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SOME THREATS TO ACADEMIC MENTAL HEALTH

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Recent changes in university culture and structure, which have resulted from changing market conditions, have had serious consequences for junior members of staff Universities have exploited the situation created by declining enrolments and an increase in the number of people with higher academic qualifications by increasing work loads, reducing salaries, limiting opportunities for personal development, and making greater use of part-time teachers On the basis of their responses to these conditions, junior faculty may be characterized as 'pragmatists', politicizers', or pessimists Implications of the measures adopted by universities and of individuals responses to them are examined for the psychological, social, and family lives of the individuals concerned

The academic community adheres to a well articulated set of myths and semi fictions about itself – that scholarship and intellectual exchange are valued and viable, that the academic lifestyle abounds with freedoms, and that the rewards of such a life are reasonably sufficient compensation for the sacrifices of a lengthy education The ideal of the university has always held an intense appeal for many persons Although financially, the doctoral degree has rarely been more than a nominal meal ticket, it has been sought and won by those who wish to teach, to learn, to know, and to command their knowing

In recent years, however, many academics have seemed to balance themselves precariously between hope and terror, realism and bitterness The deterioration of mental health and social ties among academics cannot be blamed on inadequate individual psychologies, the origins lie instead in university culture and structure and in institutional responses to changing environmental conditions Individual mental health is very much a function of environmental and societal health (13)

The phenomena we observe today among our colleagues should not be confused with the 'normal' stress and uncertainty created by the transition from the childlike role of the graduate student to the adult role of the competent professional faculty members Advanced graduate students often have become alarmed and sometimes disillusioned when they perceived the institutional realities of their academic careers Universities, as large organizations, have not been immune from decision making turmoil, budgetary uncertainties, territory building, political infighting,

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and the constraints imposed by control systems (rewards and punish ments) But the transition used to be relatively brief and painless, new faculty members could see the long-promised rewards as an achievable reality and as a fair trade for the aggravation of day to-day political life

The transitions faced by individuals today, however, are far less positive and certain in outcome than before In recent years, universities have come face to face with changing market conditions, especially declining student enrolments and an increasing pool of PhD labour Those within the universities are now having to acknowledge the hard truths of the market place – academic freedom (in the broadest sense) hinges on the availability of jobs, jobs depend upon adequate budgets, and budgets are set within the economic climate of the availability of money and the supply of, and demand for labour

Facing these market realities has created enormous stress and anxiety for many within the university – especially graduate students, junior faculty, and the 'expendable' among the tenured faculty (for example, those who are placed under pressure to take early retirement or who exist in marginal departments) People who climb corporate ladders expect the insecurity, hard work, long hours, uncertain rewards, and the divorce of personal/familial from professional lives But those who encounter these conditions in climbing academic ladders usually have not been adequately warned or trained to expect them, and even if warned, they do not believe it can be so

In this paper, we explore several of the more serious cultural and structural impediments to fulfilment of the academic dream, paying special attention to the psychological, social, and familial consequences for individuals who long for the groves of academe and find themselves instead enmeshed in a jungle of terrified rabbits

THE FAILURE OF THE TENURE INCENTIVE

> As the number of faculty declines in the 1980s, those already in tenured teaching positions, hired during higher education's growth era, may block access of new entrants to the profession (3, p 98)

As the supply of academic labour outdistances the demand for it, tenure stream jobs become fewer and standards for filling them become higher and, sometimes, increasingly idiosyncratic Estimates of the supply

and demand for doctorates in the United States during the 1976 1985 period show that for all fields, 323,000 PhDs will be produced for 192,800 academic openings Only in engineering is the number of positions expected to exceed the number of candidates, all other fields will be over supplied with applicants In the social sciences, arts and humanities, and education, the oversupply of PhDs is enormous, with the ratio of supply to openings being 1 7 1, 2 98 1, and 2 55 1 respectively (1)

Inherent in the structure of a buyer's market is the likelihood that powerless sellers will be exploited The recent growth in non-tenure-stream and part time instructional positions is one indication that such exploitation is occurring A recent United States Department of Education report notes that

