AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF

Delores E. McNair for the degree of Doctor of Education in Education presented on March 22, 2002.

Title: Out from the Shadows: Conversations with Women who Teach Part-time in Community Colleges.

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Abstract Approved: _____
Larry D. Roper

This phenomenological study explores what it means to teach part-time in community colleges in the United States. The increasing use of part-time faculty in community colleges and the concomitant emergence of a two-tiered faculty are discussed.

The study examines the nature of part-time work in the United States, thus providing insight into practices in higher education. A discussion of challenges women continue to face in the workplace in general, and academia in particular, provide a background for understanding issues raised by study participants.

Through the voices of six women, the study moves behind current statistical data to reveal the experiences, disappointments, joys, and motivations of part-time faculty. The findings illuminate current practices, highlight the importance of the department chair in affecting part-time faculty members' experiences, and challenge us to consider working conditions and relationships in our own academic communities.

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Out from the Shadows:
Conversations with Women Who Teach Part-time in Community Colleges

by
Delores E. McNair

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DEDICATION

To

Rosemary Sidhu Montijo

for her courage, wisdom, and compassion

OUT FROM THE SHADOWS: CONVERSATIONS WITH WOMEN WHO TEACH PART-TIME IN COMMUNITY COLLEGES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

During the twentieth century community colleges grew to become an integral part of higher education in America. To accommodate expansion, community colleges hired increasing numbers of faculty. In 1953, junior colleges, as they were then called, employed 23,762 instructors; by 1992, that number had grown over tenfold to 253,711 (Cohen & Brawer, 1996). At the same time, a shift occurred in the composition of faculty: In 1953, 48 percent of instructors were part-time but by 1992, 53 percent of faculty members were part-time. In the next five years the proportion of part-time faculty increased dramatically: By 1997 nearly two-thirds of community college faculty were part-time (Finner, 1999; Leatherman, 2000; Roey, Skinner, Fernández, & Barbett [NCES], 2000); current data on faculty in community colleges indicate that in 1999, 65 percent of community college faculty were part-time (Berger, Kirshstein, Rowe, & Zimbler [NCES], 2001). Slightly more women teach part-time than full-time in community colleges: 49 percent of part-time faculty members are women while 47 percent of full-time faculty are women (Roey et al., 2000).

Although the number of part-time faculty in all segments of higher education continues to increase, research specific to part-time faculty is considered

relatively new (Banachowski, 1996). This may be due to "[c]hanges in the employment patterns of American academics [that] have occurred far more quickly and substantially than has been commonly recognized – and the potential consequences of these changes have yet to be clearly understood" (Leslie, 1998b, p.1). Fortunately, there is a growing body of literature that focuses on issues related to part-time teaching. Several noteworthy published articles and books address the role of part-time faculty (Cohen & Brawer, 1977; Gappa & Leslie, 1993; Rifkin, 1999; Roueche, Roueche, & Milliron, 1996a; Tucker, 1992), the impact of hiring part-time faculty (Barker, 1998; Cohen, 1992; Cohen & Brawer, 1996), and the advantages and disadvantages of employing part-time faculty (AAUP, 1998; Nance & Culverhouse, 1992). Banachowski contends that much of the literature has focused on the "negative aspects of employing [part-time faculty], while little effort has been made to examine the positive attributes" (p. 57). Indeed, much of the literature focuses on the poor working conditions of part-time faculty (AAUP, 1998; Barker, 1998; Dervarics, 1993; Kroll, 1994; Leatherman, 1998; Pendleton, 1997), the exploitation of part-time faculty (Delehant, 1989; Jaschik, 1993; Lords, 1999; Roueche, Roueche, & Milliron, 1996b), and the inability of colleges to integrate part-time faculty into the college community (Balch, 1999; Erwin & Andrews, 1993; Roueche, Roueche, & Milliron, 1995, Roueche et al., 1996a). The "controversies about part-time faculty arise over issues of quality of teaching, commitment to the college or university, time spent with students outside of

classroom instruction, and lack of continuity for academic planning" (Balch, 1999, p. 33).

Discussions have also begun to focus on the status of part-time faculty and the implications of an emerging bifurcated professorate (Barker & Christensen, 1998). The steady increase in the number of part-time faculty employed by community colleges, the diversity of part-time faculty, and the contradictory conclusions of the research (Banachowski, 1996) suggest it is important to look more fully at the experiences of part-time faculty. If part-time faculty are "here to stay" (Balch, 1999, p. 40), it is incumbent upon educational leaders to integrate part-time faculty into the college (Balch, 1999; Gappa & Leslie, 1997; Roueche et al., 1996a, 1996b) and "to appreciate [the wide diversity represented among part-time faculty]" (Gappa & Leslie, 1993, p. 17).

FOCUS AND PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

This study will focus on part-time faculty because they constitute the bulk of community college faculty yet there is little research and inquiry that focuses on their workplace experiences (Valadez & Anthony, 2001). Barker indicates that in terms of all areas of higher education, "[part-time faculty members] are rarely studied and for the most part [are] invisible in workplace scholarship" (p. 200) and further asserts that "[r]esearch is needed concerning the emergence of a permanent two-tier faculty in higher education, with privileges reserved for some at the cost to others" (p. 220). The number of part-time faculty in higher education has grown

steadily over the past three decades and this trend is expected to continue (Avakian, 1995; Balch, 1999; Valadez & Anthony, 2001; Worthen, 2001; Wyles, 1998). Consequently, we must ask ourselves about the status of the part-time faculty; their impact on the profession and students; and what it is like to be a part-time faculty member, that is, whether part-time faculty members are, indeed, "academic migrant workers" (Cohen & Brawer, 1996; Wolf, 1997). "When part-time faculty are seen in the full complexity of their humanity and professional aspirations, one can better appreciate what is to be gained from positive actions to support and more fully involve [them] in the academic community" (Gappa & Leslie, 1993, p. 17 - 18). This study will be limited to women since, in spite of extensive research related to women's issues and expanding research efforts regarding community college part-time faculty, there is no research that examines the intersection of the two.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the experiences of women who teach part-time in community colleges in order to understand their working conditions, how they perceive their role in the academy, how they describe their experiences, and ways they believe their experiences could be enhanced or improved. The study will help create an understanding of what constitutes the nature of the experiences of part-time faculty: It will offer insight into what motivates part-time faculty to teach, what concerns them, and how they believe they can best be supported as faculty. The study can inform readers regarding the

experiences of women who teach part-time "so that the structure of [their] lived experience is revealed...in a hitherto unseen way" (Van Manen, 1990, p.39).

QUESTIONS GUIDING INQUIRY

This study will endeavor to answer the following questions:

1. How do women describe their experiences teaching part-time?

2. What issues do women who teach part-time encounter in the workplace and outside of work a result of their part-time employment?

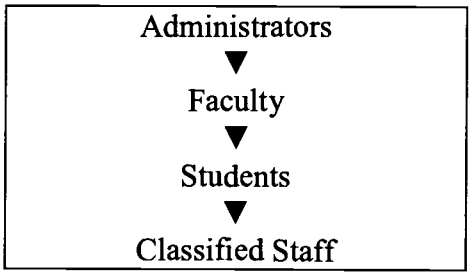
3. How do women perceive the impact of part-time teaching on their career?

4. How do women who teach part-time believe their working conditions and experiences could be enhanced or improved?

The literature review is designed to inform the study about the labor market and labor force and, consequently, to understand the nature of part-time and contingent employment in the United States. The review will explore trends, social structures, and conditions of part-time and contingent employment, moving from a broad examination of national issues to a specific focus on women who teach part-time in American community colleges. The literature will be introduced to provide a framework for the issues to be discussed in the study, to offer insight into the experiences of part-time faculty, and to relate prior research to the findings that emerge from this study.

RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE

Although I had been working in community colleges nearly 18 years, I had not specifically considered the experiences and working conditions of part-time faculty. I had thought about class structure in community colleges: My own experiences as a classified staff member provided me with real-life examples of how support staff members are marginalized. Consequently I perceived the organizational hierarchy as follows:



I had not considered the possibility there could be stratification among faculty that resulted in marginalization and possibly even oppression, that policies and procedures would institutionalize stratification, and that part-time faculty would be compared to migrant farm workers. When asked to think about migrant farm workers, one may envision people who work in invisibility, are paid low wages for long hours of work, treated as second-class citizens, oppressed, have no rights and very little recourse in the event of a labor dispute, often have no medical benefits, and have no guarantee of on-going employment. To think that such conditions might exist in community colleges was nearly inconceivable to me.

What caused me to take another look at this situation? Simply put: I listened. I had been attending meetings of the Academic Senate at the college where I was a senior-level administrator. One Senator, who represented part-time faculty, consistently asked questions about the relationship of part-time to full-time faculty, described working conditions, and articulated concerns regarding workload, compensation, health benefits, retirement plans, and office space. I was surprised by what he shared and remarked to a colleague that part-time faculty were being treated like second-class citizens. My colleague responded, "That's because they *are* second-class citizens." I was dumbfounded – both by my colleague's endorsement of the situation and the illumination of a phenomenon I had heretofore not seen.

> This experience of sudden "seeing" is a kind of revelation, in which what one has known abstractly now comes to life with special force and immediacy, and, therefore, in the most fundamental sense, alters one's apprehension of "reality." Such a revelation implies a transition from passive perception to active participation, from theory to practice. (Patai, 1984, p. 181)

In that moment of illumination, of "sudden seeing," I moved from passive perception to active participation and engagement. I determined to research the issue, discover whether other part-time faculty members had similar experiences, how they thought they could change their situation, what motivated them to continue teaching, and how I might positively contribute to resolving issues that emerged.

In light of these early conversations and my initial research, I have amended my view of the class structure in community colleges as follows:

Tenured faculty
▼
Administrators
▼
Students
▼
Classified Staff
▼
Part-time faculty

These positions in the hierarchy are not static and it is likely some will disagree with my assessment. My notion of "position" in the academic community is influenced by my experience in California where faculty participation in governance is mandated by legislation. My perception of faculty influence relates not simply to scope of authority and responsibility, but to political influence as well as impact on the academic community. Although faculty roles in California community colleges may be different than in other states, to the extent that full-time permanent faculty control curriculum matters, participate on selection committees, recommend tenure for non-tenured colleagues, and participate in college governance, they exert tremendous influence. In my experience I have seen students, classified staff, and part-time faculty shift positions in the structure, alternately sharing the bottom rung of the organizational ladder. Within the category of "faculty," full-time-temporary faculty and tenure-track faculty also shift their position in the hierarchy, at times subordinate only to tenured faculty, at other

times, subordinate to all other full-time permanent employees. While full-time temporary and tenure-track faculty are not the subject of this study, the literature will show that full-time, tenured faculty members hold a position of privilege that other faculty do not.

The discussion of class, privilege, and oppression is complex. Some may argue that hierarchy is inherent in any bureaucracy, that in social organizations some members benefit at the expense of others, and that hierarchical constructs are inevitable. Others may argue that oppression is an unacceptable social condition that can be changed through action. Kincheloe and McLaren (1998) state

> that certain groups in any society are privileged over others, and although the reasons for this privileging may vary widely, the oppression that characterizes contemporary societies is most forcefully reproduced when subordinates accept their social status as natural, necessary, or inevitable." (p. 263)

This conclusion can be viewed as "blaming the victim" and while acceptance of one's marginalized status may contribute to oppression, it is the dominant members of a social organization who create rules, policies, and practices that support and maintain their dominance (Johnson, 2001). This is not to say that the oppressed members are powerless. It may be they are unaware of the extent to which policies, procedures, and practices maintain a culture of oppression; the role they may inadvertently play in perpetuating oppression; and ways to change the situation. It is important to note that not all part-time faculty may experience oppression; some may be content with their role in the academy, their working conditions, and the

nature of their assignments. The literature will show that many part-time faculty members do, indeed, feel oppressed, marginalized, and dissatisfied with their working arrangement. Even if this is a small segment of the academy, this is intolerable.

As I approach this study, it is a challenge to find my own voice. There are many well-meaning people who have offered suggestions on how to write a "good" dissertation. For some "good" means writing a quantitative study, for others it means writing a quasi-quantitative study (i.e., a quantitative study that looks like a qualitative one, or vice versa), for still others it means writing a dissertation for the academy according to a strictly prescribed template rather than for myself. I have discovered that when I write in my own voice, the writing may not be perceived as "academic" enough, yet when I choose the formal, "academic" approach, I lose my voice. I am not the first to struggle with this issue (Moraga, 1983; Moule, 1997). Given that "the field of qualitative research is defined by a series of tensions, contradictions and hesitations" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 31), it is not surprising that I, in turn, experience tensions, contradictions, and hesitations as I write.

"Some days I feel my writing wants to break itself open. Speak in a language that maybe no 'readership' can follow" (Moraga, 1983, p. vi). To write in my own voice means breaking open, being authentic in my writing, writing about what has meaning for me, and writing in a way that brings meaning to others. I want my writing to mean something when this study is completed; I want this

project to make a difference; I want the participants to be heard. Some have said my dissertation will not change the world – and maybe that is true – but it can make a contribution. As a feminist researcher and critical theorist, one of the goals of my research is to create change: I expect to find I have changed because of the experience and hope the research will influence and inspire growth. Of course, there are risks: What if I change in ways I had not anticipated or in ways I do not find comfortable? This is a dilemma for social researchers: Change is an inherent part of the research – if not a desired result – yet, generally the process of change is not comfortable (Bridges, 1991).

My purpose in this section is to describe my research perspective, to provide a mechanism for understanding why I approach the study from the perspective I do, to help you understand why I ask the questions I do, and to offer insight into the development of my research perspective. "Part of finding my voice is also finding your hearing" (Moule, 1997, p. 38); in this section I hope to find your hearing in a way that will lead to better understanding my research perspective, and, ultimately, this study. I will approach this study from a feminist perspective, yet it is not solely my gender that influences how I view the world. Collins (2000), Denzin and Lincoln (1998), Smith (1998), and West and Fenstermaker (1995) discuss the interconnections of race, class, gender, and sexuality, arguing that it is not gender, race, class or sexuality alone, but the intersection of these characteristics that define who we are, how we view and

experience the world, and levels of oppression we may experience. Kirsch (1999) indicates that a feminist researcher must reveal characteristics, events, and views that impact her research. While Kirsch encourages a feminist researcher to include personal narrative to help readers gain insight into what motivates and influences the researcher, she admonishes writers to offer more than a "simple list of adjectives that identifies their age, gender, race, sexual orientation, [and] class" (p. 79). At the same time, our voice, our self-revelation, must not diminish the narrative of the participants.

My research perspective, the lens through which I view the world, has been shaped – so far – by my life and academic experiences. I was raised in a family dynamic based on oppression. As one of the oppressed, I could not change the situation, felt I had no options for creating change, and even believed that oppression was inevitable. I grew up in the sixties, near Berkeley, California, where people were speaking out against oppression and I became conscious of the civil rights, anti-war, and women's movements. People were protesting, raising fists in the air, and burning bras. By age 12, I had seen a President, a presidential candidate, and a civil rights leader assassinated; witnessed sit-ins, riots, and student protests; and began to connect with the ideas of emerging women leaders from Angela Davis to Gloria Steinem. I watched our triumphant landing on the moon even as I watched footage of the debacle in Viet Nam. What emerged was an

understanding that although oppression was universal, it could be overcome through social action.

As an adult, I used my own education to move from the lower economic class of my youth to middle class America. And, now, twenty years later, I am firmly entrenched in America's middle class and increasingly aware of the levels of oppression that exist in higher education. In that time, I have also discovered a tool to combat oppression: my writing.

> When our lived experience of theorizing is fundamentally linked to processes of self-recovery, of collective liberation, no gap exists between theory and practice. Indeed, what such an experience makes more evident is the bond between the two—that ultimately reciprocal process wherein one enables the other. (hooks, 1994, p. 61)

I will use my writing, then, to bridge a gap between theory and practice. Through this study I will investigate the experiences of part-time faculty in community colleges, linking these experiences to current theory while revealing consequences and implications of the findings.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

To provide a framework for the study, the literature review focuses on three areas: (a) a discussion regarding part-time labor issues, trends, social impacts, and the nature of part-time and temporary (or, "contingent") employment in the United States; (b) a discussion of women who work part-time in the United States, their characteristics, and the impact part-time and contingent employment has had on them; and (c) a review of the historical development of the social conditions and current social structures related to the employment of part-time faculty in American community colleges. The literature is introduced in this section and, in keeping with the tradition of qualitative research, will be woven throughout the study.

The first phase of the literature review involves an examination of the history part-time employment in the United States; factors that influence part-time employment, characteristics of the part-time workforce; status of part-time employees; and the impact of part-time employment on wages, career development, and working conditions. This examination provides insight into part-time labor issues in the United States and presents a context for understanding the history and development of part-time labor in the American community college. Carré, Ferber, Golden, & Herzenberg (2000) point out that

> [f]urther research that sheds more light on the extent to which employment relationships have changed; the reasons why they have changed; and their effects…will make it easier to find new ways to meet the needs of all those who are disadvantaged by the emerging forms of employment. (p.18)

The second phase of the literature review looks specifically at women in the part-time labor market, the characteristics of women who work part-time, and how part-time employment has affected them. This phase of the literature review is designed to inform the study regarding the experiences of women in the part-time workforce and serves as a means for understanding the experiences of women who teach part-time and comparing their experiences to those of women who work part-time outside of academia. The final section describes the history, characteristics, and issues related to part-time faculty in American community colleges. This section examines how employment practices have evolved, including issues that have contributed to hiring increasing numbers of part-time faculty. Included in this section is a discussion of the varied reasons people teach part-time as well as structures that define, support, and maintain working conditions and status of part-time faculty.

CONTINGENT LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES

In this study, two terms are introduced that merit clarification and discussion. The term "nonstandard" is a broad, umbrella term that incorporates a variety of work arrangements that diverge from the standard 40-hour a week permanent job arrangement while "contingent" refers to a type of nonstandard employment. Prior to 1989 the term "contingent work" had been used inconsistently in the literature and research. In an effort to standardize the term, Polivka and Nardone (1989) offered a definition that has generally been accepted to

describe contingent work (Kalleberg, Reskin, & Hudson, 2000; Polivka, Cohany, & Hipple, 2000). Using measures of job security and variability of a person's work schedule, Polivka and Nardone defined contingent work as "[a]ny job in which an individual does not have an explicit or implicit contract for long-term employment or in which the minimum hours worked can vary in a nonsystematic manner" (p. 11). Polivka, Cohany, and Hipple (2000) clarify the distinction between different employment relationships describing nonstandard work that includes both contingent and non-contingent arrangements. These arrangements are illustrated in Table 1.

Although nonstandard work arrangements are not new (Barker & Christensen, 1998; Bridges, 1994; Gonos, 1998; Morse, 1969), they represent "a profound deviation from the employment relations model that...dominated most of [the twentieth] century's labor relations"(Barker & Christensen, 1998, p.2) and "may also reflect structural changes in employment practices" (Carré, 1992, p. 49). Kalleberg and Schmidt (1996) agree that traditional work arrangements are changing, but caution "[it is too early to tell] whether the growth in contingent work is a structural feature of the changing contexts of human relations or a cyclical response to recessionary business conditions" (p. 274). "From the 1940s to the 1960s the relationship between employers and employees was fairly stable" (Appelbaum, 1992, p.5) as employers invested in their workforce to create opportunities for advancement and development within the company. By the 1970s,

Table 1. Nonstandard work arrangements.

Contingent work arrangements

Agency temporaries	This includes employees, full- and part-time, hired by a firm through a temporary agency. These employees are not permanent employees of either the firm or the temporary agency.
On-call workers	Generally these employees are hired directly by a firm on an as-needed or seasonal basis.
Direct-hire temporary	Like agency temporaries, these employees may work in full- or part-time positions. However, these temporary employees are hired directly by the firm rather than through a temporary agency.

Non-contingent work arrangements

Contract company workers	These employment arrangements are "intermediated through a contract company" (Polivka et al., 2000, p 42) and often include cafeteria employees and security officers.
Independent contractors	This category includes consultants and freelance employees.
Regular self-employed workers	This excludes independent contractors, but includes "both incorporated and unincorporated" employees (Polivka et al., 2000, p.43).
Regular part-time workers	These are "individuals who are not in one of the other categories and who usually work less than 35 hours per week" (Polivka et al., 2000, p.43).

"new conditions of the marketplace resulted in more turbulent relations between employers and employees. Increasingly, employers felt that maintaining an internal labor force hindered...competition and were therefore less willing to invest in their workers" (Appelbaum, 1992, p. 5).

During the 1980s "employment in the Temporary Help Supply industry grew significantly faster than employment in other industries" (Carré, 1992, p. 47) with "most of the net employment growth...occurr[ing] in the rapidly developing service sector" (duRivage, 1992a, p. 8) – an employment sector lacking in job stability, internal labor markets that provide opportunities for advancement, and competitive wages (duRivage, 1992b; Ehrenreich, 2001; Kalleberg & Schmidt, 1996). This growth can be attributed to several changes in American business: Privatization, deregulation, and mergers led employers to seek increased flexibility in their labor force while lowering labor costs. Workforce flexibility and cost reductions were often achieved by replacing permanent positions with contingent ones. In addition, in the 1980s there was significant expansion in the service and retail markets – sectors that employ a high number of contingent employees.

Kalleberg and Schmidt (1996) go on to say it is often believed that the increase in the number of women and older employees in the workforce led to the creation of contingent work arrangements – that is, that these arrangements grew in response to employee demand. However, they point out that "[this argument] should not be overstated in that the increase in contingent employment consists

mainly of workers who would choose full-time employment if it were available" (p. 256). By the 1990s nonstandard work arrangements made up nearly 30 percent of the workforce (Kalleberg et al., 1997; Polivka et al., 2000) with 34 percent of women working in nonstandard work arrangements compared to 25 percent of men (Kalleberg et al., 1997). Within these work arrangements, women are concentrated in low quality nonstandard work arrangements while men are concentrated in higher quality arrangements (Kalleberg et al.) These work arrangements have serious social and economic ramifications that are discussed later.

In their analysis of the February 1995 and February 1997 Contingent and Alternate Work Arrangement supplements to the Current Population Survey (Bureau of Labor Statistics), Polivka et al. (2000) review the characteristics of people in nonstandard work arrangements and discuss the economic impact of these arrangements. The data from the Current Population Survey "provides the best information to date on the distribution of types of contingent work in the U.S. labor force" (Kalleberg & Schmidt, 1996, p. 260). A selection of their findings provides insight into the characteristics of employees who work in nonstandard arrangements. For example, they found significant differences by gender and marital status: (a) married women were more likely to work part-time or on-call while "being married reduced the probability of working in these relationships for men"(p.68); (b) married men "also were significantly less likely to be agency temporaries or direct-hire temporaries, [although, for women] being married had no

statistically significant effect on working in these arrangements" (p.68); and (c) "[b]oth husbands and wives were more likely to be self-employed than single people but…this effect was larger for women than for men" (p.68). Furthermore, they found that "on-call workers, direct-hire temporaries, and regular part-time workers were more likely to have involuntarily dropped out of the labor market…than were regular full-time workers" (p. 45 – 46) and that agency temporaries, direct-hire temporaries, contract company employees, and part-time workers had an overrepresentation of women. Of additional interest are the findings related to employees' level of satisfaction with their work arrangements. Not surprisingly, Polivka et al. (2000) found that levels of satisfaction varied: Sixty-nine percent of agency temporaries, 52 percent of on-call employees, and 51 percent of direct-hire temporaries "indicated they were dissatisfied with their arrangement" (p. 84). This finding is supported by Kalleberg et al. (1997) who found that those who expressed the greatest preference for standard work arrangements were those in part-time, temporary, on-call positions or working as day laborers. The findings by Polivka et al. "[suggest] that even in arrangements where most workers are highly satisfied there are subgroups that have accepted that type of nonstandard employment involuntarily" (p.88).

