FACULTY IN HIGHER EDUCATION:

ADJUNCT REALITIES WITHIN

A DUAL SYSTEM

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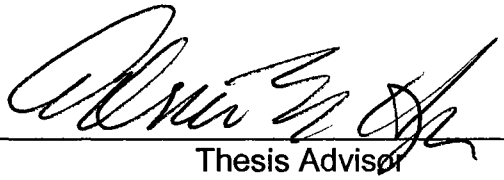

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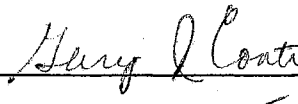

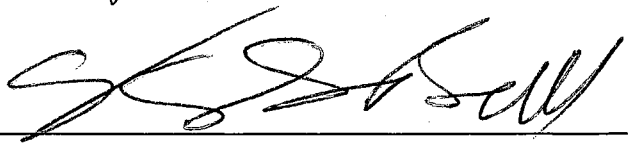

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Although my name alone will be on the diploma, it represents the collaborative effort of many individuals. I would like to extend my thanks to all the Oklahoma State University faculty who drove to Oklahoma City each week to provide instruction. Each course was carefully crafted and sequenced to prepare for this final daunting task. This dissertation is the culmination of four years of academic guidance and support, and much of the credit is due to the professors.

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CHAPTER ONE

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

A recent adjunct orientation meeting at a small private university began with a hearty welcome from the President of the university, lasting approximately three minutes, in which adjuncts were praised for their "valuable contribution." The President further acknowledged that the adjuncts provide the same quality of instruction to students as the full-time professors. The message verbalized was that adjuncts are appreciated, and that their professionalism is equal to that of the full-time faculty.

The President exited with a smile and a wave, while the Director of Human Resources (HR Director) and the Vice-President for Academic Affairs were left to deal with the difficult issues. They stated that the university is over-crowded, therefore no office space or computers are provided to adjuncts. They explained that the campus voice mail system has an extension number assigned to each adjunct, and that the system will take messages, but that no actual phone will be available to adjuncts. Instructions were given so that messages could be conveniently accessed from the adjunct's home. Then there was paperwork to be filled out for direct deposit of monthly paychecks. Adjuncts on that campus are currently paid $600.00 per credit hour for each course taught.

An obviously new adjunct asked if he could purchase insurance through the university. Several seasoned adjuncts rolled their eyes and chuckled. The HR Director explained that only full-time employees qualify for insurance or any other benefits. Paydays were listed and information packets were distributed.

Included were a final exam schedule, guidelines for syllabus preparation, brochures from the theater and dance departments, film society presentations for the year, library resources available, an academic calendar with due dates for mid-term and final grades, and an application for a free parking permit—the only perk provided to adjuncts. The meeting lasted just over an hour. This concluded the only organized meeting of adjuncts planned for the entire academic year.

The President's words of gratitude to the adjuncts and his declaration that adjuncts teach "just like the full-time professors" are disturbingly contradicted by the actions and policies of the administration. Full-time professors have private office space, free life insurance, available health insurance, retirement benefits, participation in shared governance, and earn a minimum of $1,200.00 per credit hour for the 12 required hours of a full-time load. On the one hand, adjuncts are credited with doing the same work in the classroom as the full-time faculty, but the compensation and benefits fall far behind. This contradiction illustrates the disadvantaged position in which adjuncts find themselves.

Adjuncts across the nation are paid a fraction of the salary that full-time tenure-track or tenured professors receive, an average of 40 cents on the dollar compared to full-time faculty (Murphy, 2002). Employment of adjuncts provides additional savings to the institution in that no benefits, such as insurance or retirement plans, are available to them (Gappa & Leslie, 1993; Robert, 1990; Snell, 2001). In spite of these facts, 52% of part-time faculty report that they prefer teaching part-time, while only 43% report that they are teaching part-time because they are unable to find full-time work. Sixty-five percent of the part-time

fine arts faculty and 60% of the part-time humanities faculty cannot find full-time positions in their field.

The proportion of full-time tenured, or tenure-track, faculty teaching undergraduate courses in higher education has declined dramatically since 1970, falling from 78% in 1970-71 to 68% in 1982-83, down to 59% in 1993 (Gappa & Leslie, 1993). On most campuses adjunct faculty and graduate assistants bear the majority of the responsibility for general education courses while departments use permanent full-time faculty to teach majors in the advanced and graduate courses (Haeger, 1998). In community colleges across the nation, adjuncts make up over 65% of the faculty (Leslie, 1998).

The shift toward hiring more instructional adjuncts and fewer tenure-track professors to teach has created a climate in which adjunct and non-tenure track faculty are now the majority in American colleges and universities. However, there has not been a comparable rise in regard or compensation to match this increase in dependence on adjuncts (Leslie, 1998). Adjuncts continue to be left out of shared governance, denied office space, omitted from group insurance and benefit packages, paid poorly, and given little status on their campuses (Conley, Leslie, & Zimbler, 2002; Gappa & Leslie, 1993; Hickman, 1998; Leslie, 1998; Lords, 1999).

Statement of the Problem

Adjuncts or part-time faculty are increasingly hired to function as the faculty responsible for teaching in our colleges and universities. They stand on the front line of large undergraduate classes and teach multiple sections with

large numbers. At the same time they are performing the lion's share of instructional work, they are rewarded with short-term contracts, are paid by the hour or course, have limited benefits and come and go through an open and revolving door (Gappa & Leslie, 1993; Hickman, 1998; Leslie, 1998; Lords, 1999). This over reliance on instructional adjuncts and under compensation for their work can best be explained by a caste-like, dual faculty tiering system, or feudal hierarchy, which is perpetuated by the under development of ties across these distinctly different faculty contexts.

Recently, researchers in higher education have recognized the existence of at least a two-tiered faculty in our institutions (Blanke & Hyle, 2000). The first tier is made up of full-time tenured or tenure-track faculty, while the second tier is made up of all others (Altbach, Berhdahl, & Gumport, 1999; Buckless, Ravenscroft, & Baldwin-Morgan, 1996; Gappa & Leslie, 1993; Reichard, 1998; Schuster, 1998). As budgets shrink, the employment of adjuncts and other Tier 2 faculty (lecturers, visiting professors, research assistants, graduate assistants) becomes increasingly attractive to institutions. Although there is greater reliance on adjuncts to teach, primarily the introductory sections of general education requirements, those teachers are often marginalized by full-time faculty and administration. Gappa and Leslie (1993) refer to this academic subculture as "the invisible faculty." This term illustrates the lack of status and regard given to adjuncts in the hierarchy of higher education.

A class system has evolved in which greater support is provided to Tier 1 faculty and denied to the Tier 2 teachers (Gappa & Leslie, 1993; Reichard, 1998;

Schuster, 1998). Instructional adjuncts are viewed as non-entities to be used for solving such problems as last minute enrollment surges, and teaching the courses that do not require Tier 1 faculty instruction. There is no institutional commitment to the instructional adjuncts beyond a semester's contract. Some adjuncts are hired semester after semester to teach the same courses, with no promise of promotion or even a guarantee of future employment. Because instructional adjuncts do not traditionally share in university governance, inequities against adjuncts will likely continue to be perpetuated by the existing hierarchy. With the exception of a few recent cases in some areas of the country where unionization has given power to adjuncts, most adjuncts have no means to change their working conditions (Church, 1999; Krasnow, 2002).

Orienting Conceptual Frames

Three conceptual frames were used for this research. The first is faculty tiering which identifies the hierarchical structure of an institution. Implied in this structure are differences in job responsibilities for the various tiers. Full-time tenured or tenure-track faculty are responsible for the academic triad of research, teaching, and service. Adjuncts, and some other non-tenure track faculty, are primarily responsible for teaching only (Altbach, Berhdahl, & Gumport, 1999; Baldwin & Chronister, 2001). The structure of faculty tiering has the potential to create an atmosphere of segregation, dividing the faculties into distinct groups. In this study, the hierarchy at two institutions was examined, and the lived experiences and faculty tiers as described by the adjuncts interviewed are presented.

The second conceptual frame is perpetuation theory, developed by Braddock and McPartland (1989), which suggests that segregation in social institutions is perpetuated because of years of prior separation between groups. Based on research on racial segregation, it was determined that minority members lacked opportunities to interact with the dominant majority. They were denied access to situations that would test their beliefs and broaden their understanding of others. The result was a perpetuation of their segregated lifestyle. In this study, full-time faculty are the dominant culture, though not always the majority. Evidence of integration or segregation of the adjunct and full-time faculty in each institution was sought. The instructional adjunct faculty who seek to move up the professional ladder may find themselves isolated professionally from the upper tier(s), preventing the formation of ties to serve in networking and resulting in compensation inequities and career stagnation.

Linking to perpetuation theory is the third conceptual frame, network analysis (Granovetter, 1973, 1986). This theory states that a person's social networks can also perpetuate segregation and limit opportunities. Social networks are divided into two categories: strong ties and weak ties. Strong ties are bonds with close friends and family, while weak ties link casual acquaintances. Granovetter (1973, 1986) posits that most social networks are dominated by strong ties. Weak ties, however, have great power in an individual's life. Weak ties are responsible for transmitting information that is not readily available otherwise. Family and close friends generally have access to the same information and individuals. Casual acquaintances with whom one

shares weak ties offer a broader range of information and access. Network analysis was used to examine relationships within the adjunct community and between the adjuncts and full-time professors.

These three frames guided this investigation into the role of faculty tiering in segregation between various groups of faculty, and how segregation may then be perpetuated through a network of relationships and ties that are different for each tier. By examining the strong and weak ties that bind members of the tiers (Granovetter, 1973, 1986) in combination with perpetuation theory (Braddock, 1980; Braddock & McPartland, 1989; McPartland & Braddock, 1981), better understanding of the lived experience of instructional adjuncts and how inequities are perpetuated by the tiered structure of the faculty should be possible.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative study (Anderson, 1999) was to explore and describe the realities of faculty life in higher education for instructional adjuncts, those faculty hired on course-by-course contracts for the sole purpose of teaching, who aspire to full-time tenure-track positions. The following questions served to guide the study:

(1) How do these faculty describe their life and relationships in higher education?

(2) In what ways do those descriptions reflect tiering, Perpetuation Theory and network analysis?

(3) What other realities about these faculty lives in higher education are revealed?

(4) Are tiering, perpetuation theory, and network analysis useful in providing explanations of the phenomenon under review?

Procedures

The design of the study is that of explanatory research (Yin, 1994). This design aided in understanding the adjuncts' professional experience. This inquiry was carried out using qualitative research methods (Anderson, 1999). Data was gathered in a real-world context, under naturalistic conditions. Through in-depth interviews, the complex interrelationships between different tiers of faculty members and the resulting realities for adjuncts were examined. Events were analyzed to discover unanticipated, as well as expected, relationships between the respondents. Emphasis was placed on searching for patterns and consistencies, without disregarding non-confirming evidence. This study was not designed to establish a cause and effect relationship, but rather to understand the relationship between tiers of the faculty hierarchy and full-time aspiring adjuncts' experiences and relationships.

Researcher as Adjunct

I spent 22 years of my life as an adjunct teaching at the private liberal arts university where I received my undergraduate degree. I did not originally volunteer to be an adjunct; I was drafted into the position. I had prepared to be a high school Spanish teacher and spent one long, frustrating year as a substitute while looking for a job. I finally accepted work in a friend's advertising agency when I lost hope of finding a teaching position. While working at the ad agency, I was called by one of my former Spanish professors, asking me to teach a couple

of beginning Spanish classes. Since I had hoped to use my degree, and at least make back the money I had invested in it, I accepted. I kept the advertising job while teaching at 8:00 a.m. four days a week and 6:00 p.m. on two evenings. I enjoyed the work and I was told that I was good at it.

For the next 11 years I continued to teach one or two courses per semester while also working at another part-time job. During the time shortly after my children were born, I eliminated the second job but continued as an adjunct. By 1987, my children were in school and my adjunct teaching load had grown to three four-hour courses per semester. That 12-hour load was equivalent to the full-time faculty teaching load, and I would have loved to have the extra compensation, benefits, and prestige of a full-time position.

For a couple of those years, adjunct office space was provided. It was a small room with four desks, no computer, no copy machine, but with a telephone equipped with answering machine technology. Ten or 11 teachers shared the office. However, that space was soon needed for full-time faculty offices, so I went back to conferencing with students in the library, the coffee shop, and on park benches in the atrium of a building where I taught. Or sometimes I simply came, taught my classes, then left.

During the 11 years that I was teaching a full-time load for adjunct pay and no benefits, I intentionally did not seek to know what the full-time faculty earned for teaching the same courses. I was afraid that such information might spoil my positive attitude toward my full-time colleagues and the university that employed me. I was correct: ignorance was bliss. In 1999, when I was offered a full-time

visiting position upon the retirement of a full-time tenured professor, I finally found out what the "others" were getting. My salary doubled overnight. I had life insurance for the first time ever. I was eligible for group health insurance and could participate in a retirement plan in which the university added funds to my personal contribution. I had an office, a computer, a phone, and secretarial services. After teaching there for 22 years, I had finally arrived.

I realize that as an adjunct only my teaching load was comparable to that of the full-time faculty. I had no responsibilities to attend faculty meetings, although I did regularly attend the Modern Language Department meetings the last few years. I did not serve on any committees, nor did I advise students. I did not merit the same compensation as my full-time tenured colleagues (only one of whom had a terminal degree), but I cannot help thinking that I was taken advantage of by the system, especially during those last 11 years.

Researcher Perspective

I approached this problem from the interpretivist perspective (Crotty, 1998), which fits well with the nature of qualitative research. Interpretivism provides a holistic framework for inquiry and posits that knowledge and understanding are interpreted by each individual based on context and previous personal experience. There is no single, objective truth to be discovered. The interpretivist approach "looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world" (p. 67). Through thick description and in-depth interviews I present the experience of adjuncts from their perspective, in the context of the hierarchy at their institution.

I took the role of an active learner and attempted to present the story from the participants' point of view. To provide a detailed view of this complex problem I conducted in-depth structured interviews with a variety of adjuncts. I performed document analysis on contracts, faculty handbooks, and other pertinent paperwork provided to the faculty, looking for evidence of differences in roles and responsibilities between full-time tenure-track faculty and adjuncts.

Data Needs

To investigate the lives of instructional faculty who aspire to full-time tenure-track positions, I needed to know what life is like in the academy for faculty who are hired to teach only on a course-by-course contract but hope for more. I investigated the relationships they have, what work they do, and the various ways they are compensated. I examined the lived experience of the adjuncts and the consequences of part-time employment in their personal and professional lives.

Data Sources

Sixteen adjuncts were interviewed representing the humanities departments of two metropolitan campuses: a state community college and a state regional university. The variety of campuses selected was not an attempt at randomization, but rather an attempt to gain greater depth of understanding of this problem. The adjunct faculty members chosen for interviews do not represent a "sample" as in an experiment. My goal was to expand understanding, not to provide statistical generalization from analysis of the data.

Participants were purposively selected based on their position: humanities adjuncts desiring full-time faculty positions. I interviewed participants and requested follow-ups for clarification, when needed. Some participants worked at more than one of the chosen campuses. They were briefed about the study, being told that the inquiry was exploring relationships between faculty members and the lived experience of instructional adjuncts. Participants were asked for permission to be interviewed in the workplace, or a location of their choosing for comfort and confidentiality.

Access to these individuals was provided through long-standing personal and professional contacts. I work with many adjuncts in the humanities department at my own university. Several of those adjuncts also work in the humanities departments of the campuses chosen for this study. My co-workers who fit the purposeful sampling criteria were asked to participate in this study. Those personal contacts then provided me with names of other potential participants on the other two campuses. Each subsequent interview provided names of additional contacts.

I made a concerted effort to present the views and perspectives of the individuals interviewed and analyze based on that input. From the outset, I include comments on my own past experiences, biases, and prejudices that may have shaped the study and influenced the analysis of the data.

Data Collection

Methods used for data collection included site visitations, in-depth open-ended interviews, and document analysis. Site visits allowed first-hand

observation of accommodations made available to adjuncts and other faculty on the campuses to determine how the basic needs of a teacher were being met. Teachers often require space for a private conversation with a student, a computer terminal and printer for last-minute changes to presentations, a mailbox to receive institutional memos and updates, a telephone, and a photocopier. This study explored how the various institutions attempt to meet the needs of adjuncts so that they can carry out the daily functions of their job.

In extended interviews, audiotape recordings were made of the dialogue for later transcription. I transcribed all interviews myself. Audiotapes, transcripts, and other data were kept in a locked office throughout the study. Pseudonyms were used for all participants and campuses to protect identities.

