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# Reorganizing Higher Education in the United States and Canada

## The Erosion of Tenure and the Unionization of Contingent Faculty

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Every year in Canada and the U.S., the share of higher education faculty who teach off the tenure track grows. One might expect that faculty unionization would limit this process, but the data examined here indicate that this is not so. While Canadian universities are significantly more unionized than their U.S. counterparts, they rely at least as heavily on contingent faculty. Similarly, U.S. states with high levels of unionization do not exhibit lower levels of casualization. Union strategies that institutionalize divisions between tenure-track and non-tenure-track, and/or between part-time and full-time faculty, probably play a role in this outcome. They can and should also play a pivotal role in reversing these trends if they develop the political will to do so.

**Keywords:** *unions; union density; tenure; job security; part-time; contingent labor*

The higher education systems of Canada and the U.S. have been transformed over the past several decades. Declining public funding and the embrace of market-based management strategies by administrators have led to what many call the “corporatization” of higher education. Two major groups have been the losers in this transformation. First, students and their families have seen class sizes increase and the cost of attendance skyrocket at many times the rate of inflation, making substantial

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student debt the norm for graduates. Second, workers at these institutions have faced job cuts, stagnant wages, and cutbacks in benefits.

This article focuses on one aspect of this second trend—the “casualization” of higher education faculty and the responding organization of contingent faculty into unions. While tenure-track positions were the norm for the generation of professors now approaching retirement, the share of higher education teaching done by people who are not tenured or on the tenure track has increased rapidly over the last quarter century. Today, if we count graduate student instructors (GSIs) as faculty, only about 28 percent of all U.S. faculty are tenured or on the tenure track (and as shown in Table 1, excluding GSIs increases the tenure-track percentage only to 35 percent).<sup>1</sup>

In Canada and the U.S., the majority of college and university teachers are now non-tenure-track faculty. Every year, the number of non-tenure-track faculty grows, as does their share of all higher education faculty. For these workers, the restructuring of higher education has meant employment characterized by the problems that typically accompany contingent or casual labor: little or no job security, low and irregular wages, few if any benefits, limited employer investment in professional development, and piecing together several jobs to make ends meet.

Beyond these negative impacts on workers and their families, the growing reliance on contingent faculty threatens the principles of academic freedom and faculty governance established by earlier waves of faculty organizing in the United States and Canada. Contingent faculty typically lack voting rights in faculty governance processes and are more vulnerable to pressures from administrators and students regarding course content and academic standards. While some attention has been focused on the erosion of tenure, undermining the principles of shared governance and academic freedom may not require a frontal assault on the tenure system like that attempted by the University of Minnesota administration a decade ago. The shift to a more contingent academic workforce has accomplished this power shift more effectively, on a much larger scale, with much less conflict. This consolidation of power by administrators, at the expense of faculty, amounts to a fundamental restructuring of higher education.<sup>2</sup>

The widespread practice of tenure in higher education is a relatively recent phenomenon. It became the norm in U.S. universities in the 1940s and in Canada about a decade later. In neither country did this form of job security emerge “naturally.” In the United States, faculty in elite institutions organized to demand tenure from a public interest perspective: tenure is required to protect academic freedom, and academic freedom is essential to the pursuit of knowledge and rational, well-documented public debate. In the U.S., this organizing took place mainly under the auspices of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP); in Canada, faculty associations and unions pushed for the same outcome, though from the outset they relied more on union organizing and collective bargaining for “just cause” provisions in employment contracts. In both countries, widespread job security for faculty—in the form of tenure-track jobs for the large majority—was the product of faculty organizing, paralleling the

improved wages and conditions that were the result of industrial worker organizing in the 1930s and 1940s.

The casualization of higher education faculty has slowly but surely eroded this accomplishment, narrowing the scope of the rights and freedoms embodied in the tenure system to a minority—a shrinking aristocracy of academic labor. Again, this development parallels what has been happening in the wider economy, where the share of poorly paid contingent workers has grown, while a minority of workers represented by strong unions continues to enjoy middle-class compensation. Even in unionized workplaces, two or three tiers of wage scales are now common, with the newly added tiers much less protected.

Given these dramatic changes in academic workplaces, it is no surprise that the past ten to fifteen years have seen a wave of union organizing by non-tenure-track faculty and graduate employees—the largest upsurge of organizing in higher education since the mid-1970s, and the first comprised primarily of contingent faculty. In Canada, organizing efforts among contingent faculty began earlier and have gone much further. Today, there are few Canadian higher education faculty—tenure-track or non-tenure-track—who do not belong to a union.<sup>3</sup> In fact, higher education may be the most organized sector of the Canadian economy.

What does this new wave of faculty organizing portend for the future of higher education in our countries? Will it slow, halt, or perhaps even reverse the growing reliance on contingent faculty and erosion of the tenure system? Will it prove capable of creating, through collective bargaining, job security—and with it, academic freedom—for the majority who are unlikely to ever enjoy the privilege of a tenure-track job? What will union organization by contingent faculty mean for the other group most harmed by the corporatization of higher education—students and their families? Will it add further fuel to the fire of rising tuition costs and further reduce access to higher education for the working and middle classes? Will administrators seeking to accommodate the increased costs of less contingent faculty increase class sizes and cut jobs, thereby eroding the quality of education? How can faculty unions advance their members' interests—and the public interest in academic freedom—while at the same time using their economic and political power to prevent these possible negative side effects? This is the stuff of many essays, and more importantly, of many discussions at all levels of our unions.

In this article, we confine ourselves to the first question posed above: whether the organization of contingent faculty will slow or halt the casualization of higher education faculty. To answer this question, we first chart the growth of contingent faculty in the United States and Canada, and then examine the organization of contingent faculty into unions and faculty associations.<sup>4</sup> We find, to our surprise and disappointment, that the much higher level of faculty unionization found in Canada is not associated with lower levels of reliance on non-tenure-track faculty, and ask why this might be so. We consider several possible answers to this question, offer a provisional explanation, and point to some hopeful signs that unions might yet help reverse the casualization of the academic workforce.

**Table 1**  
**U.S. Faculty in Higher Education by Type, 1993 and 2003**

Type of Faculty	1993 Number & Share	2003 Number & Share	Percent Change (1993–2003)
Full-time tenure-track	392,210 (35.7%)	411,031 (28.0%)	+4.8
Full-time non-tenure-track	146,274 (13.3%)	219,388 (15.0%)	+50.0
Part-time and adjunct	358,313 (32.6%)	543,137 (37.0%)	+51.6
Graduate student instructor (GSI)	202,819 (18.4%)	292,804 (20.0%)	+44.4
Total	1,099,616	1,466,360	+33.3

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics, as reported in Robinson (2006, 58); except for the GSI data, from U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS).