> Between 1970 and 1978, part-time instructional staff doubled while full time staff increased by 21% Some observers have suggested that the ratio of part-time to full-time faculty may increase because colleges find that the lower costs and reduced commitment associated with part time faculty is preferable in an era of uncertain or declining enrollment (3, p 98)

In addition to part time teaching, many aspiring academics, unable to secure tenure stream positions, find temporary work in post-doctoral programmes or as programme co ordinators, semi-administrators, or grant funded research associates or assistants The lack of immediate financial and occupational security for these temporary academics is a potent source of anxiety and stress, as it would be for anyone beginning a career But the problems are compounded by the failure of academic institutions to provide even the possibility – much less the promise – of achieving professional security at some future point

The buyers in the academic market (deans, chairpersons) can afford to be highly selective In a tight market, the top ranked graduate schools produce more than enough PhDs to meet demand for junior faculty at first and second ranked schools and at a large proportion of other third level institutions as well Further, the buyers can afford to follow the 'wild-flower in the field' model of faculty nurturance If a promising candidate fails to blossom into a star within a year or two, there are a dozen promising candidates eager to take his or her place

The standards for hiring and retention, as officially defined to junior

faculty, focus more and more on the quantity of production in a growing number of areas Graduate students are often advised that they must have two or three publications on record *before* finishing their degrees

> Students learn early that teaching jobs holding out the prospect of tenure may be impossible to land, even for the best students Those who don't do superlative work in the first year of four to five-year courses often winnow themselves out (6)

Incoming junior faculty are often advised that their retention will depend not only upon their outstanding performance in the traditional areas of research, teaching, and community service, but also on their ability to secure outside funding

Driven by their hopes and dreams of a permanent job, junior faculty members work madly to produce – articles, books, grant proposals They learn the rules of survival three articles count more than a book (at least in the beginning), one article in a peer review journal is worth more than two articles in 'lesser' publications, capitalize on dissertation research, piggy back by publishing altered versions of articles in different journals, play with numbers rather than ideas These are the rules of efficiency, not scholarship, the idea is to maximize the output from a given input Quantity becomes the yardstick for output in the absence of recognized and accepted standards of quality These rules and criteria may or may not be indicators of an individual's ability to perform scholarly work and to function well in a community of scholars They are, however, indicators of the degree to which institutions can enhance their prestige and their operating budgets on the backs of hard pressed new graduates

Junior faculty members perceive that permanent jobs are rarely forthcoming, yet the hope endures that their cases will be different, they will be valued and asked to stay. The end product, psychologically, is a considerable increase in anxiety in many, others simply give up Organizationally, the result is the institutionalization of the flow through or revolving door, a situation that degrades the promises of academic life, makes more rigid the class structure of professorial hierarchies, and stultifies the free flow of ideas and mutual assistance

Among individuals, three behavioural themes can be observed in junior faculty prior to the tenure decision (and in many cases even earlier, prior

to the first contract renewal decision). Faculty members can be characterized on the basis of these behavioural patterns as pragmatists, politicizers, or pessimists.

The pragmatists clearly understand the structural barriers to permanent academic work and hold no false illusions that they can succeed on their own merits. They tend to exhibit a great deal of confidence and high self-esteem (although much of this may be bluff and impression-management), and they are long-range planners. They make every effort to abide by what they perceive as the rules for getting tenure, but they do not expect a positive outcome, and they are not overtly debilitated by this expectation. They plan and work with a dual purpose: to gain tenure, certainly, but failing that, to have prepared themselves to enter another career immediately. On the side, they take courses, attend seminars, gain consulting experience, enter an extended network of influential people. They use the resources of the university to their best long-term advantage; tenure is an ideal, but not a necessary outcome. Even if this contingency strategy decreases stress over the uncertainty of tenure, it increases stress caused by work overload, and it injects a stream of cynicism into the university that bodes poorly for effective teaching and collegiality. Further, this strategy decreases faculty commitment to the university work at hand. In particular, a choice to minimize time and effort spent on teaching may be displayed in outright denigration of the teaching function.

