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The Reward Structure for Part-Timers in Academe

Surprisingly little information is available on the earnings determinants of part-timers. This may reflect the absence of a source of detailed yearly data such as that provided for full-timers by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP)[5] or the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES)[13]. It is also because part-time employment is only now emerging as a subject worthy of further study. The absence of a body of literature on the earnings of parttimers may also reflect the mistaken belief that since some part-timers are paid a flat amount irrespective of their credentials, and since most hold unranked positions, there is little or no variation in part-timers' salaries. In this paper, we show that a substantial amount of variation does exist. We argue that part-timers' skills do not play a major role in determining salary differentials and that institutionally determined factors are the major identifiable source of salary differences. The implications of these findings for the earnings of part-timers, and for their willingness to spend time investing in skills are also explored.

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Source and Definition of the Data

The analysis presented in this paper is based upon data obtained from 128 institutions of higher education that employ part-time faculty in any capacity. Selected on the basis of a stratified random sample drawn by type of control, degree granting status, and region, these institutions were asked to cooperate by distributing an extensive questionnaire to their part-timers. The questionnaires were then returned by mail to the AAUP by the part-timers. In total, 3,763 useable questionnaires were received, about 38 percent of the number distributed. While this represents a somewhat low response rate, comparisons of the data with the limited other studies available suggest that our data provide a reasonably representative picture of part-timers' characteristics [1, 10].

The literature reflects the lack of a widely accepted definition of parttime employment. For example, a recent study conducted by the NCES defines a full-time instructional faculty member as a person engaged in classroom instruction for more than one-half of his or her time. Faculty with a lighter teaching load or who fall into several exclusion categories are called "part-time" [13]. In contrast, a recent ACE study uses a self-classification scheme [3]. In our study, part-time employment is defined to exclude those who work 100 percent of the load of full-timers, persons employed full-time but less than the full 1976-77 academic year, and graduate students teaching part-time in a department where they are getting an advanced degree. Included are part-timers simultaneously teaching full or part-time at another institution and part-timers working on a higher degree at another institution. These decisions are designed to eliminate from the part-time definition those people whose salaries would either be determined by the full-time salary determination process or who would better be classified as teaching or graduate assistants. The resulting population is somewhat more limited and homogeneous than the one described in other studies. It is also likely to more closely resemble the part-time group of interest for present purposes.

Variability in the Earnings of Part-Timers

Earnings distributions were computed for part-timers at two-year schools, four-year schools, and universities. The salary distributions do differ for the three institutional groups and part-timers at universities

¹Those who reported no salary data or data that were judged to be inaccurate or uninterpretable were excluded from the analysis; 206 of these persons at the two-year level, 88 at the four-year level, and 70 at the university level.

average somewhat more (\$2,691) than those at the four-year schools (\$1,950) and two-year schools (\$1,165).²

The suggestion of significant variation in part-timers' salaries is confirmed by the coefficients of variation of the three distributions. The coefficient for the junior college distribution is 0.79, for four-year schools 0.76, and for universities 0.65. These suggest a significant amount of variation; in the former two cases they amount to over 70 percent of the value of the mean, in the latter 67 percent. They imply that a uniform salary schedule does not prevail for part-timers, either across institutional types or within a particular institutional category.

Several sources of salary variation can be identified. First, are the forces of supply and demand that affect both the number of part-timers hired and the salaries they are offered. In times when faculty are scarce and demand is increasing, salaries rise; when supplies are plentiful and demand is limited, salaries fall. When salaries of part-timers fall relative to those of full-timers, more part-timers are likely to be hired. If part-timers' relative salaries rise, they are less likely to be hired in lieu of full-timers.

The policies of the institutions hiring part-timers are also a source of variation. These policies may be affected by market conditions in the long run but over short periods of time they are probably independent of the market [4]. Such policies involve the question of which fringe benefits should be extended to part-timers, whether they should be allowed to teach the more advanced courses, what types of increments should be granted in recognition of publication or other scholarly activity, and what types of contracts should be extended. While decisions on these and related matters are affected by the tightness of the labor market, the presence of unions in the area, and other economic events, they are also affected by custom, habit, and other noneconomic phenomena [14, chap. 3].

