

CONTINGENT FACULTY EMPLOYMENT IN SOCIOLOGY

**A Report by the
ASA Task Force on Contingent Faculty Employment
January 2019**

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The American Sociological Association Task Force on Contingent Faculty was appointed to address the ongoing shift in academia toward contingent faculty employment. According to the GAO, between 1995 and 2011, full-time tenure-track positions fell from 42% to 28% of all instructional positions in the United States. And according to 2015 data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, part-time and full-time non-tenure track faculty comprise 61% of instructional positions at four-year institutions, 84% at two-year institutions, and over 99% at for-profit institutions. This has profound implications for faculty working conditions, career prospects for graduate students, undergraduate education, academic freedom, and the governance of institutions of higher education. This report details the changing employment structure and the ways in which it affects faculty members, students, and the character of higher education.

The report espouses a series of fundamental principles to which all parties involved in this ecosystem should commit as well as some tangible, realistic recommendations for implementation. Our fundamental goal is to promote maximum feasible equity for contingent faculty. Operationalizing this goal may be difficult, and what constitutes equality may be subject to discussion, but there should be a consensus that treatment in the academic workplace should not depend on whether a faculty member is full-time or part-time, tenure-track or non-tenure-track.

Among the many proposed approaches for reaching our fundamental goal that are described in detail in this report are: Pay should be proportional to work done; equal pay for equal work. Institutions of higher education should provide benefits to contingent faculty proportionate to their workloads. Employment offers should be provided well in advance of starting dates. Contingent faculty should be provided as much short- and long-term job security as possible. All faculty should be eligible for academic awards and professional development support and should be included in intellectual and social events. All faculty should be included in governance. And academic freedom should be protected for all faculty. The report also articulates some recommendations for the American Sociological Association that are designed to ensure recognition of the problem of contingency in the discipline and inclusion of contingent faculty in the discipline and the association.

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INTRODUCTION

Over the last half century, the character of faculty employment has changed considerably, to the point that it is no longer a stable, middle-class career for many academics. In short, neoliberalism has come to higher education.

Louis Esparza introduced a resolution at the ASA Business Meeting in August 2015, proposing that the ASA should take some action in support of contingent faculty. The motion carried and ASA Council decided to form a task force in November of that year. Then-ASA President Ruth Milkman recommended appointees to ASA Council, who were appointed in February 2016 by ASA Council to “explore the dynamics and implications of the recent growth of contingent employment among sociologists in the context of the broader structural transformations now underway in U.S. universities and in comparison to other disciplines” (ASA 2016). Six of the twelve members are currently employed as non-tenure-track faculty and two are doctoral students preparing to enter the academic labor force. The Task Force also includes a department chair at a community college and a dean at a four-year university.¹

ASA draws its membership primarily from PhD granting institutions and four-year colleges. Yet, most US faculty are now employed on a contingent basis and more than a third of college enrollments are at two-year institutions (Curtis 2014: 1,7). This gap creates a challenge for the ASA’s mission as “the national organization for sociologists” (ASA 2009). Pay, job security, and inclusion in governance are all inferior for non-tenure-track faculty, particularly so for part-time faculty members.

A 2004 ASA report called for monitoring to “determine if there are increases in the share of supplementary faculty and the percent of courses that they teach” (Spalter-Roth and Erskine 2004). This 2019 report shows that there have been substantial increases, attempts to explain how and why this transformation took place, documents the current employment conditions of contingent faculty, and offers recommendations to the ASA as well as recommended practices for administrators, department chairs, full-time tenure-system faculty members, and faculty unions in regard to contingent faculty.

¹ See Appendix B for an annotated list of members. Six members are women and six are men. Three members come from ethnic or racial minority groups.

THE CONTEXT OF CONTINGENCY

Introduction

Tenure system faculty are now a privileged minority in American higher education. As Figure 1 shows, between 1995 and 2011, full time tenure track positions fell from 42% to 28% of all instructional positions in the United States (GAO 2017: 15, n32). This dramatic drop reflects a substantial rise in contingent faculty, both part- and full-time.²

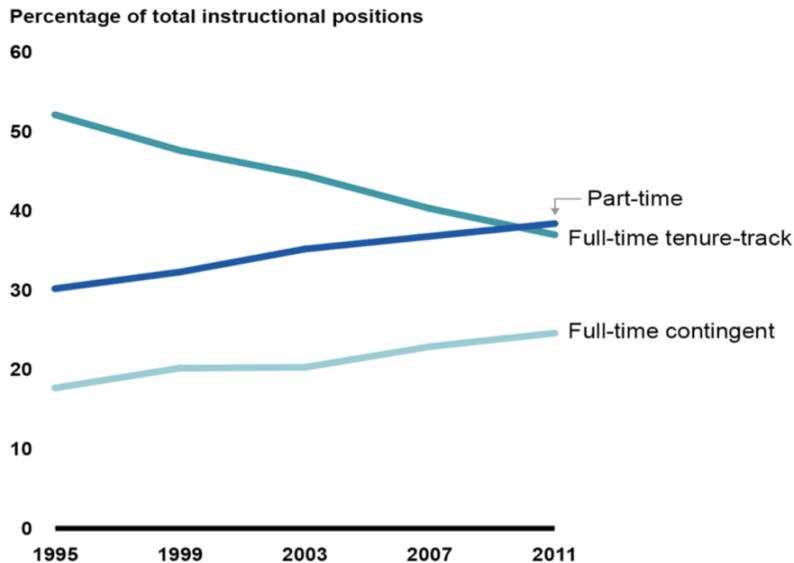
As Figures 2 and 3 show, contingent faculty are the majority of instructional personnel in both public and private institutions (GAO 2017: 15). In 2015, at for-profit institutions, 99.7% of faculty positions were contingent; at two-year institutions, 83.5% were contingent. Even at four-year institutions, contingent faculty positions were the majority, at 61.4%.³ There is substantial variation within these categories, however. In 2013, for example, contingent faculty were 68% of all faculty at the University of Washington, Seattle; while at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, the figure was only 21% (Hurlburt & McGarrah 2016: 14).

These data suggest the urgent need to analyze the working conditions of full- and part-time contingent faculty members and the academic context around them in comparison to those of full-time tenure-system faculty members.

² Note from the GAO: “We define positions for full-time, non-tenure-track faculty with multi-year contracts at institutions that do not offer tenure to be “potentially pseudo-tenure” positions. These may represent long-term renewable contracts that can only be terminated for adequate cause, such as gross professional misconduct. An institution may use these contracts instead of a tenure system, though how similar they are to tenured positions depends on specific contract provisions and other factors. Full-time, non-tenure-track faculty with multi-year contracts at institutions that do offer tenure are included elsewhere in the figure.” (GAO 2017: 17).

³ GAO 2017: 10. These data include faculty who teach at multiple institutions, which means there are more positions than there are contingent faculty members.

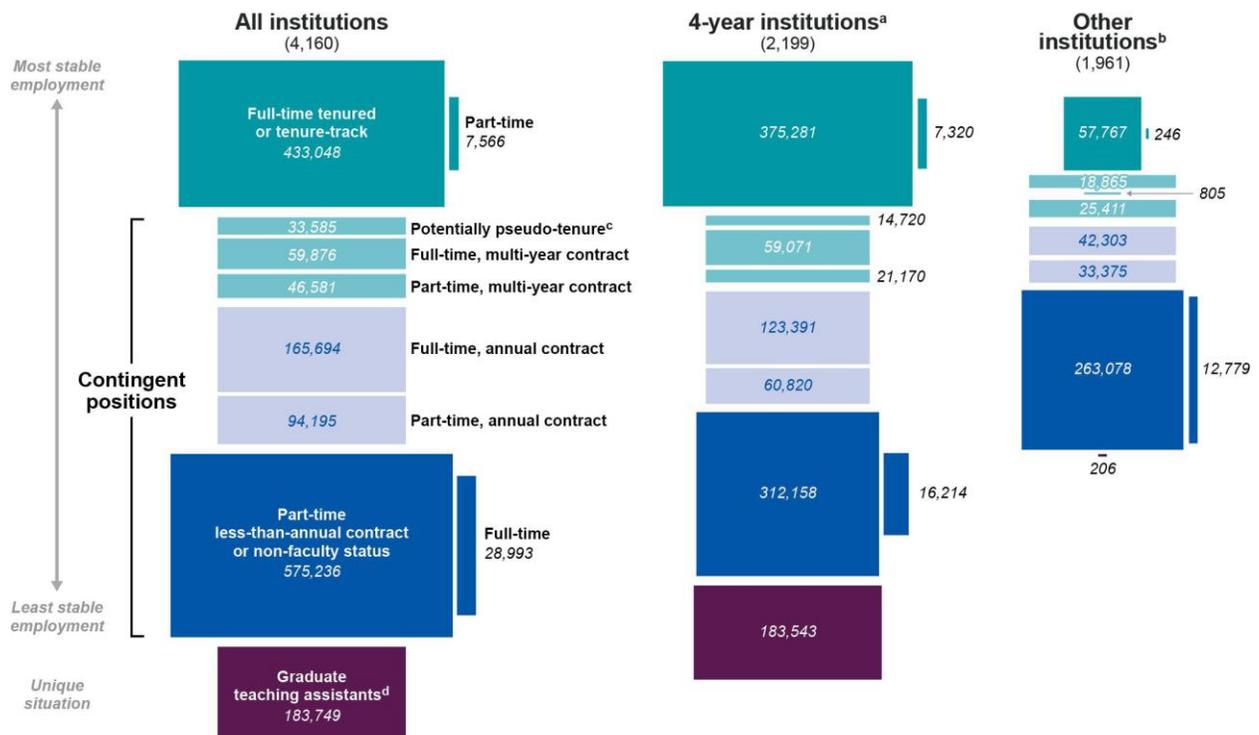
Figure 1: Growth in the Share of Instructional Positions Filled by Contingent Faculty at U.S. 4-Year Institutions, 1995 – 2011



Source: GAO analysis of data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), 1995-2011. | GAO-18-49

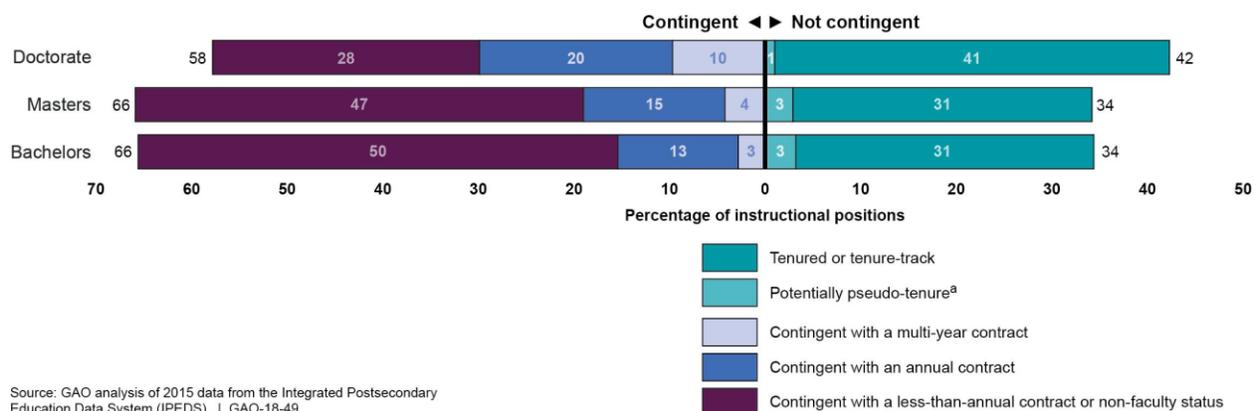
Note: The IPEDS data we use to analyze faculty populations from 1995 to 2011 do not differentiate part-time tenure-track faculty from part-time contingent faculty.