## The Reorganization from Above: Casualizing Academic Labor

University administrators, responding to funding pressures and the demands of tenure-track faculty, have replaced more and more tenure-track lines with contingent faculty over the past several decades. How fast has this contingent workforce grown in recent years in Canada and the U.S.? Is there increasing reliance on a particular type of contingent faculty? Is there much variation across different types of institutions, or across provinces and states? We look first at the U.S. and then turn to the Canadian case, offering comparisons where the relevant data are available.

### Casualization in the United States

Table 1 shows the decline of tenure-track faculty in U.S. higher education, from 36 percent in 1993 to just 28 percent a decade later. This decline occurred despite a 4.8 percent increase in the absolute number of tenure-track faculty, because the number of contingent faculty grew much faster.

*Variation by type of institution.* How much variation is there by the type of higher education institution (four-year versus two-year, and public versus private)? As Table 2 shows, two-year colleges rely heavily on non-tenure-track faculty and employ almost twice as many part-time as full-time faculty—almost 80 percent of non-GSI faculty in the two-years are now non-tenure-track, as compared to 60 percent in private four-year institutions and just under 50 percent in public four-year universities. This is relatively unsurprising, as the two-year colleges have always been the least politically influential and worst-funded segment of the U.S. higher education system, and thus presumably face greater cost-cutting pressures.

**Table 2**  
**U.S. States with the Highest and Lowest Reliance on Non-tenure-track (NTT) Faculty, by Type of Higher Education Institution, 2003**

State	2-Year Public (% NTT Faculty)	4-Year Private (% NTT Faculty)	4-Year Public (% NTT Faculty)
Ten highest	<b>MS</b> (100)	AK (100)	WI (67.6)
	NH (100)	NV (100)	OR (64.2)
	<b>DE</b> (100)	<b>ND</b> (100)	AK (60.6)
	<b>SD</b> (100)	<b>HI</b> (86.4)	MD (60.0)
	<b>NC</b> (100)	<b>DE</b> (85.1)	<b>CO</b> (59.8)
	VT (100)	FL (76.7)	NV (57.2)
	VA (98.6)	<b>AZ</b> (75.1)	VA (56.2)
	<b>AZ</b> (98.3)	MO (73.8)	MO (55.2)
	<b>SC</b> (97.7)	MI (72.0)	FL (54.9)
	<b>IA</b> (96.8)	<b>CA</b> (70.9)	VT (54.7)
Ten lowest	<b>CA</b> (66.6)	<b>SD</b> (49.8)	<b>MS</b> (39.7)
	NY (66.2)	LA (49.2)	ID (38.7)
	TN (64.5)	<b>SC</b> (48.5)	KS (37.5)
	AL (63.9)	NJ (47.0)	<b>SC</b> (36.7)
	WV (63.8)	AL (46.8)	MN (34.3)
	LA (62.4)	ME (46.8)	<b>AZ</b> (32.5)
	<b>ND</b> (56.8)	<b>IA</b> (45.6)	<b>IA</b> (29.4)
	<b>HI</b> (46.3)	<b>CO</b> (45.0)	<b>DE</b> (22.3)
	MN (45.9)	UT (44.6)	<b>NC</b> (17.0)
	RI (11.7)	ID (39.5)	RI (15.3)
Weighted nat'l mean	79.5	60.1	48.5
Standard deviation	17.5	16.6	10.7

Note: Bold type indicates states that are in the top ten in one type of institution and the bottom ten in another. Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS).

While the situation in four-year universities thus appears quite different at first glance, if we include graduate student instructors (GSIs), as in the final column of Table 3, by 2004, tenured and tenure-track faculty made up only 34 percent of the teaching staff in four-year public institutions—only slightly higher than the overall average. Private four-year schools also rely heavily on contingent labor (see Table 4). Studies of Yale and the University of Pennsylvania data have shown contingent faculty responsible for 60 to 70 percent of the undergraduate instruction, emphasizing that casualization is well advanced even within Ivy League schools (Kehoe 2006; GESO n.d.).

*A note on full-timers, part-timers, and the difficulties of measuring teaching work.* There are criticisms of “counting heads” as a method of determining teaching share in institutions, since part-timers often teach fewer courses than full-time faculty.

**Table 3**  
**U.S. Faculty in Four-Year Public Universities, 2004**

Type of Faculty	Number of Faculty	Share of Faculty (excl. GSIs; %)	Share of Faculty (incl. GSIs; %)
Full-time			
Tenured	157,983	37.6	24.2
TT	64,484	15.3	9.9
NTT	81,789	19.5	12.5
Total full-time	304,256	72.4	46.6
Part-time			
Tenured & TT	4,184	—	0.6
NTT	111,798	—	17.1
GSI	231,809	—	35.6
Total part-time	347,791	27.6	53.3
Grand Totals			
Without GSIs	420,238		
With GSIs	652,047	—	—

Note: GSI = graduate student instructor; TT = tenure-track; NTT = non-tenure-track.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS).

Table 5 presents data based on *student credit hours* from the University of Michigan's three campuses.<sup>5</sup> We see quickly that Ann Arbor is very different from Dearborn and Flint, a useful warning that large public universities should be disaggregated when they have more than one campus. Still, although GSIs are significant only in Ann Arbor, the overall contributions of contingent faculty on each campus are relatively similar—between 40 and 50 percent.

Neither the headcount nor the student credit hours (SCH) method of measuring teaching work are perfect, but our examination of the University of Michigan shows that they are relatively consistent with each other. While counting heads may overstate the share of part-timers, counting SCHs understates the contributions of those who do much of the teaching “grunt work,” like grading. Luckily for us as researchers, the percentage of contingent faculty on a campus seems to provide a reasonable, if conservative, estimate of their teaching contributions, since we are forced to rely on headcount data to do any sort of aggregate comparisons.

*Geographic variation.* How much does the use of non-tenure-track faculty vary from state to state? Table 2 shows the ten states with the highest and lowest reliance on non-tenure-track faculty. While two-year public institutions have the highest average reliance on non-tenure-track faculty, they also exhibit the greatest variation, ranging from a low of 46 percent (if we set aside the anomalous Rhode Island) to 100 percent in six states where tenure does not exist for community college faculty.

**Table 4**  
**Use of Full-Time (FT) and Part-Time (PT) Faculty and Collective Bargaining Agreement (CBA) Coverage, by Institutional Type, United States, 2004**

Type of Higher Ed. Institution	FT Faculty	PT Faculty (+ GSIs)	Total Faculty (+ GSIs)	Ratio of FT:PT (+ GSIs)	Faculty Under CBA (+ GSIs)	% Under CBA (+ GSIs)
4-year public	344,194	129,507 (+ 245,372 = 374,879)	473,701 (719,073)	2.58 (0.92)	98,273 (+ 55,945 = 154,218)	20.7 (21.4)
4-year private nonprofit	194,509	115,490 (+ 55,516 = 171,006)	309,999 (365,515)	1.68 (1.14)	15,645 (+ 1,100 <sup>a</sup> = 16,745)	5.0 (4.6)
2-year public	118,821	222,486 (+ 408 = 222,894)	341,307 (341,715)	0.53 (0.53)	194,491 (+ 0)	57.0 (56.9)

Note: GSI = graduate student instructor. Numbers that include GSIs are in parentheses.

a. GSIs have won a contract at only one four-year private university—New York University. The Administration at NYU refused to bargain a new agreement with this union as soon as a shift in the National Labor Relations Board's composition resulted in a reversal of an earlier ruling in which it was decided that NYU had a duty to bargain. The union's effort to secure a second contract has not yet been successful, and the old collective agreement no longer applies. However, in 2004, this unit was still covered by a collective agreement, so it is included here.

