991–2 felt that they contributed to key academic policies of university governance. Clearly, most felt alienated from the senior central administration. They distrusted top-level administrators and had doubts about their management of finances. In eight countries, a majority expressed negative feelings about academic administrators, whom they find autocratic (1995: 55).

Under the pretext of preventing financial crises, administrations across North America are introducing broader structural changes,

without necessarily examining the longer-term implications. The administrators are quite pragmatic in their strategies. Shapiro notes that Donald Kennedy, president of Stanford University (1980–92) during the burgeoning years of part-time appointments, in his book *Academic Duty* (1998) does not address the probability that many new scholars who graduate might not get to teach. Some of their teachers and mentors, like Kennedy, continue to work after age sixty-five, effectively blocking the younger generation from advancing. Shapiro warns that in the absence of any U.S. commitment to replace all retirees by tenure stream young scholars, administrators will continue to terminate faculty positions or replace full-timers with part-timers. 'The danger today is that the administrations that now set policy at most universities are increasingly tempted to act as if they are running a business – letting profit motive drive educational policy. In such a climate, revenue generating programs and inexpensive part-time professors are winning out over a committed faculty, good libraries, and small classes' (1998: 18).

Before I explain the surveys and data that ground this book, I wish to introduce the more general context in which the crisis in Canadian universities that led to the establishing of 'permanent temps' has emerged, namely, the commodification of labour, the development of academic capitalism, and the emergence of non-traditional work.

Commodification of Labour and Academic Capitalism

International institutions and agreements that emerged after the First World War brought fundamental ideological changes to how labour was characterized and how workers were treated in the labour market. Labour harnessed to produce commodities is social labour. A commodity producer engages other human beings for their labour in commodity production. This labour appears to commodity producers as their private labour – that is, they own the workers – and as a part of the impersonal market forces. Thus emerges a fundamental contradiction of the commodity form in the context of labour. If production owners see labour as a commodity, they consider the relations to workers as 'relations to things,' not as 'relations between people.' In *Capital* (I, chaps 6 and 19), Karl Marx splits the concept of labour into the pair 'labour and labour power' – labour meaning the 'activity' of a worker and labour power representing her/his 'capacity' to do useful work that adds measurable value to other commodities. Workers exchange

their labour power for money wages. Thus, labour power appears in the market as a commodity, although this power is embodied in the worker and is not produced as a commodity. In the context of capitalism and the market economy, securing and harnessing labour power are at the command of the owners of production (Foley, 1983). Ideology serves to achieve the exploitation of labour as a commodity. The functions of ideology, Althusser explains, are to achieve social cohesion and secure class domination. To the extent that an ideology provides a camouflage or 'imaginary relationship of individuals to the real condition of existence,' it can effectively perform these functions (Althusser, 1971: 153).

After the First World War the International Labour Organization (ILO), in its founding constitution of 1919, affirmed that 'labour is not a commodity' and stated that workers have certain fundamental rights. These provisions, entrenched in ILO conventions,⁷ theoretically regulated the labour market in Canada until 1997. In that year the ILO abandoned its original position advocating advancing full-time regular employment for workers, regulating labour market fee-charging intermediary agencies, and endorsing worker benefits and securities. This reversal legitimized the use of temporary workers and worker-supplier agencies that mediated between the market and production firms and made the labour market as flexible as industries and businesses wanted (Vosko, 2000: 3–45).

In 1919, in order to control high unemployment and to prohibit intermediary employment agencies' abuse of the labour market, the ILO introduced conventions regulating the use of temporary labour. In 1944, at the International Labour Conference, member nations of the ILO reaffirmed their commitment to the constitution of the ILO and its cornerstone premise that labour was not a 'commodity.' They endorsed provisions to bring about a welfare state: full employment and rising standards of living, social security, medical care, nutrition, housing, recreation, culture, education, child welfare, and maternity benefits. In response, during the post-war era countries took different paths in dealing with these provisions: prohibition, regulation, or non-regulation of temporary labour. Although many continental European countries – France, Greece, Italy, Spain, and West Germany – moved towards regulatory regimes, the United States, Canada, and Great Britain chose not to firm up the regulatory rules except for an informal commitment to monitor the labour market (Vosko, 2000: 105–13).