While Polivka et al. (2000) concluded that all nonstandard jobs cannot necessarily be classified as bad, using the same set of data, Kalleberg et al. (2000) came to a very different conclusion: They evaluated nonstandard work

arrangements in terms of salary, benefits offered, job security, ability to unionize, and occupational complexity and concluded that "[e]mployment in nonstandard work arrangements increases the risk of bad job characteristics quite substantially" (p. 267), that people who work in nonstandard arrangements are "substantially worse off relative to workers in standard work arrangements" (p. 267), and that

> gains in flexibility [associated with nonstandard work arrangements] come at a high price, and for the society they are likely to exacerbate socioeconomic inequality if qualified workers who seek regular full-time jobs must settle for less desirable alternatives. (p. 274)

Questions about the advantages and disadvantages of contingent employment have been explored from a variety of perspectives (Barker & Christensen, 1998; Carré et al., 2000; duRivage, 1992b; Ehrenreich, 2001; Kalleberg et al., 2000; Lewis & Schuman, 1988; Morse, 1969; Tilly, 1996). In a prescient observation, Morse (1969) offered insight into the social problems associated with contingent (or, as he called them, "peripheral") work arrangements:

> ...to the extent that the peripheral worker is treated as if he (*sic*) were a second-class worker, peripheral work experience cannot but lead to waste, frustration, and angry despair.
>
> The peripheral worker in our society provides the economy with a very important part of the flexibility which it must have if it is to be efficient and dynamic. Recognizing this function, we should try to ensure that an undue share of the cost of this flexibility does not fall upon the peripheral workers themselves, many of whom are among the least able in our society to bear such costs. (p. 196 – 197)

While there may be many advantages for those who *choose* nonstandard employment, it appears that such arrangements offer more advantages for employers (Spalter-Roth & Hartmann, 1998) – advantages that accrue at the

expense of the employees. Nonstandard work arrangements provide the employer with a cheaper and more flexible workforce even as employees in such arrangements receive lower wages, fewer benefits, have fewer opportunities for advancement within the organization, experience less job security, and receive less training (Carré et al., 2000; Kalleberg et al., 2000; Negrey, 1993). These arrangements have led to the development of a two-tiered workforce with benefits and privileges extended to one group (i.e., the core, or permanent, employees) that are not extended to others.

Closer scrutiny of the plight of contingent employees illustrates the serious social and economic consequences of their precarious employment. "[C]ontingent arrangements no longer function solely as stop-gap measures but, in a growing number of firms, are fast becoming integral features of personnel management" (Carré, 1992, p. 45). Organizations hire contingent employees because such arrangements offer increased flexibility to the employer, resolve scheduling problems, allow employers to reduce labor costs, allow greater flexibility regarding hiring – and firing – employees, and it is less likely that these employees will unionize (Kalleberg & Schmidt, 1996; Tilly, 1992). There are disadvantages for the employers as well, including a decreased sense of loyalty from employees, resulting in higher turnover and lower reliability (Tilly, 1992); employees in nonstandard arrangements require more time-intensive supervision; and while lowering the payroll cost, the productivity of *all* employees may be affected

resulting in "an increase in per unit labor costs" (Kalleberg & Schmidt, 1996, p. 273).

Since "[w]orkers generally do not enter contingent employment relations voluntarily"(Kalleberg & Schmidt, 1996, p. 274), the impact of contingent employment is far-reaching (Carré, 1992; Kalleberg & Schmidt, 1996; Tilly, 1996): Contingent employees experience greater employment uncertainty than employees in standard work arrangements; they are paid low wages; they lack health, retirement, and leave benefits extended to permanent employees; have little autonomy; "[c]ontingent workers acquire few firm-specific skills and firms have little incentive to train them" (Carré, 1992, p. 83); and finally, "the higher the fraction of part-time workers in an industry, the lower the wages and benefits paid to *full-time workers*" (Tilly, 1992, p. 34, emphasis added). Contingent work relationships may relieve employers of important social obligations, including relief from unemployment compensation, from traditional hiring and screening procedures (Kalleberg & Schmidt, 1996), from the requirements of the Employment Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA) (duRivage, 1992b), and from Equal Employment Opportunity oversight (Carré, 1992). Several social consequences emerge as a result: If employers are paying low wages, are not contributing to health and pension benefits, and are not contributing to unemployment compensation, who is? It is left to the employees who are least able to afford or provide these benefits; consequently, employees may turn to state and

federal programs for assistance, thereby spreading the cost of nonstandard employment practices throughout society. And if employers are exempt from employment laws and following consistent hiring procedures with regards to contingent employees, how might these practices affect affirmative action and discrimination in the workplace? Employees in contingent arrangements have little legal protection from discrimination and very little recourse in resolving employment concerns.

Because the trend toward nonstandard work arrangements shows no signs of abating (Negrey, 1993), it is important to continue exploring practices that perpetuate a bifurcated workforce, pay "median hourly wages 40 percent below those of full-time workers" (Tilly, 1996, p. 4), and have serious social and economic consequences.

> Where part-time work may provide genuine opportunities for middle-class workers who desire flexibility, the clustering of part-time and contingent employment at the lower end of the wage and job scale reduces decent employment prospects for the most vulnerable. (duRivage, 1992b, p. 120)

According to Carré (1992), "women and minority males are the workers most threatened by these employment practices" (p. 46). While the experiences of minority males deserve to be reviewed and studied, this study focuses on the experiences of women who teach part-time; therefore, the next section focuses on women in nonstandard work arrangements in the United States, their characteristics, and the impact of such work arrangements.

WOMEN AND NONSTANDARD WORK ARRANGEMENTS

Although women participate in the workforce in ever-increasing numbers (DeLaat, 1999; Drobnic & Wittig, 1997; Reskin & Padavic, 1994), many assumptions surrounding women's role in the workforce are rooted in practices that emerged in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Reskin and Padavic note that in western pre-industrialized cultures, men and women divided work tasks with men working outside the home and women performing work inside the home, including spinning, cooking, and cleaning; at times men's and women's responsibilities overlapped; and "people did not see the jobs [women usually did] as less valuable than those men usually did" (p. 16). However, industrialization moved production of many goods from the home to factory, thus resulting in two distinctions between the work performed by women and men. First, women were "assigned to unpaid work [at home]" (p. 19), while more men began to work for pay outside the home. A second distinction reported by Reskin and Padavic was that within the paid workforce, men and women were separated into different jobs, resulting in job segregation by gender that persists today (Reskin & Padavic, 1994; Tomaskovic-Devey, Kalleberg, & Cook, 1996).

Throughout the nineteenth century, men's participation in the paid labor force continued to expand while women's participation decreased. The decrease was especially notable among married women. Reskin and Padavic (1994) note this was due to prevailing attitudes of the time and was influenced by the "doctrine of

separate spheres" (p. 21) which held that a woman's place was at home while a man's was working outside the home. In addition, status was conveyed on a family by a husband's ability to provide support for the family through his paid labor. If a married woman was employed, it symbolized her husband's failure as a provider. "The doctrine of separate spheres helped to drive all but the poorest married women out of the labor force" (p. 22). Reskin and Padavic report further consequences of the doctrine of separate spheres: Because women's work was relegated to the home, it became invisible, noticed only when it was not done rather than when it was done. In addition, within the paid labor force, women were kept out of certain jobs, thereby making "sex discrimination commonplace" (p. 23); women were paid lower wages for their work based on the assumption that they were financially supported by a man; and "the sexual division of labor that assigned men to the labor force and women to the home encouraged employers to structure jobs on the assumption that all permanent workers were men and that all men had stay-at-home wives" (p. 232).

World War II brought important changes in employment practices when all women were asked to participate in the workforce and discrimination against married women generally disappeared (Reskin & Padavic, 1994). The latter half of the twentieth century saw continued changes in the workforce aided by key developments, notably, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the women's movement in the 1970s, and Title IX of the 1972 educational amendments (DeLaat,

1999). Drobnič & Wittig (1997) also attribute the expansion of women in the paid labor force to higher levels of education attained by women, increasing divorce rates, increasing numbers of non-married women having children, lower rates of fertility and technological advances in "household production" (p. 292) that allowed women to, theoretically, spend less time on household activities.

Despite women's increasing participation in the paid labor force, today's workplace is marked by gender segregation, that is, the segregation of women into jobs that generally pay low wages, provide few opportunities for advancement, and offer little autonomy whereas men are segregated into jobs that offer higher pay, greater levels of autonomy, and more avenues for promotion (Albelda & Tilly, 1997; Blau & Ferber, 1992; Kalleberg et al., 1997; Reskin & Padavic, 1994). According to Albelda and Tilly, nearly one-half of all women work in clerical or service jobs while only one-sixth of men do. Reskin and Padavic contend that occupational segregation is "both invisible because we are used to it and one of the most striking features of the workplace" (p. 79). While some may argue that women choose certain jobs, others assert that women will seek the best jobs available to them and that "[w]hen employers open traditionally male occupations to women, neither custom nor occupational sex labels deter women from accepting them" (Reskin & Padavic, p. 78).

The result of workplace segregation is that women may be inadvertently or purposely excluded from certain jobs and since "men's" jobs pay more than

"women's," women's economic opportunities are diminished simply because of gender (Albelda & Tilly, 1997). Furthermore, women may not seek certain jobs if they perceive them to be unavailable to them; employers may not consider women for promotional opportunities in areas outside traditional areas of female employment; jobs are often structured based on the assumption that women will not accept shift work (Reskin & Padavic, 1994); and because men's jobs typically have more status, women's work is devalued. "Generally...the more women in an occupation, the less both its female and male workers earn" (Reskin & Padavic, p. 9). Even though the number of job opportunities for women is expected to grow, the bulk of these opportunities will be in low paying jobs (Albelda & Tilly).

An important aspect of women's participation in the paid workforce is the additional amount of *unpaid* work they perform. Women, even in households where a male partner/spouse is present, still have primary responsibility for household duties and men have not increased their involvement in domestic activities in response to women's increasing commitment to paid work (Albelda & Tilly, 1997; Blau & Ferber, 1992; DeLaat, 1999; Hochschild, 1997; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Jacobs & Gerson, 2001; Negrey, 1993; Reskin & Padavic, 1994). Not only do men spend appreciably less time than women on household tasks, the type of work they do is different: Men often perform tasks that are completed on an intermittent basis while women perform tasks that require more frequent attention; for example, men may typically mow the lawn, a task that may be done weekly,

while women perform daily tasks such as cooking and cleaning (Epstein, Seron, Oglensky, & Sauté, 1999). In addition, women typically have primary responsibility for arranging childcare (Albelda & Tilly, 1997; Epstein et al., 1999; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Negrey, 1993). The amount of time women spend on unpaid work activities limits the amount of time available for paid work, and when women "do paid work, they are paid significantly less than men" (Albelda & Tilly, p. 13), thereby restricting their economic opportunities and often influencing the types of arrangements in which women work.

Women work in nonstandard arrangements for a variety of reasons: Some may choose to work part-time to balance family and work commitments (Epstein et al., 1999; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Negrey, 1993) while others may work in nonstandard arrangements involuntarily because they are unable to obtain permanent employment (Negrey, 1993) or perhaps they have been pushed into the labor force by changes in welfare reform (Albelda & Tilly, 1997; Ehrenreich, 2001). Our culture values paid work, confers upon those who work economic and social status, and provides paid workers with a sense of identity (Blau & Ferber, 1992; London, 1978; Negrey, 1993; Reskin & Padavic, 1994). At the same time, this tends to devalue unpaid work in the home – work that, as we have seen, is generally performed by women.

Negrey (1993) found that many women used part-time work as a means to balance childcare and family responsibilities while "child care (*sic*) and household

responsibilities do not figure prominently in men's decisions to work part-time" (p.45). Her findings indicate that reduced work has "implications for work schedules, income, and job security" as well as "personal autonomy and quality of life among women and men" (p. 113). Whether a person works part-time or in a temporary position, Negrey determined that the nature of one's work schedule has tremendous impact on a person's life: People with a regular work schedule, for example, have some measure of predictability that allows them to arrange childcare and transportation, and to participate in non-work activities. Negrey concluded that the lack of discretionary income nonstandard work arrangements yield, a lack of discretionary time, and an unpredictable work schedule may lead to social isolation, work-centered lives, and increased levels of stress. Ehrenreich (2001) reached similar conclusions when she explored what it might be like to be a minimum wage earner in our post-welfare reform economy. Ehrenreich did not conduct a study; rather she attempted to experience, as a participant-observer/journalist, life at the bottom of the wage scale. She found that unpredictable work schedules, low wages, and insecure job arrangements limit employee initiative; lead to acute distress, chronic deprivation, relentless low level punishment, and a life lived in a chronic state of emergency; and contribute to a "culture of extreme inequality" (p. 212).

Albelda and Tilly (1997) contend that women at both ends of the wage scale face remarkably similar obstacles in their work arrangements: Low wage earners are trapped by a "sticky floor" that keeps women segregated in the workforce and

limits promotional opportunities while high wage earners bump into a "glass ceiling" which similarly results in job segregation and limits advancement. Albelda and Tilly call for more progressive public policies to end job segregation, alleviate the need for women to choose between work and family, and provide better economic support for families/single parents in today's economy. The idea that women in the workforce encounter similar challenges regardless of their economic status is supported by Epstein et al. (1999) in their investigation of lawyers who work part-time. The women in their study reported having chosen part-time work to balance family, personal, and work commitments. Married women reported, much to their dismay, that working part-time actually reinforced traditional, sex-stereotyped roles in their marriage. The married women indicated: (a) as a couple, the wife and husband determined they lost less income if the wife worked part-time than they would have if the husband worked part-time; (b) whether they worked full- or part-time, the women still had primary responsibility for childcare, household management, and family care; and (c) at least one woman reported that although she intentionally reduced her work hours to have more time for personal interests, she was resentful when her husband instead expected her to increase her hours of unpaid, domestic activities.

It is clear that workers in the paid labor force have many options regarding work arrangements. It is also clear they may not always find themselves in the work arrangement of choice; for example, they may be working full-time but would

prefer a part-time job or perhaps they are in a temporary work arrangement but desire permanent employment. Regardless of the situation, standard work arrangements appear to offer better pay, benefits, and job security than nonstandard arrangements and by such measurements, nonstandard arrangements are deemed bad for the worker (Kalleberg et al., 1997) even while they offer benefits to employers. Because women are over-represented in the nonstandard workforce, this is an issue worthy of further study: What are the social economic consequences for women? How do current policies limit women's choices in the labor market? What are the moral implications of creating – and maintaining – a two-tiered workforce? The prior research of Kalleberg, Tilly, duRivage, and Carré offer promise for future research in this area. Research on the impact of welfare reform may also spur public debate and/or policy improvements. The social changes required to implement current policy recommendations (Albelda & Tilly, 1997; Kalleberg et al., 1997) appear slow in coming, yet continued research can inform discussions and may lead to legislative and social remedies. Nonstandard work arrangements are an established part of the American labor force. As the following section will show, institutions of higher education in the United States also offer varied work arrangements, the causes and consequences of which are similar to other sectors of the economy.

PART-TIME FACULTY

Part-time work arrangements in the general economy are part of increasing number of nonstandard work arrangements; however, not all part-time jobs are contingent – some may be permanent, part-time work arrangements. Consequently, the use of the term "part-time" when referring to community college faculty may be misleading and imply a permanence that does not exist. The term "contingent faculty" better describes the precarious nature of the employment relationship and is consistent with the definition established by Polivka and Nardone (1989). Polivka and Nardone established that contingent work includes any arrangement in which an individual is not provided a commitment of long-term employment or in which the minimum hours worked can vary in an unpredictable way. Part-time faculty members in community colleges are generally hired each term with no assurance of employment in subsequent terms; furthermore, not only do the hours they work vary from term to term, they are vulnerable to change even after a term has begun (Cohen, 1992; Gappa & Leslie, 1997; Leslie, Kellams, & Gunne, 1982; Wallace, 1984). These conditions of employment meet the criteria for "contingent" as established by Polivka and Nardone, therefore the terms "contingent faculty" and "part-time faculty" will be used interchangeably throughout the remainder of this study.

Hiring trends in higher education are similar to those in the labor force at large, yet the percentage of people in nonstandard and contingent work

arrangements is remarkably different: Forty-three percent of faculty in all of higher education are part-time (Fogg, 2001; Roey et al., 2000); in community colleges 65 percent of faculty are part-time (Berger et al., 2001; Finner, 1999; Leatherman, 2000; Roey et al., 2000). Put another way, community colleges rely primarily on contingent employees to deliver their product (teaching) and achieve their goals. This pattern of employment is matched in no other sector of the U.S. economy and raises additional questions:

1. What is the impact of this employment arrangement on teaching and learning?

2. How does contingent employment affect all faculty members and their relationship to one another and their students?

3. What are the moral implications of creating a two-tiered faculty in community colleges?

While these questions are not the specific focus of this study, they suggest areas for further inquiry and will be broadly addressed in conversations with participants.

This study focuses on part-time faculty in community colleges because they comprise two-thirds of the faculty – they represent the norm, not the exception. Yet, aside from limited research (Roueche et al., 1995, 1996a, 1996b; Wallace, 1984), there is little systematic inquiry that explores what it is like to teach part-time in community colleges. While the experiences of part-time faculty in community colleges may be different from those in other areas of higher education,

there is limited literature related specifically to part-time faculty in community colleges. Consequently, to provide a general understanding of part-time faculty, this section reviews characteristics of those who teach part-time in all segments of higher education. This section also includes a discussion of the development of part-time employment in the community college and reviews structures that created – and now maintain – a system of privilege based solely upon a person's employment status with the college. This section concludes with an examination of literature related to women in the academy. This information, combined with prior sections, provides a context for understanding contingent employment in higher education. The findings presented in this study will allow us to examine how the experiences of the participants converge with and diverge from current literature.

Research by Gappa and Leslie (1993), Roueche et al. (1995, 1996a, 1996b) and Tuckman (1978) offers insight into the rich and interesting diversity of part-time faculty. Tuckman and Roeuche et al. presented an overview of the reasons people teach part-time and suggested strategies for involving part-time faculty in the academy; Gappa and Leslie looked further into the lives of those who teach part-time and revealed much about part-time faculty as individuals. While not focusing their research specifically on part-time faculty in community colleges, Gappa and Leslie examined part-time faculty in a variety of settings: public and private, two- and four-year colleges and universities. Leslie (1998) acknowledged

limitations of research that aggregates all part-time faculty across disciplines and institutions. He suggested that

> field-based qualitative studies may be even more fruitful in yielding up more textured and grounded understandings about who faculty are, what they do, and how their work lives are connected to and play out in varied institutional and disciplinary contexts. (p. 97)

Part-time faculty in higher education represent an important, diverse, and rapidly growing group of professionals who teach for myriad reasons. Tuckman (1978) first documented this diversity (Roueche et al., 1995; Gappa & Leslie, 1993) and developed a typology of part-time faculty. The typology resulted from a survey of over 3,700 part-time faculty members, was updated by Tucker (1992), and is summarized in Table 2.

Gappa and Leslie (1993) indicated that while "Tuckman's typology continues to provide a foundation for viewing part-time faculty employment experiences and motivations" (p. 46), their research suggested the typology was too narrow and they broadened it into four categories: (a) career enders (those who have retired or who are transitioning to retirement); (b) specialists, experts, and professionals (faculty who are not dependent on teaching for their income and who provide expertise in a particular field); (c) aspiring academics (full-time employment may or may not be a goal; their primary concern is to be recognized as contributing members of the academic community); and (d) freelancers (those who may have several jobs, one of which is teaching part-time). Roueche et al. (1995) found "that the majority of part-time faculty interviewed in the Gappa and Leslie

(1993) study fit the various descriptions…in roughly the same percentages as they appeared in Tuckman's (1978) typology" (p. 8).

Table 2. Tuckman's typology of part-time faculty.

Full-Mooners	People who teach part-time and hold full-time positions elsewhere. This group accounted for 27.6 percent of part-time faculty in Tuckman's study.
Students	Generally these are graduate students who are teaching while completing coursework or dissertations; they comprised 21.2 percent of Tuckman's sample.
Hopeful full-timers	This group includes faculty who teach part-time while waiting for an opportunity for a full-time appointment; they made up 16.6 percent of the sample.
Part-mooners	These part-time faculty members comprise 13.6 percent of the sample and include those who hold two or more part-time jobs of less than thirty-five hours per week.
Homeworkers	This is a group of people who are not seeking full-time employment and are taking care of a relative or child at home; they accounted for 6.4 percent of the sample.
Semi-retired	These faculty members accounted for 2.8 percent of the sample; they include those who have retired and may need to work to supplement their income or are simply pursuing a new career.
Part-unknowners	The remaining 11.8 percent of the sample teach part-time for a variety of reasons not covered in the above categories.

These categories serve to describe the variety of part-time faculty, the roles they fill, and the varied reasons they teach part-time. At the same time, they may inadvertently mask the political, social, and economic reality of part-time teaching: Some people *voluntarily* teach part-time, others do so *involuntarily.* Cohen and Brawer (1996) were less charitable when they referred to part-time teachers as either volunteers or captives. Nevertheless, their assessment condenses the "types" of part-time faculty and provides insight into the ways part-time faculty may view their experiences. As with part-time, contingent, and seasonal employees across the economy, there are people who choose part-time teaching because it fits their lifestyle, allows them to balance work and family obligations or continue their education. Others teach part-time while looking for a full-time position.

An important aspect of this study is the concept of privilege. Many practices that bestow privilege often remain unexamined, yet

> [in] bringing the language of critique, we ask, "Who benefits by the present structure? Who is harmed by it? What values does it affirm?" These questions challenge highly bureaucratic school structures that weaken the voices of all participants. Bringing such critique to school organizations enables us to see how certain practices are legitimated and maintained. It forces us to face the moral issues surrounding the uneven distribution of many privileges and rights....Equity and social issues become evident. (Senge et al., 2000, p. 283)

McIntosh (1993) described privileges enjoyed by dominant groups in her essay on white privilege. As she recognized her own privilege in a multi-racial society, she described aspects of White privilege as

> an invisible package of unearned assets that I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was "meant" to be oblivious. White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, guides, codebooks, passports, visas, clothes, compass, emergency gear, and blank checks. (p. 31)

The idea that privilege is invisible to those who have it is a key component of McIntosh's writing. She explained that members of a dominant group are often unaware of privilege accorded to them and have little incentive to change the social conditions that create and foster privilege. In fact, she argued, individual members of a group may actually deny they are privileged – a concept supported by Johnson (2001). "Societies and organizations promote privilege in complicated ways....privilege doesn't derive from who we are or what we've done. It is a social arrangement that depends on which category [we are sorted into and how we are treated as a result]" (Johnson, 2001, p. 36).

Based on these descriptions, one can conclude that tenured faculty members occupy a position of privilege in the academy relative to other faculty. Privilege is accorded to permanent faculty in a variety of ways: They participate on faculty selection committees, in college governance, in curriculum development, and have access to resources that part-time faculty may not, including office space, health and retirement benefits, email, office phones, and secretarial support (AAUP, 1998; Gappa, 1984). In addition, once faculty members receive tenure, they can reasonably expect to be employed for the remainder of their career (Case, 1985; Cohen & Brawer, 1977; Gappa, 1984) and enjoy a greater degree of academic

freedom than their part-time colleagues. For purposes of this study, "academic freedom" refers to the term adopted by the American Association of University Professors.