Figure 2: U.S. Postsecondary Instructional Positions by Level of Employment Stability, 2015



Source: GAO analysis of 2015 data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS). | GAO-18-49

Figure 3: Percent of Instructional Positions at 4-Year Institutions by Highest Degree Offered Nationwide, 2015



Source: GAO analysis of 2015 data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS). | GAO-18-49

Budgetary Pressures

Significant changes in public support for higher education have driven these trends. Although there has been an overall absolute increase in spending on public higher education in recent years, enrollments have also grown, so that state spending per student fell 26% from 1991 to 2010 (Quintero 2012).⁴ Such changes have taken place in every state, although there is considerable variation. As of 2016, state spending per student remained below pre-recession levels in 46 states. Arizona and Illinois have cut spending per student by more than half since 2008 (Mitchell, Leachman, and Masterson 2016).

Public institutions responded to reductions in state support by increasing tuition and fees. From 1985 to 2016, the average inflation-controlled cost of a year of college at a public institution more than doubled.⁵ Arizona increased tuition by 87% while tuition edged up just 4% in Montana. Public institutions also increased their reliance on contingent faculty, especially part-time instructors. Not only is pay for part-time faculty far less than for their full-time counterparts, but institutions also hire and fire part-time faculty with more flexibility. Public four-year institutions often use the resulting savings to increase expenditures on administration and maintenance (Hurlburt & McGarrah 2016).

When administrators at the University of California increased student fees, the California State Legislature made reciprocal cuts in education spending. The UC administration responded by pursuing partnerships with the private sector. Private industries have profited from these partnerships, but they did not benefit the university. Arts and Humanities departments across the UC system shouldered the resulting fiscal loss, forced to generate more funds with higher teaching loads (Newfield 2016).

⁴ This is measured in funding per FTE, or “full-time equivalent,” controlling for inflation.

⁵ From \$3,571 for the 1985-86 school year (\$7,820 in 2016 dollars), to \$16,757 for the 2015-2016 school year, according to U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics (2018). *Digest of Education Statistics, 2016* (NCES 2017-094), [Table 330.10](#)

Increased reliance on contingent faculty is not limited to public universities. In fact, on average, four-year private institutions rely more heavily on contingent faculty than their public counterparts. In 2015, 47% of instructional positions at these private colleges were part-time contingent, compared to 34% at their public counterparts (GAO 2017: 15, n32).

The New Administrators

Support for the tenure system and for shared university governance has declined among trustees and administrators, who increasingly prioritize performance metrics rather than supporting the traditional intellectual role of academics.⁶ Many university trustees believe that tenure creates “an unacceptably potent buffer against centralized initiatives” and that “[t]enure weakens the relative authority of executives” (Chait 2002:15). This reflects the attitudes of the larger business community from which many trustees are recruited. Eighty-three percent of business executives in a 1998 survey agreed with the statement that “[t]he tenure system is inflexible and limits administrators’ ability to improve schools and departments” (Immerwahr 1999).

Administrators have increasingly adopted a corporate managerial style. Salaries for college presidents and top executive staff have increased faster than inflation. Compensation growth for college presidents and top executives has dramatically outpaced that for all other campus employees. Resources for institutions of higher education have increasingly shifted from instruction to administration (Ginsberg 2011).

Most institutions have increased employment of non-faculty professionals and support staff in recent years, a trend that is especially pronounced at private research universities. Between 1990 and 2012, the ratio of faculty and support staff to administrators and professional staff declined by 40%. While full time faculty positions have fallen, professional staff positions have risen, with student services, admissions, business analytics, and human resources seeing the largest increases (Desrocher and Kirshstein 2014, Hiltonsmith 2015).

The corporate managerial style is also reflected in executive turnover. As of 2008, the average length of employment for a provost was 5.2 years and that of a president, 8.5 years (King & Gomez 2008). Short spans of employment give administrators incentives to pursue short-run accomplishments, putting the values, strengths, and fiscal stability of universities at risk.

Attempts to increase revenue often lead to the employment of more professionals to oversee budgets. For example, the pursuit of private donors may lead to a substantial increase in staff. Administrators have also increased spending on student services and athletic facilities, fearing that if they do not improve their services they may lose students to competing institutions. These additional costs

⁶As Richard Chait puts it, “From the perspective of many trustees and administrators, [tenure] limits management’s capacity to replace marginal performers with demonstrably or potentially better performers” (Chait 2012: 13).

involved often neutralize or even exceed the benefits of budget cuts (Samuels 2009).

Employing contingent faculty is attractive to administrators because of the savings in instructional costs, salaries and benefits.⁷ Short-term and flexible contracts allow managers to hire and fire faculty at will, generating further savings. The oversupply of aspiring academic instructors facilitates this approach. Doctorate-granting institutions produce more graduates than the available tenure-track faculty positions (ASA 2018; Amaya et al 2018), so that new PhDs who choose to stay in academia are often forced into contingent employment.

Relations between Contingent Faculty and Tenure-System Faculty

The character of the remaining full-time tenure-system faculty jobs has also changed. As the share of contingent faculty grows, the influence of tenure-system faculty in institutional governance is eroded, along with respect for academic freedom and the protections it once guaranteed. As tenured faculty retire, administrators often choose to replace them with contingent labor. Moreover, an increase in contingent faculty can change the traditional relationship between teaching and research, undermining the conception of the university as a community of scholars and instead turning it into a work center of academic contractors.

At the same time, some tenure system faculty members benefit from the use of contingent faculty (Shumar 1997). The use of contingent faculty is sometimes used for course releases. Summer and Winter sessions are often taught by contingent faculty as well. The savings may be used to support academic journals or other academic pursuits, or to replace cuts to departmental budgets. At more elite institutions, the *de facto* teaching load may even decrease for tenure-system faculty due to the increased use of low-cost contingent faculty. This has resulted in a two- or three-tier faculty system.

On the other hand, insofar as administrators employ contingent faculty for economic reasons, improving contingent faculty pay and conditions could help stem the explosive growth of such positions. Similarly, including contingent faculty in shared governance may help to unite the faculty as a whole. Such steps could provide a stopgap against deteriorating conditions for all faculty.

In recent years, faculty union organizing activity has risen on many campuses, especially among adjuncts (Atkins et al. 2018). However, whether contingent faculty are best served by unions that represent them alone, or by organizations that include all faculty (as well as professional staff in some cases), remains a point of debate.⁸ Examples of inclusive unionism at public university systems in Massachusetts, Illinois, and California offer one possible model of joint efforts by tenure system

⁷ Ibid. Tables 34, 35. 19.2% of part-time faculty respondents had access to academic employer contributions to health benefits (16% in private sector and 23.4% in public sector); 35.3% of part-time faculty respondents had access to academic employer contributions to retirement benefits (20.6 in private sector and 46.9% in public sector)

⁸ For a debate on the best union strategy for contingent faculty see Ivan Greenberg (arguing for separate unions for contingent faculty) versus Eve S. Weinbaum and Max Page (arguing that contingent faculty are better off within unions that also represent tenure-system faculty), *New Labor Forum* vol. 23, no. 1, Jan/Feb 2014, pp. 11-20.

and contingent faculty. In these states, full-time faculty successfully supported increased pay, job security, and inclusion in governance for part-time faculty, an accomplishment that could help to reverse the growing reliance on part-time instructors.

The Educational Experience of Undergraduates

What does the growth of contingent faculty mean for the educational experience of undergraduates? Here are some of the key, sometimes contradictory, findings in the literature:

- Faculty interaction with students has “long been shown to improve the quality of students’ learning and their education experiences” (Kezar & Maxey 2014: 30).⁹ Yet, part-time employment makes faculty less available to students outside of the classroom.
- Higher rates of contingent faculty membership reduce graduation rates at four-year colleges. Students at public institutions are especially affected (Ehrenberg & Zhang 2004).
- The use of part-time faculty reduces graduation rates at community colleges (Jacoby 2006).
- First-year students taught by contingent faculty are less likely to return the following year, except at doctoral-granting institutions, where students are more likely to return. Jaeger & Eagan attribute this contradictory finding to doctoral-granting university administrators’ recognition of (a) the important role of part-time faculty, (b) the challenges part-time faculty faced, and (c) a link between support for part-time faculty and student retention (Jaeger & Eagan 2011).
- Contingent faculty are often subject to “just-in-time” hiring and limited pedagogical support. Contingent faculty themselves tend to compensate for this with “extraordinary effort, personal resources and professional dedication.” Yet administrators could improve these conditions without much cost or loss of flexibility (Street et al 2012).
- At the College of Social Sciences and Public Affairs at Boise State University, research suggested that full-time faculty were neither viewed by students as better teachers nor as “harder graders” than part-time faculty (Landrum 2010).
- At Florida Atlantic University, contingent faculty had no effect on the educational outcomes of students (Ronco & Cahil 2006).
- At Northwestern, first-year students reported that they learned more from contingent than from tenure-system faculty members (Figlio et al 2015).

These studies illustrate considerable variation. The impact of contingent faculty growth on the educational experience of undergraduates may be better understood as research on the topic continues.

Tenure & Academic Freedom

Academic freedom has been weakened as the proportion of tenure-system faculty has declined. As

⁹ For similar but earlier argument, widely cited, see also Ernst Benjamin (2002).

the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) recently noted:

Because faculty tenure is the only secure protection for academic freedom in teaching, research, and service, the declining percentage of tenured faculty means that academic freedom is increasingly at risk. Academic freedom is a fundamental characteristic of higher education, necessary to preserve an independent forum for free inquiry and expression, and essential to the mission of higher education to serve the common good (AAUP 2016a).

