THE ACADEMIC LIFE OF PART-TIME PROFESSORS IN CHILE

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It always seems impossible until it is done. These were the words that political activist Nelson Mandela said to the crowd as they gathered to celebrate the end of the apartheid. Although in a much different context, I borrow here his expression to assert that this dissertation also seemed impossible until the day it was finally done.

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A mis queridos padres, Fanny y Fernando, les dedico este esfuerzo con todo mi amor

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the academic life of part-time professors at the five biggest universities in Chile. By examining part-timers' academic life, including both who the part-time professors are and what their academic work is, this study sheds light on the complexity and diversity of the part-time world.

Based on a qualitative methodology, this study looks at part-time professors' individual characteristics, job experiences, and aspirations for academic careers. It also looks at how part-time professors interact with structures in relation to the tasks and activities they perform in higher education. Data come from 70 interviews: 44 with part-time professors and 26 with university administrators including department chairs, ex-deans, provosts, and human resource directors.

This dissertation challenges the widespread view that part-time professors basically comprise one overarching entity. To be sure, the study also discovers significant commonalities, some encompassing all part-timers, others an extensive share but with exceptions. Chilean part-time professors share a teaching vocation and teaching is nearly the totality of what they do. Most of this teaching is classroom teaching. Only a few part-timers aspire to full-time academic careers.

Mostly, however, the study finds a part-time world that is diverse and complex. As it maps out dimensions of this diversity and complexity, the study discovers significant patterns within the wide-ranging terrain. Moreover, the study probes the logic of much of the variation. It develops a typology of part-time professors and their academic work. The typology first identifies the two

major kinds of part-time professors: Higher Education Teachers (HET) and Outsider Professionals (OP). HET have their main work experience in higher education, OP chiefly outside higher education. Beyond that, the typology maps out multiple sub-types within each of these two major types. Exploration of the types and sub-types unearths much information about matters such as heterogeneous reasons to teach part-time and contrasting employment profiles. Even within teaching, always part-timers' main endeavor, the study finds variation on multiple activities such as evaluation of students and development of curriculum.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. Background to the Problem

In 1968 Jencks and Riesman coined the term "academic revolution" to depict the rise of professors' power in establishing themselves as professionals in U.S. higher education (Jencks & Riesman, 1977). The professionalization of academics meant the rise of professors as independent experts, the possession of academic credentials such as the doctoral degree, full-time devotion to academic tasks, creation of knowledge through research, and peer control of their careers. In addition, this professionalization meant the powerful influence of professors in the functioning of universities. Their powers stretched over key issues such as curriculum, faculty hiring, and promotions.

Five decades later, there is a counter-academic revolution is taking place. The 'counter-revolution' does not mean the end of professors' power in academic matters but rather the surge of a new set of professors: part-timers[1]. The rise of part-time professors as the 'new majority' (MLA, 2012) represents an opposite pattern; to the extent they seem to lack the power and status of their full-time counterparts. Insofar as status is enormously important for the differentiation and

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[1] In referring to part-time professors, I mean professors that have an academic appointment at a given higher education institution for fewer hours than full-time professors have. Part-time professors have workloads that are variable, as are their academic appointments and income.

When referring to part-time professors I am not including adjunct professors that in the US consist of full-time professors that are off the tenure track (in some cases this can include post-doctorates, or full-time fixed-term contracts). Along the same lines, in Chile, part-time professors are defined as those who have appointments based on hours per week and are paid based on an hourly wage as well. Such appointments usually involve (1) a type of contractual arrangement that is solely for one academic term, and (2) arrangements that do not involve any contract but rather a payment of fees per academic term.

stratification of the higher education system (Trow, 1984), differences in status between full-time and part-time professors are crucial. Similarly, the distinction conveys an idea of opposites between professionals and non-professionals. Indeed, academic credentials, autonomy, commitment to research, power in governance, and evaluation by peers all seem contentious elements when it comes to part-time professors' academic work. Some of these aspects are discussed throughout this dissertation, especially in chapters four and five.

It is in this context that this dissertation research seeks to explore what is the academic life like for part-time professors in Chilean universities. By academic life I refer to what part-time professors do in their 'academic time'; that is the type of tasks and conditions at work as well as 'who they are'. By 'who they are' I am referring to what kind of job experience they have and what their reasons for working part-time are. But before I get to the particulars of what an academic life for part-time professors entails, some assumptions and facts need to be acknowledged.

Literature Does Not Treat Part-time Professors' Academic Work but Has Addressed Who They Are

Scholarly literature has not yet told us much about part-timers' academic work. In particular, the academic profession literature has long focused on the academic work of full-time professors and the means by which they exert power. Yet this body of research has overlooked part-time professors' academic work. Scholarly research has at least tacitly assumed that academic work- understood as what professors do and what their working conditions are- is the domain of full-time professors only. While this initial focus on full-timers academic profession might have been (partially) appropriate for the U.S. higher education system during most of the 20th century, this notion of academic profession fails to encompass a vast share of the academic work in

contemporary higher education. In other words, the link between the academic work of part-time professors and the conceptualization of the academic profession has not been approached yet. Nonetheless, recent works by Kezar (2012, 2013) and Kezar and Sam (2010) have brought a scholarly focus on part-time professors to the center of the debate.

When scholars have written about part-time professors, they have contended that their academic work tends to focus on one single task –teaching (Clark, 1987; Christine Musselin, 2010; Rhoades, 2006). Statistical studies confirm that for the U.S. case part-time professors' main academic task is teaching (Conley & Leslie, 2002). It is known that part-time professors tend to teach a large share of the undergraduate students, at low pay, without contributing to the discovery of knowledge. Thus, why pay attention or research part-time professors' academic work if we already know what they do? While this generalization on part-time professors' academic work is probably an accurate description, both for the U.S. case and globally, it is barely illuminating. An underlying rationale for this dissertation is that there are important and interesting facets to academic work of part-time professors that can only be discovered through empirical and conceptual study.