Luck and circumstance also cause salary differentials among parttimers. To some extent these determine rank, salary, and teaching load. They may either increase or decrease earnings relative to part-timers' actual contributions to their institutions, at least in the short run.

Part-Time Versus Full-Time Labor Markets

The salaries of part-timers are strongly influenced by the buyers of part-time labor. This is because in most geographic areas the number of

²The maximum spring 1976 salaries reported by part-timers and judged to be accurate were \$9,185 for two-year level, \$10,000 for the four-year level, and \$10,000 at the university level.

potential sellers of part-time labor is very large while the number of buyers is quite small. In contrast to the full-time market, the part-time market is likely to have far more people willing to offer their labor. At least three reasons account for this: (1) Some persons are available to teach part-time who couldn't teach full-time. These add to the population of full-timers available to teach an additional part-time course. (2) In many areas, a large number of skilled professionals are available to teach an evening course part-time. While this may not be a relevant factor at small isolated schools, it inflates the supply of part-timers in medium and large-sized cities and may even saturate the market in places like Washington and Boston. (3) Some institutions employ part-timers with more limited credentials than those of full-timers. This also serves to increase the aggregate pool of part-timers. As a result of these factors the supply of part-time faculty available to academic institutions is likely to be greater than the supply of full-timers.

On the demand side of the market, the number of institutions hiring part-timers is less than the number hiring full-timers. While this situation has been changing at the two-year colleges where the number of part-timers hired now exceeds the number of full-timers, it seems likely that at other types of institutions, part-timers will not be as universally accepted as full-timers. As a consequence, fewer buyers of labor will be present in the part-time than in the full-time market. Coupled with limited mobility for part-timers, this suggests a market situation more favorable to the part-time buyer.

Given the large supply of persons available to teach part-time, and the relatively limited demand, the labor market for part-timers may be de-

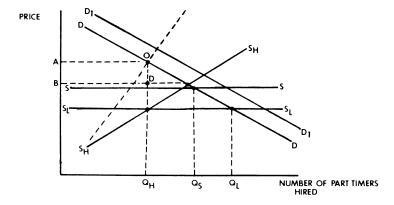


Fig. 1. The Labor Market for Academic Part-Timers

picted by curves such as SS and DD in Figure 1. The demand curve is characterized by a downward slope; the lower the cost of a part-timer, the greater the quantity purchased. Over the quantity range depicted in the diagram the supply (SS) is infinite and an increase in employer demand to D_1D_1 has no appreciable effect on price. Most likely to fit these conditions are medium and large-sized cities that attract a large number of M.A.s and Ph.D.s employed in other positions. Here part-time salaries are likely to be fairly fixed and to grow at a slower rate than those of full-timers. When the supply of part-timers is limited, as might be the case for a large private college in a rural area, the supply schedule is more likely to resemble S_H . In this instance we have the case that economists refer to as ''monopsony'' with its concommitant reduced employment level Q_H and excess profits (denoted by the area ABDO).

Many academic departments attempt to hire full-time faculty skilled in teaching, research, public service, and administration [14, 17]. Because both the supply of persons with these skills and the time required to acquire these skills differs among persons, the existence of skill differentials gives rise to differentials in salary among faculty. If the employers of part-timers recognize and reward skill differentials, salary differences are likely to exist in the part-time labor market.

This situation can be depicted graphically in Figure 1. In place of the single supply schedule SS, we have two supply curves S_H and S_i . The former is a supply curve for labor possessing the skills described above. It is upward sloping to reflect the fact that to acquire more persons with skills it is necessary to pay a higher salary. The latter is drawn to be continuous and to lie at a lower salary level than SS, reflecting the elimination of skilled manpower from the curve.