Many contingent faculty members have raised concerns that the “fear of dismissal for unpopular utterances” will dampen the free inquiry that faculty and students engage in (AAUP 2016b). As one commentator puts it, “There is no academic freedom without job security” (Smith 2015:28). This highlights the vulnerability of contingent faculty, who “are at risk for non-reappointment on the basis of a single complaint from a student or anyone else” (Smith 2015:28).

CURRENT CONDITIONS FOR CONTINGENT FACULTY

This section details the effects of the trends described in the preceding section on the experience of contingent faculty, how that experience impacts student learning and outcomes, and how it impacts the academic culture.

Conditions for contingent faculty differ substantially from those for tenure-system faculty in a wide range of areas, including but not limited to pay, benefits, job security, advancement, working conditions, and governance. There is also substantial variation among contingent faculty in regard to length of employment, full- or part-time status, and long-term professional aspirations. A sub-set of contingent faculty (46% of them, according to Current Population Survey estimates (GAO 2017); see also Curtis et al 2016) choose voluntarily to work part-time. Thousands of other faculty, however, are teaching on a per-course basis as their sole or primary way of earning a living. They seek full-time employment and struggle (often unsuccessfully) to earn a minimally satisfactory living; they do not do so by choice.

The Coalition on the Academic Workforce’s 2010 survey (CAW 2012) received 20,920 responses from contingent faculty in institutions of higher education. Although the sample was not statistically representative, its findings are of considerable interest. Among them:

- The median pay per course, standardized to a three-credit course, was \$2,700 in fall 2010, averaging \$2,235 at two-year colleges and \$3,400 at four-year doctoral or research universities. While compensation levels varied by type of institution, part-time faculty respondents reported low pay per course across all institutional categories.
- Part-time faculty respondents reported little, if any, wage premium based on their credentials. Their compensation lags behind professionals with similar credentials, and few experienced any type of career ladder (i.e. higher pay after several years of work).
- Professional support for part-time faculty members’ work outside the classroom and inclusion in academic decision making was minimal.

- Part-time teaching is not necessarily temporary employment, and those teaching part-time do not necessarily prefer a part-time to a full-time position. Over 80% of respondents reported teaching part-time for more than three years, and over half for more than six years.
- Over three-quarters of respondents indicated that they have sought, are now seeking, or will be seeking a full-time tenure-track position, and nearly three-quarters indicated they would “definitely” or “probably” accept a full-time tenure-track position at the institution at which they were currently teaching, if such a position were offered.
- Course loads varied significantly among respondents. Slightly more than half taught one course or two courses during the fall 2010 term; the rest taught three or more courses.

The rest of this section summarizes additional research on how these conditions are experienced.

Faculty Pay

Overall, part-time faculty respondents report low compensation rates across all institutional categories. Toutkoushian and Bellas (2003) found that part-time faculty earn approximately 60% less than comparable full-time faculty in institutional salary when expressed on an hourly basis.

The AAUP reported (2018) that the average full-time lecturer made \$56,712 during the 2017-2018 school year. At the high end, the average salary for full-time lecturers at private doctoral universities was \$75,667, while it was \$51,724 at two-year colleges. By contrast, the average salary of assistant professors in the same AAUP survey was \$87,043.

Benefits

Benefits are a particular problem for part-time faculty. The CAW survey (2012) found that only 22% of contingent faculty respondents had access to health insurance coverage through their academic employer. The American Federation of Teachers offered similar findings in a 2010 survey, which found that 28% of part-time faculty had health coverage through their academic employment. “Health insurance benefits appear to be linked with course load,” the latter survey found. “Just 11 percent of those who teach only one course receive employer health benefits, while 26 percent of those who teach two courses and 39 percent who teach three courses or more receive benefits” (AFT 2010: 14).

Gappa and Leslie (1993) found that institutions often do not rehire part-time faculty members because they become eligible for benefits after having worked for the institution for a long and/or continuous period of time. For those eligible for benefits, their institutions often did not make eligibility information available to them, presumably to discourage them from applying. Additionally, the American Federation of Teachers has collected news stories that suggest many colleges and universities may intentionally be limiting the number of courses part-time faculty teach; if part-time faculty work less than 30 hours, then the employing institution is not obligated under the Affordable Care Act to offer them healthcare benefits (AFT 2018).

Benefits are more common for full-time contingent faculty members than for their part-time counterparts. According to the GAO, 78.8% of full-time contingent faculty members in public institutions in Georgia and 88% of full-time contingent faculty members in public institutions in North Dakota have health insurance (GAO 2017: 39).

Job security

Hiring practices vary widely across universities in regard to contingent faculty. On the whole, however, contingent faculty members are subject to hiring standards that are far more casual than those used for tenure-system faculty recruitment, contributing to de-professionalization. Research shows that contingent faculty positions are often filled informally, as noted by an AAUP report (2014):

Appointments of full-time tenure-track faculty typically follow rigorous national searches, which include a review of the candidate's scholarly record, an assessment of teaching potential, and consideration of other attributes by faculty in the department offering the appointment. Contingent faculty, by contrast, are often appointed in hurried circumstances. Department chairs select likely candidates from a local list, reviewing their curricula vitae and perhaps their past student evaluations (p. 174).

Similarly, among contingent faculty at a public research university, researchers found that only 59 percent of respondents were asked to submit references when they applied, and only 50 percent reported being interviewed (Allison et al 2014). Multiple studies have found that last minute hiring is common for contingent faculty, especially for part-time positions (Hollenshead et al 2007; Cross and Goldenberg, 2009). Research also suggests that these positions are often filled by people that chairs or administrators already know (Gappa and Leslie 1993; Allison et al 2014).

Kezar, Maxey, and Badke (2013) argue that these hiring practices could render institutions in violation of fair employment practices and affirmative action.¹⁰ Although contingent positions are treated as temporary, frequently that is not the case in practice. As noted above, the CAW survey found that over 80% of respondents reported teaching part-time for more than three years, 55% for more than six years, and over 30% for 10 years or more. Similarly, Lundquist and Misra (2015) found that most contingent faculty are mid-career - contrary to the common assumption that early-career academics dominate this sector.

Although contingent faculty in all categories often remain at an institution for many years, the vast majority have little or no job security. Researchers have found that most contingent positions in the United States and across all types of institutions are one year or less (Hurlburt and McGarrah, 2016). This is less often the case at the top end of the academic hierarchy. For example, a majority of the non-tenure-track faculty at Berkeley have been employed more than three years (with a third there

¹⁰ See also Hollenshead et al 2007 and Kezar and Sam 2010.

more than six years), and “short notice is not as frequent at Berkeley as at other institutions of higher education.” Even at Berkeley, however, “only 18% had an on-going appointment, a further 9.9% were notified a year in advance, while 20.2% had a semester’s notice. Over half, 51.9%, had less than a semester’s notice, including 10.8% who were informed about their assignment less than a month ahead” (Burawoy and Johnson-Hanks 2018: 9, 12).

Contracts for contingent faculty are often delayed, typically issued “around the start” of the term. But that may mean multiple weeks after—if a contract is given at all. If issued in advance of the term, contracts are contingent upon enrollment. The enrollment in question may be not only that of the class the part-time faculty member is agreeing to teach but also that of tenured, tenure-track, and other full-time faculty members who must maintain a certain number of credit hours teaching. If one of the courses assigned to full-timers does not achieve sufficient enrollment to be offered, they may “bump” a part-timer in order to maintain a full-course load. Curtis and Jacobe (2006) note that part-time faculty are often hired on short notice, but just as often they are assigned a course well in advance, only to lose the section at the start of the term due either to the course being cancelled for low enrollment or because the course was given to a full-time faculty member. Typically, contracts are not secure for the part-time faculty member until he or she has met once with the class.

The longer a faculty member remains in contingent employment, the less likely are their prospects for career advancement. Schuster and Finkelstein (2006) found that among part-time faculty, approximately 60% of doctorate holders and 83% of master’s degree holders reported that part-time appointments were the only appointments they have held in the professoriate. Other research has found that part-time faculty are often ineligible for promotion or evaluation (Kezar and Sam 2010), unlike tenure-track faculty members.

Contingent Faculty Employment in Sociology

The Task Force reviewed two distinct sources of data that illuminate the situation of academic sociologists in contingent employment. The more comprehensive source is the National Science Foundation’s 2013 *Survey of Doctorate Recipients* (SDR). The second source is internal membership data from the American Sociological Association (ASA), which offer more limited insight, simply because relatively few contingent faculty are ASA members.

Table 1 summarizes the relevant SDR data. The first column compares recent sociology doctorates employed in contingent faculty positions (including both part-time and full-time non-tenure track academic jobs) to full-time tenure-track faculty. The second column shows the same comparison for recent non-sociology doctorates, and the third for recent doctorates in all fields combined.¹¹

¹¹ The SDR samples all individuals who earned a research doctoral degree from a U.S. college or university prior to 30 June 2011, and who as of 1 February 2013 were less than 76 years of age and not terminally ill or institutionalized. There

The results are illuminating. As in most surveys, when asked about job satisfaction, the vast majority responded positively. In this case, when asked “How would you rate your overall satisfaction with the principal job you held during the week of February 1, 2013?” more than three-quarters of faculty respondents to the SDR indicated they were “very satisfied” or “somewhat satisfied.” As one might expect, however, contingent faculty in all fields reported less satisfaction than those employed in full-time tenure track jobs, and the differences were statistically significant. (However, reflecting the small number of sociologists in contingent employment in the sample, the differences in the first column are not statistically significant).

The differences between contingent and non-contingent faculty are far greater in regard to more specific types of satisfaction, like job security and opportunities for advancement. When respondents were asked, “Thinking about your principal job held during the week of February 1, 2013, please rate your satisfaction with that job’s job security,” as Table 1 shows, among sociologists about half of all contingent faculty indicated they were “very satisfied” or “somewhat satisfied” with their job security, differences that were statistically significant from full-time tenure-track faculty – nearly all of whom (96%) were very or somewhat satisfied. Moreover, this disparity among sociologists was much greater than in other fields, although those differences were also strong and significant.

