Permanently Precarious? Contingent Academic Faculty Members, Professional Identity
and Institutional Change in Quebec Universities

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ABSTRACT

Permanently Precarious? Contingent Academic Faculty Members, Professional Identity
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Louise Birdsell Bauer

Universities across Canada are increasingly using contingent, or temporary instructors to teach undergraduate courses (Rajagopal 2002, Muzzin 2008, Lin 2006). Scholars have examined the marginalization of contingent academic faculty members in Canadian universities (Rajagopal 2002, Muzzin 2008). They have also critiqued the ways in which universities use contingent faculty to create surplus value and surplus labour (Rajagopal 2002, Bauder 2006), and support a "primary segment" (Bauder 2006) of the tenured and tenure-track professoriate. In this thesis, I examine the key issues faced by contingent academic faculty members, and how these issues impact on their professional identity. I also investigate into how the use of contingent faculty impacts on teaching practices in higher education. Through the analysis of Labour Force Survey data, I ascertain to what extent contingent academic labour has increased from 1998 to 2008, suggesting that full-time temporary labour is on the rise. I then analyze data gathered from twelve interviews with contingent academic faculty members at Quebec universities to explore how their working conditions and experiences have impacted on their professional identity and perceived quality of instruction. I suggest that professional identity among contingent faculty members is not as static as suggested by Rajagopal (2002) or Gappa and Leslie (1993) Using David Harvey's (2005) concept of

neoliberalism and Ulrich Beck's (1992) concept of the flexibilization of labour under risk society, I situate the flexibilization of academic labour within the neoliberalization of the university, and also point to linkages between contingent academic labour and the commodification of higher education.

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Introduction

> For several years now, Quebec's universities have been undergoing a radical transformation. Governance, tuition fee increases, underfunding, privatization – we are presently witnessing an unprecedented attack on the principles and missions that have underlain the role of our province's universities since their foundation. It would seem we must "adapt", that is, abandon a universal, public education system, the fruit of a social and political mobilization unique in Quebec's history. (The Quebec University Manifesto, 2011[1])

Universities in Quebec today are facing a number of challenges among which are included governance issues, underfunding and the privatization of higher education. From the real estate mismanagement fiasco at the Université de Québec Á Montréal, to the recent controversial resignation of Concordia University's president, to the privatization of the Master's in Business Administration program at McGill University, there appear to be a number of matters that some might say constitute a "crisis" of the university system in Quebec

While these are all significant problems, I contend with a different issue in this thesis. Specifically, I look at effects of the growing use of contingent and precarious academic work in Quebec universities. I examine some of the key issues faced by contingent academic faculty members and investigate how this impacts on their professional identity, as well as on teaching practices in the university. I situate the issue of contingent academic labour in larger transformations such as the neoliberal and managerial university, and the commodification of higher education.

Although contingent academic labour is perhaps not as publicized as other university 'crises', there is a growing awareness of this issue in Canada. The 2008-2009

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[1] The Quebec University Manifesto (2011) was published by the *Table des partenaires universitaires*, a group of unions, federations and councils of faculty members, students, researchers and other university workers. For more information, see www.universitequebecoise.org.

strike at York University brought attention to the struggle of contract faculty, along with

graduate teaching and research assistants.[2] However, this awareness is largely internal to

the university community, which may contribute to public misconceptions regarding

academic work, as I suggest in the Discussion chapter. Nevertheless, it is evident that the

plight of part-time and sessional lecturers is gaining visibility within the university

community, as demonstrated by the following quote taken from the website of the

Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT)[3].

> More and more academic work is being performed by people hired on a per
> course or limited term basis. These positions are often poorly paid, have little or
> no benefits, no job security and no academic freedom. This has serious
> implications not only for contract academic staff, but for students, their regular
> academic staff colleagues, and the university system as a whole. (Canadian
> Association of University Teachers, 2011)[4]

> This thesis attempts to verify these claims. Specifically, by analyzing Labour

Force Survey data, I contend that academic work in Quebec universities is increasingly

done on a temporary or contingent basis. I also argue that the working conditions of

contingent academic faculty members have significant impact on the way faculty

members construct their professional identity, and negatively impact certain aspects of

university instruction. Finally, I situate the data within the context of larger

transformations in the university system. These include the economic restructuring of the

university system according to a neoliberal framework, the rationalization of academic

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[2] See, e.g. http://www.thestar.com/article/532380
[3] Drawn from the section "Fairness for Contract Academic Staff"
(http://www.caut.ca/pages.asp?page=212). Accessed on March 3rd, 2011.
[4] According to their website, CAUT "opposes the increasing casualization of academic work and
campaigns for the equal treatment of all academic staff, regardless of their employment status. (They) assist
faculty associations in organizing and bargaining for contract academic staff. (They) work with other
organizations representing contingent labour in and outside the academy through the Coalition of
Contingent Academic Labor, the North American Alliance for Fair Employment and (their) partnerships
with international post-secondary education unions."

work, and the commodification of higher education. I suggest that if we are to understand and change these faculty members' working conditions, systemic changes in the university system must also occur. Conversely, I maintain that contemporary "crises" of the university must be examined through the lens of academic labour. This is because, I argue, the intersection of standardized with de-standardized academic work is central to the economic restructuring of the university, the rationalization of academic work and the commodification of higher education.

In the following chapter, I review research on part-time and contingent faculty members, with a specific focus on literature from the past twenty years pertaining to Canadian universities. I situate this research vis-à-vis David Harvey's concept of neoliberalism, arguing that contemporary changes in the university system in Quebec can be conceptualized as the neoliberalization of the university system. I also suggest that Martin Parker and David Jary's (1995) notion of the "rationalization of the university" is a useful analytical concept, and that the "massification" of the university (Fox 2002) along with the commodification and therapeutization (Furedi 2002; Hayes 2002) of higher education are instructive for this thesis.

In the Theoretical Framework chapter, I suggest that along with Harvey's neoliberalism, Ulrich Beck's concept of the flexibilization of work under risk society is central to understanding how individuals construct professional identity in "late" or "second" modernity, a concept which is central to my analysis of interview data. I also examine how the notion of de-spatialized and invisible work, theorized by Beck along with Zygmunt Bauman, is relevant in terms of understanding the dynamics of contingent academic work, and may also be central to understanding the constituent identity

developed by these faculty members. Finally I argue that these new constituent or reflexive identities are apparent not only at the individual level, but at the institutional level as well. I contend that the intersection of reflexive biographies with standard biographies is part and parcel of both the economic restructuring of universities, and the commodification of higher education.

In my chapter on Methodology and Ethics, I discuss how I constructed my data set and conducted my quantitative analysis of Labour Force Survey data. I also examine in depth the methodology used to choose the sample for my qualitative interviews, and list the various steps taken to contact and obtain research participants. Moreover, I describe the interview data collection process and the ethics procedures followed as per the guidelines provided by Concordia University's Office of Research. I also address methodological limitations and possible new methodological avenues for further research.

The Data and Analysis chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, I discuss my quantitative analysis, suggesting that full-time temporary work is on the rise in post-secondary institutions in Quebec. This finding leads me to suggest that the notion that all flexible academic work is "part-time" should be reexamined. I suggest that universities are increasing production by giving more contract hours to temporary workers, thus allowing permanent faculty members to focus on research, which is an escalating priority in most universities.[5] In the second section of the Data and Analysis chapter I evaluate my interview data, examining the themes of workload, security, quality of instruction, integration, status and collegiality. I argue that issues of workload and

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[5] The priority of research over teaching is discussed in the Theoretical Framework chapter.

quality are closely interrelated to job insecurity among contingent academic faculty members, and that in the case of my informants, a lack of job security impacts negatively, on their perceived workloads and the quality of instruction they can provide. I also suggest that feelings of marginalization are reinforced for contingent faculty members through a lack of integration, status and collegiality, which directly and indirectly highlight their status as 'secondary' or 'peripheral' to the core segment (Bauder, 2006). Finally, I suggest that the professional identity of contingent faculty members in Quebec universities should be re-conceptualized along the lines of Beck's notion of reflexive biographies in risk society.

In the final chapter, I discuss how my data and analysis reflects some key findings in the literature, but also suggests that the notion of 'categories' in flexible academic work must be problematized. I also take into further consideration the situation of contingent faculty members in larger issues, including neoliberal discourses of freedom and responsibilization, the commodification of higher education, the rationalization of academic work and fiscal and managerial 'crises' in Quebec universities. I conclude this chapter by pointing to the limitations of this thesis and areas for further research.

Literature Review

In this review of the literature, I discuss key research on part-time and temporary faculty members[6], with a focus on studies from the past twenty years. A great deal of literature was written on adjuncts and sessional faculty in the late 1970s and 1980s. This

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[6] For the sake of consistency, I refer to my topic and participants as "contingent faculty members". This is the term used in Rajagopal and others' work and encompasses part-time faculty members, temporary and sessional lecturers, all terms used in English universities in Quebec. At francophone universities in Quebec this translates to "chargés de cours"; in the U.S. and some Canadian provinces, "adjunct"; in the U.K., "auxiliary" instructors. Distinctions also exist between instructors, lecturers and professors, but I do not address these here. The use of contingent rather than non-standard is a better reflection of the fact that temporary work is becoming regularized, a point which I discuss in the Data Analysis chapter.

literature is important in terms of examining the gradual popularization of adjunct and part-time faculty in universities. However, it is not my aim to trace the historical development of part-time and contingent academic work by examining past research, but rather to establish what more current research can tell us about the situation of this population in the existing university system. I also aim to establish an institutional and cultural context for my topic.

Examining empirical and theoretical foundations of literature on part-time and temporary academic work, I situate my research in a larger body of work on the transformation of the university and higher education. While the particular modes of transformation of the university may vary, I suggest that what is lacking in much of the literature on the changing university system is a contemporary examination of how part-time and temporary academic labour is situated in these changes, and how these changes impact on the individual experiences of contingent academic faculty.

While I wish to focus on recent empirical literature, the issue of contingent faculty members must first be situated in the political economic context of the West from the late 1970s to the present. David Harvey (2005) provides a concise overview of this context in *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. In order to highlight what is happening in the university system, I wish to highlight two phenomena that Harvey addresses in this text: the flexibilization of labour and the emphasis on individual responsibility rather than social or institutional responsibility.

Neoliberalism first appeared, according to Harvey, as a dramatic period of social and economic change in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The neoliberal agenda included increasing free trade, fighting labour power and restraints imposed on production by

unions, and deregulating industry so as to boost capital accumulation. Harvey explains

that neoliberalism was a reaction to "embedded liberalism" wherein the market was

regulated by a variety of social and political regulations that both limited and facilitated

economic growth in the 1960s and 70s. He traces changes in government and economic

policy in the U.S., the U.K. and in China in order to depict the rise of neoliberalism, such

as the curbing of trade union power in the U.K. and the imperialist loaning schemes

imposed by the U.S. on foreign countries like Mexico and Chile. For Harvey, these

changes were largely justified through neoliberalism, which at first presented itself as:

> a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can
> best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills
> within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights,
> free markets, and free trade. (2005:2)

As Harvey elucidates, these ideals are not always adhered to in political and

economic actions, but remain guiding cultural principals through which neoliberal

practices are justified.[7] Harvey details how neoliberalism arose as a reaction to a growth

in labour and urban social movements as a way to revive capital accumulation (16) and

restore the decaying class structure, or at least implement a new stratum of class power

(31). This new stratum of class power is defined by the fusion of ownership and

management (32), the diminishing gap between capital and production through the

"financialization of everything"[8], and the substantial core of class power comprising

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[7] For Harvey, neoliberalism in practice diverges significantly from neoliberalism in theory. For example, neoliberalism frowns upon state intervention in the labour market. Yet, as Harvey points out, neoliberals are "actively interventionist in creating the infrastructures necessary for a good business climate" (72). In the Data and Analysis chapter, I point out similar contradictions between theory and practice in the neoliberal university.

[8] By the financialization of everything, Harvey means that the increasing prevalence of financial operations like credit, insurance, futures markets and speculative practices came to justify losses in production; he also argues that this reduced conflicts that traditionally arose between financiers and manufacturers.

"CEOs, key operators on corporate boards, leaders in the financial, legal, and technical apparatuses that surround this inner sanctum of capitalist activity" (33). Unlike previous capitalist arrangements, Harvey points out, the power of actual owners of capital under neoliberalism decreased[9] (33).

Harvey argues that this transformation was accomplished through a construction of political consent (39). Using Antonio Gramsci's concept that consent is grounded in common sense, Harvey argues that cultural and traditional values were employed to justify the neoliberal turn, and that these proliferated through the influence of corporations, the media, and institutions in civil society, including the University. These cultural and traditional values were largely based in the appeal to individual freedoms (40), which were at issue in social movements in the 1960s and 1970s such as the student movement, the women's movement and the civil rights movement. For Harvey, neoliberalism capitalized on this ideological climate, "capturing ideals of individual freedom and turning them against the interventionist and regulatory practices of the state, capitalist class interests could hope to protect and even restore their position" (42). [10]

Harvey also argues that these movements often clashed with leftist and labour movements which required social solidarity and "a willingness to submerge individual wants, needs and desires in the cause of some more general struggle" (41). Labour movements and unions were often viewed as overly bureaucratic and inflexible. As Harvey points out,

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[9] Unless the owners of capital accumulate a critical number of voters to affect corporate policy, notes Harvey.

[10] We could also draw on Herman and Chomsky's (2002) notion of consent which suggests that under neoliberalism, "media serve, and propagandize on behalf of, the powerful societal interests that control and finance them" and that dissent, while embedded in the structure of contemporary media, "is not large enough to interfere unduly with the domination of the official agenda" (2002:xii).

the lack of flexibility was often as much a disadvantage for individual labourers as it was for capital. The virtuous claims for flexible specialization in labour processes and for flexitime arrangements could become part of the neoliberal rhetoric that could be persuasive to individual labourers, particularly those who had been excluded from the monopoly benefits that strong unionization sometimes conferred. Greater freedom and liberty of action in the labour market could be touted as a virtue for capital and labour alike, and here, too, it was not hard to integrate neoliberal values into the 'common sense' of much of the workforce. (2005:53)

Thus, the flexibilization of labour[11] was part and parcel of the neoliberal appeal to individual freedoms. The notion of being free to work as much or as little as one wanted to was employed as a part of a larger cultural value that constituted the political consent to the neoliberal turn. As discussed in the Data and Analysis, this rationale is central to contingent academic faculty members' discourse in the context of the neoliberal university[12]. However, as Harvey goes on to say, along with the flexibilization of the labour force came the competition for resources, greater responsibility on the part of individual actors in the neoliberal economic system.

While personal and individual freedom in the marketplace is guaranteed, each individual is held responsible and accountable for his or her own actions and well-being… Individual success or failure are interpreted in terms of entrepreneurial virtues or personal failings (such as not investing significantly in one's own human capital through education) rather than being attributed to any systemic property (such as the class exclusions usually attributed to capitalism. (65-66)

This flexibilization figures largely into the current context of academic labour in the university, wherein academic jobs are scarce, but universities continue to produce a

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[11] As Beck points out, flexibilization benefits corporations immensely in that "portions of entrepreneurial risk can be shifted onto the employees as flexible underemployment", thus maximizing return on investment (1992:147).
[12] This reflects Martin Parker and David Jary's (1995) observation that rationalization is occurring not only on an institutional (university) level, but also on the level of the individual faculty member.

surplus of PhDs[13]. Moreover, contingent academic jobs in most cases do not provide

health and benefits. As Harvey argues, the transfer of responsibility from the state and

state institutions to the individual is "doubly deleterious" given the decline of the welfare

state, which was committed to providing health care, public education and social services

under embedded liberalism (76).

Harvey's analysis is indispensible in providing a historical context of political

economic factors that have impacted labour in the West in the late 20th and early 21st

century. The phenomena of flexible labour and the emphasis on individual responsibility

are significant in terms of how contemporary academic labour relates to more general

trends in labour and political economy in Western society. I will now turn to examine

literature that documents these changes specifically within the university.

I draw greatly on Indhu Rajagopal's seminal text, *Hidden Academics: Contract

Faculty in Canadian Universities* (2002). This book is the most in-depth and detailed

study of part-time and contingent faculty members in Canadian universities published in

recent years. Throughout this thesis, I draw comparisons with my own data and that used

in Rajagopal's book, and I use her work as a launching point for research on contingent

academic work in Quebec.

Rajagopal argues that three historical factors influenced the rise of part-time

faculty in Canadian universities. The commodification of labour[14] and the emergence of

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[13] More research is needed on this issue of PhD surplus, but Hacker and Dreifus (2011) report, according to *The Economist*, that in 2007 Canadian universities awarded 4,800 doctorate degrees but hired only 2,616 new full-time professors. (See: http://www.economist.com/node/17723223?story_id=17723223)

[14] The commodification of labour is a concept defined by Karl Marx in *Capital* Volume 1. Although labour power is "the aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in the physical form, the living personality, of a human being", labour must be sold as a commodity since "the exchange of commodities implies no other relations of dependence than those which result from its own nature" (270-71). Rajagopal recapitulates the contradiction: "labour power appears as a commodity, although this power is embedded in

non-traditional workers in industrial economies led to a general trend to hire temporary and part-time labourers (8). Rajagopal cites Leah Vosko's study on changes in the International Labour Organization (ILO) conventions which outlines the decline of wages, the casualization of work, the deregulation of worker's benefits and social programs, and the stagnating rate of unionization (8) Rajagopal notes that "Instead of regulating all types of workers – temporary or regular – in the labour market, current trends in industrialized countries are to replace regular workers with temporary labour in order to reduce costs of providing job security, protections, and benefits for workers" (9). The commodification of labour and the emergence of flexible labour are central features of neoliberalism, as Harvey points out. These cost-reducing and risk-management aspects of part-time and temporary labour are central to most contemporary universities' operations, Rajagopal argues.

The author also points to academic capitalism; the reality that universities are increasingly governed like corporate entities.[15] Students are viewed as clients while instructors and professors are "consultants" (11). In this context, Rajagopal claims, "temporary workers, such as part-timer and contractees, are easily available for hire, camouflaged as 'professionals for hire'" (11). That is, under the paradigm of academic capitalism, universities prefer to grant temporary contracts rather than tenure because

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the worker and is not produced as a commodity." (8) The commodification of labour allows for its quantification and rationalization. Drawing on Ulrich Beck and Zygmunt Bauman's theories, I argue in the Theoretical Framework chapter that in second modernity this takes form in a temporal rationalization; i.e., work is quantified in time or contract hours (which is in many cases exploitative).

[15] See, e.g., Slaughter and Rhodes' *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy* (2004).

teaching is not seen as the pivotal activity of the university. Tenure, in the academic capitalist paradigm, is for professors who do research.[16,17]

Rajagopal conducted six national surveys in the 1991-1992 academic year (plus one pre-survey in 1990-1991), and also conducted interviews with part-time and full-time faculty members, along with administrators. She differentiated between university types, using the variables of geography, language, size of student population, range of faculties, research funding, unionization and intensity of part-time use. She interviewed part-time faculty and limited-term faculty (both whom she refers to as part-timers) to understand more about their working life. She then interviewed full-time faculty and administrative staff about their views on and interactions with part-timers (21).

Rajagopal argues that there are two types of part-timers: "Classics", who also hold full-time non-academic positions, and "Contemporaries", who only hold part-time academic positions (128). These "Contemporaries" have also been called "permanent temps" (7), since they are continually hired by their universities but are not offered permanent positions. Rajagopal argues that these "permanent temps" create surplus value[18] for the university.

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[16] However, there also exist many researchers working on short-term contracts in the higher education sector which is another aspect of the flexibilization of the academic workforce (See, for example, Mauthner & Edwards 2010)

[17] The separation of teaching and research is discussed further in the Theoretical Framework chapter.

[18] When money is used to purchase a commodity and the commodity is sold for the original sum plus an excess increment, Marx describes this as "M-C-M′, where M′ = M + ΔM and ΔM is the excess or surplus value (1990/1867:251). This equation is the basis for capitalist economic activity and it is realized through the exploitation of labour power (274). The realization of surplus value occurs when the hours in the wage-labourer's working day exceed the labour time that is socially necessary to reproduce that wage-labourer's subsistence (303). If the initial capital invested in production equals the sum expended on the means of production plus the labour-power, the value of labour power is then "valorized" by the extra labour-time exerted (293). The value of the commodity is then the sum of the cost of the means of production, plus the labour-power, plus the surplus value created by the wage-labourer (320).

Rajagopal contends that there are two types of surplus value created – the value extracted by the funds gained from part-timers' increasing workloads and money saved from their low wages (45). Exploitation takes place, for Rajagopal, "when the university gains more value than it pays part-timers in wages." (45). She estimates that in Ontario in the 1987-1988 academic year, part-timers' salaries represented about 7.6 per cent of the total faculty salaries, while part-timers represent 32.5 per cent of total faculty and perform a fifth of the teaching (40). She cites the situation at York University in 1988-1989, when York was spending $12 million per year on part-time teaching, at $7,300 per full-year course, the cost of that amount of teaching time at the average rate per hour for full-timers would have been an additional 12.7 million (67).

Tracing the political economy of Canadian universities from the 1950s, Rajagopal argues that the massification of higher education in the 1960s combined with a cutting of expenditures in the 1970s led to a faculty shortage, accompanied by an increase in administrative and technology-related salaries (34). Rajagopal argues that this context led universities to "seek to extract greater value from the efficient labour needed to teach the undergraduates 'productively', while maintaining pedagogic standards and a complete curriculum"[19] (40).

As Harald Bauder (2006) argues, having a reserve army of labour which is subject to poorer working conditions also allows for stability and better working conditions of the primary segment. Thus, contingent academic faculty members are not solely a means through which the university gains surplus value, as Rajagopal contends, but also a reserve of surplus labour which allows the university to flexibilize the academic labour

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[19] As argued in the Discussion chapter, the massification of the university system through increased enrolment exacerbates these production processes.

force. This permits expenditures in other budgetary lines of the university and secures a certain degree of fiscal stability. In the Data and Analysis chapter, I touch on how this becomes particularly important in managing risk, which is especially pertinent in universities which rely on government funding on an annual basis and lack a regulated stream of funds other than that guaranteed by tuition.

Rajagopal contends that the devaluation of part-timers is also problematic, arguing that "The 'temporary' label pinned on part-timers has also been used to legitimize the neglect of their professional development that many full-timers consider to be related to merit, specialization, and quality of academic work." (2002:40-41). This contradiction is insidious in contingent academic work, I argue: instructors who make dedicated contributions, who indeed work as if they had a permanent or secure job, have no job security, nor do they feel a sense of permanence or integration in their workplaces. Furthermore, they are seldom provided with the benefits of professional development granted to full-timers: only 6% of universities in Rajagopal's study provide 'sabbatical or research leave' for part-timers (41), and only 35% of institutions "provided opportunities for training in instruction, and only a sixth of these actually delivered such training". These figures are shocking, particularly the latter, because teaching is ostensibly their chief activity; as Rajagopal remarks, "They are excluded almost entirely from even rudimentary training in the work that they do and *totally* from the professional development that full-timers deem essential for a healthy academic life and effectiveness in the classroom." (41). As will be demonstrated in this thesis, my participants confirmed this lack of integration and felt, more often than not, that they could receive a greater deal of professional guidance from their colleagues and in the cadre of their departments.

Rajagopal provides a detailed demographic profile of her informants, which I do not address here. Although her analysis is arguably the most in-depth analysis of contingent academic work in Canada, Rajagopal's book relies on data from 1991-1992, which is now twenty years old. There is a great need for more current data, and moreover, data that is collected in a systematic fashion that makes the comparison and aggregation of data more viable. However, the themes revealed by Rajagopal's study remain pertinent. She divides her data and analysis into three thematic sections. In the first, "Increasing Workload and Declining Rewards", Rajagopal describes her participants' dissatisfaction with rewards attributed to their work in terms of salary, status and security (58). Their experiences, she notes, contradict most universities' rhetoric that part-time faculty are an 'integral' part of the university. Her respondents' issues are wide-ranging, including frustrations with a lack of control over course assignment and a disproportionate amount of work developing new courses without offer of payback (59). Part-timers are often relegated the courses full-timers don't want to teach, such as the evening courses, the off-campus jobs and the large introductory courses (62). She also evinces that the time commitments for courses given by part-timers go far beyond the actual pay, calculating that on average, part-timers in her study spent about the same amount of hours on academic work as full-time faculty. A quote from one of her informants is telling: "'I feel that anything over two courses constitutes a full-time commitment. It is a commitment, which Sessionals are too poorly paid to make. It is not worthwhile to take on responsibilities without rights and rewards associated with a full-time position.'" (62).

The second theme in Rajagopal's data is "Career Mobility". Rajagopal begins to discuss distinctions between Classics, who have other full-time non-academic careers and Contemporaries, who only have part-time academic jobs. Rajagopal notes that out of the Contemporaries, 60 per cent aspire to a full-time academic job and contends that "If the university took their interests and concerns seriously, it would treat them as a potential pool of full-timers. In reality, however, part-timers are on a different footing altogether in terms of credit gained in teaching and research experience through their work." (69) She identifies three different barriers to these full-time jobs. First, university policies (formal or informal) that favour recent PhDs with degrees from prestigious institutions and look disfavourably upon candidates who have taught part-time for a longer period. Rajagopal suggests that full-timers, in using these arguments, perpetuate the status quo, thus increasing the chances that these Contemporaries remain stuck in their part-time positions. As second barrier to full-time academic jobs is that part-timers, who are often working full-time and in many cases traveling from university to university, do not have the time to keep up their academic records, and thus are not viewed as serious researchers. A third barrier is discriminatory treatment in the workplace. Rajagopal found that part-timers, especially those in women's studies or in gay and lesbian studies, were not treated seriously as the faculty at some institutions were not sensitized to these issues (72-3).