Contingent faculty, on the other hand, enjoy fewer advantages than their full-time counterparts, receive less pay, and have few, if any, benefits (Caprio, Dubowsky, Warasila, Cheatwood, & Costa, 1998; Cohen, 1992); "exclusionary devices [such as] lack of office space, mail boxes, and support staff" (Barker, 1998, p. 202) reinforce conditions of difference; and due to the tenuous nature of their positions, contingent faculty have a lesser degree of academic freedom. Part-time faculty members are often described as invisible, strangers, exploited, abused, and undervalued (Cohen, 1992; Delehant, 1989; Gappa & Leslie, 1993; Leatherman, 1998; Moser, 1999; Roueche et al., 1996a, 1996b; Wolf, 1997; Zabel, 2000) – characteristics of a subordinate, marginalized group (Johnson, 2001).

The emergence of a two-tiered faculty concerened Cohen and Brawer (1977) in their analysis of two-year college faculty. It was apparent to them that the dramatic increase in the number of part-time faculty (from 40 percent in 1971 to 53 percent just four years later) had implications for community colleges. They attributed the rise in the number of part-time faculty to two factors: "changing emphases and finances" (p. 57). In the matter of changing emphases, they explain that as early as the 1950s and 1960s community colleges hired part-time faculty in an effort to quickly respond to demands from students who no longer wanted

"typical occupational or academic programs" (p. 57), but classes related to personal enrichment, lifelong learning, and/or remedial education. In terms of finances, classes taught by the part-time faculty cost the institution less than classes taught by full-time faculty. Although their research indicated part-time faculty generally had less teaching experience than full-time faculty and were somewhat less likely to hold a doctorate degree (12 percent of part-time faculty had doctorates compared to 15 percent of full-time faculty), Cohen and Brawer determined that these differences could not account for the fact that "part-time faculty...occupy a completely different status within the institution" (p. 58). This difference in status, they argued, is conveyed through structural and social arrangements: a less formalized hiring process, relationships with their peers and staff on campus, the amount of time they spend on campus, and the amount of time spent on non-teaching activities (i.e., committee service).

Cohen and Brawer (1977) predicted that (a) pro-rata pay for part-time faculty would alleviate some of the disparate treatment and (b) "the trend toward employing increasingly large numbers of part-timers may be reversed if community college enrollments decline" (p. 63). Unfortunately, current literature illustrates that part-time faculty salaries still pale in comparison to full-time faculty salaries (Cohen & Brawer, 1996; CPEC, 2001) and enrollment declines have not decreased the number of part-time faculty. In fact, while enrollment decreased slightly from 5.46 million students in 1991 to 5.32 million in 1997, the number of part-time

faculty *increased* rather than decreased. Colleges appear to be controlling costs by reducing the number of full-time faculty and replacing them with part-time faculty (Berger et al., 2001): In 1983, 43 percent of community college faculty were full-time; by 1997 only 34 percent were (Cohen & Brawer, 1996; Roey et al., 2000). Faculty members were represented in approximately the same percentages in 1999, with 35 percent full-time faculty and 65 percent part-time (Berger et al., 2001). The shift toward an increasing number of contingent faculty has mirrored patterns "in most other areas of the American work force in the 1990s, where the tendency has been to convert as many jobs as possible to positions for which the employer has minimal responsibility for staff continuity or fringe benefits" (Cohen & Brawer, 1996, p. 88). Table 3 provides an overview of hiring trends in community colleges from 1953 through 1997.

"[T]here is no one single, simple explanation for the increase in the number of part-time and adjunct faculty in American colleges and universities" (Leslie, 1998b, p. 11). As with other sectors of the economy, the reasons for hiring contingent faculty include providing organizational flexibility, lowering costs, responding to changes in enrollment demands, and adding specific expertise to the faculty (Haeger, 1998; Jacobs, 1998; Tolbert, 1998). It can also be argued that employing contingent faculty gives management more control over the faculty.

Rhoades (1996) found that the increasing use of part-time faculty gave management wide latitude in the selection and supervision of faculty: "In the

Table 3. Full- and part-time faculty in two-year colleges

Year	Total Number of Instructors	Full-time Instructors		Part-time Instructors	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1953	23,762	42,473	52	11,289	48
1963	44,405	25,438	57	18,967	43
1973	151,947	89,958	59	61,989	41
1983	251,606	109,436	43	142,170	57
1992	253,711	118,194	47	135,518	53
1997	290,451	100,063	34	190,388	66

Data for years 1953 – 1992 (Cohen and Brawer, 1996, p. 86). Data for 1997, National Center for Education Statistics (Roey et al., 2000).

absence of...contractual constraints, managerial discretion in dealing with part-timers in special individual workforce actions is extensive" (p. 634). He also determined that collective bargaining agreements served to codify a culture of stratification and subordination of faculty. For example, he cites the following features of collective bargaining contracts:

> 1. Most contracts "do <u>not</u> accord part-time faculty <u>any</u> of the Rights/perquisites (*sic*) accorded full-time faculty" (p. 644, emphasis in original).
>
> 2. Of the contracts that define some rights/perquisites for part-time faculty, eight "involve negative references, explicitly denying part-timers certain Rights/perquisites (*sic*)" (p. 644).

Rhoades stressed that while the "literature suggests that the limited representation of part-time faculty is largely the result of the reluctance of full-time faculty to

include them in the bargaining units...institutions have also resisted including part-timers in bargaining units" (p. 643). He further suggested that state and federal regulations and case law have contributed to the situation. Rhoades concluded by recommending additional study to "disaggregate further the work and experience of part-time faculty" (p. 654).

Twenty years after the research conducted by Cohen and Brawer (1977), Gappa and Leslie (1997) studied the "rise in the use of part-time faculty and examine[d] whether or not academic employment resembles a dual labor market" (p. 1). They reach a similar conclusion to Cohen and Brawer: "[P]art-timers and full-timers are similar in their characteristics, but they have very different working conditions" (p. 1). As in their earlier study (Gappa & Leslie, 1993), they looked at part-time faculty in all segments of higher education. They agree that the increase in the number of part-time faculty in higher education results from institutions' needs to control costs and maintain flexibility as well as the growth of community colleges and the number of part-time faculty in community colleges.

Gappa and Leslie (1997) concluded that economic factors, changing student demands, and an over-supply of qualified teachers who are willing to work "at comparatively low wages" (p. 7), led to the development of a secondary workforce and that "[i]nstitutions have come to depend more on this secondary work force of nontenurable part-timers to do the productive work of teaching" (p. 7). They pointed out that in a dual labor market, primary jobs provide rights and privileges

to some (in this case permanent faculty) that are not extended to those in secondary jobs (i.e., part-time faculty). Primary jobs provide "relatively high wages, good working conditions, opportunities for advancement, security,...equity and due process" (p. 5). People in secondary jobs not only receive less pay, their working conditions are different, and they have fewer opportunities for advancement. In addition, secondary jobs are marked by "instability and high turnover" and are subject to "arbitrary and capricious treatment" (p. 5). They found that in terms of overall "qualifications, motivations, and satisfactions" (p. 13), a dual labor market does not exist between full- and part-time faculty. However, they indicated "the gap between part- and full-time faculty is less a product of inherent differences between them...than it is of the conditions under which they work" (p. 13).

Rassell and Appelbaum (1998) used criteria established by Kalleberg et al. (1997) to measure whether contingent teaching jobs are good or bad. They asked: (a) whether wages paid to part-time faculty are similar to those in full-time positions with similar characteristics, (b) whether or not the jobs provide fringe benefits, (c) if contingent employees experience an equivalent level of job security, and (d) if the job arrangement reflects the employee's preference. They concluded that "experiences of academics in nonstandard jobs are quite similar to those of other professionals...in terms of job quality and worker preference" (p. 30). They also found that contingent faculty were "markedly more dissatisfied with their work arrangements" (p. 35) and expressed a higher rate of preference for full-time

employment than professional nonstandard workers as a whole. Using wages, benefits, and job security as measures of job quality, Rassell and Appelbaum found contingent faculty lagging behind permanent faculty in all areas – leading one to conclude that job quality is different for part- and full-time faculty. They determined that "[t]he quality of nonstandard jobs is of heightened importance because the majority of nonstandard workers, including professionals generally and college faculty in particular, are women who may already be disadvantaged in the workplace in terms of wages and promotions" (p. 30).

Indeed, women in the academy face the same issues as women across other sectors of the economy. The worlds between academic work and personal lives are inseparable yet the academy "shout[s] out loudly that our personal lives must play no significant role in our scholarly work" (Dudovitz, 1984, p. vii). As noted earlier, women appear to be the primary care takers for their family, shoulder a disproportionate share of household chores, and are more likely than men to be responsible for childcare arrangements. As a result, "women's participation in other activities such as professional development, politics or business remains contingent upon the ability to make satisfactory substitute arrangements for family and childcare" (Astin & Malik, 1994, p. 183). Lie and Malik (1994) indicated there is a relationship between women who have young children and low publication rates. Since research and publication rates are essential to faculty advancement, many women faculty are concentrated in lower academic ranks ostensibly due to lower

rates of publication and research. Astin and Malik (1994) went on to say that "American academic women continue to lag behind men with respect to their overall participation, status and rewards...[and subtle] forms of discrimination continue to affect the lives of academic women" (p. 192). These subtle forms of discrimination include benign neglect as well as tension between managing a family and the demands of an academic career. The dynamic, and at times, opposing, demands of managing a family and academic career appear to be more significant for women than men.

In her analysis of the National Study of Postsecondary Faculty (NSOPF:93), Perna (2001) found that women are concentrated in full-time, non-tenure track positions. It is unclear from the data whether women prefer these teaching arrangements or whether "women may be more likely to hold these lower status positions because they are perceived by colleges and universities to be less productive and/or incapable of succeeding in full-time tenure-track positions" (p.604). Her findings suggested that women's employment status in the academy is "attributable in part to their marital and parental status" and that "being married increases the odds of holding a part-time, nontenure-track position for women but not for men" (p.604). Glazer-Raymo (1999) responded to this phenomenon as well as the notion of benign neglect by issuing the following challenge:

> Rather than assert that women are more likely to work part-time than to earn tenure-track appointments, to teach more and publish less, to obtain their doctorates in the humanities rather than in the hard sciences, to remain single or childless, to leave rather than

> remain at the university, to be assistant and associate administrators rather than chief executive officers, it would be more appropriate to determine what makes institutional structures more compatible with men's lives. (p .205)

There is a fair amount of literature that addresses women in higher education, focusing specifically on inequalities of status, resource distribution, and power (Caplan, 1993; Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Lie, Malik, & Harris, 1994; Luke, 2001; Luke & Gore, 1992; Wenniger & Conroy, 2001). These articles, essays, and stories mirror the experiences of women in other sectors of the economy and, while compelling, they tell most of us what we already know: The academy is modeled around white, heterosexual, male norms of teaching, scholarship, and organization. Others who attempt to navigate this world are precisely that: other. We are different than the norm if we are not male, not white, and not heterosexual. While women comprise more than half of the students enrolled in higher education today (Morgan, 2002), Table 4 illustrates that faculty representation does not parallel this pattern.

At first glance, it appears that women have made greater strides toward equality in community colleges than they have at four-year universities. Townsend (1995) argued, however, that the higher representation of women in community colleges reflects not greater gains, but greater marginalization. Townsend, a former community college instructor now working at a four-year university, asserted that community colleges are less prestigious institutions than four-year colleges and universities, thus the overrepresentation of women in community colleges

Table 4. Faculty by gender and institution type (Fall, 1997)

Total faculty, all institutions

Total men, all institutions	587,420	59.34%
Total women, all institutions	402,393	40.65%

Public 4-year/total faculty

Men	257,577	63.74%
Women	146,532	36.26%

Public 2-year/total faculty

Men	149,094	51.33%
Women	141,357	48.67%

National Center for Education Statistics (NCES-2001-34; NCES 2000-164)

compared to universities is further evidence of women being relegated to lower academic ranks. She argued this situation was even worse than it seemed because community colleges did not purposely hire women for altruistic reasons, rather women were hired when there was a shortage of teachers and community colleges simply needed to fill positions. The teacher shortage inadvertently opened doors for women in community colleges – doors that are opening much more slowly in four-year institutions.

In spite of the class systems, discrimination, and questionable working conditions, students continue to enroll in graduate programs with the hope of teaching in higher education. Given what the literature has shown, it is easy to

wonder why anyone would choose a career in higher education. Yet, in spite of the challenges, working in higher education offers tremendous opportunities to make a difference, influence change, and educate a new generation of scholars. People of color, white women, people with disabilities, and those of varied sexual orientation all have opportunities to bring new ways of knowing and learning to the academy (Gilligan, 1982; hooks, 1994). Furthermore, we in higher education have the opportunity, if not the obligation, to challenge hegemonic practices and create space for new ideas.

SUMMARY

The literature review provides a context for understanding employment trends in the U.S. in general and in higher education in particular. The literature suggests several reasons why employers have come to rely on employees in nonstandard and contingent work arrangements: They are cheaper, provide the organization with a flexible workforce, can be hired to fill a specific need, and generally do not unionize. Furthermore, the literature describes the impact of nonstandard and contingent work arrangements on the employees and employers and suggests social implications of an emerging two-tiered workforce. Finally, we learn from the literature that women and men of color are most threatened by these employment practices.

We also see from the literature that where other sectors of the economy rely on contingent employees to supplement their core unit of employees, contingent

faculty in community colleges comprise a larger proportion of the workforce than any other sector. "Perhaps without intending to do so, institutions have created a substantial secondary workforce....What was once thought to be a temporary solution to temporary problems has become a more or less permanent solution to serious and worsening fiscal problems" (Gappa & Leslie, 1993, p. 105). Indeed, the literature revealed that increasingly full-time positions are being replaced by part-time positions in all segments of higher education. This trend impacts the academy in many ways: There are fewer full-time faculty to carry out traditional roles and responsibilities such as curriculum development, advising, tenure review, and governance. Additionally, students may have less opportunity to meet with faculty who feel both a connection with and long-term commitment to the college. Furthermore, the high number of part-time faculty may be depressing wages for all faculty members in community colleges (Tilly, 1992).

There is scant evidence in the literature to indicate community colleges have successfully integrated part-time faculty into the academic community. Instead, the literature indicates that college officials do not systematically or successfully integrate part-time faculty into the academic community and continue to search for answers to this challenge(Roueche et al., 1996a). Literature further suggests that part-time faculty experiences in the academy are strongly affected by their employment status (Nelson, 1997; Wolf, 1997).

Part-time faculty members are a heterogeneous group who teach for diverse reasons. Many are interested in full-time teaching appointments while others teach part-time by choice. The literature suggests that those in part-time work arrangements by choice are generally more satisfied than those who prefer full-time employment (Kalleberg et al., 1997; Polivka et al., 2000). It is reasonable to conclude that part-time faculty share similar levels of dis/satisfaction.

The literature raises several important questions this study addresses:

1. Do women who teach part-time have characteristics and experiences similar to women in the part-time workforce as a whole?

2. Are women who teach part-time satisfied with their work arrangements? If yes, what contributes to their level of satisfaction? If not, what detracts from their level of satisfaction?

3. Why have women chosen to teach part-time in community colleges?

Unfortunately, current literature has focused primarily on part-time faculty in higher education in the aggregate without specific emphasis on community colleges. Gappa and Leslie (1993) and Baldwin and Chronister (2001) examined part-time and non-tenure track faculty, respectively. Baldwin and Chronister did not study any community college faculty while Gappa and Leslie studied a variety of public and private colleges and universities, including three community colleges. Their combined research provides descriptions of the experiences of faculty in non-traditional work arrangements and offer models for examining the experiences of

part-time faculty in community colleges. In contrast, studies related to part-time faculty in community colleges (Roueche et al., 1995, 1996a, 1996b) have focused on policies, procedures, and practices as described by college officials rather than the experience of part-time teaching as described by the faculty.

In comparing these approaches and reviewing other studies (Arendell, 1986; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Negrey, 1993), I concluded that personal narratives and individual stories would reveal substantive information about part-time faculty – information that might be missing from a quantitative study. Such revelations can deepen our understanding the experiences of part-time faculty; lead us to question current practices; and move toward new solutions that provide greater flexibility and opportunities for teachers, students, and the college. The next chapter describes the specific methodology that frames this study to achieve these goals as well as an overview of the theories that guide the investigation.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The previous chapter presented a review of literature related to part-time and contingent employment in the U.S. moving from a broad overview to a discussion of how issues manifest in higher education. The chapter concluded with brief, introductory comments regarding the use of personal narrative to increase our understanding of part-time faculty in community colleges. This chapter expands on the introductory comments, and is arranged in the following sections: methodology and research perspective, study design and data collection, trustworthiness of the data, and protection of participants.

My research perspective, or epistemology, reflects my values and impacts the questions I ask. The methodology is guided by – and supports – my epistemology while offering an avenue for examining the lived experiences of participants. The chapter moves to a discussion of the study design and data collection: The study design is directly influenced by the methodology and my research perspective. This chapter includes a review of this influence as well as an explanation of the strengths and weaknesses of the design. This chapter concludes with an overview of strategies to ensure trustworthiness of data and for the protection of participants. The sensitive nature of the data combined with the contingent employment status of participants required that steps be taken to ensure confidentiality. In addition, the identity of each college in the study is protected.

APPROACH: PHENOMENOLOGY AND FEMINIST RESEARCH

"The preferred method for natural science, since Galileo, has been detached observation, controlled experiment, and mathematical or quantitative measurement....In contrast, the preferred method for human science involves description, interpretation, and self-reflective or critical analysis" (Van Manen, 1990, p. 4). This study seeks to understand what it means to be a part-time faculty member, that is, "reality as it is subjectively experienced by [the participants]" (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 1999, p. 309), to discover whether there is something essential to the experience of being a part-time faculty member, how part-time faculty perceive their role in the academy, and what motivates them to continue teaching. This descriptive, interpretive, and self-reflective look into lived experiences is the "starting point and end point of phenomenological research" (Van Manen, 1990, p. 36).

Phenomenological research aims to "construct an animating, evocative description (text) of human actions, behaviors, intentions, and experiences as we meet them in the lifeworld" (Van Manen, 1990, p. 19). Phenomenologists emphasize "the subjective aspects of people's behavior. They attempt to gain entry into the conceptual world of their subjects (Geertz, 1973) in order to understand how and what meaning they construct around events in their daily lives" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 23). Furthermore, phenomenologists believe there are multiple ways of interpreting events "through interacting with others" (Bogdan & Biklen,

1998, p.23) and that reality is socially constructed as it is experienced (Gall et al., 1999; Bogdan & Biklen, 1998).

According to Van Manen (1990) "phenomenological research may be seen as a dynamic interplay among six research activities" (p. 30 - 34):

1. Turning to a phenomenon that seriously interests us and commits us to the world. Van Manen explains that "[e]very project of phenomenological inquiry is driven by a commitment of turning to an abiding concern" and that "[a] phenomenological description is always *one* interpretation, and no single interpretation of human experience will ever exhaust the possibility of yet another complementary, or even potentially *richer* or *deeper* description" (p. 31, emphasis in original).
2. Investigating experience as we live it rather than conceptualize it.
3. Reflecting on the essential themes that characterize the phenomenon. Van Manen suggests "phenomenological research consists of reflectively bringing into nearness that which tends to be obscure, that which tends to evade the intelligibility of our natural attitude of everyday life" (p. 32).
4. Describing the phenomenon through the art of writing and rewriting.
5. Maintaining a strong and oriented relation to the phenomenon. Van Manen states that "phenomenological human

science is a form of qualitative research that is extraordinarily demanding of its practitioners" (p. 33) and suggests that the researcher cannot be a detached observer but must remain strongly oriented to the phenomenon being studied.

6. Balancing the research context by considering parts and whole. Here Van Manen explains that:

> one needs to constantly measure the overall design of the study/text against the significance that the parts must play in the total textual structure....At several points it is necessary to step back and look at the total, at the contextual givens and how each of the parts needs to contribute toward the total. (p. 33 – 34)

According to Schwandt (1998), "the phenomenological-interpretive perspective is now being blended with insights from...feminist methodologies" (p. 245). A feminist research perspective will be used to interpret the experiences of women who teach part-time in community colleges. "What characterizes [a feminist research perspective] in its broadest sense is the belief that gender is a category which is relevant to the study of knowledge" (Tanesini, 1999, p. 38); additionally, an "important principle of feminist inquiry [is] that research on women should also be for women" (Kirsch, 1999, p. 2). "Feminist scholars, then, have called for more research *for* women in order to honor the voices of participants, to create opportunities for reciprocal learning, and most importantly, to empower participants to change the conditions of their lives" (Kirsch, 1999, p. 3, emphasis in original).

Fonow and Cook (1991) describe four characteristics of feminist research that are summarized by Kirsch (1999) and outlined below:

1. Reflexivity which "enables researchers to be introspective, to analyze the research process in response to participants, and to adjust and refine their research goals as they learn more about those they study" (p. 3).

2. An action orientation that "keeps the research project focused on emancipatory goals, allows the feminist researcher to engage in political action, to influence public policy, and to create the 'potential ability of feminist research to change the lives of women'" (p. 3).

3. Attention to the affective component of research "can help scholars discover an important vantage point from which to understand the lives of participants" (p. 3). Kirsch goes on to say that if "scholars ignore the emotional dimensions of their work, they are also likely to ignore important aspects of people's lived experience and may miss crucial elements in the interpretation of interviews and other data" (p. 3 - 4).

4. Use of situation-at-hand involves "studying common environments...and paying attention to everyday events, all of

which can help to valorize the lives of ordinary women and acknowledge the significance of daily lived experience" (p. 4).

Kirsch (1999) further suggests that in addition to the characteristics cited by Fonow and Cook (1991), feminist research should include a commitment to: (a) ask research questions which acknowledge and validate women's experiences; (b) collaborate with participants as much as possible so that growth and learning can be mutually beneficial, interactive, and cooperative; (c) analyze how social, historical, and cultural factors shape the research site as well as participants' goals, values, and experiences; (d) correct androcentric norms by calling into question what has been considered "normal" and what has been regarded as "deviant;" (e) take responsibility for the representation of others in research reports by assessing probable and actual effects on different audiences; and (f) acknowledge the limitations and contradictions inherent in research data, as well as alternative interpretations of that data (Kirsch, 1999, p. 4 – 5). Although certain characteristics help define feminist research, there is no monolithic view of a feminist research perspective/epistemology (Code, 1991; Tong, 1998). This multi-dimensional perspective simultaneously strengthens the role of feminist research and can leave it vulnerable to criticism:

> Because feminist thought is kaleidoscopic, the reader's preliminary impression may be one of chaos and confusion, of dissension and disagreement, of fragmentation and splintering. But a closer inspection will always reveal new visions, new structures, new relationships for personal and political life, all of which will be different tomorrow than today. (Tong, 1998, p. 280)

Furthermore, discussions regarding feminist epistemology are politically charged and influenced by the background and experiences of the researcher (Collins, 2000; hooks, 1984; Tong, 1998). West and Fenstermaker (1995) describe one area of tension:

> [F]eminist thought suffers from a white middle-class bias. The privileging of white and middle-class sensibilities in feminist thought results from both who did the theorizing and how they did it....Given that academics dominate the production of published feminist scholarship, it is not surprising that feminist theory is dominated by white, highly educated women. (p. 10)

Complicating this further is that "(w)hite middle-class feminists...may offer conscientious expressions of concern over 'racism-and-classism,' believing that they have thereby taken into consideration profound differences in women's experience; simultaneously, they can fail to see those differences at all" (Bhavani as cited in West & Fenstermaker, 1995, p. 11).