The results were similar when respondents were asked, “Thinking about your principal job held during the week of February 1, 2013, please rate your satisfaction with that job’s opportunities for advancement.” Among full-time tenure-track sociologists, 74 percent were “very satisfied” or “somewhat satisfied” with their opportunities for advancement, but for full-time non-tenure track sociologists the figure was 49 percent, and among part-time non-tenure track faculty, 21 percent. All these differences are statistically significant. As with job security, the disparities between contingent and non-contingent sociology faculty are substantially greater than for faculty in other fields.

The SDR also collected salary data. Table 1 shows that sociologists’ median annual salaries as reported to the SDR are substantially lower than in other fields, which is not surprising.¹² More pertinent to this report, these data reveal vast disparities between full-time tenure-track sociologists and the two contingent categories, differences that are all statistically significant. Most alarming is that part-time non-tenure-track sociologists’ median annual earnings were only \$10,000 in 2013, compared to (a still very low) \$25,000 for those in other fields. Full-time non-tenure-track sociologists fared far better, however, with median salaries much closer to those of full-time non-

were 30,696 completed cases in the 2013 SDR, but 18,405 of them did not report post-secondary teaching as their principal job. We also excluded the part-time tenure-track respondents (as there were only 243 in the entire sample) from the analysis summarized in Table 1. A total of 12,048 observations remained in the sample. For further details see: https://ncesdata.nsf.gov/doctoratework/2013/sdr_2013_tech_notes.pdf

¹² The salary question reads: “As of the week of February 1, 2013, what was your *basic annual salary* on your principal job, before deductions? Do *not* include bonuses, overtime, or additional compensation for summertime teaching or research. If you are not salaried, please estimate your earned income, excluding business expenses.” In light of this definition of salary, and the fact that the data in Table 1 are medians rather than means, the disparities in the table are likely to be considerably understated.

tenure track faculty in other fields.

Similar disparities, as one might expect, exist in regard to health and pension benefits. Among SDR respondents, health benefits were offered almost as often to full-time non-tenure track faculty as to full-time tenure-track faculty (for sociologists, 97% and 99% respectively; this difference was not statistically significant.). However, only 24 percent of part-time non-tenure track sociologists, and only 41 percent of part-time non-tenure track faculty in other fields, were offered health benefits by their employers. The situation is similar for pension/retirement benefits, except that the percentage of full-time non-tenure track faculty who were not offered any type of pension or retirement plan was larger than for health benefits.¹³

Table 1: Contingent Employment for Sociology and Non-Sociology Faculty, 2013.

JOB SATISFACTION (percent who are “very satisfied or somewhat satisfied”)

	Sociology Faculty	Non-Sociology Faculty	Faculty - All Fields
Full-time tenure-track	92%	93%	93%
Full-time contingent	89%	88%***	88%***
Part-time contingent	76%	86%***	86%***

JOB SECURITY (percent who are “very satisfied or somewhat satisfied”)

	Sociology Faculty	Non-Sociology Faculty	Faculty - All Fields
Full-time tenure-track	96%	93%	93%
Full-time contingent	47%***	66%***	66%***
Part-time contingent	50%***	63%***	62%***

ADVANCEMENT OPPORTUNITIES (percent who are “very satisfied or somewhat satisfied”)

	Sociology Faculty	Non-Sociology Faculty	Faculty - All Fields
Full-time tenure-track	74%	79%	79%
Full-time contingent	49%**	58%***	58%***
Part-time contingent	21%***	52%***	51%***

MEDIAN ANNUAL SALARY

	Sociology Faculty	Non-Sociology Faculty	Faculty - All Fields
Full-time tenure-track	\$74,900	\$92,000	\$91,300
Full-time contingent	\$57,000***	\$65,000***	\$65,000***
Part-time contingent	\$10,000***	\$25,000***	\$25,000***

¹³ The question reads: “Concerning your principal job during the week of February 1, 2013, were any of the following benefits available to you, even if you chose not to take them? 1. Health insurance that was at least partially paid by your employer. 2. A pension plan or a retirement plan to which your employer contributed.”

EMPLOYER-PROVIDED HEALTH BENEFITS

	Sociology Faculty	Non-Sociology Faculty	Faculty - All Fields
Full-time tenure-track	99%	99%	99%
Full-time contingent	97%	95%***	95%***
Part-time contingent	24%***	41%***	40%***

EMPLOYER-PROVIDED PENSION OR RETIREMENT PLAN

	Sociology Faculty	Non-Sociology Faculty	Faculty - All Fields
Full-time tenure-track	99%	98%	99%
Full-time contingent	84%***	84%***	84%***
Part-time contingent	26%***	47%***	47%***

Source: 2013 Data from the National Science Foundation’s *Survey of Doctorate Recipients*.

For Sociology Faculty: N=256 for full-time tenure track; N=40 for full-time non-tenure track; N=24 for Part-time non-tenure track; for Faculty - All Fields: N=7052 for full-time tenure-track; N=4119 for full-time non-tenure-track; N=877 for part-time non-tenure track

Statistically significant differences from full-time tenure-track faculty are indicated as follows: * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001. Statistical significance was evaluated using t-tests of corresponding OLS (for salary) or logistic regression (for other variables); regression coefficients with Bonferroni adjustment were used to account for multiple comparisons among the three faculty appointment types.

The Task Force thanks Kwan Woo Kim, Harvard University, and Natalia Sarkisian, Boston College, for assistance with the data analysis.

The second data source the Task Force explored was ASA membership data maintained by the Association’s staff. Among 4583 ASA members in 2017 who reported that they were employed in academic jobs, 89 percent held full-time, tenure-track positions. Only 3 percent of these members were employed in full-time non-tenure track (e.g. lecturer) positions, and 7 percent were in part-time positions.¹⁴

Women were slightly overrepresented among members who reported holding part-time academic positions, accounting for 59 percent of that group. Among those reporting full-time tenure-track positions, 53 percent were female, and among those in full-time non-tenure-track positions, 55 percent were female.

There were no salient differences by race in these data, except that whites were slightly overrepresented in part-time positions. Whites made up 71 percent of ASA members reporting full-time tenure-track positions, and the same share (71%) of those reporting full-time non-tenure track positions, while among those reporting part-time positions, 75 percent were white.

Not surprisingly, there are also age differences, reflecting the recent growth of contingent academic

¹⁴This excludes student members, retired and unemployed members, and members employed in non-academic settings. And of course, sociologists who are not ASA members are not included here – a group that probably includes the bulk of contingent faculty in the field.

employment. Among ASA members 35 years old or less, 82 percent reported having full-time tenure-track jobs, for those 36 years old or more, the figure was 90 percent.

In 2018, only 3.5% of the ASA's 5,076 members employed in academic jobs were at two-year institutions. Sixty-four percent of them reported having full-time tenure-track positions; by comparison among ASA members at four-year institutions, the vast majority (91%) were in full-time tenure-track positions.

Working Conditions

Contingent faculty are not given the resources, materials, or space needed to create classroom environments that would most benefit students (Hurlburt and McGarrah 2016, AAUP 2014, Eagan & Jaeger 2008). This is especially true for part-time faculty. The New Faculty Majority (NFM) reported that contingent faculty:

...are given, at best, inadequate access to sample course syllabi, curriculum guidelines, library resources, clerical support, and the like. They often have only limited, if any, access to personal offices, telephones, computers and associated software, and technological tools and training. (Street et al 2012: 1)

In one study, 21 percent of contingent faculty respondents reported never having office space (Street et al 2012). When available, office space is often shared with many colleagues with little or no private time available to confer with students. The literature suggests that access to computers and photocopying may be more restricted than for tenure-system faculty. Funds for professional development are either not made available or are actively denied. A George Mason University study found that "most GMU contingent faculty report that they are using their own out-of-class resources, such as their own computer (77 percent), phone (73 percent), printer (64 percent), and office space (56 percent). Additionally, they must absorb the provisional and repair costs for these resources themselves" (Allison et al 2014).

Living with Precarity

Poorly paid workers with unstable work contracts frequently experience financial crises, and contingent faculty members are no exception. Contingent faculty often accept more courses than they should reasonably teach in order to pay bills and/or because one or more promised courses may be cancelled with little notice. Faculty employed in contingent positions often seek additional part-time work and some even sell their blood (Committee on Education and the Work Force, 2014). While most try to stay up to date in their fields, journal subscriptions, membership in professional associations, and meeting attendance often become untenable.

Misfortunes that are more easily absorbed by those with an adequate income can grow into crises:

Child care— "If I had to pay for day care, I'd just sit them in my class."

Transportation— “I had a major crisis last fall when I had an accident. [. . .] [M]y car was already 7 or 8 years old, so the insurance company wasn’t exactly going to give me a lot. [. . .] Shopping for a new car was traumatic because I hadn’t realized how much prices had gone up... I was torn between getting a cheap used car [which meant] unexpected bills...or shell[ing] out the money for a new car [...] I could count on.”

Groceries— “We had to be careful about buying meat, we ate a lot of mac and cheese, and we ate a lot of ramen noodles; kind of like college kids do.”

Housing— “Last semester I was supposed to teach four classes and I ended up teaching three, which meant half my biweekly paycheck after taxes was \$660—just over what I pay in rent.”

(Service Employees International Union, n.d.: 10-13)

Stress

Low pay, minimal or no benefits, uncertain employment, and professional invisibility often create stress. In 2014, a pioneering study of the psychological experiences of contingent faculty found them at high risk for anxiety, depression, and stress (Reevy and Deason 2014). These risks depend significantly on whether or not the faculty member is part-time by choice: those preferring a full-time position but forced into part-time work are most at risk (Curtis et al 2016).

Comparing their circumstances to those of their tenure-system peers who receive more respect, and considerably more pay, contingent faculty may experience stress, self-blame, and a sense of lost possibilities – a classic case of relative deprivation for contingent faculty members who have done what they were supposed to do – “get an education, lots of education” (Feldman and Turnley 2004).

One source of stress is being asked to teach a course on short notice, an experience two-thirds of contingent faculty have reported (Street et al 2012, see also Committee on Education and the Work Force 2014). Having to do the work of organizing a course for a full term in a matter of days or even hours may leave the instructor feeling permanently disoriented. Having to play catch-up contributes to a sense of dissatisfaction and lowers self-esteem. This may also affect the overall atmosphere of the classroom.

Last minute hiring creates planning errors. Topics to be discussed in class may not be scheduled correctly and grading periods may be inadequate. It is not possible to become familiar with all of the various policies and resources of the institution if one is hired at the eleventh hour. It is also impossible to place book orders in a timely fashion so that students can successfully complete the course. Syllabus adjustments become necessary and faculty members may not know the answers to some basic student questions (e.g., is Hanukkah an excused absence? Can I take my final exam during study days? How do I get a note-taker for this course?). Job stress may have an effect on the part-time faculty member’s health—a problem made worse if the faculty member has no health insurance.