Source: Data on faculty covered by collective agreements are from Moriarty and Savarese (2006). Data on total faculty employment are from U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS).

**Table 5**  
**University of Michigan Teaching Contributions, 2002–2003**

Campus	Dimensions	TT	NTT	GSI	Total
Ann Arbor <sup>a</sup>	# of faculty	3,271	990	1,967	6,228
	% of faculty	52.5	15.9	31.6	100.0
	# of courses	13,357	3,279	5,093	21,729
	% of courses	61.5	15.1	23.4	100.0
	Courses/faculty	4.1	3.3	2.59	—
	# SCHs	538,108	199,279	154,863	892,250
	% SCHs	60.3	22.3	17.4	100.0
	SCH/faculty	164.5	201.3	78.7	—
Dearborn	# of faculty	233	253	3	486
	% of faculty	47.6	51.7	0.6	100.0
	# of courses	1,611	1,337	6	2,954
	% of courses	54.5	45.4	0.2	100.1
	Courses/faculty	6.9	5.3	2	—
	# SCHs	84,300	81,252	—	165,552
	% SCHs	50.9	49.1	—	100.0
	SCHs/faculty	361.8	321.2	—	—
Flint	# of faculty	172	252	1	424
	% of faculty	40.5	59.3	0.2	100.0
	# of courses	1,147	1,115	2	2,264
	% of courses	54.5	45.3	0.2	100.0
	Courses/faculty	6.7	4.4	2	—
	# SCHs	63,852	59,730	41	123,623
	% SCHs	51.7	48.3	0.03	100.0
	SCHs/faculty	371.2	237.0	41.0	—

Note: TT = tenure-track (both tenured faculty and those who will be evaluated for tenure); NTT = non-tenure-track (those who are not evaluated for tenure, labeled both Lecturers and Instructors at UM, both full-time and part-time); GSI = graduate student instructors (graduate students who teach sections of lectures or their own courses); SCH = student credit hours.

a. Ann Arbor includes all schools except Medicine and Dentistry, which did not report on student credit hours per faculty member.

Source: University of Michigan (unpublished data) and Graduate Employees' Organization (unpublished data).

The range for the other two types of institution is just as great, but the degree of dispersion around the mean is less than for the two-year institutions. This suggests that the factors that determine reliance on non-tenure-track faculty vary substantially by state for all three major types of higher education institution, but especially among the two-year institutions.

Surprisingly, we do not find a statistically significant correlation between levels of non-tenure-track faculty reliance across the three types of higher education institution in each state.<sup>6</sup> We show this discontinuity in Table 2 by highlighting in bold type the eleven states that are in the top ten in one type of institution and the bottom ten in

another. Delaware, for example, has very high levels of non-tenure-track faculty in its two-year public and four-year private schools, but low levels in its four-year public universities. Eleven states exhibit this kind of inconsistency, while only ten states show consistently high or low reliance in at least two types of institution. High levels of variation within states suggest that the factors shaping non-tenure-track reliance are complex, varying across institutional types even within the same state, as well as from one state to the next.

## Casualization in Canada

The Canadian higher education system is simpler than that of the U.S. because the private sector is much smaller. Until recently, all Canadian universities of any size received substantial funding from the government of the province in which they are located. Provincial governments, as well as some students, receive federal money to support higher education. While there is considerable variation among provinces, the Canadian system is essentially two-tiered. Approximately two hundred colleges offer two- and three-year technical programs as well as two-year preuniversity and university transfer programs. These institutions are often referred to as community colleges. The second tier is comprised of fifty-six public universities offering three- and four-year degrees. Some of these also have graduate programs.<sup>7</sup>

Unfortunately, we do not have Canadian community college faculty data, so our discussion of Canada must focus exclusively on the university sector. There are three other important holes in our Canadian data. First, we do not have aggregate data on graduate student instructors' contribution to teaching in Canadian universities. Second, the province of Quebec does not report data in a form that is comparable with the other provinces, so our discussion of the Canadian situation is based on data from the other nine provinces.<sup>8</sup> A third problem arises from unreliable part-time non-tenure-track faculty reports. The last year for which such data are available from Statistics Canada is 1997 to 1998.<sup>9</sup> Staff from the Canadian Union of Public Employees and the Canadian Association of University Teachers, the two unions that represent most Canadian university faculty, report that after rising rapidly in the nineties, the number of part-time non-tenure-track faculty in Canadian universities seems to have leveled off and has remained relatively stable since about 2000, while the share of full-time non-tenure-track faculty continues to grow. Based on these reports, we decided to err on the conservative side and repeat the 1998 Statistics Canada estimate in Table 6 as the number of part-time non-tenure-track faculty in 2004.<sup>10</sup>

Table 6 compares data from U.S. four-year public universities with Canada's public universities, enabling us to compare tenure-track and non-tenure-track faculty (though not GSIs) for the institutions that are most like one another in the two countries. Two striking things emerge: by 2003 to 2004, the share of tenure-track faculty in Canadian universities was marginally higher than that found in U.S.

**Table 6**  
**Faculty in Canada (without Quebec) and the U.S. (without GSIs), 2003–2004**

Faculty Type	Canada Universities (Number & Share) <sup>a</sup>	U.S. 4-Year Publics (Number & Share)
FT TT	21,425 (55.2%)	222,467 (53.4%)
FT NTT	3,369 (8.7%)	81,789 (19.7%)
PT NTT <sup>b</sup>	14,028 (36.1%)	111,798 (26.9%)
Total	38,822	416,054

Note: FT = full-time; TT = tenure-track; NTT = non-tenure-track; PT = part-time. The definition of part-time employed by Statistics Canada includes three categories: (1) “staff appointed on a full-time basis whose term of appointment is less than 12 months,” (2) “staff appointed on a part-time basis (fractional load),” and (3) “full-time staff who have an overload appointment.” Most of the faculty in category 3 are tenure-track, and those in category 1 would be classified as “FT NTT” in the U.S. Thus, to make the data from the two countries as comparable as possible, we count only category 2 (80 percent of the original category) as PT NTT faculty.

a. The Canadian data reported for FT TT and FT NTT are for Canada’s fifty-six public colleges and universities outside of Quebec. As of 2003 to 2004, there were fourteen other small degree-granting religious colleges and seminaries in Canada outside of Quebec, but the public institutions account for 98 percent of all FT TT faculty, and 81.5 percent of all FT NTT faculty outside of Quebec. Data on PT NTT faculty are not available at the institutional level.

b. Neither the U.S. nor the Canadian data for PT NTT faculty include graduate student instructors.