The third theme emerging from Rajagopal's data is "Power and Influence". Rajagopal again points to a tension between the rhetoric that faculty is an equitable body, noting that part-timers have very little representation on academic decision-making councils and that if they do, that it is token membership (81). Even when they have the

right to attend department meetings, for example, they often feel that they are unqualified or discouraged to express their opinion. Rajagopal argues that this reinforces their sense of marginalization, and also creates a strain between them and full-time faculty members, who can often be allies. Instead, Rajagopal found that 78 per cent of her respondents turned to their unions; feeling that "these organizations are more effective in presenting their views than the universities' decision-making bodies." (87)

The key to understanding part-time faculty, for Rajagopal, is the distinction between Classics and Contemporaries. Classics, non-academic professionals, who have always been part of the university, are often satisfied with their part-time position, noting that it gives them contact with the academic world they might otherwise not have, and provides supplemental income. Contemporaries, on the other hand, wish to hold full-time academic jobs, and experience frustration both in their current work situation and in their job searches, often feeling "trapped" in a part-time position. Contemporaries make more efforts than Classics to engage in professional academic activities, presenting scholarly papers, undergoing professional training and pursuing higher studies more often. Yet they are still very much on the margins of academe. Their passion and the drive for "self actualization" is one of their main motivating factors. Rajagopal expresses the optimistic hope that, "everyday needs for self-realization of the human personality could overcome the constraints of alienating work; if part-timers feel that the academic work life fulfils these needs, fostering their career aspirations could compensate for the marginalizing experiences of part-time work" (130).

In her piece "How Fares Equity in an Era of Academic Capitalism? The Role of Contingent Faculty", Linda Muzzin (2008) discusses the results of her own qualitative

study of academic faculty in Canada conducted from 1999 to 2003. Muzzin conducted

160 interviews across Canada with at least one instructor per field per province. She

contrasts the faculty scenario in sociology and anthropology with the scenario in law;

claiming that in the former two disciplines have been the "hardest hit by retrenchment"

and arguing that in the former, faculty members are particularly hard-hit by practices she

terms "exclusionary" (105). Muzzin argues that the social sciences and humanities are the

hardest hit not only because science and professional programs tend to get the lion's

share of resources (107), but also because there are fewer practices apart from

"contractual teaching, activism, or positions in other fields as hired by government or

other academic departments" (115). As outlined in my methodology chapter, this is an

important consideration in researching contingent academic faculty members, particularly

with respect to their own job satisfaction and professional identity.

Muzzin's data shows that often those near completing their PhD get caught in

part-time positions for economic reasons and aspire to get a full-time position but

"eventually join the reserve army of academic labour" (108). For Muzzin, the

"Contemporaries" described by Rajagopal are becoming a more permanent fixture in

universities.

The author argues that the literature on contingent academic faculty tends to focus

on a diminished quality in academic practice and the transformation of the university

from a hub for the transmission of knowledge to a factory-style training machine for the

job market. Muzzin argues that the threat of low-quality is not justified; she argues that

there are very few unproductive citizens in the community of academic labour and that

part-time and contingent workers are "typically retained over the long term because of their exemplary teaching." (119).[20]

With respect to the second argument, Muzzin laments that this is based in a notion of an "academic Golden age" that was reserved for those in privileged positions and that this is not a realizable, nor desirable, framework for the contemporary university. Moreover, Muzzin argues, those holding this view often regard Contemporaries with suspicion and as part of the problem (110). While "lip service" is paid to contingent faculty by attempting to include them in the academy, she argues, little real action is taken to improve their conditions.[21]

Muzzin also underscores that the feminization and racialization of these workers is prevalent. While noting that there is a lack of complete data on part-time and contingent academic faculty, she found that two thirds of non-tenured faculty members in the pharmaceutical sciences are women and/or people of colour. She draws a parallel between Mysyk's (2001) notion of migrant farm labour and contingent academic work, arguing that similarities exist in that the work is racialized and feminized, and that many workers juggle two to seven jobs at a time. Muzzin, like Mysyk, rejects the notion that these workers are "opportunistic", pointing to the stigma involved with contingent academic work. This stigma is fuelled by notions of the "'poor quality'" of part-time work, doing unpaid work to gain "points", and the "merry-go-round" of "revolving-door"

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[20] In the Theoretical Framework chapter, I suggest that concerns with quality are legitimate but should be examined from point of view of the structural problem of insecurity rather than a lack of productivity or talent on the part of contingent academic faculty members.

[21] In October 2010, for example, Concordia University hosted a "Part-time Faculty Showcase", which aimed to "underscore the importance of the overall quality of Concordia teaching and research" (Cooper, 2010; see http://now.concordia.ca/journal/20101025/recognizing-the-value-of-part-time-faculty.php). While it is heartening to see the university make such efforts, it remains unclear whether further efforts will be made on the part of the university to improve the job security and working conditions of its contingent academic faculty members.

jobs. This stigma, for Muzzin, mitigates any view that part-time and contingent faculty members can be viewed as "opportunistic". As Harvey pointed out, the notion that non-traditional work under flexibilization is to the advantage of the worker is central to the integration of neoliberal values into the 'common sense' of the workforce, and for Muzzin these values need to be problematized.

Muzzin notes that some departments have "regularized" part-time faculty. That is, they are given some benefits and pension. Often contingent faculty members are 'unofficially permanent'; that is, they are hired repeatedly over the years – but as Muzzin points out, there is no guarantee that their contract will be renewed the following year.[22]

As Rajagopal and Muzzin underscore, there is a lack of current and complete data on part-time and temporary faculty members in Canadian universities, although her statistical data does point to an increase in part-time and non-traditional academic work in Quebec and Canada. In her 2006 study, Jane Lin analyzes data from the 1999 and 2005 Labour Force Surveys and finds that the percentage of full-time faculty members in Canada decreased by 9.6 per cent and that the percentage of part-time faculty members increased by 101.2 per cent. She also reveals that the number of permanent faculty members decreased by 19.2 per cent and the number of non-permanent faculty increased by 104.5 per cent. The latter number is shocking and intriguing. How could temporary faculty members more than double over a six year period? Unfortunately, Lin does not aggregate these trends provincially, so we cannot use this to generalize about part-time and temporary faculty members at Quebec universities, but it does provide substantial evidence that non-permanent instruction is on the increase in Canada.

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[22] This is what I mean by the "Permanently Precarious" portion of my thesis title.

This thesis seeks to explore whether this is true for Quebec universities, and to situate these numbers in the more general debates surrounding the university system and higher education, which are discussed in the latter part of this chapter.

Teresa Omiecinski used data aggregated at the provincial level from Statistics Canada's University and College Academic Staff Survey for Part-Time Faculty (UCASS-PT), a survey that provided a profile of part-time faculty members from the academic years 1990-1991 to 1997-1998, but is now unfortunately inactive. The number of part-time faculty in Quebec increased by almost 14 per cent – from 9,383 in 1990–1991 to 10,687 in 1997–1998 (2003:10).

There are a few issues with Omiecinski's analysis. First, using the number of part-time faculty members is problematic as it may simply reflect an increased hiring of university faculty members in general. Rather, the percentage of part-time faculty is more appropriate measure to examine the extent of this increase. For the purposes of this thesis, I find that the temporary or contingent status of faculty members is a more interesting measure, as previous literature has established that many "part-time faculty" actually carry full teaching loads and work more than thirty hours per week (Jacobs, 2004; Rajagopal 2002). The quantitative analysis I have conducted as part of this thesis addresses this issue further.[23]

Canadian geographer Harald Bauder argues that academic labour is becoming increasingly segmented, and suggests that this is symptomatic of a kind of corporatization or "flexibilization" of the university (2006:228). Citing data from the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) Almanac (2006), he draws attention to the

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[23] See Data and Analysis chapter.

decline of faculty members' salaries in relation to total university expenditures over the past three decades and also to the decrease in faculty-student ratio. Bauder takes issue with where funds are going if not to faculty members' salaries, noting that salary expenditures have decreased relatively despite the fact that there are more students per faculty member than in the past[24].

These two fundamental questions about the political economy of Canadian universities are, for Bauder, complemented by what he calls the segmentation of academic labour (229). Bauder notes that there is a lack of current and complete data to support this, citing Omiecinski's study as the only nationwide study that provides a recent snapshot of the numbers of part-time faculty in Canadian universities. Bauder notes that data on part-time faculty can be found at individual universities and uses Carleton as an example, noting that sessional lecturers taught 33.1% of courses in 2003/2004, whereas they taught only 25.1% of courses in 2000/2001 (230).

Bauder employs Marx's theory of labour segmentation, suggesting that part-time and temporary faculty members constitute the secondary segment, or "'reserve army' of labour", which is subject to poorer working conditions, permits stability and better working conditions for the primary segment. He suggests that the secondary segment of sessional lecturers is growing larger than what is necessary to maintain the stability of the primary segment, and argues that this can be accounted for by three factors. First, he remarks, the academic labour market is a separate labour market (231). It is difficult for academics to get other jobs because they have invested so much time and effort into the

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[24] I provide an updated analysis of CAUT data in the Discussion chapter to argue that with the "massification" of the university system, university instructors can hardly be accused of economic 'inefficiency', contrary to popular perceptions.

high qualifications for these jobs, and there is a symbolic value of an academic skill-set that is not valued elsewhere (232). Second, the academic labour market is itself segmented, both in terms of the gendered nature of part-time instruction and in terms of social and cultural capital. That is, certain segments are elevated by virtue of belonging to a research group, having a degree from a particular university, or publishing in a certain journal (232). Third, there is competition within these segments; not across them (233). That is, Bauder views sessional lecturers as highly skilled workers whose skill-set is not particularly transferable to other domains, and who have not acquired sufficient social and/or cultural capital to compete in the tenure-stream or primary segment, and who therefore increase competition among the sessional or secondary segment.

Bauder's analysis is central to my thesis. First, as a recent Canadian article pointing to a lack of current data, the author validates the need for further research. Moreover, Bauder suggests that the segmentation of the academic labour market should be considered in the context of questions about university expenditures, student-teacher ratios, and other changes within the institution. My thesis seeks to extend this argument; indeed, I contend that the segmentation of academic labour is not complementary but is the central lens through which the political economy of the university must be examined, as I discuss in the Theoretical Framework chapter.

Rajagopal, Muzzin and Bauder attempt to contextualize the segmentation and stratification of the academic labour market in broader questions about the political economy of Canadian universities. However, literature that emerged from the U.S. and U.K. in the 1990s commented on part-time faculty and their broader context as well.

In their article, "Part-Time Faculty in Colleges and Universities: Trends and Challenges in a Turbulent Environment" (1999), policy analysts Kenneth Charfauros and William Tierney examine the statistical increase of part-time faculty in institutions of higher learning across the United States. They reveal that from the 1970s to the late 1990s, part-time faculty increased from roughly 20% to 45% (141). Although the employment of part-timers increased, the employment of full-time faculty remained relatively stable. Reliance on part-time and temporary labour is inextricably linked with the hiring of full-time and tenure-track professors, and indeed the future of the tenure system itself (Baldwin and Chronister, 2001). This suggests that research on part-time and temporary academic labour should take into account, wherever possible, trends in full-time and permanent employment as well.[25]

Charfauros and Tierney predict that "higher education is within hailing distance of having part-time faculty as the majority providers of instruction at institutions nationwide." (141), and elaborate reasons why educational institutions might opt to do so. Outlining a broad picture of the U.S. fiscal context, they identify a decrease in government funding in tandem with a decrease in college enrolment as key economical strains on universities. Given the strains put on educational institutions, the authors maintain that the increased employment of part-timers is an institutional strategy in "containing costs" and "maintaining flexibility" (142). They point to large classes, which make money for colleges and universities, as well as the ability to cancel classes as a precaution which does not threaten the functioning of the institution but is rather hazardous for the individual faculty member. Finally, they identify that a "buyer's

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[25] That this thesis does not contend with trends in full-time and permanent academic work is one of its limitations, as mentioned in the Discussion chapter.

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market" (143) of part-time instructors exists, since a wealth of well-educated individuals exists.

Although Charfauros and Tierney's analysis applies to American universities, I argue that it is a useful starting point in identifying some of the reasons part-time and temporary labour is central to the university system in Canada. With enrolment rates increasing[26] and a lack of commitment on the part of the provincial government to reinvest heavily in universities, often universities' best strategy is to expand enrolment[27]. As the authors elaborate, part-time faculty members are viewed as cost-cutting flexible labour that allow universities to deal with economic strain arising from decreased public funding and fluctuating rates of enrolment. However, their predictions still leave Bauder's initial question about the relative increase in total university expenditures unanswered. If there is economic strain on universities, why have expenditures increased, and to what end? How might this shift in expenditures reflect what many have called the "corporatization of the university" (Seybold, 2008; Washburn 2005; Natale et al. 2001; Marginson and Considine 2000)? I deal with these questions in the Discussion chapter.

Much of the literature on part-time and temporary faculty that emerged in the 1990s contended with questions of professional identity and development. Charfauros and Tierney draw on a typology of part-timer professional identities developed by Judith Gappa and David Leslie in their book *The invisible faculty: Improving the status of part-*

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[26] Full-time student enrolment in Canada, for example, rose steadily from 580,377 in 1998-1999 to 806,285 in 2007-2008 (CAUT *Almanac of Post-Secondary Education*, 2010-2011)

[27] In a recent "Open to Question" session about university funding with Concordia University's Chief Financial Officer, Patrick Kelley, the CFO showed a slide with the following text:
"Funding can only change in so many ways: changes in tuition, changes in the teaching grant, changes in the support grants or special grants, donation, or (capitalized and in bold)… INCREASED STUDENT ENROLMENT". It is clear what Kelley, and others, think is the most desirable (or realistic) avenue through which to increase university funding. (Podcast available at http://pegasus.concordia.ca/Flv_Content/audio/O2Q_Patick_Kelley_Oct-06.mp3)

timers in higher education (1993). The typology outlines four categories of part-time

faculty members: Career enders, who are semi-retired or retired; specialists and experts;

aspiring academics and freelancers or "part-timers by choice" (Gappa and Leslie, 1993:

41 – 49). They argue that the categories of specialists and aspiring academics constitute

the largest portion of part-timers, which inevitably are met with some discrimination.

Like Rajagopal, Gappa and Leslie distinguish between part-timers who aspire to

full-time academic careers and those who do not. I argue that typologies developed by the

authors provide useful insight into the changing political economy of the university ten

years later. In previous research that I conducted for an unpublished undergraduate thesis

entitled "Institutional Reliance on Contract Faculty at Concordia University" (2009), I

interviewed nine faculty members in the Department of Sociology at Concordia. I asked

questions about job security, working conditions and professional development. One of

the most striking results was the heterogeneity of responses regarding professional

identity. While some participants viewed their job as situated in a definite hierarchical or

exploitative structure like the one elucidated by Bauder, others avowed that their position

allowed them freedom from the pressures of a tenure-track position. Others pursued other

contract positions, often in CÉGEPS[28] or other academic jobs much like the freelancers

described by Gappa and Leslie. This signaled to me that professional identity among this

diverse group was an important area of inquiry to pursue. This research suggests that the

categories or typologies of part-time and temporary faculty members should be

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[28] In Quebec, a CÉGEP (*Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel*), is a postsecondary institution at which students complete a DÉC (*Diplôme d'Études Collégiales*) attend for two to three years following high school and prior to undergraduate studies. There is no twelfth grade in the Quebec high school system, and students who complete the DÉC and enroll in university are usually enrolled in a three-year instead of a four-year Bachelor's degree program.

problematized taking into account Beck's notion of reflexive biographies implied by de-standardized forms of risky employment. However, although the particular categories suggested by Gappa and Leslie need to be problematized, I used them as an entry point in my interviews, with the hope that they might help faculty members respond to some of the intimate questions about their identity and experiences.

Gappa and Leslie are not the sole authors to explore professional identity among part-time and temporary faculty members. British sociologists Andrea Abbas and Monica McLean (2001) do so in their article "Becoming Sociologists: Professional Identity for Part-time Teachers of University Sociology". The authors use fieldwork from a project funded by the Higher Education Council in U.K. which aimed to develop new forms of support to part-time faculty (340). Abbas and McLean propose that part-timers form a "constituent identity" on the basis of allocated space, types of courses taught, type of contract, participation in conferences, student relations, amount and quality of publications and various other factors. They identify three levels of faculty members, including the instructor paid at an hourly rate, the "PhD. student with a bursary" and those who hold research contracts which include a teaching segment (345). They also find that professors at the 'lower' levels usually have less access to departmental activities and resources.

Abbas and McLean's work proposes a slightly more fluid, but nevertheless identifiable typology of professional identity. Moreover, they point to ways in which these identities – e.g. "Ph.D. student with a bursary" are simultaneously created and shaped through the allocation of department and university resources. I draw on their proposal in my Data and Analysis chapter.

While other issues addressed in the literature are of critical importance, they are not the focus of my thesis. These include, among others, the intensification and complexification of academic workloads (Hargreaves 1992; Easthope and Easthope 2000) stress and emotions in academic environments (Gappa 1987; Butterwick and Dawson 2005; Chandler et al. 2002). Scholars have called into question the pedagogical implications of heavy reliance on part-timers (Pannapacker 2000; Tierney 1998); although this no doubt merits further research, it is beyond the scope of my thesis.

A much wider body of literature evinces a transformation or shift in higher education, academia and the university as an institution. A preliminary scan of this literature reveals a variety of narratives to explain transformation in the university today. These diverse narratives of transformation can be summarized as two paradigms. One strain of literature identifies economic and structural transformations that are associated with late capitalism. This paradigm envisages theses of managerialism, capitalism, flexibilization, commodification and corporatization (e.g., Rhodes 1996, Ritzer 1998 and 2002; Parker & Jary 1995; Marginson & Considine 2000, Natale et al. 2001 and Fox 2002). On the other hand, a number of authors have lamented the demise of the university as an institution serving the public good, or the commons (Readings 1996; Calhoun 2002; Freitag 1993). These paradigms do not represent two separate crises, but rather simultaneous and dialectically related processes. As Pedro Mendes of the Edu-Factory Collective argues in his recent analysis of the Brazilian university, there is a "double-crisis" that entails both the economic dysfunction of the university *and* the decay of the relation between the university and the public good (2010: 96). I will now briefly

summarize some of these key texts and explain how the phenomenon of part-time and contingent labour is situated in these narratives.

In Martin Parker and David Jary's influential article, "The McUniversity: Organization, Management and Academic Subjectivity" (1995), the authors argue that the increasing employment of part-time and sessional lecturers in the context of a flexibilization of the university constitutes a "rationalization of higher education" or the "New Higher Education (NHE)" (319). They identify three levels or modes of rationalization.

The first mode of rationalization, the national and structural context, can be understood through the visible division between well-funded "ancient"[29] arts and letters universities and underfunded "redbrick"[30] science and technology institutions (321). The expansion of the university system, portrayed by the government as a strategy for economic growth, was coupled with a conservative demand for efficiency in universities. Parker and Jary argue that this entailed expectations that curriculum would be less critical of business, along with the restructuring of research councils and the appointments of non-academic executives to governing bodies of the university (322). The authors also note that the "hard managerialist" White Paper on Science published in 1991 put "economic relevance for national performance at the heart of funded enquiry" (322). In the context of NHE, the authors remark, academics are portrayed as "privileged residents of the ivory tower" (323).

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[29]Refers to the oldest universities in the U.K., including University of Cambridge and the University of Oxford, among others. See, for example, Ben-David and Zloczower's article "Universities and Academic Systems in Modern Societies" (1963).
[30] Refers to universities in the U.K. that were initially established as science or technical colleges in industrial cities in the late 19th century. Allison Peers (alias Bruce Truscot) coined the term in his 1943 *Redbrick University*, which dealt with policies and problems for newer universities in the post-war period of higher education expansion in the U.K. (Beloff 1997)

The second mode of rationalization dealt with is the institutional level. The authors assert that not all change is negative and that traditional forms of university governance are not necessarily the solution. Indeed, they do admit that critiques of academic elitism are in many cases justifiable (324). However, they do want to question the notion that managerialist practices in and of themselves improve the university. Parker and Jary argue that these are processes of surveillance that make "outdated practices" and "poor performances" visible (325). They contend that in defining quality as a property or label, they may be bringing into effect a kind of "de-differentiation" (Lash in Parker and Jary, 1995) – that is, they may be erasing the uniqueness of departments and disciplines.

These first two levels of rationalization are useful frameworks for understanding universities. First, they imply that critiques of the university as an elite, ivory-tower institution are deeply embedded in calls for accountability, and that in the case of Parker and Jary's context and perhaps others, these critiques are the catalyst for rationalizing activities in the university, whether the resultant outcome is intended or not by the critics. This has created a tension between the call to expand access or democratize the university and a concern held by many academics that practices are so highly rationalized that their original value might be degraded. For Clare Fox (2002), the key question is not how to widen access without lowering standards, but rather to question what today's students are being given access to:

> For those of us who have fought long and hard to open up access to the ivory towers to allow more and more people to share the liberation of developing the critical and analytical powers that accompany studying at the highest level, we must acknowledge that in the guise of student-centeredness we are in danger of destroying precisely what it was that was worth gaining access to. (141)

Fox's piece epitomizes the tension alluded to by Parker and Jary. Although she views the critique of elitism as a valid and valuable expression, she finds that the aims of democratization are lost in translation in the "massification" of higher education. The author critiques the Dearing Report, a much-cited report published in 1997 in the U.K. that advocated the separation of research and teaching along with a program of "student-centered teaching" (133). Fox argues that the severing of research from teaching relativizes the relationship between student and teacher, and damages the valuable learning experience that takes place when a student is given access to a specialist in their field, much like a master-apprentice relationship. The latter represents a passion for a discipline, and Fox argues that this passion is undoubtedly lost or weakened when teaching is standardized and separated from the professors' research interests. Hayes (2002), who also critiques the rational division of research from teaching and the heavy emphasis on "teacher training" in university, dubs the new student-centered relationship as a kind of "therapeutic" higher education (143). Neither Fox nor Hayes address what role contingent faculty members might play in the massification of higher education, but it remains an interesting question that I address in this thesis.

Although the rationalization and standardization of pedagogy is not my focus, I want to highlight it as a theme that recurs in the literature, and an area that merits further research. The body of literature on the transformation of the university often examines the effects of what Parker and Jary would call the "rationalization" and Fox would call the "massification" of higher education. It debates the merits of the formal systematization of research and teaching into accountable, tangible units.

Frank Furedi (2002) insists that education cannot be systematized because it is the outcome of a relationship that is built on the creative tension between teaching and learning (35). He claims that it is not a quantifiable undertaking and cannot be reasonably assessed "in the here and now". Good scholarship, Furedi argues, requires a long-term commitment to the object of enquiry (36), and academic work can become significant or beneficial in other times and places (36). Furedi also questions the student-centered relationship, specifically suggesting that student-based evaluations create a conflict of interest situation: he worries that "lecturers who know that their position is closely linked to the approval they receive from their students will learn to avoid teaching practices that might undermine their popularity" (36). Moreover, similarly to Hayes, he denounces the idea of training academics to teach, claiming that it is a deskilling of academics (40). For Furedi, "the academic who is a learner plays the role of facilitator rather than that of a generator of knowledge. This is a pseudodemocratic masquerade that obscures the fact that the university is systematically lowering the expectations it has of its students" (40).

To return to Parker and Jary's three levels of rationalization: the authors outline a national and structural tendency to hold institutions accountable and to avoid the ivory-tower syndrome. Unfortunately, as Furedi points out, these very processes of rationalization and stress on accountability might lead to conflictual relationships and lowered standards, as described above. Both Fox and Furedi view the separation of teaching and research as one that detracts from the value of higher education and is incongruous with the pursuit of knowledge.

Parker and Jary's third level of rationalization, the professional and subjective experiences of individual academics, is pertinent here. For the authors, NHE is predicated

on a stereotype of an academic that is a "tenured, eccentric individualist and able to pursue their arcane teaching and research interests without external constraint" (1995: 327). This stereotypical academic assumes the university as a "backdrop of legality and resource management" (328), and NHE aims, contrarily, to make academics' "internal motivations become external and hence manageable" (328). In this context, the academic is a career person who is constantly aware of their and others' progression, setbacks and ratings (329). The authors fear that this kind of academic subjectivity not only detracts from the pedagogical aims of higher education, but also helps to reinforce the validity of modes of bureaucratic surveillance.

Two other facets of NHE are ubiquitous at an institutional level according to Parker and Jary. "Modularization", which is rooted in the ideas of flexibility and consumer choice according to the authors, is dangerous not only in that it creates a student who can treat ideas as consumer goods to be consumed or rejected, but also that it positions the student as a kind of "surveillance surrogate" that can confirm or contest whether the company representative (teacher/professor) is doing their job (326) – and I argue that this is particularly important with contingent university instructors. Second, a "casualization of academic labour" exists, wherein a core of permanent faculty is supported by the periphery of part-time and sessional instructors. For the authors these peripheral part-time faculty members are "more amenable to direct instruction because their employment position is insecure" (327) and are perhaps less likely to attempt to resist managerial practices in the university.

Many scholars have elaborated on Parker and Jary's article, and provide their own interpretations of the neoliberal rationalization of the university. Higher education has

been said to be in crisis (Cote & Allahar 2007); in ruins (Readings 1996); capitalistic (Slaughter & Rhodes 2004); managerial (Anderson, 2008; Thrupp & Wilmott 2003); therapeutic (Hayes, 2002), vocationalized (Smart, 2003); without condition (Derrida 2002) and shipwrecked (Freitag, 1993). Some argue that the university is subject to flexibilization (Rhodes 1996), commodification, corporatization (Seybold 2008, Washburn 2005, Marginson & Considine 2000, Natale et al. 2001), McDonaldization and Massification (Ritzer 1998 and 2002; Parker & Jary 1995; Fox 2002). A number of other researchers deliberate on the issue of the corporatization and privatization of research (Gingras & Gemme 2006), the university and globalization (Currie & Newsom Eds. 1998) and the decay of the humanities and social sciences (Donaghue 2009; Gagné 2008). Unfortunately, these go beyond the scope of the present literature review[31]. Nevertheless, they remain important contributions to the scholarship on the transformation of higher education in North America and the UK.