How much skilled and unskilled part-time labor the employer should use depends on the relative productivities of the two types of labor. If highly skilled labor is not more productive for the employer than low-skilled labor, the optimum decision is to hire only part-timers with limited skills. If highly skilled labor is more productive, then two separate demand curves exist and the optimum decision is to hire each type of labor until the marginal benefits of each type of labor per dollar of cost are equalized. The analysis is complicated by the existence of limited buyers. Even if the marginal product of highly skilled labor is greater than that of less-skilled labor, the employer may be able to appropriate part of the return to skilled labor because of the employer's market position. Whether this is done depends on the number of skilled part-timers in the geographic area, the other employment opportunities available, and the bargaining power of the employees. For present purposes, it is sufficient

to note that academic skills may not be rewarded in the part-time labor market.

The Salary Estimation Models

Based on previous work on full-timers' salaries, a model was formulated, which hypothesizes that salary differentials are based on the skill factors discussed above, education, experience, quality of institution attended, and related personal and institutional characteristics [14, 17]. Estimation of this model for part-timers at universities indicated that the equation that explained over 65 percent of the variation in full-time university salaries explained only about 20 percent of the variation in part-time salaries. Part-timers' skills were not rewarded, and neither region nor field explained much of the variation in salaries.

These findings warrant an alternative specification of the model. Discussion of the determinants of part-time salaries with administrators, review of the relations among the variables, and the analysis in the labor-market section suggest a model including the following: (1) A set of separate dummy variables that assume a value of 1 depending upon whether the person is a lecturer/instructor, assistant/associate, or full or visiting professor.³ The groupings for these variables are dictated both by common sense and by tests of differences among coefficients. In the final model, a variable called "ranked" is utilized equalling 1 if the person is either an assistant, associate, or full professor. (2) A dummy variable equal to 1 if the part-timer is female. (3) A variable of unit value if the person holds a doctorate. (4) A variable of unit value if the person is married. (5) A variable of unit value if the person has a child under six at home. (6) A variable of unit value if the person indicated he or she is willing to move to acquire a full-time teaching position in academe. (7) A variable of unit value if the person is Caucasian. (8) A set of dummy variables of unit value depending on the field the person is in. The fields are: social sciences, biological sciences, natural sciences, mathematical sciences, and liberal arts. Professional fields are included in the intercept term. (9) A variable denoting the number of hours that a person is teaching in the spring term of 1976. (10) The part-timers' years of part-time teaching experience. (11) A variable of unit value if the part-timer's institution is publicly controlled. (12) A variable equalling 1 if the person

³In an equation for full-timers, it would be incorrect to include rank in a salary determination equation because rank itself is partially determined by a person's skills. This does not seem true for part-timers.

is employed less than an academic year. (13) A variable indicating the number of articles the part-timer has published in an academic journal and a squared term. (14) A variable of unit value if the part-timer has received an award for outstanding teaching. (15) A variable of unit value if the part-timer is in administration. (16) A variable of unit value if the part-timer is in public service.

Salary is regressed on these variables using ordinary least squares regression. Spring 1976 base salary is defined as the amount the part-timer receives from his or her institution measured before amounts are deducted for income tax, social security, and retirement. Bonuses, over-time, consulting, and payments from sources outside the employing institution are excluded.⁴

Of particular interest in Table 1 are six findings: (1) Doctorate holders receive salaries not significantly higher than those with lesser degrees at two-year schools and universities; at four-year schools, they receive a salary increment of \$415.5 (2) The presence of a child aged six or younger at home has no significant effect on salary. A recent study of full-timers' salaries found that child-rearing may affect salary progression through time [9]. The presence of young children has little effect on the labor supply of part-time females [12]. Our results suggest that part-time earnings, like labor supply, are unaffected by the presence of a young child. (3) In contrast to our findings for full-timers, race and marital status are not statistically significant salary determinants [19, 14]. (4) Willingness to move does not have a significant effect on salaries. The lack of significance of this variable may reflect the fact that it involves movement to a full-time academic job. (5) Academic fields are significant only in the university equation. Whether this finding is due to the particular choice of categories in our study remains to be seen, (i.e., persons teaching the vocational courses in the junior colleges cannot be uniquely identified). Most studies of full-timers show that salaries differ by field. (6) Years of experience do not have a statistically significant effect on part-timers' salaries except at the junior college level. More on this shortly.