Because part-time faculty members are often not provided with a quiet space in which to grade or

prepare for classes, many are forced to maintain an office in their homes. Those who teach at more than one institution may even make an office out of their car.

Such conditions elevate the baseline stress of contingent faculty well above the high levels that many faculty members of all types experience. After all, faculty members are not only teachers but also consumers, tenants or mortgage holders or roommates, family members, friends, and citizens. The successful fulfillment of these other roles is made difficult by the low salary, absence of benefits, and heavy, insufficiently recognized workloads.

Invisibility

Contingent faculty often report feeling invisible. Tenure-system professors do not always include contingent faculty members in social events, meetings, research “brown bags,” or even newsletters and bulletin boards. At many departments, some full-time faculty do not know the part-time faculty at all. As one commentator elaborated:

Temporary laborers are made invisible within the university caste system by disappearing as “professional failures” according to the ideals of meritocracy that these same temporary laborers inculcate within their students. Performances of professionalism subtly demand that tenure-track faculty forget the structural conditions in which these temporary laborers work and naturalize success and failure as a matter of personal merit (Church 1999: 251).

Invisibility may have deleterious effects on morale and self-esteem for contingent faculty. Material disadvantages in pay, benefits, and working conditions are further aggravated by this kind of exclusion from departmental life.

Yet, inclusion of a selective form does not necessarily benefit the contingent faculty. A survey by Allison et al (2014) found that 60 percent of contingent faculty respondents had been contacted by their university to contribute to fundraising campaigns. And some departments ask contingent faculty to report their scholarly achievements so that they can be included on materials about faculty productivity. When contingent faculty are approached in this manner, they may feel that they are visible only when the institution seeks something from them.

In a model institution-specific study, Burawoy and Johnson-Hanks (2018) report, based on a comprehensive survey of non-tenure-system faculty, that UC Berkeley has unusually good conditions for contingent faculty: per course pay of over \$8,500, full benefits for instructors who teach three or more courses per year, and continuous contracts for those employed more than six years. Nonetheless, “On a more subjective side, lecturers felt they were regarded by ladder faculty (a) as a respected member of the department (21.2%), (b) as just another colleague (22.5%), (c) as a colleague with lower status (47.4%), and (d) as though I were invisible (9%)” (Burawoy and Johnson-Hanks 2018:18).

Much of the work performed by contingent faculty is not compensated, often undertaken in the hopes of increasing their job security; such uncompensated work, and decisions about what such work to

take on, creates further stress. Gappa and Leslie (1993) found that part time faculty who participate in service work are rarely compensated, except when required by collective bargaining agreements. Allison et al (2014) also found accounts of uncompensated work to be commonplace. University contracts sometimes acknowledge only work that happens in the classroom during appointed class hours, or what has been called “just-in-classroom” employment. The work to be done is to teach a particular class, meeting at particular times. Contracts rarely acknowledge syllabus writing, course preparation, student advising, and grading (Street et al 2012). This problem was analyzed in detail in George Van Arsdale’s classic 1978 *American Sociologist* article, “De-Professionalizing a Part-Time Teaching Faculty”—an article as relevant today as forty years ago, except that now there are so many more part-time faculty.

Another form of invisibility involves “institutional neglect,” in which contingent faculty “are disconnected from the community of learners; they lack sovereignty as a ‘collectivity’ over the educational process; they are alienated from academic decision making and from the collegial process” (Wyles 1998: 92). The lack of formal procedures for contingent work leads to this type of organizational invisibility. Ramsey (2019) writes about an opening convocation that recognized “all the ‘faculty’” that were new that year – but that meant only the new tenure-system faculty. The event was followed by a dinner for all the newly tenured faculty; contingent faculty were entirely invisible and ignored. Such institutional neglect, like other forms of invisibility, increases the opportunity for exploitation of contingent faculty members.

Governance

Contingent faculty are less integrated into faculty governance structures than tenure-system faculty. The extent of this exclusion varies among types of contingent faculty, with full-time contingent faculty being significantly more incorporated into governance than their part-time colleagues. Hollenshead et al (2007) found that part-time faculty are consistently excluded from governance at their institutions, while in contrast 78 percent of full-time contingent faculty were able to participate in the academic senate. Where contingent faculty members are allowed to participate in governance, however, Kezar and Sam (2010a) found that they are often given partial or no voting rights. And contingent faculty that do participate in governance are typically not paid for this work. It may be highly impractical for someone with multi-campus employment to participate at each of the campuses where he or she teaches, even if that is permitted.

This type of exclusion may deny curricular committees the experience that contingent faculty bring. The more that campuses rely on contingent faculty, the greater the weakening of faculty governance.

Professional Goals

The consequences of precarity depend significantly on whether or not the part-time faculty member is part-time by choice. As Curtis, Mahabir and Vitullo (2016:271) summarize:

One key finding from studies of the part-time faculty is that they are not a homogeneous group.

Important differences exist between faculty members who prefer part-time work and those who would rather be employed full-time (Antony and Hayden 2011; Maynard and Joseph 2008). This helps explain the divergent descriptions of part-time faculty found across the literature as either desperate “freeway fliers” trying to piece together a living at multiple institutions (McConnel 1993) or content professionals who see their community college position as a satisfying supplement to their other, primary employment (Akroyd & Engle 2014).

Maynard and Joseph (2008) find that part-time faculty who have no interest in full-time academic positions are almost as satisfied with their work as tenured professors. For other part-time faculty, in contrast, contingent employment may be an alienating dead end.

Faculty Dedication and Commitment

An extensive sociological literature shows that low pay and precarious employment lead to less commitment and lower quality work by employees across the labor market. Contingent faculty, however, may be an exception to the rule. As noted above, the literature is mixed concerning the effects of contingent faculty employment on teaching evaluations and student learning. The absence of clear findings, despite the many disadvantages contingent faculty members face, is a testament to the dedication and commitment of many contingent faculty.

Employers often take unfair advantage of this dedication, as was reflected in the debate over what formula should be used to determine whether an employee had worked enough hours to qualify for health care coverage under the Affordable Care Act. In order to limit the number of contingent faculty eligible for health care benefits, some institutions argued for a formula that minimized the time used to prepare for class, grade papers, and perform all other ancillary tasks needed to teach effectively. The formula the federal government adopted specified that all those tasks combined require one hour outside of class for each hour spent in class.

Maria Maisto, Executive Director of the New Faculty Majority, in her congressional testimony on the Affordable Care Act and Faculty noted:

One of the most striking examples of this dehumanizing position is the assertion that faculty do—or should—work only *one hour* outside of class for every hour they are in class, regardless of how many students are in each class. Those who champion this formula know it ensures a “part-time” faculty member can continue to be hired to teach the equivalent of a full-time teaching load without having to be offered health insurance. The formula is predicated on the assumption faculty cannot and should not:

- Spend time meeting with students
- Engage in professional development or prepare classes
- Respond to student work with care

The formula is also predicated on the knowledge many adjuncts will spend that necessary time

on their students anyway, even if it means cheating themselves and their own families, out of concern for professional integrity. These administrative assumptions are irresponsible and exploitative.

As the *Chronicle of Higher Education* reported, some institutions required part-time faculty to track the number of hours they spent in class preparation and grading (Dunn 2013). One Ohio adjunct reported, “I’ve been put in a position twice this semester where I’ve just had to lie about the number of hours I actually worked.” She was putting in so many hours that she qualified for health care benefits, yet she feared that if she reported her actual hours the university would fire her. This professor’s first thought was not to reduce the work she required of students, or her rigor in preparation/grading, but rather to put in extra hours and hide that extra effort from her employer.

This is but one illustration of the fact that the reason that many contingent faculty members accept part-time, precarious positions is because they are passionate about their disciplines. Allison, Lynn and Hoverman (2014) found that the most prevalent answer to the question of why faculty accepted a contingent position, given by 73% of respondents was “I have a passion for my subject area.”

Two part-time professors, retired from careers as full-time professors, gave this explanation:

Even with low pay, there is some reward in status—being “a professor” names who we are in terms of a commitment to knowledge that has been for most of us our life-defining project. The emotional content of this commitment—frequently reported in the words “love teaching”—overwhelms the cognitive attempt to locate oneself in a system of appropriation and devaluation. We do not wish to look pathetic to ourselves. We live in a culture that judges us by how much money we make, and in not accessing that cultural script we are left open to the charge that whatever is happening to us is our own fault. As one reader wrote, responding to an online article about an adjunct not taking a better job (non-academic) because the offer arose in the middle of a semester, “I’m sorry, but if the ‘perfect non-academic job’ becomes available and you don’t take it, you have only yourself to blame” (in Anderson 2013). One is ashamed of one’s poor salary and bad working conditions—one’s part-time self, even as one is proud of one’s teaching, devoted to one’s subject, caring about one’s effect on students—of one’s professional self (Lengermann and Niebrugge 2015:411).

Unionization

The experience of being undervalued takes a toll, and thus contingent faculty have begun looking for organized ways to change their current conditions through unionization. As researchers have documented, universities with collective bargaining agreements are better at defining the eligibility of full-time contingent faculty for benefits than those without collective bargaining agreements (Rhoades and Maitland 2008).

Organizing contingent faculty is a difficult process, and not all unions are structurally or ideologically attuned to the needs of this part of the academic workforce. The U.S. Supreme Court’s 1980 *Yeshiva* decision limits unions’ ability to exercise power in higher education by removing all

legal protection for full-time tenured faculty seeking to form a union at a private college or university (public employees are covered by different laws and thus not affected by this decision). At private colleges and universities, then, union organizing is de facto restricted to contingent faculty only, and often only to part-time faculty. In some cases that leads to a weak negotiating position, and that can have ripple effects elsewhere since employers may use ineffective unions to attack all unions. For instance, in a letter to part-time faculty who were considering unionizing, La Verne University argued that its non-union adjuncts had received larger pay increases than unionized adjuncts at George Washington University, while benefiting from not having to pay union dues (Dunn 2014).

But in many contexts, unions have seen success. At the University of Massachusetts Amherst, where all faculty and librarians are represented by the Massachusetts Teachers Association, contingent faculty have won significant gains. Under the latest contract, part-time faculty receive a minimum of \$7,000 per course. Full-time contingent faculty are eligible for sabbaticals, in addition to health insurance, a semester of paid family leave, promotions, and a range of other benefits. At key points in the past, tenure-system faculty had refused to settle contract negotiations, and participated in militant demonstrations fighting for improvements for contingent faculty; and for the past fifteen years all contract negotiations teams have included contingent faculty.