Source: For U.S. aggregate data, see U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics, as reported in Robinson (2006); for U.S. data on four-year public institutions, see U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS). For Canadian data on full-time faculty, see Canadian Association of University Teachers (2006). For Canadian data on PT NTT faculty, see Omiecinski (2003).

four-year public universities, and part-time non-tenure-track faculty represent a considerably larger share of total faculty in Canadian universities (over 36 percent in Canada versus 27 percent in the U.S.). As in the United States, this pattern is the result of the rapid growth of non-tenure-track faculty. In contrast to the U.S., however, the absolute number of each type of faculty did not grow. Rather, between 1990 and 1997, the number of part-time faculty employed in Canadian universities rose by 10 percent, while the number of full-time faculty fell by 8 percent (Omiecinski 2003).<sup>11</sup>

Surprised by this pattern, we looked at institutional-level data to see whether our aggregate numbers were missing anything. Table 7 compares Carleton University and the University of Western Ontario with the University of Michigan.<sup>12</sup> The Carleton and University of Western Ontario data indicate that in 2004 to 2005, non-tenure-track faculty were responsible for a greater share of classes and student credit hours than on any of the three University of Michigan campuses. Thus, insofar as these institutions are representative of each country, it appears that the casualization of academic labor has gone further in Canada than in the United States.

**Table 7**  
**Teaching Share by NTT Faculty (Excluding Graduate Student Instructors)**

University	Share of Courses Taught by NTT Faculty (%)	Share of Student Credit Hours by NTT Faculty (%)
UM–Ann Arbor <sup>a</sup> (2002–2003)	19.7	27.0
UM–Dearborn (2002–2003)	45.5	49.1
UM–Flint (2002–2003)	45.5	48.3
Carleton University, Ottawa (2004–2005)	50.4	52.2
University of Western Ontario (2001–2002)	48.6	—

Note: NTT = non-tenure-track.

a. These percentages remove graduate student instructors from the calculation, which only affects Ann Arbor.

Source: For University of Michigan data, see U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics (2004); for Carleton University data, see [oirp.carleton.ca/pi-2005/tables/tentaught\\_hpt.htm](http://oirp.carleton.ca/pi-2005/tables/tentaught_hpt.htm). For University of Western Ontario data, see Smallman (n.d.).

**Table 8**  
**Degree of Reliance on NTT Faculty by Canadian Province, 2003**

Province	FT TT Number	FT NTT Number	PT NTT <sup>a</sup> Number	NTT/Total (%)
British Columbia	3,060	237	1,742	39.3
Alberta	2,751	378	1,470	40.2
New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, & Newfoundland	1,623	135	1,158	44.3
Nova Scotia	1,680	285	1,127	45.7
Manitoba	1,119	267	714	46.7
Ontario	10,115	1,851	6,974	46.6
Saskatchewan	1,077	216	843	49.6
Total	21,425	3,369	14,028	44.8

Note: FT = full time; TT = tenure-track; NTT = non-tenure-track; PT = part time.

a. The Canadian data reported for FT TT and FT NTT faculty are for Canada's fifty-six public colleges and universities outside of Quebec. As of 2003 to 2004, there were fourteen other small degree-granting religious colleges and seminaries in Canada outside of Quebec, but the public institutions account for 98 percent of all FT TT faculty, and 81.5 percent of all FT NTT faculty outside of Quebec. Data on PT NTT faculty are not available at the institutional level. The data for PT NTT faculty do not include GSIs.

Source: For Canadian data on full-time faculty, see Canadian Association of University Teachers (2006). For Canadian data on PT NTT faculty, see Omiecinski (2003).

*Geographic variation.* As shown in Table 8, interprovincial variation in non-tenure-track reliance in Canada's ten provinces ranges from a low of 39 percent in British Columbia to a high of 50 percent in Saskatchewan—a much narrower range than is found across the U.S. states.

Summing up, despite the limitations of the Canadian data, a reasonably clear picture emerges of the growth of non-tenure-track faculty in each country's public four-year university system. In both countries, reliance on non-tenure-track faculty has increased dramatically over the last twenty years. However, in Canada, the process has been much more uniform across provinces than it has been across U.S. states. This cross-national similarity is surprising because, if we look at the two economies overall, the share of contingent labor in the U.S. economy is significantly higher. Why is the higher education sector an exception to this pattern? Does this anomaly exist in spite of the much higher levels of faculty organization in Canada, or is it possible that higher union density has actually contributed to casualization? We return to this question in the final section of the article, *Toward a Better Understanding of Unions and Casualization*.

## **The Reorganization from Below: Contingent Faculty Unite!**

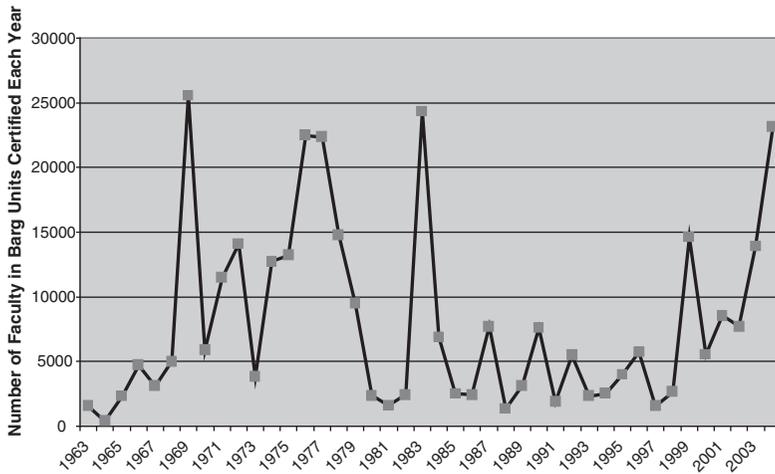
As this transformation of higher education has unfolded, faculty unions and associations have (slowly) become more aware of—and concerned about—its implications. All the major unions in the sector now indicate that halting casualization and the erosion of tenure is a top priority. This has resulted from both increasing concern among tenure-track faculty and increased organizing activity among contingent faculty in forming local unions and advocating for their interests within their local and national unions.

### **Organizing in the United States**

In the United States, faculty in higher education began to organize themselves into unions and engage in collective bargaining in the mid-1960s. Figure 1 shows that this wave of organizing continued through the early 1980s before subsiding, and that the number of teachers organized in 2004 reached the peaks of this earlier wave. Of course, nothing guarantees that the next decade will see a sustained wave of organizing, but the trends appear positive.

Also interesting is the changing composition of these new bargaining units. Up through the early 1990s, more than half of all new bargaining units were comprised solely of full-time faculty, but a growing share of new bargaining units certified have been part-time/adjunct, a mixture of full-time and part-time, or GSI units. Table 9 provides a closer look at this new organizing wave by focusing on efforts in Michigan. Of the 4,144 teachers in the six bargaining units that have been certified since January 1, 2000, more than 90 percent were either non-tenure-track faculty or GSIs. Only the Michigan Tech AAUP chapter represents tenure-track faculty (and their original goal was to include all non-tenure-track faculty on campus in the same bargaining unit).