What is evident is that the reliance on contingent and flexible academic labour in the university is situated in much larger issues that include, among others, fiscal crises in the university, the division of labour associated to research and teaching, the student-as-client paradigm and ramifications of corresponding new systems of accountability in universities, and perhaps the *modus operandi* of the university itself. The situation of contingent academic labour in these problems is addressed in the Theoretical Framework and Discussion chapters.

Theoretical Framework

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[31] However, in the following chapter I briefly discuss the work of Freitag, Gagné and Calhoun and others to situate the rationalization of academic labour theoretically.

In the preceding chapter, I situated the literature on contingent academic work in the context of David Harvey's theorization of the emergence of neoliberalism and the accompanying neoliberalization of the university. Like Harvey, both Ulrich Beck (1992) and Zygmunt Bauman (2000) argue that the flexibilization of work signifies and is symptomatic of a new or second modernity. Beck ties the notion of flexible and non-traditional work to risk society, while Bauman views deregulated and insecure jobs as part and parcel of a historical period he calls 'liquid modernity'. Moreover, both authors suggest that individualization is inherent in contemporary notions and forms of work. In this chapter, I elucidate the usefulness of Beck and Bauman's central theses towards understanding the impacts of the flexibilization of academic work on higher education and the professional identity of university faculty members.

In *Risk Society*, Beck explains how various aspects of contemporary society constitute a 'modernization of modernity', or reflexive modernization (1992:8). By this, Beck means that the systems, institutions and social arrangements created in the transformation from feudal to industrial society are now "dissolving" into a second modernity (10). This does not necessarily mean that they become completely obsolete, but rather that modern institutions and arrangements, such as the nuclear family, are challenged and intersected by new processes of modernization, such as new reproductive technologies. These new processes include not only new forms of categorization and structures, but also a stripping of categories and structure. Hence, reflexive modernization is viewed initially as a type of liberation – however, Beck is skeptical of this view, as I later discuss.

The social system of standard, full-employment, as Beck points out, is fundamental to individual identity in industrial modernity. Work is no longer simply viewed as "making one's living, but (as) the chief manner through which individuals develop identity through the life course" – as children by learning about what their parents 'do', throughout their education by identifying work as the "missing other" and in adulthood by structuring their life around the demands of employment and by their social interaction with others, who usually self-identify through work and occupation, at least on a superficial level (139). Moreover, work and occupation is a channel through which one assesses one's needs, abilities, economic and social position and gains access to contexts of social activity (140). Beyond this, Beck points to other theorists who have suggested that work provides inner stability and guarantees fundamental social experiences (Schelsky in Beck, 140). Beck suggests, however, that as work becomes de-standardized, flexibilized and pluralized in the second modernity, that the occupation has lost many of its "former assurances and protective functions" (140).

Beck describes a "counter-industrial rationalization process during which the *principles* of the previously existing employment system will be at stake" (140). This rationalization process introduces new uncertainties in the interest of efficiency and economic prosperity, but without any guarantee that such prosperity will be secured for the individual worker. These new uncertainties include the increased participation of women in the workforce, the elimination of jobs due to technological innovations and the increase of part-time as opposed to full-time jobs (141).

Instead of experimenting with new economic arrangements or developing permanent labour market policies, Beck argues that the second modernity "hibernates" in

its presumption of a "continuity of the traditional employment system and its supporting pillars" (141). That is, employers and institutions, while utilizing such new forms of employment and eliminating jobs, continue to operate as if full-employment were still the reality that all individual workers face. The system of full employment, as Beck points out, comprises basic features such as the labour contract, the work site, and standard working hours[32], which all become outmoded as new forms (and non-forms) of work become increasingly popular. For Beck, despite the fact that these features are outmoded, that systems and institutions presume their continued existence prevents the possibility for the reflexive modernization of work, which he argues is necessary for constitutional reform (141).

This clash between features of the standard full-employment model and new forms of employment is, as I discuss in my analysis of the data, at the heart of many problems faced by contingent faculty in the university system. Undertaking new and insecure types of academic jobs, they are required to develop what Beck would call "self-reflexive biographies" (135) that account for the instability (and, perhaps, freedom) of their positions. Yet in the cadre of their departments, faculties and institutional units they are met with expectations, attitudes and even institutional language that assume a standard biography; which imply standard, academic full-employment.[33]

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[32] As Bauman argues, spatial restrictions become superseded by temporal restrictions; power has become "truly *extraterritorial*, no longer bound, not even slowed down, by the resistance of space. The closing of factories and the tendency of individuals to either work from home or take on the responsibility for spatial allocation of work signals this. Beck points out, significantly, that this perceived convenience to the worker is often negated by a "privatization of the physical and mental health risks of work through the spatial flexibilization of wage labour" (143)

[33] Although I am using a concept that applies to entire life-histories, not simply professional or occupational life, I am relying on Beck's notion that work is the "*axis of living* in the industrial age" (1992:139) to justify applying this concept predominantly to participants' occupational lives.

Leaving the notion of standard and reflexive biographies aside for the moment, let us return to Beck's notion that a counter-industrial rationalization process is calling into question the principles of full-employment. Beck suggests that this process entails the de-spatialization and invisibilization of work and the blurring of boundaries between work and non-work. These two concepts are supplemented by Bauman's notion that time increasingly supersedes space as the principle conduit of power in liquid modernity.

Beck views contemporary work as de-spatialized and invisibilized. He claims that the spatial and visible character of work is "uprooted" (142) principally through the flexibilization of work, whereby employees often work part-time shifts, and work in locations other than the company, which may have a distant location or none at all. This notion of spatial de-location and invisibility is highly relevant to this thesis, as much of the terminology used to describe contingent academic faculty involves invisibility and transience – whether it is Rajagopal's book title, *Hidden Academics*, Gappa and Leslie's *Invisible Faculty*, Barbara Wolf's video *Migrant Workers of the Information Economy*,[34] or the notion of "Freeway fliers" discussed in all three. All these terms, along with the data I gathered for this thesis, supports this notion of de-localized work.

While some enjoy the day-to-day convenience of being able to work from home or having the flexibility to do "hidden" work at a de-centralized location, this de-spatialization of work may have more dire consequences on a structural level. Beck points out, significantly, that this perceived convenience to the worker is often negated by

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[34] In Barbara Wolf's 1997 documentary, "Degrees of Shame – Part-time Faculty: The Migrant Workers of the Information Economy", Wolf compares part-time faculty members to migrant farm workers and interviews several "freeway fliers" – that is, instructors who teach at several universities and are constantly on the road. She films them talking about their work while they are driving in their car to visually reinforce this point.

a "privatization of the physical and mental health risks of work through the spatial flexibilization of wage labour" (143). Moreover, when an institution is allocated a spatially exclusive location, it is more easily subject to confrontation; for example, it is difficult to picket at a corporation that has decentralized offices or conducts most of its business electronically. This latter point is perhaps not as significant in universities which at present still own and inhabit physical buildings and campuses.[35]

As Bauman argues, spatial restrictions in work and industry are becoming superseded by temporal restrictions; power has become "truly *exterritorial*, no longer bound, not even slowed down, by the resistance of space" (2000:11). New techniques of power, for Bauman, involve elision and avoidance; "what matters in post-Panoptical power-relations is that the people operating the levers of power on which the fate of the less volatile partners in the relationship depends can at any moment escape beyond reach – into sheer inaccessibility." (11). In effect, the inefficiency of the Panopticon, as Bauman points out, is that it is bound to spatial dimensions. Not only does this spatial containment represent a financial or economic commitment on the part of the state and the institution in question, but it also forces a kind of "mutual engagement" between the haves and the have-nots. This mutual engagement is constituted in the fact that the haves are, to a certain degree, responsible for the have-nots.[36]

For the most part the university system has not been 'liberated' from the financial burden and responsibilities of mutual engagement implied by spatial relations. It remains a physical location in which students, faculty members, staff, administrators and others

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[35] However, with the increasing trend of online, distance and "blended learning" courses, this spatial existence is not immune to change – see, e.g. Cook, Owston and Garrison (2004)

[36] However with discourses of 'freedom', as Beck points out, this mutual engagement and social-institutional responsibility is de-emphasized.

work, play and live their lives. However, there is something about Beck's notion of the despatialization and invisibility of work that is somewhat foreboding, particularly taking into account the prevalence of online courses and distance learning (see Footnote 35). Moreover, the transience of contingent academic faculty, who often travel from one institution to another, who seldom have offices they can call their own, and who are often forced to carry their course materials around in shopping bags, is perhaps indicative of a disconnect between labour and spatial dimensions.

What is more important, perhaps, is the "conquest", as Bauman would call it, of temporal over spatial restrictions (2000:9). That is, academic workers are encouraged to fit as much work into as little time, or at least contract hours, as possible. In his more recent book *Brave New World of Work*, Beck argues that the new problematics of the second modernity simultaneously posit hope and collapse for emerging structures of work and employment (2000:37).

Table 2.1 Ulrich Beck's table "Future scenarios of work"		
	Hope	Collapse
Science-based information technologies	1 From the work society to the knowledge society	2 Capitalism without work
Globalization	3 The world market – the neoliberal jobs miracle	4 The fixed location of work – a globalization risk
Ecological crises	5 Sustainable work – the ecological economic miracle	6 Global apartheid
Individualization	7 The self-employed – the freedom of insecurity	8 Individualization of work – disintegration of society

In the case of the knowledge economy problematic, there is the hope that finding

new forms of productivity in knowledge work and among knowledge workers will pose a

kind of hopeful economic challenge (2000:41), perhaps akin to the challenge posed by

industrial society to feudal society. On the less optimistic side, as productivity is

increased through the expansion of communication and information technologies, the

very bleak possibility of "capitalism without work" exists (42). Beck provides an

example that in Germany only 60% of working hours that were performed in 1955 were

performed at the time the book was published[37]. This notion of capitalism without work,

which Beck seems to espouse more readily than that of the hopeful economic challenge,

is part of the conquest of temporal rather than spatial restrictions. It is the minimum

amount of contract hours that can be paid in order to get a job done. Unlike factory work,

which allocates a minimum amount of space to a given amount of labourers in order to

increase productivity, contemporary work allocated a minimum amount of time to

workers, and spatial dimensions become more or less obsolete.[38] In this way, as both

Beck and Bauman point out, it is anti- or post-Taylorist as it replaces the standard

division of labour with "*the consolidation of partial tasks on a higher level of skill and*

specialized sovereignty" (146). The unit through which these tasks are rationalized, Beck

and Bauman suggest, is time. As I discuss in the Data and Analysis chapter, time is

central to the institutional exploitation of contingent academic faculty, as the notion of

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[37] The study cited by Beck was published in 1998; however, the figures provided are for the year 1996 according to Beck.
[38] This is particularly true in the case of the social sciences and most humanities, in which very little space is necessary to "get the job done". As this thesis focuses on faculty members in these domains, I will not discuss the implications of labs or performance space, which may be of more consequence to faculty members in the natural sciences, engineering, medical or nursing professions, or performing arts.

smaller time commitments (as in "part-time") may constitute a kind of legitimation of poorer working conditions, lower status, and job insecurity.

Beck also states that the boundaries between work and "non-work" are becoming fluid (1992:142). I take this erosion of boundaries to have two meanings. First, Beck is arguing that subsequent to the despatialization of work, "work life" and "non-work life" may not be distinguishable at all times, and indeed one might even participate in work and non-work or the private sphere simultaneously given this flexibilization. Second, and tied to this despatialization, is the slow recognition of domestic or private work, albeit Beck critiques its lack of economic recognition. However, as he discusses in *Brave New World of Work* (2000), one plausible outcome of the various problematics that are shaping new scenarios of employment is that of a "multi-activity society". A multi-activity society is one in which paid work is "one form of activity alongside others such as family work, parental work, work for oneself, voluntary work or political activity" (2000:58). Of course, he acknowledges, these activities existed previously, but were not *viewed* in the light of being just another activity on the same plane as paid work. Beck, suggests that in order for this to work, "the idea that social identity and status depend only upon a person's occupation and career must be taken apart and abandoned, so that social esteem and security are really uncoupled from paid employment" (58). The idea that social identity and status depend only on one's occupation and career is characteristic of the standard biography, which relies on the notion of full employment endemic to the industrial age. This de-standardization of work is one of several phenomena that comprise the "modernization of industrial society" (11), and that leads to processes of individualization.

For Beck individualization is a term that is taken for granted, and is often presumed to be unique to the second half of the 20th century. Contrary to this, he argues that individualization has played a role in society long before that, and aims to provide an ahistorical model of individualization that can be supplemented with particular historical examples; in this case, in post-war Western society.

Beck's ahistorical model is that of a "triple individualization" (127), wherein individuals and removed from historical or traditional social forms (the "liberating dimension"), subsequently lose their traditional sense of security previously afforded by practical knowledge, faith and norms (the "disenchantment dimension"), and are re-embedded into new social forms or commitments (the "control or reintegration dimension") (127). Beck is interested not necessarily in examining how this triple individualization can be understood in terms of consciousness or subjective experience, but rather how it can be understood as changes in 'objective' life situations and biographical patterns. He asks: "What pattern of life situations; what types of biography prevail under the conditions of a developed labour market?" (128)

For the purposes of this thesis, the question can be rephrased as "What types of biographies prevail given the de-standardization and flexibilization of academic work?" And further, how can we understand this triple individualization in terms of a new kind of biography or life situation individuals construct?[39]

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[39] Beck insists that these life situations are "objective" relative to pure consciousness and subjectivity. However, he does intimate that it is problematic to discuss one without the other. In the Data and Analysis chapter, I refer to the ways in which my participants' 'construct' their reflexive biographies – however, as Beck points out there is a certain degree of restraint and control imposed by the market that is intrinsic to individual biographies in second modernity.

I will now return to the issue of "triple-individualization" in second modernity. It is evident, as Beck posits in *Brave New World of Work*, that these ahistorical modes of individualization can be interpreted in terms of both hope and collapse. In the first mode, individuals are removed from historical or traditional social forms (the "liberating dimension"). Indeed, the removal of full employment as a prescribed social norm *can* be viewed as liberating, particularly if one refers back to the idea that full-employment provided a 'fixed' identity that posed some limitations to one's identity. Moreover, the de-standardization of the workforce is associated with other liberating developments, such as the increased participation of women in the workforce[40], and in some sense flexibilization and contingent work might appropriate the general sense of liberation accompanied by the de-standardization of employment.

Nevertheless, Beck is skeptical of this 'liberation', as he views it as a trend that is very convenient to organizations and firms that wish to manage the risk produced by industrial expansion. That is, the removal of full employment also includes a stripping of responsibilities on the part of the organization, particularly in terms of the allocation of health insurance and benefits, long-term guarantee of work and, as discussed, the spatial allocation of workspace. Businesses find ways to combine part-time and de-standardized work with new technologies to increase efficiency. Often times work will be broken into specialized tasks and these are allocated to part-time and short-term contract workers or technologies based on their efficiency and ability (146). The benefit for companies, as Beck underscores, is that "portions of entrepreneurial risk can be shifted onto the

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[40] With the flexibilization of labour, employment is more open to those who have other time commitments (e.g. caretaking roles) which is historically what prevented women from participating in the workforce (1992:149)

employees as flexible underemployment" (147). With the massification of higher

education throughout the 1960s up until present, the risk of escalating enrollment rates,

along with the risk accrued through the allocation of tenure, is shifted on to contingent

academic faculty members, along with graduate assistants[41].

With the creation of a reserve army of surplus academic labour[42], de-

standardization, as Beck suggests, "backfires" in its initial attempt to provide more

people with jobs[43]. With an increase of PhDs on the market[44] and an increasing tendency

toward non-permanent academic positions, universities are freer to "break apart the

relations of the labour contract and the labour market" (148). Following the 'liberation'

from standardized work, Beck posits that individuals become disenchanted by the loss of

a security afforded by traditional knowledge, faith and norms. The initial sense of

liberation accompanying the de-standardization of work is replaced by:

> new types of constraints and material insecurity. Unemployment disappears, but
> then reappears in new types of generalized risky underemployment. This all
> means that an ambiguous, contradictory development is set in motion in which
> advantages and drawbacks are indissolubly intermeshed, a development whose
> far-reaching consequences and risks are not calculable for political consciousness
> and action either. That is precisely what is signified when one speaks of a risk
> society of underemployment. (144)

This risk society of underemployment, as Beck insinuates, is the third mode of

individualization, through which individuals are re-embedded into new social forms or

commitments. Beck calls this the "control or reintegration dimension" (127). For Beck,

the individual himself or herself becomes responsible for the social in the lifeworld. In

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[41] For the purposes of this thesis, I will not discuss graduate teaching and research assistants, however they are also implicit in this system (as was seen with the York University strike of 2008), and like contingent academic faculty are difficult to research given their precarious and transient nature.
[42] Marx discusses the reserve army of labour at length in Chapter 25 of *Capital, Volume I.*
[43] I.e., "Unemployment disappears, but then reappears in new types of generalized risky underemployment" (1992: 144). I return to this point in the next paragraph.
[44] See footnote 13.

terms of work, this implies that individuals are "the extension of market dependency into

every corner of (earning a) living, they are its late result in the welfare state phase" (130).

Under standardized employment, avows Beck, the individual is constrained by the fixed

nature of full employment, which ties them to a particular occupation and setting. Under

de-standardized employment, the individual remains constrained in a different way.

Specifically, they are constrained precisely by the *need to adapt* to the labour market. In

Beck's words, they are placed in "institutionally dependent individual situations" (130).

The likelihood of obtaining full, standard employment decreases[45] and to some extent

becomes less desirable in the effort to "remain flexible" or "keep one's options open". As

Beck elucidates, this entails not only a dependency on the job market, but individuals

> become dependent on education, consumption, welfare state regulations and
> support, traffic planning consumer supplies, and on possibilities and fashions in
> medical, psychological and pedagogical counselling and care (130-131).

Both Beck and Bauman highlight the paradox of heightened dependencies on the

market and institutions, combined with new responsibilities created by the de-

standardization of work. In Bauman's terms, if the preparation for and integration into the

workforce was previously guided by "patterns" of assembled codes and rules prescribed

by solid modernity, in liquid modernity, the "burden of pattern-weaving and the

responsibility for failure falls primarily on the individual's shoulders." (8). Yet

individuals cannot solve the problems or deal with risks through their "individualized

private existence" (131), as Beck insists, because the private sphere becomes the

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[45] Although it is not fully replaced – for Beck the flexibilization of labour relations will not outright replace
the familiar form of labour relations but "will overlap or, better, undermine it, and considering the
shrinking overall volume of wage labour, will place it under continual pressure to adapt." Beck defines this
as a *bifurcation of the labour market along lines of normative standardization* (144)

outside turned inside and made private, of conditions and decisions made elsewhere, in the television networks, the educational system, in firms, or the labour market, or in the transportation system, with general disregard of their private, biographical consequences. (133)

With the institutionally dependent individual situations faced by individuals in contemporary society, accompanied by various de-standardized forms of work relations, individuals must develop reflexive biographies that somehow incorporate fluctuating external or economic demands with their own actions and decisions that they make. Moreover, unlike standard biographies which segment work and home life, in self-reflexive biographies, "everything is connected, opened up to view as an integral component in individual biographies: family, work, consumption, education, administration… individual situations lie *across* the distinction between system and lifeworld." (136). Therefore, and this is perhaps a limitation to my research, a full exploration of reflexive biographies among workers would include their family or home life, their consumption patterns, their political and spiritual views, and more[46].

Beck suggests that as employment becomes de-standardized and less secure, the standard biography becomes increasingly incompatible with demands made on everyday life. However, as with the overlapping character of secondary modernity onto industrial modernity, he suggests that the standard work relation will be overlapped or undermined by the de-standardization of work (see footnote 45), forcing it to adapt due to the overall scarcity of wage labour. This bifurcation of the labour market also implies an overlapping of standard and reflexive biographies.

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[46] In many cases, as is evident in the Data and Analysis chapter, these snippets of life-histories that seem to be unrelated to work find their way into the data regardless of the fact that I did not ask participants about their personal life, political views, etc.

In the Data and Analysis chapter, I examine how this concurrence of standard and reflexive biographies is reflected in my participants' responses and how the realities of de-standardized work intersect notions of standard employment and vice-versa. I am not suggesting that the stereotype of the eccentric, ivory tower academic is exclusive to the standard biography, and that the university has simply transitioned from being a haven for eccentric, privileged tenured professors to being an exploitative managerialist factory employing underpaid, subservient lecturers. Rather, as in Beck's view of the transition from standardized to de-standardized employment, the university is steeped in the values accompanying the standard academic biography of tenure, but these values are intersected by new reflexive academic biographies that account for contingent and part-time academic work. These new reflexive biographies call into question and undermine the standard biography of tenure and permanent work, and moreover continuously shape what being a faculty member *means* in the contemporary university system. De-standardized academic work and the reflexive biographies accompanying them provide not only an economic 'alternative' and therefore pressure the tenure system, to some extent, to adapt; they fundamentally change the role of instructors and hence transform the constitution of an undergraduate education[47]. The intersection of standard and reflexive biographies, I argue, is reflected not only at the individual level, but also at the institutional level. I will now turn to how the overlapping of standard and de-standardized academic work is implicitly tied to larger changes in the university institution, both in terms of the economic restructuring of universities, and in terms of the commodification of higher education.

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[47] The ways in which the employment of contingent academic faculty members might impact undergraduate education are discussed in the Data and Analysis chapter.

De-standardization of Academic Work and the Economic Restructuring of Universities

The neoliberal economy, as Harvey would say, necessitates flexible and precarious labour to continue capital accumulation at a particular rate. However, it can also be argued, along Beck's lines, that once a lower standard (or the de-standardization) of work appears, it puts a strain on those with a higher standard of work to prove the value of their work. This is particularly true in the academic labour market in North America, which is producing a surplus of PhDs and therefore has access to a reserve army of labour[48]. Therefore, universities not only manage the risk of the "massification" of higher education through the employment of contingent faculty members, but they also ensure that their employees work harder given increased competition[49]. Under this competitive political economy of knowledge production and transmission, academic work becomes increasingly subject to assessment and calculation; increasingly subject to rationalization.

Parker and Jary (1995) observe that the rationalization of the university was a combination of rationalization on the level of national, institutional, and individual identities. They argue that managerialist discourse was based on a stereotype of the "tenured, eccentric individualist… able to pursue their arcane teaching and research interests without external constraint" (1995: 327), and that the university was viewed as a system that managed and externalized academics' internal motivations. In the context of a managerialist university, Parker and Jary contend, academics become hyper-aware of their and others' progression, setbacks and ratings (329).

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[48] See footnote 13.
[49] However, that does not necessarily translate to better outcomes in the classroom, as I suggest in the Data and Analysis chapter.

In other words, in the rationalized, managerial university, faculty members become increasingly self-reflexive of how their intentions and interests 'fit' with externally given interests and constraints. They develop self-reflexive biographies to justify their own career moves in terms of institutional and market opportunities. Beleaguered by notions of the ivory tower syndrome that supposedly pervade tenured academics, these new faculty members are necessarily entrenched, like the universities they work for, in notions of accountability.

Concurrent with aims of rationalization and risk management, the intersection of standard and de-standardized work also signals the division of research and teaching into two separate spheres of activity in the university. The model of a professor who teaches their research is viewed as undesirable by some universities, and professors who demonstrate "research excellence" are given course reductions so that they can devote more time to research.

The separation of research from teaching has been critiqued by Quebec sociologist Gilles Gagné in his essay « *La restructuration de l'université : son programme et ses accessoires* ». Gagné presents a new ideal type of the changed university (2005: 32), arguing that universities' mandates have been dominated by the sphere of management of research. He discusses how this sphere is guided by a doctrine wherein research falls under the objectives of those organizations that fund it. The collective responsibilities of educators, which were once protected by the institution, are now concentrated in the hands of those who fund research (35). Gagné suggests that such an organizational "doctrine" gives those who work under it a sense of professional

identity in terms of acting in conformity with its interests and the end goals it proposes (36). This, he claims, is the new basis of identity for the university as an institution.

Gagné's new construct of the University includes three cornerstones. First, the university is centred on a strategic planning discourse which orients it first and foremost to research, and secondarily to teaching. Secondly, research must aim for innovation rather than synthesis, and third, 'innovation' must proceed on applied rather than theoretical knowledge (39).

The author then proceeds to elaborate how this new construct problematizes the teaching mandate of the university. He emphasizes that teaching and research form a reciprocal relationship, and enquires as to the basis on which these reciprocal activities are being oriented. While he acknowledges that each university is different, ultimately most institutions have a structured faculty that allows for specialized research while also designating others to teach at the undergraduate level (39). He shows how historically, research has served as a kind of authorization for professors, which did not undermine the notion of teaching as the main aim of the institution (40).

The concern that separating teaching from research will somehow undermine how teaching is valued is echoed by several authors (Freitag 1999, Calhoun 2006, Seybold 2008). However, for Gagné it is not necessarily the focus on research that undermines teaching as an end in itself, but rather the opposition between "innovation" and "synthesis". Innovation favours invention over simplification, and it is precisely the rational simplification of field or discipline that allows it to be transmitted (40). In the past, the author points out, being a university professor did not mean to be engaged in the production of new technologies but rather contributing to the organization and

explanation of innovations, by attributing to them a logical structure or explanation (40).

Furthermore, the renewal and reorganization of a particular field or domain of knowledge

is inherently innovative, he affirms, and university teaching is its locus. Gagné concludes

that the need for a "comprehensive" view of things gives teaching an objective existence

and autonomy from the domain of theory; i.e. it grounds it (42).