As noted previously, it is not gender, race, class, or sexuality alone, but the *intersection* of these characteristics that define who we are and how we view the world. An important component of feminist research, then, must be to understand one's own biases (and privileges) as well as the limits on what may be fully understood about others. This does not mean that white, middle-class women should only conduct research for and about white, middle-class women; rather it is a call to consciousness. As a white, middle-class female researcher, I cannot presume to understand the experiences of all white women, all women, or all

middle-class women. Moreover, if should I say that I'm "class- or color-blind" when working with participants, I am denying the very characteristics that affect who the participants are and how they experience the world. When conducting research from a feminist perspective the researcher must keep in mind the characteristics of the participants, including herself, and how those characteristics frame perceptions, questions asked, and the ways questions are answered (Borland, 1991; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Devault, 1990; Henning-Stout, 1994; Riessman, 1987; Williams & Heikes, 1993).

Fine (1992) encourages researchers to consider the "disruptive" possibilities of feminist research. Toward this end, Fine discusses four possible stances researchers "can take....[and suggests that researchers} consider the kinds of political decisions we have always made and continue to make in, through, and with our research" (p. 212). The four stances – ventriloquy, voices, activist feminist research, and participatory activist research – are summarized below. Fine describes ventriloquy as an anonymous telling of the truth. The author's personal characteristics (gender, race, class, and sexual orientation) are not revealed. The researcher's voice is not present in the research, and the research itself is meant to transmit information. The stance Fine calls "voices" is similar to ventriloquy except that the researcher acknowledges her own characteristics and biases, and explains how these characteristics impact the telling of participants' stories. The researcher needs to understand herself first and has to be willing to hear unexpected

information. Fine admonishes researchers to acknowledge their role in editing participants' narratives and to be clear about how this work is done.

Activist feminist research "[seeks] to unearth, interrupt, and open new frames intellectual and political theory and change" (Fine, 1992, p 221). Fine goes on to highlight three distinctions of activist feminist scholarship:

> First, the author is explicit about the space in which she stands politically and theoretically – even as her stances are multiple, shifting, and mobile. Second, the text displays critical analyses of current social arrangements and their ideological frames. And, third, the narrative reveals and invents disruptive images of what could be (Lather, 1986). (p. 221)

The fourth stance – or strategy – described by Fine is called participatory activist research. This strategy "assumes that knowledge is best gathered in the midst of social change projects...[the] work is at once disruptive, transformative, and reflective" (p. 227).

The strategy selected for this research project is most closely aligned with the activist feminist stance described by Fine (1992) and includes those characteristics described by Fonow and Cook (1991) and Kirsch (1999): reflexivity, action orientation, attention to the affective component of the research, and studying common environments. The goal of this project is to understand the experiences of women who teach part-time and examine structures that seem natural and often continue without question. In disrupting current realities we can begin to consider new possibilities for the academic community.

STUDY DESIGN AND DATA COLLECTION

Conducting research from a feminist/critical perspective places a specific responsibility on the researcher. The researcher is highly involved with the participants, may uncover painful information, will have to make potentially difficult choices about the information to be published, and the interpretation of participants' words. Interpretation will not always be easy and may lead to misunderstanding (Borland, 1991; Riessman, 1987). The added responsibility results from a commitment to fully include participants in a meaningful way using a different kind of engagement to give voice to the participants and ensure that the reality constructed represents their experiences. This type of involvement cannot occur through the use of an anonymous quantitative questionnaire. A questionnaire separates the researcher from participants and may afford little opportunity for participants to clarify or add to their responses. I am interested in a greater level of connection with participants than a quantitative questionnaire provides: I seek more involvement with participants – involvement that can only be achieved through in-depth interaction and reflection with participants. To achieve a high level of connection and involvement, I enter the participants' world:

> not as a person who pauses while passing by, but as a person who has come for a visit; not as a person who knows everything, but as a person who has come to learn; not as a person who wants to be like them, but as a person who wants to know what it is like to be them. (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 73)

Bogdan and Biklen suggest "(t)he researcher's goal is to increase the subjects' level of comfort, encouraging them to talk about what they normally talk about and, eventually, to confide in the researcher" (p. 73). To that end, I engaged in a series of conversations with participants. In some instances the conversations were coupled with observations of public meetings and a review of college documents. The selection of participants, the design of conversations, observations, and document review are described throughout the remainder of this chapter.

To facilitate interaction and reflection, the number of participants was limited to six. Increasing the sample size would have decreased the amount of time spent with each participant, thereby compromising the quality of the information gathered. The investigation included part-time faculty from two community colleges in different states: one in the southwestern United States, one in the northwestern United States. In addition to their geographic location, colleges were selected because they are in different settings (one is in a metropolitan area, the other in a more rural area), the diversity of their student body (one is ethnically diverse while the other is comprised primarily of White students), the proportion of part-time faculty at the college, and the level of faculty governance (one college is located in a state where faculty participation in college governance is mandated; the other college is in a state where faculty are less involved with college governance). The selection of two distinct community colleges provided an opportunity to compare and contrast the experiences of women who teach in very different

settings. The colleges are identified by pseudonyms throughout the study. The college in the southwest is referred to as Pleasant Valley Community College; the college in the northwest is referred to as Green Hills Community College. The colleges will be described in detail in a later section.

The selection of participants was less structured and relied primarily on referrals. The first step involved a decision regarding the composition of the participants. The only criteria for inclusion in the study were that: (a) they taught part-time credit courses at one or more community colleges, and (b) they were women. All participants were white, married, and middle class. This homogeneity provides a measure of consistency since race, class, sexual orientation, and (dis)ability are factors that affect one's perceptions as well as levels of oppression and/or discrimination experienced (Collins, 2000). While this consistency made some aspects of the study clearer (for example, other factors that may lead to marginalization were not evident), it is recognized as a limitation and is discussed in a later section.

The next step in the recruitment process involved establishing a contact at the college. As a courtesy, the Vice President for Academic Affairs at each college was contacted and informed that I would be meeting with part-time faculty at the college. In addition, the Vice President was asked the name of an appropriate faculty contact. At Pleasant Valley Community College (PVCC), the Vice President referred me to the President of the Academic Senate who, in turn, gave

me the names of the two part-time faculty representatives on the Senate. The President of the Senate was able to give me their e-mail addresses and my initial contact with them was via e-mail. One representative responded and provided the names of several potential participants. I wrote letters to each of these faculty members and attempted to deliver them on campus, which as it turned out, was more difficult than might first appear: Some of the part-time faculty received mail through their department; others had a mailbox in a central office. Of the faculty to whom I sent letters, five contacted me: One said she was not able to participate; four said they were. Due to our mutual availability, I met with three of the four people.

At Green Hills Community College (GHCC), the recruitment process proved more challenging. The Vice President for Academic Affairs provided the names of several Division Deans who could put me in touch with part-time faculty members. There is no Academic Senate President, however, the Vice President for Academic Affairs also provided the name of a person he considered a faculty leader. The faculty leader, one Division Dean, and another campus administrator either provided names of part-time faculty members or gave my name to potential participants. I talked with approximately twelve part-time faculty members in order to get three participants. Of those who expressed interest, one participant and I agreed she was not the best match for the study: While she is a part-time teacher, her load consists solely of non-credit classes. Two faculty members expressed

interest in the study, but felt they could not commit the time. Another participant expressed interest, but we were not able to find a time when both of us could meet. Of the three participants from GHCC, one was referred by a Division Dean, I found another using the college website and contacted her directly, and the third was referred by another participant.

Guided interviews were conducted with each participant. In the interviews participants were asked to describe: (a) their experiences as part-time faculty, including perceptions of their roles, their contributions, and the extent to which they feel valued/oppressed; (b) their lives outside the academy; and (c) their perception of the impact part-time teaching had had on their careers. In-depth conversations and guided interviews provided flexibility in the research. Other options for conducting interviews included asking participants the same open-ended questions or asking the same closed, fixed response questions. However, a list of questions:

> ...tempts one to control interview topics, a hallmark of the male interviewing norm. Worse yet, as the interview proceeds on its inevitably unique career, its resemblance to the topic decreases, and the interviewer's dismay increases about the loss of her ideal interview. What emerges and develops through dialogue are issues – the chaotic and problematic process of two human beings thinking and communicating. It is this rich dialogue that holds ontological priority, not an impoverished list. (Minister, 1991, p. 36 – 37)

To ask all participants the same questions can make it easier to analyze data and ensure comparability of answers. However, since a set of fixed questions offers the

researcher less flexibility, less opportunity to follow-up with participants, and is inconsistent with feminist methodology, informal conversational and guided

Table 5. Interview techniques

Informal Conversational Interview

Characteristics	Questions emerge from the immediate context and are asked in the natural course of things; there is no predetermination of question topics or wording.
Strengths	Increases the salience and relevance of questions; interviews are built on and emerge from observations; the interview can be matched to individuals and circumstances.
Weaknesses	Different information collected from different people with different questions. Less systematic and comprehensive if certain questions do not arise "naturally." Data organization and analysis can be quite difficult.

Guided Interview Approach

Characteristics	Topics and issues to be covered are specified in advance, in outline form; interviewer decides sequence and working of questions in the course of the interview.
Strengths	The outline increases the comprehensiveness of the data and makes data collection somewhat systematic for each respondent. Logical gaps in data can be anticipated and closed. Interviews remain fairly conversations (*sic*) and situational.
Weaknesses	Important and salient topics may be inadvertently omitted. Interviewer flexibility in sequencing and working questions can result in substantially different responses from different perspectives, thus reducing the comparability of responses.

(Patton as cited in Tuckman, 1999, p. 405)

interviews were more appropriate for this study. Table 5 provides a summary of the strengths and weaknesses of these interview techniques. In the end, I chose to build the conversations around a core set of questions (see Appendix A) to provide consistency between interviews and facilitate the analysis of data. The core questions were then supplemented with questions that arose during the course of our time together. The additional questions were generally asked to follow up on an issue raised by a participant; at times, they were asked to help develop a clearer understanding of their experiences.

The interviews were designed to be two hours. Minister (1991) encourages a feminist researcher to "discard [her] own research-oriented time frame in favor of narrators' temporal expectations" (p. 36). In following this advice, the interviews varied in length, some lasting two to three hours, others as long as seven. The same core questions were asked in each interview, yet not always in the same order. Some of the core questions were adapted from Gappa and Leslie (1993) and updated for this study. To encourage interaction, questions flowed both ways: Not only were participants asked questions, they asked questions of me.

Interviews were held in locations selected by participants: on college campuses, in coffeehouses, and in participants' homes. The location of the interviews provided insight into the experiences of the participants: Not one had a private office in which we could meet. An initial meeting with one participant was

to be held in an office she shared with a full-time faculty member, however, because the full-time faculty member was in the office, it was understood that we needed to find another location; the participant suggested a bench in a courtyard. Another participant and I conducted our interviews in the tutoring/learning resources center on campus. Although our presence was inconspicuous, the location was neither private nor quiet. The tapes of our meetings include conversations between others in the center, interactions between students and staff at the information counter, and countless alarms that sounded when students entered or exited the center. Another time one participant reserved a room for our meeting. On the day of the meeting, we arrived to find the room already in use. The participant contacted the appropriate staff member who confirmed we had the room reserved. However, the person who was using the room (without reserving it) told us *we* needed to find another room. Again, it was understood that we were expected to accommodate another person's need.

STRATEGIES TO ENSURE SOUNDNESS OF DATA

To ensure trustworthiness of data, data analysis, and interpretation of data, tape-recorded conversations were supplemented with observations and a review of college documents. This section reviews how these steps were undertaken and how they contributed to the study, and concludes with an explanation of the process for ensuring trustworthiness the interview content.

Observations

The research was originally planned to include observations of participants in their classrooms and in professional interactions with colleagues. However, after attending two meetings on campus it became apparent that the presence of a researcher could compromise the confidentiality of the participants. I attended an Academic Senate meeting and a union meeting; both meetings were open to the public. At the Senate meeting, I was asked to sign in (as were all visitors) and four Senators asked me who I was and why I was interested in the meeting. The agenda for this meeting included rather controversial issues and Senators were concerned about who was in attendance: Some wondered if I was a reporter, others asked if I was a faculty member at the college. At the union meeting, faculty members assumed I was a member of the faculty and attempted to include me in the discussion, even asking me if I had any concerns as a faculty member at PVCC. My attendance at these meetings confirmed that my presence on campus would be noticed and that attempting to observe participants, no matter how discreet, would not go unnoticed. Study participants also attended these meetings. Although we later discussed our perceptions of these meetings, we did not interact during the meetings.

The meetings provided insight into the dynamics of the faculty at the college and confirmed how participants described faculty relationships: the faculty at PVCC was polarized, and controversial issues appeared to exacerbate that divide.

For example, at the Academic Senate meeting, faculty members were discussing a controversial change to graduation requirements. The discussion included accusations of behind-the-scenes negotiations, intentional miscommunication, and serious breaches of collegiality. As soon as the change was approved, one Senator abruptly resigned and left the meeting. At the union meeting, several faculty members were present to discuss the need for the union, dues, and collective bargaining. One full-time faculty member wanted to know how many full-time faculty were on the union executive board while another accused the part-time faculty of having their "hands on his wallet" in order to secure their own pay raises and collect dues.

College documents

Studies by Roeuche et al. (1996a) and Rhoades (1996) indicate that college practices and official documents, such as collective bargaining agreements, define working conditions, expectations, rights, and privileges. In addition to the interviews and observations, selected college documents were reviewed: the college websites, faculty demographic information, faculty handbooks, and part-time faculty contracts. The faculty at PVCC had only recently organized and are in the process of negotiating their first contract; the faculty at GHCC are not part of a union, therefore, there were no collective bargaining agreements to review. However, the college websites as well as faculty handbooks were reviewed.

The initial review of the colleges' websites supported participants' perceptions of their status within the college: They were either not listed on the website or were listed separately from full-time faculty. This separation and/or failure to list faculty on the website was consistent with participants' experiences of being treated as "less than" their full-time colleagues. Several months later the PVCC website had been updated and included part-time faculty on the website under "faculty." It is unclear whether this change is the result of the new President, the increasing presence of part-time faculty at the college or another factor. Nevertheless, it does mark a positive step in increasing the visibility of part-time faculty at the college.

The faculty handbooks offered another perspective on the role of part-time faculty at each college. Participants from GHCC explained there was one handbook for all faculty with specific areas that addressed the needs of part-time faculty. This is consistent with what I found in reviewing the handbook: The handbook addresses general issues and generally does not distinguish between full- and part-time faculty. Participants at GHCC did not see the contract for employment as a contract, per se, but as an offer of employment. Again, this is consistent with the document I reviewed: The document is a letter that outlines the courses a person is scheduled to teach in a subsequent term and includes an area for the part-time faculty member to indicate whether or not she accepts the assignment.

At PVCC, participants described a similar term-to-term contract, though hesitated to call it a contract. They viewed it much like participants from GHCC – as an offer of employment. Each of the participants from PVCC also described two faculty handbooks. They indicted one was entitled "The Faculty Handbook," with a second handbook called "Part-time Faculty." I received no response from college administrators to my request for a copy of the part-time faculty contract and handbook. However, the college website now includes a copy of the faculty handbook. The faculty handbook describes general issues related to teaching at PVCC, professional obligations for full-time faculty members (i.e., committee assignments), and evaluation procedures. The evaluation procedures are distinctly different for full- and part-time faculty; a finding that is consistent with experiences reported by participants.

Tape-recorded interviews

Conversations with participants were tape recorded, thus providing the opportunity to focus on the conversation without the need to take notes. Additional steps taken to ensure soundness of the data include multiple listenings of the tape-recorded interviews and participant verification of the interpretation. A high level of content validity can be assured through separate listenings of each interview (Taylor, 1999); therefore, the taped interviews were reviewed twice. When necessary, participants were contacted for follow up interviews. Because significant problems can arise if a researcher's interpretation of events differs from that of the

participants (Borland, 1991; Riessman, 1987), study participants were asked to review the interpretation of their comments, add to them, and clarify points.

> A major purpose of case study research is to represent the emic perspective, that is, reality as constructed by the individuals who were studied. Researchers can check their reconstruction of individuals' emic perspective by member checking, which is the process of having individuals review statements in the researchers' report for accuracy and completeness. (Gall et al., 1999, p. 305)

Finally, data from the interviews, documents, observations, and field notes were transcribed and analyzed in order to answer the initial guiding questions of this study. The data provide the basis for discussion related to experiences of the participants, current literature, and social implications of their experiences. The procedures used to identify pertinent data are discussed in a later section.

STRATEGIES FOR THE PROTECTION OF PARTICIPANTS

My biases as I began this project included, first, the assumption that part-time faculty are a subordinate, oppressed group in community colleges. This assumption is well supported in the literature (Zabel, 2000; Moser, 1999; Caprio et al., 1998; Leatherman, 1998; Delehant, 1989) and in an AAUP-sponsored documentary entitled "Degrees of Shame/Part-time Faculty: Migrant Workers of the Information Economy" (Wolf, 1997). Second, women may teach part-time for reasons that are not reflected in current literature. Most studies have focused on all part-time faculty (male and female) and often include part-time faculty in all areas of higher education: two-year colleges and four-year colleges and universities

(Barker, 1998; Gappa & Leslie, 1993, 1997). In addition, conclusions drawn from the literature have been aggregated and have not focused specifically on women. Current literature suggests that the experiences of women teaching full-time in academia are different than those of men (Aguirre, 2000; Johnsrud, 1993). It is reasonable, then, to conclude that the experiences of women who teach part-time would also be distinct from those of men. Although my purpose is not to validate these assumptions, they are beliefs I bring to the study and, therefore, influence the questions asked. Furthermore, it is expected new themes will emerge that concomitantly confirm and challenge these assumptions.

Participants were chosen based on referrals. Personal identifiers, such as sexual orientation or a disabling condition, could be disclosed at the discretion of the participants, but were not criteria for inclusion in the study. Participants were fully advised of the nature of the study. Every attempt has been made to clarify that the purpose of the project was to understand their experiences as part-time faculty and to use participants' words to describe those experiences. Due to the focus of the study and tenuous nature of part-time faculty employment, some participants might have been reluctant to take part in the study if they were not confident their stories would be told accurately or that the material would be treated confidentially. Some part-time faculty may not have been willing to share openly if they believed they would be identified by members of their campus community – especially by those with the power to hire, or re-hire, part-time faculty. At the same time, the study

could be more meaningful to readers if they were able to relate to participants in a personal way. To protect the participants and maintain a sense of their unique experiences, each participant was identified by a pseudonym. It was likewise important to protect the identity of the colleges; therefore the names of the colleges will not be disclosed nor will college employees be informed of the specific faculty who participated in the study. Participants were provided protection in accordance with the University's guidelines for the protection of human subjects.

SUMMARY

Feminist and critical theory call a researcher to examine/question power and oppression in our society. These theoretical approaches influence this study in its examination of the ways in which gender oppression manifests in higher education. Furthermore, I am interested in a deeper level of connection and interaction with participants than an anonymous survey instrument (frequently used in a quantitative study) could provide. A primary tool of feminist research is the personal narrative – a tool that complements phenomenology: Phenomenology provides a means for understanding participants' lived experiences; personal narratives provide the avenue for revealing these experiences.

The study was designed to provide a high degree of interaction with participants. To achieve this, initial meetings were scheduled with each participant. During that meeting, we determined together whether or not we would continue our conversations. At the point where we both agreed that we had discussed all

pertinent issues, we ended our conversations. In one case, we ended after one meeting; in others, we ended after several meetings. While I had a core set of questions to guide our conversations, we co-constructed the conversations to allow room for new questions and reflection.

The sample size was not purposefully selected, but was based on referrals, using a variation of the "*snowball sampling technique*; that is [asking] the first person…interviewed to recommend others" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 64, italics in original). The sample, then, cannot be considered representative of all women who teach part-time. However, phenomenology is not meant to represent the experiences of the whole, but to highlight the experiences of those studied. The impact of sample size and composition is discussed in the limitations section.

Data from the interviews, observations, and college documents provide insight into the perspective of women who teach part-time in community colleges. This data is not meant to represent the experiences of all part-time faculty members, though it is meant to encourage further inquiry. Participants' perspectives represent their view of the part-time faculty experience and do not include information from full-time faculty and/or college administrators. Strategies for expanding this study to include more voices are discussed in the recommendations for further study.

The first three chapters of this study are designed to inform the reader regarding the questions guiding this inquiry, my research perspective/epistemology,

research design, and methodology. The next chapter provides an in-depth examination of the results of the research; the chapter is followed by a discussion of the results and, finally, reflections on the study, personal observations, and new insights.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

This section begins with an overview of the colleges and participants. Throughout the study, colleges and participants are identified by a pseudonym. Profiles are provided to offer the reader a sense of the academic environment and familiarity with participants. Each participant reviewed her profile to ensure she was comfortable that the description did not compromise her confidentiality. The profiles are followed by an analysis of data gathered through our conversations.

PROFILES

Colleges

Pleasant Valley Community College (PVCC) is located in the southwestern United States. It is a metropolitan college that, at the time of the interviews, served 27,000 students in 9 locations. Approximately 250 faculty members are considered full-time while nearly 850 are classified as part-time. The student body is ethnically diverse: Over half of the students identify themselves as people of color. The average age of students is 31. Two other community colleges and a state university are located within a thirty-minute drive of PVCC. During the last year the board of trustees selected a new college President and the faculty voted to unionize for the first time. The part-time faculty members provided the impetus for the drive to form a union. Prior to the establishment of the union, the Academic Senate handled all academic, professional, and labor relations matters on a "meet and confer" basis

with college administrators. These two events – the selection of a new President and the unionization of the faculty – have created tremendous upheaval at the college, strained relationships, and challenged the status quo.

Green Hills Community College (GHCC) is located in the northwest. Its primary campus is in a mid-size suburban area while four educational centers are located in rural communities in the region. The student body of just over 4,000 is much less diverse than PVCC: Eighty-six percent of the students identify themselves are White; 54 percent are women. Over 500 faculty members teach at Green Hills; just over 350, or 70 percent, are contingent faculty members. Like PVCC, Green Hills Community College is located near two other community colleges; it is also located near two universities.

Participants

Heidi has been a part-time faculty member at PVCC for five years. Her teaching load consists of courses in English as a Second Language (ESL); she also teaches at another nearby community college. While she is considered a part-time faculty member, her total teaching load is 1.2 FTE. She has a Master's degree in Education. She is a native of Germany, and English is not her first language. In addition to teaching, she has had several part-time jobs including tutoring and providing multi-lingual assistance to tourists at a national park. She in her thirties, has been married since 1993, and has no children.

Lori has been teaching part-time for over 25 years; she has been a part-time faculty member at PVCC for three years. She teaches English composition and ESL; she is also qualified to teach French. Like Heidi, she also teaches at another community college, carries a 1.2 FTE workload, and was raised in Germany. She is a native English speaker. During the 20 years that she has been married, she has lived and taught in several areas of the United States – from the Pacific Northwest to the southern United States. At 47 she is the mother of two teenage daughters, a Girl Scout leader, and active in the PTA. She has her master's degree and has completed doctoral coursework in romance languages and literature.