Open-ended interview questions addressed faculty relationships (What interactions do you have with full-time faculty, administration, other adjuncts, and students?), contrast (What are the differences between full-time tenure-track faculty and adjunct faculty?), hypothetical (What would you like to change about the faculty culture? What is your ideal job situation?), phenomenological (What is it like to teach here? What is your typical day like?), and demographic (How long have you taught here? What is your position? Highest degree held? Do you also work elsewhere? Age, race, gender?) (Anderson, 1999). Informed consent was obtained from each interview subject, and interviews were audio-taped and transcribed for analysis. Informed consent included the purpose of the study and assurance of confidentiality for the respondents. The interview protocol is attached as Appendix A.

After the interview, observation notes were made to reflect body language, facial expressions, and attitudes that were not recorded on tape. Descriptive field notes detailed the setting and painted portraits of the participants. Thick, rich description provides context for the inquiry. For all contact with participants, the write-up of field notes was executed within 24 hours in order to assure greatest accuracy (Lareau, 1989).

A pilot study was performed to test the interview protocol. Several individuals were interviewed to ascertain the viability of the questions and the types of responses given. Colleagues were asked to critique the protocol, looking for leading question, loaded questions, or questions that were too restrictive. Questions that included multiple inquiries were also avoided (Anderson, 1998).

Document analysis was performed on faculty contracts made available, as well as on handbooks, orientation materials, or memos provided to professors. Handbooks and orientation materials showed evidence of the professional focus expected by the institution. Specific duties and responsibilities were detailed in these, and other materials collected. Documents also provided insight into the relationship between full-time faculty and adjuncts, showing inclusiveness or exclusiveness of events, meetings, or gatherings.

Data Analysis

Data analysis evolved from each site separately, and then collectively, to determine emerging themes. Differences and similarities in the adjunct culture and faculty hierarchy at the community college and state regional university were

examined. Analysis was done from three perspectives: (1) faculty tiering , (2) Granovetter's (1973) social networks and strength of ties, and (3) McPartland and Braddock's (1981) perpetuation theory.

As the data were collected I looked for emerging themes. Transcripts of the interviews were coded to identify issues for comparison with subsequent interviews (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The coding of data was the first step in the analysis. Interview questions were modified based on the information gathered and coded in previous interviews. Data reduction led to data displays in clustered summary tables (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Research Criteria

Trustworthiness of the study was necessary to establish confidence in the truth and accuracy of the findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Credibility can be called into question due to the lack of control possible in qualitative research. Transferability of conclusions to other contexts or with other participants is a goal of any research project. Researchers want their conclusions to be credible and transferable so that they might benefit others. To aid in that goal, as much detail as possible is provided regarding the original sites and participants, so that others can understand the findings in their proper context, and consider applicability to a different context. Transferability is enhanced by thick description, enabling findings to be extrapolated to other settings.

Other issues of concern in qualitative research are dependability and confirmability. Dependability refers to whether the findings would be repeated if the study were replicated. Confirmability refers to the degree to which the

findings of an inquiry are determined by the participants and conditions present, and not by biases, motivations, interests, or perspectives of the researcher (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Dependability and confirmability are enhanced by an organized data management system, a coding system, and discussion of how codes were collapsed.

In addition, trustworthiness was established by prolonged engagement in the field with persistent observation and by the use of triangulation. I collected data throughout the fall 2002 semester, during winter break, and during the beginning of the spring 2003 semester. Triangulation was provided through use of multiple sources of data: interviews, documents, field observations, negative case analysis, and member checks (Anderson, 1998; Creswell, 1998). Member checks were performed to allow respondents to review the analysis and findings generated by the inquiry. Respondents were given the opportunity to confirm or refute the conclusions, clarify a misunderstanding, or provide missing pieces to the puzzle (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Significance of the Study

Higher education faculty and administration need to be aware of professional realities beyond their own daily existence. Although Antony and Valadez (2002) found that adjuncts feel slightly higher job satisfaction than their full-time counterparts, this is in direct contrast with the findings of Gappa and Leslie (1993). Gappa and Leslie report that dissatisfaction with second-class status is almost universal among adjuncts. Adjuncts feel anger and frustration

about their treatment, workload, salaries, and lack of appreciation. They express anxiety about the temporary and indefinite nature of their employment, and annoyance at the lack of consultation and involvement in decisions affecting them. However, those adjuncts live with the knowledge that protests may backfire and jeopardize their continued employment at the institution. From an examination of the realities revealed by this study, both the full-time faculty and administration can better understand the adjuncts' position, the relationship between full-time and adjunct faculty, and the disparities produced by the dual system.

Implications for Theory

Because of a lack of investigation on the topic of faculty tiering as it relates to adjunct inequity, this study may lead to the generation of theory in this area. Existing theories used as analytical lenses in this study will also benefit through their application in new contexts. In the past, perpetuation theory proved to be a valuable tool in understanding racial segregation. This theory also proved helpful in understanding the division of faculty in higher education.

Implications for Research

The overuse and undervaluing of adjuncts has been the focus of most research in the past. This information has been used to inform policies and practices, and for negotiation between management and faculty. The majority of this research has been quantitative analysis of full-time to part-time faculty ratios, gradation or ranking of faculty, and salary and benefit inequities (Caprio,

Dubowsky, Warasila, Cheatwood, & Costa, 1998; Hickman, 1998; Lords, 1999; National Education Association, 1999; Walker, 1998). No research was found that specifically links faculty hierarchy, perpetuation theory, and network analysis to the issue of adjunct inequity. It is hoped that this study will fill that void. Investigation of the implications of this dual system and the resulting realities for adjunct faculty in higher education will add to the knowledge base and possibly lead to further investigation in this area.

Implications for Practice

Funding for higher education is not likely to increase dramatically in the near future. Administrators will have to continue searching for ways to maintain the quality of education they desire on a limited budget. Although employment of adjuncts provides a cost savings, more consideration should be given to the adjuncts' valuable contribution to the institution and the quality of education provided. Research to explore the relationship between faculty hierarchy and adjunct inequity can inform those in positions of power, allowing them to make policy changes that would prove to be more inclusive of adjuncts.

This research can also inform adjuncts, allowing them to consider their options and decide whether organized labor would benefit them in their quest for greater equity. It is hoped that adjuncts will become more fully integrated into the faculty of their institutions, and that relations between the various tiers of faculty will be improved. Adjuncts need to feel a stronger connection to the institution, feel more a part of the institution's culture, and experience a greater sense of

belonging and trust. "For the contributions and the extraordinary potential they bring, part-timers should be acknowledged and treated as valuable citizens of the academic community" (Roueche & Roueche, 1996, p. 41). Research in this area may some day bring adjuncts the respect and compensation they deserve.

Summary

This study was designed to explore the lived experience of instructional adjuncts on two metropolitan campuses within the context of existing faculty hierarchy and relationships. Adjuncts' personal and professional circumstances were viewed through the lenses of faculty tiering, perpetuation theory, and the "strong ties" and "weak ties" of social networks. Interviews of 16 individuals who work in humanities as instructional adjuncts, and who desire full-time positions, were conducted. Document analysis of contracts, memos, handbooks, and orientation materials also informed the study. It is hoped that the findings will be used to inform future policy, improve relations between the various segments of faculty, and ultimately increase support for adjuncts.

Reporting

Chapter Two reviews the literature on adjunct faculty, faculty tiering, perpetuation theory, and network analysis theory. Chapter Three presents the data collected. Chapter Four provides an analysis of the data, and the final chapter, Chapter Five, contains the findings, conclusions, and recommendations.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter presents an overview of past research regarding adjunct and part-time faculty. The investigation of faculty tiering, the differential treatment and regard for adjuncts and full-time faculty, included an examination of the interactions between the groups at two state institutions. Research on perpetuation theory, which deals with segregation, and network analysis, which examines the value of social ties, is also included.

Faculty Tiering

Tiering refers to differential institutional treatment of full-time tenured or tenure-track professors, and non-tenure-track full-time and part-time teachers. The existence of at least a two-tiered faculty has been recognized by many researchers in higher education (Altbach, Berhdahl, & Gumport, 1999; Blanke & Hyle, 2000; Burns, 1994; Meisenhelder, 1986; Reichard, 1998; Schuster, 1998). Power and status are in the hands of the Tier 1 faculty (full-time tenured/tenure-track), and likely will continue with them. All others make up the second tier of faculty. The adjuncts, virtually ignored and made "invisible" by the traditional hierarchy (Gappa, 1993), are denied the opportunity to interact and form ties with other, more influential faculty members, thus limiting their chances for professional advancement.

The long-standing hierarchy of higher education tends to support the two tiers of faculty differently. Tenured full-time professors are the stars of the academic show put on by an institution. They have the name recognition,

reputation, publishing credits, and research projects that the university can point to when justifying needs for funding. Administrators feel that it is important to adequately support the work done by these professors. The other full-time tenure-track professors, the assistant and associate professors, may one day move up the ranks to become the stars of tomorrow. Together, all of these full-time tenure-track individuals make up the first tier of the faculty hierarchy (Altbach, Berhdahl, & Gumport, 1999; Blanke & Hyle, 2000; Burns, 1994; Meisenhelder, 1986; Reichard, 1998; Schuster, 1998).

The second tier is made up of all non-tenure track teachers, both full- and part-time (Altbach, Berdahl, & Gumport, 1999; Blanke & Hyle, 2000; Reichard, 1998; Schuster, 1998). These instructors may be visiting professors, doctoral research staff, teaching assistants, or adjunct professors (Roemer & Schnitz, 1982). Because their contribution is generally not as high profile as that of the Tier 1 faculty, the Tier 2 faculty are not as well supported by the administration. Although these faculty may not be conducting significant research or publishing in important journals, the Tier 2 faculty shoulder the responsibility for the majority of course delivery to undergraduate students (Gappa & Leslie, 1993). Adjuncts and part-time members of the Tier 2 faculty are called on to teach the introductory level courses in most disciplines, while Tier 1 faculty teach the advanced courses.

Differential treatment of instructors and tiering may lead to segregation between the two groups of faculty. Adjuncts often lack personal or professional relationships with full-time faculty, are rarely involved in faculty meetings or

committee work, have no office space in which to establish themselves, and are rarely invited to the same social events as the full-time faculty. This social and professional segregation severely limits interactions between the two groups, and seems to be perpetuated by each new generation of faculty (McPartland & Braddock, 1981).

Adjunct and Part-time Faculty

For the purpose of this study, adjuncts are defined as those faculty members whose primary responsibility is to teach, who generally work less than full-time at any campus (regardless of the total number of hours taught), and who have limited-term single-semester contracts. I use the terms adjunct and part-time faculty interchangeably, although some part-time faculty are employed under different circumstances. For example, some part-time faculty are semi-retired, tenured individuals who have scaled back while maintaining their benefits from previous full-time status, and at some institutions newly hired part-time teachers are included in the tenure-track (Leslie & Walker, 2001; Wilson, 2002). References to part-time faculty in this report refer to those individuals who also fit the definition of adjunct.

Economic imperatives have been given as the primary motive for the increase in adjunct use. Budgets are shrinking and costs must be cut in higher education. A large portion of an academic budget is taken up by salaries and benefits for full-time tenure-track faculty members. Because those tenured faculty members cannot be fired without cause, or made to retire against their will, tenure-track faculty salaries leave little room for adjustments (Leslie, 1998).

According to Hickman (1998), adjunct and part-time faculty now make up nearly half the total number of all American faculty, up from 22% in 1970. At the University of Colorado at Boulder, the use of adjuncts has doubled since 1991. At the University of Pennsylvania part-time instructional and research faculty tripled between 1991-1995. Funding for higher education is declining and these institutions can save 60-75% on faculty costs by using part-time help (Hickman, 1998).

NEA Today reports that 80% of faculty members at Columbia College in Chicago are part-time. The increase in adjunct use is fast becoming a national trend. However, only 20% of all adjuncts had total incomes of more than $40,000, and half earned less than $20,000 for their efforts (April, 1999). Nationwide, the average academic year salary for adjuncts at a four-year institution is a mere $11,560, while at two-year institutions the average is an even more abysmal $8,590. To make ends meet, 44.1% of part-time faculty in four-year institutions hold an additional full-time position elsewhere, 31.7% have additional part-time positions, and 24.2% have no other position. The figures are similar in two-year institutions: 50% of adjuncts hold additional full-time positions, 28.3% hold other part-time positions, and 21.7% have no other position (Benjamin, 1998). As a result, the economic picture is grim for most of the part-time faculty. Nevertheless, adjunct faculty have become "more a solution to declining institutional budgets than ever before" (Haeger, 1998, p.81). Reliance on these part-time faculty members continues to increase, but compensation and

professional status of these workers continues to lag far behind their full-time counterparts (Gappa & Leslie, 1993; Murphy, 2002; Robert, 1990; Snell, 2001).

In many institutions, as full-time positions are vacated by natural attrition, they are being filled by less costly adjuncts. The number of Ph.D. faculty available continues to increase and jobs are becoming scarce in many fields (Hickman, 1998). The paucity of jobs makes some adjunct faculty members reluctant to complain about the inequity of their positions. They know that their positions could easily be filled by numerous other more complacent candidates (Church, 1999; Gappa & Leslie, 1993).

These part-time faculty are not traditionally included in university governance; so consequently there are no avenues for them to have an impact on the bureaucracy and improve working conditions (Gappa & Leslie, 1993; Murphy, 2002; Robert, 1990; Snell, 2001). One full-time tenured professor voiced this opinion on a survey about shared governance: "Shared governance is a cardinal academic value, one essential to the existence of a vital collegial academic community. No one who is not a tenured or tenure-track faculty member should be allowed to participate in shared governance" (Langenberg, 1998, p.43). This sentiment illustrates the huge gap between adjuncts and full-time tenure-track faculty in the minds of the members of the dominant academic culture. Such strong opinions are difficult to change.

Most past research on part-time faculty focused on the overuse and undervaluing of adjuncts in academia. The majority of this research has been

quantitative analysis of full-time to part-time faculty ratios, salary and benefit inequities, and gradation or ranking of faculty (Caprio, Dubowsky, Warasila, Cheatwood, & Costa, 1998; Hickman, 1998; Lords, 1999; NEA Today, 1999; Schroeder, 1993; Walker, 1998). Adjuncts have been described as frustrated, marginalized, ignored, and taken advantage of by the institutions that employ them (Buckless, Ravenscroft, & Baldwin-Morgan, 1996; Gappa, 1984; Gappa & Leslie, 1993; Lords, 1999; Murphy, 2002; Robert, 1990; Snell, 2001).

Motivation for Adjuncts

Given the realities of part-time faculty employment, one wonders why anyone would take such a job. Reasons given for accepting part-time employment teaching in higher education are manifold and include: wanting to be part of the academic environment, preferring to work only part-time, supplementing other income, and lack of full-time positions available (Benjamin, 1998). Many adjuncts have full-time jobs elsewhere and enjoy the extra money and intellectual stimulation provided by teaching (Leslie, 1998). Some have personal responsibilities that only allow for part-time employment, while others feel that they are making a contribution to society by teaching part-time (Benjamin, 1998). There are many motivations that bring an individual to part-time teaching in higher education.

Tuckman (1978) has designed a taxonomy that identifies the various types of part-time teachers in the academic world. Former full-time academics that have scaled back to part-time work are called the "semi-retired." They teach a

course or two to maintain their ties with academia and stimulate themselves intellectually.

"Hopeful full-timers" have no prior faculty employment and are working part-time in order to gain experience while seeking full-time work. They may teach at several schools and work the equivalent of a full-time position or more. This type of person hopes to develop working contacts at several locations to aid in securing full-time employment in the future.

A worker who holds another primary job of at least 35 hours a week is known as a "full-mooner." Their part-time teaching income supplements their full-time career; and many times the career provides practical application of their academic knowledge, which enhances their teaching.

"Homeworkers" hold part-time positions to allow them to care for children or other relatives. Their personal responsibilities may limit the number of hours they are available to work, and being an adjunct provides flexibility to accommodate other duties.

If a worker teaches part-time at one academic institution while holding a second job of under 35 hours, he/she is categorized as a "part-mooner." Multiple part-time jobs make up full-time employment for these individuals.

"Students" are graduate assistants, teaching assistants, and the like, who work for partial tuition while taking classes toward a graduate degree. Their teaching load must be kept light to leave time for their own studies. Many, after graduating, move on to the "hopeful full-timer" category (Tuckman, 1978).

And finally, there are the "part-unknowners". These are the part-time faculty members whose reasons are highly individual and do not fit into any other category. Adjuncts may be part-time workers by conscious choice, or by lack of availability of full-time positions. They may be frustrated by career stagnation, or content with the opportunities available to fit in with the other obligations in their lives.