The politicizers may experience even more serious psychological and social consequences of their behaviour. These junior members of the academy attempt to secure a favourable tenure (or contract) decision by actively lobbying on their own behalf, politicizing the review process, personalizing it, attempting to say the right words, make the right friends, sit at the right luncheon table, cater to the right people (and avoid the wrong people). With such an approach, self-esteem becomes a completely externalized roller coaster, dependent upon the little successes and failures encountered in daily political interactions. Success tends to heighten self esteem, while 'failure' (as we ourselves define it) tends to decrease it. Further, anxiety heightens with failure and lessens with success (13). The image of oneself as shuffling and obsequious is not a pleasant mirrored self. Guilt and lost self-esteem can be and are coupled with considerable ambiguity – especially since no contingency plan is in place – about the future of one's career, income, and academic and intellectual status, and thus one's personhood and professional identity. Life is felt to hang in the balance.

The third group, the pessimists, hide their incredulity over having landed a job at all under a very thin veneer of professional confidence They have little or no hope that their colleagues will value them enough to give them a permanent job They may continue to operate under graduate student rules, failing to make the behavioural transition from student to professional Not only do they not do the 'right' things, but they seem not to understand that their inappropriate behaviour is constantly observed and assessed They are prime candidates for the 'critical incident' phenomenon – rejection by senior peers on the basis of stories about them that have been incorporated into the organization's folklore and cultural bank Because they fail to accrue the interpersonal and professional credits that can offset remembered negative incidents (which, if sufficient credits are accrued, are redefined as learning experiences), they cannot be judged as acceptable permanent colleagues In terms of classical symbolic interaction theory, this phemonenon would be defined as a self-fulfilling prophecy (8, 11), however, given the structural realities of life for junior academics, it may be that they have merely given fatalistic acknowledgement to the fact of their future failure

Pragmatists, politicizers, and pessimists adopt different strategies for coping with the demands of their profession and its uncertainties, but the personal and familial consequences of these strategies can be similar It is now recognized that high occupational stress is related to serious physical illnesses such as ulcers, heart desease, asthma, colitis, and other gastro-intestinal disorders, as well as a variety of abnormal mental conditions such as confusion, apathy, withdrawal, hostility, and depression Time pressures compound the effects of stress by encouraging excessive eating (or undereating), junk food consumption, smoking, drinking, and lack of exercise We have never thought of the academy as an institution of disease and death, but when expectations and realities clash so decisively on issues of such critical importance as occupational stability and professional identity, it may be time for us to redefine the effects of this once-stable institution on its members

It is impossible to keep professional life absolutely separate from family life, and the families of untenured faculty members must share the negative consequences of the junior academic's stress and uncertainty If one defends against stress by withdrawing, one will be withdrawn at home as well, and the family will be unable to form and maintain the spousal and parent child bonds, understandings, and tolerances that are so crucial for family stability If one reacts to job stress with anger and hostility, those

behaviours will be carried over to family members as well A mature spouse may be able to cope with such behaviour and help the partner achieve a less hostile approach to the marriage – but not all spouses are that mature, and most must cope with the pressures of their own jobs Children, on the other hand, will not understand their parent's hostile behaviour, will blame themselves for the father's or mother's apparent anger with them, and so will initiate in themselves another cycle of hostile or withdrawn reaction to stress

In the last decade, the academic life has been touted by many as the perfect setting for dual-career families to raise children A great deal of flexibility in arranging work time seems to be the chief rationale for this remarkable statement, academics, after all, only *have* to be 'at work' when they are teaching classes, and they can do much of their other work in the odd chunks of time snatched from other responsibilities The fallacy of this idea is apparent when one considers the twin constraints of professional identity definitions and cultural norms