**Figure 1**  
**Number of New Faculty (All Types) Certified Each Year,**  
**United States, 1963–2004**



Source: Moriarty and Savarese (2006).

**Table 9**  
**Organizing in Michigan's Higher Education Sector, 2000–2006**

Name of Institution	Type of Institution	Organizing Union	Year Union Certified	Faculty in BU	Number of Teachers in BU
Lake Michigan CC	2-yr public	NEA	2000	NTT (FT)	65
Michigan State University	4-yr public	AFT	2001	GSI	1,175
Macomb County CC	2-yr public	NEA	2003	NTT (FT and PT)	500
University of Michigan	4-yr public	AFT	2003	NTT (FT and PT)	1,400
Michigan Tech University	4-yr public	AAUP	2004	TT	304
Western Michigan University	4-yr public	AFT	2006	GSI	700

Note: BU = bargaining unit; CC = community college; NTT = non-tenure-track; FT = full time; GSI = graduate student instructor; PT = part time; TT = tenure-track. It was necessary to make two corrections to this data set based on our own knowledge and examination of contracts: Macomb County CC was listed in the data set as comprised of PT and adjunct faculty, but it also includes FT NTT faculty. The same mistake was made with the University of Michigan. We also had to add whether the faculty in the units are TT, NTT, or both, because this information is not given in the data set.

Source: Moriarty and Savarese (2006), except for data on Western Michigan University, which was organized after the Moriarty and Savarese data set had gone to press.

**Table 10**  
**U.S. Higher Education Faculty Covered by Collective Bargaining Agreements (CBAs), 2003**

State	All Higher Ed. Faculty Covered by CBAs	All Faculty in Higher Ed. Institutions	Share of Faculty with CBA Coverage
United States	316,567 (+ 57,045 GSIs)	1,217,548 (+ 293,571 GSIs)	26% (25% incl. GSIs)
1. New Jersey	18,098 (+ 1,900)	25,552 (+ 3,589)	71 (69)
2. New York	72,705 (+ 6,063)	100,075 (+ 16,302)	73 (68)
3. California	81,394 (+ 19,000)	135,407 (+ 28,213)	60 (61)
4. Washington	12,979 (+ 4,300)	23,903 (+ 5,524)	54 (59)
5. Alaska	1,794	2,532 (+ 562)	71 (58)
6. Oregon	7,900 (+ 2,775)	17,316 (+ 2,986)	46 (53)
7. Connecticut	9,862	16,006 (+ 2,762)	62 (53)
8. Hawaii	3,200	5,854 (+ 1,204)	55 (45)
9. Rhode Island	2,186 (+ 587)	5,097 (+ 1,052)	43 (45)
10. Maine	2,283	4,150 (+ 705)	55 (47)
11. Michigan	13,890 (+ 3,425)	37,859 (+ 10,643)	37 (36)
12. Minnesota	8,453	20,008 (+ 5,990)	42 (33)
13. Illinois	17,258 (+ 3,750)	52,980 (+ 14,810)	33 (31)
14. Massachusetts	12,273 (+ 3,320)	36,130 (+ 14,265)	34 (31)
15. Vermont	1,275	3,779 (+ 507)	34 (30)
16. Iowa	2,587 (+ 2,600)	12,149 (+ 5,782)	21 (29)
17. S. Dakota	1,105	3,153 (+ 963)	35 (27)
18. Florida	11,026 (+ 4,200)	58,749 (+ 11,569)	19 (22)
19. Wisconsin	7,114 (+ 3,650)	41,196 (+ 7,096)	17 (22)
20. Montana	825	3,338 (+ 1,072)	25 (19)
21. Pennsylvania	12,169 (+ 600)	56,138 (+ 13,736)	22 (18)
22. Delaware	1,200	3,049 (+ 3,452)	39 (18)
23. Kansas	1,702 (+ 875)	11,802 (+ 4,145)	14 (16)
24. Nebraska	1,853	9,390 (+ 2,208)	20 (16)
25. New Hampshire	1,049	5,918 (+ 1,223)	18 (15)
26. Ohio	7,627	44,550 (+ 15,089)	17 (13)
27. New Mexico	1,100	8,689 (+ 2,358)	13 (10)
28. Nevada	250	5,879 (+ 1,879)	4 (3)
29. Missouri	565	29,540 (+ 6,174)	2 (2)
30. Maryland	511	27,406 (+ 7,964)	2 (1)
31. Colorado	114	21,270 (+ 4,897)	1 (0)
32–50. The 19 other states	0	379,511 (+ 94,850)	0

Note: GSI = graduate student instructors. The parenthetical figures in the first two columns add GSIs to the other types of faculty; the parenthetical figure in the final column is the share of all faculty (including GSIs) covered by CBAs.

Source: Data on faculty covered by collective agreements are from Moriarty and Savarese (2006). Data on total faculty employment are from U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS).

While we think Michigan is reasonably representative of the states where organizing is occurring, Table 10 makes it clear just how regionally concentrated higher education unions are. Nationally, one-quarter of faculty are covered by collective agreements, but that body is dominated by eight states where more than half of all faculty are covered, while in another nineteen states, not a single faculty member is working under a collective bargaining agreement. Indeed, two very large states with high levels of density—New York and California—account for 48.7 percent of all U.S. faculty covered by collective agreements!

New organizing has been concentrated in these same states. Between 2000 and 2006, sixty-nine new faculty units were organized in eighteen states. However, four states—California (twelve), New York (seven), Illinois (thirteen), and Florida (twelve)<sup>13</sup>—account for almost two-thirds of all new units. There were no successful certifications in states where unions did not already exist. Table 4 explores another kind of concentration by distinguishing between four-year and two-year institutions and between private and public universities.<sup>14</sup> In 2003, as in earlier years, there were large differences on both dimensions—faculty unions are concentrated overwhelmingly in public institutions,<sup>15</sup> and two-year colleges are almost three times more organized than those granting four-year degrees.

Summing up, U.S. faculty unions (like unions in other sectors of the economy) are concentrated in regional and sectoral enclaves. Almost two-thirds of organized higher education faculty are found in two-year public universities, and almost all the rest are found in four-year public universities; the private sector is almost completely union-free. In addition, almost half of organized U.S. faculty members teach in just two states, New York and California, while there are no recognized faculty unions at all in nineteen states.