Statistically, the two largest groups of part-timers are the "full-mooners" (27.6%), and the "students" (21.2%). "Hopeful full-timers" make up 16.6%, "part-mooners" are 13.6%, "part-unknowners" are 11.8%, "homeworkers" are 6.4%, and "semi-retired" make up 2.8% of the part-time faculty population. Most part-timers are between 35-45 years old, and almost 39% are women. The majority of these women fall into the "homeworkers", "hopeful full-timers", or "students" categories (Tuckman, 1978).

Institutional Advantages of Adjunct Employment

Hiring part-time teachers provides a multitude of advantages for the institution. Adjuncts provide flexibility to course offerings when enrollment increases or declines from year to year. Adjuncts can also contribute to the ongoing quality of academic programs by providing expertise in a variety of fields not covered by full-time faculty. Additionally, they often bring practical, real-world experience to the classroom that full-time faculty may lack (Gappa & Leslie, 1993; Haeger, 1998; Leslie, 1998). "Part-time faculty enhance institutional prestige by bringing to the institution those with talent and reputation and provide

opportunities to make individuals available who have unique abilities or achievements in areas not represented by the full-time faculty" (Jacobs, 1998, p.11).

Many of the adjuncts are academically equal to the full-time faculty members. Just over 75% of the part-time work force holds an advanced degree (50% masters degree, 26% doctoral degree), while 64% of full-time faculty hold doctoral degrees and 29% have masters degrees (Conley, Leslie, & Zimbler, 2002). This illustrates the level of preparation of the part-time faculty today. However, adequate preparation does not ensure job opportunities and equitable compensation. Adjuncts are still not paid on a par with the full-time faculty teaching the same courses, and in most cases are still barred from benefit and retirement programs and shared governance. Adjuncts provide institutions with considerable savings to their annual budgets. Other factors, in addition to finance, may also limit the chances for advancement of adjunct faculty.

Perpetuation Theory

Braddock (1980) studied the perpetuation of racial segregation and found that sustained experiences of desegregation were necessary to effect any change in relationships between groups that might lead to greater equity. It was shown that African American students who attended integrated high schools were more likely to later attend integrated or predominantly white universities. Those African American students formed ties with students of the dominant culture, and were later able to use those connections to their advantage. They were able to escape the limited environment established by segregation.

On the other hand, African American students who attended segregated high schools never had the opportunity to form ties outside their race. Their strong ties were with classmates, friends, and neighbors of the same race. Those students generally had no personal connections, other than those that were also available to their same-race peers. If they entered higher education, it was generally at segregated universities (Braddock, 1980; Braddock & McPartland, 1989; McPartland & Braddock, 1981).

In an integrated setting, diversity brings with it a greater number of tangential relationships. A classmate's social connections become available to others with the formation of ties. The network continues to grow with increased integration. The African American students' chances to attend a prestigious university or obtain a well-paying job increase as ties are formed with members of the dominant culture (Braddock, 1980; Braddock & McPartland, 1989; McPartland & Braddock, 1981).

Braddock and McPartland (1989) found that racial segregation in schools, neighborhoods, job sites, and among informal social contacts continues to be perpetuated because African American and other minority members have been in segregated settings throughout their lives. Consequently, adult minority individuals often make life choices that perpetuate segregation because they have not had the opportunity to test their racial beliefs in an integrated setting (Braddock, 1980). Long-term desegregated experiences are essential to providing maximum opportunities for individuals.

Applying perpetuation theory (Braddock, 1980; Braddock & McPartland, 1989; McPartland & Braddock, 1981) to faculty tiering and segregation of the faculty suggests that inequity for adjuncts may be due to the years of dominance by Tier 1 faculty and a lack of integrated and shared experience with Tier 2 instructors. Relationships may be underdeveloped between the Tier 1 and Tier 2 faculty, promoting a system in which the former are respected, recognized and well compensated, while the latter are rendered invisible in spite of their critical contribution to the institution. Tier 2 faculty continue to be marginalized by the dominant Tier 1 power structure.

Strong Ties, Weak Ties, and Network Analysis

"Networking" is a term that is commonly used to describe interactions between groups or individuals. According to Baker (1994), networking is defined as a process of building and managing relationships by means of interrelated social ties. Granovetter (1973; 1986) claims that social ties can be measured and categorized as either strong or weak, and that segregation and integration can determine the strength of ties in an individual's social network.

Granovetter's study of the strength of ties (1973; 1986) provides a lens through which adjunct or Tier 2 relations with Tier 1 faculty can be examined. Ties are strengthened based on the length of time spent together, the intimacy of the interactions, the emotional intensity of a relationship, and the reciprocal nature of the relationship. Without emotional involvement and shared history, individuals are less likely to form ties. Weak ties, when formed, are generally transitory, with no expectation of future involvement. Reciprocity is an important

factor because interaction that is mutually rewarding will encourage future interaction and further stimulate the formation of ties. Ties are also strengthened when there is a shared commitment to a cause or institution (Granovetter, 1973; 1986). Tier 1 faculty spend a great deal of time together in meetings and at conferences. They help one another on committees and share a commitment to the success of their institution. The shared history and commitment among Tier 1 faculty members strengthens their ties with one another.

Adjuncts do not participate in faculty meetings, go to conferences, or work on committees with full-time faculty. They often have no office space and divide their time among several institutions. Such circumstances make it difficult to form meaningful ties with the full-time professors.

According to Granovetter (1973, 1986) and network analysis theory, strong ties are found primarily among family members and close friends. They have spent a great deal of time together and have very close relationships that are intimate and reciprocal. The social networks of people who share strong ties could be represented by concentric circles. All of the close friends of one would also be close friends of the other.

On the other hand, weak ties are created in relationships between more casual acquaintances. Individuals who share weak ties would have very little overlap in their social circles. Therefore, the collective pool of personal relationships for those bonded by weak ties would include many more resources on which to draw. This greater source of connections would serve the individual well when seeking information about job possibilities and professional

advancement. Individuals who share strong ties would all have access to the same people and the same information, limiting the scope of their social network and its advantages (Granovetter, 1973, 1986).

Granovetter (1973, 1986) and Wells and Crain (1994) propose that individuals with similar backgrounds and experiences are more likely to form ties to one another. Using this lens, full-time faculty generally have similar academic backgrounds, maintain regular office hours near one another, attend monthly faculty meetings as a group, and serve on a multitude of committees together. Although adjuncts often have similar academic backgrounds to the Tier 1 faculty, their professional experience is quite different. The uncertainty of assignment of courses from one semester to the next, the need to work at more than one institution to survive financially, the lack of recognition for accomplishments and contributions, all make for a vastly different point of reference for adjuncts. At many institutions, adjuncts are not invited to university social functions with the Tier 1 professors. As a rule, adjuncts do not have office space, do not serve on faculty committees, do not share governance, and do not attend faculty meetings. It is possible that the paths of the full-time and adjunct faculty may never cross if their teaching schedules do not coincide. Based on the differential treatment of Tier 1 and Tier 2 teachers, higher education faculty might be viewed as segregated.

Granovetter (1973, 1986) further states that, in segregated settings, individuals' social networks are primarily represented by strong ties with others like themselves. Theoretically then, adjuncts are kept on the fringes of an

institution, limiting opportunities to form ties with the Tier 1 faculty. Adjuncts gravitate toward other adjuncts, who also lack connections with the Tier 1 culture. If any bond is formed for an adjunct, it is more often with another "outsider" (adjunct) at the institution than with one of the "insiders" (Tier 1 faculty). It would not be surprising that adjuncts fail to develop meaningful ties with the more powerful members of the faculty. This personal and professional segregation could severely limit adjuncts' opportunities for forming ties that may prove beneficial for networking and occupational mobility.

This research leads us to surmise that when individuals are in integrated settings, they have the opportunity to form ties with others that have different backgrounds. Although group members with dissimilar backgrounds and experiences tend to share only weak ties, those weak ties are critical for the purpose of networking. Weak ties provide collaboration within and across group affiliations and expand one's contact sources exponentially. Increased integration of the two tiers of faculty would greatly enhance the adjuncts' access to the power structure and provide more opportunities to form a network of professional ties that could be a benefit in seeking full-time employment.

Summary

Differential treatment and support for full-time faculty and adjuncts lead to faculty tiering (Altbach, Berhdahl, & Gumport, 1999; Blanke & Hyle, 2000; Burns, 1994; Meisenhelder, 1986; Reichard, 1998; Schuster, 1998) and segregation between the two faculties. This dual system is then perpetuated due to the underdevelopment of ties across the different faculty contexts. Perpetuation

theory (Braddock, 1980; McPartland & Braddock, 1981) and Granovetter's theory of network analysis (1973, 1986) provide lenses through which to view the segregation of adjuncts from the full-time faculty and the resulting realities of the adjunct experience.

CHAPTER III

PRESENTATION OF THE DATA

Through the lenses of faculty tiering, perpetuation theory, and network analysis, this study examined the realities of faculty life for adjuncts who work at two state institutions of higher learning, a regional university and a community college. Faculty tiering was the lens used to examine the hierarchy created by differential support of various segments of the faculty. Perpetuation theory was the lens used to analyze the personal and professional segregation between the adjuncts and full-time faculty. Network analysis allowed examination of the strong or weak ties formed between adjuncts and other faculty members. Explanatory research (Yin, 1984) was the primary methodology used in the study. The data is presented separately for each site, including demographics, evidence of tiering, segregation, and ties between tiers. The combined realities of the respondents at the two sites follows.

Study Procedures

Interviews were conducted with eight adjunct faculty members at each of the two sites chosen for the study. participants were purposively selected based on their position as adjuncts in the humanities division (English, art, foreign languages, theater, speech, and philosophy) of their respective institutions, and their desire to secure a full-time teaching position. Site visitations allowed first-hand knowledge of the workspace provided to adjuncts at both schools. Document analysis of contracts, memos, and orientation materials provided evidence of the professional expectations of the institution in regard to the

adjuncts. Interviews provided data explanations for the documented and observed faculty realities.

Study Sites

The first site is a public regional four-year university, the third largest university in the state. Approximately 400 full-time and 255 adjunct faculty teach a total of more than 14,000 students who are enrolled in five undergraduate colleges and an office of graduate studies and research. The university is located in a growing community just outside the state capital. Throughout the remainder of this report, this institution will be referred to as "the regional university."

The second site is a public community college. The college serves more than 28,000 people each year in credit and non-credit courses, and offers a full range of associate degree programs that prepare students to transfer to baccalaureate institutions. Other degree and certificate programs are provided to prepare students for employment in a variety of fields. In addition, a wide range of community and continuing education courses, workshops, conferences, and seminars are offered. The community college employs 115 full-time faculty and 309 adjuncts. This institution will be referred to as "the community college."

Respondents

Eight adjuncts at each of the two institutions participated in the study. Subject participation was solicited from personal contacts with adjuncts who teach at one or both of the target institutions and who also teach with me in the humanities division of a private liberal arts university. Those personal contacts

provided me with names of other potential participants I could contact at each site. Each subsequent interview subject provided names of additional adjuncts who might participate in the study.

At the regional university, four men and four women participated. They ranged in age from 33 to 54 years old, and length of time as an adjunct ranged from three to 12 years. One adjunct held a doctorate, one was working on a doctorate, and the remaining five held masters degrees. Teaching fields included English composition, humanities, philosophy, and art.

At the community college, three men and five women participated. The youngest was 27 years old, and the oldest was 42. Experience as an adjunct ranged from a single semester to 11 years. All participants held masters degrees, and two had post-masters college hours but were not currently working toward a doctorate. Teaching fields included English composition, humanities, mythology, theater arts, and speech/communication.

According to Tuckman's Taxonomy (1978) of part-time faculty, 10 of the respondents interviewed would be categorized as "hopeful full-timers." They attempt to piece together the desired full-time teaching position by accepting assignments at multiple campuses, often exceeding the normal full-time teaching load. The other six would be called "part-mooners" or "full-mooners" due to their additional employment outside education. Adjunct employment alone does not provide sufficient income for these individuals to survive financially.

Interviews

I began with a pilot study of the interview protocol, to test the efficacy of the questions. The protocol was modified slightly due to the responses given. To get a sense of the respondents hopefulness of obtaining a full-time position, the original question "What do you hope to be doing in five years?—What are your professional goals?" was preceded with the question "Where do you see yourself in five years?" I also included the question "What do you do when you are not teaching?" to get information about any additional jobs held by the adjunct. A question about peak teaching load in a single semester was also added. The interview protocol is included in Appendix A.

The first adjuncts interviewed for the study work at one or both of the institutions selected for the study, in addition to working in the humanities division at the university where I am employed, a private liberal arts university. After the interview was completed, respondents were asked if they could suggest other adjuncts at the target sites that might agree to participate. All additional participants were referred to me in this way.

Participants were given a cover letter explaining the purpose of the study and the assurances of confidentiality. All respondents signed an informed consent approved by the OSU Institutional Review Board (Appendix B). Data gathered during the interviews consisted of responses to questions regarding demographics, work and relationships, differences between full-time tenured/ tenure-track faculty and adjunct faculty, interactions between adjuncts and full-time faculty, possible gains from interaction with full-time faculty and participation

in governance, changes that would improve adjuncts' job situation, and plans for securing a full-time position.

Interviews were recorded on audiotape. I personally transcribed each interview on the computer and stored the files on several diskettes. All audiotapes, transcripts, field notes, and computer diskettes were kept in a locked file cabinet to which I had the only key.

Reporting

Data from each site are presented separately. Respondent demographics are presented first, then data are grouped by three topics: evidence of faculty tiering at the site, evidence of exclusion or segregation of adjuncts by the full-time faculty, and strength of ties among and between the different faculties. These two data sections provide answers to the first research question: "How do these faculty describe their life and relationships in higher education?" The chapter summary completes the chapter.

The Regional University

The regional university employs graduate assistants, adjuncts, full-time lecturers (with limited non-tenure-track contracts), and full-time tenured/tenure-track professors. A full-time teaching load at the regional university is 12 hours per semester. Interviews with adjuncts at this site provided data on professional realities and interactions with the full-time faculty.

Demographics

A total of eight adjuncts were interviewed at the regional university. Pseudonyms were randomly assigned from a list of common names to assure respondents' anonymity. Table 1 presents information about each participant.

Table 1

Regional University Demographics

Name	Age	Marital Status	Children	Highest Degree	Years Experience	Peak Teaching Load **	Tuckman Type
Kyle	42	Married	3	MA *	5 years	24 hours	Hopeful Full-timer
Brian	49	Divorced	1	MA	6 years	21 hours	Hopeful Full-timer
David	38	Married	1	MA	8 years	21 hours	Hopeful Full-timer
John	35	Divorced	2	MA	5 years	15 hours	Full-Mooner
Patsy	33	Divorced	None	MA	10 years	18 hours	Hopeful Full-timer
Kate	44	Married	2	MA	5 years	9 hours	Hopeful Full-timer
Dana	54	Married	2	PhD	12 years	12 hours	Hopeful Full-timer
Linda	31	Divorced	None	MA	3 years	6 hours	Part-Mooner

* Represents post-masters course work ** in a single semester

Kyle was a teaching assistant at the regional university while pursuing his masters degree in English, and taught as an adjunct for two years after graduation. He worked full-time elsewhere for many years, then came back to teaching three years ago. He is seeking a doctorate and currently teaching eight courses (24 hours) of Composition I and II, and Humanities at three institutions.

Brian was a teaching assistant at the regional university 18 years ago while completing his masters degree, spent several years teaching and working abroad, and returned to teaching as an adjunct four years ago. He is currently

teaching a total of 18 hours of English Composition and Humanities at the regional university and at a state community college.

David also holds a degree in engineering and worked several years in that field. He has been an adjunct for 8 years and is currently teaching 15 hours divided between three institutions. He teaches philosophy and humanities.

John teaches 6 hours of art classes and also works at a department store. He would prefer to teach full-time.

Patsy teaches at three local campuses, a total of 15 hours of composition courses.

Kate was a teaching assistant in graduate school and has returned to teaching after her children left for college. She has post-masters level course credit and teaches only at the regional university. She is currently teaching three composition courses.

Dana is the only participant who holds a doctorate. She teaches composition and humanities. She has worked at multiple institutions in the past, but she is currently teaching nine hours at the regional university.

Linda teaches two courses of English Composition at the regional university, and also works in retail sales.

Faculty Tiering

Although the literature on faculty tiering is plentiful (Altbach, Berhdahl, & Gumport, 1999; Blanke & Hyle, 2000; Buckless, Ravenscroft, & Baldwin-Morgan, 1996; Gappa & Leslie, 1993; Reichard, 1998; Schuster, 1998), the adjuncts participating in this study may not have been familiar with the concept. Instead of

asking overt questions about the existence of a class system that differentiates between full-time tenured or tenure-track faculty and part-time adjuncts, I looked for evidence of tiering in the comments made during the interviews. It is obvious that the adjuncts perceive a definite hierarchy at this institution.