Table 2 presents the variables that we believe best describe the determinants of part-timers salaries. These are not the same at the three levels.

⁴This income measure may be somewhat more unstable than an academic year measure because it is short-term. On the other hand, it is probably more reliable since it does not depend on recall of the previous term's income by a part-timer.

⁵This finding is extremely robust with respect to alternative specifications of the degree variable. For example, if an additional variable for holders of the masters degree is included, the doctorate variable is still insignificant. Likewise, if a set of variables for B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. is included, we also fail to find a positive return to education.

The largest amount of variation in the data is explained at the four-year colleges, the least at the two-year schools. In all three cases, the equations explain no more than a third of the variance in spring salaries. An examination and test of the residuals suggests they are randomly distributed. At the four-year schools and universities, part-timers in ranked positions earn more than those who are unranked.

Rank would appear to be important in determining both the level of part-timers' salaries, and the comparability of their salaries with those of full-timers [18]. With the individual rank categories, the relationship between salaries and rank is not monotonic, i.e., full professors do not necessarily earn more than associates. Only in the university equation does this relationship hold. At universities visiting professors receive a

TABLE 1

RESULTS OF REGRESSION OF SPRING SALARIES ON THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

	Type of Institution			
Variable Name	Two Year	Four Year	University	
Adjunct professor	12.12	40.94	-81.47	
Lecturer/instructor	-80.99	47.68	263.45	
Assistant/associate	145.52	785.11***	785.34*	
Full professor	-227.63	140.72	988.02	
Visiting professor	57.51	169.16	1911.88***	
Female	94.84**	284.05***	397.28**	
Doctorate	70.09	414.73**	345.17	
Married	-62.08	131.26	-89.73	
Child under six	-29.98	18.80	67.38	
Willingness to move	5.53	81.20	-32.36	
Caucasian	-60.97	-148.55	61.59	
Social science	-46.21	-62.32	-125.40	
Biological science	-58.34	363.91	975.86	
Natural science	-1.12	-268.92	615.57	
Mathematical science	-47.24	105.54	-69.51	
Liberal arts	10.93	163.91	-84.34	
Teaching hours	119.76***	163.46***	85.88***	
Years of part-time				
experience	25.48***	4.55	14.31	
Public institution	-545.15***	381.52***	925.88***	
Contract period	-409.09***	-747.51***	-1093.41***	
Articles	21.56	57.99**	59.87	
Articles squared	-0.80	-1.17	-1.27	
Teaching award	-5.89	192.88**	-97.94	
Administration	385.32	788.58**	1170.16	
Public service	54.05	-171.13	-1439.45	
Constant term	\$1482.94***	\$850.08***	\$1155.91*	
Adjusted Ř ²	0.24	0.34	0.32	
F-statistic	22.35***	23.71***	8.06***	
Standard error	881.54	1290.83	1613.32	
Number of observations	1674	1107	379	

NOTE: An asterisk denotes a coefficient significant at the 10 percent level, a double asterisk, one significant at the 5 percent level, and a triple asterisk, one significant at the 1 percent level.

TABLE 2

Modified Salary Determination Model.