The literature on part-time professors addresses who part-time professors are. Through the use of system classifications of part-time professors key studies have addressed the different types or groups within the US part-time faculty population (J. Gappa, 1997; Judith Gappa & Leslie, 1993; Howard P. Tuckman, 1978). Groundbreaking work by Tuckman (1978), and expanded decades later by Gappa and Leslie (1993), has been the only work addressing the main characteristics of the part-time faculty population up to date. These key studies can be considered pioneering work in building a theoretical framework to understand part-time professors. Additionally, they also

describe and point out the demographic characteristics (i.e. age, gender, race), employment status, and educational attainment among this type of faculty (Levin & Montero Hernandez, 2014). These studies explore the characteristics of individuals and groups within the part-time academic labor force. They are relevant in providing an understanding of who these workers are in terms of demographics and what their working conditions and employment preferences are. These studies highlight the fact that in the US, for example, whites are predominant in the makeup within the part-time population, men and women are more or less equally represented, and their academic credentials are comparatively lower than those of full-time academics. The working conditions of part-timers tend to be unstable and their earnings are likely to be comparatively lower than that of full-timers. While few U.S. part-time professors would like to become full-time academics, there has been an increase in this desire over the past decade as more part-time professors declare they wish they could be a full-time professor some day (Levin & Montero Hernandez, 2014). But if one asks why to pursue more research on who these part-time professors are, one answer, even if we were satisfied with the amount of coverage now on the US we know precious little about part-time professors *outside* the US.

This dissertation intends to help fill the observed gaps in scholarly work on both who part-time professors are, and what their academic work is, through empirical research. In addition, this study also inter-relates 'the who' and 'the what'. While the inter-relation between who faculty are and what their academic work is appears as one of the contributions of this study, Levy (2005) has completed an approximation of this relationship in the realm of Latin American higher education in his comprehensive approach on academic work.

What Do We Understand by 'Part-time Professors'?

Scholars agree that there is a lack of a straightforward definition of part-time professors and on there being a diversity of part-time professors in higher education institutions (Judith Gappa & Leslie, 1993; Kezar & Maxey, 2012; Monks, 2009). This lack of a uniform definition has multiple consequences for the study of part-time professors and even more when looking at the patterns affecting their academic work.

I use here a working definition of part-time professors, and I also attempt to clarify some common understandings about the notion of part-time professors as well. A commonly used notion for part-time professors tends to take the number of hours they are being appointed as the critical aspect to define a part-time professor. This type of understanding is likely to be institutionally driven. Unlike full-time professors that by definition are hired for what corresponds to a full-time occupation (e.g. 40 hours according to the US Department of Labor), part-time professors are hired to fill particular numbers of hours at a given academic unit upon demand. For example, if a Mathematics department needs to teach the statistics course during X academic semester, then it is likely that the chair department will hire a part-time professor only to teach that class, which could be somewhere between three to six hours per week. In this context, the institution might report as a part-time professor all those professors who are hired for a specific number of hours per academic term. Nonetheless, things are more complicated in reality, as the number of hours seems a weak criterion when there are cases where a part-time professor is working full time hours by putting together multiple part time teaching jobs. Then, the question for institutions would be, how do they count a professor who teaches a specific number of courses at more than one academic

unit? Do they count as one part-time professor or more than one? Up to how many hours is a professor still considered part-time?

On the other hand is the type of contractual arrangement between the part-time professor and the higher education institution, which also has implications for laying out what a part-time professor means. In the US case there is the distinction between tenured, tenure-track professors, and the off tenure track professors. The latter includes both full-time professors and part-time professors who are hired for fixed-academic terms. So then, stability of employment can also be part of what a part-time professor entails, meaning that the instability of keeping a job one year to the next is such an important feature that it could be used to partially define a part-time professor.

As for the particular case of Chile, a different contractual agreement exists as well. In Chile, the distinction is between those who have contracts (fixed term) and those who are paid fees (invoice for academic services). The latter fit the notion of per-hours professors-that is, a professor that works at a given university upon demand. In contrast, those who have contracts, even if they are hired for a fixed term, are more likely to work half-time, which gives them a sort of 'assurance' in their reappointment as part-time professors. This is not the case for the 'per-hours' professors. While such an approach for understanding of part-time faculty is relevant in this respect to the market dynamics of hiring faculty, such a definition is still far from adequate in understanding who part-time professors are and what their academic work includes.

In a more conceptual account, another definition of part-time professor relates to the primary activity they perform: teaching. The rationale for this understanding takes the activities of a full-

time professor as a parameter. In other words, a full-time professor performs a blend of different activities that includes teaching but also research, service, and others activities. Thus, as the name implies, a part-time professor would do 'just a part' of the academic activities expected of their full-time professor counterpart. This conceptual notion is problematic, as plenty of professors work on a full-time basis with their main activity being teaching. Consequently, this criterion also falls short in attempting a definition of part-time professors.

In sum, in this dissertation part-time professor is understood as professors who have academic appointments based on a set number of hours for which they are paid an hourly wage. Their workload is variable from one academic term to another. They lack contractual arrangements and have no security of reappointment. In brief, these features are the common grounds to have a working definition of a part-time professor. Nonetheless, I acknowledge that there is no established prototypical type of a part-time professor. This is even more accentuated when considering different national realities as could be the contrast between the US, Chile, and other Latin American countries. In other words, even if a working definition has been stated here it is a relative notion that needs to be fueled by empirical evidence.