Adjunct faculty successfully unionized in at least 35 private colleges and universities between the 2013-2014 and the 2015-2016 academic years. Over that period, unions prevailed in 39 of 44 National Labor Relations Board elections (according to NLRB Election Reports for closed cases with elections held between September 19, 2013, and April 22, 2016). In other words, unions won a stunning 88 percent of elections to represent adjunct faculty members over this period (in contrast, the union win rate for all elections was about 20 percent lower). At some schools, unions have secured double-digit percentage pay increases for adjuncts and won some job stability for positions that most institutions have long regarded as necessarily contingent (Bertoncini and Dorer 2016).

CHALLENGES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

While prevailing trends depict a bleak picture for US faculty, there are steps that the ASA, departments, universities, and unions can take to improve conditions. Our recommendations are divided into four parts: (1) a statement of principles (2) specific recommendations for the ASA (3) an appendix outlining recommended practices for department chairs and administrators (4) an appendix outlining recommended practices for unions.

Principles

The structural forces that have created the conditions described above are not under the control of sociologists, either individually or collectively, and it would be misguided to blame deans, department chairs, or tenure-system faculty for their actions as individuals. We cannot create conditions as we please; we must operate under circumstances shaped in the past. But, given those constraints, we can make our own history. We can acquiesce in the inequality that is increasingly

emerging within the academic labor force, and thus reinforce the stratification in the larger society, or we can contest and attempt to overcome these inequalities.

Our goal should be to promote maximum feasible equity for contingent faculty. It will rarely be possible to achieve full equality, and in many circumstances it may not be clear how equality would be operationalized, but the broad goal should remain. We need to develop a consensus that treatment in the academic workplace should not depend on whether a faculty member is full-time or part-time, nor on whether they are tenure-track or non-tenure-track.

Implementation of this principle may be difficult, and what constitutes equality may be subject to discussion, but we should treat all faculty members as faculty, rather than accepting a two-tier system, for example referring to “the faculty and the adjuncts.” Pay should be proportional to work done; equal pay for equal work. All faculty should receive benefits like health insurance coverage. All faculty should receive as much advance notice as possible about their schedules and should be consulted about their schedule preferences. All faculty should be *eligible* for academic awards. All faculty should be eligible for travel funding and professional development support. All faculty should have access to the infrastructural resources (office space, phone, photocopying, computer, internet, email, library, etc.) needed to do their jobs. All faculty should benefit from accumulated seniority and should be eligible for pay increases and promotions. All faculty should receive as much job security as is reasonably possible. All faculty should be invited to campus events (talks, discussions, social gatherings). All faculty should be recognized and visible, treated with collegiality; the decisions whether or not to invite someone to lunch or coffee should not depend on a person’s tenure status. All faculty should participate in department and university governance. All faculty, whether administrators or union negotiators, should work to implement the principles outlined here. Perhaps most important, we have a collective responsibility to protect academic freedom for all faculty (Weinbaum and Clawson, forthcoming).

Faculty have an obligation to convey to graduate students, and to undergraduates contemplating graduate school, information about the realities of the academic labor market and the shifting character of academic employment.

Recommendations to the American Sociological Association

Our recommendations for the ASA fall into three categories: the need for ongoing **recognition** of the problem of contingency in the discipline, the need for an equitable **restructuring** of fees and dues in the association to make participation accessible for contingent faculty, and the need to promote **inclusion** of contingent faculty in the discipline and the association.

Recognition Recommendations:

- ASA Council should officially endorse and publicize the report’s recommended practices for universities and sociology departments, including pay parity, maximum feasible employment security, academic freedom, standards for working conditions and evaluation, and inclusion

in the intellectual and social life of departments and universities as well as their governance structures.

- ASA should devote staff time to recruiting contingent faculty/adjuncts to become members of the association, and to addressing their needs.
- ASA should create an official internal entity that will continue to address contingent faculty issues after the Task Force's term ends.
- ASA should coordinate with other scholarly associations in high-profile public efforts to address the issues confronting contingent faculty, and to facilitate improved data collection on the nation's population of contingent faculty, and on their pay and working conditions.

Financial Restructuring Recommendations:

- Reduced membership fees for adjuncts/contingent faculty, similar to those now available to retirees and student members.
- Reduced annual meeting registration fees for adjuncts/contingent faculty.
- Expansion of affordable annual meeting accommodation options for contingent faculty and other low-income sociologists.

Recommendations for Inclusion in the Association

- The ASA website should include a high-profile space dedicated to contingent faculty issues.
- Footnotes should regularly cover contingent faculty issues.
- Workshops and/or sessions focused on contingent faculty issues should be regularly included in ASA annual meeting programs.
- ASA should sponsor and moderate a listserv for members interested in discussing contingent faculty issues.
- Efforts should be made to include contingent faculty in nominations for ASA awards, as well as nominations for Council members and other elected positions.

Other recommendations

Appendix C offers a list of recommended practices for department chairs and administrators, and Appendix D does the same for recommended practices for unions. These appendices provide specific suggestions about how to implement the principles stated above.

CONCLUSION

The transformation of higher education has been underway for some time and shows no sign of slowing. The rise of contingent faculty and the decline of tenure is only one part of that process – an important part, but not the driving force. In the larger economy as in academia, when the generations

now retiring were young, large swaths of the labor market were comprised of full-time jobs, decently paid, with health and fixed-payment pension benefits, connected to career ladders and opportunities for advancement, and a reasonable expectation of job security. Tenured faculty may have been an extreme case in regard to job security, but they held jobs recognizably similar to the dominant understanding of salaried employment generally.

Today an increasing proportion of jobs in the United States are precarious, with uncertain hours and future, with few or no benefits, stagnant and often low pay, and offering little or no opportunity for internal promotion. Reflecting that shift, contingent faculty hold jobs recognizably similar to the dominant understanding of 21st century employment.

Moreover, just as inequality is growing within the broader labor market, with a widening gap between the most privileged layers of the workforce and its lower levels, so too in academia; in some respects, conditions for tenure-system faculty at research and elite institutions may be *improving*. In recent years teaching loads have been reduced for many faculty teaching in doctoral programs; *de facto*, jobs at major research universities are increasingly focused on research, even as the ranks of part-time faculty burgeon, typically with low pay, minimal or non-existent benefits, little or no job security, and few if any opportunities for advancement.

Straddling those two tiers is an emerging stratum of full-time contingent positions; some of which offer far better pay and benefits than part-time contingent jobs, and a significant measure of job security. Occupants of such positions are treated as second-class citizens but are treated far better than part-time faculty.

The fundamental driver of this transformation is financial – rooted especially in the decline of public funding for higher education. But perhaps even more important is an ideological commitment – by legislators *and* by campus trustees and, increasingly, administrators– to market-based employment systems.

A university is not and should not be managed like a business. Such an approach reflects not hard-headed realism but a failure to understand what gives universities their historical strength and future potential. Tenure-system faculty present a challenge for top administrators and trustees precisely because many of them have an alternative vision of the university and some power to actualize that vision.

When contingent faculty are absent from governance processes, as they are *de jure* at some institutions and *de facto* at many more, then not only are important viewpoints and perspectives excluded or under-represented, but also professionalism and faculty governance are weakened.

When provosts and presidents respond to trustees' and other external pressures to cut costs, they are typically guided by a model of education-as-job-training. If faculty are expected to deliver a standard curriculum determined from above, with little or no ability to explore alternatives or to respond to student interests, then a deskilled and vulnerable faculty offers important advantages. This may help to explain why tenure is weakest at community colleges and virtually nonexistent at for-profit institutions (Chait 2002, Kirp 2003). A market-style model works far less well, however, if a

university's goals are free speech, creativity, research, and student exploration of alternatives.

In the coming years, ASA members have a difficult choice to make. Is the Association to become a niche organization of elite sociologists? Or will the ASA adapt and respond to the new nature of faculty labor?

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Appendix A: Defining Types of Faculty

An indication of the fluid, contested, and uncertain state of the issue is a lack of a generally agreed terminology. In this report, we use the following language:

Contingent: An umbrella term encompassing all non-tenure-system faculty.

Tenure-system: A process progressing toward indefinite appointment meant to protect academic freedom.

Non-tenure track: Faculty ineligible for indefinite appointment.

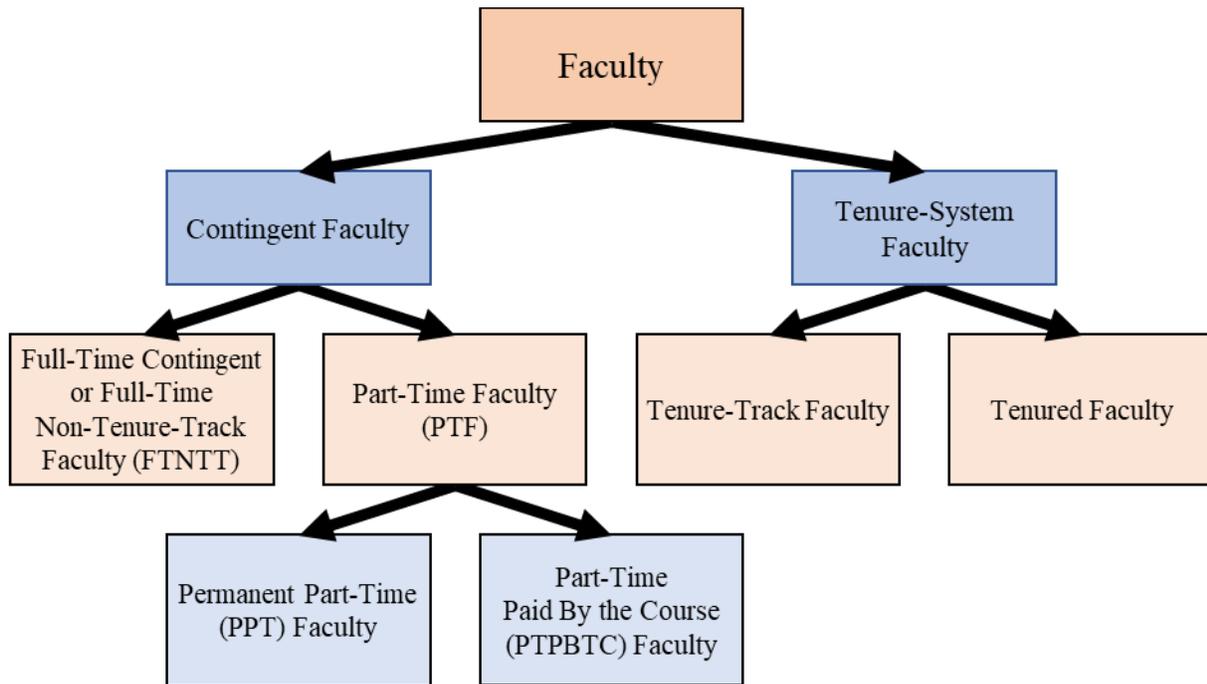
Full-time: Steady employment for a given minimum number of hours, often coupled with paid benefits.