Elizabeth has been teaching part-time at PVCC for a short time. Her B.A. is in Spanish and English; she received her M.A. in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages. She has been a full-time bilingual elementary school teacher, a substitute high school teacher, and has taught full-time at a private ESL school. She currently teaches ESL at PVCC as well as another community college that is approximately one hour south of PVCC. She has been married for seven years and has no children. Elizabeth is in her mid-forties and although we did not know it before our first interview, our academic paths had crossed when we were undergraduates: We attended the same college and took classes together.

Darla is a former full-time faculty member at GHCC who now teaches part-time. Her course load includes health, first aid, and wellness courses. She does not teach at any other community college. Her master's degree is in physical education.

She has been married 11 years, is 40 years old, and has two children. She volunteers each week at her children's school, is active in her church, and teaches Sunday school.

Pam, 50, teaches English classes at GHCC. She has been teaching part-time in the eastern United States and in the Pacific Northwest for over 25 years; she has been a part-time faculty member at GHCC since 1990. She does not teach at any other community college. She is married and has two children. She is also active in her church and community.

Kate, 61, has two living children and has been married 40 years. She teaches part-time at GHCC, and like Pam and Darla, only teaches at GHCC. Her master's degree is in Educational Psychology, and she has completed additional graduate-level courses in poetry, creative writing, and related subjects. Her course load includes writing poetry, journals, and fiction; she also teaches people to write their life stories. She is very active in the writing community, having served on editorial boards and participated in writing groups.

The participants, including myself, are white, middle class women who have been involved in academia our entire careers. By coincidence, the participants from PVCC are teaching part-time while seeking full-time employment and teach for at least one other community college. Their stories reflect their experiences at PVCC and the other colleges where they teach. On the other hand, the participants from GHCC have chosen to teach part-time in order to balance other interests and

choices in their lives; they are not seeking full-time teaching positions and do not teach at any other college. Five of the participants teach in a related discipline: English and English as a Second Language (ESL); one teaches physical education and life skills classes; none teach occupational courses (although two teach vocational ESL, that is, ESL designed around specific occupational vocabulary and the development of occupational skills such as keyboarding, word processing, and data base management). This is further discussed in the sections on limitations and areas for future research.

DATA ANALYSIS

Phenomenological research yields rich descriptions that result in massive amounts of data. This study proved no exception. The challenge is to sort through the data, choosing what to include and what to discard. As a feminist theorist, I joined other researchers in the struggle for determining what had "merit" for this study. This provided opportunities as well as many challenges. It is easy to wonder what right one has to make such determinations. Determining what to include combined with the act of interpreting narrators' voices is an obligation I did not lightly undertake. As I looked at the 544 pages of transcripts that comprised our conversations, questions, musings, and mutual learning, I felt quite keenly the depth of this obligation and my role as researcher/writer. Clearly it was not possible to include all the data, and choices had to be made about the data (i.e., the participant's words) that would form this narrative. To facilitate this process and

provide a focus for the findings, the data was analyzed according to this study's initial guiding questions.

Within each of these areas of inquiry, I looked for places where participants' conversations came together and converged. These areas of convergence were identified in different ways. One means of identification was based on repeated mention of a specific situation that appeared to comprise the essential experiences of part-time faculty. For example, the lack of access to resources comparable to those of full-time faculty is a specific working condition of part-time faculty and was mentioned by all participants. In addition, I looked for comments that addressed the study's initial guiding questions, including those that supported my initial assumptions, challenged my assumptions, and surprised me. I was particularly interested in participants' level of satisfaction with part-time teaching, what it is like to be a part-time faculty member, and what motivates them to continue teaching each term. I looked for responses related to these questions, and allowed our conversations to generate additional topics for analysis and discussion. Some points of convergence were not included in the study because they reflected areas that were not specific to the experiences of part-time faculty. One example involved discussions related to managing difficult students in the classroom. Since many faculty experience difficulties with students during their career, I determined this was not an experience unique to part-time faculty. However, the inability to meet with students in a private area and resolve issues in

confidence is directly related to participants' working conditions and was identified as an area for discussion.

In an effort to honor participants' narratives, they are often quoted at length. This reflects my desire to avoid disrupting participants' words with my voice. I neither wanted to interrupt their speaking nor my hearing. At other times, I elected to aggregate and summarize comments to maintain the flow of the narrative. The goal was to allow participants to tell their own stories with a minimal amount of interpretation.

> Liberating scholarship challenges us to inquire about others' experiences first-hand, to respect their stories, and to consider their voices as valid primary sources in the creation of new knowledge...this encourages us to let these voices lead and guide our work. (White, 2002)

The following sections are organized around the study's initial guiding questions. Organizing the data in this manner provided a way to gather data related to general areas of inquiry and subsequently examine points of convergence within each area.

How do women describe their experiences teaching part-time?

This section provides a general understanding of how women interact in their academic environments and how they perceive their experiences as teachers. It is assembled around four areas: participants' preference for full- or part-time work, the impact of limited access to college resources, loyalty and commitment, and their overall impressions of part-time teaching.

Preference for full- or part-time teaching

Darla is the only participant now teaching part-time who had previously taught full-time at a community college. She described her path to part-time teaching: She was originally hired at GHCC with two distinct teaching assignments; as her family grew, she asked to be reassigned to one assignment in order to be home more frequently. She says, "They wouldn't let me. So, by choice, yes, I teach part-time, but kind of by forced choice." When asked later if she would take a full-time position if one were offered, she replied:

> Not any more, no. I definitely would have liked to – if I was full-time teacher now I'd stay full-time; I would probably stay full-time until my retirement, but, you know, I don't get any sense of going back to full-time now. I think that's gone and passed. It just didn't work out that way and that's okay.

For Pam the decision to teach part-time evolved over time:

> It began as the only thing available and then became a choice somewhere along the line. I think as I got more involved with my boys and the family, I shifted to making that choice.

When asked if she would pursue a full-time position if one were available, Pam's answer reflected her ambivalence about her position:

> I put in almost 40 hours [a week] as is. Do I want to add to that? I don't know. On the other hand, [there is] that little seed of resentment. I've put in so much of this time and look at this – I mean, this is like tips, this is not a paycheck. And then there's this side of me that says, "Well, I really like doing this; I would probably do this even if I didn't get paid for it."

Kate was clear in her preference for part-time teaching:

> I'm not asking for full-time. I *would* like better treatment, however. I do believe in justice.

Heidi, Elizabeth, and Lori indicated their decision to teach part-time was their "default" choice: They want to teach and expect to teach part-time until full-time positions become available. At the same time, they find the idea that they are "part-time" teachers misleading.

> Lori: We are full-time teachers. We're here to educate. I'm not here on a drop-in as a guest lecturer. I want to be part of this faculty; a guest lecturer does not want to be part of this faculty. I think [guest lecturers are] a great part of the community colleges...It's just not the same thing.

They teach 60 percent loads at two separate colleges for a combined workload of 120 percent of a full-time faculty teaching assignment. They prepare for five to six classes each week, correct student assignments (including quizzes, tests, journals, and other writing assignments), and meet with students outside of class to provide additional assistance. In exchange for performing these duties, they are compensated $20,000 to $24,000 a year (less if they do not teach in the summer). Elizabeth described how salaries can fluctuate:

> The salaries among different community colleges in this area vary. Some start adjuncts around $37.00 per hour while others are $45.00. The rate is even less if the pay is for "lab" hours. Only once in three semesters have I been paid for office hours (at $25.00 per hour). The pay for office hours wasn't actually "hourly" – it was a token payment formulated on how many credit students each teacher had. This makes a huge difference in ESL because so many courses are non-credit.

In addition, they spend vast amounts of time on the freeway every day. The effects of this workload on their life outside academia and on their career progress are discussed in later sections.

Each participant acknowledged that additional professional obligations for full-time faculty are different from those of part-time faculty. For example, part-time faculty members are not required to attend departmental meetings, do not have committee assignments, and are generally not *required* to hold office hours. Participants responded to these differences in various ways, from humor to indignation.

> Darla: I don't know why everything is catered to the full-time instructor when the college is run by part-time people. [Full-timers] are more involved in committees and in decision-making processes that deal with the whole institution. Right now it doesn't bother me because I couldn't do anything about it. If I complained about it, then I would say, "Well, if I'm going to complain then that means I'd better get on a committee." I don't *want* to be on a committee.
>
> Lori: [In terms of the President's Council, I am there representing part-time faculty], so why are they so unwilling to let me sit in on a committee meeting? Why can't I even sit at the table with them? And even as a visitor I refuse to sit up against the wall: I sit at the table. And I'll become a permanent fixture – or that seat will become a permanent fixture for part-timers until there are no more part-timers.

Limited access to college resources

Participants expressed that the learning process extends beyond interaction with students in the classroom. Limited access to a private meeting place was seen as a barrier to holding regular office hours and providing support to students. In

addition, participants are not paid for office hours, but are asked to essentially donate their time to meet with students while this is a professional commitment for which full-time faculty are compensated. Nevertheless, participants found various ways to meet with students, some of which worked better than others.

> Darla: I don't announce set office hours because I'm [on campus] at the most two hours a day and so I'll tell a student if they need to see me to check with me right before class or after class and we can set up a time if they need to spend some time with me beyond that. If the student wants a private conversation I might just go check one of the full-time offices and see if somebody's out of their office for a few minutes and go in there. I had an incident with a student recently who was upset...I felt real bad for her because I didn't have a privacy (*sic*) place for her and she was visibly upset...we had to discuss it in front of other people so that's hard when you have issues like that where you really need some privacy but don't have it.

> Pam: [I don't get paid for office hours but] that's one of those things where they kind of expect you to do that, but they don't acknowledge it in a paycheck. Every term [the department sends out a schedule], and we are asked to fill out our office hours: "Post your office hours." It's one of those unwritten expectations.

> Kate: [I'm usually on campus two-and-a-half hours before and after class. In addition, students] have my e-mail, they have my home telephone number, and they can schedule an appointment. No one else is in the office when I'm there. [Other part-time faculty in shared offices] will often [leave their offices] if a student comes in [to see another teacher] and, sometimes, they come over and sit and chat with me [while the student and other teacher are meeting].

> Elizabeth: I have my office hours here in the lab on Tuesday nights, and they're just very informal. We sit at a computer station and there may or may not be a lot of people in the lab. There is no privacy. If a private issue were to come up, I would somehow arrange a private meeting place.

> Lori: I can offer no privacy to my students. If I need to counsel a student, and the student has private issues, which is often the case, they're either standing in the classroom with other students and maybe another teacher coming into the classroom. [When I do need to meet with students I use] a little bench outside, in the hallway of the English department. That's my preferred spot because I like the full-time faculty to see that's where I have to meet with my students, that my students are denied the kind of privacy that they deserve.

> Heidi: [I'm in a lab three out of my four nights], and my class is openly run. After the lecture...students work on their own. And I have "help" [written] on the board: When somebody needs me, they put their name on there. There is a good amount of flexible time there where I can meet in class with my students knowing that the others will not be affected. I also have the keys to [the coordinator's] office which is right next door. I've stayed with students after class and I have let them, you know, even though it wasn't called "office hours."

In addition, participants have college e-mail and voice mail accounts they can access from home. Since the participants from PVCC do not have an office or easy access to a phone or computer on campus, they find it easier to check their voice mail and e-mail from home. Although they must pay for the long-distance phone calls, Internet access, and computer equipment, this is preferred over having to borrow someone else's phone on campus, wait for an available computer or use a computer in a student lab. Similarly, although they have a shared office on campus, the faculty from GHCC often access their e-mail and voice mail accounts from home. They feel this keeps them in contact with their students even when they are not on campus and provides a greater level of connection with students.

Loyalty and commitment

Loyalty and commitment (or lack thereof) from the college were mentioned over and over again. The lack of a secure contract, limited office space, and restricted access to college resources combined to create not simply a sense of employment insecurity: Participants saw this lack of support as a lack of commitment to the bulk of the faculty and, ultimately, to students.

> Lori: I want people to understand that the working conditions of our teachers are such that they hinder the success of our students. In the end, it's about educating our students. And if we don't provide incentive for good teachers to teach our students, that's basic…if we don't have that, we don't have a good educational system.

While participants from GHCC generally held college administrators responsible for this lack of commitment, loyalty, and support, the participants from PVCC held full-time faculty and administrators responsible. Lori described her experience with committees over which full-time faculty exert control:

> Lori: Some full-time faculty members have made great efforts to prevent part-timers from having representation; others have helped. We have two representatives on the Faculty Senate – that's a perfect example of our lack of ability to integrate and be heard and have a voice.
>
> You don't even get invited [to participate on committees]. There are no part-timers on the curriculum committee. And so if you have a third of the faculty representing the rest of the faculty on matters of budget, on matters of curriculum development, and on matters of professional development, that's not right.

She later explained relationships within departments where she works:

> I don't get any opportunity to share my ideas with full-time faculty since I'm not paid to be at departmental meetings; some departments

> don't invite the part-timers to come. Some "allow" them; they put up with it, they tolerate it. We get cut out of that process; we're totally cut out of that process. And I think that's probably the single most hurtful thing to me – that I'm not really part of the academic process.

Heidi talked about her experiences with the academic senate where she serves as one of the two part-time faculty senators:

> Heidi: And there's the other thing of being looked down upon. And I get that – especially in the Senate, I get that a lot. And at PVCC we are in this particularly nice situation where we have this group that's called "The Faculty" and the part-timers are not part of "The Faculty." When there is a "faculty" meeting, we can be there as [members of the] public because the public is invited, but we are not part of "The Faculty."
>
> [As one of the part-time faculty representatives on the Faculty Senate], there's nothing expected from you and anything that you say, well, I guess is good, but it doesn't necessarily get heard – that's the feeling I really had. And, again, basically, you're not expected to do much; you just sit there because there's a seat for you and your name's on the agenda, but other than that...One of the Senators basically said it's pretty much useless to have part-timers on committees.

Darla described her perception of administrative support at GHCC:

> "I'll listen to your issues, but won't necessarily do anything about them" [is the] kind of feeling that you get from administration.

Pam had similar impressions:

> I think there's more say than do, but I think there's been enough invitation to include us over at GHCC, at least, "Come and join and even say your piece." But they're not necessarily going to listen or act on that. *(And that's as much your colleagues as the administrators?)* I think it's more the administrators.

At the same time, Pam acknowledged that support from full-time faculty could positively impact their working conditions:

> Some of those full-time faculty are very supportive to us, but they haven't taken the step to do anything and I don't know if it's their position to do that or not, but I think, you know, I think it's going to take somebody on that side to probably speak out because anyone who is a part-timer who does speak out can be out the door that easily.

The disparity of perceptions may be due to the perceived power of the full-time faculty at the college. Based on my observations and conversations with participants, it was evident that full-time faculty members at PVCC have noteworthy political influence through mandated shared governance. The Academic Senate has been, until recently, responsible for all academic, professional, *and* compensation issues. It was unclear the extent to which full-time faculty at GHCC influence the political environment of the campus; participants generally perceived the influence of full-time faculty was limited.

The absence of long-term employment contracts weighed heavily on the participants. Each commented on this issue, expressing concerns about long-term job security, income, and the notion that they do not know until the very last minute whether or not they will actually have a job. Darla's comments reflect the thinking of the group:

> There's basically – you don't feel like there's any loyalty. Regardless of how long you've been with an institution, there's no stability from term to term let alone year to year. You could be thinking that you, you know, you've signed a paper that says you're going teach such and such classes, but then if a full-time person's

> classes don't go for one reason or another, at the very last minute – a week before the term starts or even two or three days before the term starts – you could be bumped off of that class. And, so, you just, you know, it's so up in the air all the time. New people come in, even as new part-timers and they could give them one of your classes you've had. There's just no loyalty. It's very unstable.

In addition to the absence of a long-term contract, compensation was seen as a tangible measure of the college's lack of commitment to their faculty.

> Lori: Being given 31 cents to the dollar [that full-time faculty earn] is insulting, and it also results in poverty because we cannot make enough money, certainly at 60 percent time, but even at 100 percent time, and most of us work somewhere around 120 – 150 percent time. We cannot live on those wages; it's just not possible.

> Heidi: This is what it looks like to me: It looks as if it were cheaper and [we're] more expendable. If it doesn't work with you, well, we have ten others that are there. There is no job security – we just might not offer you the same class next semester. On the other hand, is it cheaper or not? It all looks so good: You're making 40 bucks an hour. Well, what is it really? It's not 40 dollars per hour. How much extra time do I put into my class and I don't get paid for and I have no seniority or security and things like that. It's more like ten dollars an hour or something. You really have to ask yourself: Is this why I got my Master's – to eventually really only make ten dollars per hour?

> Kate: I'll make more on social security than teaching.

Pam mentioned that part-time faculty at GHCC members receive step increases in their salary after a certain number of terms with the college. She pointed out, however, that if they miss just one term – for whatever reason – they are bumped back to the beginning step. She explained that if she misses a term even if her class is cancelled by the college she will face a decrease in pay when she returns in a subsequent term.

Overall impression of part-time teaching

One of the strengths of allowing an interview to veer from its original course is that it creates room for additional conversation and comments. In feminist research, wandering from the initial questions is expected and welcomed as it takes us down paths we might not have initially considered. During my last meeting with Heidi I asked her to sum up in one word what it means to be a part-time faculty member. Her response was intriguing, and the same question was asked of Lori when we met later in the day. Elizabeth was not asked this question because we had already completed our interviews. However, the question was included in conversations with Pam, Kate, and Darla. Their varied answers reflect different facets of part-time teaching and the diversity of their experiences.

> Pam: Oh, good…one word…oh, gosh. I almost want to say two words because it's a two-sided thing. It's fulfilling/unfair. Those don't seem to go together, but it really kind of bottom-lines it.
>
> Lori: Oh, boy…frustrating. I would honestly say that it's frustrating. I think that it's frustrating to be exploited, and I really feel that I'm being exploited. And I think I'm feeling that more than I'm feeling the pleasure and the soft fuzzy things of being an educator. Obviously I love all that stuff, but I think right now in my life I'm feeling more frustrated than good about my teaching.
>
> Kate: That's really hard in one word because I'm doing exactly what I want to do. Since I'm optimistic by nature, I guess the word would have to be "opportunity" because it's an opportunity to open up minds and to give knowledge and freedom of creative expression which is paramount to me despite all the lack of other kinds of support. It's an opportunity to kind of pull all the threads together – all the things that you're doing in your life and then to be able to share with others what you have kind of woven together.

> Darla: I don't know if I can do it in one word. I don't want to use a negative word because I enjoy what I'm doing. "Flexible" would be a word.
>
> Heidi: Challenging – especially with the juggling act. I guess this is more for part-timers who really do this because it's their job, it's not "I have my full-time job and I'm teaching something just because I want to or I can or whatever it is." But for me, where this is my profession, this is what I want to do – which I trained for, this juggling act is really very, very challenging and difficult. Especially because [I] work at three different places – there are three different rules, there are three different ways of getting around. What I do here doesn't work at the second place, and to find that out also just takes awhile.

Participants' experiences teaching part-time, while diverse, share common threads. Although their preferences for full- or part-time teaching differ, they share a sense that the college community is not committed to them. From their perspective, this lack of commitment is demonstrated through the allocation of resources and compensation. Their descriptions of part-time teaching highlight the individual nature of teaching, yet, taken together, illustrate the complexity of the part-time teaching experience. In the following section participants shed further light on what it means to teach part-time as they discuss issues they encounter in the workplace and outside of it.

What issues do women who teach part-time encounter in the workplace and outside of work as a result of part-time employment?

This area of inquiry generated the most data and presented the greatest challenge in terms of choosing what information to include. Convergent points of

conversations are included that offer insight and expand our understanding of what it means to be a part-time faculty member. Other areas of interest, such as strategies for time management, are not included. While this information is interesting, it is more a reflection of coping in an over-worked society rather than the part-time faculty milieu. This section begins by addressing issues participants face in the academic community and is organized around the following threads: scheduling teaching assignments, their relationship with their department chair, relationships with administrators, faculty evaluations, and manifestations of privilege.

As revealed in the literature review, the nature of part-time/contingent employment impacts not only people in their working environment, but outside of it as well. To illustrate how the lives of part-time teachers may be affected outside of the academic community, the narrative moves to a discussion of issues participants encounter outside of the environment focusing specifically on two areas: their role as mother and wife and the impact of managing multiple work schedules. The section ends with participants' thoughts on the advantages of teaching part-time as well as what motivates them to continue teaching.

Teaching assignments

Participants indicated that while they are provided no commitment for on-going employment with the college, they do have opportunities to express their preference for courses they would like to teach as well as the times they are available to teach. On the surface, the opportunity to choose one's work schedule

appears to be a privilege enjoyed by few others in part-time work arrangements. However, participants go on to explain that being *asked* a preference does not guarantee the preference will be honored.

> Lori: I can ask for whatever I want, but, ultimately, I'm given – I'm offered – whatever they have left and I can take it or leave it.
>
> Pam: At GHCC we can pretty much assume that we're going to be assigned some composition courses. We can put in a preference for teaching certain other classes, and if they become available then they will offer those to us. If the full-timers do not have those courses – which they have first dibs on – then, what's left, we can get.

Because Kate, Pam, and Darla have chosen to work part-time, they appear to have more flexibility in accepting assignments. Each indicated – either directly or indirectly – that if they were not happy with the course and/or schedule offered to them, they could decline the offer:

> Darla: If [the department chair says], "I want you teach this class," I have the right to say yes or no and they have the right to say, that's your only option…so luckily we haven't come to that point. But I know that could always be a possibility: They could say, this is all that's available and I think I know where I would stand on that…I would say, "Sorry, then."
>
> Kate: Obviously I'm not doing it for the money or the benefits…I'm doing it because I love what I'm doing.

For Heidi, Elizabeth, and Lori, the choices were not so simple. Should they refuse an assignment not only would they lose their income, they were concerned that declining an assignment or additional duties would negatively impact their opportunities for on-going and/or full-time employment. Elizabeth later added that:

> Refusing an assignment could also jeopardize being assigned to "optimum" times in the following semester. This underscores the importance of communicating well with the department chair and the person who develops the schedule.

As a result, they continuously take on new assignments or accept new courses hoping this will add to their experience and improve their chances for a full-time position. Heidi recently interviewed for a full-time position at another college, but realized after the interview she did not have experience in one area they found essential: program coordination. As a result of the interview, she wrote a proposal and received a mini-grant that would allow her to broaden her skills in two areas: curriculum development and program coordination. In doing so, however, she acknowledged that she may be moving herself away from what she enjoys most: teaching.

> Heidi: ...the same with this position here – it's a coordinator position with a couple of teaching hours, but ...as we said before, I don't know if that's what I really what I want because that's not...well, first of all I don't have the experience and second of all one of my main things is I enjoy the contact with my students...with my colleagues, as well, but the rewarding part is with my students ...but then, again, I haven't really had any coordinating experience. We'll see what will happen now with this grant.

For Lori, the fear of declining an offer has led her to accept several new courses over the past several years:

> Lori: I'm constantly doing this, "Well, I need a class here and I need to teach a new class here" because they might consider me if I have this one also in my portfolio—so I'm doing all these new things. I've taught, I don't know, 18, 19 new classes in the last three years [at up to 5 different colleges].