Finally, it is important to highlight, that figures on professors on this dissertation correspond mostly to what institutions define and report as part-time professors, which are likely to use number of hours that a professor is being hired for. Thus, the use of statistics needs to be seen in light of these limitations to understand the variety of aspects that a more integral definition of part-time professors can eventually entail.

Chapter Overview

Overall this first chapter introduces the issues and concepts related to my treatment of academic work and part-time professors. It also establishes part-time professors as crucial actors in higher education, actors left relatively unexplored by the scholarly literature. The first section sets the debate on part-time professors. Section 2 explains the focus of the dissertation project, the research question, as well as the theoretical concern to be addressed. In section 3, the underpinnings of academic work as approached in this dissertation are discussed. Sections 4, 5, and 6 introduce the context in which part-time professors develop their academic work both in Latin America (L.A.) and the US. The intention is to clarify different models of being part-time professors in modern higher education. Next, section 7 presents the Chilean context that is the setting for our research. Finally, section 8 discusses the significance and contribution this dissertation seeks to achieve. The chapter concludes with an overview of the dissertation's structure.

2. Focus of Dissertation

This dissertation focuses on the academic life of university part-time professors in Chile. The exploration of part-timers' academic life looks at two main aspects. One is about how part-time professors interact with structures in relation to the tasks and activities they perform in higher education. Another aspect relates to part-time professors themselves, their individual characteristics, job experiences, and aspirations for academic careers. These two aspects included under the notion of 'academic life' might appear arbitrary at first sight. A downside of exploring a topic that has not been explored extensively by the scholarly literature is that there is little guidance as for how to proceed or what to build upon when conducting research in an area that is fairly

novel. Thus, the aspects I include under this broad concept of 'academic life of part-time professors' blend in different scholarly sources focusing on aspects that enable a 'jump start' or a 'starting point' on a research topic that presents a sea of possibilities for research but that given limited resources I am able to focus on limited aspects only. This is to say, I have selected relevant aspects in the literature that help to understand the basics of 'what is it that part-time professors do in higher education', and 'what are the defining individual characteristics of a faculty population', but in doing so I leave aside many other topics. Thus, there are some other aspects that could also fit under the label 'academic life' but that I do not pursue. That is the case for example with regulations and monitoring of part-time professors' work. Nor do I compare part-time professors to full-time professors, or even look at the differences that might exist within part-time professors based on their socio-economic status, to name a few.

Particularly, the dissertation pays special attention to what part-timers do inside and outside the classroom, and who they are in a country characterized by a predominant presence of part-time professors both in public and private higher education institutions. Chile is that country. The academic life of part-timers has not been studied in Chile yet, and the study of these crucial actors in contemporary higher education is long overdue.

Because Chile as case of study has almost no literature that focuses on its part-time professors, I draw from the work on part-time professors conducted in other national realities; such as the case of the US. Moreover, I also draw from seminal U.S. authors that focus on the academic work notion, which is at the core of this dissertation project, though those authors focus overwhelmingly on full-time professors. U.S. scholars have also extended their research on academic work and

academic profession to other national realities, which I review in the pertinent section of this research. I also draw from what has been studied for the Latin American region that is culturally closer to the Chilean reality.

2.1 Research Questions

This study tackles the central research question: what is the academic life of part-time professors? We break it down into two sub-research questions: who are the part-time professors? And what is the academic work of these part-time professors? As salient as these questions are , even in the US literature there is virtually no scholarly treatment of the essence of part-time professors' academic work. The contrast to voluminous scholarship on full-time professors' academic work is thus stark. In addition, this notion of academic work acknowledges that professors' academic work is situated in specific contexts and institutions, and therefore cannot be studied in isolation. In other words, the exploration of academic work will describe the particular activities and working conditions that part-time professors experience, but at the same time will seek to understand potential patterns of variation in part-time professors' academic work based on system factors such as institutional type, academic organization, academic and professional fields, and individuals factors such as employment profiles.

Patterns Affecting Academic Work of Part-Time Professors

In addition, I inquire about multiple underlying matters: First, how do part-time professors' different institutional affiliations[2] condition their academic work? Scholars have shown how institutional type matters when it comes to full-timers' academic work (Altbach, 1991; Clark,

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[2] In referring to institutional affiliations, I mean higher education institutions that might differ in certain aspects such as its juridical nature: public versus private.

1987; William K. Cummings & Finkelstein, 2012). Number of teaching hours and research devotion tend to differ enormously depending upon whether a professor is affiliated with a research-oriented institution or a teaching-oriented one and whether he/she works at a four-year institution or at a community college. Another dimension for institutional variation is the public-private distinction. Private institutions are likely to rely more on part-time professors as well as to offer academic programs that are inexpensive and do not need much infrastructure (as is the case with pure sciences programs). The prestigious U.S. private institutions are the great exception (R.L. Geiger, 1990; Levy, 1992); in contrast Chile's private institutions fit this reality to a great extent (Bernasconi, 2010; J. J. Brunner, Holm-Nielsen, Thorn, Balan, & Elacqua, 2003). Thus, similarly, this dissertation will look at institutional type to see if part-time professors' academic work tends to vary depending on the type of institution in which they work. But the dissertation will focus on only the university sector. The institutional variation there encompasses public universities, subsidized private ("old) universities, and unsubsidized ("new") private universities.

Second, how do academic disciplines and professional studies condition part-time professors' academic work? While the limited scope of this dissertation does not allow for full coverage of the disciplines and professional fields, we nonetheless attempt a partial coverage, as we describe in more detail in chapter three. As large differences in duties and culture of disciplines exist (Becher & Trowler, 2001; Clark, 1987), it appears that this dimension could be also a pattern of variation on part-time professors' academic work. Here, I also include the professional schools within universities as a separate dimension, as they combine scholarly work and practice, which in turn could also condition the academic work of part-time professors who work in professional fields.