Part-time: Few hours, often without paid benefits.

Administrator: Responsible for operations at the university. In this report we include Department Chairs in this category. Other common ranks include Dean, Provost, and President.

As Figure A-1 shows, there are many categories and subcategories of faculty in colleges and universities. For this report, we understand “contingent” as a broad umbrella term encompassing a range of non-tenure-system faculty. It does not, however, include assistant professors hoping to receive tenure, a group which may experience its employment as contingent, or graduate teaching assistants. While it may be more appropriate to speak of “faculty employed in contingent positions” than of “contingent faculty”, this report (and popular discussion) often uses the shortened version.

Figure A-1: Categories and Subcategories of Faculty



Within the broad category “contingent,” there is a crucial distinction between those employed full-time and those employed part-time and paid by the course. For many purposes – pay, benefits, security of employment – the gap between these two forms of contingency may be wider than the gap between full-time non-tenure-track and full-time tenure-system faculty. All non-tenure-system faculty experience significant precarity, but part-time faculty paid by the course experience it most. The term “adjunct” is used in a variety of ways, but most often refers to part-time faculty paid by the course.

This report documents the shifting character of employment within the academy, specifically the rise of precarity. It is important to note, however, that the employment distribution of the members of the American Sociological Association does not correspond to the employment distribution of sociologists. Indeed, that is part of the problem, and as this report argues, it is likely to become a more central concern for the viability of the association.

Appendix B: List of Task Force Members

Co-Chairs

Dan Clawson, Professor of Sociology, University of Massachusetts-Amherst. Research on labor and higher education, among many topics. Member of the board, Massachusetts Teachers Association, and former president, Massachusetts Society of Professors. PhD, Stony Brook. <https://www.umass.edu/sociology/users/clawson>

Louis Edgar Esparza, Associate Professor of Sociology, California State University-Los Angeles. Research on human rights and social movements. Previous experience as a contingent faculty member. PhD, Stony Brook. <http://www.louisesparza.net>

Members

Marisa Allison, PhD candidate in Sociology, George Mason University, and Director of Research, New Faculty Majority Foundation. Dissertation on the shift to contingent faculty employment as a process of the feminization of teaching in higher education. Contingent faculty member at multiple colleges and universities in the DC metro area and in the southeast. MS, Mississippi State.

Celeste Atkins, Sociology Instructor, Cochise College (and Department Chair for Social and Behavioral Sciences 2012-2018). Pacific Sociological Association membership committee chair. MA, University of Southern California, PhD in Higher Education in progress, University of Arizona. Dissertation explores how sociology faculty who are members of traditionally marginalized groups teach about privilege and negotiate student push back. <https://atkinsc.com/>

Michael Burawoy, Professor of Sociology, University of California-Berkeley. Research on labor with recent attention to the situation of faculty members employed contingently. Co-chair, Berkeley Faculty Association. Former president, American Sociological Association and International Sociological Association. PhD, Chicago. <http://burawoy.berkeley.edu/>

Jay R. Howard, Professor of Sociology and Dean, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Butler University. Active in ASA Teaching and Learning section and former deputy editor, *Teaching Sociology*; member, ASA Department Resources Group. Former president, North Central Sociological Association. PhD, Notre Dame. <http://legacy.butler.edu/about/directory/?a=viewprofile&u=jrhoward>

Penny Lewis, Associate Professor of Labor Studies, School of Labor and Urban Studies, City University of New York. Research on social class dynamics of social movements. Chair of Academic Governing Council, SLU, and Vice President for Senior Colleges, Professional Staff Congress (CUNY). PhD, CUNY Graduate Center. <https://slu.cuny.edu/people/penny-lewis/>

Ruth Milkman, Distinguished Professor of Sociology, City University of New York Graduate Center, and Research Director, CUNY School of Labor and Urban Studies. Research on labor and social movements, work/family policy, and immigration. Former President, American Sociological Association. PhD, Berkeley. <http://www.ruthmilkman.info>

Catherine Moran, Principal Lecturer in Sociology, University of New Hampshire. UNH Lecturers United-AAUP (UNHLU-AAUP): president, chief negotiator, and former grievance officer. PhD, New Hampshire. <https://cola.unh.edu/person/catherine-l-moran>

Gillian Niebrugge-Brantley, Professorial Lecturer in Sociology, George Washington University. Current research on contingent faculty. Vice President, SEIU Local 500. Professor Emerita and former division chair, Northern Virginia Community College. PhD, Kansas.

Nicholas Pagnucco, Adjunct Assistant Professor of Sociology, St Mary's University of Calgary. Research on the employment of part-time faculty members. PhD, University of Albany.

Victor Perez, Associate Professor of Sociology and Criminal Justice, University of Delaware. Currently a non-tenure track faculty member and involved in Continuing Track Caucus. Research involves sociology of risk, health and illness, and environmental justice. PhD, Delaware. <http://sites.udel.edu/victorp/>

Staff

Jean Shin, Director of Minority and Student Affairs, American Sociological Association. Former Associate Professor and Associate Dean at McDaniel College. PhD, Indiana.

Appendix C: Recommended Practices

For Administrators, Chairs, and Colleagues Working with Contingent Faculty

The Task Force recommends the following practices for working with contingent faculty including **advocacy and action** across four areas—the hiring process, compensation and benefits, material working conditions, and governance and inclusion. In general, the recommendations below are aimed at increasing **transparency, inclusion, and respect** for contingent colleagues.

Advocacy is important; those with more institutional power (such as deans, department chairs, program coordinators, or tenured colleagues) may be best positioned to advocate for structural or procedural changes within an institution, college, or department. When possible, people in positions of power are encouraged to actively advocate for the needs of contingent faculty and to recognize the importance of issues associated with recruitment and hiring, schedules, appointment lengths, compensation and benefits, evaluation and renewal, working conditions, material resources, and inclusion in the life of the university or college. Yet, support for these “big goals” can feel abstract if those in power cannot undertake concrete, practical actions. In Figures 6-11 below, we offer a set of recommendations for action items that can be taken by individuals in a variety of institutional roles. The “Advocate For” column lists a set of recommended practices; the “Do” column offers practical suggestions for implementation. Not all of these suggestions may be workable in all institutions, but each of them has taken hold in at least one existing institution.

Figure C-1: Recruitment, Scheduling, and Appointments of Contingent Faculty Recommended Practices

Advocate For:	Do:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School-wide calendar system that gives maximum time for chairs and faculty to plan and create schedules, thus allowing for advance hiring of contingent faculty. • Policies that make longer-term contracts the norm—i.e., instead of one semester, one year; possibilities of renewal made clear in original contract. • Policies that obviate the need for last-minute hiring. • Making written offers of employment that specify the conditions that may nullify the offer. • Offering a legally binding contract to the faculty member to seal the negotiations. • Contracts specifying dates, times, courses, compensation, and name the school documents that govern the employment. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consult with the contingent faculty about schedule preferences as you do with full time tenure track faculty. This is especially important for part-time, by-the-course faculty who often have very complicated time demands. • When a new contingent position is in the offering, announce this to current contingent faculty first and ASAP. This may both save you time and be a much-appreciated courtesy. • Try to move to a written offer of employment as soon as possible -- this makes the contingent faculty member feel more appreciated and allays some anxiety. • In making the offer, be clear about how firm it is and specify the various incidents that can nullify the offer (enrollment, needs of tenure track faculty, etc.). • See that the new contingent hire concludes the hiring process with a clear connection to a “contact person” who will be available to help them navigate this new territory. This need not be you but it does need to be someone with some “standing” that will let them act responsibly toward the contingent faculty member.

Figure C-2: Compensation and Benefits for Contingent Faculty Recommended Practices

Advocate For:	Do:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paying all full-time contingent faculty an appropriate salary – one that provides a living wage appropriate to the level of educational achievement. • Reducing pay inequities for part-time contingent faculty so that: (a) part-time contingent faculty receive the same annual raise opportunities as full-time faculty (both contingent and tenure-line), and (b) the pay rate comes, perhaps incrementally over time, to the point where each credit hour taught approximates the pay of a full-time contingent faculty member. • Parity. Be prepared to defend your contingent colleagues in discussions. You should be outraged by a statement like “they can’t expect equal pay.” • The abolition of situations in which part-time contingent faculty are consistently teaching multiple courses per semester as a part-timer by converting those part-time positions to a full-time position. • Paying contingent faculty in a timely manner and not withholding compensation until the end of the term. • Including contingent faculty in various benefit plans and professional development monies. • The argument that contingent faculty pay reflects on the worth of the knowledge of every practitioner of the discipline. Push back against the “race to the bottom” of seeing contingent faculty pay merely as a cost-saving measure by the school. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contact HR or Benefits at your institution and establish a working relationship with the staff member who processes contingent faculty. • Arrange an orientation for new contingent faculty or hold parallel sessions during orientations for tenure track faculty. • Take the time (we do realize this is your most prized commodity and not an easy thing to find or give) to get up to speed on the way contingent faculty pay is determined and how it is meted out. Be knowledgeable. • See if there are creative ways you can get some benefits for your contingent faculty—for instance, a reduction in parking fees or aid with public transportation fees if the faculty member is teaching a load that requires extra trips to campus.

Figure C-3: Evaluation and Renewal Recommended Practices

Advocate For:	Do:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clear processes for evaluation and possibility of renewal. • Policies that would begin to provide some job security: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ for part-time, by-the-course faculty one key policy can be “a good faith consideration” clause in the contract that specifies if a faculty member has taught a particular course satisfactorily a given number of times, that faculty member receives first consideration when the course is offered again. ○ for full-time non-tenure track faculty, multi-year contracts • an evaluation process that includes in addition to student evaluations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ classroom visits; review of syllabi and related course materials; consideration of assistance provided to students in the form of thesis-advising and letters of recommendation; ○ and that allows the contingent faculty member the option of including scholarly and professional achievements in evaluation materials. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • View performance reviews as part of a reflective, candid, respectful professional development process. • Talk to faculty member before and after classroom visit about teaching goals. • Offer some specific statements about good qualities in syllabi, teaching materials, lectures, student interactions and activities, etc. • Make some specific comment of interest in some substantive material presented in class that you (or your representative) visited. • Where there are problems, explain why you identify a particular action as a problem, offer positive examples of improved ways of doing the action, and make referrals to campus resources. • Assemble and make available an ongoing set of satisfactory syllabi—ideally at least one example for every course offered so a new contingent hire has somewhere to go to get a sense of expectations and possibilities. • Indicate, if true, your hope that the relationship between department and contingent faculty member can continue; use this conversation as opportunity to inform the contingent faculty of the department’s long-range plans. • Clear your calendar so the classroom visit is what you do in the time blocked out for the class; plan ahead and communicate plans to staff so that other departmental concerns do not intrude for that moment; turn off cell phone and email.