The notion that the separation of research and teaching is tied to epistemological

priorities is also highlighted in Michel Freitag's essay, « *Le naufrage de l'université* »

(1999). Freitag discusses the transformation of the university from a traditional institution

to a contemporary organization. According to Freitag organizations, unlike institutions,

are defined in terms of their orientation towards a particular objective. The limits of that

organization's actions are established in relation to that objective, and the organization

gives priority to the means that help in achieving that objective (32). Freitag outlines the

traditional role of the university and its situation in Europe of the Middle Ages, tracing its

transition into American society and noting how American values and culture

transformed the *modus operandi* of the university. Freitag links the transformation of the

university to an epistemological reorientation of scientific pursuits toward organizational

objectives, showing how the latter is conceptually tied to the contemporary notion of

research.[50]

Freitag argues that a synthesis of knowledge should ultimately be reflected in the

university's practices – through research and pedagogy – but that this is not the reality of

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[50] Freitag himself does not provide examples, however we could draw on, for example, Washburn (2005) and Huff's (2006) critiques of the Bayh-Dole act. The Act, also known as the University and Small Business Patent Procedures Act, was adopted in the U.S. in 1980, and allows for private enterprise to take ownership of intellectual property (instead of it being in the public domain). Washburn argues that a focus on profitable research, accompanied by a decline in public funding constitutes a crisis of the university (2005:226). Huff echoes that "the priorities of universities are being subtly and not so subtly shifted by the exigencies of corporate capitalism" (2006:30).

existing university system. He highlights that research has become the watchword of contemporary universities, and disdains the idea that professors are now valued more as researchers than as teachers, and suggests that teaching is foremost regarded as training for the new workforce.

For Freitag, this begs the question: what constitutes the reality of this 'research' that defines our ideals and prescribes norms on our actions as members of an intellectual community (46)? He notes that some of the greatest thinkers like Plato, Hegel and Weber did not do research as it is defined in the contemporary sense, and is wary of the possibility that research will become not only the means to discovery, but the ends.

Although the critique of changing research priorities in the university goes beyond the scope of this thesis, it is nonetheless significant in terms of understanding the separation of research from teaching and the differentiation of academic work. This differentiation is part and parcel of the intersection of standard biographies with de-standardized work. That is, the standard role of the professor, to teach and research, is called into question through the implementation of new institutional strategies that differentiate academic activities and in the process, attempt to manage the financial strain and risk involved these various activities.

However the epistemological priorities of university teaching highlighted by Gagné and Freitag also point to a commodification of higher education. The eventual removal of a professor's research interests from the classroom, as Gagné implies, suggest a break from reciprocal relationship between that research and what knowledge is being offered to students. What, then, are students being offered? Freitag fears that instead of transmitting the knowledge acquired through research, university instruction will

comprise professional training programs that serve as gateways to the workforce, which reinforces the commodification of higher education paradigm.

Under the model of risk management and accountability, the de-standardization of academic work and reflexive biographies become increasingly important, both in terms of the creation of a competitive reserve army of surplus labour, and in terms of the separation of teaching and research. The latter phenomenon, as Gagné and Freitag argue, is implicit in changing notions of epistemological priorities undertaken by the university through its mandate[51]. The fact that teaching is carried out increasingly as a preparation for the job market or as formal training for a particular vocation changes the dynamic between student and professor, which as I will argue in the next section, is paralleled by the separation and consolidation of university 'teaching' as a vocation[52].

De-standardization of Academic Work and the Commodification of Higher Education

The intersection of standard and reflexive academic biographies, I contend, can be viewed as symptomatic of larger changes in the university system, while simultaneously shaping and reinforcing new paradigms of higher education and perpetuating a managerialist economic model. In this section, I will examine how the introduction of de-standardized academic work is implicitly tied to the commodification of higher education.

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[51] However, these are not solely abstract theoretical concepts – see Table 5.1 on page 106, excerpted from the Global University Network for Innovation (GUNI)'s model for changes in higher education. GUNI is an international think-tank and network of universities founded by UNESCO in 1999. In terms of Gagné and Freitag's critique of the corporatization of research, Slaughter and Rhodes' models of the Public Good Model of Research Figures and the Academic Capitalism Research Regime is also instructive (see Appendix F).

[52] Again, this change in epistemological priorities also has significant impact on research; however I am focusing on teaching in the university because I argue that contingent academic faculty constitute a reserve army of academic labour that the university employs to teach ever-growing numbers of undergraduate students.

The commodification of higher education means that higher education is viewed as a commodity that one can buy and sell, and is viewed as an investment that will provide some measurable value in return. In this framework, students are viewed as "clients" and professors are viewed as "professionals for hire", as Rajagopal indicates (2002:11). Bluntly stated, students in some cases may view professors as purveyors of credit-hours that will eventually amass to a degree. The assumption that education is a commodity is also implicit in many institutional practices. For example, some universities in Canada are privatizing programs that are viewed as providing their 'clients' more lucrative opportunities, such as business programs.[53]

As Samuel M. Natale, Anthony F. Libertella and Geoff Hayward argue in *Higher Education in Crisis: The Corporate Eclipse of the University* (2001), the assumption that higher education is a commodity disregards the altruistic aims of education such as "developing the mind, the capacity to think intelligently, to engage imaginatively with problems, to behave sensitively and with empathy toward other people" (14). In other words, it implies not only the commodification of higher education but also the loss of particular values in higher education.

Furthermore, commodification requires measurable outcomes in order to assess value, which is problematic, as Frank Furedi (2002) suggests, because learning and education have outcomes outside of the here and now that are difficult to estimate. Moreover, the transmission and synthesis of knowledge – in the pedagogical sense

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[53] The most recent example is McGill's privatization of the MBA program – which entailed turning the program into a self-funded model by increasing tuition by 1,663 per cent (for Quebec residents). The Quebec education minister has taken issue with this, accusing McGill of threatening accessible education (see http://oncampus.macleans.ca/education/2010/05/10/top-ceos-back-mcgill-tuition-hikes-for-business-program; also http://www.radio-canada.ca/nouvelles/Politique/2011/03/01/001-mcgill-frais-mba.shtml).

highlighted by Gagné and Freitag – can become significant or beneficial in other times and places.

But Furedi makes another important point about commodification that I wish to underscore here. The author questions the student-as-client model, and student evaluations of professors in particular, suggesting that it creates a conflict of interest. To return to a quotation from the Literature Review, Furedi asserts that "lecturers who know that their position is closely linked to the approval they receive from their students will learn to avoid teaching practices that might undermine their popularity" (2002:36).

I suspect that Furedi is correct in linking the vulnerability and insecurity of contingent academic work to changed teaching practices, particularly given the climate of student-centered teaching and the commodification of higher education. As I will show in the Data and Analysis chapter, my participants confirmed that they felt their teaching practices changed due to the insecurity or vulnerability of their positions. This raises the question of how the student-teacher relationship is affected by these different practices. Furthermore, it points to differences that might exist in the way that a faculty member with more job security might teach.

In her literature review, Muzzin objects to the claim that there is diminished quality in academic practice, arguing that there are very few unproductive faculty members and that universities are blessed to have such good teachers to teach their undergraduate programs. This is more than likely the case – however two things must be considered in light of this argument.

Because of the high supply of faculty members and the subsequent competition for academic jobs, it is quite likely that those who are hired to teach courses on a

temporary basis *are* extremely skilled and talented. Indeed, all my participants demonstrated a passion for teaching and described the impressive efforts to which they went to in order to do their job. They all go "above and beyond" so to speak.

However, working hard, having talent and being productive does not automatically reduce feelings of vulnerability and insecurity, which are inherent in the work that they do and are at the root of their changed relationship to students. Thus, when I refer to a potential change in the teaching strategies I am referring to a systematic problem of insecurity that may impact negatively on any person's ability to do their job. It is not by any means an attack on the efforts or qualifications of contingent academic faculty members.

Another important aspect of the de-standardization of academic work that may affect the student-teacher relationship is the previously discussed separation of teaching and research. Fox (2002) argues that this separation relativizes the relationship between student and teacher, damaging the valuable learning experience that takes place when a student is given access to a specialist in their field, much like a master-apprentice relationship. This "de-skilling" of the professoriate likely has an even greater effect when the faculty member's job is insecure or contingent.

How the de-standardization of academic work and academic biographies impact on faculty members' experiences and situation in the university is explored more in depth in the Data and Analysis chapter. For the purposes of this chapter, I simply want to highlight the interrelation between contingent academic work and the concept of higher education as commodity – and its accompanying principle of student-as-client.

In this chapter, I examine Beck and Bauman's views on the links between changing forms of work and the construction of identity in the context of late or second modernity. I suggest that the intersection of standard academic biographies by reflexive academic biographies is helpful not only in understanding contingent academic faculty members, but also representative of a larger paradigmatic shift which comprises the economic imperative of risk management, the division of research and teaching, and the commodification of higher education.

In the following chapter, I examine the methodology employed in attempt to understand the flexibilization of academic work in universities across Quebec, and to consider how this particular work scenario plays out in terms of the experiences, attitudes and professional identities of contingent faculty members.

Methodology and Ethics

Given the lack of current data on part-time and temporary faculty in Quebec universities (Rajagopal 2002, Muzzin 2008), this research should be considered as exploratory and emergent. That is, I seek to establish a basis for understanding to what extent the current landscape of academic labour resembles what Rajagopal and others describe in their research. Moreover, I want to examine Quebec universities in particular, which are unique due to their strong history of unionization and an ethos of labour solidarity[54].

I have three methodological aims. The first is to describe through quantitative means, the extent to which temporary academic work is on the rise in Quebec. The

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[54] The rate of unionization in Quebec is consistently higher than the national average. In 2009 for example, 39.8% of employed workers were unionized, compared to the national average of 31.4% (HRSDC calculations based on Statistics Canada. *Labour Force Historical Review 2009* (Table 078). Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2010

second aim is to consider how this particular political economy of teaching influences the experiences and attitudes of contingent faculty members. The third methodological aim is to identify to what extent categories of professional identity pioneered by Gappa and Leslie (1993) and Rajagopal (2002) are relevant in the contemporary higher education context in Quebec.

The quantitative data I present lays ground for the argument that temporary academic work is increasingly prevalent in universities across Quebec. This is a descriptive analysis of Labour Force Survey data and is meant to give readers a preliminary view of the significance of temporary academic work in Quebec post-secondary institutions. I decided to include this preliminary analysis due to a lack of recent quantitative data available on part-time and temporary faculty members. I selected my data set from the Labour Force Survey from the years 1998 to 2008 inclusive.[55] The set includes data from employed teachers and professors in Quebec with a graduate degree. The Labour Force Survey (LFS) from the years examined uses the National Occupation Classification (NOCS-47) which doesn't distinguish between different levels of education taught (they include elementary, high school, college and university teachers, instructors and professors). Therefore, I used the variable of "highest education attained" as a proxy variable for the level of instruction, selecting only those who have obtained a graduate degree. Although this is not the perfect method of distinguishing between elementary or secondary and post-secondary instructors, I suggest it may constitute a reasonable means to distinguish university instructors in LFS data for the purposes of this research. I do not claim that using a proxy is an entirely reliable measure,

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[55] This research developed from an unpublished paper written for a quantitative methods seminar with Dr. Danielle Gauvreau in December 2009 at Concordia University.

and want to signal the importance of developing a more consistent measure of part-time and sessional instructors in Quebec and in Canadian universities as well.[56] Rajagopal (2002) and Muzzin (2008) highlight the importance of collecting quantitative data on part-time and contingent academic labour in Canadian universities also.

David Leslie notes that while surveys are helpful, "qualitative studies may be even more fruitful in yielding up more textured and grounded understandings about who the faculty are, what they do, and how their work lives are connected to and play out in varied institutional and disciplinary context." (Leslie in Rajagopal, 2002:17). Like Rajagopal, I explored these "textured and grounded understandings" through my qualitative methodology, which comprises in-depth interviews with contingent academic faculty from different universities across Quebec. I aimed to collect data from those working as contingent faculty members to support, problematize, or refute commonsense notions about temporary academic work and its impacts on both the instructor and on the higher education system.

Before embarking on my interviews, I obtained ethics approval through the Department of Sociology of Anthropology. I included the email notice of research that was sent out to prospective participants, along with a sample of the consent form in my summary protocol form submitted for ethics approval (see Appendices A, B and C). My main ethical consideration was that I would be interviewing contingent workers, who have less job security than their tenured counterparts. Every effort to render the

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[56] In a paper presented at the Canadian Sociological Association's Annual Conference, "Evaluating Recent Trends in Part-time and Temporary Instruction at Quebec Universities", I presented a pilot test of this analysis. It was suggested that Census data might be more useful in doing such an analysis. However, due to time constraints I was unable to complete a quantitative analysis using Census data. This remains a possible avenue for research.

interviews confidential was made. Participants signed the consent form, available in English and French, which outlines the conditions of my research and defines "confidentiality". I always tried to assess whether participants felt comfortable during the interview, and urged them to not feel obliged to divulge information they felt was too personal. Participants also chose the language of the interview, the interview time and the interview location. I was as discreet as possible in my interactions with participants so that their involvement in the project would not be revealed. I also refrained from discussing the interviews in any context other than this thesis. I am storing the interview data on my computer in a password-protected file that it is not accessible without my authorization. The hard-copy consent forms are in locked storage that only I have access to.

My sample did not include faculty members at Concordia University and as such, I did not interview faculty members whom I rely on for academic feedback or grades, such as my supervisor and/or committee members. However, I did occasionally refer back to the fieldwork I conducted at Concordia for my undergraduate honours thesis, in order to supplement the analysis and discussion.

I chose to do semi-structured interviews[57] with temporary academic faculty members currently employed in universities across Quebec. I chose semi-structured interviews as a method because they would allow the flexibility to collect different kinds of data and allow the research to develop as I progressed (Walliman 2009). Given my methodological goal of understanding contingent faculty members' professional identity,

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[57] Kirby, Greaves and Reid (2006) define the semi-structured interview as "a one-to-one interaction (in which) the interviewer asks a set of questions with some variation in the order and format of questions." They note that adjustments to the questions are often made based on the "give and take" between the researcher and the participants (134).

this also allowed participants the freedom to express their professional aspirations without feeling overly restricted by rigid categories or questions. During the interviews, I took extensive notes on the points they emphasized, noting body language and tone of voice. Following the interviews, I transcribed the data, noting common themes. These themes comprise participants' perceptions of the impact of flexibilization on the participants' individual experiences, and on the higher education context in which they work. I proceeded by observing how these themes varied according to the professional identity of these faculty members and their situation in a professional life course.

As discussed in the literature review, Gappa and Leslie interview part-time *and* full-time faculty, along with head administrators in their site visits. There is little doubt that the reliance on part-time, flexible and precarious labour in universities is inextricably tied to the future of the tenure system (Baldwin & Chronister 2001). While it is important to get the perspective of full-time, tenure-track and tenured faculty, along with university administrators, this is not the focus of the present work. As stated in the Introduction, this thesis examines how the professional identity of contingent faculty members is tied to their experiences in the workplace and their overall opinions on the reliance of contingent academic labour in the university. While tenured and tenure track faculty might have some interesting insights to these, as many of them have likely worked in more precarious positions within the university, I chose to focus on those who currently hold contingent positions in the faculty, such as part-timers and sessional lecturers. Moreover, a larger-scale study such as Gappa and Leslie's or Rajagopal's is better equipped to include a greater diversity of academic faculty and staff members in the sample.

I selected participants based on their holding a non tenure-track or non-tenured position, not based on their status as a part-time or full-time faculty member. This helps avoid the confusion that arises considering that each university has distinct criteria for defining their part-time and temporary positions. Moreover, as I elaborate in my analysis of the quantitative data, the part-time and full-time status of contingent academic labour is less significant than the temporary or permanent status of that faculty member. In the analysis, I also suggest that the label of "part-timer" leads to the misconception that all non-tenure-track faculty members only work part-time when in fact many of them work full-time. It is the precarity and contingency of their position that I want to underscore.

Importantly, I limited my sample to social science faculty members. As Muzzin explains, the social sciences are the "hardest hit by retrenchment" (2008: 106), and unlike other disciplines like law, business and engineering, there are fewer practices that contingent faculty can undertake apart from "contractual teaching, activism, or positions in other fields as hired by government or other academic departments." (115). In this sense, Muzzin explains, there are more contingent faculty who in fact have the expectation or goal of being a full-time, tenured professor. This results in more disappointment and more disenfranchised academics (116). That is not to say that in other disciplinary areas, there are no disenfranchised faculty members; Muzzin also addresses frustrations in the nursing, humanities and social sciences, and these are reflected in other work (e.g. Di Giacomo 1999, Donaghue 2008). More research is needed on instructors in these disciplines, and unfortunately this goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

At the outset, I limited my study to faculty members in Quebec. This is mainly because previous studies have gathered and analyzed data at the national level, and I

argue that national studies of academic work in higher education are problematic in Canada as education is a provincially funded system[58]. Additionally, by gathering data at the provincial level, I was able to work within the limited time and resources allocated to a Master's thesis project.

I will now explain my rationale for the sample. The sample is a non-probability sample[59] that is a combination of theoretical sampling[60] and a sample of convenience. Obtaining and utilizing a probability sample for this research would have required time and resources that surpass those available to a Master's student and would be more suited to a large-scale study of contingent faculty members. Moreover, I wanted to use theoretical sampling to examine how part-time and flexible labour varied in different political economies of teaching through my sample. My first methodological goal was to be able to contrast teaching in universities like McGill University, which typically has fewer sessional lecturers and a low student-teacher ratio with universities like Concordia University, which has many sessional lecturers and a high student-teacher ratio. I used data compiled by Bruno Bérubé and David Lacasse, researchers affiliated with the *Conseil supérieur de l'éducation* (2008). This report aggregated data gathered by the *Conseil*, the *Ministère de l'éducation, de loisir et du sport* (MELS), and Statistics Canada. While the report focuses mainly on student success rates and transition, it provides interesting data on instructors and professors in Quebec universities. Of particular interest to me was the number of contingent faculty and proportion of courses

[58] In brief, "the Canadian higher education system is divided between two levels of government, federal and provincial/territorial. The federal government funds the public research councils and provides transfer payments to the provinces and territories to help fund their public programs which include postsecondary education." (Madgett & Blanger, 2008)
[59] Non-probability sampling is based on the selection of a non-random sample on the basis of the researcher's judgement, or by the convenience of a given sample (Walliman, 2006:76)
[60] A definition of theoretical sampling is found on page 67.

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given by contingent faculty by university from 2000-2001 to 2005-2006 (2008; see

Appendix E). Since the proportions for each university given remain relatively stable

throughout the six academic years, I have summarized the average percentage of courses

given by contingent faculty in Quebec universities in these six years below[61]:

Table 3.1: Average Percentage of Courses given by Contingent Faculty[62] in Quebec Universities from 2000-2001 to 2005-2006 (Lowest to highest)	
Lowest	Université de Montréal, McGill University, Université de Laval
Highest	Université de Sherbrooke, Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), Université de Québec à Rimouski (UQAR), Université de Québec en Outaouais (UQO)

As is shown, McGill University and Université de Laval have among the lowest

percentage of courses taught by contingent faculty in recent years. To contrast, UQO and

UQAM have among the highest percentage of courses taught by contingent faculty. It is

interesting to compare these data with student-teacher ratio:

Table 3.2 : Average Ratio of Full-time equivalent (FTE)[63] to Full-time Faculty in Quebec Universities from 2000-2006 (Lowest to highest)	
Lowest	Université de Sherbrooke, Université de Laval, McGill University
Highest	Bishops University, UQAM, Concordia University and UQO

McGill University and Université de Laval, which have among the lowest

percentages of courses taught by contingent faculty, also have the lowest ratios of

students to full-time faculty in Quebec. UQO and UQAM, which have among the highest

percentage of courses taught by contingent faculty, also have the highest ratios of

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[61] I did not include HEC Montreal or Polytechnique Montreal because they do not offer social science programs. However, they do employ relatively large percentage of instructors and these two institutions would be interesting case studies for further research.

[62] I recognize that contingent faculty is not a direct translation of *chargé de cours*. However, Bérubé and Lacasse do not define the terms used in the *Commission de l'éducation* data collection, and these definitions are nowhere to be found in the raw data samples themselves. Again, I suggest that more comprehensive and systematic data gathering on contingent and non-standard academic work is necessary.

[63] Full-time equivalent is a term that calculates student enrollment by course credit, so that part-time and full-time students are accounted for proportionately.

students to full-time faculty. Université de Sherbrooke is an anomaly among universities in Quebec, as it has a high percentage of courses taught by contingent faculty, yet it has the lowest student-teacher ratio in the province.

I was interested in exploring how these different arrangements of university instruction impacted on the job satisfaction and attitudes of contingent faculty in these universities. That is, how might the experiences and views of these faculty members differ based on the degree of reliance on contingent faculty to teach courses? Were contingent faculty members at institutions with high student-teacher ratio taking on the teaching load that was untenable or undesirable for full-time professors? I therefore decided to contact faculty members teaching at the Université de Laval, McGill University, Université de Montréal, UQAM, UQO and Université de Sherbrooke. I wished to examine whether contrasts would emerge in the responses from contingent faculty at Université de Laval and McGill University and those at UQO and UQAM. If such contrasts did emerge, could the degree of reliance on contingent faculty or the student-teacher ratio account for such differences? I was also intrigued by the anomalous Université de Sherbrooke, which hired many temporary academic staff, but had small student-teacher ratios.

Due to my small sample size of twelve instructors, the ability to explore how these divergent teaching arrangements impacted on the job satisfaction and attitudes of contingent faculty in these universities was very limited. As I had an average of two instructors from each of the six universities chosen, I could not make valid or reliable generalizations about how factors like the proportion of contingent faculty or the degree of reliance on contingent faculty to teach undergraduate courses impacted on their

experiences. However, I did conclude that given a larger sample size and more resources (including time and research assistance), this would be an important methodological avenue to pursue[64]. More importantly, I think that this method of sampling had the positive effect of ensuring a diverse selection of participants – that is, my participants work at a variety of institutions and have varied professional backgrounds and experiences. This diversity contributed not only to the richness of the data but also to my analytical point that Rajagopal and Gappa and Leslie's categories of professional identity need to be elaborated upon given the diverse needs and aspirations of contingent academic faculty[65].

I proceeded to collect data by theoretical sampling. Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin describe this process as "driven by concepts derived from the evolving theory and based on the concept of 'making comparisons', whose purpose is to go to places, people or events that will maximize opportunities to discover variations among concepts and to identify categories in terms of their properties and dimensions." (Strauss & Corbin, 2008: 201). The comparisons I hoped to make in choosing my sample consisted in taking into account two factors that I contend are central to the political economy of teaching – reliance on contingent faculty and student-teacher ratio. The intentional selection of these characteristics was guided by the premise expressed in much of the literature that the distribution of the academic labour force is inherently tied to the political economy of the university (Bousquet 2008, Slaughter and Rhodes 2004). As such, I aimed to test the variation among different political economies of teaching in terms of their properties and

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[64] I have proposed to do comparative research along these lines as part of a doctoral program of study.
[65] See Data and Analysis chapter.

dimensions and test the robustness of these concepts and their interrelation to theories on the political economy of the university as they were presented in the literature.

After determining which universities would maximize the opportunity for variation in my sample, I proceeded to select faculties and departments. Again, I wanted to limit my study to social science departments for reasons previously explained in this chapter. However, because each university is organized differently, this proved more challenging than expected. I have included below a table of the universities and their corresponding faculties and departments I selected:

Table 3.3 Universities, Faculties and Departments selected	
Universities selected	Faculties and Departments selected
Université de Laval	*Faculté de sciences sociales*
	Anthropologie
	Economique
	Psychologie
	Relations industrielles
	Science politique
	Service social
	Sociologie
McGill University	*Faculty of Arts*
	Anthropology
	Economics
	Political Science
	Social Work
	Sociology
Université de Montreal	*Faculté des arts et des sciences*
	Département d'Anthropologie
	Département de psychologie
	Département de science politique
	Département de sciences économiques
	Département de sociologie
	École de service social
Université de Sherbrooke	*Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines*
	École de politique appliquée
	Département de psychologie
	Département de service social

Université de Québec à Montréal	*Faculté des sciences humaines*
	Département de Psychologie
	Département de Sociologie
	École de service social
	Faculté de science politique et de droit
	Département de science politique
	Faculté de sciences de la gestion
	Département de sciences économiques
Université de Québec en Outaouais	*Psychoéducation et psychologie*
	Relations industrielles
	Sciences sociales
	Travail social

It is evident that there are no hard and fast categories of social sciences that are employed across universities. If the university has a faculty of arts, as is the case with McGill, I included those departments that consistently appeared in other universities under the category of the social sciences. If the university has a separate faculty of social science, as is the case with Laval, I included all departments in that faculty. The Université de Québec en Outaouais, which has a separate department of social sciences, and has departments whose disciplines might normally fall under the social sciences (e.g. psychology and social work). This is yet another example of disciplinary organization in universities. While this points to the challenges of cross-institutional comparative work, I do not address that problem exhaustively here. I was simply hoping to have a base list of social science faculty members I could contact in order to embark on the research.

Once I selected these departments, I obtained the faculty members from the department website's email listing. Again, I chose only those faculty members with non-traditional appointments. In the English university (McGill) these were most often

referred to as "sessionals", while in the French universities they were referred to as

"*chargés de cours*"[66].

At this stage in the research, my sample must also be characterized as a sample of

convenience. For instance, in one department, contingent faculty members were listed by

name, but no email address or phone number was provided. As Muzzin points out, this is

one of the challenges of studying part-time and contingent workers, as they are often less

tied to an institution and thus more difficult to locate (2008). This may also contribute to

a lack of comprehensive data on this diverse and transitory group. Nevertheless, I

distributed the email notice of research (Appendix B) in English and French to the entire

contingent faculty listed on the websites of the selected departments. First I distributed it

to administrative assistants of departments, asking them to forward it to their faculty

members, and then I contacted the faculty members themselves. In total, I distributed the

notice to approximately 775 contingent faculty members. Of this group, only fifteen

responded. Of the fifteen who contacted me, only twelve were interviewed.