Finally, are there differences in the academic work of part-time professors based on employment profiles? In particular, we address three main dimensions in relation to employment profiles: motivations, where main job experience resides, and aspirations for full-time academic careers. While employment profiles do not appear as a pattern of variation among the classical studies of academic work and the academic profession (e.g. Clark) they do surface some in more recent research (Cummings & Finkelstein, 2012), but even there it is mostly just to acknowledge the increasing importance of employment status -full-time and part-time-, as one more aspect on which academic work varies.

2.2 Theoretical Concern

With a largely unexplored topic such as ours many theoretical concerns are worth the exploration. While the focus of this research lies solely on the intra-variation within the part-time faculty population, adding a complementary theoretical concern enables a discussion that goes beyond the descriptive questions addressed throughout this dissertation. The theoretical concern is not at the center of the dissertation's efforts but as I discover what the academic work of part-time professors entails I am then well situated to address where that academic work of part-time professors leaves them in relation to the academic profession ideal. More particularly, in chapter six I discuss in what ways they fit and in what ways they do not fit academic profession. The notion of academic profession constitutes an ideal type against which I can compare and contrast part-time professors' academic work, and it provides grounds for future areas of research. It is important to highlight, however, that the reality of full-time professors –whether in Chile or even the US- is far from a tight fit with the academic profession ideal type. So, part-time professors can be compared to the academic profession or to the full-time reality. Thus, a limitation of this study

is that it mostly lacks information on full-time reality and it often compares part-time professors to an ideal type that even full-timers often do not meet.

3. Defining the Basics: Issues and Concepts Related to Academic Work

Clark's study on the academic profession is probably the most comprehensive study of academic work to date. As such, it serves as a good reference to emphasize here. While his research focuses on full-time professors, some facets of his study can be adjusted for the study of part-time professors. His breakdown of professors' academic work by tasks and conditions of work seems pertinent. Specifically, Clark (1987) looks deeply into academic tasks that include teaching, research, and a mix of various other activities (e.g. student advising, consulting). His conditions of work relate to control of time and performance of duties, as well as professors' workload.

Like his study, this dissertation also aims to know what professors do but I target the faculty population working on a part-time basis. Similarly, I want to know the basics of part-time professors' academic work, as there is not much empirical evidence that can inform us about what part-time professors do. It is not only the basics of academic work I want to explore but also what counts for variation –or even deviation- in the academic work of part-time professors. In Clark's study the patterns of variation under analysis are threefold: "institutional definition of work; disciplinary specification of work; and the professional school difference."

Academic Work is Also Conditioned by National Contexts

Clark's research is also cross-national in scope. Notably, Clark (1987) points out national contexts of higher education play a role in conditioning the academic work of professors. Whereas this

dissertation is not cross-national in scope, at least in its empirical analysis, I acknowledge how central this dimension could be to this study and contextualizing and interpreting it accordingly. Reasons are double and of different nature. First is the fact that, as with full-timers, the academic work of part-time professors is conditioned by the national system of higher education. As I will show below, part-timers in Chile and Latin America have a distinctive place in their systems because of the national model of university that is at the foundation of Latin American universities. Second, one of the methodological and theoretical challenges of this dissertation is how to deal with the lack of literature on academic of part-time professors, not only in Chile, I look to a great extent at the US literature, which is the most extensive on academic work. Thus, even though the primary focus is on Chilean academic work of part-time professors, I am also 'served by cross-national awareness' (Clark, 1987; Musselin, 2009) as I need to look at the international literature to develop a framework for this particular study. In other words, this dissertation has a comparative eye in its background despite the fact that it is not centrally a comparison of cases.

3.1 Institutions and Academic Work

At the core of Clark's study is that diversity in higher education institutions also defines diversity in tasks and working conditions of professors. Regardless of this immense variation in terms of institutional diversity that in the US system is huge, some major patterns can be identified based on institutional types and academic fields. That is to say that teaching load and research time will vary depending whether a professor works at a research-oriented university or at a teaching-oriented institution, as could be the case of community colleges, for example. In this dissertation I will also try to look at the relationship between institutional type –particularly the university subsector-and academic work of part-time professors.

In other words, I want to investigate the institutional variation in the academic work of part-time professors in Chilean universities. While some can contend that the US and the Chilean realities are not comparable, I assume that regardless of the fact that Chile's higher education system is much smaller than the US's[3], they are similar in at least one important respect: large institutional diversity. Chile's large institutional diversity was set up after the 1981 higher education reform. Thus, it is a reasonable guess to expect that institutional diversity might also play a role in the condition of academic work of part-time professors.

3.2 Private-Public Distinction: One Dimension for Institutional Variation

Another pattern for institutional diversity in higher education is by control or ownership based on public-private distinction. In particular, public institutions (e.g. research universities, four-year institutions) are more likely to focus on scientific fields and therefore prone to rely more on professors who conduct research (Bernasconi, 2003; Levy, 1986b, 2005, 2009; Whitehead, 1977) . On the other hand, private institutions tend to offer more 'chalk and blackboard' programs and have teaching as the main academic work of professors. Obviously, this is an oversimplification, but this research attempts to find in what ways and how this pattern might also show (or not) for the case of academic work of part-time professors. To get back to the point of Clark's institutional type conditioning the academic work of professors, it is important to mention that although he accounts for the public-private distinction, it is not central to his analysis. In contrast, this aspect of institutional variation appears of importance for this dissertation research given that the public-private distinction is a major concern in Chile. How much variation exists in terms of academic