The most glaring example of faculty tiering is reflected in the contrast in compensation between the full-timers and the adjuncts. To survive financially, all of the adjuncts have at least one other means of support. Two of the women, Dana and Kate, are married to men who are the principal wage earners in the family. They do not have to support themselves on an adjunct's salary. All of the others have teaching assignments on multiple campuses or hold other jobs outside the education field. Some, like Brian and Kyle, are teaching several hours more than what is considered a full-time load at the regional university, but even teaching extra classes or taking on an additional job does not ensure financial security.

Teaching 18 hours, Brian commented, "I have a job and a half by this university's standards." He further defined his financial status by stating, "I'm filing for bankruptcy right now. I depend on my car. I put over 250 miles on it a week going to teach all my classes, and I drive a $1,200 car. I even had to borrow money from relatives to pay for it." Several others mentioned concerns about the wear and tear on their vehicles, the expense of gasoline, and the time wasted on the road commuting from one school to another.

All of the adjuncts echoed the sentiment of dissatisfaction with the pay and lack of benefits that they receive. The compensation was described as "an

insult", "humiliating", "not equitable", "very minimal", "a meager living", and "poverty level wages". Dana, the adjunct with the PhD, lamented, "It's unfair. I do basically the same job, I have the same degree." Kyle came up with a similar argument for upgrading adjunct pay, or at least redefining the way full-time status is calculated, "If I work for the state, and I'm teaching over 15 hours between 2 institutions, and my paychecks are both signed by the same person, then in my mind, I'm a full-time employee of the state, and I deserve benefits like all the other full-time employees. It's just another way they disrespect the adjuncts."

Lack of respect and status is another element that distinguishes the full-time faculty tier from the adjuncts. "It would feel good to feel like an equal, not like some hired hand. I have to sneak in the back doorway just to do my job," Patsy said. "I feel like a step-child at this university," she added. Kate thinks that getting a full-time position is the only way to "be treated like a person." David and Kyle are more graphic in their assessment of the hierarchy that exists at the regional university. The full-time faculty are "unbelievably snooty, " David volunteers. "They have this superiority complex. We aren't worthy because we don't have that third degree." Kyle also referred to the full-time faculty's "attitude." "They treat their adjuncts with disdain. I guess everyone has to have his pissing rights." He continued, "And now that the adjuncts far outnumber the full-time faculty in this department, they have to put us in our place in the power structure. That's one reason why they don't support the adjuncts in trying to get benefits. That is yet another distinction between the ranks, between us and them."

Opportunities to teach a variety of courses are limited to the full-time faculty. Adjuncts generally are only allowed to teach the introductory level courses in any discipline. "It wouldn't do us any good to have a voice in curricular development or course sequencing because we will never get to teach any of those classes. Only the full-time teachers get to teach the fun stuff," Kyle commented. He went on, "They also don't like to be reminded that people with lesser degrees can do their jobs, and that's why they place such a premium on those upper level classes."

Lack of support for adjuncts was a complaint from several of the participants that reflects tiering. "We can't get funding to go to a conference like the full-time faculty. We don't even have any faculty development right on our own campus. I feel I'm growing stagnant here," Patsy complained. Brian just wanted to get a few transparencies made. "I'd like to have some color transparencies to show my class when I teach painting movements. They won't do it. It would cost $1.00 per transparency, and I would like to accumulate a good library of about 100. I would only ask for about 20 per semester, but they won't do it."

Office space is provided at this university to adjuncts, as well as full-time faculty. However, the office space is private for the full-timers and communal for the adjuncts. The relative status of the two groups is evident. As many as ten adjuncts may share a space that was meant for one or two. Fortunately, not all adjuncts will be in the office at the same time. The furniture and equipment in the communal offices are second-rate at best. I was told that the furniture is a

collection of mismatched castoffs from the full-time faculty. That is probably true of the computers, as well. The computers were described by all respondents as painfully slow and prone to lock up every 10 minutes. Kate described the adjuncts' access to technology:

> There is not a single good computer to even get email on for us. It takes about 15-20 minutes, and that's no exaggeration, to get the computer up and to sign on and to get into your mail. It's so slow, that by the time you do that, and you read one message, it's time to go to class. I mean, the computers are archaic. There's not a single one that can get on the Internet, and do word processing, and will let you to print off a diskette. You have to try a different machine for each job. And on top of that, we all have to share them. The full-time faculty have individual computers that actually work.

A final "slap in the face" to adjuncts is the manner in which courses are listed in the printed schedule for pre-enrollment each semester. "All the full-time professors have their names listed on the courses they teach," Dana said, "but for the courses taught by adjuncts, they are all listed by 'LA Staff' (Liberal Arts Staff). Students don't know who is teaching what when they enroll. It makes us look like we are just interchangeable cogs in the machine."

Adjuncts at the regional university definitely feel that there is a hierarchy on campus, and that they are at its lowest level. The full-time faculty are held in higher esteem and wield more power, as evidenced by their higher salaries, benefits, office space, opportunities to teach a variety of courses, access to

faculty development and funding for conferences and supplies, availability of reliable computers, and even having their names listed on the courses they teach. Although the full-time faculty may not feel that they are displaying an attitude of superiority toward adjuncts, that is the adjuncts' perception. Even without knowing the term faculty tiering, adjuncts are keenly aware of its existence on this campus.

Segregation of the Faculties

The interviews revealed physical, social, and professional segregation between the two faculties at this university. The most dramatic is the physical separation between the office space provided to adjuncts and the location of offices provided to the full-time faculty. In almost every conversation, adjuncts referred to the "remote", "almost intentionally hidden" office space. "Students need a map to find us there," David remarked. After so many comments, I was compelled to make my own visit to what Kyle calls "No Man's Land." At the same time I learned a great deal about the adjunct culture on this campus and the existence of a hierarchy even within the adjunct ranks.

Difficulty in finding the adjunct office was not overstated. It is practically hidden in the Liberal Arts Building, up the stairs, down a little hall off the main corridor, around a corner, in a small complex of three closet-sized rooms joined by what they laughingly refer to as the reception area. No decorations or list of faculty are evident. There are no windows in what Patsy calls her "little box." There are only three beat-up desks and one table, which is more accurately in the hall just outside one of the three adjunct offices. When I arrive at 9:00 a.m.,

there are already two adjuncts camped at the two nicest desks. Patsy told me that she had dismissed her class early so that she could drop off her jacket and books in the office. This is the way she marks her territory: she leaves her jacket on the back of the chair, opens books and leaves papers in disarray on the desktop. I sit in a small metal and plastic chair, looking critically at my surroundings. Another adjunct comes into the office and nearly trips over my feet. Now all three desks are occupied, and the 8:00 classes have just let out.

Patsy went on to tell me about the "land run, like 1889" that takes place at the first of each semester. Longtime adjuncts know about the overcrowded, difficult to find office, and they go in early to put Post-it notes on their choice of desk and desk drawer. Patsy rarely goes to the adjunct office before her 8:00 class, except for the first few weeks of each semester. During that time, she goes in early and spreads her personal belongings around. She establishes her personal space, but she says that there are still times when someone else is sitting in "her" place when she gets up to the office. That really annoys her. Kyle says that it "is somewhat like peeing on the furniture to mark your territory."'

Each metal desk has one big drawer and four little drawers. The longtime faculty generally feel comfortable taking one of the big drawers to use. There is a four-drawer file cabinet in the office, but it is not used by many, according to Kyle. One wall has a large bookcase that is only half full of books. Patsy says that "people only put books on those shelves when they intend to abandon them." No one leaves anything they value in the office.

The computers truly are as slow as they said. They also heat up the windowless room mercilessly. The adjuncts were told that if they needed a fan, they should go out and buy one. Another adjunct arrives and settles at the table just outside the door. Patsy says that there is more privacy at the table, so some actually prefer being in the hall.

The full-time faculty offices are far from the adjuncts' primitive complex. They have a real reception area, complete with a secretary. The furniture matches and there is decorator art and personal memorabilia gracing the walls. The rooms reflect the personality of the residents and show a certain amount of style and status. The faculty mailboxes and coffee area are conveniently located adjacent to the full-timers offices. Life is good when you live downstairs and have windows. The adjuncts spend a lot of time running up and down the stairs if they want to get coffee or check their mailbox. The distance there and back discourages many adjuncts from making frequent trips.

The physical barrier between the two faculties is obvious in the humanities division. Adjuncts said that they may go weeks on end without running into any full-time faculty that they know. "It's not necessary to check my mailbox very often. I know when to expect information on when to turn in grades. Most of the rest of the mail is just junk, " Dana told me. Linda said that she had only met a couple of the full-time professors. She sees other people when she goes to get her mail, but she doesn't know who they are.

The segregation of adjuncts from the full-time faculty is professional, as well as physical. Full-time faculty, other than the division head and the

department head, do not attend the adjunct orientation meeting. Adjuncts are not invited to, though not necessarily barred from attending, the monthly department meetings. "I don't even know when they meet. They never tell anyone," Kyle reported. "And I'd probably be at some other school when they were having it."

Adjuncts do not attend the full faculty meetings either. They are not even allowed a representative to attend the faculty senate meetings. Brian is actively trying to organize the adjuncts in order to have their voice heard by the full-time faculty and administration. He serves as the faculty representative to the faculty senate at another institution, a community college, so he is working to get representation for his adjunct colleagues on this campus, as well. "I'm hoping that all the unorganized adjuncts will come to a meeting, and I'll get a speaker, or maybe two, from the AAUP (American Association of University Professors). I have permission to call the meeting, but I got cold feet...I have to tread lightly." He has even spoken of a proposed walkout by adjuncts next fall to get the attention of the faculty and administration. Kate doesn't think that many adjuncts would participate, though. "No one wants to complain because there are too many adjuncts that are single and self-supporting. They need their job, meager as it is. They don't want to jeopardize it."

Patsy told me of an occasion that the adjuncts thought was a step in the right direction:

> We are the majority of the ones teaching freshman comp (composition), and we don't decide what textbook to use. How do you rationalize that? But we did get to vote on the book last year. There were three books that

> we could choose from, and they were supposed to be down in the office for us to look at, but only one of them was ever there. If you could find one of the others to look at, then you could compare. The people who voted, they gave us a count and there were very few of those eligible, the vote was like 6-2-1 out of 30 adjuncts. Everyone I talked to told me they voted for the same book I voted for, but that book was not the one chosen. We thought 'this is great, they are asking us something,' and then the book we wanted wasn't picked. It seemed really strange. The numbers were off from what we could calculate.

The adjuncts I spoke with believe that the full-time professors really chose the book, and that the vote was just a drama staged to give the illusion of professional inclusion to the adjuncts.

There is little, if any, social integration between the full-time and adjunct faculty either. Patsy stated, "I've never had any social contact with a full-time teacher." The adjuncts are not invited to many social functions with the full-time faculty, which suits Brian. "I'm happy that I don't have to be in there with those people. I don't want to hang out in my free time with those people." The use of the moniker "those people", said with a sneer, says a lot about the social distance between that particular adjunct and the full-time faculty.

Even social interaction in the workplace seems to be limited between the two groups. Dana described how she sees the situation, "The full-time people are not as interested in discussing things as the adjuncts. Everybody in full-time has their own thing that they are into. One guy just publishes books, another has

a particular research topic she is always working on. They don't relate to the adjuncts and their problems. They may have read about it in the journals, but they are involved in their own private world, with their own pet project."

Kyle says he feels anxious when he has to go talk to any of the full-time faculty at the regional university. "It makes me uncomfortable because I am aware of the huge gap that there is between adjuncts and full-time faculty. It's just a feeling around that place." Kate says, "I never go to the full-time faculty for anything. Never. I wouldn't feel comfortable. They always give you the impression that they don't have the time." Of the adjuncts that felt comfortable approaching full-time faculty, all of them had done graduate work with the same full-time faculty and had a previously established relationship, but Kyle said that "the rift between the two groups takes over and supercedes any prior history you have with any of them."

Ties Between Tiers

The adjuncts participating in this study addressed the issue of ties between the faculty tiers in two questions of the interview protocol: "Would you gain from spending time with tenure-line faculty?" and "How do you plan to secure a full-time position?" Kate had the most practical, professional response: "I'd probably gain a lot of knowledge. They all have their PhDs, so they have to have a lot of knowledge they could share. I think it would be tremendously beneficial." Patsy echoed a similar sentiment. "It would be nice to find out what others are doing in classes. My ideas are becoming increasingly inbred. I want

something fresh." Along the same lines, Dana added, "We need a mentoring system. We need someone to show us the ropes and tell us how to do things."

Kyle and Brian see things more negatively than the rest. While Brian simply feels that there is nothing to be gained from spending time with the full-time faculty, Kyle views it this way, "It gives you a good idea to see how abysmal your chances are of ever being considered on a par with them. The more you hang out with them, the more aware you are of that rift. It doesn't give you any greater chance of getting in with them, it is another opportunity to rub your nose in it. It would only give you the satisfaction of pissing them off."

When quizzed on their plans for securing a full-time position, Kyle and Brian seemed less antagonistic and recognized the value of connections in the workplace. Brian gave this surprising piece of advice, "If you consider yourself a part of the company, go ahead and act like it. Have discussions with full-timers. Keep up professional activities." Kyle also seemed to shift gears with his plan, "My primary strategy entails going to more meetings, going to parties, and hobnobbing with the full-time faculty and head of the department, and stuff like that. I also want to finish my doctorate. That would help." Brian had also mentioned the value of getting his Ph.D.

Dana thinks that "you need inroads with the full-time faculty. Connections help. The full-time faculty are on the hiring committees, so if they know you and like you, you stand a better chance of getting a full-time job. But there are no real opportunities to get together with the full-time faculty. It's a catch-22

situation." David referred to the way to secure a full-time position as " a whole lotta ass-kissing."

Patsy showed her frustration when she replied, "I take initiative. I teach myself new skills, especially with technology. But I'd really like to get my PhD. I once had that dream, but I have to work so much to get by that I don't have the time or the money to pursue the degree. There doesn't seem to be any payoff for all the effort." Most of the other adjuncts felt that there was little hope of moving up to a full-time position. When asked where they saw themselves in five years, all but Brian and Kyle voiced doubt that they would be promoted to full-time positions in the near future. The others felt defeated by a lack of access to the power structure and connections they need to succeed professionally.

The Community College

The community college offers only full-time and adjunct faculty positions. Tenure is not available to any faculty member on this campus. The full-time teaching load at this institution is 15 credit hours. There is much less emphasis on research and publishing at the community college.

Demographics

Five women and three men were interviewed on this campus. Table 2 presents information about the 8 respondents at the community college.

Table 2

Community College Demographics

Name	Age	Marital Status	Children	Highest Degree	Years Experience	Peak Teaching Load **	Tuckman Type
Rachel	34	Divorced	None	MA	10 years	18 hours	Hopeful Full-timer
Lily	38	Married	3	MA	11 years	21 hours	Hopeful Full-timer
Robert	42	Married	3	MA*	3 years	21 hours	Hopeful Full-timer
Keri	41	Married	2	MA*	5 years	12 hours	Part-Mooner
Gary	35	Single	None	MA	4 years	15 hours	Part-Mooner
Nancy	29	Single	None	MA	3 years	6 hours	Part-Mooner
Mark	27	Single	None	MA	5 months	3 hours	Full-Mooner
Marsha	30	Divorced	None	MA	6 years	15 hours	Hopeful Full-timer

* Represents post-masters course work ** in a single semester

Rachel has 10 years experience teaching as an adjunct, sometimes at three institutions at the same time. She teaches English composition a total of 15 hours per week.

Lily currently teaches 18 hours of English composition at two institutions. Lily is married to Robert, also an adjunct at the community college.

Robert, married to Lily, has quite a few hours of post-masters credit, but is not currently working on his doctorate. He teaches English composition, humanities, and mythology a total of 18 hours per week, divided among three institutions.

Keri has done post-masters course work, but is not currently working toward a doctorate. She teaches nine hours of English composition at the community college and is also the bookkeeper for a family business.

Gary teaches 15 hours of speech/communications at two different community colleges. During the summer he works at a local water park.

Nancy teaches six hours of theater arts and also waits tables at a local restaurant.

Mark is the youngest of the participants at 27 years of age. He has been working at the community college for the past 10 years, currently as the Coordinator of Community Outreach. This is his first semester as an adjunct, and he teaches one three-hour course of English composition and literature.

Marsha currently teaches 15 hours of composition and humanities at three campuses. Weekends and summers she works in a discount store.