## Organizing in Canada

Canada has no equivalent to the National Center for the Study of Collective Bargaining's database on collective agreements in higher education, so we cannot easily track the growth of faculty unionization from year to year, but the basic trajectory is well understood. Faculty organizing began in earnest in the early 1970s and proceeded most quickly in Quebec. By the mid-1970s, that province had 60 percent union density; it took the rest of Canada another decade to reach the 50 percent mark. However, by 2004, the national average had reached about 79 percent. The remaining 21 percent of Canadian faculty are organized into faculty associations, most of which now bargain with university administrations, albeit without the legal benefits (e.g., the duty of the employer to bargain in good faith) conveyed by union certification. Some of these faculty associations, such as the one at the University of Toronto, have achieved the equivalent of an agency shop provision in their "framework agreements."<sup>16</sup>

While it is difficult to be precise about Canadian union density in this sector, it seems clear that it is at least 80 percent. This means that the Canada–U.S. union density gap in this sector—four times higher in four-year public universities—is much larger than it is in the rest of the economy. In the public sector as a whole, Canadian union density is only 1.7 times higher than U.S. union density (64 percent vs. 37 percent), while private sector Canadian density is 2.4 times higher (19 percent vs. 8 percent). This contrast suggests a paradox. Normally, unions are bastions of resistance to neoliberal economic restructuring, particularly in labor markets, their home turf. Yet, in what is perhaps the highest union density sector of the Canadian economy, we find a degree of casualization greater than that found in the same sector in the United States, where union density is much lower.

### **Toward a Better Understanding of Unions and Casualization**

Our sense of paradox derives from two assumptions: (1) that faculty unions would resist the casualization of the academic labor market; and (2) that this resistance would be more successful where union density—and with it, union economic and political power—is higher.<sup>17</sup> Although the Canada–U.S. comparison suggests that one or both of these assumptions must be false, both seem reasonable at first glance. Academic unions in both countries have been fighting casualization through a combination of organizing, collective bargaining, and legislative initiatives. To the degree that such efforts are effective, they should result in a negative correlation between union organization and the level of reliance on contingent faculty. Call this Hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis 1: Increasing presence of faculty unions should lead to less reliance on contingent faculty as they use their power to preserve good jobs.

There is considerable evidence that unions are doing what Hypothesis 1 expects. In organizing, some tenure-track faculty locals are expanding their bargaining units to encompass non-tenure-track faculty; elsewhere, new bargaining units and locals comprised exclusively of non-tenure-track faculty are being created. On the legislative front, teachers' unions are at the core of political coalitions that seek to maintain or increase government funding for public education. To the degree that they are successful in these efforts, they reduce the pressure on administrators to raise tuition and/or pay less to instructional staff. Unions are also trying to secure legislation affecting the ratio of tenure-track to non-tenure-track faculty and/or minimum compensation levels for each type of faculty, with some success in the states of California and Washington.<sup>18</sup>

But if Hypothesis 1 were true, how would we get the Canadian outcome? One possible answer is that more powerful “exogenous” effects have swamped the efforts of faculty unions and associations in Canada. If factors such as funding cuts and broader

political trends predominate, then there might be no strong correlation, positive or negative, between levels of union organization and levels of reliance on contingent faculty:

Hypothesis 2: Union actions are relatively insignificant in affecting reliance on contingent faculty in the face of broader political-economic factors.

The levels of casualization across the fifty U.S. states seem consistent with Hypothesis 2. We do not find a significant correlation between union density and levels of non-tenure-track faculty, either overall or in the four-year public sector. However, in two-year public institutions—where faculty unionization levels are highest and most of the organized faculty are non-tenure-track—a statistically significant negative correlation ( $-.298$ ) consistent with Hypothesis 1 does emerge. Why might our optimistic hypothesis hold true for two-year public universities but not in the rest of the U.S., or in Canada, where density is even higher? The two-year public universities in the U.S. were the one sector in which non-tenure-track faculty were included in sizable numbers in the 1970s wave of organizing, probably because the share of non-tenure-track faculty in two-year schools was already very high. In this sector, it was either organize the non-tenure-track along with the tenure-track or give up on organizing altogether. Since many of these union locals included tenure-track and (full-time) non-tenure-track faculty in the same bargaining unit from the outset, we might expect successive rounds of collective bargaining to reduce substantially the compensation differential between the two faculty statuses. In addition, virtually all two-year faculty focus primarily on teaching, avoiding the potential research/teaching division that often maps onto the tenure-track/non-tenure-track division at four-year schools.

While this makes intuitive sense, a more conclusive explanation would require an analysis of the evolution of collective bargaining in two-year public institutions, particularly in comparison with their Canadian counterparts. Such a project might also explore the part-time/full-time division in community colleges, since we know anecdotally that many of the locals that incorporate non-tenure-track faculty in their unit exclude part-timers. Casualization in two-year colleges may thus have involved more of a shift from full-time to part-time than tenure-track to non-tenure-track (see Table 4).

A third line of argument suggests that there could be a positive correlation between union density and reliance on contingent faculty. If, in the 1970s and 1980s, most of the organized faculty were tenure-track and the focus of those unions encompassing both tenure-track and non-tenure-track faculty was mostly on advancing the interests of the tenure-track majority, then unions might have increased the incentives to hire more contingent faculty by increasing the gap between the cost of tenure-track and non-tenure-track faculty.<sup>19</sup> If that effect were stronger than the effect of union efforts to restrain non-tenure-track growth by the means noted above, then we would see a positive correlation between union density and levels of reliance on contingent faculty.

**Table 11**  
**Provincial-Level Analysis of Relationship between Faculty**  
**Union Status and Reliance on NTT Faculty, 2003**

Union Status	Mean NTT (FT + PT) Share of All Faculty (%)	PT NTT to FT NTT Faculty Ratio
No union (faculty assoc.; British Columbia)	39.3	7:4
Quasi union (faculty assoc.; Alberta)	40.2	3:9
Union (Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan)	46.6	4:3
Mixed (Ontario: union, except for faculty assoc.)	46.6	3:8

Note: NTT = non-tenure-track; FT = full time; PT = part time. The exclusion of the Quebec cases and the aggregation of the PT NTT data for Newfoundland, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island by Statistics Canada reduces to seven the number of cases on which these results are based.

Source: For Canadian data on full-time faculty, see Canadian Association of University Teachers (2006). For Canadian data on PT NTT faculty, see Omiecinski (2003).

Hypothesis 3: If unions focus on improving the conditions of existing tenure-track faculty members, and devote relatively less attention to the interests of current non-tenure-track faculty and future/potential tenure-track faculty, the resulting split labor market will accelerate casualization.

The facts in both countries—particularly in Canada, given the higher level of organization of tenure-track faculty there—fit this third explanation. Tenure-track faculty are significantly more represented in unions than contingent faculty in both countries, though the current wave of organizing is concentrated on non-tenure-track faculty and graduate employees. If levels of union organization among non-tenure-track faculty reach parity with tenure-track faculty, and if this outcome narrows the compensation gap between tenure-track and non-tenure-track faculty, then the negative union effect posited by Hypothesis 3 ought to weaken if not disappear. Some of our Canadian union informants believe they have now reached a level of density where they can begin to exercise such a system-stabilizing role.