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[3] As of 2009/2010 in the US there are 4,495 higher education institutions; 19,102,814 student enrolment. Regarding faculty, the total sums up to 1,439,144 (PROPHE national U.S. data, n/d). In comparison, as of 2013, there are in Chile 165 higher education institutions; 1,184,805 student enrolment, and 78,372 faculty (Servicio de Informacion de Educacion Superior, 2013c; Servicio Informacion de Educacion Superior, n.d.).

work of part-time professors and the private/public distinction is something we discuss in more detail in chapter five. Scholars have argued that for the US case private and public institutions tend to blur in matters related to academics and most non-financial issues (Geiger, 1991; Levy, 1986); thus, unusually, the public-private distinction is not a big demarcation point in U.S. higher education. While our dissertation is not a study on the public/private distinction in higher education, this distinction, nonetheless, crosses our variable of academic work. In this regard, I want to examine eventual differences between academic work and part-time professors working at public or private institutions or both.

3.3 Academic Disciplines and the Professional School Difference

Clark also points out the disciplinary specification of academic work. In his words "large differences in duties and cultures of disciplines" exist (Clark, 1987, p. 73). Then, even a standard activity like teaching might prove to be a varied activity when performed in a humanities class or biology class, to name a few. In regard to this dissertation, I also want to look at this pattern of variation. Clark argues that within the same institution academic disciplines bring so much variation that even teaching could be a 'varied activity'. Nonetheless, some could counter-argue that academic work for part-time professors will not vary much by discipline as they are commonly found engaged only in the teaching function of introductory courses at the undergraduate level. While this argument is valid, I need to look at the empirical evidence to elucidate whether academic discipline also operates as a differentiator for the academic work of part-time professors.

According to Clark, professional schools account for another important possible pattern of variation in relation to the academic work of professors. Professional schools are fundamentally different academic units. He affirms,

> Professional schools stretch the academic system by differentiating and proliferating the roles of faculty-level personnel: into both clinical and scholarly, part-time and full-time, non-tenured and tenured, and outside-based and inside-commitment (Clark, 1987, p. 96).

The fact that Latin American universities –Chile is not an exception- are rooted in a professionalist model of university make this dimension significant for my study.

3.4 Part-time Professors, Academic Work, and the Academic Profession

In light of the predominant understanding of academic profession, part-time professors tend not to meet the research focus idea of profession because they are more likely to teach than to conduct research, and have their main job outside of academia.

The predominant definition of academic profession refers to the full-time dedication of faculty to academic work, the advancement of knowledge through research, the engagement with a community of scholars, the assessment of the academic work by peer fellows, the establishment of norms for the profession, and the training of disciples. Additionally, this academic profession literature deals with variation and different layers making up the academic profession (Clark, 1987); however, it still restricts itself overwhelmingly to full-time professors. In chapter two it will be discussed in more detail how the literature has understood this ideal type of academic profession, and how, for example, it deals both with full-time professors who do not conduct research, and with part-time professors who eventually can do more than just teaching (Altbach, 1991; Clark, 1997; Christine Musselin, 2007). Oftentimes, the literature on academic profession is

neither explicit nor straightforward regarding who and what belongs to academic profession. It is implicit that professors who conduct research are part of the academic profession mainstream, although authors such Altbach (1991) have pointed out that full-timers who only teach have also been considered part of the academic profession. On the other hand, when the notion of profession is discussed it is in the realm of control or who governs the work by academics. But this debate distinguishes more between faculty and administrators rather than who comprise the faculty side of academic profession.

In sum, the literature on Academic Profession tends to overlook part-time professors. I could hypothesize that part-timers are neglected on the assumption –implicit or explicit-that they are not the real deal in terms of academic profession. Of course, I need to dig deeper to reach empirical evidence, but it is striking to observe how absent the academic work is about part-time professors when it comes to the literature on academic profession.

4. Research Context

4.1 Historical Presence of Part-Time Professors in Latin American Higher Education

Common to Latin American higher education systems is the strong presence of part-time professors. Scholars have chronicled that institutions of higher education have relied heavily on part-time professors since their foundations (Bernasconi, 2008; Levy, 1986b, 2005). Whether in public or private institutions part-time professors tend to be predominant, even at research universities. Additionally, the strong presence of part-time professors has been stable over time.

Levy (2005) shows that in 1962 across Latin America 67% of professors worked by-hours[4], only 11% were full-time professors, and the other 12% were half-time professors. Part-time professors remain more numerous than their full-timers counterpart in contemporary Latin American higher education systems despite a large-scale effort in a "golden age" to build Latin America's academic profession, with the growth of full-time professors at the core of that effort (Levy, 2005). Despite efforts to professionalize their full-time cadre as seen even in one of the systems that has invested heavily in the full-time ideal; more Brazilian professors are by-hours than full-time, while 20 percent are half-time (Brazil Higher Education Census, 2010). In Argentina the part-timers (including both half-time and by-hours) represent 87% of the total (PROPHE national data). Chile is not unusual in this respect either. For example, in 2011 more than 70% of the total population of professors worked on a part-time basis (including by-hours and half-time professors). Even more, 74% of professors worked on an hourly-basis, which means they worked less than 11 hours per week (INDICES, 2005-2011).