Faculty Tiering

Faculty tiering is again evident in the differential compensation given to full-time faculty and adjuncts. The pay scale is even more pathetic at the community college that at the regional university. Robert, who works at both of the sites involved in this study, reported that he receives $1,800 for teaching a composition course at the regional university, and he gets $1,400 for teaching essentially the same course at the community college. Rachel, who has worked at both institutions in the past, commented on the additional demands on her time at the community college. "At the university they give us slips to fill out to report our office hours, but they (office hours) are not required; but at the community college office hours are required. You have to hold two office hours per three-hour class, and the pay is over $100 less per credit hour! They require more and give less."

Lack of the availability of insurance coverage and other benefits is a real concern among the adjuncts at the community college. Mark considers himself fortunate that he works full-time for the college. Although it is not the teaching position that he really wants, at least he has all the standard benefits that go along with full-time employment. "I have to keep my day job, even if it's unfulfilling. I have to keep it because I can't rely on teaching, which is what I want to do, but I have to keep this other job because of the benefits." He goes on, "I don't know how the other adjuncts make it on what we are paid. And with no benefits, adjuncts are always one illness away from being ruined financially."

Nancy also relies on other wages to make ends meet. She spends nearly 40 hours some weeks as a server in a local restaurant. "I make good money as a waitress, and the tips are great, but I still don't have insurance or retirement, or anything like that. And I'm exhausted most of the time. Teaching is so much more intellectually stimulating, and I am around so many creative people in the theater department. I want to teach, but I don't have the energy to keep doing the adjunct thing in addition to my other job. Not for what they are paying me."

Others described adjunct pay as "awful", "pretty damn poor", "slave wages", and "worse than what they make at McDonald's". The lack of benefits is of particular concern to Robert and Lily. "I don't understand that world of benefits. I've never had a job with benefits. It is increasingly important to me. I have three children and no insurance! That is a very uncertain world," Lily said. Robert has investigated individual coverage for health insurance and reported,

"The cheapest family rate medical insurance you can get is through Blue Cross and Blue Shield, and it's $600 a month. And when you're living month-to-month on eight paychecks a year, and your income changes every semester, every four paychecks, you can't afford that. There's no way you could do it."

The fluctuations in pay from one semester to the next is sometimes known in advance, and sometimes dropped on the adjuncts at the very last moment. The stress of last minute changes can take a toll on the adjuncts. Lily said, "The stress is horrible. Stress of scrapping for classes every semester. Never knowing with all certainty if the schedule that I've been given is truly going to be the schedule that I teach. I've been called, like the night before a class started, and told that the class didn't make. Sorry, you have no income." Sometimes, however, the changes are not due to lack of enrollment, but to preferential treatment given to the full-time faculty. Rachel has recent experience with this problem. "Just this last semester, because a new full-time professor decided that she wanted a particular class, they took mine away. No pretense of anything more administrative, it was clearly a hierarchy of scheduling priorities. They gave me another section, so they thought that it was just a simple trade-off, but I couldn't take the other course due to obligations at another school. So, basically I got screwed out of a course because the full-timer thought my class fit better with her schedule." Such occurrences are not rare in higher education according to the other adjuncts interviewed. It is a known fact that adjuncts are second-class citizens in the academic community.

Differences in office accommodations is another indicator of faculty tiering at the community college. All the full-time faculty have private offices, phones, and computers with printers. Offices are freshly painted when a new occupant takes it over, and often new furniture is purchased. The adjuncts, on the other hand, hold their mandatory office hours in large open rooms. In the theater department Nancy described her space as "a glorified break room." In the English department the area is little more than the anteroom leading to the private offices of some of the full-time faculty. The room is just an anonymous, big, open space with three library tables and eight wooden chairs. Keri says, "...nobody leaves anything in that place, just because it's never locked. We can't lock our purses in there. We have to take them with us to class. We'd never leave school work behind because you never know who's going to rifle through it." Many of the adjuncts prefer to use the library for conferencing with students. "It's more private there. We can use one of the study rooms if we want. You can't have a private conversation in the adjunct office," according to Gary.

I noticed that many of the adjuncts carried large briefcases or bags, and I wondered if the lack of secure office space played a part in that trend. Rachel summed up the scenario for most of the adjuncts, "I keep most of my work at home, or in my briefcase, which travels with me. It's a traveling office. It probably weighs 15-20 pounds. If I collect essays, I bring a second bag for them. I'm like a pack mule with the load evenly distributed on both sides."

The "traveling office" piqued my curiosity, and I asked if she would show me what she carried. The bag itself was black rip-stop nylon with a multitude of

compartments. This was the bag she carried to all her schools, everyday. She removed 43 separate items, or groups of items, from the bag. Many of these were office supplies normally found in a teacher's desk: a variety of 12 pens and pencils, chalk, three bottles of correction fluid, four sizes and colors of Post-it notes, three black dry erase markers ("because one of them always lets me down"), two highlighters, Kleenex, a small stapler, staples, computer diskettes, a calculator, a mirror, hand lotion, and loose paper clips and rubber bands.

The remaining items would more likely be housed in a teacher's personal file cabinet: teaching schedule, final exam schedule, library handouts, textbook request forms, a master academic calendar, syllabi, lecture notes, sign-up sheets for student conferences, check lists for essay packets, grade sheets, photocopy request forms, examples of student work, and file folders for assignments in each course. Due to the lack of secure office space for adjuncts, Rachel must carry all of these items with her every day. She suffers from chronic neck and back pain from carrying that heavy load.

Keri wanted to have a voice in the selection of textbook she teaches. "I'd definitely like to have some input on the book we use. Recently, all the full-time faculty came in and adopted a new book, I think just as a show of power more than anything else, and nobody liked it. The adjuncts are the ones that are using it more than anyone else. We teach most of the comp I classes. We should definitely have a say."

The hierarchy is again evident in the courses that adjuncts are allowed to teach. The majority are the introductory courses of speech, theater arts, or

English composition. However, the more established adjuncts have recently been given the opportunity to teach a limited variety of courses. With enrollment surges and student demand, adjuncts in the English department have been able to teach humanities and mythology courses, in addition to the usual Composition I and II. However, they are only offered the courses after the full-time faculty have made their selections. The adjuncts get to fight over the leftovers. Lily says, "We have to just jump in there and grab whatever courses we can get. Everybody wants as many classes as possible. It's all about the money. It's too bad, though, that my 11 years of experience are no guarantee that I will get the maximum number of classes I can get, which is three at any one school. I think that with my years of experience, I deserve a little more consideration."

However, Lily thinks there may be a down side to her years of experience. "If you are applying for a position with the place that you have worked for a long time, there is a way in which your image is so firmly rooted in their minds as an adjunct, that they can't perceive you as a full-timer. So the fact that you have all this experience, that should make you look more qualified for a full-time job, I think, but you can become so identified as an adjunct, that they think that is just who you are." From Lily's statement, it is obvious that in some minds "adjuncts" and "full-timers" are perceived as completely different species.

Orientation is another area of distinction between adjuncts and full-time faculty. The two groups are treated very differently from the beginning of the academic year. Orientation for adjunct faculty members consists of a single two-hour meeting that deals more with health and safety in the workplace than with

educational matters. A get-to-know-you activity introduces individuals who may never see one another again. Packets are passed out that include the official academic calendar, suggestions for syllabi preparation, and due dates for turning in grades. Full time faculty have a week of orientation meetings and workshops, and are given a 23-page orientation booklet and a 71-page faculty handbook, detailing various responsibilities and rights.

If there is any doubt about the position of adjuncts in the faculty hierarchy at the community college, the wording of their semester contracts should make their status clear:

"Responsibilities: Instruction

Duration of Appointment: Faculty member has no justifiable expectation of continued employment beyond established contract period."

The commitment of the institution to the adjunct is minimal, yet the reliance on adjuncts is growing. It must be noted that full-time faculty contracts at the community college are also technically limited-term. Contracts for full-time faculty are awarded for a complete academic year, rather than just a semester, but also include no guarantees. The wording states: "This contract of itself in no way implies continuation or self-renewal of any provision beyond the termination date of this contract." In addition, the expectation of the institution is much broader for the full-time faculty than for the adjuncts: "During the contract period, the employee agrees to fulfill the responsibilities set forth in the job description and performance objectives approved for this position and any special conditions set forth in Addendum I." Job description for full-time faculty includes instruction,

advising, program development and management, assessment, attendance of various meetings, committee work, staff development, student retention, and adequate office hours. Even though no guarantee of continued employment is implied in the written contract, it is generally known that dismissal or failure to be given a new contract only occurs after extreme misconduct on the part of the full-time teacher. The full-time faculty enjoy relative job security when compared to the adjuncts. It seems that lack of tenure does not lessen the distinctions between the tiers of faculty (full-time versus adjunct) at this institution.

Segregation of the Faculties

The physical separation of the adjuncts from the full-time faculty is not nearly as evident at the community college as at the regional university. The open, communal office space provided to the adjuncts is just outside a complex of offices used by some of the full-time faculty. Marsha reported, "We see everyone coming and going. We sometimes have roundtable discussions with the other faculty."

The professional separation is more evident than the physical. Adjuncts are required to attend an annual orientation meeting. Other than the department chair and the division head, no full-time faculty attend to offer their assistance or welcome the adjuncts. Adjuncts are not invited to faculty or department meetings with the full-time faculty, either. The exception is the adjunct liaison, who may attend, then report back to the other adjuncts. Robert and Lily are cynical about the value of the liaison to the other adjuncts. Robert said, "There's a real sense of apathy among the adjuncts. Yeah, we have the adjunct liaison position, but no

one wants to do it. The first one was a guy that was the only one that said he would do it." Lily added, "I don't know if we all benefit, or if just the liaison benefits, from hanging out with the full-time faculty. The liaison is supposed to bring our concerns to the faculty, but I don't see that happening. The adjuncts that have been liaisons, I think kind of have their eye on the prize there. They don't want to say anything controversial to the people that they hope to be interviewing with for the next job opening."

Rachel reported a recent attempt to get the two faculties together professionally. "There is a meeting that the English department has tried to put together for an exchange of ideas for the full-time faculty and adjuncts. It's called 'Composition Conversations', but it happens in the afternoon, and it isn't convenient for any adjuncts except those that just happen to have a class around that time. I've been a couple of times, and I've seen maybe two or three adjuncts out of the dozens who teach there." With the scheduling complications created by teaching at several institutions or working at other jobs, it is difficult, if not impossible, to find a time that will work for such a diverse group of people.

Ties Between Tiers

Respondents reported very little interaction with the full-time faculty. Marsha holds office hours in the library, and her classes meet at night, so she never runs into any of the full-time faculty or other adjuncts. "It's like I'm in an isolation bubble. I float in, teach, go to the library for a while, then go home. I leave no trace behind when I'm gone." Others, like Rachel and Keri, see one another in the adjunct office area. "And we get to see the full-timers come and

go," Keri said. "I don't know any of them well. I don't even know who some of them are, so I usually just smile and don't say anything. They don't speak to me either."

However, the two women have become good friends while sharing office hours over the past year. They talk about lesson plans, ideas for new ways to present course content, and even share information about their private lives. They talk by phone and email one another regularly.

Robert and Gary do not spend much time in the communal adjunct office. They prefer to conference with students in their classroom before or after class. Consequently, they do not interact with the full-time faculty or other adjuncts.

> I go to the stupid adjunct orientation meeting where they tell us how to use the copy machine, and how not to hurt ourselves at work. If that's the caliber of meeting that goes on around here, I'm glad I'm not included. The full-time faculty don't come to that meeting, so I don't even know any of them. I've been teaching on this campus for four years, and I know three people in the department: the secretary, the department head that hired me, and one other teacher who taught in my classroom the hour before me. I ran into her all the time, but I don't know her name,

Gary told me. Mark, on the other hand, reported warm relations with many full-time faculty. Because of his position in the recruiting office, he often arranges for potential students to visit a class they are interested in.

> I always take them (the interested students) to one of the full-time teachers' classes. Over the years I have gotten to know them pretty well.

The adjuncts come and go. I haven't been able to establish a relationship with any of them. I just keep going back to the teachers I have dealt with before.

Mark and Nancy were the only adjuncts that reported a strong professional relationship with any of the full-time faculty. Nancy worked on several plays with the full-time faculty which entailed long hours of work, sometimes late into the night. In addition to a good working relationship, Nancy also spoke of socializing with the full-time teachers after hours. "Several times, when it was close to opening night, and we were kind of keyed up after rehearsals, we would all go out for a drink afterwards." Other than Nancy, not a single other adjunct reported a social occasion that included both adjuncts and full-time faculty.

Combined Realities

Inadequate compensation, benefits, regard, and support seem to define the adjunct experience at the two selected sites. Nevertheless, working as an adjunct can be ideal for some individuals. Six of the 16 adjuncts interviewed would be considered "full-mooners" or "part-mooners" due to their additional jobs outside of education, but all expressed a desire to teach full-time. In spirit they could all be categorized as "hopeful full-timers", although according to Tuckman (1978) only 10 fit the definition.

The average age of the adjuncts interviewed was 37.6 years, with a range of 27-54. The average length of experience as an adjunct was 6 years for the 16 respondents, although several had spent 10-11 years as adjuncts, and one had

12 years experience. Seven were married to working spouses who added to the family income, while another six held additional jobs to supplement their adjunct wages. Four taught at 3 campuses, and 7 taught at two different institutions. To boost income, ten of the 16 had taught semesters of 15 or more hours of instruction, in excess of the 12 hours considered a full-time load at the regional university. Only one of the adjuncts held a doctorate, and three had done post-masters course work. Several mentioned lack of time and money as barriers to completing a terminal degree, due to the low pay and need to seek additional employment to make ends meet.

The adjuncts interviewed for this study would prefer the status, pay, and perks of being a full-time faculty member, but often the decision to continue as an adjunct is out of their control. To try to approximate the pay received by full-time faculty, these adjuncts are often driven to accept assignments at multiple school sites, burdening themselves with course loads that are upwards of 18 to 24 hours per semester. Even if these individuals teach two semesters per year of 18 credit hours, the annual compensation barely tops $20,000 for the year. This course load is 50% greater than the load full-time faculty are required to teach at the regional university. In other words, the adjuncts have the equivalent of a job and a half teaching at multiple locations, for considerably less money and no benefits. Surprisingly, the hiring institutions do not seem concerned with how thinly the adjuncts are spreading themselves. The individuals interviewed for this study were never asked if they were teaching at other locations, or how many total hours they were teaching.

Some adjuncts were not able to secure sufficient course work to survive financially, and economic concessions had to be made. One 49 year-old adjunct, Brian, still had to get a loan from family members in order to buy a $1,200 used car. Reliable transportation is critical for these teachers, also known as "road scholars" and "freeway fliers", who drive 250-300 miles per week to their various classes.

Housing is another financial concern not easily handled on an adjunct's wages. Brian's meager income qualified as poverty level, and fortunately he was able to secure government-subsidized housing he could afford. Another adjunct admitted to moving in with her boyfriend out of financial necessity rather than romantic commitment. Several adjuncts reported shopping at thrift stores for clothes and buying their furniture second-hand. The married adjuncts all lived in homes that they owned, but they were able to do so only because of the additional income provided by their spouses. Only one of the single adjuncts, Patsy, owned a home, which she described as "smaller than anything I ever rented, but it's all I can afford."

Wasted time spent commuting from one school to another was another adjunct concern. Worries about wear and tear on old vehicles, high gasoline and maintenance costs, and driving in sometimes dangerous inclement weather were compounded by the stress of coordinating a workable schedule at multiple sites. Travel time had to be factored in whenever course assignments were accepted. Confusion at the first of each new semester can be dreadful for adjuncts that work at several institutions. One adjunct, who was teaching 18 hours at the time,

finally had to tape his daily teaching schedule to the sun visor of his car because he said, "one day I was driving down the highway and I forgot where the hell I was going."

Lack of benefits, especially health insurance, is a major concern for these individuals. Besides Mark, the adjunct that works full-time in the recruiting office of the community college, the only other adjuncts that currently have health insurance are three married women, and they are covered by their husbands' group policies. The other 12 respondents are playing a deadly game of Russian roulette with their health. Lily and Robert, the married couple who are both adjuncts at the community college, have three children. Two of the children are active preschoolers. Lily said that she always waits until the children have been ill for several days before seeking a doctor's care. "I just wait and hope they will get better without antibiotics or other medicine. It's just so expensive. I live in fear of a broken bone or stitches, something that requires the emergency room." Unfortunately, one month after my interviews with Lily and Robert, their son fell off his bicycle and broke both bones in his right wrist. They had difficulties with the emergency room personnel, who requested a substantial deposit before treating their crying child. Bills from the hospital and orthopedist will further weaken the already shaky financial stability of this family.