Figure C-4: Material Resources and Working Conditions Recommended Practices

Advocate For:	Do:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Office space for contingent faculty that provides sufficient privacy for both meeting students and doing course preparation, and a lockable space in which they may store personal valuables while on campus. • Access to up-to-date computers and software. • Access to supplies. • Access to a telephone line, voicemail, and school email. • Access to photocopying. • Access to library facilities and learning management systems—before the term begins as well as during the year of hire. • Upgrades to classrooms so that contingent faculty are not teaching in rooms markedly inferior in furnishings and audio-visual and internet capabilities to those accorded to tenure track faculty. • Contingent faculty to be given the material resources necessary to the teaching they are assigned. • Evaluation criteria that consider the performance of contingent faculty members within the context of the material resources to which the school has provided them access. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Be aware that culture matters and even “little things” can have a big impact (for better and worse) on contingent faculty working conditions. • Be mindful of whether all faculty are included, invited, and welcomed in discussions, meetings, events, etc. • See if you can bring all faculty into office sharing arrangements based on schedules: that is, contingent could use the office in scheduled times when the full-time occupant is not on campus. • Make it clear to the contingent faculty member that you care about them having a safe, decent, clean office to work in. If they will make suggestions to you (or your representative), you will try to do something. • Pay attention to these material issues early on in your relationship with contingent faculty. • Make sure contingent faculty understand what kinds of classrooms are available in terms of seating arrangements, audio-visual facilities, etc. and help them to process requests for what they need. • Include contingent faculty on the departmental website.

Figure C-5: Governance and Inclusion Recommended Practices

Advocate For:	Do:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inclusion of full-time contingent faculty to be full voting faculty on most academic issues (excepting such things as promotion and tenure guidelines). • Inclusion of both full-time and part-time faculty in faculty governance by providing voting rights on curricular issues. • Evaluating and revising by laws, faculty handbooks, constitutions, etc. to account for contingent faculty. • Voting by part-time contingent faculty to elect representatives from among their number to represent them in faculty governance structures such as faculty senate. • Inclusion of all contingent faculty in professional development opportunities. • Solicitation of feedback from contingent faculty on promotion reviews of other faculty members. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encourage tenure track faculty to treat all contingent faculty as colleagues by stating this at faculty meetings and by taking issue when a faculty member disparages or renders invisible a contingent faculty member (e.g. by not bothering to learn their name and referring to them as “that adjunct who teaches X”). • Set an example of collegial behavior by: welcoming a new (or continuing) contingent faculty member the same way you would any other colleague; asking them about their research or teaching; seeking their suggestions on your own work; having coffee or lunch with them; exploring their career aspirations and offer your thoughts and advice. • Include contingent faculty in departmental and college social events. • Check whether they feel the department and university are currently treating them with respect and providing the conditions needed to do their jobs. • Include contingent faculty on the Departmental website. • Organize mailboxes, signage, and directories by name, not faculty type • Think of contingent faculty when a student, reporter, colleague, or dean wants to know who has expertise on an issue.

Figure C-6: General Recommended Practices

Advocate For:	Do:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The position that managing contingent faculty (especially those working part-time faculty), is a significant amount of work and needs to be acknowledged in terms of support resources for chairs. • Establishment of a handbook for contingent faculty. • Awareness of safety and security issues that contingent faculty may encounter. • Clear articulation that contingent faculty must be covered by academic freedom protections. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consider delegating management of contingent faculty to an appropriate departmental member, consider this part of the workload for which they are compensated, and have a liaison for contingent faculty at the college level/dean’s office. • Put together a handbook for and with contingent faculty. • Inform contingent faculty about safety and security issues and plans. • Issue a formal statement that contingent faculty in the institution are covered by academic freedom protection.

Appendix D: Union Recommended Practices for Contingent Faculty

Underlying Principles

Unions aim to secure the best conditions for all faculty, and to create more equality between different kinds of faculty.

A key aim is to have as many positions as possible be tenure track, and for as many contingent positions as possible to be secure and full-time.

Another aim is the best possible conditions for contingent faculty of whatever sort, per-course or full-time.

These aims are mutually complementary; if contingent faculty cost almost as much as tenure-system faculty, and have almost as much job security, employers have little incentive to switch from one to the other; conversely, the bigger the gap in wages and job security the greater the employer incentive to replace tenure-system faculty.

Therefore, in addition to moral claims, tenure-system faculty have a material interest in improving conditions for contingent faculty.

Union Democracy

Build a strong, member-led, democratic, participatory union. A weak union can't do much to help. A top-down fossilized union can't do much to help.

Unions should involve a significant fraction of the membership, with high attendance at union meetings, an effective steward system, member awareness of the way the union functions and access to contest union policies and office holders. Information about the union and union operations be widely available and fully transparent, the union should hold democratically contested elections, and impose reasonable term limits for office holders.

Security of Employment

The more secure the employment the better, in terms of length of contract, rules for reappointment, etc.

In the case of per-course hires, decisions should be made as soon as is practical. If courses are cancelled at the last minute, the contingent faculty affected should be compensated for their time.

As they accumulate seniority and experience, full-time contingent faculty should receive longer and longer contracts, with stronger and stronger job protections. For example, they might initially receive a one-year contract, then a two-year contract, then a three-year contract, and then a presumption of continuing employment unless there is just cause to argue they are not adequately performing their duties (or if the position is being converted to a tenure-system line). As another example, after five

years of appointments such faculty could attain a “certificate of continuous employment” which serves as the equivalent of tenure for lecturer titles.

Part-time contingent faculty should win preference for available courses based on seniority. If an instructor has taught a qualifying number of courses for a significant period (the specific number to be determined in collective bargaining) they should be offered all available courses they are competent to teach before any offers are made to newly recruited faculty. For example, anyone who has taught 5 or more courses over the previous 3 semesters might be guaranteed courses prior to any new hires.

When full-time, tenure-system positions become open, contingent faculty should receive full consideration; this might be bargained in stronger terms specifying the sort of consideration.

Pay and Benefits

The central goal is pay parity, or in other words equal pay for equal work. Sometimes it can be difficult to know what constitutes equal work (how much of a particular job involves research, teaching, and/or service; whether contingent faculty only teach or do other tasks), but for tasks that are similar between faculty of different types, the pay should be equivalent.

All faculty should receive benefits at least proportional to their appointment. Full-time non-tenure-track faculty should have the same benefits as tenure-track faculty. Half-time faculty should receive at least half the level of full-time benefits, and so on.

Ideally, pay for contingent faculty should be tied to pay for other faculty. For example, per-course pay could be set as a specified fraction of the starting pay for assistant professors. The union should then seek to raise minimum pay in ways that benefit both the lowest paid full-time faculty and all per-course faculty.

Operation of the Union

Contingent faculty should have full rights to vote, run for office, participate on committees.

There is an ongoing debate about the best structure for an academic union: should contingent faculty be in a stand-alone unit or be in one that includes both contingent and tenure-system faculty? Arguments can be made on both sides. But clearly the worst arrangement is a combined unit that does not fully incorporate and respect contingent faculty, or give full attention to their issues.

Within a combined unit (including both contingent and tenure-system faculty), contingent faculty need to have a significant degree of autonomy, and space to get together and decide collectively on their priorities.

Contingent faculty need to be represented on all union governance boards and committees, including the bargaining committee – not as token members but rather in proportion to their share of the

instructional workforce. Contingent faculty should meet by themselves to develop their bargaining demands, or the questions they want included on a bargaining survey.

The union should make efforts to recognize contingent faculty, have them contribute to union media, organize events specifically tailored to their concerns, and be mindful of how schedules of contingent faculty may differ from those of tenure-system faculty.

The union should educate its own leadership and membership about contingent faculty conditions and dispel myths that may exist about the topic, with the goal of maximizing mutual understanding and solidarity.

Dues for contingent faculty should be proportional to income; per-course faculty dues should be a fraction of full-time faculty dues.

The union should always address contingent faculty issues with the same vigor and determination as tenure-system faculty issues and should accord them the same priority.

When separate units for tenure-system and contingent faculty exist, ongoing communication between the units is crucial. There will be issues on which the bargaining priorities are different. But where there is overlap, the strength of both units will be enhanced when information and resources are shared, and where contract language is the same for both groups. Separate units may also align their contract terms and expiration dates and negotiate together with administrators on issues of shared concern. In all ways and at all times, the separate unions should see their missions as complementary and avoid allowing gains for one chapter to be framed as disadvantaging the other.

Working Conditions

Contingent faculty should have access to office space where they can secure their belongings and meet privately with students. Contingent faculty should have the same access to campus buildings and facilities as all other faculty.

All faculty – and especially per-course faculty – should have full access to all departmental resources (copiers, AV equipment, computer resources, etc.), and this should be bargained into union contracts whenever possible.

Contingent faculty should have emails, offices, phones, full internet and learning management system access, keys, library privileges, and all other benefits of being a faculty member, and these should be available well in advance of the teaching term to aid in course preparation, and then continue as needed after the end of the term.

Recognizing and Awarding Contingent Faculty

All faculty should be *eligible* for all awards, fellowships, and so on. Let the merits of the faculty record be the basis on which an award is decided, rather than the faculty type. In regard to teaching

awards, contingent faculty might well win even the most competitive awards.

Contingent faculty who serve six years or more should be eligible for promotion to a higher rank; those who serve 12 years or more should be eligible for promotion to an even higher rank. The promotion process should be modeled on that used for tenure-system faculty: review by a committee of (contingent faculty) peers, a significant salary increase upon promotion, a new title, and greater job security.

Governance and Academic Freedom

Unions must defend the rights of *all* faculty. If an administrative action would be a problem for a tenured full-professor, it will also be a problem for a one-time per-course instructor.

Contingent faculty should be eligible to serve on all college or university governance bodies and to be appointed to all college or university committees.

Unions should defend and uphold academic freedom protections for all faculty, without exception.