Guy Standing notes that 'flexibilization' of the labour market is an

integral facet of 'the rolling back of public sector ... as part of "privatization" initiatives and as a result of ... outsourcing public service functions' (1999: 593–4). From the 1970s to the early 1990s a growing trend to a flexible labour market in Canada became more prominent. Vosko refers to four features of the deregulated labour market that became increasingly entrenched in Canada: between 1980 and 1990, for the first time in seven decades, a decline of wages; growing 'casualization' of work; deregulation of workers' benefits and declining work-related social programs; and stagnation of the rate of unionization as unionized jobs declined with the contraction of the public sector (2000: 162).

Instead of regulating all types of workers – temporary or regular – in the labour market, current trends in industrialized countries are to replace regular workers with temporary labour in order to reduce costs of providing job security, protections, and benefits for workers. In support of this trend, a new convention, adopted in 1997, reversed the ILO's original position against intermediary agencies between the employer and workers and its delegitimization of non-standard forms of employment. This convention recognized temporary-help agencies as legitimate employers in 1997, thus affirming their role in the labour market. By the mid-1990s, these agencies had gained such legitimacy that temporary-help intermediaries were effectively deregulated, leaving non-standard forms of employment outside the purview of labour regulations in Canada except in Quebec (Vosko, 2000: 200–9). Vosko emphasizes: 'The need to adapt the system of collective bargaining in Canada to accommodate the growing pluralism in employment relationships ... is particularly pressing ... to protect rights for *all* workers in Canada' (228); (emphasis added).

As we move from workers in the marketplace to workers in the ivory tower, we find a parallel situation. When government underfunding led to declining revenues for Canadian universities, the latter began to look for new funding sources, especially partnerships between higher education and business. Conservative governments tied research and development (R&D) funding to corporate contributions to universities. Just as the temporary-help industry was an intermediary between workers and the firms that hired them, corporations providing funding became the intermediary in research innovations and lured universities to perform research under their control. Many Canadian universities established 'centres of excellence' and 'research parks' to promote industry-university partnerships. Canadian academics, perhaps, have been able substantially to resist government and

business pressures to heed to corporate interests, however, because Canada has a tradition of less government intervention for a mostly publicly funded higher education system than is the case in Australia, Britain, or the United States (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997: 52–63; Skolnik, 1990; Jones and Skolnik, 1992). For instance, as Skolnik points out, in the United States state budgetary allocations tie funding to universities' performance and their accountability for students' learning outcomes. Commonly, universities undergo periodic reviews of their performance by state legislators. In contrast, provincial governments in Canada do not conduct such reviews of universities or their programs; and reviews, if any – for instance, graduate or professional programs – are done by universities themselves. Funding accountability is not measured in terms of learning outcomes. Skolnik argues: 'In Canada ... where the number of institutions is strictly limited, where competition is constrained, where institutions collectively and co-operatively police themselves, quality is more likely to be assured, and hence there is less pressure for accountability ... public universities in Canada are in many respects treated by governments more like private concerns (or ... crown corporations), while public universities in the United States are treated as an extension of the public service, for example ... even legislative intervention [occurs] with regard to university curriculum requirements' (1990: 90–2). However, Canadian universities are finding it increasingly difficult to resist the ever-increasing government demand for profit-yielding cost-benefit analyses.