Less than two per cent of those who were contacted responded, which is less than

ideal. However, I did not expect the sample to be representative of the several thousand

contingent faculty employed at Quebec universities. Moreover, I had initially aimed to

conduct fifteen interviews and felt that I reached the point of theoretical saturation[67] for

the purposes of this thesis. I undertook two major attempts to contact the sample, but did

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[66] In Quebec, a *chargé de cours* is someone who is hired to teach a course on a temporary contract. This person may or may not be completing their doctoral studies and may or may not do research.
[67] Achieving theoretical saturation, according to Strauss and Corbin, implies "taking each category and spelling out in considerable detail its properties and dimensions, including variation" (2008:113). However, researchers must eventually accept that the data is "sufficiently well developed for the purposes of this research and accept what has not been covered as one of the limitations of the study" (149). While I would have liked to further explore the idea of comparing instructors from different universities, I felt that I had obtained data that allowed me to explore a wide variety of professional identity among faculty members, given the restraints of time and the number of faculty members who were willing to participate.

not want to send excessive emails. I was also cognizant of the fact that my population comprises very hard-working individuals, who are often holding down three or four appointments at different institutions. They are often completing their doctoral studies, and may be teaching full course loads. I suspect that this was another factor in the low response rate.

Therefore, the aspect of convenience had a significant impact on my sample. This could imply that those who had more strong sentiments about their job satisfaction and about academic labour in the university. However, since I am precisely interested in those most affected by contingency and precarity in academic labour, I was less concerned about this than I was about getting enough data to reach theoretical saturation. Nonetheless, I was worried that those who were overworked would not have the time or resources to participate in the research.

In addition to the political economic factors as an investigative lens, I wanted to test the validity of Rajagopal and Gappa and Leslie's categories of part-time and contingent academic labourers. This was my second methodological goal, and I did so primarily via the interview questions. A list of sample interview questions can be found in Appendix D. I inquired about contingent instructors' academic background, work experience, other employment, career goals and reasons for being a non-permanent instructor, in order to assess how they might be described as a "Contemporary" or a "Classic" (Rajagopal 2002) or using Gappa and Leslie's categories, a "Career ender", a "Specialist, Expert or Professional", an "Aspiring Academic" or a "Freelancer". I wanted to investigate whether, as Rajagopal contends, the needs and aspirations of contingent faculty members can be subsumed under two categories, and if not, whether there are

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some other additional categories that allow for the greater diversity of motivations and professional identities of these academics. Additionally, I described these categories to the participants, and asked them whether they would identify themselves with any of these 'types'. I wanted them to verify my own assessment of their professional identity, and better understand how they perceived themselves. In the following chapter, I discuss the degree to which the participants identified with these categories of professional identity, and the impact these identities had on their experiences and attitudes toward their jobs.

Data and Analysis

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, I describe the quantitative data I collected, and argue that the academic workforce in postsecondary institutions in Quebec is increasingly characterized by full-time, temporary work. This phenomenon is, I suggest, evidence of the increasing flexibilization of academic labour (Rajagopal 2002, Muzzin 2008). As argued in the Theoretical Framework chapter, the flexibilization of labour creates an army of surplus labour that the university depends on for the management of various types of risk. In the second section of this chapter I analyze my qualitative data thematically, examining the impact of flexible academic labour on research participants, and exploring their own perceptions of the impact of flexible labour on higher education practices. I contend that job insecurity impacts negatively on participants' attitudes toward their workload, and that the contingency of their position in the university is viewed as a liability in upholding instruction quality in undergraduate courses. Moreover, I suggest that contingent academic faculty members experience 'indirect' forms of marginalization, through a differential allocation of

resources, lack of involvement in departmental activities and policy making, as well as 'direct' forms of marginalization that take place in everyday university settings.

Building on my examination of insecurity and marginalization in contingent academic work, I investigate how participants construct their professional identities, arguing that Gappa and Leslie (1993) and Rajagopal's (2002) categories must be expounded by taking into account the diverse professional identities of contingent academic faculty, and drawing on Beck and Bauman's notions of identity-processes in contemporary society.

Quantitative Analysis of Contingent Academic Work in Quebec: a Preliminary Sketch

As discussed in the Methodology chapter of this thesis, Rajagopal's work, the importance of current, accurate quantitative data should be underscored (2002). The quantitative data I present here is a preliminary attempt to assess the percentage of part-time and temporary instructors in post-secondary institutions in Quebec. By gathering and aggregating data from the Labour Force survey from 1998 to 2008, I attempted to construct a database in order to gather statistical information on part-time and temporary faculty members province-wide that cannot be found elsewhere. Oftentimes, data on sessional lecturers is collected by individual universities, or on an infrequent basis as part of a special study done in conjunction with a federal or provincial agency. However, since there is no established data source for non-permanent faculty in Quebec universities, I aim to gather and present quantitative data and analysis that can give us a better understanding of these trends at the provincial, rather than institutional level.

Once again, I emphasize the importance of establishing a permanent database for the quantitative study of labour trends in Quebec (and Canadian universities). Although Rajagopal's study was painstakingly researched, the author surveyed faculty members

and administrators over the limited term of one academic year. Part-time and sessional lecturers are a mainstay of undergraduate education, often teaching half the undergraduate courses at some universities, so it is doubtful that the need for information about this ever-growing population of academic workers will diminish in the near future. I suggest that this basic methodological problem of studying of contingent academic labour should be addressed by the provincial and federal government[68], individual universities and professional associations like the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT). Often faculty unions collect data on their members, however this data is not easily retrievable and its format can vary from one organization to another.

I selected my data set from the Labour Force Survey from the years 1998 to 2008 inclusive. The set includes data from employed teachers and professors in Quebec with a graduate degree. The Labour Force Survey uses the National Occupation Classification (NOCS-47) which doesn't distinguish between different elementary, high school and college or university, so I used the variable of "highest education attained" as a proxy, selecting only those who have obtained a graduate degree. As discussed in the previous chapter, this is not the perfect method, but for the purposes of this research it is a reasonable means to distinguish university instructors in Labour Force Survey (LFS) data.

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[68]The Quebec government receives transfer payments from the federal government to allocate to post-secondary education institutions. This includes a "teaching allocation" that can fluctuate yearly – providing some 'justification' for universities providing short-term contracts. However, the provincial and federal governments do not keep statistical records of part-time and contingent instructors on a regular basis – the only study conducted by Statistics Canada, as a side project of the University and College Academic Staff System (UCASS) covered a brief period from 1997-1998. However, if universities in Quebec continue to hire contingent academic faculty at the rate they are now, it becomes clear that the government is operating with a very limited knowledge of how their universities are operating. This seems somewhat paradoxical given the emphasis placed on accountability by the neoliberal agenda.

In the table below, I show the distribution of full-time and part-time faculty members from 1998 to 2008.

Table 4.1 Number of Full-time and Part-time Instructors[69] and Ratio of Full-time to Part-time instructors per survey year in Quebec, 1998-2008

	Survey year											Total
	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	
Full-time	969	1050	1092	1052	1157	1076	1064	872	976	1007	1032	11347
Part-time	156	153	247	249	270	288	311	294	237	224	206	2635
Ratio of Full-time to Part-time	6.21	6.86	4.42	4.23	4.28	3.74	3.41	2.97	4.12	4.50	5.01	
Total	1125	1203	1339	1301	1427	1364	1375	1166	1213	1231	1238	13982

It is important to highlight the ratio of full-time to part-time faculty members. The ratio steadily decreases from 1998 to 2005 and then shows a small increase from 2006 to 2008. This indicates a relative decrease in full-time to part-time faculty members during these years. This finding is a preliminary basis on which one can argue that part-time academic work has increased in Quebec universities and colleges.

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[69] Pearson's chi-square value of 100.95; P-value of 0.00

	Survey year											
	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Total
Permanent	958	996	1093	987	1069	1060	961	818	799	864	902	10507
Not permanent, seasonal	0	0	2	5	1	3	1	2	0	0	0	14
Not permanent, Temporary, term, contract	146	169	205	281	304	261	346	304	361	331	302	3010
Not permanent, casual, or other	20	16	23	11	43	20	39	38	46	20	30	306
Ratio of Permanent to Temporary	5.77	5.38	4.75	3.32	3.07	3.73	2.49	2.38	1.96	2.46	2.72	
Total	1124	1181	1323	1284	1417	1344	1347	1162	1206	1215	1234	13837

Table 4.2 Number of Permanent and Temporary Instructors[70] and Ratio of Permanent to Temporary Instructors per survey year in Quebec, 1998-2008

The permanent or temporary status of the instructor is what I wish to highlight in Table 4.2. In this table, the ratio of permanent to temporary faculty members increases over the same ten year period. In Table 4.1, the ratio of full-time to part-time faculty members, the ratio decreases steadily from 1998 to 2006, showing a slight increase in years 2007 and 2008. Although these two trends followed parallel lines in the same timeframe, the ratio of permanent to temporary faculty members shows a more steady

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[70] Pearson's chi-square value of 305.57; P-value of 0.00

decrease, and indeed the chi-square value[71] of this measure indicated that permanent and temporary status was three times more significant than the ratio of full-time to part-time faculty members (306 compared to 101). This surprising result led me to consider a new approach to the evaluation of these trends.

Following Rajagopal and Muzzin, it is important to problematize the commonplace idea that contingent academic workers, or 'part-timers', are fringe workers hired as freelancers and commit relatively less time than tenured faculty to the university. Indeed, my participants confirmed that although they hold 'part-time' appointments, they *do* work full-time hours, similar to their tenured or tenure-track counterparts. In order to support my argument, it is crucial to take into account not only the hours worked, but the permanent or temporary status of faculty members. In a preliminary attempt to do so, I recoded the Labour Force Survey Data to take into account both the hours worked and their permanent or temporary status in the university. That is, I recoded all "not-permanent" categories into one category of "temporary" and ran crosstabs to examine the distribution of full-time and part-time work among temporary instructors and professors.

I noticed a striking difference between the change over time in full-time temporary faculty members and the change in part-time temporary faculty members (see Figure 4.1 below). The change over time in full-time temporary faculty members is shown in the bar graph on the left and the change in part-time temporary faculty members is shown on the right[72]:

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[71] Chi-square is a test of statistical significance. Specifically, it tests the null hypothesis that the variables are independent. If the null hypothesis is rejected, one can conclude that the variables are dependent of each other. This conclusion is assigned a known probability of error (determined by the alpha level), (Healey:2005)

[72] Chi-Square value of 36.55; P-value of 0.00

Figure 4.1 Full-time (1) and Part-time (2) Temporary Instructors per survey year in Quebec, 1998-2008

Bar Chart
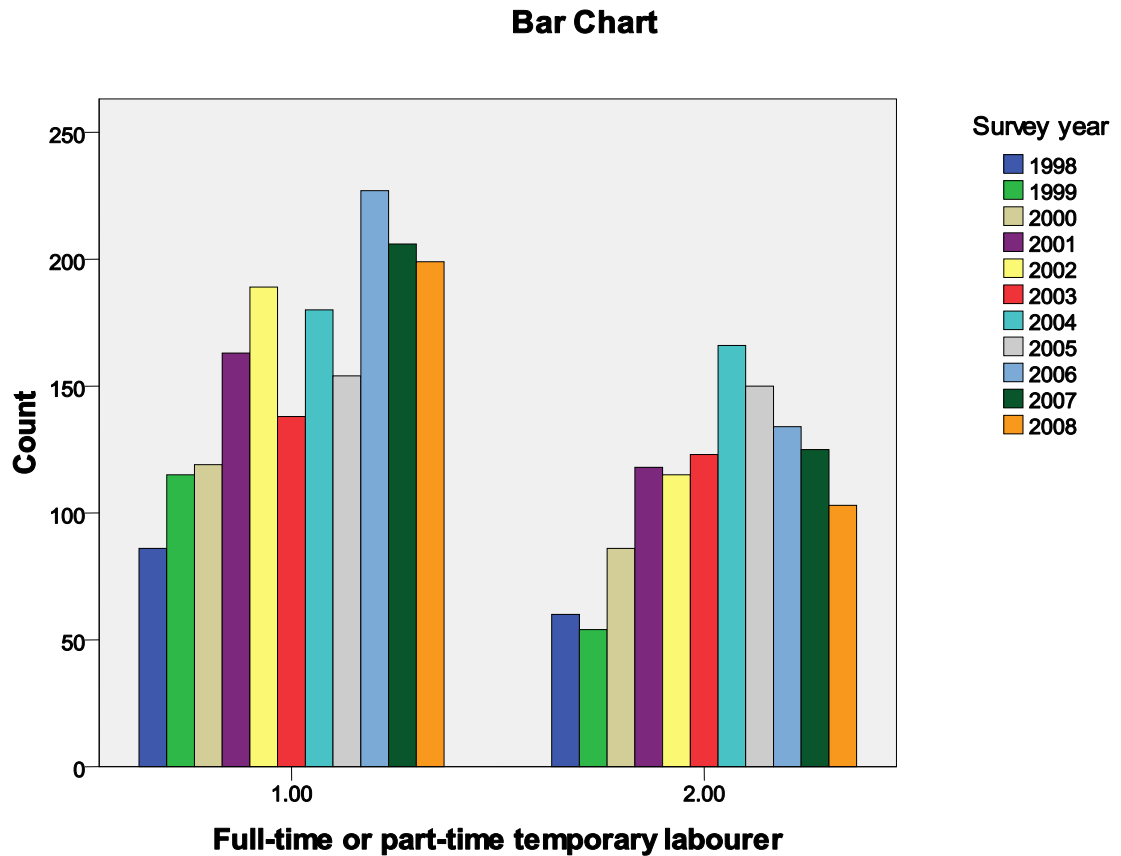
The number of full-time temporary faculty members shows a relatively linear increase from 1998 to 2008, while the number of part-time temporary faculty members shows an increase that tapers off in the later years (from 2005 to 2008). It is noteworthy that full-time temporary labour rises dramatically in 2006, which might help account for why ratio of full-time to part-time faculty members suddenly starts to increase again in 2006, as was shown in Table 4.1.

I am particularly interested in the linear increase on the left-hand side. Why has there been such a drastic increase in the number of full-time temporary faculty members in Quebec post-secondary institutions? I propose that this trend reflects an increasing

reliance on temporary or sessional faculty members, that they are increasingly working full-time hours, teaching larger course loads, spending more time marking exams and holding office hours, and in some cases taking part in administrative service that is normally assigned to tenured and tenure-track faculty. Echoing Rajagopal's observation that "permanent temps" were becoming the norm in Canadian universities, I suggest the issue is not so much "part-time" work as it is the propagation of a temporary academic workforce that buttresses a reserve army of surplus labour that is drawn upon by the university as part of a risk management strategy.

I am not suggesting that tenured and tenure-track faculty are working less, or that sessional and temporary workers are 'picking up the slack' of tenured or tenure-track faculty. Instead, I suggest that the workload has increased for all parties, confirming Rajagopal's contention that the particular work done by temporary faculty creates surplus value for the university[73].

Let us re-examine two important trends that I argue allow for flexibility, in the context of risk management, for post-secondary institutions. In Figure 4.2 below, the ratio of permanent to temporary labour declines over time, meaning that the institution hires fewer permanent faculty members relative to temporary faculty members. The permanent faculty members, as I mentioned, continue to work full-time, and often work overtime, but *there are fewer of them* relative to temporary faculty members.

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[73] Again, it is important to distinguish between *surplus labour* that is supported by a the flexibilization of the academic labour market, and *surplus value* that is created through lower wages and increased workload of contingent academic faculty. My claim that temporary instructors are increasing supports the first argument, while my claim that temporary instructors increasingly work full-time hours supports the second argument.

Figure 4.2 Ratio of Permanent to Temporary Instructors per survey year in Quebec, 1998-2008
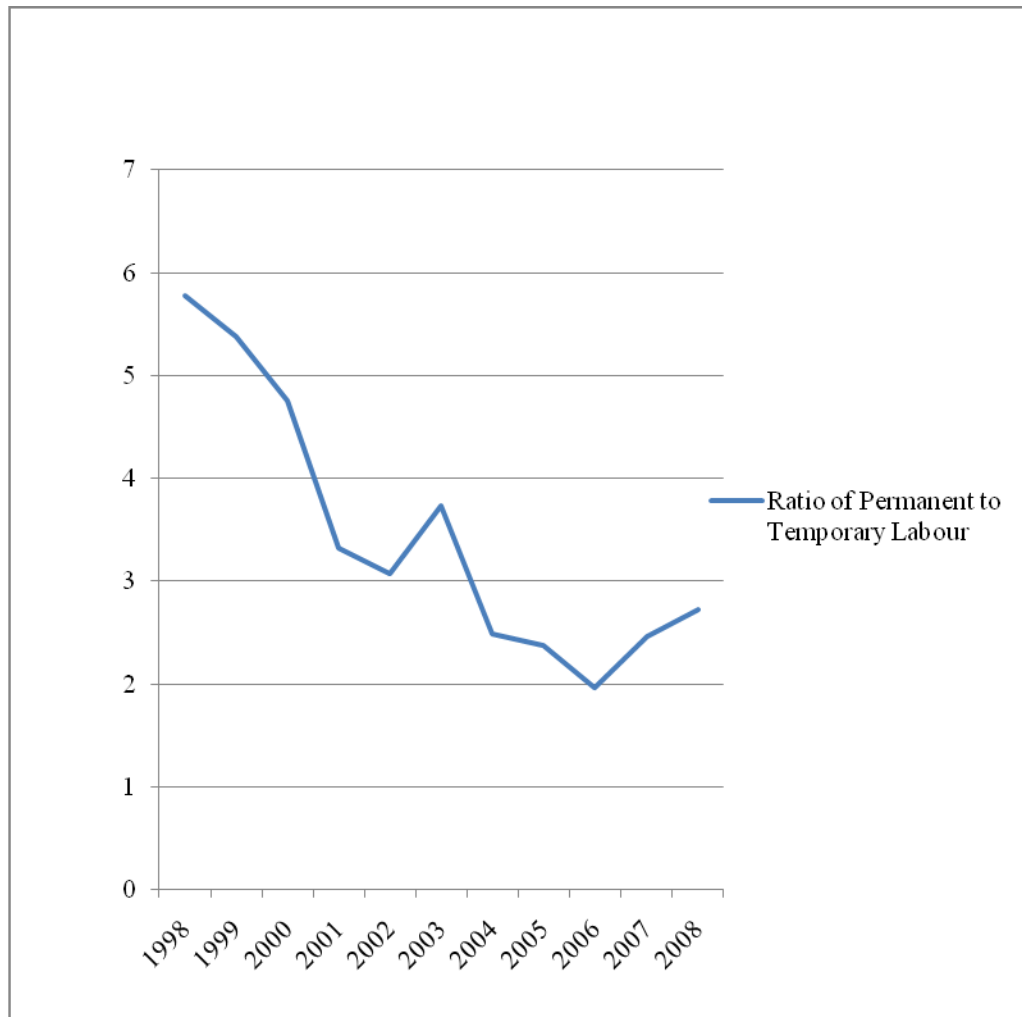
In the following graph, Figure 4.3, full-time temporary faculty members are shown to increase significantly over the same time period, presumably taking on excess work[74], and thus maintaining the level of production in the university – that is, production of courses, production of grades and production of degrees.

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[74] While it is not the aim of this thesis to speculate on the reasons for increased academic workloads, one plausible argument is that student enrollment in universities and colleges has increased dramatically. Full-time student enrollment in Canada, for example, rose steadily from 580,377 in 1998-1999 to 806,285 in 2007-2008 (CAUT *Almanac of Post-Secondary Education*, 2010-2011)

Figure 4.3 Number of Full-time Temporary Instructors per survey year in Quebec, 1998-2008

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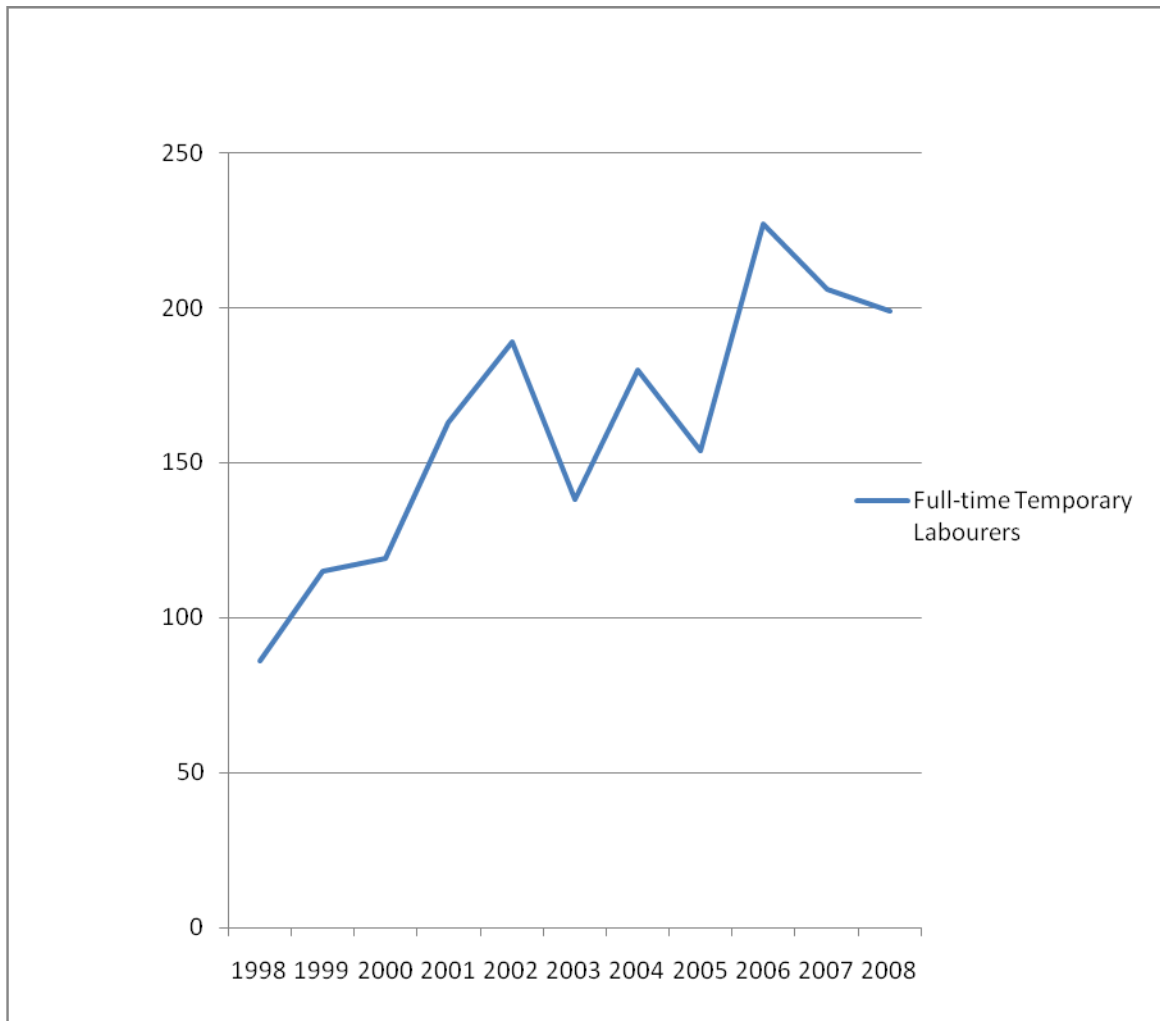
    In the Theoretical Framework chapter, I argue that this phenomenon is evidence of a neoliberal and risk-management orientation in Quebec universities. Drawing on Harvey, a more informative way of categorizing contingent and flexi-labour in the university is necessary. Harvey first described flexible accumulation as a system that "rests on flexibility with respect to labour processes, labour markets, products and patterns of consumption" (1990:147). But, as Beck points out (1992), flexible labour is

also one of the many ways institutions manage risk in contemporary society. I contend

that universities in Quebec are simultaneously retreating from the risk of hiring tenured

faculty, and managing the risk inherited through the "massification" of higher education

in Canada since the mid 20th century.

Contingent academic labour in Quebec universities is not only a way of avoiding

the risk entailed by the commitment of granting tenure, but also allows for unpredictable

changes in the school system, the job market and in student enrolment. For example,

during the double-cohort year in Ontario (2003), in which grade 13 was eliminated and

those in grade 12 and 13 graduated simultaneously, a surplus of instructors were required

to take on the extra classes required for the influx of university students.[75] With emerging

technologies and service jobs, enrollment rates may drop as students move to technical

training programs, and this may also reduce the amount of labour required. These are

viable circumstances which chronically underfunded universities in Quebec may

confront, and ensuring that a critical mass of faculty members are hired on a short-term

contract only is one form of risk management.

The quantitative data presented attempts to provide a background on which to

discuss the current situation of contingent academic faculty members in Quebec

universities. There are a few limitations to this endeavour. The first is, as I have

mentioned, the lack of distinction between teachers and professors. While I used a proxy

of highest education attained to distinguish university instructors from elementary and

high school teachers, I do not think this an entirely reliable measure, and want to signal

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[75] This may help explain the increase in part-time and temporary instructors seen in the years 2004, 2005 and 2006, when presumably many of these high school graduates from Ontario would have enrolled in Quebec universities. (see Tables 4.1 and 4.2)

the importance of developing a more consistent measure of part-time and temporary

instructors in Quebec and in Canadian universities as well.