4.2 A Distinctive Sub-Type of Part-Time Professor?: The Traditional Latin American Part-Timer

In the traditional model of university in Latin America mainly successful professionals comprised part-time professors. This relates to the essence of a Latin American model of university, which is professionalist. As Levy (1986, 2005) and Bernasconi (2008) have argued, Latin-American universities since their origins have been concerned with the training of professionals, local elites, and state officers. Under this model, universities have relied greatly on the good will of successful professionals outside the academic world that would come to the university to train students in

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[4] In referring to by-hours, I mean professors who work in a given higher education institution between 11 to 22 hours or less than 11 hours. This classification of professors based on the numbers of hours they teach is commonly seen throughout many Latin American higher education databases.

their areas of professional expertise such as medicine, engineering, and law. The fact that those successful professionals would teach on a part-time basis as they held full-time jobs elsewhere have long made part-time professors the vast majority of faculty members.

If part-time professors have enjoyed a tradition of high esteem as professionals in Latin American universities, does this mean that institutions value their part-time cadre as well? Intriguing is that some institutions have put in place mechanisms to reward and retain part-time professors in such dual career tracks. Dual career tracks have been found in Chile and aim to reward the scholarly and teaching contribution that both full-time and part-time professors can make to the institutions. Particularly, the career track for full-timers-*carrera academica ordinaria*-is basically similar to the US model of tenure track, and it is intended for full-time professors who perform multiple tasks such as teaching, research, and service. Whereas, the career track for part-time professors -*carrera academica docente*- seeks to reward them in a prestigious fashion as it bestows a high status. The *carrera academica docente* is exclusively for part-time teaching by professionals with outstanding professional activity.

Another common feature in the traditional model refers to motivations to work as part-time professors. Levy (2005) suggests part-time professors' motivations were not economic in the narrow sense of the salary received, as usually they worked 'ad-honorem' or for little pay. Instead, status and client building were among the main motivations. Regarding the former, working at universities was for a long time seen as a prestigious activity; as for the latter, client building was also a big incentive to work part-time given that professionals in fields such engineering used to take advantage of their teaching to meet and recruit students for the labor market (Levy, 2005).

4.3 Traditional and Modern Latin American Part-Time Mix

Latin America has undergone a massification of enrollments in higher education since the second half of the twentieth century (Brunner, 2008; Levy, 1986; Schwartzman, 1991). Along with massifying enrollments is the fact that part-time hiring has become huge. In this context of increasing demand for a teaching workforce, the massive hiring of part-time faculty has brought to the system part-time professors with weak qualifications.

Expansion of enrollment was accompanied by the rapid growth of the private sector and an increasing institutional diversity (Levy, 1986b, 2005). Returning to the subject of part-time professors, these transformations also set a different environment for the work of part-time professors. As the international literature on private higher education suggests, part-time professors are also predominant at this kind of institution. However, in the private sector part-time professors might not enjoy the same high esteem as professionals that are found at the traditional model of Latin American universities. Of course, this could be a generalization, and might ignore the complexity associated to the transformations of particular higher education systems but it is arguable that in private higher education institutions part-time professors are rather marginal actors. Thus, in modern Latin America it is possible to find a mix type of part-time professors based on traditional and modern patterns.

5. A Modern Part-Time Professor?: The US Case

5.1 Brief History on Part-Time Professors in the US

Gappa (1984) and Finkelstein (1984) have asserted that until well into the nineteenth century, the typical US college teacher was most likely to be a young clergyman, teaching on a part-time basis

while looking for a full-time appointment. Only old and experienced ministers filled the scant full-time positions at that time. Thus, it was not until the twentieth century that full-time professors became the norm in the US higher education system. Nonetheless, the emergence of the predominant full-time professor at the turn of the twentieth century did not downplay the status of part-time professors, as part-time professors' expertise in professional fields was still needed (Gappa, 1984). Compared to Latin America, the good standing of part-time professors at professional schools in some U.S. higher education institutions appears as a 'part-time professor exceptionalism', which makes them somewhat parallel to the traditional Latin American part-time professor, as it was described earlier.

It was in the seventies that the hiring of part-time professors in U.S. higher education skyrocketed. Based on data by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Tuckman et al (Tuckman, Caldwell, & Vogler, 1978), pointed out that between 1972-73 and 1976-77 the number of part-timers increased by almost 50% in comparison to the growth of full-timers, which was less than 9% (Tuckman et al., 1978, p. 185). Nonetheless, this growth on the part-time professor side was unevenly distributed depending on the type of institutions. As in the current make up of part-time professors in higher education, by the seventies part-timers became the majority at two-year institutions.

5.2 A Prestigious or Marginal Activity?

While terms such as successful and well regarded have been used to depict the traditional model of part-time professors in Latin American higher education, they do not seem to be transferable to US reality. Scholars in the US are more likely to refer to the part-time cadre by using terms such as

invisible faculty (Gappa & Leslie, 1993), marginal faculty (Clark, 1987), and gypsy adjunct (Church, 1999), among others. Of course this is not to say part-time professors are not at all valued within the US higher education system, as it is a broad generalization, but it points out the rather peripheral position they have in the US model. Yet in professional schools (e.g. medicine, law,) part-time professors enjoy much higher professional esteem given that their experience in the field counts more (Gappa, 1984).

5.3 Part-Time Professors and Institutional Policies

Indicators on how much institutional esteem part-time professors might enjoy in the US system are not clear. To translate that into academic work, it could mean that for U.S. higher education institutions a major divide exists, as there is no evidence of bringing part-time professors into the academic profession or to full-academic work. Similarly, statistics show that seldom does a part-time career lead to a full-time career in higher education (Ehrenberg, 2006; Tuckman & Caldwell, 1979). In addition, among the many demands that part-time professors and advocates pose to institutions is to set institutional mechanisms for professional development (Gappa, Austin, & Trice, 2005; June & Newman, 2013; Weiss & Pankin, 2011). Even more, given that evaluation mechanisms on academic work of part-time professors are virtually absent from most U.S. higher education institutions there is little room for the advancement through academic ranks (Charfauros & Tierney, 1999). That being the case, I could hypothesize that this rather frequent marginal position of part-time professors along with the lack of institutional policies on part-time professor's academic career is a significant pattern of deviation between the 'modern US part-time professor' and the traditional Latin American part-time professor. Dual career tracks, as was mentioned earlier, might represent a deviation between these two models. Of course, more research is needed

to reach such conclusions, but the existence of academic tracks for part-time professors as seen in Chile could suggest explicit and well established institutional policies shaping academic work of part-time professors.