But it is possible—perhaps even likely—that non-tenure-track unions will never have as much bargaining power as tenure-track unions, and so will never be able to substantially narrow the gap between tenure-track and non-tenure-track compensation and job security on their own, even though they may significantly improve the situation of their members. In such a scenario, university administrations would still have strong economic incentives to increase reliance on non-tenure-track faculty,

unless tenure-track faculty unions decide to use some of their power to help narrow the tenure-track to non-tenure-track compensation gap. Such an approach would require tenure-track union members to sacrifice their immediate interest in higher compensation, and whatever status gratification they derive from tenure-track and non-tenure-track differences, for the sake of academic workers who many see as inferiors, the future of the institution of tenure, and the prospects that their graduate students will be able to find tenure-track jobs. Is this kind of enlightened self-interest too much to expect from our tenure-track colleagues?

We know this shift is not impossible. Indeed, it has already occurred in some locals in both countries. However, the decision to make such a trade-off may well provoke political conflict within unions. In some instances, the impetus to have this debate might have to come from the union's national leadership, who are more likely to pay attention to and care about larger system dynamics, as opposed to the immediate interests of the majority of the current members. (There is often a parallel difference in the locus of the commitment to invest a larger share of union resources in organizing new members, rather than servicing existing members.) Are the leaders of the relevant Canadian and U.S. unions ready to have this conversation with local presidents and executive committees?

In terms of levels of faculty unionization, Canada has already reached the high level of organization that we hope the United States may one day reach, making their experiences with casualization particularly instructive to U.S. unions. Table 11 shows that the non-tenure-track (combined full-time and part-time) share of all faculty is higher in the provinces that are entirely unionized or largely unionized than it is for the province that is quasiunionized (Alberta) and the province that is not unionized (British Columbia). So the best available data suggest that, so far, the pessimistic scenario outlined above in Hypothesis 3 is closest to the mark and that Canadian faculty unions have had the perverse effect of increasing casualization.

The three hypotheses stated at the beginning of this section drew no distinction between levels of reliance on part-time versus full-time non-tenure-track faculty, but Tables 4 and 11 show a potential relationship between unionization and the use of part-time, rather than full-time, non-tenure-track faculty. While a systematic examination of this relationship is beyond the scope of this article, our guess is that proactive unions comprised primarily of tenure-track faculty have found it relatively easy to extend their collective agreements to cover full-time non-tenure-track faculty. By including them in the collective bargaining unit and using their bargaining power on their behalf, faculty unions have raised full-time non-tenure-track faculty compensation and job security, making them less attractive than part-time non-tenure-track faculty to university administrators. In Alberta, British Columbia, and the U.S. private sector, there may be less need to move to part-time non-tenure-track faculty, since the same gains in cost reduction and flexibility can be achieved by shifting from tenure-track to full-time non-tenure-track faculty.

## Conclusions

Our goal in this article was to explain how the presence or absence of faculty unions has affected the degree to which the U.S. and Canadian higher education systems rely on contingent faculty. Our analysis of the available data—which are far from complete, and are not entirely reliable even where they exist—found support for all three of our proposed hypotheses. Initially, this seemed an incoherent and puzzling result. But on further reflection, we began to see a way in which these results could be reconciled with one another:

Hypothesis 1: Higher union density leads to lower reliance on contingent faculty in cases (such as the U.S. two-year public college sector) where (1) many non-tenure-track faculty were organized into faculty unions from the time of their formation or shortly thereafter, and (2) union power was sufficient to greatly narrow the difference in compensation and job security between tenure-track and non-tenure-track faculty. In these cases, there is a negative correlation between unionization and reliance on non-tenure-track faculty.

Hypothesis 2: Union effects are swamped by exogenous factors in cases (such as most U.S. four-year universities) where union density is low and the bargaining power of faculty unions has not been great enough to have much impact on the attractiveness of hiring non-tenure-track faculty (whether full-time or part-time), relative to the other kinds of factors—such as variations in fiscal constraints—that pressure administrators to replace tenure-track with non-tenure-track faculty.

Hypothesis 3: Higher union density leads to higher reliance on contingent faculty in cases (such as most Canadian universities) where (1) full-time non-tenure-track faculty were organized into faculty unions relatively early, but part-time non-tenure-track faculty were not, and (2) union power was sufficient to substantially increase the difference in compensation and job security between full-time (tenure-track and non-tenure-track) and part-time non-tenure-track faculty. In these cases, there is a positive correlation between unionization and levels of reliance on (part-time) non-tenure-track faculty.

This way of reconciling the data strikes us as plausible. However, only detailed analyses of the evolution of faculty unions and bargaining unit definitions, collective bargaining agreement provisions, and administration hiring practices—undertaken by researchers with a detailed knowledge of their own schools, unions, states, and provinces—can substantiate or repudiate and improve on this interpretation of the data. We hope to be able to identify other researchers willing to investigate and report on their own institutions with a view to assessing and extending the arguments laid out in this article and using the results to influence decision makers. Given that the data collected by our governments are woefully incomplete, such efforts would also form the basis for a more accurate picture of the overall academic workforce.<sup>20</sup>

We think this work will be worth the effort. It seems highly unlikely that we will ever return to an academic world in which the vast majority of faculty have tenured or tenure-track positions. If the last thirty years are any indication, even slowing the current trend of increasing reliance on non-tenure-track faculty will require a huge collective effort. The only type of faculty organization capable of building and wielding such power is a union or a faculty association that behaves like a union. But as the Canadian case suggests, simply organizing faculty into unions is not enough to counter this crisis. If our analysis is correct, the short-term interests of tenure-track faculty may actually lead them to acquiesce in (or inadvertently encourage) the erosion of tenure-track positions and the exploitation of contingent faculty. It is thus vital that faculty unions act strategically to include all contingent faculty and pay particular attention to improving the situation of the worst off among them. Locals comprised mainly of better paid, higher status faculty must be willing to use some of their power to help non-tenure-track unions narrow the compensation gap, or the incentives to replace tenure-track with non-tenure-track faculty, and full-time non-tenure-track faculty with part-time non-tenure-track faculty and GSIs, will remain and the dynamic of the last thirty years will continue to unfold.

If true, the policy implications of this conclusion—for our unions, and for all faculty interested in protecting academic freedom and high quality education—are profound. Either our unions rise to the challenges posed above, or their growth and bargaining successes will accelerate the erosion of the tenure system and increase reliance on the most contingent forms of academic labor. If our analysis is correct, existing faculty unions should organize all non-tenure-track faculty—especially part-timers—into their bargaining units and give them priority in terms of advancing their interests in upcoming bargaining rounds. If they are unwilling or unable (perhaps because of labor board bargaining unit definitions or membership resistance) to do this, then as a second best they must support the organization of non-tenure-track faculty into their own unions, and strongly support those unions' collective bargaining efforts. Either way, unions that combine full-time and part-time non-tenure-track faculty—again, provided that they advance the interests of all members, with particular attention to the worst off among them—are better than those that do not, both for long-term bargaining unit stability and to avoid further institutionalizing the split academic labor market.