Due to the long commute between her assignments, Elizabeth has indicated she will not return to the other college where she teaches. She understands the financial risk of this decision and is looking for another position:

> Elizabeth: I did give notice to [to the other college where I teach] that I wouldn't be returning in the fall. I feel somewhat sad about it just because I really like the students and I am a little bit apprehensive because it's another change. *(And so you've applied for other part-time positions in the fall but you haven't heard yet?)* I haven't heard yet. *(What does your experience tell you about when you're likely to hear?)* I could hear anytime: I could hear a couple of days before the term begins. *(I remember you saying that a second part-time assignment was really critical to your own family income...)* Right. So something's going to have to work out.

The department chair

The relationship with their department chair or program coordinator was identified by participants as the most important relationship on campus. The department chair is the one person to whom they turn regarding myriad issues: from on-going orientation, professional development, and resolving problems to accessing resources. The relationship with the department chair/program coordinator influences their perception of their entire experience and relationship with the college.

> Heidi: My coordinator has been great. I have keys to her office, I can use her computer. She asks me about things; she asks my input. I've never felt looked down on at all. I rely on my coordinator to help figure things out. I trust my coordinator.

> Darla: [The department chair position] is on a rotation basis with the full-timers: They get two-year stints; then, it goes to a new person. Everybody has to adjust. As the department chair changes, the part-

> timers have to change more than the full-timers because the way they schedule [the classes] can really affect part-timers. As soon as I find out who the department chair is, I will go to them right away before we make the schedule.
>
> Lori: The chair of the department [sets this college apart from other experiences I've had]. He has been the only person in my 25 years of experience who has supported part-time issues. That's the difference. He has vocally and in action supported us. He got me together with the woman who was trying to organize the union. He makes sure that the part-timers get evaluations, he makes sure that we don't just teach the remedial classes (which on a job application can look very bad if you've never taught literature). In many schools where I teach they would never give me the opportunity to teach anything other than what the full-time faculty do not want. So, he looks after his part-timers that way. He made sure that I sat on committees that I wanted to sit on – he had an influence to get me in. No one has *ever* done that for me.

Many times it is the department chair/program coordinator who finds innovative ways around the bureaucracy:

> Kate: One [person] would "balance" my enrollments [so my classes weren't cancelled]. My classes at the main campus were always full, but not at the off-campus center. [This person] would say, "Okay, we'll take three from that class and put [them] over there and get that class to go."

At PVCC, the program coordinator, who works with both Elizabeth and Heidi, has given the copier code to Heidi (a privilege normally extended only to the full-time faculty). In addition, during an informal, non-recorded conversation with Elizabeth, she indicated the same coordinator was pivotal in challenging (and ultimately changing) a practice that required part-time faculty to buy coffee while full-time faculty received it at no charge. Elizabeth also indicated that the relationship with a department chair may not always be positive: At the other college where she

teaches, she rarely sees the department chair and has very little access to her. Consequently, she feels less of an attachment to that college:

> Elizabeth: I'm kind of having polar experiences with [program coordinators]. I think my ESL coordinator at [at the other college] is absolutely overwhelmed with the workload. I don't want to invest any more of my self at [that college].

Relationships with administrators

In contrast to their positive relationships with their department chairs/program coordinators, participants were unanimous in their negative perceptions regarding administrators. Their shared view was that administrators do not understand and/or appreciate part-time faculty. This was especially true regarding senior-level administrators – an uncomfortable revelation because it resonated with my experience as a senior-level administrator. Participants explained their perceptions of and relationships with administrators through vivid examples.

> Pam: In 1991 two other instructors and I went to the college President [who is still the President at GHCC] and presented him with a picture of how many hours we actually put into work and exactly what we're doing. [We put it] forth in a way that was very specific so that, hopefully, he would understand that the litter-pickers in town were making more per hour than we were actually making doing our job with all our background and necessary credentials. Something didn't seem right. And I think we were pretty much dismissed, you know, "We'll give this some thought and thank you, but…"

> Kate: It's the upper echelon administration who give the impression of being totally unconcerned and they're willing to exploit people as long as they can. I was on a committee on part-time faculty issues. I

> was the only part-timer there – they didn't even have enough part-timers there to really have a voice and you have an administrator sitting over there saying, "Well, you know, we really don't want you part-timers here."
>
> Darla: I'm very dissatisfied with the administration of the institution and part-timers because I bet you if the President walked over to our department and ran into three or four of our part-time people, he wouldn't know if they were students or instructors. I'll see the president outside of campus, and I know he knows who I am because we had many discussions when I was a full-timer just one on one…and he won't even say hi…we'll be standing at a buffet table together and I have to make the contact.
>
> Lori: I just feel as though the administration has done everything in its power not to give me any kind of permanence and any kind of stake in the community.

Faculty evaluations

The manner in which evaluations are conducted illustrates a difference in how faculty are perceived and treated as professionals. At both PVCC and GHCC, full-time faculty members have regular peer evaluations in addition to student evaluations. While participants are supposed to receive regular student evaluations at the end of a course, they often do not have the opportunity to review students' comments until well after the term has ended. In addition, they may or may not have an opportunity to discuss results of the evaluations with their department chair. Participants offered mixed experiences with the evaluation process.

> Kate: I have never had anybody come to my classroom to see me teach which is fine with me…I mean, I suppose if my evaluations were low, they would send somebody in.

> Elizabeth: [At the other college where I teach] I've been evaluated by a fellow teacher and I've been evaluated by the Dean of the campus. Here [at PVCC] I've been evaluated by my supervisor, but I know that if I wanted, I could ask a couple of people to evaluate me because I do think that peer evaluation is good.
>
> Lori: Most departments like only to give a student evaluation because there's hundreds and hundreds of adjuncts to the full-timers who have other things to do with their lives. So this has been one of the things that's been really hard for part-timers: Without those evaluations we can't really apply for jobs, but it's very hard to get someone to do an evaluation for you. Different departments do it differently; different schools do it differently.

Lori later added written comments to clarify that at PVCC they do not receive regular student evaluations, even though it described as a requirement in the faculty handbook. She also mentioned being discouraged when it took three phone calls to her department chair to discuss the results of the student evaluations.

> Pam: Right now, every term we have an extensive student evaluation form that students fill it out. I think it gives the students more of a chance to give more information; on the other hand, they don't seem to be giving any more information than they used to [when the form was shorter] and it uses up a lot more class time. Students tend to be very general when they write those things – they want out of there.
>
> Darla: No one ever has [gone over the results of the evaluation with me]. I don't know if there's a certain line that is drawn on your evaluations between, "oh this one looks like we need to sit down" – I don't know because I've not ever been talked to…so I don't what that line is if there is a line…no one's ever said anything to me about – not even if they're good…no one's ever even – you know, you don't get any pats on the back either versus reprimands.

Privilege in the academy: Allocation of resources

Lack of access to the same resources available to full-time faculty, such as office space, computers, phone, restroom keys, and copier codes, were seen as significant barriers to working effectively at the college. In addition, unequal access to resources serves to confer status and set apart part-time faculty. It is possible this is not immediately visible to full-time faculty. For example, Elizabeth's program coordinator was not aware that part-time faculty were required to pay for coffee while full-time faculty were not. Upon learning of this practice, the coordinator took steps to change it. That is a tricky aspect of privilege: Those who have it don't always see it (Code, 2000; Johnson, 2001; McIntosh, 1993), even though it is abundantly clear to those who don't have it.

Johnson (2001) discusses the intent of oppression (and resulting privilege) explaining that people often believe that if they didn't *mean* to oppress, then "it didn't happen, as if their conscious intent is the only thing that connects them to the consequences of what they do or don't do....[I]t doesn't matter whether they meant it or not. The consequence remains the same" (p. 124). The allocation of office space may be one of those areas where people don't intend to oppress or create privilege or perhaps, as Reskin and Padavic (1994) suggested, because we are used to it, the allocation of space (and its consequences) becomes invisible. Elizabeth showed me the office set up for part-time faculty at her work site. The following excerpt is from my field notes:

> [Elizabeth] shows me the part-time faculty work area—it's in the back of a general workroom that includes the mailroom. There are four computer stations for part-time faculty use—for word processing, etc., and accessing e-mail. There are also about 12 lockers for the faculty to put their belongings. While the room represents an *effort* to assist part-time faculty, it is poorly designed and appears to be an after-thought rather than a well-planned work area.

In addition, there were no windows in this room and no plan to the room; it was cluttered and difficult to get to from the hallway.

At GHCC, Kate and Pam both have offices they share with three other part-timers (in other words, four people are assigned to each office). Their time in the office is meant to be scheduled in order to avoid conflicts with other part-time faculty who use the office. Kate indicated there is usually no one else in the office when she is there. Pam's experience is different:

> Normally when I'm in the office – or when I come into the office – there's one of my fellow part-timers already at the computer and doing work, and for the time that I spend in the office, usually it's not convenient for me to go to the computer.

In another part of campus, Darla is located in an office she shares with a group of others.

> Darla: It's just crammed full of desks…it's got, one, two, three…five desks in there and probably each person shares a desk with somebody. You know, it's located right there in the building…in the same building where most of our classes are taught. All the full-timers are in the main office. You walk in an enclosed glass area and there are the secretaries, the head of the division, the head of the department, all the full-timers…the locker room – the faculty locker rooms, the copy room, the work room, the water jug…everything that you would need is right there…but that's not

> where any part-timers are…the part-time office is around the corner, down the hall, across from a classroom.

Privilege in the academy: Silenced voices

Other means of conveying privilege are not unconscious and, instead, are quite conscious, some might even say deliberate. All participants recalled at least one incident where they were treated differently (i.e., as "less than") by their full-time colleagues simply due to their employment status with the college. Elizabeth shared her experience buying coffee and Kate discussed her participation on the part-time faculty issues committee; others provided equally illustrative examples.

> Heidi: They might go on little end of semester [outings], I don't—I'm not included in that. For the longest time I didn't know that they sent out birthday cards to each other…
>
> Pam: [Textbooks] are chosen by the department. They have meetings – to which we are invited – and I've given my input when I can attend. I'll say I've been able to review this particular book and put that in…my choices have never been the ones that have been picked. We do not get a chance to *really* choose the text ourselves. We have a choice: a choice of what they've picked.
>
> Lori: We really have no opportunity, no forum, for speaking to each other, and I think this is the way you keep the serfs down: by lack of communication. I can't discuss my problems and my concerns with other people in the same boat – nothing gets done.
>
> Darla: It's not necessarily words either said by full-time people or said by administration; it's an air. It's hard to describe because I don't even know if it's anything concrete, if it's anything that's so obvious…it's so different…I know just because I've experienced both: I've experienced the full-time and I experience the part-time…see it now that I'm a part-timer. I remember one example that hurt me the most. It was about a year ago during an in-service, prior to the start of the school year. We met at a challenge course. And we

> were with our other division partner, and so we were with people that we're not real familiar with. They gave us certain tasks to complete as a group...and I can remember a comment that was made was by somebody in the other division: "Who is she? Why is she even speaking? She's only part-time."

"Privileges enjoyed by tenured...faculty are not neutral for they function to silence...those restricted to the borders of permanent employment possibilities" (Barker, 1998, p. 220). Study participants often felt silenced in the academy. The privilege of permanent employment enjoyed by full-time faculty offers them greater academic freedom in the classroom as well as freedom outside the classroom to be involved in controversial issues. Heidi and Lori have spoken out on their campuses at great risk to themselves. They know all too well their employment status is tenuous. Even so, they are convinced that speaking out is the only way to change their working conditions. For others, privileges accorded full-time faculty have silenced them, and they have withdrawn. Darla described her reaction to the disparaging remark made by her full-time colleague:

> Darla: It still hurts and that was a year ago that it was said and I won't meet with them...I just won't...when we have meetings with them or we have functions with them, I just won't go. I just choose to pull myself away.

Participants reported other experiences where they were excluded from the academic community. The issue was raised several times by participants either in response to another question or in an attempt to illustrate their status in the academy. Participants are explicit and thorough. Because their comments provide dramatic illustrations of the impact such exclusion has had on them, I quote them

here at length without interpretation. Their voices can bring us into their experiences and allow us to feel what they feel.

> Lori: In the English department, [I'm invited to the department meetings]. I get a little notice, usually a couple days beforehand. Unfortunately because most of us are freeway flying, it's often the case that we're not able to make those meetings. We're not considered when the dates and times of those meetings are established. Department chairs don't consider whether part-time people can be there or not—it's based, you know, those dates and times are set by the full-time faculty. We are invited in the English department; in the ESL department, I'm not invited. *(Are you able to vote at the meeting?)* No. I have been told in other places that I don't have a vote. I guess [here] it's not even discussed; we just assume we don't have a vote.
>
> This has been a frustration for me: not being part of an academic community. I feel as though I should be able to talk to my colleagues about teaching and about how we can be better teachers – and that discussion is not happening, and I really think that's to the detriment of the students.
>
> I feel so far removed from having a voice in the academic community even as a teacher...getting in my car, driving on the freeway, not having an office, not having a real place on any campus. I don't feel like – and I'm made purposely not to feel like I have a stake in this community and that pisses me off. That really makes me angry, come to think of it. (She laughs.)
>
> Elizabeth: You feel as though you are on the outside because you are if you physically cannot attend the meeting.
>
> I don't know that I'm seen as a "committed professional" because it's sort of the idea of working as a substitute teacher in some respects: "Oh, you're not quite good enough to be full-time" or "What's the matter with you if you don't have a full-time job?"
>
> It's wanting to belong to a community of learners...wanting to belong to that community but no matter what investment, there's no guarantee that the investment you make is going to have any kind of return.

> Heidi: It all comes down to that you're not – you *are* faculty – but you're not. It's very clear: in the "adjunct handbook," the "adjunct web board," the adjunct this – the adjunct parking sticker: We don't just have a faculty parking sticker, no…ours is purple, theirs is red, the students' is blue…so it's clearly separated.

> Darla: I think a big part of it is proximity: [the full-time faculty and staff are] all right there together, they communicate on an hourly basis because they're walking past each other to their offices in the hall all the time…they're right there with the secretaries all the time…so they're in constant communication…and they just hang out more together whereas the part-timers, you know, it's…sometimes you might see one full-time, two full-time faculty the whole time you're there in the day and that might be just for a couple of minutes so…that's part of it, I think – it's just the lack of contact with the full-timers and so they don't get a chance to know us, either…just like to know them…some of those – and me, included, I should say – sometimes when someone walks through the office a full-timer might not know that they're actually a part-time instructor…they might think they're a student looking for a full-time instructor.

At PVCC the differences between part-time and full-time faculty were dramatically exposed when the faculty organized a union. As Lori explains:

> There is a long history of this polarization among faculty and adding the part-time element [that is, bringing attention to part-time faculty issues] has only increased the depth of the crevasse that exists already among faculty members.

The impetus for the organizing effort came from the part-time faculty members because they felt their concerns were not being heard by the full-time faculty or college administrators. One of their first accomplishments was to establish a union executive board comprised of an equal number of part- and full-time faculty. With

a wry smile Lori shared an early incident they encountered when a full-time faculty member discussed his post-retirement plans:

> It was interesting the other day…one of the full-timers who's getting ready to retire absolutely erupted when he wanted to be assured that he could come back into the part-time system and have priority over everyone else – seniority and re-hire rights. Well, I've worked 25 years also, and I want to know when it's going to be my turn to have some seniority and some re-hire rights.

While strongly committed to the union (and as one of the organizers), Lori acknowledges that her work with the union may very well negatively impact her chances for obtaining full-time employment:

> Well, not just here [at PVCC], either. You know, when I fill out my job applications and they want to know what I do on other campuses, I'm always reluctant and I think I've generally left out that I've put in a union at this campus. Even at those campuses, they're all unionized, but I am kind of reluctant about being known as a "union person" and I'm…I think that might be a stigma that I'd try to avoid. But, it's a big part of my life. *(And it is a place where you've been able to demonstrate leadership and bringing people together.)* Yeah, exactly. My Chair here did a great job in his last letter of reference for me and managed to say all of that without mentioning that it was for the union (she laughs) – it was perfect.

Outside the academy: Being a mom

Outside the academic community these women face uncertainty about retirement, hectic schedules, long commutes, and, for some, "the mommy shift." Each participant acknowledges she could not maintain her teaching schedule without the economic support of her husband. For Kate, Darla, and Pam, their income is supplemental to their husbands' income. This is not the case for

Elizabeth, Heidi, and Lori whose salaries are an essential part of the family income. Each participant is dependent on her husband's employer for health benefits. Their retirement funds ranged from social security to small investments in the teachers' retirement system, and, in only one case, substantial financial investments.

Several participants identified "being a mom" as their primary role. Their decisions regarding teaching assignments, for example, are usually made to accommodate their children's schedules. Consistent with current research, Pam and Darla have primary responsibility for household and childcare duties, even though both they and their husbands are working outside the home. Lori and Elizabeth, however, described a more balanced division of labor that made it possible for them to teach a full load of classes at multiple colleges.

> Pam: How do I say this fairly? I think I still carry—the daily stuff that has to happen, you know, like eating and cleaning and laundry and the things that keep things running. He will pitch in on Saturdays when I'm obviously doing papers…he kind of takes over or he'll take the boys somewhere if I'm really in deep, he'll take them skating or to do something…I mean, he certainly does his share of getting under the house because there's water under it or fixing the roof. I think he gets to do some of the things that I, quite honestly, I wouldn't want to have to do, but I still think, sometimes, he gets to do the things that I wouldn't mind doing, like mowing the lawn. The kind of things that it doesn't matter if you do them today or you do them three days from now are the kind of things, I think, a lot of times he gets to do and I feel like I have to do the things that have to get done, you know, on a daily basis, just…they have to be done.
>
> Darla: There's not a lot of *dividing* [of household tasks]. I do most of it around here.

> Lori: Today is a perfect example…I had a final at 8:00 a.m. Normally, I don't schedule my classes until 9:00 because I have to get my daughters to school. I realized I had an 8:00 final, so last night at 11:00 I was asking [my husband] if he could stay a little later…well, he had [to be at work at] 9:00, so, he said, "Okay, I'll do it." He's getting her off to school in the morning and then this afternoon, of course, is the President's Committee and Budget Committee meeting…and, then following that is our regular Tuesday union meeting…and so, usually, I go home, pick up my daughter, wait till my husband gets home and then come back up through the rush hour traffic (two-hour drive). Today he's going to try to make it home and pick her up so I can stay on campus. And it's, it's a juggle, but you know, it's nice – we work together well and we manage. Sometimes one of us screws up, (she laughs) you know, it happens.

> Elizabeth: We don't have children. I think…I have to say, I have a very patient, supportive, and understanding husband, otherwise I wouldn't be doing this, you know, because more often than not, he's the one who cooks dinner, he does the shopping; because he has…he can fit it in his schedule. Honestly, that's the second biggest factor for teaching part-time. But if I didn't have his support I wouldn't be doing this at all.

Outside the academy: Long commutes, little leisure time

Kate, Heidi, Lori, and Elizabeth discussed the impact of long commutes. Elizabeth has a two-hour roundtrip commute to one of her teaching assignments. She has decided to give up her position at that college and find another closer to home. Long commutes between teaching assignments affect them physically and emotionally.

> Elizabeth: This is an easier time of day to get here, but I have to leave my house by 3:15 p.m. [for a class that starts at 4:30] if I want a less stressful drive. I've decided to just allow enough time. And I have to allow a lot of time and I've changed my schedule at [the other college where I teach], so I don't have an 8:00 a.m. class. I

> have a 10:00 a.m. class and that means that, yeah, I can do it in 45 minutes to one hour. But a lot of my life is driving and I'm tired of it. Sitting on the freeway causes me to become unenthused.
>
> Kate: I teach in [in a rural area] at night and I'm usually bringing a student [with me] so that's good. But in the wintertime, especially in previous years, it was awful...in fact we might have to get a cell phone if it's a bad winter next year because, you know, you're getting to the point you don't especially want to be driving out there alone.
>
> Heidi: I drive 60 miles a day. Well, I used to work at this private language school and [the commute is] one of the reasons why I stopped: I couldn't stand the traffic anymore and the waste of time. And then my back started hurting, my neck started hurting, my stress level was just THERE.
>
> Lori: I don't have time to sit and answer questions from my students before or after class because I'm usually getting in my car and going to another class across the county.

Participants who teach at more than one college juggle the demands of multiple classes, commutes, and different work environments; they also have to contend with distinct academic calendars that leave few opportunities for leisure time and family vacations.

> Lori: There's really only one time we get any real, you know, a week off or you say, "I have a week off and that's mine" and that's at the winter break. Because the summer—that's just not there with the overlaps and starting up summer session which is challenging because all the classes are intensive. Since I've been trying to get on full-time and going to so many different school districts and trying to be involved [leisure time] has been the big loser in there for me. I went on the first vacation with my family in five years last year. So, you know, that's what you give up.
>
> Elizabeth: [The colleges where I work] had their spring breaks at different times; [my husband] has vacation days that we can't take together because I have to be teaching. We rarely can have dinner

> together or it's at 8:00 at night. I would like to take walks in the evening and things like that, but I think if your partner's inflexible or something, it would be very, very difficult. And I'm also trying to work toward getting a better schedule so I have bigger blocks of time at school, bigger chunks of time at home.
>
> Heidi: We don't really have time to travel to do bigger vacations just because of the schedules. We're hoping to be able to go to Germany for Christmas [to see my family], but I already found out that [the other college where I teach] starts right back up the 2nd of January. Well, gee, that's not good at all.

Advantages and motivation

Given the picture participants paint, it is easy to wonder: (a) if they perceive any advantages to part-time teaching and (b) what it is that keeps them coming back each term. The advantages they cited ranged from not having to deal with "office politics" and not having to teach some of the classes full-time faculty teach to having more flexibility than they might have in other part-time working arrangements.

> Darla: I feel like I can go, show up ten minutes before my class if I want, teach my class, and leave five minutes after I'm done. I don't *have* to be on campus. I'm free to do what I want to do basically, so that's nice.
>
> Heidi: A really cool part about being at two places: You can get travel funds from two different places – it just took awhile to figure that out. There's also the flexibility. I'm in a very luxurious position: I have my class that's going to be with me until I say I don't want to do it any more which is not the case for a lot of other people.

Lori cited the level of freedom she experiences, yet could immediately understand how this might be disadvantageous to the academic community as a whole.

> Lori: I'm really free to set my own – write my own course work. And I guess I'm concerned about that, too: I'm concerned that's going to be taken away from me, that I won't have that input as a part-timer because I know that really, that the course syllabus of record that I'm supposed to be drawing my class from, I have no input into whatsoever…I have absolutely no input into that. So, on the one hand, I worry that things will change so that I can't accommodate my teaching style and that has actually happened at other schools, where it's been dictated, the class has been dictated and I've left those schools. On the other side of that, when you get a class of part-time people who come and go and who really are temporary, how do you assure that they're doing a good job teaching and how do you help them become good teachers or at least integrate their course work into the curriculum if they have no say in that?

Similarly, Kate expressed satisfaction with her course load even as she acknowledged the tenuous commitment she has from the college regarding those courses:

> I love what I'm doing, but that's one reason I don't particularly want to go full-time: They would make me teach English composition and some of those other things I have no interest in teaching. One plus to part-time teaching is I've been able to pick up classes over the years, but there are a lot of people who [can] teach my classes and I don't know how long I'll be able to keep some of these.

When asked what it is that keeps them returning each term, participants offered responses that illustrate the variety of their experiences.

> Heidi: One thing is that it's what I trained for – it's what I went to school for. I enjoy working with the students I have. I'm an ESL learner, too. I really enjoy helping people; helping people find their way is really neat. You can actually make changes. Last summer I was ready to quit, but I stuck with it and it's looking pretty good right now. I've really found my heart.
>
> Darla: The people I work with – colleagues; probably a bigger portion of it is the students.