6. Similarities between Latin American and U.S. Part-Time Professors?

The US is a highly diverse higher education system and so is its academic program offering. Although the US system has transformed over time, during most of the twentieth century the offering of academic programs has concentrated overwhelmingly on non-professional fields such as arts and sciences. Of course, professional studies as well as vocational training have also had a significant share within the system, but to a lesser extent.

In contrast, at the turn of the twenty-first century, in part because undergraduate students began to demand more job-oriented programs, the higher education system has been increasingly professionalist in its orientation. In this respect, Breneman (1994) has shown how less prestigious liberal art colleges have had to scale back their liberal arts education provision in order to deal with financial pressures; these second tier liberal arts colleges are turning into professionalist ones. This context makes institutions agog to hire more and more part-time professors.

On the other hand, Latin America has set efforts to move towards a research model of university, which the US model epitomizes. Among other efforts, the hiring of full-timers who hold PhD degrees and are on the publishing mainstream is progressing among countries like Brazil, and Chile (Balbachevsky, 2007; Bernasconi, 2007; Levy, 2005). In this context, it is arguable that this

growing cadre of full-timers with a research profile is closer to the ideal model of U.S. research professor than to their own compatriots working on a part-time basis.

7. Higher Education in Chile: An Overview

7.1 Brief History

Levy (1986) has shown that beginning with the creation of the first public and national university in 1842 –*Universidad de Chile*- the Chilean higher education system was dominated by the State. Even more, the creation of the old private universities[5] later on did not preclude the dominance of the State's control on education, as they came to serve also the mission of the State. In turn, the State provided financial support to those old private universities (support that remains current, which of course has been the subject of extensive debate on the legitimacy of the State support to private universities).

Until 1980 there were only eight universities –each government subsidized- in Chile: Two of them public, three religious (Catholic), and three secular private.[6] In fact, for a very long time the system was small, the students' background was somewhat uniform as they were comprised overwhelmingly by elite and upper-middle class students, and despite the private-public nature of institutions they were also homogenous. Bernasconi has pointed out that for the Chilean case "this

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[5] The term "old private universities" is the denomination for those private universities that were created prior the 1981 reform. In comparison, the private universities created as result of the 1981 reform are called 'new privates'.

[6] The two public universities are Universidad de Chile (founded in 1842), and Universidad de Santiago (founded in1849). Regarding the three Catholic universities they are Pontificia universidad Catolica de Chile (1888), Pontificia universidad Catolica de Valparaiso (1928), and universidad Catolica del Norte (1956). Finally, the three secular private universities correspond to universidad de Concepcion (1919), universidad Tecnica Federico Santa Maria (1931), and universidad Austral (1954).

institutional homogeneity on areas such as finance, function, and governance was unique in Latin America, where public-private distinctiveness has been the norm" (Levy, 1986 as cited by Bernasconi, 2003, p. 22).

7.2 Recent and Radical Transformations

Beginning with the 1973 coup d'état led by General Pinochet, the military government altered drastically all Chilean social institutions, diminished the role of the state in the economy, suppressed labor rights, health benefits, and in general the economy became privatized (Bernasconi, 2010; Brunner, 2009). In other words, the authoritarian social order meant an increased state power, repression, lack of freedom, and imposition of a free-market ideology (Levy, 1986a). In this context, higher education institutions followed the same path of transformation. To be sure it was not a free choice but an imposed one. The coup d'état was the end –for some 15 years- of universities' autonomy in Chile.

Changes to University Governance

Notably, regarding university governance, once the martial government assaulted universities' autonomy, there was extensive authoritarian control: repression and expulsion of professors and students were among the many manifestations of this authoritarian control (Bernasconi & Rojas, 2004; Brunner, 1997; Levy, 1986a). If some would have thought that the university sector could have been untouched because of the idea of the university as an "ivory tower", military officers saw in universities an important focus to control and to initiate purges against the opponents of the martial regime and upholders of what they regarded as the corrupt old political-economic regime.

In other words, the authoritarian control that took place within the university sector came up to reproduce the authoritarian control at the society level as well.

Bernasconi (2003) has asserted the transformation faced by Chile's political economy during the dictatorship period of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990) came up with profound transformations to the Chilean higher education system. The higher education system was privatized and de-regulated, and competition was imposed for the survival of its institutions (Bernasconi, 2010). A new higher education reform was set in 1981.

The 1981 reform made the Chilean higher education system predominantly private and it changed the political economy of the higher education system. As Brunner (Brunner, 2008a) has noted, the move from state and professional coordination toward market coordination, made predominant both the weight of enrollment in private higher education institutions and the private financing of the whole system (e.g. tuition). By doing so, the system became coordinated mostly by competitive exchanges through different types of markets wherein "each institution resolves its own problems by competing with numerous other suppliers for student-clients, academic staff, resources and reputations".