In addition, it is imperative that we better coordinate the power of the nearly four hundred thousand faculty already covered by union contracts in our two countries by learning from effective campaigns and innovative practices. Successful efforts should be systematically examined and their lessons disseminated. Comparing higher education with other industries that have high levels of casualization may suggest union strategies—such as hiring halls and multi-employer organizing—that may seem foreign to faculty unions but offer effective methods for organizing contingent teachers. Given the scope of this transformation and its effects on our campuses, it is high time to fully commit ourselves and our unions to reversing the casualization and corporatization of higher education.

## Notes

1. Should we classify graduate student instructors (GSIs)—graduate students who teach in the institution where they are enrolled as graduate students—as faculty? This is not how the term *faculty* is used in most U.S. universities, but conventional usage may be lagging behind the rapid structural changes occurring in higher education. GSIs are doing much of the face-to-face instruction that undergraduates receive in universities with significant graduate programs. We use the term *contingent faculty* to encompass all who teach and are not on the tenure track. However, where possible, our data and discussions will distinguish between GSIs and non-tenure-track faculty, with the latter defined to mean teachers off the tenure track who are not graduate students.

2. See Silver (2003) for a discussion of the restructuring of higher education that parallels ours in some respects.

3. The only exception to this generalization is the growing—though still small—private sector component of higher education. Unfortunately, we do not have good data on the size of this sector in Canada.

4. To do this, we have combined and analyzed several sources of data on the higher education workforce to provide a relatively complete picture of the sector in both countries, although this is limited by gaps in the data noted below. We also conducted informal interviews with organizers and researchers at major unions in the sector. Several unions also allowed us to use their internal records to help us check our data sets for accuracy. The federal data sets we use are considered by all our informants to provide the “best” available numbers, but also to be woefully inaccurate.

5. In the student credit hours (SCH) approach to measuring teaching effort, if a faculty member teaches a three credit hour class with an enrollment of thirty students, they are credited with ninety SCHs per week. In a large lecture course, where a lecturer presents for three hours per week to two hundred students and four GSIs meet for one hour per week with fifty students, the lecturer is credited with six hundred SCHs per week and each GSI with fifty SCHs. While better than the available alternatives, this is a crude measure of teaching effort that takes no account of hours spent developing courses, holding office hours, grading, or answering student e-mails. In lecture classes like the one described above, these tasks are largely performed by GSIs, whose contributions thus tend to be undercounted.

6. The Pearson correlations (and statistical significance) between our three pairs are as follows:

four-year public and two-year public: .14 (.33)  $n = 50$

four-year public and four-year private: .12 (.43)  $n = 50$

four-year private and two-year public:  $-.15 (.31) n = 50$

7. The information on the composition of the higher education sector in Canada is all from Robinson (2006, 26–27).

8. Quebec today accounts for about 24 percent of Canada’s population, and an equal share of faculty and students in higher education.

9. Statistics Canada stopped collecting and publishing data on part-time faculty in 1998 because a growing number of major universities were refusing to supply the federal agency with data. This means that even the 1997 to 1998 data are flawed, since Statistics Canada was forced to make assumptions about the numbers at universities that had already stopped reporting. Those involved suspect that university administrators were worried that an accurate measure of the extent to which they were substituting non-tenure-track for tenure-track faculty would be a political liability. If that is correct, then it is likely that universities that stopped reporting, such as the University of Toronto, planned to maintain or increase their already above-average reliance on non-tenure-track faculty. This implies that Statistics Canada’s extrapolations in the late 1990s likely understated non-tenure-track reliance levels. On the University of Toronto, in particular, see Rajagopal (2004).

10. Consistent with this assumption, the data from Carleton University show that the share of teaching done by non-tenure-track faculty has increased steadily since 2001 to 2002, the earliest year reported, from 39.8 percent of all sections taught to 50.4 percent in 2004 to 2005. Most of that growth came from increases in the number of full-time non-tenure-track faculty, who accounted for 13.8 percent of the sections taught in 2001 to 2002 and 21.6 percent in 2004 to 2005.

11. As explained in the note to Table 6, the definition of *part-time* used in this analysis is idiosyncratic, and cannot be compared directly with the U.S. data, though we have done our best to render the Canadian data comparable with the U.S. data.

12. By Canadian standards, Carleton (with 684 full-time faculty in 2003 to 2004) is slightly above the national average of 577, while University of Western Ontario, with 1,209 full-time faculty, is well above the average. See [http://oirp.carleton.ca/pi-2005/tables/tentaught\\_hpt.htm](http://oirp.carleton.ca/pi-2005/tables/tentaught_hpt.htm). Thanks to Vicky Smallman for this Web site.

13. Florida is a special case, because in 2003, Gov. Jeb Bush forced all higher education units in Florida to recertify by dismantling the old system of state-level collective bargaining. While this pushed up the overall level of organizing activity in 2003, faculty organizing increased even more in 2004, when the impact of the Florida recertifications was much weaker (<http://insidehighered.com/news/2005/08/04/unions>).

14. Private two-year universities are almost entirely unorganized, so for simplicity we left them out of Table 4. According to the available statistics, this largely for-profit sector is relatively insignificant, employing less than 10,000 faculty, but Berry (2005) shows that the official reports are vastly understated.

15. The public/private sector difference is due partly, though by no means entirely, to differences in the scope and effectiveness of the legal regime governing the right to organize.

16. Robinson (2006, 30) notes that “The unionization rate in Canada would be much higher if academic staff in Alberta, where faculty are governed by legislation outside the provincial labor code, were excluded.” Still, many of these associations do act effectively as unions. For a defense of faculty associations that function as unions but are not legally certified as such, see Adams’ (2006) discussion of the McMaster University Faculty Association (MUFA). Adams points out that, by Western European standards and International Labour Organization definitions, MUFA would be recognized as a union. It is only under the Wagner Act approach prevailing in the United States and Canada that we tend to think that a workers’ organization is not a “real” union until it has been certified by a government regulatory board.

17. To be sure, union density is only one factor affecting union economic and political power, but there is ample evidence that it is an important one.

18. See <http://face.aft.org/> for more information.

19. How big are these economic incentives? Here is one possible indicator: in the late 1970s, when most faculty were still tenure-track, about 31 percent of Canadian university budgets went to faculty salaries; by 2004, the share had fallen to 19 percent (see Bauder 2006). A significant part of this cost reduction—though certainly not all of it—is likely because of the substitution of non-tenure-track for tenure-track faculty over this interval, combined with the downward pressure on tenure-track faculty wages exerted by the growth of the non-tenure-track sector.

20. In our experience, many tenure-track faculty members and administrators have no idea about, or refuse to believe, the scale of this transformation, making this data collection particularly useful. Please contact us at [eian@umich.edu](mailto:eian@umich.edu) or [ddobbie@umich.edu](mailto:ddobbie@umich.edu) if you think your school or state/province would be a useful case study in such an effort, particularly if you are willing to do some of the research on your institution.

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