Academic professional identity is still defined, however subtly, in male terms In the 1978 79 academic year, '74% of total faculty was male, and males held 81% of the tenured positions' (3, p 99) Parental identity, on the other hand, is still defined primarily in female terms 'Mother' is a much more powerful label than 'father ' Although both terms denote a status, 'mother' connotes a massive set of role obligations that do not encumber 'father ' Many men do not understand that 'mothering' means nurturing, that any competent adult can nurture a child, and that one can be both a mother (or a nurturing father) and a professional Just a few years ago, an outstanding graduate student, after producing her firstborn child, was asked by a senior faculty member, 'Can you really nurse a baby and write a dissertation at the same time?' (Of course she could, and did) The private conversations of young women academics are replete with strategy sharing and planning about the number and timing of children and about keeping up appearances (and work load) during pregnancy and childbirth The rules of family planning develop in response to perceived organizational definitions of appropriate and inappropriate behaviour have the first baby in graduate school, have the second after getting tenure or have the second just after contract renewal – maybe they will have forgotten by the time a tenure decision must be made All dual career families face this problem of the rationalization of family life and the failure of work organizations to accommodate family needs, the situation is no different for academic women And, needless to say,

paternity leave is as unheard of in universities as it is in corporations

Cultural norms about work related behaviour in universities negate any potential time flexibility The process of observing junior faculty members includes noting unofficially the hours at which they are at work A 'normal' work schedule (8 00 to 4 30, or 9 00 to 5 00) is adhered to as strongly in universities as in other organizations, with the exception that night and weekend work on site is often expected as well Although the pessimists among junior faculty may fail to realize that their presence or absence is observed, neither the pragmatists nor the politicizers make this mistake Visibility during normal working hours is a cultural, if not official, requirement for junior academics

Academic administrators obviously are aware of these psychological and social consequences of tenure crunch Often, however, administrators fail to perceive – and even actively ignore – the human suffering involved, not only for the faculty member who schemes or shuffles, but for the individual's family as well A Stanford dean recently remarked that it was 'excellent' that his school received so many highly qualified applicants for a single faculty position, but added that it was 'distressing that there are so few jobs' (6) This too bad, shrug-of the shoulders nod in the direction of futility trivializes the serious psychological, social, and physical effects of lost hope among junior faculty Bitterness and low self esteem originating in occupationally related behaviour do not disappear when the office door is locked for the night

Further, the existence of stress and futility and the failure to acknowledge its effects establish within faculties a climate of fear, risk aversion, defensiveness, and fortress like behaviour Mentors (and proteges) must be selected carefully on grounds other than intellectual compatibility, lunches are not occasions for nourishment and relaxation, junior faculty glean the rules of acceptable behaviour by observing their senior colleagues, and in return, they are themselves carefully watched and evaluated A proper intellectual life demands time for reading, contemplation, talking with colleagues, travel, and concentrated writing In an atmosphere of uncertainty, such a life becomes difficult if not impossible to lead, the ideal of academe thus is thwarted once again

THE GYPSY SCHOLARS'

I have a master's degree in philosophy from Columbia, a doctorate

from Sorbonne I'm going to visit some very kind friends in New Jersey for a while (An academic bag lady, on her way to the bus station)

After failing at tenure (and often even earlier, having failed to secure a semi-permanent job after graduation), many would be scholars join the hordes of part-time academics These are the 'gypsy scholars' – 'recent doctoral graduates in the humanities and social sciences who wander from job to transitory job with little prospect of a stable long term career' (5) Irving J Spitzberg, general secretary of the American Association of University Professors, has estimated 'that out of a national higher education faculty of 750,000, about 300,000 teach part time and at least 100,000 could be described as gypsies' (quoted in 5)

Some are lucky enough to piece together what approaches a full time income by teaching at as many as four institutions They work from year to year, term to term, course to course, unable to plan for the future and, therefore, trapped in what seems to be a permanent fog of anxiety and ambivalence Are they professionals or are they not? Are they real people? If so, why are they valued so little? The institutional answer is that they are 'cheap labour', the over supply of PhDs in many fields makes it possible for colleges and universities 'to buy the equivalent of a full time professor's teaching load for less than $4,000 a term' (5) This market oriented response is small comfort to those who worked and sacrificed for a professional identity that will not be granted