Retirement benefits are becoming increasingly important as these adjuncts advance in age. Six of these adjuncts are over age 40. "I never really thought about it 10 years ago," David said, "but now I wonder if I will have to keep working forever." "Full-time faculty can participate in the group retirement

plan, but I don't even have enough left over at the end of the year to put in an I.R.A account," Gary complained.

Adjuncts find it difficult to perform their jobs well without the institutional support afforded the full-time faculty. Photocopies are generally available, but color transparencies were deemed too pricey to be provided, even if the adjunct would likely continue to teach a course using the transparencies for several more years. The color transparencies would greatly enhance the quality of classroom instruction, but would cost around $100, and there are no funds in the budget for adjunct use.

The pitiful office space available to adjuncts shows a lack of regard for teachers that provide such a valuable service to their institutions. The rooms are often in remote locations, semi-private at best, and poorly equipped. Computers, if provided at all, are relics that have been cast off by the full-time faculty. Furniture is chipped and worn. Offices may be distant from the full-time faculty offices, necessitating long walks to ask questions or retrieve mail. Overcrowding at times reduces adjuncts to animalistic behaviors, marking their territory with half-filled coffee cups and personal belongings. Even mailboxes are overcrowded at the regional university. Adjuncts must share a mailbox with at least one other person. However, only one copy of any memo is ever put in the box. If the adjuncts are not well acquainted with one another, the first to check the mailbox may be the only one that gets to read the memo. The adjuncts say they rarely think to put the memo back for their mail-mate to read.

Adjuncts reported a lack of regard that leaves many of them feeling like second-class citizens of the academic community. The feeling is particularly acute at the regional university. Some adjuncts perceived attitudes of superiority among the full-time faculty. "I get the occasional 'hi', but it's not very warm," said Patsy. Dana said that the full-time faculty acted like the adjuncts were "beneath them," while Kyle felt that adjuncts were treated "with disdain" at the regional university. He described the intra-faculty dynamics as having "a great big gulf between adjuncts and full-time faculty." Dana summed it up for most of the adjuncts, "we are anonymous."

At the community college, the atmosphere was slightly more adjunct-friendly. Office space was provided in the same general area as many of the full-time faculty offices. This allowed for more spontaneous conversation and an illusion of inclusion for the adjuncts. However, the adjuncts still reported a lack of contact with full-time faculty.

The adjuncts interviewed for this study felt powerless to change any of the circumstances of their employment. At the regional university, adjuncts were not given representation on the faculty senate, nor were they included in faculty or committee meetings. At the community college, an adjunct representative was elected to attend faculty meetings and faculty senate, but the other adjuncts doubted there were benefits to anyone other than the liaison himself.

When asked where they saw themselves in five years, all but two of the adjuncts felt that they would probably still be teaching part-time, although all had aspirations for full-time employment. Even the two male adjuncts that saw

themselves with full-time positions in the future voiced concerns that their vision might be less than realistic in today's economy. Brian said that an administrator once compared employment of adjuncts to buying a car, "If one guy will sell me a car for $1,500, do you think I'm really going to go pay someone else $3,000 for the same car?" Adjuncts are the biggest bargains in the university budget, so they do not foresee many full-time positions opening up to them in the next five years. The undervaluing of adjuncts and their contribution to academia will likely continue to define the professional and personal reality of these individuals in the future.

Lack of regard is evident in every facet of adjunct employment: poor compensation, exclusion from benefit and retirement packages, lack of adequate office space and supplies, last minute changes to teaching schedules, failure to list adjunct names in course schedules, and inability to teach more than the introductory level courses in their disciplines. This is disrespectful to individuals who have devoted years of their lives to teaching. Eleven of the 16 adjuncts interviewed have more than 5 years experience, and four have more than 10 years in service to higher education.

Summary

The data for this study were collected during the fall 2002 semester, winter break, and the beginning of the spring 2003 semester. Respondents were 16 adjunct faculty members teaching in the humanities division of two state institutions, all aspiring to full-time employment in higher education. Ages ranged from 27-54, seven were married to working spouses, six have additional

employment outside of education, and 11 of the 16 have taught semesters of 15-24 credit hours of courses. Four currently teach at three campuses, seven teach at two sites, and five teach at only one institution. Only one adjunct holds a PhD, while the other 15 hold masters degrees. Experience as an adjunct ranged from five months to 12 years.

Evidence of a definite faculty hierarchy was present at both sites, although much more pronounced at the regional university. Differences in compensation, regard, participation in governance and curriculum development, and institutional support divided the adjuncts from the full-time faculty.

Segregation between the two faculties was physical, professional, and social. Office space was separate, and sometimes distant from, full-time faculty offices. There was no inclusion of adjuncts in faculty senate, committee work, faculty meetings, department meetings, or faculty development workshops. At the community college, only a single adjunct liaison was included in faculty meetings. Social interaction between members of the two faculties was almost nonexistent.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The data in this chapter were analyzed through the lenses of faculty tiering (Altbach, Berhdahl, & Gumport, 1999; Blanke & Hyle, 2000; Buckless, Ravenscroft, & Baldwin-Morgan, 1996; Gappa & Leslie, 1993; Reichard, 1998; Schuster, 1998), perpetuation theory (Braddock, 1980; Braddock & McPartland, 1989; McPartland & Braddock, 1981), and network analysis (Granovetter, 1973; 1986). The analysis provided in this chapter answers the second and third research questions:

*In what ways do those descriptions (of adjunct realities in faculty life and relationships in higher education) reflect tiering, perpetuation theory, and network analysis? and

*What other realities about these faculty lives in higher education are revealed?

The first three sections focus separately on tiering, perpetuation theory, and network analysis. The last section details other realities.

Faculty Tiering

Faculty tiering (Altbach, Berhdahl, & Gumport, 1999; Blanke & Hyle, 2000; Buckless, Ravenscroft, & Baldwin-Morgan, 1996; Gappa & Leslie, 1993; Reichard, 1998; Schuster, 1998) refers to a system of institutional hierarchy that provides differential support to various groups. According to past research, the first tier is made up of full-time tenured or tenure-track faculty, while the second tier is made up of all others. The two sites chosen for this study, the community

college and the regional university, displayed a variety of evidence of faculty tiering, but the dividing line between the tiers seems to be based on full-time employment versus adjunct status, rather than being related to tenure. There is no tenure available at the community college, but the division between full-time and adjunct faculties nevertheless exists. With the significant increase in pay and the addition of benefits, offices, and participation in governance, any full-time position, tenure-track or not, is coveted by the adjuncts. In response to the interview question, "What do you hope to be doing in five years?" all of the adjuncts interviewed longed for full-time teaching positions. Only two mentioned tenure as part of their professional goals. At the community college, tenure is not even available to full-time faculty.

Differential treatment of adjuncts and full-time faculty was evident in the compensation and benefits provided to the two tiers. Full-time faculty salaries are more than double the figure given to adjuncts teaching a comparable course load. Of course, this does not take into consideration the added responsibilities of service, research, advising, and committee work done by the full-time teachers. Benefits, such as health insurance and retirement programs, are only available to full-time faculty members. Limited term semester contracts are all that is available to adjuncts at these state institutions.

Adjuncts are also frustrated by the inability to participate in shared governance. The only glimmer of hope for adjuncts is the position of adjunct liaison at the community college; however, there was a surprising lack of interest in the position among the adjuncts interviewed at that site. At the regional

university, on the other hand, adjuncts are being encouraged by Brian to seek representation and better working conditions, or stage a walk-out. The other adjuncts at the regional university that were interviewed did not seem as enthusiastic about an organized protest. Most voiced concerns about losing the meager wages that they have, but Linda thought the prospects sounded "hilarious." "Let's see how well they can function without us." Organized negotiations on behalf of adjuncts at these two institutions does not seem to be on the horizon.

Support, in the form of office space and equipment, is another factor that shows differential treatment of the faculty tiers. Full-time faculty have private offices and fairly new computers. Adjuncts have communal office space that is often over-crowded and poorly equipped. Even mailboxes at the regional university must be shared by the adjuncts.

Further distinction between the tiers of faculty is the opportunity to teach a wider variety of course offerings by full-time faculty. Adjuncts are usually limited to teaching the introductory level undergraduate courses in their discipline, while full-time faculty are free to develop new courses and teach the upper level advanced courses offered to majors in their field. The advanced courses generally have fewer, more highly motivated students. Adjuncts, on the other hand, generally teach the required general education courses that take in the whole student body.

The most obviously insulting evidence of faculty tiering is seen in the printed course schedules available to students during pre-enrollment. Full-time

faculty always have their names printed next to the courses they teach, but courses assigned to adjuncts in the humanities division are all listed as being taught by LA STAFF (Liberal Arts Staff). Students do not know who will actually teach the course until showing up the first day of class. If these adjuncts taught only occasionally at the institution, it would indeed be difficult to include the names of the ever-changing roster of adjunct faculty. However, most of the adjuncts interviewed had been teaching at the regional university for more than 5 years without interruption.

Uncertainty seems to pervade the professional reality of the respondents. Adjuncts are often unsure of their teaching assignments until the last minute. If a full-time professor decides to take a class from an adjunct, for whatever reason, the change is made unceremoniously, and the adjunct is usually informed by the department secretary. Even teaching several weeks into the semester is no guarantee that the assignment is permanent. Adjustments to the schedule are made even after adjuncts have prepared syllabi and met with their students. Enrollment surges may require added course sections, and adjuncts may have less than 24 hours preparation time when given a last minute assignment. Full-time faculty do not endure similar uncertainties.

At both sites in this study, tiers exist, though not as they are portrayed in the majority of the literature. The Great Divide exists between adjuncts and full-time faculty members, without regard for tenure. The lack of tenure at the community college does not negate the existence of a hierarchy of faculty tiers. Full-time faculty have secure, private office space, while adjuncts must resort to

carrying heavy bags containing their "traveling office." Full-time faculty enjoy salaries and benefit packages that the adjuncts envy. Full-time faculty have a voice in institutional governance, course development and sequencing, and get to teach "the fun stuff." Adjuncts fight for the leftovers, with no voice in academic or institutional affairs. It is evident that institutional support varies greatly for full-time and adjunct faculty at both institutions. The adjuncts interviewed are keenly aware of the difference in status between the two groups. Only two adjuncts in this study ever mentioned tenure as a goal; the rest only wanted full-time employment. Perhaps if the adjuncts obtain a full-time position, they will then set their sights on the next step up the academic ladder, tenure.

Perpetuation Theory of Segregation

Perpetuation theory posits that individuals that have existed in segregated environments for extended periods of time tend to perpetuate that segregation by their own personal choices in life (Braddock, 1980; Braddock & McPartland, 1989; McPartland & Braddock, 1981). Adjuncts on both campuses have been isolated physically, professionally, and socially from the full-time faculty. Adjuncts have missed opportunities to learn what is involved in a full-time commitment to a single university, and full-timers have not been exposed to the realities of the adjunct experience in higher education. Without knowledge of one another's culture, both groups will likely continue with the group they are familiar with, making decisions that will not effect movement toward greater integration. Brian felt shunned by the full-time faculty at the regional university, and did not want to spend his free time with "those people." It seems that, even if given the

opportunity to interact, Brian would choose not to. Rachel and Keri, two adjuncts at the community college, have become friends and are comfortable with their relationship. They have found support among the ranks of others like themselves. Although the adjuncts say they would like greater professional integration, the lack of personal relationships seems to be a barrier none care to cross. It seems that their segregated environment provides a level of comfort to the adjuncts.

Social separation between the two faculties in the workplace seems to be less obvious at the community college than at the university. The closer physical proximity of office space encourages conversation between adjuncts and full-time faculty. The theater department is much more socially integrated than the English department. Nancy reported many occasions when adjuncts and full-time faculty went out for drinks after the presentation of a play. In the English department, adjuncts reported a friendly, cordial atmosphere, but Rachel said, "I've never had any social contact with a full-time teacher outside of school."

With the less pronounced atmosphere of segregation between the two faculties at the community college, there is slightly more opportunity to learn from one another. Conversations between the two groups can occur on a regular basis. The adjuncts get a much closer view of the realities of full-time teaching, they have a liaison that attends meetings and reports back to them, giving an even more detailed picture of the workings of the college, and the liaison purportedly takes the concerns of the adjuncts to the full-time faculty. These exchanges, meager as they may be, will help break down the barriers that

separate adjuncts from full-time faculty, and lessen the likelihood of the perpetuation of the rigid hierarchy that limits adjuncts' opportunities.

Network Theory of Analysis

Granovetter (1973, 1986) recognized the importance of strong and weak ties in an individual's life. Strong ties among family and friends may predominate, but the value of weak ties to broaden the scope of professional contacts and enhance the social network cannot be denied. The adjuncts participating in this study addressed the issue in two questions of the interview protocol: Would you gain from spending time with tenure-line faculty? and How do you plan to secure a full-time position?

In general, evidence demonstrated an underdevelopment of ties across the two faculty contexts at the two state institutions. Information about interactions with other adjuncts and with full-time faculty provided insight into the types and strength of ties between them. One adjunct described an atmosphere in which she felt like she was in "an isolation bubble." Another reported that the full-time faculty "don't speak to me", and one referred to "the huge gap that there is between adjuncts and full-time faculty." Granovetter (1973) reported that the strength of ties is based on the length of time spent together, the intimacy of the interactions, the emotional intensity of a relationship, and the reciprocal nature of the relationship. Based on this yardstick, adjuncts in the theater department at the community college are most likely to form ties with the full-time faculty. Nancy reported that "after a few drinks, we kind of open up with each other. We talk about our personal lives and we realize that we really aren't that different."

Lily, on the other hand, feared that more intimate contact with the full-time faculty would breed resentment among the adjuncts.

> I think that to socialize with the full-timers, and realize the difference in lifestyle and disposable income they have, it might cause bad feelings. You'd be realizing that they go on nice vacations and have more money, and just by lifestyle differences it would be obvious what the salary differences are. I'm not sure I'd enjoy a relationship with the full-time faculty.

Nancy, who has enjoyed social integration with full-time faculty, feels a sense of kinship. Lily, on the other hand, who only has experience in a segregated atmosphere, would choose to remain apart from the full-time faculty. Past experiences mold current choices, and segregation begets more segregation.

Mark is an unusual case because he has worked full-time at the community college for 10 years. He serves on committees and is well known by faculty and administrators alike. He is active in recruiting and, as a consequence, does a fair amount of socializing with the full-time faculty. His ties were already well established before he became an adjunct, and his need for affiliation was satisfied by his full-time employment. In this respect, Mark is very different from the other adjuncts interviewed.

All the adjuncts interviewed recognized the value of connections or ties to members of the power structure. To get a full-time position, all you have to do is "kiss ass" according to Robert. His wife's suggestions were a little more detailed, "Adjuncts need to be reminded of the good ingratiating opportunities, like holiday

luncheons, and running for liaison. Politics can pay off. You need to go to any meeting they will let you go to. You need to establish connections." Others mentioned "work hard", "wait around for someone to retire", and "try to get the best comments on the teacher evaluation forms", but the single most mentioned strategy was to make connections with the full-time faculty who may someday sit on your hiring committee.

The mandatory two hours of office time per course at the community college forces adjuncts to spend time together in the communal offices. During this time, they discuss course work, new ideas for presentations, and even their personal lives. There is a certain amount of time spent together, intimate information divulged, and reciprocity of helping one another with teaching ideas. For adjuncts, ties are more likely to be formed with other adjuncts. Interactions with the full-time faculty seem very superficial and impersonal in all instances, except in the theater department at the community college. Contact between the two faculties is usually brief, as in passing, and relations are less reciprocal. The general conditions do not favor formation of ties between adjuncts and full-time faculty. Without the opportunities to interact and integrate, ties between adjuncts and full-time faculty members will continue to be underdeveloped. Without weak ties to members of the more powerful, dominant culture, adjuncts are prevented from forming relationships that might provide occupational mobility and professional advancement.

Other Realities

The literature has documented many aspects of the adjuncts' experience, such as low pay and lack of institutional support (Gappa & Leslie, 1993; Hickman, 1998; Leslie, 1998; Lords, 1999). In addition, interviews with respondents at the regional university and community college reveal a high level of stress among adjuncts and a strong desire for a sense of belonging. Some adjuncts accept grueling teaching loads to patch together an adequate annual salary. Others compensate for the low pay by giving less time and attention to their professional duties. Many of these realities remain unknown to the institution due to the lack of adjunct oversight and evaluation at these two sites.

The word "stress" was used a significant number of times by nine of the 16 respondents interviewed. The adjunct lifestyle was described as very hectic and stressful. Stress comes from, as one adjunct put it, "having to scrap for every class I get." Since annual income is based on the number of courses taught during the year, adjuncts feel compelled to fight for more sections, and teach at multiple institutions. Usually no more than three courses can be taught by an adjunct at any one school. Stress was then multiplied by the difficulty in arranging a workable schedule, with no overlapping course conflicts, and with sufficient travel time between institutions. Later, more stress came from not knowing if the courses that were assigned would have sufficient enrollment, or if courses would be taken from the adjunct and given to a full-time professor whose class did not make. Adjuncts face this monumental stress each and every semester.