In *Campus, Inc.* Ronnie Dugger comments: 'As corporations conquer the universities too, they attempt to turn students into consumers, education into training for jobs, professors into hired-out consultants and researchers, and campuses into corporate research and profit centres. All this is done on premises and through employees who are maintained at the public expense' (2000: 21). Clear trends of corporate encroachment on academic freedom and faculty members' diminishing right to tenure, show that the higher-education sector is also increasingly becoming deregulated. University administrators assuming the role of chief executive officers (CEOs) make cost-benefit calculations and find contract or part-time faculty members good value for the money. Many members of faculty, themselves, often guided by a notion of 'professionalism' and by the conventional (albeit no longer true) thought that academics control their universities, think unionization is irrelevant (Huber, 2000: 123–5).

Another significant variable is the interaction between the world of

work and higher education. Kivinen and Ahola note: 'As individuals stay longer and longer in school, and with available jobs scarce, the warehouse function of education becomes more important. The human capital ideology interprets prolonged schooling as a means to keep the worker reserve "up to date" and in "good moral shape." However, in the reality of risking available jobs, young people with lower qualifications usually prefer work, although the present system seems unable to place them either in education, or in employment' (1999: 194). In this context, temporary workers, such as part-timers and contractees, are easily available for hire, camouflaged as 'professionals in reserve.'

In parallel, other processes are under way. The weakening of tenure and the increasing number of part-time and contract hirees have deprofessionalized the faculty. Turning away from the time-tested values of higher education, universities have altered curricula to meet the needs of the job market and workplace. Government keenly enforces the rules of business accountability while decreasing their funding for universities. Government approaches of offering to university administrators the carrot of managerial control and the stick of funding cuts have turned them into 'fiscal-efficiency' managers and CEOs of the university (Cutright, 2000: 490).

In the context of the rising trend of temporary workers in the overall labour force discussed above, it is easy to understand the emergence of contract faculty in Canadian academe. From this general labour trend, universities seem to gain legitimacy for policies designed to meet their need for more faculty by hiring contractees. As the shortage of full-time tenure-stream academic jobs becomes more pronounced, these contractees are more acutely aware of their plight.

Emergence of Non-Traditional Workers in Industrialized Economies

Trends in the general labour force provide us with a wider perspective and context for understanding the increase of part-time faculty in higher education. Growth in numbers of part-time workers across the labour force is clearly identifiable in the 1980s and 1990s, both nationally and internationally. International trends show that their numbers in industrial market economies grew by about 30 per cent during 1980–9 (ILO: 1989; Krahn: 1992). In most advanced industrial economies (OECD countries), the proportion of employees who work part time continued to rise during the 1990s from 13.4 per cent of the labour force in 1990 to 14.3 per cent in 1998. In most countries, increasing

numbers of workers, male and female, are now more likely to work part time than they did in 1990. In Australia, 14.4 per cent of male workers held part-time jobs in 1998, compared with 11.3 per cent in 1990. Second to Australia, in Japan, the proportion of men among part-time workers increased from 9.5 per cent (1990) to 12.9 per cent in 1998 (*Economist*, 1999: 118). In 1999 in the Netherlands, part-time workers accounted for 30 per cent of the labour force, the highest proportion among industrialized countries. The labour force in Belgium has shown a remarkable increase in its part-time component from 16.3 per cent (1998–9) of jobs to 19.9 per cent (1999–2000). During the same period, in OECD countries as a whole, numbers of part-timers as a proportion of all workers rose from 14.3 per cent to 15.8 per cent. From 1990 to 1999 the European Union (EU) average in part-time work also increased from 13.3 per cent to 16.4 per cent (*Economist*, 2000). In 2000 part-timers constituted one in six workers in OECD countries. Although women dominated the part-time workforce, in some countries, for example, Britain, men's share increased from 15 per cent in 1990 to 20 per cent in 2000 (*Economist*, 2001).