Although I have discussed some basic trends in part-time and temporary

instruction based on Labour Force Survey data, much research remains to be done. A

recent analysis of Labour Force Survey or Census trends in Quebec and in Canada over

the past twenty years would be interesting in order to clarify some of the ambiguities that

exist in the present analysis, and to update the work of Rajagopal and Muzzin. Moreover,

new ways of documenting de-standardized and flexible academic labour are necessary.

The Impacts of Flexibilization on Contingent Academic Faculty and Higher Education

In reviewing my qualitative data and comparing it with Rajagopal's work, I was

surprised with how closely my participants' responses echoed her analysis. I have

structured my analysis in order to reflect the three most central issues surrounding

contingent faculty. First, I explicate the participants' responses with regards to their work

as course instructors, suggesting that the workload, security and quality of instruction of

contingent academic faculty have important interrelations and impact negatively on both

the instructors and on university instruction. Second, I focus on issues raised relating to

integration, status and collegiality of contingent academic faculty members in their

working environments. In the third section, I address how participants addressed the

issue of professional identity, arguing that Rajagopal and Gappa and Leslie's

conceptualization of contingent academic worker should be complimented by Beck's

(1992) notion of reflexive biographies and Bauman's (2000) view of identity in the

context of liquid modernity.

Workload, Security and Quality of Instruction

Generally, participants expressed that they liked the work of teaching university courses. However, they appended their expressions with many concerns about the workload they took on, the lack of security afforded to them and even the quality of their own instruction. While these three concerns may seem mutually exclusive, we shall see from the participants' responses that job insecurity has implications for both workload and the quality of instruction.

Participants frequently expressed that the lack of security in their position was the most difficult aspect they had to contend with. Rebecca[76] explains:

> I wouldn't mind having a permanent position… that is maybe the hardest part and also the fact that professors can replace me at any moment. I can have all the seniority in the world, but – for example, last fall I found out a month before classes were starting that a visiting professor would be teaching my course. I had put all the work into preparing it and was counting on the funds, but no, I didn't get to teach it.

This contingency is not only a strain on personal budgeting and planning, but also can make certain aspects of teaching particularly unrewarding. For example, course instructors are often asked to design, prepare for and/or administer a course, often with very short notice. Anna, an instructor at the Université de Montréal, explains her frustration with this aspect of her job:

> I feel exploited, in the sense that all the energy and efforts I put into the course are not really compensated by a bonus, for example, and I have no guarantee that I'll get the same course the next year; so I have no guarantee that the investment in time and effort that I put in at the start will deliver a return. I feel very much at their mercy.

Many participants expressed that although they were being asked to do the same teaching workload as a full-time or tenured professor, they ultimately did not receive the same compensation, both in terms of their pay, *and* in terms of the time that they had

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[76] Pseudonyms are used throughout this thesis to protect participants' identities.

invested in the initial course preparation. The feeling that a heavy workload would not be rewarded characterized other participants' responses. It also demonstrates the close interrelationship between workload and security. That is, participants felt a certain amount of security should be expected in order to take on a certain workload. As I will argue in the third section, this continuous stream of short-term efforts contributes to the feeling of a "liquid" professional identity in which a monolithic conceptualization of a "career" is made obsolete. Anna evokes this feeling again in a discussion on teaching evaluations:

> I found it difficult in the sense that it's precarious and I invest about thirty hours a week for four months for nothing – I mean, it's not for nothing because I learn and am able to assess what I know and what I need to improve on – but I invest without any guarantee that the investment is somehow recuperated. What's more, I'm evaluated by the students, and I find myself in a very vulnerable position, which is of course my subjective experience. I want to please them, but I say to myself "if they evaluate me and I don't please them, am I doing this for nothing?" – Well, not for nothing, but I mean, will I lose the chance to teach that course again? So I've found this aspect of being evaluated by the students, taking into account that aspect of vulnerability has biased my relationship with the students a little, and the freedom to teach the way I want to teach. I think if I had more assurance… for example, teaching this course as a professor, I would take more liberty with things; I would still be available to the students but I would also likely be stricter about things.

This comment raises a number of issues. Anna reiterates the concern that a great deal of her work might be done in vain because she does not hold a permanent position in the department. She hints that the work helps her assess her strengths and weaknesses, but is somewhat dubious that there is a good reason to do so. Anna then raises the issue of student evaluations, suggesting increased feelings of vulnerability[77], particularly when she might "lose the chance to teach that course again". Her lack of security is posited as a

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[77] However, she reflexively identified the subjectivity of this feeling of vulnerability.

reason to question an investment of time, and it is also viewed as a liability in terms of her ability to be strict with students.

Contingent academic faculty members often express their feelings of being at the mercy of their students, and these feelings of vulnerability or precariousness are often exacerbated by the evaluations they receive from students. This feeling of vulnerability varied from participant to participant, and was more prevalent among participants whose next contract was partially dependent on good evaluations. Sarah suggests that not only do these evaluations highlight a pressure to please students, but that they are relatively inefficient and do not help her improve her teaching:

> I feel that the form of evaluation used at our university is absurd… I receive comments from students who are anonymous, so I can't answer them. I can't collaborate with them or engage in dialogue with regards to their comments; and so I could receive a comment like 'the due dates are poorly explained' when there is a calendar in the course syllabus. But how can I know what they're referring to if I can't ask them a question back? I don't find it instructive or helpful at all.[78]

These concerns reflect those raised in the literature by Fox and Furedi with respect to the massification and therapeutization of higher education. Fox's main concern with the massification of higher education is that "student-centered teaching" relativizes the relationship between student and teacher, thus damaging the valuable learning experience characterized by a master-apprentice relationship. If these part-timers increasingly feel that deferring to students who want to commit limited amounts of time and effort is necessary in order to maintain their positions, what is the impact on a typical student-teacher relationship in a class taught by a temporary lecturer? What impact does this have on the learning experience of the student and more centrally, how is the role of the

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[78] Notably, this participant was not against student evaluations of faculty per se, in fact she expressed how important they were in faculty members' development. She wanted to clarify that it was this kind of one-sided evaluation that she found problematic.

university instructor transformed? All of the participants expressed that they felt that they couldn't challenge their students to the same extent that tenured professors could.[79]

Participants admitted that faculty members can play into the student-as-client paradigm. One participant found that "students have more and more an attitude of a consumer of a course… I think the professor often plays a role in that." Other participants agreed that when it came to lowering standards, both instructor and students were responsible. When I asked Rebecca, a course lecturer at the Université de Montreal, if student evaluations affected the way her own assessment of students, she disclosed:

> Yes, it's too bad. Before, if a student gave me something a week late, I wouldn't correct it. Now, I have a system of regressive percentages per day that an assignment is late. But I also feel like my job is secure in some sense because nobody else wants to teach the course I teach, and I've been teaching it for so long. Anyways, I've gotten good evaluations from my students… but still, I feel wrong about this. I have the impression that they could be doing more; that we don't ask enough of them.

Despite her relative sense of security[80] Rebecca expressed her concern that a lack of rigour was characterizing her instruction. Again, this reflects most, if not all my participants' responses regarding their experiences in the classroom.

Participants also expressed that they lacked resources to prepare adequately for their courses, or simply did not have the experience with the subject matter that full-time, tenured faculty had accumulated. Sarah expressed the latter concern:

> We don't have any experience teaching, and we rarely have experience teaching the same course. So, we don't have teaching experience *and* we don't necessarily have experience teaching that specific material, which changes all the time. The

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[79] Even if they did state that they contributed things to students' learning that tenured faculty could not (e.g. non-academic "field-based" knowledge), all the participants admitted that they felt vulnerable in the face of students.

[80] Her relative sense of security, as this participant discussed later in the interview, was short-lived as she was replaced at the last minute by a visiting scholar despite teaching the course for several years in a row.

quality simply can't be the same. It's not that we're bad teachers, it's just that the quality can't compare with a professor who has taught the course for ages, who has developed a full bibliography, who continually goes back to tailor the course; it's not the same thing. Also, I've never been given a course that relates to my research area.

The participants were surprisingly candid with their opinions that students might obtain a better classroom experience with greater exposure to more permanent faculty. This is surprising because all of them expressed passion for teaching and described how much effort they put into their work. Despite their passion and efforts in their work, the participants were critical of their own ability to teach at the undergraduate level and were skeptical that they had enough experience in the field[81]

Apart from a lack of experience teaching or researching a particular field, participants felt that other factors detracted from their ability to fulfill their duties as course lecturers. Ellen, an instructor at the Université de Sherbrooke, underscored the need for more time in preparation for courses. She had been offered courses two weeks before the semester began, and also said she felt left to her own devices. Ellen expressed a desire to meet with faculty members teaching in the same area, in order to share tools, resources and experiences. This lack of integration into faculty is a commonality among participants, and is discussed in the following section.

Integration, Status and Collegiality

As Rajagopal points out, feelings of marginalization are common among contingent academic faculty. This is often reinforced through a differentiated allocation

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[81] This was not the case with the two oldest participants, who felt that they brought a certain experience to the classroom that a younger tenure-track professor does not possess. Notably, these two participants were both principally researchers, not instructors. As I will discuss in the next section, researchers, particularly in a technical field, often feel that they are transmitting knowledge not available through academics in the 'ivory tower'.

of resources (e.g. shared office space), a lack of influence or voting power within university meetings, and comments or behavior of other faculty members. These feelings of marginalization were also articulated by my participants, who highlighted some personal experiences that contributed to these feelings. In this section, I will discuss the extent to which integration, status and collegiality were issues for my participants, and discuss their relationship to the marginalization of contingent academic faculty.

As Ellen communicated, contingent academic faculty often feel like they are lacking guidance and that more integration with other temporary and permanent faculty members teaching similar courses would help them orient their work and also develop a more engaging professional environment. Daniel, a contract researcher and sessional instructor at UQAM and UQO remarked "I didn't really have any training… I'm able to function autonomously, but occasionally I'd like to have feedback; I'd like to have more guidance, which I don't really get." Michael, an instructor at Laval, suggested that this lack of integration can also be frustrating in terms of simply doing one's job:

> Often, systems are made for people who are always there… a *chargé des cours* is in the department only at specific times during the year, so when there are changes in politics, expectations or practices – or even if there is new equipment, tools, or modes of communication – if no special effort is made to transmit this to *chargé des cours*, they will ignore it, so often we're left to our own devices, while for regular faculty members and staff they are up-to-date. This can be discouraging, especially when we are called on at the last minute to teach a course."

The consensus from the participants was that there was indeed a disconnect between departments and larger university bodies and contingent academic faculty, which often resulted in misunderstandings or miscommunications between these instructors and the departments in which they worked. This was perceived by participants

as a lack of guidance, resources and/or communication, and participants argued that this

added to their feelings of being fringe or marginal to the university.

Marginalization is a central theme in Rajagopal, Muzzin and others' work, and it

was an important recurring theme in my interviews with the participants. Not only did

they express feelings of 'indirect' marginalization through the differential allocation of

resources and assistance, but they also experienced it in more 'direct' contexts. Rebecca,

a department representative for sessional instructors describes a frustrating moment in at

a department meeting

> I clashed with (a) professor at a meeting in order to make my point, because he said "For years, nobody has been teaching this course" and I raised my hand and said "it's not nobody, it's me teaching that course. I've been teaching it for three or four years, and have developed the course, and have received very good evaluations on it". Maybe I don't have a PhD, but… I have seven years of university education. I got a little angry. That kind of thing reminds me of France – that kind of hierarchy. They would say things like 'We are *so* strapped for funding that we have to hire contingent faculty'. It's shocking, it's humiliating for us. But it's really helped me to be in the union because I've met people who have their PhD; who publish, etc., who are contingent faculty, and that is their career. Furthermore, I know a lot of tenured faculty members who wouldn't teach if they weren't required to, so, one has to wonder – are those better teachers? They don't like it; they're fed up with it, so… it's a little frustrating.

This lack of recognition is unfortunately a common scenario among contingent

academic faculty members. Paul, a sessional instructor, describes his experience at a

faculty event at McGill University:

> I'm definitely not seen as full-time, there's a difference there. We just had our department wine and cheese last week, so all the full-time faculty went around and introduced themselves, and the chair was ready to transition… but then the department secretary said "Wait! We still have (to ask) the sessionals to introduce themselves. They want to help us, to get us more classes to teach, but it's just a matter of fitting us into a budget."

The experience of not being introduced as a full-time faculty member and in a sense, being treated as an afterthought, was fairly common among the participants. However, Paul did not express resentment. Instead, he pointed to the economic reality of needing to balance the university budget. Most participants viewed their positions as marginal, but also added that this was the reality of the academic labour market and that there was not much they could do about it. As Paul put it, a position on the margins is "what (he) signed up for". As I will discuss in the following section on professional identity, this reflects a construction of what Beck would call a "reflexive biography".

Beyond the direct and indirect experiences of marginalization, contingent academic faculty do express that they are happy to be excluded from certain tasks that are mandatory for full-time, tenured and tenure track professors. Paul likes the fact that he didn't have to attend the department meetings or "deal with any of that kind of stuff", as he was more interested in teaching than the administrative aspect of the job. Rochelle, an instructor of long-distance courses at Laval University, viewed the job of being a tenured professor as a high-pressure, overly competitive one which was not appealing; she describes how her colleague's personal trajectory influenced this view:

> I have a friend who is trying to become a tenured professor… she always has to prove that she's the best, she's always competing, she's always under pressure to publish and get research grants, and in the first year of working (as an assistant professor), she had a burnout. She came back, worked another year, and then had a relapse. Two years later she found out she had cancer.

Rochelle described the culture of the tenure system and the intense pressure to publish, as too demanding, and positioned herself counter to this. She expressed the desire to commit her time to teaching and research, as well as spend time with her loved ones. For Rochelle, teaching part-time was a conscious choice that was made with

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personal and professional goals in mind. She viewed the status of having tenure as not worth the stress and pressure involved in taking on a full-time, permanent position. Rochelle mirrored some, but not all, participants' reasoning regarding why they took on contingent positions in universities. As in previous studies, some contingent academic faculty wanted full-time positions, while others did not. Recalling Rajagopal's terms, Rochelle cannot be identified as a "Classic", because she does not hold down a full-time non-academic job, nor does she have additional positions at other universities. However, she cannot be identified as a "Contemporary" either, because she does not have the end goal of having a full-time academic position; indeed, she deliberately situates herself outside of that context, yet still identifies as a teacher and researcher. Therefore, as I will argue in the next section, the professional identity of contingent academic faculty in contemporary universities must be re-examined, as this group comprises an incredibly diverse cross-section of academics, practitioners, researchers and graduate students, and the ways in which they constitute their identity is part and parcel of the transforming university system (and society) in which they find themselves.

Professional Identity of Contingent Faculty in Contemporary Universities

Both Gappa and Leslie and Rajagopal explain that the categories they construct are not all-encompassing explanatory forms, but rather aid us in understanding certain aspects of part-time and contingent academic work. In *The Invisible Faculty* (1993), Gappa and Leslie build on Tuckman's (1978) previous study of part-time faculty in order to problematize the notion that part-timers are a monolithic category and to identify the various career options, professional needs and compensation particular to certain sub-populations of part-timers (1993:45). Rajagopal focuses on the dichotomy between

Classics and Contemporaries to underscore that there are a greater amount of part-timers

and contract faculty that aspire to full-time, tenure-track positions and that this inequity

should be taken into consideration. She notes that previous scholarship on 'types' of part-

time and sessional faculty has been based on four "demographic or functional criteria:

work situations; employment expectations; reasons and motivations for teaching; and

preferences and constraints" (2002:129). While these criteria are important, Rajagopal is

right to place significance on the Classic or Contemporary status of the faculty member.

Indeed, the data I examined did reflect her findings that those with work in non-academic

sectors were generally more satisfied and were less likely to experience feelings of

marginalization in the academic community. However, as mentioned in the previous

section in the case of Rochelle, creating two categories that situate contingent academic

faculty in terms of their desired primary job (academic or non-academic) is no longer

appropriate given the complex arrangement of academic work, and the diversity of the

growing population of contingent academic faculty. My contention is that contingent

academic faculty members construct reflexive, liquid biographies throughout their

academic careers given the political economic context they are faced with. Given the

increasing prevalence of temporary and part-time academic work in Quebec universities,

I argue that these reflexive biographies are increasingly constitutive of the university

system and as discussed in the Theoretical Framework chapter, they are forces that

transform the university as we know it. I will now discuss this contention in the context

of my data.

As discussed in the Theoretical Framework chapter, reflexive biographies, for

Beck, are part of individualizing processes necessitated by risk society. For Bauman,

liquid identities are necessary to live in liquid modernity. Although I am not implying

that the two identities are the same, I do suggest that they are both applicable in this

context and can be used to examine responses from my participants that address issues of

professional identity[82].

To recapitulate, Beck views individualizing processes as three-stage phenomena:

first individuals are *disembedded* from historically prescribed social forms and

commitments (the "liberating dimension"), then they lose the security assured by norms

and tradition (the "disenchantment dimension"), then they are *re-embedded* in a new type

of social commitment (the "control or reintegration dimension") (1992:127). The

disembedding, or liberating dimension, is the slow flexibilization of the workforce. The

social form of academic tenure, while not abandoned, becomes only one of many forms

of academic work. For some, this is destabilizing while for others, it is liberating (i.e. to

not have to "play the tenure game"). Second, faculty members lose their job security,

which impacts various areas of their professional and personal lives. Indeed, this loss of

security does lead to disenchantment, impacting directly on their desire to orient

themselves to a prescribed workload or ethic of rigor as we saw earlier in this chapter. It

is the third stage of re-embedding in a new type of social commitment I wish to examine

more closely.

This re-embedding is achieved through the creation of a reflexive liquid

biography. With regards to the qualitative data I gathered, there are three analytical

aspects of reflexive and liquid modern biographies that I wish to focus on. Faculty

members construct highly differentiated professional identities, much like individuals in

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[82] Again, I am using Beck's notion that work is the "*axis of living* in the industrial age" (1992:139) to
justify applying this concept predominantly to participants' occupational lives.

post-industrial society must choose highly differentiated lifestyles and subcultures[83].

Second, a responsibilization of the individual occurs via the extension of the market and

institutions to the self. Third, standard biographies are intersected and complicated by

reflexive biographies. I will now explore how each of these three elements is reflected in

the interview data.

In their creation of different typologies of contingent academic faculty, Tuckman

(1978), Gappa and Leslie (1993) and Rajagopal (2002) contribute considerable

knowledge about the motivations, expectations and demographics of part-time and

contingent academic faculty. However, I suggest that due to the contingency of their

work, academic faculty continually redefine their professional identity, so that even if

they identify as "aspiring academics", they are continually forced to amend these

categories, particularly as they obtain different contracts at different universities, are

asked to teach different types of courses and take on other semi-academic or non-

academic commitments such as "hybrid" academic positions, research contracts with

private companies, or policy work. These commitments intercede in the constitution of

professional identity, and this interception is facilitated by the fact that contingent

academic faculty members do not have permanent jobs. Rebecca explains:

> I couldn't do this (teaching) alone, that's for sure. I don't feel fully accomplished in
> this job; I find that our working conditions are worsening; I find that there is a whole
> creative aspect missing. I'm a journalist and reporter also, so I do a radio show. I also
> volunteer and I give language courses. I do a lot of things on the side because (being a
> temporary instructor) isn't enough. However, I have definitely advanced to an extent
> at the university in the past five years, for example this year. I'm writing a manual for
> a university publication. I've started a pedagogical integration project with my

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[83] As discussed in the Theoretical Framework chapter, Beck posits that choosing highly differentiated
lifestyles and subcultures to some extent liberates individuals from class ties, but also commits them to "the
constraints of existence in the labour market and as a consumer, with the standardizations and controls they
contain" (1992:131).

colleagues, to harmonize the teaching of the class I'm responsible for because there are more than 700 students registered in that course per session. So those two projects bring in some income, and are also enjoyable. However, I couldn't only do this. I would get bored.

Rebecca is also a journalist and reporter with two other (non-academic) part-time jobs. She discontinued her doctoral studies, but explained that she had many other projects "on the go". As with several of the informants, she was unsure of whether or not she would take a full-time academic position. However, she also took on work with her colleagues in the department, implying a certain degree of integration into the department. It is interesting that Rebecca finds teaching insufficient not only in terms of pay and working conditions, but that it is lacking a certain "creative aspect". Rebecca found that through her two other jobs and volunteer work she could satisfy her need for creativity. She also represents the temporary course instructors in her department, which she took on "because she was asked to". Rebecca's description of her professional life and identity in this interview exemplifies how many of the participants constructed their 'story'. When asked about Gappa and Leslie's categories (see Sample Interview Questions, Appendix D), participants would initially associate themselves with one of the categories[84] and proceed to explain how they often diverged from those categories. Rochelle, who had expressed negative feelings about the tenure-track lifestyle, viewed herself as a "Specialist, Expert or Professional" because her specialized knowledge was highly sought after; yet she also expressed the desire to continue to do research and teaching in the CÉGEP system.

Contingent academic faculty's precariousness and flexibility can be described as at once liberating and the product of institutional and economic constraint. As Beck argues,

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[84] They may have initially felt pressured to do so because of the structure of the question.

individuals in reflexive modernity become increasingly responsible for social circumstances, resulting in "institutionally dependent individual situations" (1992:130)[85]. Their situation in the market and workforce are central in their own identity and they take the responsibility of adapting to these forces as part of their own conscientious strategies as human beings. This responsibilization through the extension of the market and institutions to the self was one of the most salient aspects of my participants' views of their orientation to their professional institutions. When asked about whether universities or individuals were responsible for the current academic labour situation, Paul asserted

> I think the responsibility lies with the individual. For people to complain about the job market like they didn't know is very naïve. Not all disciplines are created equally. If you go into neuroscience or something, first of all you're likely to finish pretty quickly, the research money's coming in, you piggyback off your supervisor's work, and your expectation is that you're going to get a good job. It may not be in a university setting, but you're going to get a good job right away. In the social sciences, arts and humanities, I think that graduate students need to be aware – I think they must be aware. So there's a challenge to market yourself well.

Paul states outright that the responsibility lies with the individual; he does not consider it incumbent upon universities to limit their graduate student acceptance rates, or to hire faculty on longer-term contracts, or to create new jobs by reforming university financial and hiring policies. Further, in suggesting that those who complain are naïve, he discounts the notion that complaints might emerge from a place other than naïveté, such as from the opinion and/or desire to change university hiring policy. This is the harsh reality that faculty members are faced with, and they must adapt to it, because as Paul says in an earlier discussion, "beggars can't be choosers".

Paul also revisits the aspect of disciplinary inequity, suggesting that if one enters certain disciplines one can "expect" a good job. The individual situation of having a job

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[85] This concept is explained in the Theoretical Framework chapter on page 45-46.

is institutionally given by the fluctuating market even at the disciplinary level, and it is, according to Paul, the individual's responsibility to orient oneself; to "market" oneself accordingly. Paul concludes:

> It's really easy for people who are looking for work – and it would probably be different if my dissertation had been signed off – but it's very easy for us to complain about things like the job market or the lack of opportunities but one thing about academics for the most part is that the best people do get the jobs, so I think that, you know, we complain but if we're supposed to get one of those good jobs then it's something our area will dictate.

The notion that "the best people get the jobs" reflects the extension of the market of academic jobs onto individual merit and abilities. It also negates the possibility that there is a shortage of academic jobs or a surplus of PhDs. Although my participants were critical of the academic labour system, they usually supplemented their critique with an explanation of why their life choices and personal decisions contributed to them having a part-time or contingent position.

Behind these economic tensions of supply and demand lies an institutional problem that can be understood through Beck's framework – the intersection of standard and reflexive biographies within the university system.

Beck argues that despite the necessity to create reflexive biographies in contemporary society, institutions often continue to work as if individuals had more or less "standard biographies". A standard biography is that which proliferated in industrial society through the creation of the standard work relation and other social factors like the nuclear family. Beck argues that as work is flexibilized and de-standardized, this standard biography becomes less and less applicable and institutions take on a kind of "*representative function for the fading industrial period*" (Beck's italics, 134).

I am not suggesting that the tenure system belongs exclusively to the industrial age, and that the flexibilization of the academic workforce will necessarily entail its decay. Nor am I suggesting that the tenured professoriate can be directly associated with the standard work relation, as tenured academic jobs have always represented unusual and privileged positions in the context of industrial society. However, I do wish to argue, along Beck's lines, that the standard *academic* biography is now intersected by these reflexive academic biographies. This happens both in terms of these individuals' expectations, *and* on the part of larger university structures, as I discuss in the Theoretical Framework chapter. That is, there is an implicit assumption that the university system can continue to expand and "massify" as if standard academic biographies were not intersected by reflexive ones. I will conclude by discussing how this overlapping occurs on an individual level.

In my interviews with participants it became clear that while they constructed highly specialized, liquid biographies, these reflexive adaptations were often at odds with other expectations. These tensions are to an extent a overlapping between standard and reflexive orientations to academic work, as can be illustrated by Paul's aside:

> I had always sort of dreamed… I think it probably still is my dream... to teach in a liberal arts school where most of your time is devoted toward teaching and less is expected from research methods… you get smaller classes; theoretically, you get better students, or more good students… I don't know. And because of that, I was a little reluctant to take a teaching job here (McGill) because this is research one and I thought it would sidetrack me a little bit. So when I was here last semester I thought this would be a one-time deal but I liked it and they liked me even though I'm teaching these 200-people classes. So I'm rethinking that a little bit…

Paul, who is notably the only participant who directly identified with the "aspiring academic" category, identifies a 'traditional' type of academic job; a teaching position at a liberal arts college with little research required. His contrast between the "dream" of this type of job and the reality of the job market is interesting especially given his earlier appeal to the reality of the job market. The tension between the possibility that a permanent position might become available, and the constant adaptation to new modes of employment, academic and non-academic, constitute the daily lives of contingent academic faculty, and exemplify an overlapping between the institutionally-prescribed value of tenure and the values of flexibilization, efficiency and accountability that pervade the university and hence those who work in it and contribute to it.