Many of the part timers are tied to a particular geographical area by a spouse's job or by family responsibilities Both male and female, they are in the classic position of faculty wives – used unmercifully by local administrators who assume that they are professionally uncommitted because they are bound to a location

Others, denied tenure or even the opportunity for tenure, fatalistically perceive the game plan and commit themselves to annual moves and the lifestyle of a latter day, reluctant peripatetic Hired on non tenure-stream, annual contracts that are often funded by 'soft' grant money, these academic carpet baggers hold all the credentials that should have guaranteed their professional security, but they have no institutional legitimacy and no career options, except to move on to another temporary job in another city To accommodate this lifestyle, permanent relation ships must often be forsaken, personal possessions cannot be allowed to

accumulate, and an extraordinary effort must be made to maintain any vestige of self-esteem

Gypsies, being excluded from standard definitions of regular full time workers, often are not entitled to the fringe benefits taken for granted by those with 'real' jobs Most organizations make no contribution to a pension plan for part-time and temporary workers and the potential benefits of an individual retirement account (IRA) are unrealizable for these workers because there is never any money available for retirement planning Gypsies often must pay for their own life and health insurance or do without these important protections Low pay, compounded by the need to purchase one's own benefits, makes year-round work a necessity, destroying the traditional academic advantage of time off in the summer for serious intellectual work In addition, the lack of benefits creates feelings of insecurity, vulnerability, and stress in a further sense The prospect of poor health is always disturbing, poor health with neither funds nor the safety net provided by fringe benefits produces even greater stress

Institutions can afford to make no commitment to these individuals, but they in turn will make little commitment to the institutions, their students, or their colleagues They are virtually invisible men and women, coming and going from campuses where they do not belong, preparing lectures and grading papers on cafeteria tables because they have no offices, avoiding their students whom they cannot counsel in good conscience for a variety of institutional and personal reasons Some are excellent teachers, but this skill has relatively low value in the academic reward structure Some would be excellent scholars, given the opportunity and the resources But they cease to exist as academic persons outside their classrooms, often even unto themselves

OVERWORK

> Faculty activity reports for full time faculty showing fewer than 35 and more than 80 hours weekly will be returned by [the university office] to the dean for verification (Administrative memorandum of the University of Pittsburgh, 1983)

It is a truism, though one that is now radically redefined, that the academic profession is not merely a job, but a way of life The traditional definition of the academic lifestyle is a positive one We all know, or at

least know about, some academics who do their research, teach their classes, write their articles and books, counsel their students, carry on friendly and productive relationships with colleagues locally and nationally, give charming dinner parties, maintain the integrity of themselves and their families, and in essence, tie together the strands of their personal and professional lives in a way that is satisfying and meaningful

Some faculties and some universities, however, are more like factories than medieval libraries, some are even called 'shops' in the industrial sense Committee work piles up, class sizes increase, deans impose new requirements for 'satisfactory' performance, and the entire faculty attempts to march to the beat of those colleagues who are most 'productive' – those exceptional persons who actually publish countless articles and two to four books per year The factory analogy, however, is not quite accurate, the informal organizational structure of industrial factories encompasses a variety of social controls that are applied to 'rate busters' who outperform their associates In the university factories, rate-busters are acknowledged by all as the 'stars' (or role models) to be respected and emulated

On the faculty activity form noted above, one could report having worked 79 hours each week with no fear of being called into the dean's office for an accounting This amounts to more than eleven hours a day, seven days a week It is probably true that most faculty would not report such outrageous hours, but it is also true that the standard forty hour work week does not exist for most academics, particularly juniors on tenure-stream One characteristic of a career (as opposed to a mere job) is that the five-o'clock whistle never blows, a packed briefcase (or two) goes home at night and on Friday afternoons, a thorny intellectual puzzle will not remain quiescent in a file drawer, a project must be pursued to its conclusion This heavy investment of time in an academic career is a price that can willingly be paid when the expected rewards are forthcoming, it is quite another thing, however, when no rewards are possible