Among part-time workers in OECD countries, however, a greater proportion are far more likely to be women than men. In 1998 women comprised 97 per cent of part-timers in Sweden, 84 per cent in Germany, 83 per cent in Switzerland, 82 per cent in Belgium, 80 per cent in Britain – on average 82 per cent in the EU and 74 per cent in the OECD. Of all industrialized countries, the lowest level occurred in Finland (63 per cent). In 1999 there was little change in the preponderance of women among part-time workers. High proportions of women continued as part-time workers in major economies: Austria (87 per cent), Germany (84 per cent), Switzerland (83 per cent), Britain (80 per cent), France (79 per cent), Canada (70 per cent), and the United States (69 per cent). Overall, in the EU, women constituted 79 per cent of the total workforce, and the average female component in the OECD workforce was 72 per cent (*Economist*, 2000).

Part-time workers are but one component of a much larger group of 'non-standard' or 'contingent' workers.⁸ Similarly, there are temporary workers who hold multiple jobs and others who describe themselves as self-employed. During the 1980s and 1990s non-standard work – part-time, contract, multiple-job, and contingent – has increased in Canada and other OECD economies (Krahn, 1992: 19; Krahn and Lowe, 1998: 80). More than 750,000 Canadian workers – that is, 8 per cent of all workers – had only temporary jobs – that is, jobs with a spe-

cific end date. Similar proportions prevailed in other industrialized countries, for example, 5 per cent in France, 6 per cent to 7 per cent in Britain, 8 per cent in Germany, more than 10 per cent in Japan, and more than 12 per cent in Denmark (Krahn, 1992: 61).

In 1999 among young people (age 15–24) in Canada's workforce 52.1 per cent of females and 37.6 per cent of males were more likely to have non-standard jobs. Also, among all older workers (age 55–64), a greater proportion of females (31.4 per cent) than males (10.2 per cent) were in the contingent workforce (Statistics Canada, 2000b: 123–5). Women are almost three times more likely than men to be working part time – that is, work fewer than thirty hours per week in their main job – in Canada. In 1994 those involved in non-standard work rose from 28 per cent (1989) to 33 per cent of all Canadian workers age 15–64 (Krahn and Lowe, 1998: 81). In 1996, 18.9 per cent, or 2.6 million Canadian workers were part-timers. Preponderant were women (76 per cent) among adult part-time workers (more than 24 years old). One in four adult women in the labour force is a part-timer. In 1995 involuntary part-time workers constituted 31 per cent of the more than 2.5 million part-time workers in Canada – a steep rise from 11 per cent of 1 million part-timers in 1975 (Krahn and Lowe, 1998: 84–6). Women part-time workers were 28 per cent of all women working (versus 10 per cent male part-timers among all men working) in the Canadian Labour force. Since the mid-1970s seven in ten of all part-time workers have been women (Statistics Canada 2000b: 103).

In Canada, from 1975 to 1985, involuntary part-time employment grew by 375.4 per cent and voluntary part-time employment by 41 per cent. In the same period, full-time employment increased by 15.2 per cent. Involuntary part-time workers increased in number from 109,000 (1975) to more than 500,000 (1985). The ratio of workers who reported themselves as involuntary part-timers rose from 1 in 100 in 1975 to 1 in 20 in 1985. Married women constituted more than a third (37.6 per cent) of involuntary part-timers in 1985. The severe economic recession of the 1980s, the increasing significance of the service sector, and growing numbers of women entering the workforce all contributed to an expansion of involuntary part-time employment during that decade (Akyeampong, 1986). Among those on the margins of the labour force in 1986, a greater percentage of them were women (63 per cent versus 43 per cent of all workers) (Akyeampong, 1987).

Canada, whose part-time workforce grew from 15.2 per cent in 1989 (ILO, 1989)⁹ to 18.9 per cent in 1998 (*Economist*, 1999: 118), was one

such country. In Canada, from 1989 to 1998, part-time work grew by 24.4 per cent, whereas full-time work increased by only 8 per cent. This trend is not moderating, since the growth of part-time work continued to be strong between 1997 and 1998 (an increase of 5.3 per cent), compared with that of full-time jobs (an increase of 2.7 per cent) during the same period. In 1997 women were the largest group of involuntary part-timers. Of women working part time, 34 per cent (390,000), preferred full-time hours, although in 1998 there seemed to be a gender shift in involuntary part-time workers, since 44 per cent of adult men wanted to work full time but could find only part-time work (Statistics Canada, 1999a, c).