> Pam: There have been many times when I've said, "I'm not going back." I like the creative part of it. I love being in the classroom with students. It's nice when you can – and I've had this happen in the past – where you've been able to follow a student from course to course to course and see the difference.
>
> Lori: I like the population here. They're a young group and I'm very comfortable with different kinds of groups, but these are "out of high school" kids who seem – a lot of them have kind of missed the chance first time around and really need a wake-up call, and I seem to adapt well to that population; I work well with them. And then, following through over two or three years, it's very exciting to see them actually make it into a real academic class and start doing some real thinking. So it's a very exciting population.

This section illuminated issues participants face both within their working environment and outside of it. Their comments reflect their desire to be part of an academic community from which they are often excluded. Their experiences can provide a means for understanding the impact of a two-tiered faculty community as well as the challenges inherent in balancing multiple work assignments. In spite of the challenges, participants acknowledged the advantages of teaching part-time and continue to teach because of their dedication to students. In the following section, participants share their impressions of how part-time teaching has impacted their careers.

How do women perceive the impact of part-time teaching on their career?

Study participants share an enthusiasm and desire to teach even as their preferences for full- and part-time teaching vary. This section reviews participants' observations regarding the impact of part-time teaching on their career progress,

their perceptions of barriers to getting – and keeping – a full-time teaching position, and advice they would give someone seeking a part-time teaching position.

Part-time teaching: Help or hindrance?

For those aspiring to full-time teaching positions, the lack of loyalty and commitment manifests deeply – and painfully – in the hiring process. Elizabeth, Lori, and Heidi would prefer a full-time position at the college where they have been teaching part-time. They like the programs, are generally satisfied with their teaching experiences, and believe they can make a difference at the college. They described similar, discouraging experiences with and perception of the hiring process to demonstrate that part-time teaching has hindered their career progress.

> Heidi: It seems to be that your chances to get a full-time position at the college that you're teaching at are even slimmer than anything else…you need to be flexible, you need to be able to move away. If you taught at one college part-time for five or six years, they look at you like, you know, there's something wrong with you or something. And that is so unfair and so wrong. I mean, look at me, I'm almost at five years and it's not because I chose – well, yeah, I chose to stay but I don't choose to stay a part-timer, but there's nothing else out there.
>
> Elizabeth: Over the past four years I have been applying constantly for full-time positions at the community college level…sometimes you get the rejection letter and sometimes you get an interview. In general, my teaching *experience* has helped, but it's hard to say what they're looking for.
>
> Lori: It seems as though the only people they were interviewing and hiring were people who were from somewhere else. If you think, well, I'm going to stay here and take the crap jobs – and you know this is coming up for me at one of my other campuses: I have to take the crap jobs because they just postponed hiring for another year and

> so if I'm going to suck up and be known and establish myself, I've got to do the meetings over there and committee work over there and I have to take whatever jobs they offer me – which they know. There seems to be an indication that if you at least want an interview, you have to be teaching there. I don't think that guarantees you a job, but the only places that I've even had an interview are places where I've been teaching.

Because Kate, Pam, and Darla have all chosen part-time work arrangements, I expected their answers would indicate that part-time teaching has helped their career progress. Darla's answer initially surprised me, yet it is consistent with her comment that her decision to teach part-time was a "forced choice."

> Kate: [Teaching part-time] has definitely helped [me pursue different goals]. Everything – like the workshops and all the other career goals – nourishes the classes. The classes, preparing for the classes, and learning with my students, it's just an intermeshing thing. So I think part-time is great. I mean, I love the classes – they nourish my own work. Everything I do is inter-connected. I had to wait a long time to [teach part-time] and I'm grateful that I could do it. I think I've had pretty good success with it.
>
> Pam: I've been doing this for twenty-something years. There may be something else that comes along. I think in my particular situation [part-time teaching] has worked.
>
> Darla: [Part-time teaching] has probably hindered my career progress. I guess I always envisioned myself as, you know, I don't want to say teaching full-time, but having a full-time job in the teaching field. I just don't think I have – or had – the opportunity to maintain that full-time teaching status.

Barriers to full-time employment

Not all participants are interested in a full-time teaching position; those who are, however, face various obstacles. Darla's experience shows that even when a

woman has a full-time position, she may be faced with choices that affect her ability to remain a full-time teacher. Although Darla was fortunate to get a full-time assignment when she finished her graduate degree, she was unable to *keep* that position once she had a family. A portion of her assignment required her to travel frequently: When her children were born 14 months apart, she sought ways to balance family demands with her teaching assignment. At the time, her only option was to give up the full-time position and accept a contingent, part-time assignment. Lori shared her views:

> I think this is where many women in all sorts of careers fall prey to exploitation. We're attracted because initially as a part-timer we can work one or two classes and keep our finger in the career while focusing on family, but when it comes to my turn to say, "Well, this is my experience," it doesn't count for anything at all. I get no (financial or seniority) credit for the experience of teaching that I've had when I came here. Not a dime. We want some kind of brownie points for having served *this* community.

At GHCC, the problem of getting hired full-time was not attributed to part-time teaching experience but to an over-supply of applicants as well as a dearth of available full-time positions. Kate had actually participated on two hiring committees for full-time faculty positions. In both cases, part-time faculty from GHCC were hired to fill the positions. Darla noted that in her department there appeared to be an equal chance of being hired whether a person was a part-time faculty member at the college or another community college in the state. Kate, Darla, and Pam did not seem to be disconcerted when another part-time faculty

member was hired from within the state; they were less than satisfied when someone from outside the state was hired.

Advice for those considering part-time teaching

Lori, Elizabeth, and Heidi believed their part-time teaching experiences might actually work against them in the hiring process, yet conceded that without part-time teaching experience they would not get through a competitive screening process. Here they face a dilemma: There is no certainty that part-time teaching experience helps their career progress, yet most assuredly, a lack of part-time teaching experience would hinder it. I asked participants what advice they would give to someone considering part-time teaching:

> Lori: Well, I guess my first question would be: What's your economic reality? That's the bottom line. I've had the absolute luxury of having someone else sponsor my teaching career. If I were talking to my daughters, I wouldn't suggest that they go into teaching because I'd like to see them become economically independent. On the other side of that, if you do have a sponsor or can live on less than $20,000 a year, and you have a car that can make it 150 miles a day, I don't think there's anything more rewarding. It's wonderful to be part of people's education.
>
> Darla: Be prepared for those issues that we've discussed. Try to stay in communication. Get to know people, get to know your colleagues; get to know them so they can get to know you. Be around. Hang out. Be there even if you don't have a class.
>
> Kate: Not here at GHCC: There's no future in it. I wouldn't recommend that you do this locally. If I [had my doctorate] and was facing only part-time employment, you'd really have to love your stuff to put up with it. You can't raise a family on it.

> Pam: Know that you'll be spending a lot more hours putting into the part-time work than you may expect. You could really enjoy doing this work part-time if you didn't expect you were going to be compensated for it. If you can juggle the feeling of resentment with "I really love this job" – yeah, if you can put the negatives aside, you could really enjoy it.

> Elizabeth: Be on good terms with the department and support staff. Simplify your life as much as possible. Keep the trunk of your car organized. Above all, focus on your students and take responsibility for pursuing your own professional development.

> Heidi: It's harder than you think and especially if that's the only thing you're doing. There's a lot of stuff that you don't find out until you finally get to the problem. You don't have prior information and there are a lot of limits on you. Having to find your way through different rules and regulations – especially if you work at more than one place is really difficult. And you can't assume. [The rules are] not readily visible to you. You want to focus on teaching, but a lot of time is also taken away by finding your way through the system.

Participants' conversations and observations regarding the impact of part-time teaching on their careers sheds light on their shared experiences: In general, they find their working conditions challenging, are realistic in their approach to these conditions, and continue to extol the benefits of teaching. Again, their answers vary, yet form a web of illustrations that help us understand their daily challenges and rewards. Not surprisingly, participants had many ideas for improving their working conditions. These ideas are discussed in the following section.

How do women who teach part-time believe their working conditions and experiences could be enhanced or improved?

Participants' recommendations for enhancing and improving their working conditions parallel their concerns regarding their work environment and can be grouped into five general threads: recognition, professional relationships and activities, employment, compensation, and other recommendations.

Recognition

Some participants objected to the use of the word "adjunct" to describe their employment relationship with the college. They viewed the word as pejorative – a term to indicate they were not part of the faculty but separate from it. Instead, participants seek recognition that includes them in the academic community based on their role as a member of the faculty rather than their employment arrangement with the college. Lori suggested that all members of the academy continue to work toward equity and dignity for all faculty members:

> I think my message is that we need to work toward equity and dignity for all faculty that she (the new President) has here at PVCC...one faculty whether they work 60% time or 100% time. We're all one faculty and we all need to be treated with equity and with respect. And because we're so far from that now that we need to take some strides – some real strides – to show that she's willing to bargain in good faith and she's willing to cause us to become not invisible any more.

Others suggested examining current practices, consciously including all members of the academic community, and providing meaningful access to resources. Elizabeth recommended that college officials:

> ...find a way to really take the pulse of your adjuncts. Because you can...we wouldn't have and I couldn't believe it when I heard it said here by one of the coordinators, "We wouldn't have an ESL program at PVCC if we didn't have adjuncts."

Given the diverse composition of part-time faculty, such a step could provide valuable information about those who teach part-time and offer insight into ways to better address their needs.

Professional relationships and activities

All participants were interested in developing and maintaining their professional relationships on campus. They suggested that departmental meetings include all faculty members regardless of their teaching load. In addition, they suggested that meetings be scheduled so a majority of faculty could attend. They conceded this might entail scheduling meetings at different times or holding multiple departmental meetings in an attempt to accommodate work schedules.

Participants suggested they be provided opportunities to serve on committees and in other professional activities. They specifically mentioned their interest in participating in matters related to curriculum development, hiring, and tenure review. Curriculum development was seen as a key faculty responsibility from which they are often excluded. Elizabeth and Heidi have been part of a group of teachers who are currently re-designing the curriculum in their department. At both colleges any faculty member could propose new curriculum, but decisions regarding new courses, course content, and course approval were made by the

curriculum committee and administrators. Participants indicated that at both colleges the curriculum committee was comprised of full-time faculty. Kate expressed her willingness to serve on committees and posed a challenge:

> I was serving on hiring committees. I attended the part-time committee. I've attended the departmental committees. I've gone to all these workshops for professional development. Tenure review, well, you know, why couldn't they...they could be invited to do that...If I could be invited to hire somebody, I could be [invited] to talk about tenure review, too. It's not the part-timers' fault that they're excluded from these things.

Similarly, the opportunity to receive meaningful performance evaluations was seen as an important means of professional development and a necessity for professional advancement. If part-time faculty members do not receive peer evaluations they miss out on an important collegial activity and subsequently lack a critical ingredient of their professional portfolio.

> Lori: Student evaluations are wonderful, you know; I strongly believe in them, but, on the other hand, I can't turn in a student evaluation. If I'm applying for a job, I have to have [peer evaluations] and sometimes it's very difficult, if not impossible, for part-timers to get those. *(And are those required when you're applying for jobs?)* Sure – I was required (my last job application) to have six of them: I needed to have six references of people who actually observed me in the classroom. It's a problem for the department chairs because they just don't have the workforce to do [them].

Participants also indicated a desire to meet regularly with college administrators in order to alleviate the perception that administrators are not interested in their needs. At least one participant acknowledged that a lot of part-time faculty might not be able to attend such meetings, but providing opportunities

for conversation would be seen as a meaningful step in the process of building community. The opportunity to reflect on their experiences by means of this study was seen as very positive and, in turn, opportunities to reflect with campus administrators could be equally fruitful.

Employment

In the area of employment, most of the recommendations focused on ways to improve job security for contingent faculty. Suggestions included offering long-term contracts, developing a seniority system for hiring and re-hiring faculty, and giving hiring priority to part-time faculty who apply for full-time positions at the colleges where they are teaching.

An important concern for the faculty at PVCC is the lack of coordination of academic calendars between community colleges in the region. Each college where participants worked had different schedules for spring break and winter holidays, often leaving them with no time off from their demanding schedules. Heidi described her experience with the summer schedule:

> I have to schedule, or juggle, three schedules: PVCC, the [other college where I teach], and the Adult Basic Education schedule. So, at PVCC – we're done [in the middle of May]; well, there's the final and then I have four weeks of a break. At [the other college where I teach] – my ESL class goes till the end of May and then I have two weeks of a break. The Adult Basic Education continues on. There's no break…they continue on. I think they have their break between, I guess, the end of July and then till September—those four weeks. So basically I have no time off in summer.

She later raised a question to express her concerns about the spring break schedules:

> Why is the calendar the way it is? Why do we have our spring break four weeks before everybody else's spring break?

Elizabeth described the impact of the calendars on her family life:

> [The other college where I teach] and PVCC had their spring breaks at different times; [my husband] and I wanted to take...you know, he has vacation days that we can't take together because I have to be teaching. I just had time off from one, but no real days off.

Participants encourage an examination of the ratio of part-time to full-time faculty positions at their colleges and recommend that part-time positions be converted to full-time. They agreed that colleges will likely want to employ a certain number of part-time faculty in order to offer specialized classes and respond to changing enrollment demands; however, they felt that current ratios negatively impact the entire academic community. Their recommendation is supported by the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (1999) in their faculty policy review project.

Finally, "[s]tudent-faculty contact in and out of classes is the most important factor in student motivation and involvement" (Chickering, 1987, as cited in Sorcinelli, 1991). Participants felt their employment status – and lack of office space – made it difficult, if not impossible, to maintain a high level of contact with students outside of class. A shared perception was that if they were full-time, not only would they have a place where they could meet with students,

they could also hold regular office hours, and remain on campus for longer periods of time rather than hurrying to their next assignment or another campus.

Compensation

Several participants indicated they worked at a college that offered step increases in pay based on the number of hours, terms or years taught at the college. Heidi discovered that the step increases were inconsistently implemented, and Pam pointed out that earned step increments could be easily lost. Participants also suggested that colleges develop a way to measure the cost of providing instruction and that they be paid "equal pay for equal work." They further suggested that similar pay rates be developed for office hours and committee service in order that their contributions to the academic community be compensated on a par with full-time faculty.

Access to retirement and health benefits was also recommended by participants. Such benefits, they asserted, could be provided to the mutual benefit of the faculty and the college. At PVCC, this issue was expected to part of the new contract negotiations between faculty and the college.

Other recommendations

Darla recommended that "every full-time instructor should have to be part-time for one year so they can experience the difference." From her perspective, full-time faculty do not quite understand what it means to be a part-time faculty

member, to work under the conditions they do, and to be excluded from the academic community. In her view, such an experience would allow full-time faculty to understand the extent to which part-time faculty are treated differently.

The participants were overwhelmingly positive about the impact of e-mail on their experiences. All agreed it provided them with greater access to students and allowed them to stay informed of campus events. For Lori and Heidi, it has also provided a way to connect with colleagues throughout the nation. Participating on list-serv's has helped create a sense of shared community and support for their professional concerns. Elizabeth mentioned that she was able to communicate with faculty in her department using e-mail, thus increasing her access to her colleagues.

Other technological advances were seen as beneficial: the ability to submit grades on-line was noted as particularly beneficial to part-time faculty who might live a long distance from the college.

> Elizabeth: I can post my grades electronically and, in fact, that's what the whole system is going to be from now on. *(So they trained you on how to do that?)* Oh, they just gave us...yeah...they gave us handouts and we went through training in the use of the computer, shot it onto a screen, and then you go to the website and you follow their instructions...so it's great. They had implemented it last semester: You entered them on the computer and then you also submitted a paper roster. *(This time it's just all on-line, right? And you can do that from home?)* Yes, it's great. It's very easy access. *(That seems like a big improvement for adjunct faculty...)* It's huge. It's huge—I don't have that same luxury at [the other college where I teach].

SUMMARY

The questions guiding this inquiry offer a way to better understand what it means to teach part-time in a community college. Not only do the questions highlight working conditions, they reveal how working conditions affect morale, contribute to isolation, and impact teachers outside their working environment. For those interested in part-time rather than full-time teaching, there appear to be more choices regarding the courses they teach and the number of courses they teach each term.

One major different emerges as a result of their situations: Because Pam, Kate, and Darla choose to teach part-time and their salaries are not a major portion of the family income, they can choose to teach fewer courses and can take time off during the summer to be with their children and for family vacations. Elizabeth, Heidi, and Lori, however, contribute a large portion of the family income, and consequently, they juggle commutes, academic calendars, work assignments, and teach during the summer – all of which severely limit time with their families.

When asked which had a greater impact on their experiences – their gender or their status as part-time faculty – Kate, Pam, and Darla offered the following responses. Although Darla teaches in a department that has more men than women, she stated emphatically: Her part-time teaching arrangement affected her status at the college more than her gender. At the same time, she shared concerns regarding disparate treatment of women and men in her department:

> I think the classes [in our department] that produce more income are taught by the males. Also, I'm just waiting to see what happens when one of those male full-timers wants to get out of coaching...Are they going to allow them to get out of coaching and still teach – which they didn't do for me?

Kate suggested she does not feel treated differently by colleagues as a result of her part-time employment arrangement:

> I don't feel any inferior because I'm a part-timer. Personally, it's irrelevant: I don't want full-time and have to teach some of the crap that they teach and go through some of the folderol and bureaucracy that they go through. I don't think I'm treated particularly well with the higher-up's, but that's everybody.

In terms of gender she initially suggested that men who are primary wage earners might face different issues than married women who teach part-time; she then suggested that this might not depend on gender:

> ...men, if they are the prime provider, but there are many women who are primary providers...so I guess it's not so much a gender issue...at least in our department, [primary providers] are all in the same boat. They all have to get benefits and things elsewhere.

Pam indicated that her part-time status, rather than her gender, conferred status and a sense of "difference" in the department:

> I really haven't noticed that [I'm treated differently due to my gender]. At this point most of the full-time faculty are women in our department. I happen to share an office with three men, three part-time men and they're terrific. They've been good to work with and I can't see that I've been treated any less or more than they have. [I would say that the differences I've experienced have been because I'm part-time faculty.]

This question was not asked of Lori, Elizabeth or Heidi, however, Lori stated with certainty that part-time teaching is a "women's issue:"

> It's back to the women's issue here, I really resent that my 25 of years of experience doesn't count for anything, anywhere. I really resent that and I really think, am I wrong, is it not a women's issue? I was applying for a temporary, full-time position, and I was told by my Chair, "Oh, you don't need that job—you have a husband to support you." *(You heard this recently?)* Yeah, this was very recent.

Although the study was limited to six participants, it is possible to see that the experiences of part-time faculty are as individual as each faculty member. They alternately enjoy their teaching experiences and despair over their working conditions. Not all participants are interested in deeper engagement with the academic community, however each participant offered suggestions for mitigating inequities, improving working conditions, and creating opportunities for greater acknowledgement of their contributions. At the heart of their suggestions rests the student. Participants' comments and concerns reflect their understanding that teachers' working conditions directly impact students' experiences. In addition, participants' narratives suggest areas for future research to improve our understanding of their experiences and, ultimately, of the college as a whole. The next chapter discusses this study's findings, limitations of the study, and areas for further inquiry.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Participants have provided a glimpse into the world of part-time faculty, revealing their day-to-day experiences, the challenges and rewards of part-time teaching, and how part-time/contingent employment affects their lives outside the work environment. This chapter describes findings that emerged from the study as well as implications of the findings, includes a review of the study's limitations, and suggests areas for future study.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS: DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This section focuses on the findings of this study and is arranged around the following topics: summary comments, a call to examine current practices, new employment arrangements for faculty, the role of the department chair, and the impact of part-time teaching on the faculty members as individuals.

Summary comments

Prior research (Gappa & Leslie, 1993; Tuckman, 1978) indicated that part-time faculty members comprise a diverse group who teach for different reasons. The findings from this study support these earlier conclusions and indicate that even when part-time faculty may appear similar (i.e., white, married, and middle age with comparable career aspirations), they experience the academy in different ways. One key difference between the participants was in how they identified with their professional status: As aspiring full-time faculty members, Elizabeth, Heidi,

and Lori see themselves as full-time faculty members with multiple assignments, they did not see themselves as part-time faculty members. Kate, Pam, and Darla, on the other hand, teach part-time in addition to managing other commitments outside the community college. This impacted they way in which they viewed their experiences, yet in spite of their different experiences, participants agreed:

1. They were treated differently from full-time faculty. Exclusionary devices, such as, limited office space, lack of opportunities for collegiality, limited ability to participate in college governance, and lack of access to college resources, contribute to isolation and help maintain a two-tiered faculty.

2. The lack of on-going job security, limited access to college resources, and the need to teach at multiple campuses, impacted participants' ability to form collegial relationships and provide consistent support to students – both of which participants felt negatively impacted students' learning environment.

3. They were not compensated at a rate comparable to their full-time colleagues.

4. Current academic structures reinforce inequality, deny dignity, and limit recognition of part-time faculty members.

Additional findings indicate that: (a) while contingent faculty make it possible for permanent faculty to teach classes of their choosing and sit on influential committees (such as curriculum development, tenure review, budgeting, and planning), those same opportunities are denied contingent faculty; (b)

contingent faculty members face pressure to remain unobtrusive in the academic community; and (c) part-time faculty members regularly spend their salary on items that are provided permanent faculty: computers, phones, and copies.

Finally, it is interesting to note that participants felt that professional development activities were accessible to full- and part-time faculty. At GHCC, for example, participants indicated they could apply for the same professional development funds as full-time faculty. Participants were mixed in their responses regarding professional development activities. They sensed that professional development activities were offered for all faculty members, yet agreed that the opportunities may not be offered at a time convenient for many part-time faculty. In addition, while full-time faculty members are compensated for attending professional development activities, participants were often not compensated or compensated at a lower rate than their teaching salary.

Examining current practices

"If we fail to undertake the kind of inquiry into the moral nature and consequences of our actions as educators, then our practices remain unquestioned" (Senge et al., 2000, p. 278). While a person's employment arrangement (i.e., part-time/contingent versus full-time/permanent) is only one measure of status within the academic community, it is the focus of this study and questions have been framed in light of this. The results of this study show that although part-time faculty members comprise the majority of community college faculty, college

structures and practices have not adjusted to this reality. Faculty committee and governance structures, for example, favor full-time permanent faculty, and there are few permanent part-time positions in community colleges (Leslie & Walke, 2001). Physical structures are designed with the minority faculty – the full-time faculty – in mind. In addition, participants perceived that the minority group of faculty participates in key decisions (i.e., curriculum development, tenure review, and peer evaluation) from which the majority faculty is often excluded. This study highlights that the minority faculty often act as though they are the majority, thus resulting in a form of academic apartheid.

Based on the findings, it appears some issues that convey status and difference could be addressed by questioning current practices:

1. To what extent do college policies and procedures contribute to a bifurcated faculty?

2. In what ways can colleges move toward redesigning the faculty in response to workload preferences and teaching expertise?

Some practices may be harder to address but require no less attention. For example, why are part-time faculty not provided office space comparable to that provided to full-time faculty? It might be tempting to answer it is because they are, to be blunt, part-time and temporary employees. The findings of this study, however, are consistent with current literature that suggests although part-time

faculty members work on term-to-term contracts, they remain with their colleges for several years (Gappa & Leslie, in press).

We might also wonder why part-time faculty members are asked to work without appropriate levels of support. Study participants have demonstrated that all faculty need adequate access to resources, a place to meet with students, and reasonable access to computers, support staff, and telephones. To deny these support systems to part-time faculty is to communicate that the work they do is not as important or as valued as that of full-time faculty.