Institutions that have moved to increase faculty teaching loads, with an attendant increase in preparations, are special cases of the structural over load phenomenon For private schools, this move may be spurred on by the threat or reality of declining budgets Public schools may be forced to increase teaching loads by state legislators who cannot acknowledge that research – the criterion by which academics judge their own and their colleagues' performance – is the primary function of the university,

with teaching running a weak second

In such situations, the end products for individuals are the obvious ones of fatigue and stress, negatively affected family life, less time to support other colleagues (especially the junior faculty who most need that support), competition among juniors themselves, and less opportunity for exercise, meals at home, vacations, play, and reading Psychosomatic disorders caused by stress, anxiety, and physical neglect may also result Physical illness, in fact, may be seen as the only legitimate excuse for taking a badly needed rest

As pressures mount, the work piles up, the job market contracts, and competition increases, a less obvious consequence may be a decline in academic freedom (in the narrower, individual sense) within universities Faculty members will be less moved and less willing to act in their own behalf, to defend their own interests When they should stand and fight, they may find themselves giving in When they should challenge and stimulate their students, they may find themselves walking a middle line, playing it safe, being intellectually moffensive (and ineffective) Again, the attendant losses of self respect and physical well being are serious negative consequences for individuals For students and for other members of the university, the result may be a loss of a sense of community, mutual respect, and trust Failure to defend the fundamental principles of academic freedom may lead to an overt redefinition of the functions of the umversity and a loss of professional control over institutional legitimacy

FACULTY DEVELOPMENT

> The department gave us each an annual allotment of $40 for telephone, xeroxing, and supplies I used up my whole budget by the end of November We're trading with each other 'I have an extra pen, do you have half a yellow pad?' (A junior social scientist at a midwestern university)

Increased costs and declining budgets provide the official rationale for decreased faculty development efforts, but the existence of a buyer's market is the true impetus Under recent (and projected) market conditions, it is financially logical to decrease investments in faculty development and m resources provided to faculty If tenure is granted only rarely, if the supply of new doctorates continues to outpace the

demand, if junior faculty are to be subjected to organizational flow through, why should the organization invest precious resources in developing and supporting the merely temporary worker who can be replaced so easily?

Faculty members are finding themselves on the underside of the dual labour market which traditionally has accounted for the low occupational positions of women and minorities (cf 10) Competition for jobs is so intense that universities find even the most highly qualified candidates willing to accept less and less that they may acquire a job at all Individuals hungry for work have little strength with which to bargain for more resources and support

Administrators learn this lesson quickly At the same time that faculty work loads begin to increase, the institutional resources that would ease the burdens decline Junior faculty members are often required to share tiny offices (sometimes even desks), eliminating the privacy and quiet necessary for serious work and student counselling Student graders and research assistants may be eliminated at the precise time when class sizes and course loads increase and the demands for publishing become more strongly enforced Library and computer resources may become obsolete and madequate as the need for them increases 'Faculty scientists and engineers are plagued with laboratory equipment that is often out dated and overused' (6) Travel funds are more restricted as the need grows for academics to develop and maintain national professional ties Indeed, some departments are requiring as a condition of continued employment that faculty members prove themselves as external fund raisers, while public and private sources of research and development grants slowly disappear

The increasing failure of universities to provide adequate support services and resources to their faculty adds injury to insult, it emphasizes and hastens the devaluation of faculty as critical institutional resources themselves

SALARIES

Richard Thorn, ex president of the Pittsburgh chapter of the American Association of University Professors, has noted that

The public thinks we teach six hours a week and are very well paid for

> our efforts We work longer hours than the average office worker or production worker Our rate of compensation is lower than any professional group in the United States and sinking (cited in 4)

Academe has never been the occupation of choice for those who seek the rewards of high income But the worsening struggle for economic survival among academics further erodes the intrinsic values of a university career and very likely has negative effects on the quality of teaching and research as well As continued inflation takes its toll, most faculty salaries are not keeping up

> Faculty salaries averaged 82% more in 1979 than in 1968, but during that period, the Consumer Price Index more than doubled The result was that the average faculty salary, adjusted for inflation [to 1968 dollars], dropped by more than $1,000 This erosion in the economic position of academics is expected to continue in the 1980s and possibly worsen (3, p 99)