		Type of Institution			
Variable Name	Two Year	Four Year	University		
Female	110.86**	287.15***	256.63**		
Teaching hours	118.10***	165.21***	73.94***		
Part-time years of					
experience	25.01***				
Public institution	-522.57***	397.15***	942.56***		
Contract period	-402.78***	-736.96***	-1285.31***		
Ranked position		692.25***			
Administration		818.89**			
Teaching award		213.41**			
Articles		21.23**			
Doctorate		427.63***			
Assistant/associate			873.46***		
Full professor			1505.74***		
Visiting professor			1430.76***		
Liberal arts			-43.80		
Natural sciences			586.09		
Biological science			825.47**		
Mathematical science			-234.74		
Social sciences			-80.68		
Constant term	1268.99***	968.95***	1802.80***		
Adjusted Ř ²	0.24	0.33	0.32		
F-statistic	109.96	62.38	16.56		
Standard error	877.03	1298.44	1655.26		
Number of observations	1696	1120	401		

NOTE: An asterisk denotes a coefficient significant at the 10 percent level, a double asterisk, one significant at the 5 percent level, and a triple asterisk, one significant at the 1 percent level.

higher average salary than assistants and associates, reflecting the unique characteristics of the former group.⁶ Finally, discipline or field appears to be a significant salary determinant only at universities.⁷ In contrast, public or private ownership, teaching hours, and contract period appear to have a consistently large and statistically significant impact on parttimers' salaries at all three types of institutions.

Personal preferences and skills influence the choice of field and, to the extent that this impacts salary, they affect salary differentials indirectly. The data suggest that the effect of field on salary is limited and statistically significant only at the university level. Likewise, while skills may affect salaries by determining a part-timer's rank, regression of rank on

⁶A large proportion of the visiting professors (76 percent) are males with an M.A. Visiting professors are older than most other part-timers, averaging 46 years, and a few have fairly high salaries (up to \$8,000). A surprising number (25 out of the 95 in our sample) are persons who also hold full-time jobs.

⁷As a group, the field dummies are statistically significant. The differences between some of the coefficients (i.e., liberal arts and social sciences) are not.

personal characteristics and skills reveals no significant relationship between these.

Similarly, personal characteristics and skill endowments may affect the number of hours that a person chooses to teach. However, the relationship between personal skills and the amount of labor supplied is a complex one that is probably overshadowed by demographic and economic factors [8]. Finally, there is little evidence that a part-timer's skills affect either his or her choice of a public or private institution or the length of his or her contract. Indeed, these are more likely to be determined by institutional needs, enrollment shifts, and other factors unrelated to the part-timer's skill endowments.

On balance, part-timers' salaries appear to be more influenced by institutional policies and market differences than by personal skills. While these results may be a function of the limited number of persons with some of the skills described here, or of the particular set of part-timers in our sample, we are inclined to regard them as reflecting the type of market structure discussed above. The variables responsible for the largest differentials in salary, contract period, type of institution, and rank appear largely unrelated to the skills that part-timers bring to their jobs. At least in the two-year schools and the universities this would seem to support a supply curve like SS and a single demand curve. In contrast, the four-year schools are somewhat more similar to the situation described by the S_HS_H supply curve in Figure 1 and a separate demand curve for more highly skilled part-timers. What we cannot discern from the data is whether four-year schools seek out part-time faculty with skills or whether skill differentials exist because some four-year institutions hire a portion of their faculty full-time in some years and part-time in others. This aspect of the problem must await further study.

Alternative Formulations of the Experience Variable

A host of studies of full-timers' salaries suggest that earnings rise with experience [9, 14]. The results presented above suggest this is not the case for part-timers. This raises the question of whether our findings are due to a misspecification of the experience variable or whether they suggest a difference in reward structure in the part and full-time labor markets. Little is known about the equivalence between a part-time and full-time year in academe. The part-timer teaches fewer courses for fewer terms than an equivalent full-timer. It may be true that a year of part-time

teaching experience provides less human capital than a year of full-time teaching, but how much less?

The problem is to find a formulation of the experience variable that gives appropriate representation to years of full-time and part-time experience. Several alternative measures of cumulative experience are formulated and substituted into the regression equation reported in Table 2. The coefficients obtained using these alternative formulations are given in Table 3. Row 1 shows the coefficient reported in Table 2 based upon the years of part-time experience variable. Row 2, lifetime teaching hours, gives the coefficient of the variable obtained by multiplying years of parttime experience by hours taught each week and number of weeks in an academic year. (For each part-timer this is computed based on current teaching load.) An hours worked per year figure for full-time years of experience is then obtained from the ACE data on full-timers and multiplied by the part-timer's full-time years of experience to obtain a "comparable" lifetime hours figure. Full and part-time hours are then summed to obtain total lifetime teaching hours.⁸ Row 3 is the coefficient of the variable that is the unweighted sum of part and full-time teaching years. Row 4 shows the coefficient of the variable "years since receipt of the highest degree" and provides a measure comparable to that used in most studies of full-timers [9, 14].