A Lost Generation?

Universities in Canada altered considerably with 'changing times and changing mission' during the 1980s and 1990s (Levin, Perkins, and Clowes, 1992). Have we come to 'the end of the Ivory Tower'? (Wachman, 1994).¹⁰ Faced with governments' financial restraints since the 1970s, universities in Canada responded in various ways. Their strategies created tensions and conflicts, segmenting the faculty into groups with conflicting interests. Political pressures, manifested in a discourse over 'tenure' and 'control over curriculum,' threatened to strip away full-timers' hard-won rights of academic freedom. Administrators had two choices: either cut salaries and hire cheaper teaching resources to handle enrolment bulges, or retrench tenured faculty (Hardy, 1992).¹¹ Full-time faculty's efforts to preserve academic freedom and curricular control led to the emergence and accommodation of part-timers with no full-time jobs elsewhere ('Contemporaries')¹² and full-timers' assumption of a managerial role vis-à-vis part-timers.

Robert Bellah¹³ describes the push of the market forces: 'The tyranny of the bottom line drives academic decisions in several ways. When the university is seen simply as a part of the economy then ... pressures for market efficiency set in ... In academy, downsizing takes a subtle form. It is difficult to cut the number of instructors, since a certain number of classes must be taught ... Many more institutions, however, have reduced the percentage of faculty who are tenured or on the tenure-track, and increased the number of part-time and temporary instructors, at considerable savings in their salaries' (1999: 19). The dramatic increase in the numbers of 'temporary adjuncts' that started in the mid-1970s has changed academe. A tenured, full-time faculty member

of a major university writes about how universities began creating contract appointments (although these are not part time) instead of regular tenure-track faculty appointments:¹⁴ 'More than 15 years ago, in order to take advantage of an oversupplied academic job market, the university underhandedly created a new job category, the exploitive nature of which it tried to cover up by giving it the prestigious British title of TUTOR. So, the university placed a number of individuals, whose superior capacities it had recognized, in a position to have their heads cut off whenever it would deem convenient. Why is this so unethical? Simply because it is clear to any honest person that these terminated individuals, generally in their 50s, stand almost no chance of continuing to practice their profession with dignity, largely because of the very conditions of employment under which they have served this institution' (UTFA, 1991: 12).

A Continuing Crisis?

The analysis of part-timers in this book rests on data that I collected in 1991–2, but the findings are as relevant today as they were then. The continuing trends of cutbacks, increasing corporatization of universities, and growing labour strife on campuses show that conditions have not changed for the better. The surplus value that part-timers create is critical to the stability of universities and allows them to operate with reduced resources. Statistics Canada's (2000a) recent report on the increased hiring of part-timers, shrinking full-time faculty positions, and diminishing public funding reveals the continuation of the situation of 1991–2. The 'temps,' as part-timers are known, continue to work and live under the conditions that unfold in the following chapters and have been too marginalized for their situation to get any worse. The following comment from a part-timer today tells us that conditions for part-time faculty in Canadian universities have not changed much since 1991–2, the year I surveyed part-timers: 'My advice to other part-time instructors in Canada is to take the bull by the horns and organize now ... the difference between the treatment of contract faculty and that of the regular faculty has reached absurd and scandalous proportions' (Thomas Hood, quoted in *CAUT Bulletin*, March 2000: 1).¹⁵ Part-timers' conditions and relationship with university administrations seem to have worsened, if we judge by the increasing number of strikes. In fact, in a recent preliminary report from Statistics Canada it is noted that part-timers' numbers have increased and their workloads