In this chapter, I have examined both quantitative and qualitative data pertaining to the situation of contingent academic faculty members in Quebec universities. In the first section, I use quantitative data to validate my claim that the academic workforce in postsecondary institutions in Quebec is increasingly becoming flexibilized, and suggest that an emerging trend is that of full-time, temporary work. In the analysis of my qualitative data, I contend that job insecurity impacts negatively on my participants' attitude toward their workload and that the contingency of their position in the university is viewed as a liability in upholding a quality of instruction in undergraduate courses. Finally, I explore how participants construct reflexive, differentiated identities through the extension of the academic labour market onto the self. This, I suggest, creates tensions in their expectations and in the university's expectations of faculty members. In the following Discussion chapter, I will consider the implications of these arguments for the university system in Quebec, considering the tension between standard and reflexive

biographies and the situation of contingent and flexible academic labour in larger issues including fiscal crises in the university, the commodification of higher education, and the rationalization of academic work and practices.

Discussion

In this thesis, I have examined the conditions under which contingent academic work has increased from 1998 to 2008, and argued that in order to be understood these must be situated in the larger frameworks of neoliberalization and risk management and commodification of higher education. I have also explored how these changes impact on the individual experiences of contingent academic faculty in Quebec universities. In this chapter, I review the central points made in this thesis, drawing links to the literature and theory I reviewed. I will also discuss the limitations of this study, and point to areas for further research.

'Freedom', the Responsibilization of the Individual and Reflexive Biographies

At the beginning of this thesis, I used David Harvey's notion of neoliberalism to contextualize what I posit is the neoliberalization of the university system. Harvey describes the deregulation of work and social regulations on industry as a reaction to embedded liberalism, which impeded the growth of capital through welfare provisions. He also contextualizes this in terms of the neoliberal emphasis on personal and entrepreneurial freedoms (2005:2). He outlines the construction of political consent that occurred through corporations, the media, and the education system. These agents capitalized on the cultural and traditional values of freedom and individuality, which were particularly salient in the 1960s and 1970s due to various political and social movements (40). Moreover, social movements promoting freedom and individuality

clashed with the left and with labour movements which were often viewed as too

structured and excessively bureaucratic. Consequently, a new ideology of work emerged

which emphasized freedom and liberty of action (51). This ideology buttressed a

widespread flexibilization of the workforce, which entailed the popularization of part-

time, piecemeal, short-term and long-distance work.

As Beck (1992) and Harvey (2005) point out, however, these new freedoms had other,

perhaps unforeseen consequences. Beck noted:

> The individual is indeed removed from traditional commitments and support
> relationships, but exchanges them for the constraints of existence in the labour
> market and as a consumer, with the standardizations and controls they contain.
> The place of traditional ties and social forms (social class, nuclear family) is taken
> by secondary agencies and institutions, which stamp the biography of the
> individual and make that person dependent on fashions, social policy, economic
> cycles and markets, contrary to the image of individual control which establishes
> itself in consciousness. (1992:131)

And Harvey expanded on Beck's point:

> each individual is held responsible and accountable for his or her own actions and
> well-being… Individual success or failure are interpreted in terms of
> entrepreneurial virtues or personal failings (such as not investing significantly in
> one's own human capital through education) rather than being attributed to any
> systemic property (such as the class exclusions usually attributed to capitalism.
> (2005:65-66)

Again, I wish to highlight the paradoxical aspect that individuals are dependent on

institutions and on the market, yet are simultaneously held responsible for their own

success or failure in orienting themselves to such institutions and market dynamics. This

responsibilization of the individual creates new problems and issues, as intimated by both

Harvey and Beck, but also constitutes a shirking of responsibilities on the part of

institutions. The responsibilization of the worker is a central part of the neoliberalization

of the university and plays a large role in the university's justification for hiring contingent workers, and in the rationale of individual faculty members.

This responsibilization of the individual and the accompanying extension of the market on to the self was perceptible among participants' responses, and is a point I wish to highlight. In the Data and Analysis chapter, I suggest that contingent academic faculty continually redefine their professional identity, so that even if they identify as "aspiring academics", they are continually forced to amend these categories, particularly as they obtain different contracts at different universities, are asked to teach different types of courses and take on other semi-academic or non-academic commitments such as "hybrid" academic positions. This reflects, to some extent, Abbas and McLean's notion of academics as having "constituent" identities based on the resources they have, the types of courses they teach, the type of contract under which they are employed, whether or not they publish, and various other factors. These commitments, I argue, intercede in the constitution of professional identity, which is particularly 'flexible' or 'free' given that they do not have permanent jobs.

This paradox of the responsibilization of the individual and the extension of the market on to the self, and the continual redefinition of the self fits with Beck's notion of reflexive biography, and reflects Abbas and McLean's (2001) theory of constituent identity among part-time instructors. Moreover, my findings suggest that contingent academic faculty are unwilling to assign a "category" to their own professional identity, but rather punctuate these categories with explanations of how they may fit other categories given the time, place and institutional context they are confronted with. Therefore Rajagopal's (2002) notion of "Classics", who also hold full-time non-academic

positions, and "Contemporaries", who only hold part-time academic positions must be problematized (128). It is clear that with the de-standardization of academic work, and the increased competitive environment created by a surplus of PhDs and a lack of full-time jobs, academics become career-oriented, and are hyper-aware of their and others' progression, setbacks and ratings (Parker and Jary, 1995:329).

This hyper-reflexivity, moreover, appears to be accentuated by feelings of vulnerability expressed by most of the research participants. The contingent academic faculty I interviewed underscored their inability to be "as strict" and to challenge their students as much as they felt they could (and would) if they had a more secure position in the university. To repeat, this does not imply a lack of effort or productivity on their part, but rather a structural ramification of the insecurity inherent in contingent academic work.

The Commodification and Rationalization of Higher Education

For the latter reason, I suggest that contingent academic work can be linked to the commodification of higher education in which the student is viewed as the "client" and professors and faculty members are viewed as "professionals for hire" (Rajagopal, 2002:11) in the sense that contingent academic faculty members feel that they cannot challenge the "client" without negative repercussions. The reasons for this are varied, and I am not implying that faculty members themselves view students as clients. Rather, feelings of insecurity and vulnerability lead to a student-teacher relationship that conveniently suits the paradigm of higher education as commodity.

It is not necessarily the case that universities hire contingent academic staff in a strategic manner, hoping that their insecure positions will lead them to pander to

students' wishes. However, I suggest that it *is* the case that universities hire contingent

academic staff to manage risk and cost in the university, and hence sacrifice a certain

student-teacher relationship in these cost-cutting measures. Moreover, the employment of

contingent academic faculty members to teach a large percentage of courses[86] reinforces

a bifurcation of the academic workforce; what has been called the separation of research

and teaching by Gagné (2002), Freitag (1999) and Fox (2002).

      The separation of research and teaching can be viewed as part of a larger

"rationalization", to use Parker and Jary's (1995) term, whereby research is increasingly

assessed as an activity that should be conducted separately from teaching. This separation

of what was once a "dialectical process" as Furedi calls it can be partly attributed to the

fact that research is increasingly assessed through a lens that values "innovation" rather

than the synthesis of knowledge. Moreover, research is viewed as an income-generating

and prestige-garnering activity of the university, rather than a particular field of expertise

that faculty members and professors can relate to students. Teaching, under this

paradigm, is viewed as a way to prepare students for the workforce, or as a professional

training seminar. From the point of view of a student, this raises an important question:

what is the difference between a university and a community college or technical training

school?

      The Global University Network for Innovation (GUNI) is a network founded by

UNESCO that aims "to contribute to the strengthening of higher education's role in

society through the renewal and innovation of higher education main issues across the

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[86] In 2005-2006, for example, contingent academic faculty members taught 59% of courses at the Université de Québec en Outaouais (UQO) and 53% of courses at the Université de Québec à Montréal (UQAM).

world under a vision of public service, relevance and social responsibility." [87] If we refer to a table from their recent publication, *Higher Education at a Time of Transformation* (2009) on "Changes in the role of the state and universities in Higher Education", we can see that some of the goals proposed by GUNI in the "Towards" column seem to reflect the notion that teaching should be focused on providing technical and/or market-based knowledge. I have included some of the more relevant ones below.

Table 5.1 Select changes cited from *Higher Education at a Time of Transformation*	
Changes in:	Towards:
Focus on suppliers, particularly public institutions	Focus on users, individuals who learn (students), companies and governments
Teaching systems that are based mainly on oral transmission and the distance lecturers and students	Teaching systems that are based on new technologies and tailor-made methods for lecturers and students to share knowledge
Universities isolated from society and from the industrial fabric, and companies isolated from universities	Higher education that is involved in social capitalization processes and is linked to society's creative and industrial systems

I have included these changes to demonstrate that the commodification or student-as-client paradigm is increasingly being espoused by players within the university, and that the rationalization of research and teaching through their involvement in "social capitalization processes" is not simply an esoteric concern of critical theorists, but is increasingly and explicitly stated in policy and planning documents – that is, it is becoming cemented in the institutional rhetoric of universities.[88]

The political adoption of the rationalization and commodification of university activities suggests two things for the academic labour movement. First of all, it suggests

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[87] See http://www.guni-rmies.net
[88] Concordia University's own Academic Plan, introduced in Spring 2011, might serve as a good example here.

that struggles for a new kind of university[89] are not simply a matter of preventing external players' attempts to corporatize and commodify the university, but that also defending the values of higher education as viewed by Gagné or Freitag involves internal commitment from faculty members, administrators, and even students, as there is already a political consensus (and resistance) building that is to a large extent internal to the university[90]. Moreover, it is also imperative that the power-players in the university stand up for the rights of contingent academic faculty members. As Rajagopal (2002) remarks, "The professoriate holds the power to hire and decide on the hiring criteria. It has usually looked unfavourably on long-time part-timers. Full-timers perpetuate the status quo through such 'gatekeeping' and thereby legitimize the stratification of power within the university" (72).

While the professoriate can find ways to improve the conditions and integration of part-time and contingent faculty, the onus of the larger structural problems lies with the provincial government, in concert with the governing boards of the universities. These have the power to create new jobs, change the terms of academic labour, reinvest in university education, and examine and assess the problem of the academic job market. I suggest that they have an ethical (if not political) responsibility to do so.

The second point that is raised by the institutionalization of commodification and rationalization narratives is that they implicitly omit the mandate of certain areas of

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[89] I not mean "new" in the sense of that I agree with the new managerialism or the neoliberalization of the university (far from it). However, I also wish to avoid the notion of returning to a "Golden age of the university", which is problematized by Muzzin (2008) and others.
[90] This is not to imply, by any means, that there are no external players involved in this debate and in the transformation of the university system in Quebec or elsewhere.

higher education, such as the Social Sciences and Humanities. I discuss the larger issue of

rationalization of the university and the fate of the Humanities in the following section.

Rationalization and the Fate of the Humanities

Rationalizing and "cost-cutting" practices of the neoliberal university have been

viewed as corrosive to the Social Sciences and perhaps more significantly, the

Humanities (See, e.g. Donaghue, 2009). Certain humanities programs in Canada have

been cut altogether[91], as has happened in the U.S. Most recently, at the State University

of New York (SUNY) Albany, cut their French, Italian, Classics, Russian and Theatre

programs in October 2010[92].

Stanley Fish's (2010) piece in the New York Times, "The Crisis of the

Humanities Officially Arrives"[93] discussed the justification for these cuts and also

debates how to defend the humanities to the general public given the economic strain on

universities[94]. He explains that the values of late capitalism ("productivity, efficiency and

consumer satisfaction) are not conducive to traditional justifications for the humanities

(e.g. that they enrich our culture). Fish (although he is not optimistic) suggests that we

should instead focus on:

> the political efforts of senior academic administrators to explain and defend the
> core enterprise to those constituencies — legislatures, boards of trustees, alumni,
> parents and others — that have either let bad educational things happen or have
> actively connived in them. And when I say "explain," I should add aggressively

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[91] As was the case with the University of Toronto's Comparative Literature program (see
http://www.themarknews.com/articles/1888-oh-the-humanities).
[92] Although there are some differences in how the Humanities and Social Sciences are funded, I suggest
that the Social Sciences could also be in danger, particularly those which are viewed as having weaker links
to industry and the "social capitalization processes" of social systems, to use GUNI's language.
[93] See http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/10/11/the-crisis-of-the-humanities-officially-arrives
[94] This sparked another interesting debate about whether the Humanities make or lose money for the
University. See Robert N. Watson's piece http://www.today.ucla.edu/portal/ut/bottom-line-shows-
humanities-really-155771.aspx

explain — taking the bull by the horns, rejecting the demand (always a loser)[95] to economically justify the liberal arts, refusing to allow myths (about lazy, pampered faculty who work two hours a week and undermine religion and the American way) to go unchallenged, and if necessary flagging the pretensions and hypocrisy of men and women who want to exercise control over higher education in the absence of any real knowledge of the matters on which they so confidently pronounce.

This may be a controversial point, first because Fish suggests that the senior administrators of a university should play the role of defending the humanities, while their interests may lie elsewhere. Second, it also suggests giving those in positions of power an even greater privilege in their discourse with the general public and with those who question the accountability of the university. Is that really what we want?

On the other hand, Fish's suggestion is intriguing for several reasons. It turns the tables on academic managerialism by imploring senior administrators to do a job they are already very well paid to do. Also, it suggests that there are misconceptions about the Humanities and that perhaps getting to the root of those misconceptions should be as high a priority as economically justifying them. Moreover, Fish insinuates that often these critiques emerge from external parties that have vested interests in the university but have limited knowledge about what does, or should, transpire within it.

What does this argument have to do with contingent academic faculty? First, the competition for academic jobs – and hence the proportion of reserve academic labour – is larger in the social sciences and humanities. As Muzzin (2008) discusses, the social sciences and humanities are unlike law, business or engineering and this because there

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[95] (My footnote) I am not sure if this argument is a loser – Watson's piece on the profits incurred by Humanities programs raises important questions, but data from Canadian universities would need to be examined. This remains an important area for further research.

are fewer activities that can be done other than research and teaching (106)[96]. Moreover, as Bauder (2006) remarks, academics may not wish to leave the academic workforce given the specialized skill-sets and the amount of time and energy they have invested in their professional qualifications. Hence, the problem of contingent academic faculty, and its situation in a rationalization of academic work, is implicitly tied to managerialism in the university and the subsequent rationalization of disciplines.

But besides the competitive nature of the job market in the humanities and social sciences, Fish's argument also raises questions that are equally relevant to the rationalization of academic work in the university. Parallels can be drawn with Fish's strategy for justifying the humanities, and that of justifying the case for secure academic work[97].

For instance, Fish implores administrators to become lobbyists, in a sense, for the humanities in the face of public or external scrutiny. The same could be said for contingent academic faculty. If the senior administrators of a university wish to boast about the exciting classroom experiences students will have, they should be able to invest in the production of higher education, to use Hayes and Woodward's term (2002:10), and demand a significant, long-term increase in higher education on the part of the provincial government.[98]

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[96]This is not to imply that a lack of alternative job is the only reason for doing contingent academic work – it may in many cases be that academics feel they are overqualified for other positions or they simply can't find a full-time academic job (Bauder 2006).

[97] I say "secure academic work" not because it is the aim of this thesis to argue that the tenure system is ideal, but rather to argue that insecure academic work has negative impacts on higher education and on individual faculty members. There is literature that debates the value of tenure that is not dealt with in this thesis (See, e.g. Finkin 1996, Chait 2005).

[98]In her book *University, Inc.*, Jennifer Washburn makes the important point that universities use tenured 'stars' to attract undergraduate students to their programs, when in reality these undergraduates may not even see these 'stars' in the hallways – let alone take a class with them (2002:200)

Fish's second point about the misconceptions of the Humanities could also apply to the work that faculty members do. It is perhaps still the case that professors are viewed by some as ivory tower academics that are paid exorbitant salaries but do not contribute to the economy. However in Canada, full-time professors are dealing with a number of students that is proportionately much higher than the volume of full-time university instructors. For example, the number of FTEs[99] enrolled in universities in Canada rose from 472,624 in 1998-1999 to 873,557 in 2007-2008 – an increase of 84.8%. But if we look at the numbers of full-time university instructors from 1998-1999 to 2007-2008, full-time university instructors increased by 29.4% only (CAUT, 2004 and 2011). In other words, full-time university instructors in 2007-2008 taught more than half the students they did in 1998-1999, taking into account hiring increases. The "massification" of the higher education system in Canada is evident, and this runs counter to arguments that professors are economically unproductive.

Moreover, professors' salaries are often lower than one would imagine. For the same time period, the average full professor's salary increased from $104,233 to $124,601 – an increase of only 19.5%, not accounting for inflation. For the amount of years they dedicate to professional training (8 years or more), and moreover, these professors do a lot of unpaid overtime, including unforeseen, non-academic tasks.[100]

It is not the principle aim of this thesis to argue for the rights of full-professors. Indeed, the massification implied by the enrolment numbers does not fall solely on the

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[99]Full-time equivalent is a term that calculates student enrollment by course credit, so that part-time and full-time students are accounted for proportionately.
[100] For example, they participate in the administration of new programs, sit on university board of directors, and redirect students to other services or, in some cases, provide a certain level of counsel in emergency situations that is not part of their formal job description.

shoulders of tenured faculty, as I hope this thesis has underscored. But I will now return to my point about what role senior administrators should play in defending the value of faculty members. It is clear that claims about ivory tower isolation and inefficiency on which the rationalization and neoliberalization are founded upon must be called into question. The massification of higher education has countless implications for the transformation of Canadian society to what it is today, and this is largely due to the tireless efforts of contingent (and permanent) academic staff. Perhaps it is the job of university administration to know what those implications are, and to acknowledge the scale of what the university does on a day-to-day basis.

More importantly though, in challenging misconceptions about academic labour and in fighting for the rights of faculty members, there is a battle against external (corporate) interests taking over the university, and an accompanying redefinition and reaffirmation in the goals of the university. As Fish put it in his follow-up article:

> When it comes to justifying the humanities, the wrong questions are what benefits do you provide for society (I'm not denying there are some) and are you cost-effective. The right question is how do you — that is, your program of research and teaching — fit into what we are supposed to be doing as a university. "As a university" is the key phrase, for it recognizes the university as an integral unity with its own history, projects and goals; goals that at times intersect with the more general goals of the culture at large, and at times don't; but whether they do or don't shouldn't be the basis of deciding whether a program deserves a place in the university.[101]

Thus the rationalization of the humanities, and I would argue of academic work, must be resisted, but as Fish underlines, a reconceptualization of the university mission is also necessary.

The Irrationality of Rationalization

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[101] This quote is drawn from Fish's follow up to his first article:
http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/10/18/crisis-of-the-humanities-ii/

What is ironic about the rationalization and neoliberalization of the university, as Harvey might point out, is that their accompanying discourses – such as measures of austerity and accountability – are contradicted in practice in the contemporary university. To return to a basic operational (and methodological) problem, there is no consistent data collected on contingent academic faculty in Quebec or in Canada, and to have any idea of these numbers requires an inordinate amount of data mining, as Rajagopal demonstrated through *Hidden Academics* (2002).

Moreover, as Bauder (2006) underscores, other areas of university spending must be called into question. Questions have been raised recently with the fiscal management and spending practices, including the 2008 real estate fiasco at UQÁM[102] and the recent 'resignation' of two past presidents of Concordia University and their subsequent severance packages.[103] This also calls to mind Rajagopal's calculation that in the 1988-1989 academic year, York University saved $12 million by hiring contingent faculty members. This also begs the question, where does this surplus value go? How is it accounted for? Do universities re-invest this into professional integration programs or better offices for contingent faculty members? There is no evidence of this.

Therefore, it seems that universities in Quebec are struggling with two forms of irrationality: on one hand, at the upper echelons of the university labour system there appear to be expenditures and mismanagement that would run counter to the supposed austerity and accountability promoted by the neoliberal university. On the other hand, there is a lack of knowledge about (and acknowledgement of) an increasingly important

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[102]See: http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/story/2008/06/05/qc-uqamreport0605.html
[103] See: http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/story/2010/12/24/mtl-concordia-president-student-reaction.html

sector of workers - contingent academic faculty – and this seems to contradict rhetoric that values accountability and management in the university.

This brings to mind a quote from Michel Foucault's *Dits et Écrits* (1976), in which he remarks that "the state, the justice system and systems of administrative do not always keep secrets by confiscating the truth; they also know how to dissolve the real into what is documentary."[104] This quote comes from Section 166 of *Dits et Écrits*, which is a response to a report entitled « Une mort inacceptable », a preface that was written to a report on the death of a prison inmate of suspicious causes.

Foucault remarks that we often critique the justice system when it commits errors, when it fabricates lies or untruths or when it remains silent or complicit in injustice of some kind. However, he says we often neglect how it creates the "unknowable" – that is, by small "displacements", and subtle deformations, it obscures small facts, clues and evidence that are crucial to uncovering truth. Decisions from those in power often create secrets, but more often, secrets are based in subtle interference and static; which is particularly effective when all the players are (knowingly or unknowingly) complicit in this.

It is the secret, hidden nature of contingent academic work that I wish to call attention to. Again, Rajagopal (2002) and Gappa and Leslie's (1993) book titles come to mind – these are "invisible faculty" members; "hidden academics". Their work is invisibilized not only in terms of the de-spatialization and invisibilization of work described by Beck, but it is also conspicuously absent from the public profile of most universities. It is not something universities boast about, and when they do boast about

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[104] The original French quote reads : « *L'État, la justice et l'administration ne fabriquent pas toujours du secret en confisquant la vérité; ils savent dissoudre le réel dans le documentaire* ».

faculty, as Washburn (2002) points out, they often boast about the 'stars', who in general

tend to be more research-oriented. This "subtly deforms" or obscures the reality of

undergraduate education: it is still viewed as a "master-apprentice" relationship, as Fox

(2002) might say. To reiterate, this is a clash between the standard and reflexive

academic biography, as reflected in the everyday life of the university system.

In his response to B. Cuau's report on the mysterious death of a prison inmate,

Foucault states his two objectives: to analyze and denounce the situation. Foucault says

that all too often we have the tendency to do one or the other: either we unmask and

contend with the adversary, or we give the adversary a face and a name. In other cases,

according to Foucault we blame the general overarching structure and societal decay. In

still others, we show how things took place on the micro-level, revealing everyone's fears

and foibles (8).

Such is the nature of systems of justice and power, Foucault says – they allow

justice to walk with judges, and judges, through the intermediary of justice, inscribe their

personal mediocrity in the body, the time, the liberty and the life and death of others. This

is, for Foucault, an occupational hazard. In this way, great injustices are carried out

anonymously through those who are 'only human'. Foucault concludes that we should

deal rationally with these injustices, but carefully and explicitly point out those

individuals.

I take Michel Foucault's suggestion that certain exploitation takes place, more or

less anonymously, to be relevant in the case of the university system. As Foucault

suggests, I aim to expose how this system functions without victimizing or demonizing

particular individuals. Like the mystery Foucault is alluding to, I argue that a number of

players are complicit in dissolving reality into fiction – sometimes, even contingent faculty members themselves. Moreover, power-players in the university engage in practices that directly contradict their own stated affinity to 'accountability'. In the cadre of an increasingly exploitative system of academic labour, those in positions of power in the university *should* be questioned and challenged, both in the analysis and critique of structural exploitation within the university system – in Quebec and elsewhere.

Limitations and Areas for Further Research

In this thesis, I have aimed to produce and analyze original research about part-time and contingent academic faculty despite the financial and temporal restraints of being a Master's student. However, there are undoubtedly several limitations that must be taken into account. First, the substantial lack of data on contingent academic faculty (Rajagopal 2002; Muzzin 2008; Bauder 2006) poses a challenge in that there are no predetermined ways of measuring this population. To add to this problem, as I discuss in the Methodology chapter, contingent academic faculty are a diverse group that can include PhD students, retiring academics, researchers who teach one class per year, non-academics who are brought in part-time for their expertise and so on. For this reason I used the qualifier of "non-permanent" to recruit my participants, and to conduct my statistical analyses[105]. This is a limitation as there may be further differences or levels of stratification based on the different levels of instruction and position in the university system (e.g. Limited Term Appointments, Assistant Professors, Associate Professors, Full Professors, etc.). Moreover, as Gappa and Leslie (1993) and Rajagopal (2002) point

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[105]As discussed at length in the Methodology chapter, my use of "highest education obtained" as a proxy for level of instruction in my database was a limitation.

out, there are varied motivations for doing contingent academic work, and this should also be examined in a more in-depth study.

This issue is also tied to what some have called the "overproduction" or "surplus" of PhDs (Hacker and Dreifus 2011). While this is an important element in explaining how the university produces an army of surplus labour, it was not the explicit focus of this thesis. However, because this is also a relatively under-researched area, this is another important line of inquiry: what is a "surplus of PhDs"? How do we define this quantity, and have Canadian universities reached it? These and other related questions are vital to understanding the political economy of academic production in the university.

To reiterate, I would have liked to interview more faculty members. The fact that less than 2% of those contacted actually went through with the interview is indicative perhaps of a combination of things – it may be that the population is a very busy one, and could not fit the interview with their schedules. It could also be that the prospective participants felt too vulnerable or insecure to discuss their employment history and profile. It may also be that contingent academic faculty members are notoriously transient, travelling from university to university. Regardless of the outcome, the limited scale of this study means that my results are not generalizable, but rather are indicative of potential areas that should be investigated further.

One area for further research that should be highlighted is the notion of insecurity and job assessment. One of the most surprising findings was that my participants felt that they compromised quality – in the sense of challenging students – in their course instruction. This might be problematic particularly when it comes to student assessment of teachers. It is important to investigate the ramifications of these systems of

'accountability' given the vulnerable positions of these faculty members. Moreover, the implication of insecurity for these faculty members' academic freedom not just in the classroom, but in the larger framework of the university, is another important area for consideration. Rajagopal (2002) deals with this at length, but it is important to situate discussions about academic freedom (Bousquet 2008; Washburn 2006) in the de-standardization and flexibilization of academic work.