With several exceptions, the figures in Table 3 suggest that experience does not have statistically significant effect on salary. At two-year institutions, all experience variables except the last are significant. For four-year institutions, experience is statistically significant only when lifetime teaching hours are used. In this instance, 100 hours of experience are associated with roughly a \$1.00 increase in salary. Given the lack of significance of the other measures, it may be the workload rather than the experience component of this variable that explains its statistical significance. In two of the three markets for part-timers experience does not appear to be rewarded, in the third it does. Why? Conversations with persons familiar with the part-time market suggest that because part-timers are employed in large numbers at two-year institutions, they tend to be treated somewhat more similarly to full-timers than at other institutions and full-timers get near automatic yearly increments. Alternatively, the yearly increments may reflect the fact that part-timers are more accepted

⁸We are indebted to T. P. Schultz for this suggestion. This measure implicitly assumes that a person's present experience is indicative of his or her lifetime experience.

⁹In a simple regression of spring term salaries on full and part-time years of experience, full-time years were significant in none of the equations.

TABLE 3

ESTIMATES OF EXPERIENCE COEFFICIENTS BASED ON ALTERNATIVE MEASURES

Measure	Type of Institution		
	Two Year	Four Year	University
Part-time years	25.01***	2.49	11.68
Lifetime teaching hours	0.01***	.01***	.00
Total teaching years	12.30***	2.63	22
Years since highest degree	-0.54	-0.41	-1.34

NOTE: An asterisk denotes a coefficient significant at the 10 percent level, a double asterisk, one significant at the 5 percent level, and a triple asterisk, one significant at the 1 percent level.

at two-year schools and that they are seen as a more permanent part of the academic landscape than part-timers at other institutions.

Monetary Rewards and Their Effects on the Stock of Faculty

The evidence presented in this paper suggests at least two tentative conclusions. First, it appears that separate labor markets exist for part and full-timers and that the rewards to productive effort are not the same in the two. This conclusion seems warranted by the analytic discussion that distinguishes the labor supply conditions in the part-time market from supply conditions for full-timers. It is borne out empirically at the university level by the poor performance of our salary determination model that previously provided a reasonable explanation of full-time salaries [14]. Work currently underway using a different data source provides further confirmation of this point [10]. Second, the data support the view that neither the skills part-timers possess nor the skills they develop have a consistently statistically significant effect on their salaries. While this finding is somewhat conditional upon the market in question, it nonetheless has serious implications that warrant further discussion.

As the monetary reward for engaging in one activity increases relative to another, the incentive for a faculty member to increase effort in the former and decrease it in the latter rises. If this is a valid interpretation, and we believe that it is, then the results presented in this paper have implications for how the stock of part-timer skills is likely to change through time. Some part-timers enter academe with the traditional skills usually associated with teaching, research, public service, and administration; others are able to acquire these on the job. To the extent that their skills are unrewarded, an incentive exists for part-timers not to acquire or maintain these skills but rather to spend their time on more productive

pursuits.¹⁰ This may affect the quality of instruction offered by part-time faculty.

What complicates the analysis is the multiple motives persons have for becoming part-timers [15]. For some, the incentive to accumulate and maintain skills lies elsewhere, in most instances involving their primary job. Those persons who usually hold a full-time job elsewhere are unlikely to be significantly influenced by the academic reward structure. As a consequence, whether they will cultivate and maintain the skills best suited to academe depends largely on the degree of complementarity between their primary and secondary work activities. A somewhat similar situation is likely to exist for persons only temporarily part-time (students and housewives) and for those who are semi-retired. For these persons, skill development is affected primarily by longer term considerations and the part-time reward structure is of limited consequence since it has a transitory impact on income and career progression. In both instances, the quality of the instruction offered by part-timers will be largely unaffected by the reward structure and as a consequence, the lack of monetary rewards to skills will have a limited effect on the quality of these parttimers' work, at least in the short-run.