Then there is the financial stress of an eight-month pay schedule. At both institutions represented in this study, adjunct contracts are paid in four monthly installments per semester. Adjuncts rarely have the opportunity to teach in the summer, as many full-time faculty choose to teach overload sections at that time. The four months without paychecks include January, the critical post-holiday credit card season, June, July, and August. Adjuncts must either seek supplemental employment or budget very carefully throughout the year. Only three of the adjuncts interviewed live entirely from their teaching incomes. All others have second jobs or spouses that also work.

Lack of insurance was a tremendous worry for those who did not have benefits at their second job, or provided by a working spouse. Several of the adjuncts mentioned not having regular physical check-ups, or even going to the doctor when they were ill. The cost of medical care was out of reach without insurance. One adjunct even told me of her Howard Hughes-like paranoia about catching a virus from her multitude of students. "I can't afford to be sick, and I can't afford to miss work," she said. "I wash my hands about 20 times a day." Fear of accidental injury also plagued this woman. "I can take care of myself and try to stay healthy, but what if I slip on the ice or something? I'm screwed. Something wouldn't get paid that month."

Another issue that seems to define the adjunct experience is a great desire for permanence and a sense of belonging. Patsy said it best,

> I teach at three schools sometimes, and I'm an outsider at all of them. I'd like to feel at home somewhere, to get involved and feel like I make a

contribution in more than the classroom. I'd like to have an office with my name on the door, and know that I would be back the next year and the year after.

This lack of permanence for adjuncts seems to engender a lack of devotion toward the employing institution in some adjuncts. Lily said, "I'm in and out of there, and I don't feel any allegiance to the institution, and I don't feel the need to hold office hours. Anything that I get out of my job, I kind of have to give it to myself. I give myself permission. They don't pay me enough to hang around here more than I have to." Since more pay is not an option, some adjuncts choose to offer less of themselves. This lack of commitment has led some adjuncts to be less motivated, not putting forth any effort above the minimum necessary to carry out their duties in the classroom. The quality of education delivered must surely suffer as a consequence.

As another method of boosting income, some adjuncts overextend themselves, teaching 18-24 credit hours per semester. Only one of the adjuncts interviewed dared to admit that the quality of his instruction was suffering. This overextension of adjuncts' time and energy takes a tremendous toll. Rachel shared, "I was a zombie when I taught 21 hours. The sad part is, I didn't even have time to enjoy any of the extra money I was making. In the end, it wasn't worth it." Many of the adjuncts with the heaviest loads were English composition teachers. These teachers are responsible for helping students develop writing skills necessary for all their other academic course work. Evaluation of students' progress, in many cases, is reduced to what one adjunct called "speed grading."

Another referred to "holistic grading." "I know after a couple of assignments what kind of a writer the student is, so I can assign a grade without looking closely at a paper." This shocking revelation amounts to gross dereliction of duty, yet how can an adjunct effectively comment on 150-200 essays six times each semester? Students should not be shortchanged by a system that allows adjuncts to take on such unreasonably heavy course loads.

Another revelation that came from these interviews is the lack of oversight of adjuncts at either of the institutions. Adjuncts are hired after brief interviews, and presumably their credentials are checked. They are sent off to teach core curriculum courses to students that the institution very much wants to retain. However, only 5 of the adjuncts interviewed had ever been visited, observed, or monitored by any department chair or full-time faculty member.

> They have no idea what we're doing in our classes. The only thing they know comes from our student evaluations, and I know some really poor teachers that get good evaluations because they don't expect much from their students. They let the kids get away with anything. If no one complains, no one ever knows.

It is difficult for an institution to ensure quality of instruction without knowledge of a teacher's lesson plans, methods, classroom management, evaluation procedures, and expectations for students.

Finally, the respondents in this study find themselves in a frustrating catch-22 in their careers. They think of themselves as professionals, but only one has a terminal degree and would be qualified for a full-time position at the

regional university. The adjuncts want to move up to full-time positions, but have neither the time nor the money to continue their education. With each passing year, they seem to become more bitter about their situation. One wonders if some of the older adjuncts in this study are destined to be the old maids, the leftovers who will be forever passed over for younger, better qualified applicants fresh out of graduate school.

Summary

This chapter analyzed the differential treatment and interactions between adjuncts and full-time faculty on two campuses, a community college and a regional university, and the tiers that result. Tiers, as indicated by respondents, are based on full-time versus part-time employment status, rather than related to tenure. Interactions were evaluated to determine if sufficient contact was made to allow the development of ties between the two faculty tiers. The two faculties, full-time and adjunct, appear to be segregated, due to lack of personal and professional exchanges.

Ties between the two tiers are underdeveloped at both institutions. According to perpetuation theory, continued segregation will be expected unless conscious effort is made to increase interactions between the two groups. With integration, weak ties could be formed between adjuncts and the more powerful full-time faculty, providing adjuncts access to information that could prove beneficial in career advancement. Perpetuation theory and network analysis are helpful in understanding the realities for adjuncts within the hierarchy of higher education.

Other realities revealed include adjuncts that accept excessive course assignments to augment their earnings, and their subsequent inability to perform their duties as conscientiously as they would like. There is also a surprising lack of oversight of adjuncts' performance at these two sites. Only five of the adjuncts interviewed reported being observed or monitored after being hired.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND COMMENTARY

This chapter includes a summary, conclusions, and implications based on the data gathered and analyzed for this study. The final research question is addressed, then recommendations and commentary conclude the chapter.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to examine adjunct realities within the faculty hierarchy at two institutions. Differential support and interactions between adjuncts and full-time faculty were viewed through the lenses of faculty tiering, perpetuation theory, and network analysis. The purpose was accomplished by:

- In-depth structured interviews with 16 adjunct faculty members at two state institutions of higher learning
- Document analysis of orientation materials, handbooks, and contracts awarded to full- and part-time faculty
- Site visitations to analyze physical space and equipment provided to adjuncts

Data Needs and Sources

To investigate the professional and personal realities of adjuncts who aspire to full-time positions, I inquired about the type of work they do, the ways they are compensated, and the interactions they have with one another and with full-time faculty. Sixteen adjuncts were interviewed, representing the humanities division of two state institutions: a community college and a regional university. Participants were purposively selected based on the following criteria: adjunct

faculty (working less than full-time on any one campus and contracted by semester only), working in the humanities division of their respective institutions, and aspiring to full-time teaching positions. Contracts for full-time and adjunct faculty, orientation materials, memos, and handbooks also informed the study.

Data Presentation

Before collecting data, a review of the pertinent literature was compiled. Data was then coded and sorted into categories consistent with the literature: faculty tiering, segregation of faculties, and strength of ties between the groups. The literature divided the tiers by full-time tenure-track or tenured (Tier 1) and all others (Tier 2). Tenure is available at the regional university, but not at the community college. However, based on information gleaned in the interviews at both sites, full-time employment constituted Tier 1, while part-time/adjunct status made up Tier 2 for these respondents.

Analysis

Data were gathered through in-depth interviews, site visitations at both state institutions, and document analysis of contracts, memos, orientation materials, and handbooks. Data were then analyzed through the lenses of faculty tiering, perpetuation theory and network analysis.

Findings

Findings include demographic information about the adjuncts interviewed in the study. Definition of the tiers of faculty, as described by the adjunct participants on the two campuses, is also presented. Other findings include the atmosphere of segregation at the two sites, lack of interaction and formation of

ties between the two faculties, and lack of allegiance to the institution by some adjuncts.

Demographics. The adjunct faculty interviewed in this study reflect no single Tuckman (1978) model. These faculty range from mid 20's to mid 50's, are married and single, are new to the adjunct business and have been doing it for many years. Gender does not explain their preferences or other demographic realities. They teach a lot and enjoy the exchange; this is their most common denominator. These adjuncts are bonded together by the single goal of someday securing a full-time teaching position.

Tiering. Faculty were tiered at both institutions where adjuncts were employed. From the adjuncts' perspective, tiers seemed to be based more on full-time versus adjunct status, rather than on tenure-track versus non-tenure-track employment. There was a vast difference in pay, benefits, status, and institutional support given to full-time faculty. Adjuncts did not relate any perception of differences in status between full-time tenure-track and non-tenure-track faculty.

Perpetuation. The two tiers were physically, professionally, and socially segregated from one another in the workplace. Adjuncts did not share physical space with the full-time faculty; they did not attend committee, department, or monthly faculty meetings; and they were not included in social events attended by the full-time faculty. Adjuncts, if they interacted with anyone else besides students at the institution, more often had relationships with other adjuncts.

Ties. Lack of interaction between Tier 1 (full-time) and Tier 2 (part-time) faculty inhibits the formation of weak ties between the groups that could aid adjuncts in career advancement and creates a feeling of alienation among adjuncts. Adjuncts exist in isolation from the full-time faculty at the institutions. Many times the full-time faculty and adjuncts paths do not cross and they do not even know one another's names.

Combined realities. These findings indicate a link between faculty tiering, segregation of the faculties, and lack of ability to form meaningful ties across the two faculty contexts. Adjuncts are isolated from full-time faculty in many ways. Differential office space and exclusion from meetings and committees keep the tiers apart, as well as the adjuncts' need to work at multiple sites to support themselves. There are not sufficient opportunities to interact and form weak ties that might allow the adjuncts to break into the ranks of full-time Tier 1 faculty.

The hiring institutions' minimal investment in Tier 2 adjuncts, in the form of compensation, support, and regard has resulted in a loss of allegiance and lack of motivation to excel for some individuals. It seems that the more years of experience as an adjunct, the greater the feeling that one needs to build in one's own perks. Some adjuncts take off simply for "mental health days" and skirt their responsibilities by "speed-grading" student work.

Lack of a living wage leads many of the adjuncts interviewed to accept unreasonably heavy teaching loads. Adjuncts shuttle from one institution to the next, wasting valuable time in transit on city streets. Teaching in excess of 15

hours in a semester would seem to have a negative impact on the quality of instruction provided.

Conclusions

The majority of past research has presented a paradigm of faculty tiering in which two groups are divided based on tenure-track status or lack thereof (Altbach, Berhdahl, & Gumport, 1999; Blanke & Hyle, 2000; Burns, 1994; Meisenhelder, 1986; Reichard, 1998). Schuster (1998) reported a three-tiered system that is made up of full-time tenured and tenure-track faculty, full-time off-track faculty (visiting faculty, lecturers, and the like), and part-time adjunct faculty members.

Tiers in the humanities division at the two institutions represented appear to be based on full-time versus part-time employment. There was little mention of tenure by respondents, and tenure-track positions are not even a possibility at the community college. Schuster (1998) does not believe that full-time non-tenure track faculty fit into the same category as adjuncts, and it is obvious from comments by these individuals that they, too, see a vast difference between part-time and <u>any</u> full-time employment. This tiering of faculty is demonstrated by the differential treatment of the two groups and the physical, professional, and social segregation described by the participants in this study. Tiering and segregation inhibit interaction between the groups, preventing the formation of weak ties and thus perpetuating the segregation. It is a vicious cycle.

According to Granovetter (1973,1986) individuals' social networks are primarily characterized by strong ties. However, weak ties are those needed for

transmission of information that is socially distant otherwise. Consequently, segregation of faculty tiers limits adjuncts' ability to form weak ties that may provide occupational mobility through critical links to career opportunities. Full-time faculty generally are involved in hiring committees that choose or recommend candidates for full-time employment. Individuals should ideally be judged on their own qualifications, but connections provided through prior interaction can be a tremendous asset to adjuncts applying for full-time positions.

Without interaction, there is a likelihood that the faculties will continue to be segregated. The perpetuation of segregation may be intentional or unintentional, conscious or unconscious, but the result will be the same: limited opportunities for adjuncts and continued inequities in compensation and support.

The inadequate compensation of adjuncts has adverse effects on the institution, as well. Gitlow (1995) recognizes that institutions undermine their own commitment to quality when they make only a minimal professional investment in faculty members who deliver a significant amount of critical instruction to their students. Nelson (1997) feels that the exploitation of adjuncts may irreparably harm higher education if not held in check: Seeking the cheapest labor force is not the answer to dire financial straits that some institutions currently face. Inadequate pay forces adjuncts in this study to take on additional jobs or accept unreasonable teaching loads. Adjuncts are left with little time to pursue a terminal degree that would improve their teaching and enhance their chances for full-time employment at the regional university.

Lack of institutional support has contributed to a lack of allegiance among some of these adjuncts. This may be due to different definitions of professionalism between the adjuncts and the institution. These adjuncts, who aspire to full-time positions, want so much to be a part of the institution, and indeed view themselves as integral parts of the institution, are faced with a hierarchy that does not value their contribution. In fact, the institution does not even appear to view adjuncts as part of the establishment. The lack of professional treatment by the institution leads some adjuncts to perform less professionally. Some of the adjuncts interviewed admitted to "speed grading" or "holistic grading", based on students' past performance. "Mental health days" are taken whenever a break is needed, and no semblance of office hours are offered. Students are not given proper attention to their work or the access to their teacher that they deserve. More professional treatment by the institution would surely encourage more professional behavior by the adjuncts.

For the adjuncts, time truly is money. Paid by the instructional hour or course, they can take on as many courses as they feel they can handle. If the institutions refuse to pay more, adjuncts can increase the money/time ratio in their favor by providing less to their students and contributing less to their institutions. Working less for the same money makes compensation seem greater. It also frees up more time to accept additional teaching assignments. As a result, some adjuncts who are trying to survive financially with only their teaching income feel compelled to accept outrageous course loads just to pay the bills. The ability to teach and evaluate student work professionally is severely

compromised in these situations, and the quality of undergraduate education is diminished.

A final concern brought to light by this study is the lack of oversight of adjuncts at the two institutions. There were only a handful of occasions that adjuncts were observed or evaluated. Student evaluations were routinely administered, but several adjuncts commented that the results proved more of a popularity contest than a legitimate evaluation of teaching ability. This critical function should be handled by professionals and supplemented by the student evaluations. When adjuncts are too loosely supervised, "there is too much reliance on easily achieved measures of performance, such as student evaluations, and there is more of a temptation for adjuncts, maybe unconsciously, to inflate grades and reduce student workload to achieve higher student ratings" (Jones, 2002, p. 5). There is no evidence that this is the case with the adjuncts in this study, but it is a possibility.

How useful are tiering, perpetuation theory, and network analysis in providing explanations of the phenomenon under review?

Although budgetary restraints are a very powerful factor in preventing greater compensation and benefits for adjuncts, this factor alone does not fully explain the lack of regard and recognition for adjuncts in academia. Adjuncts outnumber full-time faculty in many departments, teach the majority of the general education requirements, yet are still treated like second-class members of the instructional team. Tiering, perpetuation theory, and network analysis allow us to view this complex issue from a perspective other than financial.

Differential compensation, status, and support for full-time faculty and adjuncts create a hierarchy that resembles a caste system. This hierarchy is fairly rigid and tends to segregate the faculty into two separate tiers. According to the data collected in interviews with adjuncts at the regional institution and the community college, there seem to be two primary tiers: Adjuncts/part-time faculty and full-time faculty. The respondents did not report any distinction in their minds between full-time tenure-track and off-track faculty positions. All full-time positions are lumped together, from the adjuncts' perspective, and worlds apart from their own professional experience. The segregation, which is physical, professional, and social in nature, divides the two groups and limits meaningful interactions between them. Without extended experience in an integrated setting, members of each group tend to continue making decisions that maintain the status quo, thus perpetuating the segregation.

Network analysis allows us to understand the value of strong and weak ties in faculty relationships. Strong ties provide effective emotional support in times of need, and are based on length of a relationship, emotional intensity, reciprocal nature of the bond, and shared commitment to a common goal. Family members and close friends generally share strong ties. Weak ties are shared by more casual acquaintances. Weak ties greatly expand the social network of an individual, providing a multitude of contacts from which to gather information that will aid in professional advancement. Adjuncts are physically, professionally, and socially segregated from full-time faculty, which prevents them from forming the weak ties that are critical in their quest for full-time faculty

positions. Differential support creates segregation, segregated faculty tiers lack interaction to develop weak ties, then go on to perpetuate further segregation. Adjunct inequities continue in a never-ending cycle.