Another limitation of this study was that I was not able to achieve my initial methodological question about the impact of the distribution of contingent faculty and student-teacher ratio on the experiences of contingent academic faculty members. Initially this directed my rationale for sampling, however with the limited scale of participants I was not able to achieve this goal. However, I do think that investigating how instructor satisfaction varies from one institution to another is an interesting line of enquiry and as noted earlier, I have proposed to do doctoral studies along these lines.

The final constraint I wish to remark on is the need to take into account the tenure system and full-timers. As I hope has become evident, it is almost impossible to discuss the experiences and working conditions of contingent academic staff without examining the question of full-time and tenure-track work, and discussing the tenure system in general. Moreover, as Rajagopal's (2002) study demonstrated, interviewing tenured faculty members and senior administrators can be useful in terms of understanding the mechanics of university systems and potential policy applications of research on contingent academic work.

Despite the limitations of this thesis, this research contributes new information about an under-researched population in Quebec. Through my quantitative analysis, I

provide analyses which suggest that temporary work is not only increasing

proportionately to permanent work, but that full-time temporary work, as opposed to part-

time temporary work, is becoming common in post-secondary institutions in Canada. My

interviews, although limited in quantity, reveal telling data with regards to how

contingent academic faculty members constitute their professional identity, and how they

viewed their own position as compromising a certain degree of quality in university

teaching. Furthermore, I suggest that literature on contingent faculty, particularly

Rajagopal (2002) and Gappa and Leslie's needs to be problematized in terms of the

notion of "types" of contingent faculty. I suggest that, given the flexibilization of labour

and the extension of the academic labour market to the self, we can take from Beck's

notion of reflexive identity to view these identities as continually re-shaped and re-

conceptualized, with a heavy reliance on market fluctuations and unpredictable

opportunities. Contingent faculty members therefore find diverse and changing ways to

deal with the risk implicit in the neoliberal university (and society).

Concluding thoughts

In this thesis, I have argued that temporary and contingent academic work is

increasing in Quebec universities, and that the issues of insecurity, workload and

integration highlighted by Rajagopal (2002), Muzzin (2008) and others remain important

issues that must be addressed both in the literature and in university policy. Furthermore,

I also suggest that the notion of 'types' of part-time or contingent instructors proposed by

Gappa and Leslie (1993) and Rajagopal (2002) should be problematized and re-evaluated

using Beck's notion of reflexive biographies in risk society. I also suggest that these

reflexive biographies intersect the "standard" notion of an academic biography, and that

this is reflected not only in the discourse of faculty members, but also that it is

symptomatic of the economic restructuring of the university system and the paradigm of

higher education as commodity. Finally, I point to areas for further discussion, including

how contingent academic labour is validated through neoliberal discourses of 'freedom'

and responsibilization of the individual. I suggest that the division of research and

teaching in the university is concurrent with the flexibilization of academic labour, and

that these changes constitute a rationalization of academic work that is implicitly tied to

the fate of the humanities and social sciences. Finally, I argue that in the struggle for

contingent academic labourers, we must highlight the "irrationality" of rationalizing

processes that are currently navigating the course of the university ship.

Michel Freitag (1999) perceived what he called the *naufrage*, or shipwrecking, of

the university. This is a powerful metaphor, and it is useful perhaps in providing a

concluding point for contemplation. The Quebec University Manifesto, quoted in the

Introduction to this thesis, draws on this metaphor to denounce the provincial

government's current attitude toward the university sector:

> The ship, they would have us believe, is punctured on all sides, so we must
> imperatively scuttle the university's institutional mission and its accessibility, just
> as with the entirety of public services and social programs. We propose the
> opposite route: let's plug the gaps. If the province's public finances are in a bad
> state, this is because of political choices made during recent years by different
> governments following the judicious advice of their political advisors.

Following this metaphor, it is the contingent academic faculty who are in the

engine rooms. As Rajagopal and Gappa and Leslie would say, they are "hidden

academics" and "invisible faculty", shoveling the proverbial coal that fuels the ship. A lot

of the work they do is unpaid and "behind the scenes"; they support in many cases half

the undergraduate courses offered by a university (Bérubé and Lacasse, 2001). They are

mainly responsible for ensuring the ship keeps going, and are usually out of sight (unlike the ship's captain or deck crew). If the ship becomes punctured, it is these workers that are most at risk. It is they who will 'sink' first; who will lose their jobs despite their significant investment in their education and professional training (Bauder 2006).

However, to draw on the Manifesto's suggestion, contingent academic faculty members are the most important when it comes to salvaging the university precisely because they are at the bottom of the ship and can help "plug the gaps". But, in order for this to happen, I suggest that a massive investment in the working conditions, job security and integration of these workers must take place. This is not to suggest that all contingent faculty should be given tenure track jobs.[106] Rather, a radical re-conceptualization of academic work by universities in Quebec is required. This re-conceptualization would take into account not only the precarious and contingent nature of short-term contracts, but would also contend with the weighty issues of tenure and administrative spending. I hope that this thesis has shed light on some of the reasons we must re-think and re-shape academic labour in the university.

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[106] Since there are many who, particularly under the current competition implied in the tenure system, would not take this kind of academic job.

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Appendix A: Ethics Approval Form

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY
ETHICS APPROVAL FORM

SUMMARY PROTOCOL

For Student Research with Human Subjects

IMPORTANT: PLEASE TYPE OR NEATLY PRINT AND SUBMIT 2 COPIES TO THE DEPARTMENTAL ETHICS COMMITTEE C/O THE GRADUATE PROGRAMS ASSISTANT, H-1125-49

PURPOSE OF RESEARCH (CHECK APPROPRIATE CATEGORY):

Graduate Thesis: ✓   Graduate Course Work: _____

Other (Specify): _____

Name of applicant: Louise Birdsell Bauer I.D. 5821312

Signature: Louise Birdsell Bauer Date: June 14, 2010

Name of supervisor/instructor: Katja Neves

✱Signature: _____ Date: July 16th 2010

Project Title: Linking Labour to Institutional Change: Part-time and Temporary Instruction in Quebec

Granting Agency: SSHRC (MASTERS COMPETITION) Universities from 1989-2009

To Be Completed By Departmental Ethics Committee Only:
APPROVED: _____
CONDITIONAL APPROVAL: _____
QUERIES: _____
NOT APPROVED: _____
SIGNATURE APPROVAL: _____

OOR Summary Protocol Form Rev. 11 (September 2005)

Appendix B – Notice of Research/ *Avis de recherche*

August 20th, 2010

To whom it may concern,

My name is Louise Birdsell Bauer and I am completing a Master's degree in Sociology at Concordia University.

I am currently seeking part-time and temporary faculty members currently employed at Quebec universities to participate in semi-structured interviews. I am conducting these interviews for my Master's thesis, which is entitled "Linking Labour to Institutional Change: Part-time and Temporary Instructors in Quebec Universities from 1989-2009". This research is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. K. Neves and with the support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC). Attached is an abstract that describes the goals of my thesis.

I will be conducting interviews from September 1st to October 8th, 2010. The date, time and location of the interview is at participants' discretion, however those who live outside of Montreal will be asked to participate in phone interviews only. Your confidentiality is assured and there will be an informed consent form for you to sign should you agree to be interviewed.

If you choose to participate in this research, please contact me via email (at louisebirdsellbauer@gmail.com) and provide two or three times during which you would be available to conduct the research. Also, please state the language (English or French) in which you would prefer to be interviewed. I will respond to your email within 24 hours.

Regards,

Louise Birdsell Bauer
M.A. Researcher
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Concordia University

Le 20 août 2010

À qui de droit,

Je m'appelle Louise Birdsell Bauer et je suis étudiante en maîtrise à l'Université Concordia.

Je suis présentement à la recherche de professeurs occupant un poste temporaire ou à temps partiel dans une université du Québec pour une série d'entrevues approfondies dans le cadre de mon projet de mémoire intitulé « *Linking Labour to Institutional Change: Part-time and Temporary Instructors in Quebec Universities from 1989-2009* ». J'effectue mes recherches sous la direction de Dr. K. Neves avec le soutien du Conseil de recherche en sciences humaines (CRSH). Vous trouverez ci-joint une description du projet et de ses objectifs.

Les entrevues auront lieu entre le 1er septembre et le 8 octobre 2010. Nous pouvons nous rencontrer à la date, l'heure et le lieu qui vous conviennent. Pour les participants à l'extérieur de Montréal, l'entrevue sera faite par téléphone. Vous aurez à signer un formulaire de consentement et votre confidentialité est assurée.

Veuillez s'il vous plait m'envoyer un courriel (louisebirdsellbauer@gmail.com) pour confirmer votre participation en indiquant votre disponibilité et vos préférences quant au type d'entrevue (en personne ou par téléphone) et la langue (anglais ou français). Je vous répondrai en moins de 24 heures.

Je vous remercie d'avance pour votre temps et votre intérêt.

Salutations,

Louise Birdsell Bauer
Chercheure
Département de sociologie et anthropologie
Université Concordia

Appendix C – Consent Form/ *Formulaire de consentement*

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN LINKING LABOUR TO INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE: PART-TIME AND TEMPORARY INSTRUCTORS IN QUEBEC UNIVERSITIES FROM 1989-2009

This is to state that I agree to participate in a program of research being conducted by Louise Birdsell Bauer of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Concordia University. I can contact Louise via email at louisebirdsellbauer@gmail.com or by phone at 514-476-6646.

A. PURPOSE

I have been informed that the purpose of the research is to examine the relationship between part-time and temporary instruction and institutional change in universities across Quebec. I will be asked about my own experiences as a part-time and/or temporary instructor and may be asked to comment on data collected by the researcher also.

B. PROCEDURES

After signing the consent form, the participant will be asked a series of questions. The interview may take anywhere from 15-90 minutes, depending on the length of answers of respondents. The location and time of the interviews will be at the discretion of the participant. For participants outside Montreal, the interview will be done by telephone. All interviews will be recorded.

C. RISKS AND BENEFITS

The researcher will take measures to ensure that the risks of participating in this interview are minimal. No information will be disclosed to third parties. Data will be digitally recorded and stored in a locked location accessible only to the researcher. In terms of benefits, participants will contribute to research that attempts to clarify particular concerns with the conditions of labour in their field of employment.

D. CONDITIONS OF PARTICIPATION

•   I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation at any time without negative consequences.

•   I understand that my participation in this study is CONFIDENTIAL (i.e., the researcher will know, but will not disclose my identity)

•   I understand that the data from this study may be published.

I HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE ABOVE AND UNDERSTAND THIS
AGREEMENT. I FREELY CONSENT AND VOLUNTARILY AGREE TO
PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

NAME (please print)   _____

SIGNATURE   _____

If at any time you have questions about the proposed research, please contact the study's
Principal Investigator, Louise Birdsell Bauer of the Department of Sociology and
Anthropology of Concordia University. Louise can be contacted via email at
louisebirdsellbauer@gmail.com or by phone at 514-476-6646.

If at any time you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please
contact the Research Ethics and Compliance Advisor, Concordia University, Dr. Brigitte
Des Rosiers, at (514) 848-2424 x7481 or by email at bdesrosi@alcor.concordia.ca

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT DE PARTICIPATION Á « *LINKING LABOUR TO INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE : PART-TIME AND TEMPORARY INSTRUCTORS IN QUEBEC UNIVERSITIES FROM 1989-2009* **»**

Par la présente, je déclare consentir à participer à un programme de recherche mené par Louise Birdsell Bauer du Département de sociologie et anthropologie de l'Université Concordia. Je peux contacter Louise par courriel à louisebirdsellbauer@gmail.com ou par téléphone à 514-476-6646.

A.   BUT DE LA RECHERCHE

On m'a informé(e) du but de la recherche, soit de examiner la relation entre l'augmentation du nombre de professeurs universitaires qui occupent un poste temporaire ou à temps partiel et la tendance vers la commercialisation et flexibilisation des universités.

B.   PROCÉDURES

Après avoir signé le formulaire de consentement, la chercheure demandera une série de questions au participant(e). L'entrevue durera entre 15-90 minutes, selon la durée des réponses des participants. La date, l'heure et le lieu sera à la discrétion des participants. Pour les participants a l'extérieur de Montréal, l'entrevue sera faite par téléphone. Toutes les entrevues seront enregistrées.

C.   RISQUES ET BÉNIFICES

La chercheure prendra mesure d'assurer que les risques de participer dans l'entrevue sont minimaux. Aucune information ne sera divulguée à des tierces. Les enregistrements des entrevues seront mémorisés dans un lieu serré accessible à la chercheure seulement. En matière de bénéfices, les participants contribueront à la recherche qui vise à clarifier des enjeux qui ont rapport aux conditions de travail dans leur domaine d'emploi.

D.   CONDITIONS DE PARTICIPATION

•   Je comprends que je puis retirer mon consentement et interrompre ma participation à tout moment, sans conséquences négatives.

•   Je comprends que ma participation à cette étude est CONFIDENTIELLE (c.-à-d. le chercheur connaît mon identité mais ne la révélera pas).

•   Je comprends que les données de cette étude puissent être publiées.

J'AI LU ATTENTIVEMENT CE QUI PRÉCÈDE ET JE COMPRENDS LA NATURE DE L'ENTENTE. JE CONSENS LIBREMENT ET VOLONTAIREMENT À PARTICIPER À CETTE ÉTUDE.

NOM (caractères d'imprimerie)

_____
SIGNATURE

_____

Si vous avez des questions concernant le **fonctionnement** de l'étude, S.V.P contacter le responsable du projet, Louise Birdsell Bauer du Département de sociologie et anthropologie de l'Université Concordia. par courriel à louisebirdsellbauer@gmail.com ou par téléphone à 514-476-6646.

Si vous avez des questions concernant vos **droits** en tant que participants à l'étude, S.V.P. contactez Brigitte Des Rosier PhD, conseillère en éthique de la recherche, Université Concordia, au 514-848-2424 poste 7481 ou par courriel au bdesrosi@alcor.concordia.ca

Appendix D: Sample Interview Questions/ *Questions exemplaires*

1. To start, could you give me a brief description of your academic background and work experience?

2. How long have you taught in the department of _____? Do you have any other appointments at other institutions? Which do you consider your primary job?

3. What are your career goals?

4. Why are you a part-time instructor?

5. In their book on part-time faculty, Judith Gappa and David Leslie suggest that there are four categories of part-time faculty. The first category is "career enders", who are retired or semi-retired after a career of full-time work. The second category is "specialists, experts and professionals", who teach for passion, not money. The third is "aspiring academics" who are seeking full-time positions and the fourth is "Freelancers" who choose to do part-time work. Do you identify with any of these categories, and why?

6. How satisfied are you with your experience at _____ (institution)?

7. How satisfied are you with your department, in terms of status, support and collegiality?

8. How satisfied are you with the combination of appointments?

9. If you could change anything about your current work situation, what would it be?

10. How many hours per week do you typically work (official and unofficial)? How many hours to you devote to teaching, research and administrative work, respectively?

11. What are the most difficult or challenging aspects of your job?

12. What kind of academic resources do you have for research and teaching?

13. Have you completed your PhD? If not, what are your future plans after you complete?

14. If you completed your PhD or postdoctoral work, did you find it easy to get a job after completing it? If not, what were some of the challenges you faced?

1. Pour commencer, pourriez-vous me donner une brève description de votre formation académique et de votre expérience professionnelle?

2. Pour combien de temps avez-vous enseigné dans le département de _____? Occupez-vous d'autres postes dans d'autres institutions? Si oui, quelle poste considérez-vous le poste principal?

3. Quels objectifs avez-vous pour la carrière?

4. Pourquoi êtes-vous instructeur à temps partiel/temporaire?

5. Dans leur livre sur les instructeurs a temps partiel, Gappa et Leslie suggèrent qu'il y a quatre 'catégories' d'instructeur a temps partiel. Le premier est le type « retraité » ou « partiellement retraités ». Le deuxième est le type « spécialiste, expert ou professionnel » qui enseigne pour l'amour de leur champ et non pour l'argent. Le troisième type est celui qui vise à une carrière académique et le quatrième, le « freelance » qui choisit de faire le travail à temps partiel. Est-ce que vous vous identifiez avec quelconque de ces catégories, et pourquoi?

6. Dans quelle mesure êtes-vous satisfaite avec vos expériences à _____?

7. Dans quelle mesure êtes-vous satisfaite avec vos expériences dans le département, surtout en matière de prestige, support et de l'aspect collégial d'autres instructeurs?

8. Dans quelle mesure êtes-vous satisfaite avec la combinaison de postes que vous occupez?

9. Si vous pourriez changer n'importe quoi de votre situation de travail actuelle, que changeriez-vous?

10. Combien d'heures par semaine est-ce que vous travailler dans chaque poste? Combien d'heures, dans chaque poste, est-ce que vous consacrer à l'enseignement, à la recherche, et au travail administrative, s'il y a lieu?

11. Quels sont les aspects les plus difficiles de votre position?

12. Quels types de ressources académiques avez-vous pour l'enseignement et la recherche?

13. Avez-vous complété votre PhD? Si non, que planifiez vous à faire après que vous l'avez terminé?

14. Si vous avez complété votre doctorat, est-ce que vous avez trouve cela facile de trouver un emploi?
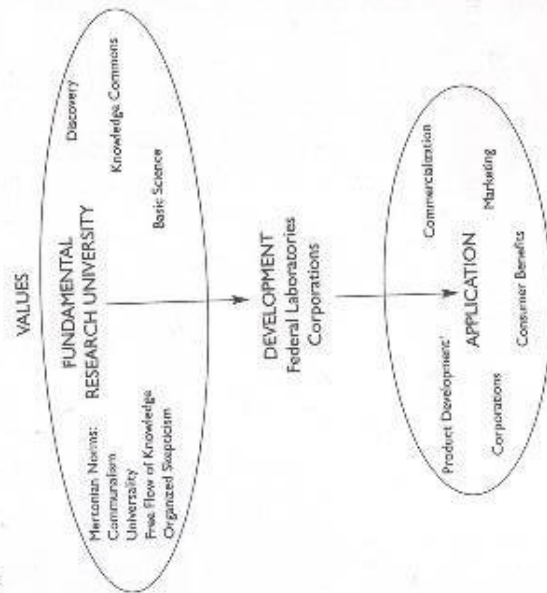
Appendix E: Tables by Bérubé & Lacasse (*Tableau 4.2: Nombre de chargés de cours et proportion de cours donnés par les chargés de cours selon l'université, de* 2000-2001 *à* 2005-2006 and *Tableau 4.3 : Ratio EEETP-corps enseignant à temps plein selon l'université, de* 2000-2001 *à* 2005-2006).

Tableau 4.2 :
Nombre de chargés de cours et proportion de cours donnés par les chargés de cours
selon l'université,
de 2000-2001 à 2005-2006

	2000-2001		2001-2002		2002-2003		2003-2004		2004-2005		2005-2006	
	Nombre	Cours donnés (%)	Nombre	Cours donnés (%)	Nombre	Cours donnés (%)	Nombre	Cours donnés (%)	Nombre	Cours donnés (%)	Nombre	Cours donné (%)
Bishop's	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	62	ND	68	ND	63	ND
Concordia	940	45 %	1 032	45 %	1 064	44 %	1 032	42 %	1 018	40 %	1 009	40 %
Laval	948	34 %	1 020	37 %	1 116	40 %	1 150	42 %	1 127	40 %	1 153	40 %
McGill	ND	ND	ND	ND	338	23 %	588	26 %	537	27 %	537	27 %
Montréal	1 339	22 %	1 472	23 %	1 535	21 %	1 562	23 %	1 636	23 %	1 644	ND
HEC	475	56 %	462	59 %	507	61 %	479	62 %	501	59 %	492	59 %
Polytechnique	380	47 %	368	53 %	420	53 %	448	49 %	403	48 %	427	44 %
Sherbrooke	1 390	50 %	1 415	50 %	1 560	50 %	1 681	50 %	1 649	51 %	1 614	50 %
UQAC	485	46 %	469	48 %	472	46 %	476	46 %	495	46 %	444	41 %
UQAM	1 370	48 %	1 598	47 %	1 574	47 %	1 699	49 %	1 795	52 %	1 814	55 %
UQAR	260	50 %	272	53 %	273	51 %	280	53 %	294	53 %	298	55 %
UQAT	14	41 %	186	46 %	158	45 %	167	53 %	188	47 %	167	48 %
UQO	344	54 %	323	55 %	369	59 %	430	62 %	356	58 %	301	59 %
UQTR	431	44 %	462	47 %	431	46 %	493	52 %	519	52 %	454	48 %
ENAP	48	46 %	62	56 %	72	42 %	71	52 %	62	ND	73	53 %
ETS	181	51 %	193	53 %	210	59 %	208	55 %	212	53 %	195	44 %
INRS	-		-		-		-		-			
TÉLUQ	-		-		-		-		-			
Total	8 798	ND	9 336	ND	10 284	ND	10 374	ND	10 940	ND	10 889	ND

Source : Assemblée nationale, Commission de l'éducation, Indicateurs de suivi des affaires universitaires, Automne 2006 et hiver 2007.
http://www.assnat.qc.ca/fra/37legislature2/commissions/ce/leseducation.html (11 décembre 2007)

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Tableau 4.3 :
Ratio EEETP-corps enseignant à temps plein
selon l'université,
de 2000-2001 à 2005-2006

	2000-2001	2001-2002	2002-2003	2003-2004	2004-2005	2005-2006
TELUQ	59,1	55,9	58,6	58,8	61,6	55,4
HEC	38,6	35,8	39,0	38,0	34,8	35,8
Concordia	25,4	26,9	27,4	28,2	26,4	26,8
UQAM	24,9	25,1	25,8	26,1	26,3	25,8
ÉTS	26,3	27,8	26,4	25,5	24,9	24,5
Bishop's	21,2	21,7	21,7	23,7	24,1	24,1
UQO	21,2	22,1	23,5	24,8	22,1	22,4
UQTR	17,5	17,9	19,5	21,9	21,8	22,3
Montréal	20,6	20,7	21,1	21,5	21,9	ND
UQAC	19,4	18,0	19,5	19,5	19,4	19,6
Polytechnique	22,6	22,1	24,3	23,2	20,1	18,8
UQAR	16,9	17,6	17,4	17,7	17,4	18,7
McGill	19,0	18,9	18,6	18,2	18,1	ND
Laval	16,5	17,1	17,7	17,8	18,0	17,9
Sherbrooke	17,3	16,5	16,5	17,0	17,5	17,1
ENAP	13,6	14,6	14,9	15,3	ND	14,2
UQAT	14,7	14,6	14,2	13,9	12,7	13,4
INRS	2,0	2,0	1,8	2,1	2,1	2,2

Source : Assemblée nationale, Commission de l'éducation, Indicateurs de suivi des affaires universitaires, automne 2006 et hiver 2007, http://www.assnat.qc.ca/fra/37legislature2/commissions/ce/rapport-universite.html (11 décembre 2007)
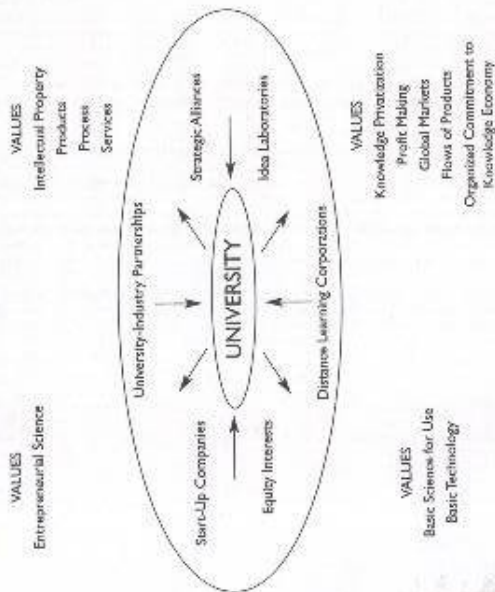
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Appendix F: Slaughter & Rhodes' (2004) Models: the Public Good Model of Research and the Academic Capitalism Research Regime

76   *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy*

Figure 3.1   Public Good Model of Research

Legislative Change and Commercial Expansion   77

Figure 3.2   Academic Capitalism Research Regime

The norms and values of science are taken to include not only the physical and biological sciences but also the social sciences and any other field that claims to have science at its core, which includes most areas of study in the university. Merton (1942) is generally regarded as offering an early and enduring formulation of scientific norms and values with his conception of science as open, communistic (later changed to communal), universal, disinterested, and characterized by a skeptical habit of mind. Openness spoke to the nonsecret character of science. Communistic or communal meant noncommercial. Universal referred to the idea that there was no national cast to science and that knowledge flowed freely across borders. Disinterestedness addressed the objective nonpartisan stance of the scientist toward knowledge. Maintaining a skeptical habit of mind challenged scientists to always question results. (There is more than a little irony in Merton's conceptualization of disinterested science.

in that he associated science with democracy and wrote to challenge the rise of nationalistic, Fascistic Nazi science. Even as he envisioned democratic science as open, the advent of World War II, which spurred him to write, gave rise to secret or classified science, justified in terms of national security.) In the 1950s and 1960s, Merton's values were compressed into "basic" or "fundamental" science, and the value of science was that it was "value-free" or "objective." These properties were often conceived as embedded in science itself and separate from the scientist, who nonetheless was value-free and objective because "he" served science. In the Mertonian model, which was closely aligned with the Vannevar Bush model, academic science stood alone, not tied to the state or corporations. A necessary condition of excellent science was university autonomy. Basic science, done in universities and unfettered by the state or commerce, preceded development, often accomplished in federal laboratories, which was then followed by application, which occurred in corporations. Independence from state and market was essential for excellent science.