Faculty members, perhaps more than most other occupational groups, respect education and desire a good education for their children Yet as real income decreases and educational costs spiral upwards to $50,000 for a bachelor's degree, they will have to lower their aspirations for their children or provide income from other sources Doing less for one's children than one hoped could indeed lead to feelings of economic impotence, resulting again in lower self esteem and a devaluation of the economic and substantive worth of one's profession

Although they are already labouring under conditions of overwork, lack of resources, and high stress, academics often find it necessary to moonlight Those with other income producing options are able to bolster their salaries through trade press publications, successful textbooks, clinical counselling, consulting, or lecture-circuit activities Others are lured by the promise of economic independence held out by direct sales organizations (Close contacts in organizations such as Amway and Mary Kay Cosmetics assure us that college and university faculty members are a productive pool in which to fish for part time salespeople and distributors)

Still others join the off-hours, cash only 'subterranean economy,' remodelling other people's kitchens on weekends, typing term papers, editing foreign students' dissertations, preparing income tax returns,

selling handicrafts at local fairs and flea markets Academics have always been promised at least Virginia Woolf's minimum requirements for sustaining a life of the mind – a room of one's own and £500 a year – but that promise is not now being kept

Declining real income takes terrible tolls on family life Reluctant two-earner families may be created by necessity, not choice, as primary earnings fail to sustain minimum standards of living for professionals Increased costs of child care, work clothing, transportation, and other job related expenses cut into the contributions of the secondary earner All two-earner families are forced to revise the traditional division of labour, allocating more home responsibilities to the primary earner and thus further decreasmg the time he or she has available to pursue professional advancement or to play with and learn from children This re allocation of labour may be even more difficult psychologically for families who would choose, under other conditions, to have only one breadwinner The economic difficulties of single-parent academic families, where no second ary earner can be relied upon, are even more severe

The monthly struggle to keep ahead of the bills makes it impossible for many academic families to accumulate the emergency reserve recommended by financial planners – liquid assets equivalent to six months' income Retirement planning, also, is pushed farther and farther back, families who cannot save for a short term emergency certainly cannot make significant contributions to a pension fund

Devalued salaries may further affect patterns of family formation Childbearing, of course, is not a solely rational decision, but economic constraints do enter mto the decisions of couples to remain childless or to have one or more children, appropriately spaced The academic's wife may postpone or forego childbearing, reasoning that her current income is more valuable than a first or additional child The academic woman may reach the same conclusion Lack of infant care facilities, the high cost of child care, and the still low participation of fathers in child rearing make it essential that working women think hard and plan carefully about childbearing

DESTRUCTION OF STUDENT EXPECTATIONS

On the day she graduated from the University of Southern California , *magna cum laude* in English, Gretchen Radke had an 'empty feeling '

> Although she had been accepted into a PhD program at the University of Virginia, Radke was enrolling in business school at Boston University 'I'm going to miss English,' she says, 'but business was a more practical thing to do' (12)

We spoke earlier of the problem of lost expectations among those students who choose the academic life but find that it does not choose them Still more can be said, however, about the fact that, increasingly, persons holding graduate degrees are undertaking study in fields other than those for which they prepared The three week crash courses in business administration at New York universities and other programmes for doctorates in philosophy, history, languages, social sciences, and so on, are a case in point, as are the many nationwide seminars that focus on the theme of 'how to succeed in business' (6, 7, 12)

Universities and academic disciplines are not directly or solely respon sible for this phenomenon of retraining the well trained, one could also point to the lack of a clearly articulated and implemented national employment planning policy Universities do, however, collude in what Ivar Berg (2) has called 'the great training robbery' They are in some sense responsible for the feelings of grief, remorse, anger, loss, and guilt emerging in many young professionals who discover too late that there are no jobs available in their chosen fields, that their years of career prepara tion served only as a 'personal growth' undertaking In terms of organiza tional territoriality, it is understandable that departments and schools continue to recruit heavily for doctoral students and even to implement new doctoral programmes But the psychological, social, and cultural impacts of failed expectations have not yet been adequately researched, and they should be – perhaps among the doctorate-holding New York City cabdrivers or even MBA students