In contrast, for those committed to a part-time career and for those part-time because they could not find a full-time position, the reward structure is more likely to affect the accumulation of skills. The career part-timer is likely to perceive that investment in skills goes unrewarded and to seek other avenues to augment income. In some instances this may take the form of multiple job-holding or of other outside activity; in others, it may involve movement away from a part-time career [10]. In either event the total stock of skills available in the part-time labor market is diminished, although in the latter, the entrance of a skilled part-timer to replace the part-timer who let his or her skills depreciate might result in a net skill gain to the institution.

It seems highly unlikely that a large proportion of part-timers will opt for a long-term career both because of the absence of both a defined career ladder and of a large increment to experience in two of the three markets. This implies that the real return to part-time teaching falls through time, making alternative forms of employment more attractive. Of course, institutions may treat their career part-timers differently but to the extent that temporaries become discouraged before they are recog-

¹⁰Because incentives may be both monetary and nonmonetary, competing claims on a person's time may come from children, from family, and from schooling.

nized as career staff, a large amount of turnover seems likely [18]. The market for part-time faculty seems likely to remain a transient one in the next decade.

Part-Timers, Tenured Faculty, and Educational Quality

As enrollment declines into the eighties and the number of nontenured faculty hired decreases, an increasing number of institutions have begun to explore ways of providing fresh perspectives in the classroom. Proposals have been made for faculty exchanges, for greater use of sabbaticals, and for increased employment of faculty hired outside the usual tenure track. A natural outgrowth of this ferment is the growing use of part-timers to keep academe open to those who wish to teach [19]. In the absence of this vehicle many qualified persons would be locked out of academe by the lack of job openings in many fields and by the excess supply of tenured faculty [6].

The recent growth in part-time positions is also seen as a means of sharing work between husbands and wives engaged in mutual child raising and as providing an additional option to women who might otherwise be unable to participate in the labor force [2, 11]. Especially in the minds of the many advocates of wider career choice options, the existence of a large and growing part-time labor market provides a source of considerable satisfaction. That these jobs are transitory and do not give rise to a viable career for most part-timers is largely accepted as irrelevant since many of the strongest advocates of the part-time option are those with long-term career goals that involve other careers.

Less sanguine about the implications of the growth in part-time employment are those full-timers concerned with displacement and part-timers locked-in to a part-time job track. For the former, part-timers are a potential threat because they "displace" full-timers from jobs they would otherwise hold [6]. Many also feel that part-timers reduce the quality of the educational program because they are less-well credentialled than their full-time counterparts and less-well acquainted with the literature in the fields in which they teach. For the latter, part-time employment is a trap from which it is difficult to exit into a full-time position as full-time academic jobs decrease [10].

The findings presented in this paper are of limited use in choosing among these conflicting positions. They lend some credence to those who argue that the use of part-timers may have an effect on the quality of instruction. If the number of part-timers continues to grow and if institutions continue to pay part-timers according to established practices, it

seems likely that an increasing number of persons will be paid under a system that fails to reward those who cultivate their skills. While this may not make much difference from the point of view of the two-year institutions where payment practices for full-timers do not recognize merit, it will have an impact at the universities. In this sense, those who worry about the growth in part-time employment may have a point. Under the current reward system the incentives to maintain skills are limited and are related either to nonmonetary incentives and/or are left to part-timers' other employers. In the absence of a set of well-defined skill levels for part-timers, those institutions that employ part-timers without an appropriate system of incentives may experience a lessening in the quality of their educational offerings. Whether this effect is worse than what would occur if these institutions relied solely on an aging tenured faculty remains an issue yet to be resolved.

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