The role of the department chair

The findings of this study also highlight the importance of the department chair in shaping part-time faculty members' relationship with the college. This may not be surprising in that it is the department chair (or person in a similar role) who initially recruits and hires the part-time faculty members. The extent to which part-time faculty rely on the department chair is worth considering. Participants indicated they rely *primarily* on the department chair to successfully negotiate the academic environment. The roles of the department chair described by participants included hiring faculty, teaching at least one class, being responsible for the preparation of the class schedule, conducting faculty evaluations, and providing on-going training of part-time faculty. The overwhelming number of faculty in today's community college who teach part-time has serious implications for the role of the

department chair and may serve to undermine the academic role of faculty by giving management greater discretion over academic matters (Rhoades, 1996).

Impact of part-time teaching on the lives of the teachers

Study participants who taught at more than one college described lives over-burdened by the demands of combining teaching assignments at different colleges, long commutes between assignments, and conflicting academic calendars. Such work arrangements limit participants' discretionary time and as Negrey (1993) suggested, a lack of discretionary time leads to social isolation and increased levels of stress. Study participants who taught at only one college found it easier to balance work and family responsibilities and indicated they were able to spend more time on campus. Participants found ways to be involved in their communities and families by combining volunteer activities with either family activities and/or other professional activities. Several participants reported having made recent choices to limit certain activities – either activities at the college or volunteer activities that they had enjoyed. These choices have helped participants balance their time and energy, though this balance may have come at a cost by further isolating them from their academic community or their social network.

Imagining a new reality: Toward one faculty

Gappa and Leslie (1997) encourage us to move away from traditional labels of part-time and full-time faculty to create "one faculty." The desire to be part of

one faculty and a larger academic community is reflected in participants' comments. Given the different aspirations of people teaching in community colleges, arbitrary labels that describe a person's employment status no longer have a place in today's community college, or even in any area of higher education. Just as Glazer-Raymo (1999) encouraged us to ask why the academy is designed to fit men's, rather than women's needs, so the findings of this study alert us to ask why community colleges are designed to fit full-time faculty needs often at the expense of part-time faculty.

Gappa (2002) offers new ways to look at faculty roles and employment arrangements, moving away from traditional arrangements to new employment arrangements that reflect the changing needs of faculty members as well as colleges/universities. She advocates designing arrangements based employment preferences that benefit the entire academic community and proposes the following employment classifications:

Tenured/tenure-track faculty: This group would form the "core group" of faculty. Their working conditions would include: (a) an indefinite term of employment after a six-year probation, (b) termination after tenure would require due process, and (c) academic freedom. However, Gappa further suggests that this employment arrangement offers little flexibility for employees and limits their options for moving to a new career or new academic institution.

Contractual faculty: This group of faculty would work under renewable, year-to-year contracts. During the term of the contract due process would be required for termination; however, at the end of the contract, it could be ended without cause. Contractual faculty would experience a greater degree of academic freedom than those on term-to-term contracts. This employment arrangement offers multiple options for faculty members who may be interested in changing careers or moving to a new academic institution.

Contingency faculty: Faculty in this group would be strictly temporary; their appointments would be short-term with a limit on the number of times a contract could be renewed. Gappa (2002) recommends that contracts for contingency faculty include guarantees of academic freedom. Faculty in these appointments would likely have a "highly varied career" (Gappa) with a primary appointment at another organization or academic institution.

At first glance, these classifications do not appear measurably different from current employment arrangements. What distinguishes these new arrangements from current practices is that: (a) they are not based on the amount of time a person teaches and (b) they assume that duties for all faculty would be similar regardless of their employment arrangement. All faculty members, for example, would serve on committees and teach according to the terms of their contract. In addition, these arrangements could provide faculty with more choices and offer institutions the organizational flexibility they seek. These arrangements

could also reduce isolation that part-time faculty currently experience by providing additional opportunities for engagement with the academic community. Those who are not interested in deeper involvement would continue to have the option of working as contingency faculty. Such arrangements may not fit every institution, yet they provide a means for reviewing, and potentially redefining, faculty work arrangements that would mutually benefit faculty, administrators, and students.

Leslie and Walke (2001) suggest that greater flexibility of employment arrangements is one way of meeting women's needs in the academy; at the same time, they indicate that such flexibility can help institutions assist faculty who are approaching retirement. Leslie and Walke found that gender and age mattered significantly in emerging *permanent* part-time work arrangements in higher education: Young female faculty elected part-time time teaching arrangements to balance work and family, while men who chose part-time arrangements were generally older and transitioning to retirement. Leslie and Walke recommend that:

> [A]cademic careers be defined in multiple ways. For some, this means doing research and excelling in the national market place. For others, it means paying attention to teaching and doing it well. For all it means enjoying the flexibility to shift emphases at different life stages.
>
> Perhaps most importantly, it means that institutions have to decide whether to react case-by-case to an increasing diversity of individual work styles, values, and career trajectories, or whether they will act purposefully to think through their policies and practices and take proactive initiative to open academic careers to alternatives that will appeal to the broadest array of people with talent. (p. 21)

It may not be enough to reconceptualize faculty roles; it is critical that college leaders seek ways to energize the academic community. Gappa (2002) and Balch (1999) offer several recommendations to ensure the vitality of the entire faculty:

1. Engage in strategic planning for hiring part-time faculty. The report by the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (1999) offers specific recommendations to assist in this endeavor. The report suggests that part-time faculty be hired to meet the institutional mission and goals; and to maintain flexibility, colleges and universities need to make decisions regarding faculty composition at the department level, with some departments employing a large proportion of contingency faculty while others may be comprised primarily of the core faculty described by Gappa.

2. Provide adequate, on-going orientation for all faculty members.

3. Seek ways to integrate faculty into the college community. Balch specifically addresses needs of contingent faculty, however, it is reasonable to assume the same recommendation could be extended to all faculty members; for example, Balch suggests:

> Part-time faculty will feel more connected and loyal to the institution if they feel at home within their department....Part-time faculty members need to interact with full-time faculty on a regular basis. (p. 36)

4. Clearly outline workload expectations, including teaching load, advising requirements, office hours, and participation in college governance. In

addition, employment agreements (whether they are for tenure/tenure track faculty members, contractual faculty or contingency faculty) need to clearly specify the length of the contract and conditions for renewal of the contract.

5. Develop a clear, consistent policy regarding faculty compensation. Balch recommends that implementation guidelines regarding compensation be published in the faculty handbook.

6. Conduct regular evaluations. Balch suggests that in addition to student evaluations of faculty, a regular "peer review or comparable form of assessment should be conducted annually" (p. 38) and that such evaluations:

> focus on the effectiveness of student-teacher interaction, appropriate use of technology and innovative methodology, dynamic teaching strategies, stimulating course materials, and quality of the instructional environment. (p. 38)

She further encourages part-time faculty to "develop and maintain a teaching portfolio documenting instructional activities" (p. 38).

7. Provide opportunities for professional development, including, but not limited to, formal and informal activities, mentoring, and attendance at professional conferences.

As an increasing number of community college faculty are hired as contingent or less than full-time, the recommendations from participants as well as recent literature offer new ways to consider faculty roles to meet changing needs of community colleges and faculty as well. Moving away from traditional work arrangements offers opportunities for greater flexibility for the entire academic

community, re-considering the nature of teaching in community colleges, and greater consideration of faculty roles. Ideological and legislative barriers may inhibit creative conversations, yet participants have clearly told us that present structures are not working for them. Future research in this area may yield additional possibilities; however, we cannot wait before we begin conversations within our own academic communities.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The number of participants may be perceived as a limitation since it begs the question: Can the findings be generalized? Phenomenological research is not meant to produce research that is generalizable to the whole population. Rather its purpose is to bring to light the lived experiences of participants and reveal phenomena in a new, unexplored manner. While it is up to each reader to determine whether these goals were achieved, this study can stimulate others to ask similar questions about part-time faculty at their own colleges.

A second perceived limitation might be that the participants are generally from the same discipline: English. "[T]his is the one field where things have gotten tough for aspiring faculty…math and the arts may have the same problem, but it seems to vary more in those fields" (D. W. Leslie, personal communication, November 29, 2001). At the same time, this study consisted of faculty from English who were aspiring to full-time positions as well as those who have chosen to stay in part-time positions. The findings show that those who have chosen part-time work

appear more satisfied with their arrangement; however, all participants regardless of their career aspirations or motivation and experienced a sense of being treated differently than full-time faculty.

Finally, the homogeneity of the group may also be perceived as a limitation. All participants were white, married women. As noted earlier, the homogeneity of the group provided consistency, yet did not generate opportunities to compare and contrast experiences by gender, ethnicity, and/or sexual orientation.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Having explained the limitations, one area for future research would be to expand both the number of participants and the disciplines in which they teach. Such an examination could provide a broader look at the experiences of part-time faculty. In addition, it would be interesting to diversify the participants by adding people of color, of various sexual orientations, and men. Do the experiences of men, for example, differ from those of women? Do the experiences of people of color and/or various sexual orientations differ from those of white, heterosexual women? Such a level of inquiry would require more complex analysis and additional questions in order to consider the impact of ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation.

It would be valuable to interview part-time faculty, full-time faculty, and administrators individually and collectively. One observation from this study came from adding my experiences to those of part-time faculty: As a former college

administrator, it was evident that faculty and administrators not only approach issues differently, they also talk about them differently. A study that provides an opportunity for participants to come together for a "systems-oriented" conversation could lead to in-depth explorations of various perspectives and inter-relationships. Furthermore, a study that examines faculty roles from a variety of institutional perspectives could advance our understanding of how to enhance community, eliminate barriers to collegiality, change practices that currently result in marginalization, and create growth within the entire academic community.

In addition, while it is frequently cited that part-time faculty lower institutional costs (Cohen & Brawer, 1996; Gappa & Leslie, 1997; Leslie, 1998b), there is no research that considers: (a) the total costs associated with hiring part-time faculty (Gappa & Leslie, 1997), (b) what the costs would be if part-time faculty were fully integrated into the academy, and (c) the opportunity costs of hiring part-time faculty. It can be argued that part-time faculty are "cheaper" in that they receive lower salaries and few, if any, benefits, yet there are also transactional costs associated with part-time faculty: managing contracts, supervision, and training (Gappa & Leslie, 1997). Other hidden costs include evaluation, orientation, and training. If institutions were to fully integrate part-time faculty into the academic community, additional costs would include office space, equipment, and professional development. Furthermore, it is important to investigate what

institutions forego when they hire part-time faculty in lieu of investing in a full-time faculty.

Finally, it would be revealing to study the contributions of part-time faculty to the college environment. Part-time faculty members are in a position that allows them to navigate both within and along the margins of the academic community. Emerging research suggests that part-time and contingent employees, that is, employees who often work on the margins of an organization, can – and do – make meaningful, positive contributions to the growth of an organization (Robinson & Stern, 1997). Because part-time faculty members comprise the majority of community college faculty, it would be valuable to study the various ways in which they contribute to the college community.

CONCLUSION

This study has brought new light to the structures of privilege in the academy, illuminated how these structures impact the experiences of part-time faculty, and offered ways to mitigate these structures. Participants have shared how mechanisms of privilege currently affect their lives, and the potential impact of continuing to be un-privileged. It is our obligation to further consider how privilege manifests in our own academic communities. Participants have told us they do not want to be confined to the margins but want to be accepted as colleagues and, in some cases, as co-constructors of the learning community. Can we accept that

privileges are extended to one group over another? Or can we challenge existing structures to create a full, rich academic community?

CHAPTER 6: REFLECTION

An important component of feminist research is reflexivity (Fine, 1992; Fonow & Cook, 1991), that is, taking time throughout the research process to reflect on what one has learned as a result of having engaged in the research. As stated earlier, I brought to this study certain biases and assumptions regarding the status of part-time faculty in community colleges. I further indicated my belief that the results of this study would challenge my assumptions and highlight new areas of inquiry. In this section I share with you, the reader, where my assumptions were challenged, questions that remain, reflections on the writing process, and where my journey now leads me.

ASSUMPTIONS CHALLENGED

The overarching focus of this research was based on the belief that part-time faculty are oppressed; however, not one of the participants ever used that specific word to describe her experiences. Participants discussed exploitation, injustice, and disparate treatment, all of which appear to be *conditions* of oppression, yet it must be acknowledged that no one indicated she *felt* oppressed in the college community. Even if participants did not use the word "oppressed," it remains important to listen carefully to what they did say about being excluded from the academic community and treated as "less than" full-time faculty members. We must continue to ask whether the conditions participants described exist in our own

academic communities, look for ways to collectively address these conditions, and seek solutions that enhance the learning community for all its members.

QUESTIONS THAT REMAIN

Full-time permanent faculty members, as the literature revealed, occupy a position of privilege relative to other faculty in the academic community. Because full-time permanent faculty influence curriculum, tenure decisions, and to varying degrees participate in college governance, it could be easy to assume they are fully integrated into the academic community. However, while this study and current literature (Balch, 1999; Roueche et al., 1996a) confirmed that college communities are not fully integrating part-time faculty into the workplace, a distressing picture began to emerge: Academic communities may not fare well at fully integrating and engaging most of the full-time faculty in the academic enterprise. Coincidentally, this was an insight that Lori also experienced as she became more involved with collective bargaining at PVCC. In her review of the interpretative remarks of this study, she added the following notation:

> I am also learning how little regard for full-timers there is from the high-level administration.

Faculty are trained as specialists in a specific field and rewarded for their expertise in that field. When they arrive to teach at a community college, especially one where faculty members are highly involved in college governance, there is an expectation that they shift from being specialists in one field to generalists in

several areas, such as college finances, curriculum development and integration, and organizational communication. To successfully navigate the interconnections of the organization, faculty members need opportunities for scholarly discussions and academic engagement. The sense that members of the academic community may not be able to fully engage weighs heavily on me. The question that remains is how to cultivate opportunities for exchange and engagement – and be satisfied with incremental results for all faculty members, full- and part-time.

WRITING PROCESS

This project began in a class on administrative leadership. The initial paper investigated the concerns of part-time faculty in community colleges. It was a well written, if somewhat incomplete, account of the issues. The paper explored general concerns of part-time faculty; what it couldn't – and didn't – attempt was a deeper examination of the issues. The paper was a starting point. That exploration opened several potential points of inquiry from working conditions to wondering whether or not a part-time faculty culture exists and what it might look like. As a result, my interests as I began this study were varied and diverse. While I did not lack passion for the topic, I lacked a focus that was reflected in my initial proposal. I wanted to write about the oppression of part-time faculty; I wanted to expose injustice and change the situation. In short, my idealism ran high (and still does), but I found I needed to focus the project. Rather than attempt to solve all the problems through my dissertation, I determined to focus on the experiences of women who teach

part-time and let their stories speak. Their voices could inform readers and their stories could lead readers to their own conclusions and further exploration.

This project has developed from an initial broad inquiry to this final product. The process has involved sudden moments of clarity as well as moments when an empty computer screen stared back at me for what seemed hours. Through it all, my writing has evolved. My writing now, even more than at the beginning of this project, is truly a tool for creating possibilities. Yet, I no longer necessarily feel that my writing can create change inasmuch as I believe it can generate thought-provoking material that may move others to consider their own circumstances, experiences, and potential for creating change.

THE JOURNEY BEGINS

The process of writing this dissertation has been extremely rewarding. It has allowed me to experience the abundant joy of discovery as well as moments of profound disappointment. As might be expected, the moments of deepest challenge proved some of the most illuminating. My dissertation committee has pushed me to think more deeply, and move beyond assumptions and general statements to a scholarly assessment of my writing. While I did not initially appreciate all of their feedback, I came to understand their comments were not a challenge to my writing, per se, rather they were to test whether or not I could defend what I had written/learned/claimed. In attempting to respond to the wide range of scholarship represented by committee members, it could have been easy to lose my voice.

Ultimately, however, in acknowledging their feedback, my voice grew stronger. As this project draws to a close, my journey is not ending; it is, in fact, just beginning. Thank you, reader, for sharing this experience. Let us continue to be the change we wish to see in the world.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: CORE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Interview Questions

Introductory comments: Thank you for participating, for sharing and talking about your experiences as a part-time faculty member (PTFM).

My study seeks to understand what it means to be a PTFM, to get an understanding of the essential experience of being a part-time faculty member.

Before we start, have you had an opportunity to read the informed consent document? Do you have any questions about it?

I'll be tape recording this session; all information will be kept confidential. All participants will be identified by a pseudonym – only the participant, major professor, and I will have access to the name of the participant.

1. Please give a brief description of your academic background and professional experience.
2. Can you tell me a bit about who you are: your age, ethnic identity, marital status, and other information you think I might need to know.
3. How long have you been teaching here? Where else are you teaching?
4. What factor most influenced your decision to teach part-time?
5. What other jobs/roles to you hold at present time? Which one is your primary job?
6. What is a typical week like for you?

7. Can you think of an experience you have had that seems to sum up what it means to be a part-time faculty member?

8. How satisfied are you with your current work/life situation?

   a. With your teaching at (NAME OF COLLEGE)?

   b. With your department (status, support, relationship to other part-time & tenured faculty)?

   c. With the relationship between your teaching here and other jobs/roles?

9. How do you get things done – i.e., photocopying, ordering textbooks, non-classroom activities?

10. What barriers do part-time faculty encounter in the workplace?

11. Question about gender … do you think women and men who teach part-time face similar issues? Which do you think is a bigger determination of your "status" in the academic community, your gender or that you are part-time faculty?

12. How are the part-time faculty roles defined at (NAME OF COLLEGE) – i.e., by collective bargaining agreements, academic senate policies, and board policies?

13. What motivates you to continue teaching each semester/each year?

14. What are your career aspirations? Do feel that part-time teaching has helped or hindered your pursuit of these goals?

15. What are the most important issues this study ought to address?

16. Describe your interactions with students, colleagues, and staff. *This section was often supplemented by extemporaneous questions to follow up on comments made by participants. I often asked participants to clarify or add to their comment. Often their responses generated a new line of questions that allowed us to engage in a conversation rather than a conventional interview.*

17. What are your career aspirations?

18. Can you describe the evaluation/hiring process at your college? *These questions were often supplemented by extemporaneous questions to follow up on comments made by participants. I often asked participants to clarify or add to their comment. Often their responses generated a new line of questions that allowed us to engage in a conversation rather than a conventional interview.*

19. Have I left out any areas you would like to discuss?

20. Do you have any thoughts/comments you would like to add?

Thank you for your time and participation.

APPENDIX B: LETTER OF INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE STUDY

School of Education
Oregon State University
Corvallis, Oregon 97321-3502

(Date)

Dear (Name of Prospective Participant):

The number of faculty who teach part-time in community colleges is growing at a considerable rate. It is estimated that nearly two-thirds of community college faculty now teach part-time. Yet, research on this important and diverse group of faculty is considered relatively new. There is little research about the experiences of women who teach part-time. Information is needed to understand the experiences, lives, and working conditions of women who teach part-time. This information, when collected, can help college administrators and faculty understand the nature of part-time teaching and develop practices that better support, involve, and recognize part-time faculty.

As a doctoral student in the Community College Leadership Program at Oregon State University, I am asking your help in telling the stories of women who teach part-time. The focus of my research is to provide insight into the lives of women who teach part-time. Your participation in the study will inform administrators and full-time faculty who are charged with developing policies and procedures; your participation will also inform other part-time faculty who may share your experiences.

The study will take place over several weeks. I will conduct two, two-hour interviews with each participant and will also observe the environment in which you work. The observations may include attending your classes, observing your office hours, and looking at how you accomplish tasks related to teaching (i.e., photocopying materials and accessing e-mail). Your responses, together with others, will be combined and used in narrative format. Your participation in the study is voluntary and you may refuse to answer any question. Only a small sample of part-time faculty will be included in the project, so your participation is vital.

The answers you provide are **strictly confidential** and precautions will be taken to protect the confidentiality of your responses, comments, and contributions to the study. Attached is an "informed consent form" which further outlines the project and precautions that will be taken to ensure confidentiality.

I will contact you during the week of _____ to answer any questions you may have and to see if you are interested in participating in the study.

In the meantime, please feel free to contact me if you have any questions. My phone number is ###.###.####. My e-mail address is (_____).

Sincerely,

Delores E. McNair
Doctoral Candidate
Community College Leadership Program
Oregon State University

APPENDIX C: INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT

Informed Consent Document

Name of Study: Academic Migrant Workers or Educational Entrepreneurs? Women Who Teach Part-Time in Community Colleges

Researcher: Delores E. McNair

Supervisor: Dr. Larry D. Roper, School of Education, Oregon State University

Description/Purpose of Study

Nearly two-thirds of community college faculty members teach part-time. Current hiring trends suggest that the number of part-time faculty will continue to increase. This important, diverse, and rapidly growing group of professionals does not receive the same privileges as full-time faculty and are often subordinated and oppressed by the cultures in which they work.

The purpose of this study will be to provide insight into the lived experiences of women who teach part-time. It is expected that the results of the study will allow community college faculty and administrators to examine current practices and engage in ways that better support, involve, and recognize part-time faculty. It is further expected that participants may develop strategies to influence their own behavior and improve the conditions of their lives.

Process

The researcher will meet individually with participants for a series of interviews. The researcher anticipates that total time for the interviews will range from approximately two to seven hours. The interviews will be guided by general questions designed to develop an understanding of the experiences of the participant. The interviews will be taped and transcribed for data collection and analysis. The participant will be identified in the transcript and in the study by a pseudonym. Only the researcher, supervisor, and participant will have access to the original tape and transcription.

Additional informal interviews and conversations may take place between the participant and the researcher. The participant will be identified in the notes from these interviews and conversations by a code. Only the researcher and supervisor will have access to the original field notes.

The researcher will also observe the participant in the classroom and in activities outside of the class, including, but not limited to, meetings, office hours, and class preparation. The participant will be identified in the notes from these observations by a code. Only the researcher and supervisor will have access to the original field notes.

Only the researcher and supervisor will know the names of the participants. The names will not be disclosed to college employees. Participants will be identified by pseudonyms throughout the study. The name of the college will be

kept confidential and will be referred to only by its general geographic location (for example, as a community college in the northwest).

Risks or Inconveniences

There are no physical risks expected from this study. The researcher assumes that part-time faculty members are a subordinate, oppressed group in community colleges and that conditions exist that support and maintain a culture of oppression. Participants who agree with this assumption may feel that participating in the study places them at professional risk if they believe they will be identified by members of their campus community – especially those with the power to hire, or re-hire, part-time faculty.

Benefits of the Study

There is no monetary benefit to participating in this study. It is expected that all participants, including the researcher, may acquire a better understanding of their own perceptions, actions, and behaviors. It is further expected that participants, including the researcher, may develop strategies to influence their own behavior and improve their working conditions.

Right to Withdraw

Participation in the study is entirely voluntary. Participants may refuse to participate or may withdraw at any time.

My signature below indicates that I have read and that I understand the procedures described above and give my informed and voluntary consent to participate in this study. I understand that I will receive a signed copy of this consent form.

Signature of Participant Date Name of Participant

Participant's Present Mailing Address Participant's Phone Number

Signature of Researcher – Delores E. McNair Date

If you have any questions during the course of this study, please contact:
Delores E. McNair 541.738.0613 delo@exchangenet.net
Dr. Larry D. Roper 541.737.2759 larry.roper@orst.edu

If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this study, please contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) Coordinator at Oregon State University. 541.737.3437 or IRB@orst.edu.