FACULTY UNIONIZATION

The process and meaning of faculty unionization constitute a vector pointing to faculty disappointment, disenchantment, and hopelessness Unionization is at once a result of and an impetus for the disruption of traditional academic life Decision making and policy setting devolve upon negotiators far removed from the persons for whom policy is made, tenure, promotion, and grievance procedures are institutionalized and rigidified without necessarily becoming more valid or reliable The community of scholars disintegrates into a thicket of labour management

tensions, although some relief may be obtained by a unionized faculty from madequate salaries and supporting resources Familiar, routine patterns of academic politics begin to take on the appearance of a class struggle, and thus the university becomes more like the actual than the analogical factory

THE FUTURE OF ACADEMIC LIFE

> On interviewing for jobs at the Modern Language Association Meetings It was perhaps the most demeaning experience I ever went through It takes the fiction that you're a mature, responsible scholar and rips it into little shreds (6)

We certainly do not contend that all, or even most, academics are intellectuals or scholars, perhaps it is not necessary that they all should be But that universities produce scholars and intellectuals, and that these individuals enrich the culture and the knowledge base, cannot be gainsaid

The academic lifestyle has borne considerable fruit, not only for individuals, but for societies as well Universities have been a rich source of innovative ideas, historical and cultural preservation, and technological advances, they have expanded human knowledge and understanding The traditional rewards of university life were provided for those who believed that thought, research, and teaching were valuable uses of time *These rewards are in the process of disappearing, and with them may go* the value attached to traditional academic endeavours, when college was *collegium* Universities are the closest things we have to the medieval monasteries that contributed so much to their age and to ours

More work, less pay, less support, fewer opportunities for tenure and promotion, a more opaque future, all add to a truly stressed profession And the chain of events does not stop there Declining enrolments mean less demand for services, with fewer jobs to be had, and thousands of new (and inexpensive) PhDs entering the market annually, even tenured full professors are beginning to fear – and in some cases have felt – the axe Doctoral programmes in many disciplines are finding it harder to attract students who survey future career opportunities and conclude that teaching is not a viable alternative to entering business directly In engineering, for example, a starting engineer's salary is about 33% higher than that of an assistant professor with four more years of education (6)

It has recently been noted that 'higher education may be facing the loss of a generation of scholars as doctoral recipients of the late 1970s and 1980s search elsewhere for employment' (3, p 98) Yet ironically the mid to-late 1990s demographic projections indicate that college enrolments will increase again and large numbers of tenured faculty will retire, opening up many instructional positions for which there may be too few qualified applicants (12) In today's difficult economic climate, it is easy for administrators to define graduate students and junior faculty as cheap commodities Yet the long-range outlook for higher education suggests that more attention should be paid to nourishing the new 'generation of scholars,' not less

It is difficult to end this gloomy essay on a positive note Distressed individuals cannot perform and produce to capacity, young people will not choose to enter dying professions Midlife career changes, psychosomatic illnesses, neurotic disorders, and the disintegration of family life are some of the personal and social consequences of the devaluation of academic work and life Even more serious, perhaps, are the structural consequences for society technological necessity can and certainly does foster creativity, but there will be few long range, scholarly contributions to technological creativity if prospective scholars perceive little reward in academic life Even the university's gatekeeping function will change, as academics train the future labour forces of business and government, but fail to replace themselves

Our long standing cultural ambivalence about the value of a humanistic education is finally taking its toll In a hazardous economic climate, the university no longer is distinguished as a haven for the intellectual life, it looms more as a giant corporate or governmental bureaucracy (9)

It may be possible for faculty and administrators to recommit themselves to the traditional concept of the university and to seek new ways of rewarding those who perform well as intellectuals, scholars, and educators Perhaps a national training and employment policy, linking projected employment needs with organizational and individual training incentives, might ease the severe consequences of oversupply and under-demand Perhaps it is not too late to save the university and the individuals who commit themselves to its traditional ideals

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