From this one can surmise that a reversal of this process, intentional integration of the separate faculty tiers, would lead to more meaningful interaction and the formation of weak ties between adjuncts and full-time faculty. With greater understanding and communication between the two groups, regard for adjuncts would rise, adjuncts would feel a greater sense of worth and commitment to their institutions, and the quality of instruction would benefit in the process. Adjuncts would have access to information previously unavailable, and stand a better chance of securing a full-time position. Looking at the issue of adjunct inequity through the lenses of faculty tiering, perpetuation theory, and network analysis, will not solve the funding problems of an institution, but it helps us to understand some aspects of faculty relations and the resulting realities for adjuncts. Greater understanding and increased integration will aid in improving working conditions for adjuncts in higher education and help them escape the limited environment established by segregation.

Implications

Higher education faculty and administration need to be aware of professional realities beyond their own personal existence. Adjuncts can take comfort in the knowledge that they are not alone in their quest for parity in the hierarchy of higher education. Viewing the problem of adjunct inequity through

the lenses of faculty tiering, perpetuation theory, and network analysis provides a fresh perspective on the factors influencing the inequity.

Implications for Theory

Faculty tiering, as it relates to adjunct inequity, has not been previously studied. It is hoped that this study will lead to the generation of theory in this area. Existing theories, such as perpetuation theory (Braddock, 1980; Braddock & McPartland, 1989; McPartland & Braddock, 1981) and network analysis (Granovetter, 1973, 1986), used as analytical lenses in this study also benefit through their application in new contexts. Perpetuation theory has proved to be a valuable tool in understanding racial segregation, and was also helpful in understanding the division of faculty in higher education.

Implications for Research

Past research on adjuncts has been primarily quantitative analysis of full-time to part-time faculty ratios, gradation or ranking of faculty, and salary and benefit inequities (Caprio, Dubowsky, Warasila, Cheatwood, & Costa, 1998; Hickman, 1998; Lords, 1999; National Education Association, 1999; Walker, 1998). This information has been used to inform policies and practices, and for negotiation between management and faculty. No research was found that specifically links faculty hierarchy, perpetuation theory, and network analysis to the issue of adjunct inequity. This study has attempted to fill that void. Investigation of the implications of this dual system and the resulting realities for

adjunct faculty in higher education will add to the knowledge base and possibly lead to further investigation in this area.

Implications for Practice

Current economic trends do not bode well for funding in higher education. Administrators will have to continue to get maximum benefit from shrinking budgets. If higher salaries and benefit packages are not possible, this study may inform administrators and full-time faculty of the advantages of increased recognition and integration of adjuncts into the professoriate. Adjuncts would feel more included in the institutional culture, a sense of allegiance toward the institution would be engendered, and increased appreciation for contributions would encourage adjuncts to strive for excellence. However, if adjuncts are not afforded the compensation they deserve, or at least the respect they are due, then they may want to consider organization and collective bargaining to make their voices heard. It is hoped that in time adjuncts will become more fully integrated into the faculty of their institutions, and that relations between the various tiers of faculty will be improved. Adjuncts need to feel a stronger connection to the institution, feel more a part of the institution's culture, and experience a greater sense of belonging. Research in this area may some day bring adjuncts the respect and compensation they deserve.

Commentary/Recommendations

In spite of the fact that adjuncts outnumber full-time faculty in the humanities division of the community college and the regional university, they are not privy to the power structure that could change their employment status. In

some areas of the country, adjuncts have banded together to bargain collectively (Church, 1999; Krasnow, 2002). Adjuncts at New York University recently voted to have the United Auto Workers Union represent them at the bargaining table (Smallwood, 2002). There have been pay increases and inclusion in group insurance plans for adjuncts on some campuses across the nation (Hickman, 1998; Jones, 2002; Murphy, 2002). There have even been attempts to change the way full-time employment is calculated, to allow adjuncts access to retirement and unemployment benefits, but to no avail (Freedman, 2002). This particular benefit would be a boon to several of the adjuncts in this study who work a total number of hours greater than full-time, at multiple state institutions.

Adjuncts continue to labor under conditions that hinder their ability to perform their duties professionally. Lack of office space and basic equipment is a common problem that makes it difficult to prepare course materials or meet with students. They are ineligible for research or travel funds, which would enhance their abilities and marketability. Their limited-term contracts breed insecurity and stress. Lack of recognition for outstanding performance and limited interactions with full-time faculty lead to an atmosphere of alienation and loss of motivation for excellence in some respondents.

The full-time faculty may be totally unaware of the adjuncts' feelings of being snubbed. Although the adjuncts may describe an attitude of "superiority" coming from the full-time faculty, it is equally possible that the root of the problem is the long-term tradition of disrespect of adjuncts that has finally been internalized. The result may be more accurately described as a feeling of

inferiority that is reversed and projected onto the full-time faculty to protect the ego of the adjuncts. If the system tells them repeatedly, and in a multitude of ways, that they are not worthy, eventually the adjuncts may come to believe that it is true.

This ongoing lack of regard leads some adjuncts to believe that the institutions have broken the reciprocal agreement of their employment. If the university offers inadequate support, the adjuncts feel no guilt in giving less than their best to their job. Again, the quality of education may suffer. Increases in compensation and regard could reduce the distinctions between full-time and adjunct faculty, give adjuncts a sense of pride and belonging, raise their level of allegiance to their institutions, and hopefully provide a higher quality of instruction to students as a result.

A solution that would best serve adjuncts seeking full-time employment, such as those interviewed for this study, is to convert the majority of the part-time positions to full-time non-tenure-track positions with benefits. Tenure track faculty would still be responsible for the upper division and graduate courses. The full-time off-track teachers would teach primarily the same courses that they taught as adjuncts. There would still remain a small number of courses taught by part-time faculty. Those would be the courses in which adjuncts have specialized knowledge or practical experience that the full-time faculty lack. There would also be sections taught by adjuncts to accommodate real fluctuations in enrollment from semester to semester.

When I first began teaching at the private liberal arts university, I taught one or two four-hour courses per semester, as needed. After 11 years, enrollment had increased sufficiently to require an additional full-time teacher, but they kept me around as an adjunct, teaching 12 hours every semester, and a few semesters of 16 hours, for another 11 years. Conversion of adjunct positions to non-tenure-track full-time positions would be costly, but much more equitable, for those with ongoing adjunct assignments.

Indiana University has implemented a system of non-tenure-track positions that focus primarily on teaching. Research is left to the tenure-track faculty. A full benefit package and a reasonable salary are provided, though the salary is less than that of the tenure-track faculty. The teaching load is greater for the off-track faculty, but provides the extra income to allow the former adjuncts to pursue a terminal degree. At Indiana University, this category of faculty is called "lecturers." They also have "clinical faculty" positions that are off-track. Clinical faculty engage in teaching and service activities, without accompanying research responsibilities. In addition, they serve as advisors and supervisors of internships or student teacher programs (Brand, 2002).

Contracts for lecturers and clinical faculty are multi-year, usually lasting three years. There is an annual performance review, and after a probationary period of no more than seven years, contracts can be issued for five year terms. These faculty have access to standard university faculty grievance procedures and enjoy protection of academic freedom. They may also participate in faculty governance at the discretion of their academic unit. The new system at Indiana

University "strikes a good balance between accommodating fiscal realities and fairly compensating non-tenure-track instructors" (Brand, 2002, p. 21). High performing instructors have been hired and the quality of education has risen, but it is still difficult to find enough office space for everyone, and support costs have exceeded predicted estimates.

If conversion to full-time positions is not a possibility, the AAUP suggests these steps for more professional treatment of adjuncts:

- Offer extended-term contracts or seniority-based appointments. "Stability of appointment opens the way for the fuller integration of part-time faculty into the academic profession" (p. 84).
- Compensation for part-time employment should be the comparable fraction of full-time faculty pay when there are similar responsibilities and qualifications. Compensation should include essential benefits such as health and life insurance and retirement programs.
- Limit reliance on adjunct faculty to no more than 15 percent of the total instruction within the institution, and no more than 25 percent of total instruction in any given department.
- Provide reasonable advance notice of course assignments.
- Provide conditions necessary to perform professionally, such as office space, supplies, support services, and equipment.
- Include adjuncts in departmental and institutional governance.

- Give fair consideration to part-time faculty when full-time positions become available. Discrimination against adjuncts as second-class scholars, or not serious about their careers should be avoided.
- Regular evaluation of part-time faculty should be conducted according to established criteria. Regular evaluation provides information for equitable decisions regarding promotion, compensation, and tenure (AAUP, 1993, pp. 85-86)

These changes would provide adjuncts with the professional status and compensation they deserve, while allowing for greater interaction between the full-time and part-time faculty. More professional treatment would likely inspire more professional behavior among adjuncts.

Some universities, such as Northern Michigan University, have found ways to improve adjunct compensation other than salary increases. Adjuncts are now eligible for electronic deposit of paychecks, library privileges equal to full-time faculty, bookstore discounts, and recreation passes at a reduced rate. Some more substantial gains include a tuition scholarship program and access to staff development courses (NMU-AAUP, 2002). This example could help other universities improve adjunct working conditions at a lesser cost than increased salaries, and demonstrate increased regard and inclusion for adjuncts.

Even simple gestures like pot luck lunches or dinners including full-time faculty and adjuncts, or annual recognition for outstanding adjuncts, would go a long way toward integrating adjuncts into the academy. More structured programs of mentoring of adjuncts by full-time faculty would allow for increased

interaction and the formation of ties, while enabling a more comprehensive evaluation of adjuncts' performance. With any increase in interaction, adjuncts would benefit from greater opportunities to form weak ties with the dominant faculty. Intentional integration of the various tiers would give adjuncts access to information previously unavailable and would benefit them in their pursuit of a full-time teaching position.

Concluding Comments from a Former Adjunct

For half of the 22 years that I was an adjunct, the brass ring that I reached for was a full-time job: the kind with an annual contract and benefits, not the anemic short-term commitments I received each semester, with no promise of continued employment. I finally got what I was after: the money (better, at any rate), the insurance (first time ever to have life insurance), retirement benefits, the office, the decent computer. I thought that the frustration of the past had vanished, that I would be given the recognition and respect I deserved.

In the fall of 2000, after serving in the position of visiting assistant professor for two semesters, I was honored for <u>one year</u> of service to the university at the annual faculty/staff awards banquet. This was the first time I had ever heard of the employee appreciation event, much less been included in it. I cannot express the disappointment and humiliation I felt crossing the stage to receive my certificate and shake the president's hand. I wanted to turn to the audience filled with all the other full-time employees and scream, "I've been teaching here since 1976, for god's sake!" But I bit my tongue, smiled, and said "thank you" to the president, then returned to my seat. I am not looking forward

to the employee appreciation banquet in 2004, when I will be eligible for a five-year pin. I just may take a "mental health day" that day.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Appendix A

Interview Protocol

Demographics:

1. What is your position at this institution?
2. How long have you been teaching/working here?
3. How old are you?
4. What is your highest degree held?

Work and Relationships:

5. Where do you see yourself in 5 years?
6. What do you hope to be doing in 5 years? What are your professional goals?
7. What is your typical day like?
8. What do you do when you are not teaching?
9. What is it like to be a faculty member here?
    a. Workload
    b. Compensation
    c. Support
    d. Governance
    e. Type of work
    f. When, where and with whom is work done
    g. What has been your peak teaching load?
10. What are the differences between full-time tenured/tenure-track faculty and adjunct/part-time faculty?

a. Type of work

b. Workload

c. Benefits

d. Responsibilities

e. Interactions

11. What interactions do you have with full-time faculty here? Adjuncts? Administration? Students? Others?

12. What would you gain from involvement in institutional governance? Curricular planning? Course development and sequencing?

13. Would you gain from spending time with tenure-line faculty?

14. What would you like to change – what would make life better here?

--What is your ideal job situation?

15. Who do you ask if you have questions? -- Who do you get your information from?

16. How do you plan to secure a full-time position?

17. What other information about being an adjunct do you think I need to know?

Appendix B

Appendix B

Cover Letter for Adjunct Faculty

Current literature reports increasing reliance on adjuncts and other part-time faculty in our nation's colleges and universities. Some of the part-time faculty members prefer working less than full-time in order to pursue other interests, work another job, or take care of family responsibilities. Others work part-time while seeking a full-time tenure-track position. Instructional adjuncts often receive low pay, have less than ideal working conditions, lack benefit packages, and have less professional status than their full-time tenured or tenure-track counterparts. This study will explore the dual system created by faculty tiering and the resulting realities of adjunct faculty life in higher education. Faculty tiering is the division of teaching staff into two groups: Tier 1 (full-time tenure-track or tenured faculty, and Tier 2 (all others, including full-time non-tenure track, adjuncts, and other part-timers).

The working title for the study is "Faculty in Higher Education: Adjunct Realities Within a Dual System." This research is designed to explore how instructional adjunct faculty perceive their life in higher education and their interactions with full-time faculty.

You have been selected for this study because you are a member of the adjunct faculty in the Humanities Department who aspires to a full-time, tenure-track position. My goal is to learn from your experiences. Your participation is strictly voluntary and you may choose not to answer any or all questions. You may change your mind at any time and withdraw from the study if you desire. However, I will make every effort to assure the confidentiality of your responses. Your responses will not be attributable to you. To ensure confidentiality, I will not disclose the name of any institution in the final report and I will not use your real name in order to protect your anonymity. I will personally transcribe your interview. The audio tapes and transcripts generated by the investigation will be coded to further protect your identity, kept in a locked file cabinet, and destroyed at the conclusion of the study.

I appreciate your willingness to be part of this study. If you have any questions or concerns about this research project, do not hesitate to contact me at the following address.

Donna Hodkinson, Visiting Assistant Professor
Modern Language Department
Oklahoma City University
2501 N. Blackwelder
Oklahoma City, OK 73106
(405) 521-5170
dhodkinson@okcu.edu

Consent Form for Participants

Consent Form

I have read the information outlining the research project on instructional adjunct realities and the dual system of faculty tiering that is being conducted by Donna Hodkinson. I understand the research purpose, process, safeguards, and that information about my interview will be kept confidential and presented anonymously. I agree to participate.

Name:

_____

Signature: Date:

_____

I appreciate your willingness to be part of the study. If you have any questions or concerns about this research project, do not hesitate to contact Donna Hodkinson at the following address.

Donna Hodkinson
Visiting Assistant Professor
Modern Language Department
Oklahoma City University
2501 N. Blackwelder
Oklahoma City, OK 73106
(405) 521-5170
dhodkinson@okcu.edu

For more information you can also contact the IRB office at Oklahoma State University:

Sharon Bacher
IRB Executive Secretary
Oklahoma State University
203 Whitehurst
Stillwater, OK 74078
(405) 744-5700

Appendix C

Oklahoma State University
Institutional Review Board

Protocol Expires: 11/6/2003

Date: Thursday, November 07, 2002 IRB Application No ED0341

Proposal Title: FACULTY IN HIGHER EDUCATON: ADJUNCT REALITIES WITHIN A DUAL SYSTEM

Principal Investigator(s):

Donna Hodkinson
2705 N. Redmond
Oklahoma City, OK 73127

Adrienne Hyle
314 Willard Hall
Stillwater, OK 74078

Reviewed and Processed as: Exempt

Approval Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved

Dear PI :

Your IRB application referenced above has been approved for one calendar year. Please make note of the expiration date indicated above. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that the research will be conducted in a manner consistent with the IRB requirements as outlined in section 45 CFR 46.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

1. Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocol must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval.
2. Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period of one calendar year. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continue.
3. Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are unanticipated and impact the subjects during the course of this research; and
4. Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

Please note that approved projects are subject to monitoring by the IRB. If you have questions about the IRB procedures or need any assistance from the Board, please contact Sharon Bacher, the Executive Secretary to the IRB, in 415 Whitehurst (phone: 405-744-5700, sbacher@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,

Carol Olson, Chair
Institutional Review Board

#7

VITA

Donna Hodkinson

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Education

Thesis: FACULTY IN HIGHER EDUCATION: ADJUNCT REALITIES WITHIN A DUAL SYSTEM

Major Field: Higher Education

Biographical:

Education: Graduated from Putnam City West High School, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma in May, 1971; received Bachelor or Arts degree in Spanish from Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma in May, 1975; received Master of Education degree in teaching Spanish from the University of Central Oklahoma, Edmond, Oklahoma in May, 1999. Completed requirements for the Doctor of Education degree with a major in Higher Education at Oklahoma State University in May, 2003.

Experience: Employed as an adjunct faculty member teaching Spanish at Oklahoma City University from August, 1976-May, 1999. Employed as a visiting assistant professor of Spanish at Oklahoma City University from August, 1999 to present.

Professional Memberships: Oklahoma Foreign Language Teachers Association (OFLTA); American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL); Alpha Mu Gamma (National Modern Language Honor Society), Oklahoma City University Chapter; Sigma Delta Pi (National Spanish Language Honor Society), University of Central Oklahoma Chapter; Phi Kappa Phi (National Honor Society for Excellence in Scholarship), Oklahoma State University Chapter