New Private Institutions Were Founded; More Institutional Diversity

The reform also brought institutional diversity to the system. New private universities and a non-university sector were founded. Technical training centers-*Centros de Formacion Tecnica*-and Professional Institutes-*Institutos Profesionales*- comprised the non-university sector. Among the newly founded institutions, the majority were private and unsubsidized; exceptions were

professional institutions as some of them were public but presently all the non-university sector is private. The *Centros de Formacion Tecnica* offers two-year technical and vocational programs and diplomas. The *Institutos Profesionales*, offer degrees in fields other than the university-sector and cannot grant academic degrees. Not only new private institutions were created but also the existing Universidad de Chile as well as the Pontificia Universidad Catolica de Chile were dismembered and their regional and branch campuses became public universities in their own right as well. In brief, whereas until 1981 eight universities comprised the Chilean higher education system, by 1985 there were 164 institutions, from which 143 were a part of the non-university sector and only 21 were universities (PROPHE- Chile national data). As of 2009, there are 180 higher education institutions, of which 61 are universities.

The 1980 reform forced public institutions to charge tuition and what remained as public funding began to be allocated under competitive bases. In this scenario, the recently born private higher education institutions had the autonomy to set their own policies in staffing faculty. But also, the public state universities began to have significant degrees of autonomy to contract academic staff, to fix earnings and to regulate the academic careers (J.J. Brunner, 2008a, p. 12).

7.3 Chilean Professoriate in Perspective

The big presence of the part-time faculty has a long history within a Chilean higher education system that has changed significantly over the years. If the main driving force for part-time contracting had been the use of esteemed professionals, perhaps today a major driving force lies in the expanded and market orientation of the system.

By 2013, there was in Chile a faculty population of 98,328 members (headcount) distributed among 165 higher education institutions; among them 60 are universities, 44 are professional institutions, and finally 61 are technical training centers. As for distribution among the different types of institutions faculty are largely in the university sector: 67,406 out of 98,328 (69%); in contrast, faculty members in Professional Institutes and Technical Training Centers are 20,188 (21%) and 10,734 (11%) respectively (Servicio de Informacion de Educacion Superior, 2013a). In terms of first-degree enrollment, it is also more concentrated in the university-sector, with a 58% share, with 645,355 student enrollments. On the other hand, technical training centers and professional institutes comprise 13% (144,365), and 29% (324,920), respectively (Servicio de Informacion de Educacion Superior, 2013b). In terms of professors by type of appointment and type of institutions for the last 5 years, the figures are as shown in chart 1.

Chart 1: Professors by Type of Institution and Type of Appointment: 2008 - 2013
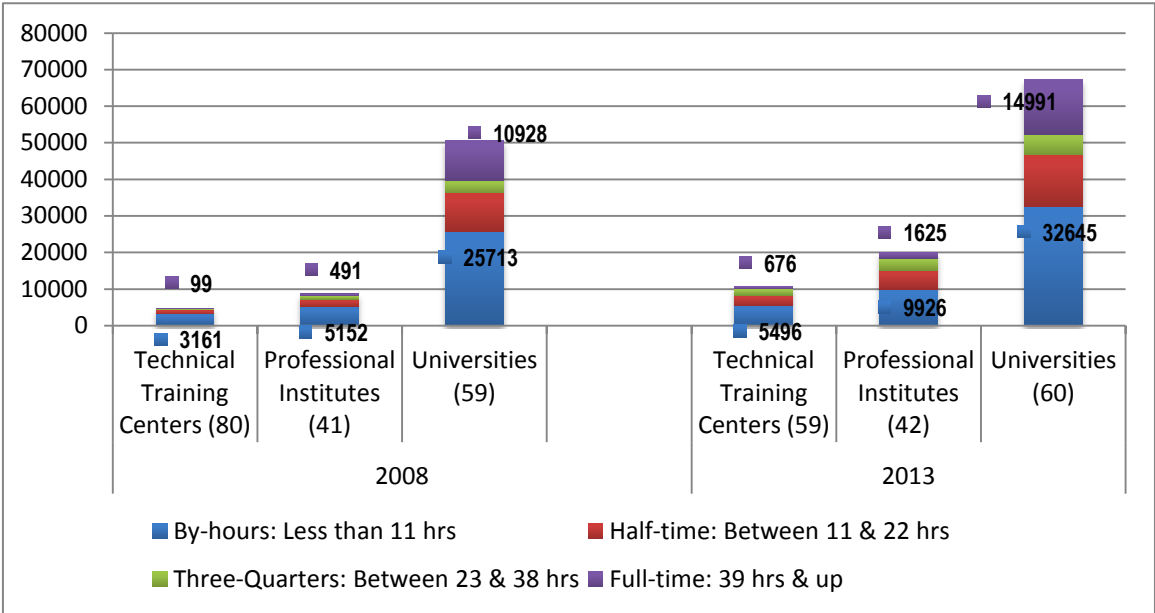
Source: SIES 2008, 2013, Ministerio de Educacion-Chile.

As chart 1 highlights, overall, by-hours-professors –less than 11 hours- are almost half of the total faculty population in Chile or the equivalent to 34,026 and 48,067 faculty in 2008 and 2013, respectively. In comparison, for the same period, less than one-fifth of the total population works on a full-time basis: 16% or 11,518 and 18% or 17,292 in 2008 and 2013, respectively. Moreover, by-hours-professors are more numerous regardless of institutional type: In 2008 by-hours-professors are 48% in universities and 50% in the professional institutes and technical training centers combined. In 2013, the same figures are very similar: by-hours-professors account for 48% in universities and 51% in professional institutes and technical training centers together. Either way, and while this is a topic that has not been addressed in this dissertation, it will be interesting to see in future research what share of courses are taught by full-time, half-time, and by-hours professors.

Chilean universities have tended to rely less on part-time professors than the non-university sector. However, the allocation of part-time professors tends to differ within the university sector. Chart 2 shows the intra-sectoral differences by type of professors.

Chart 2: Professors by Type of Appointment and Type of University: 2008 - 2013
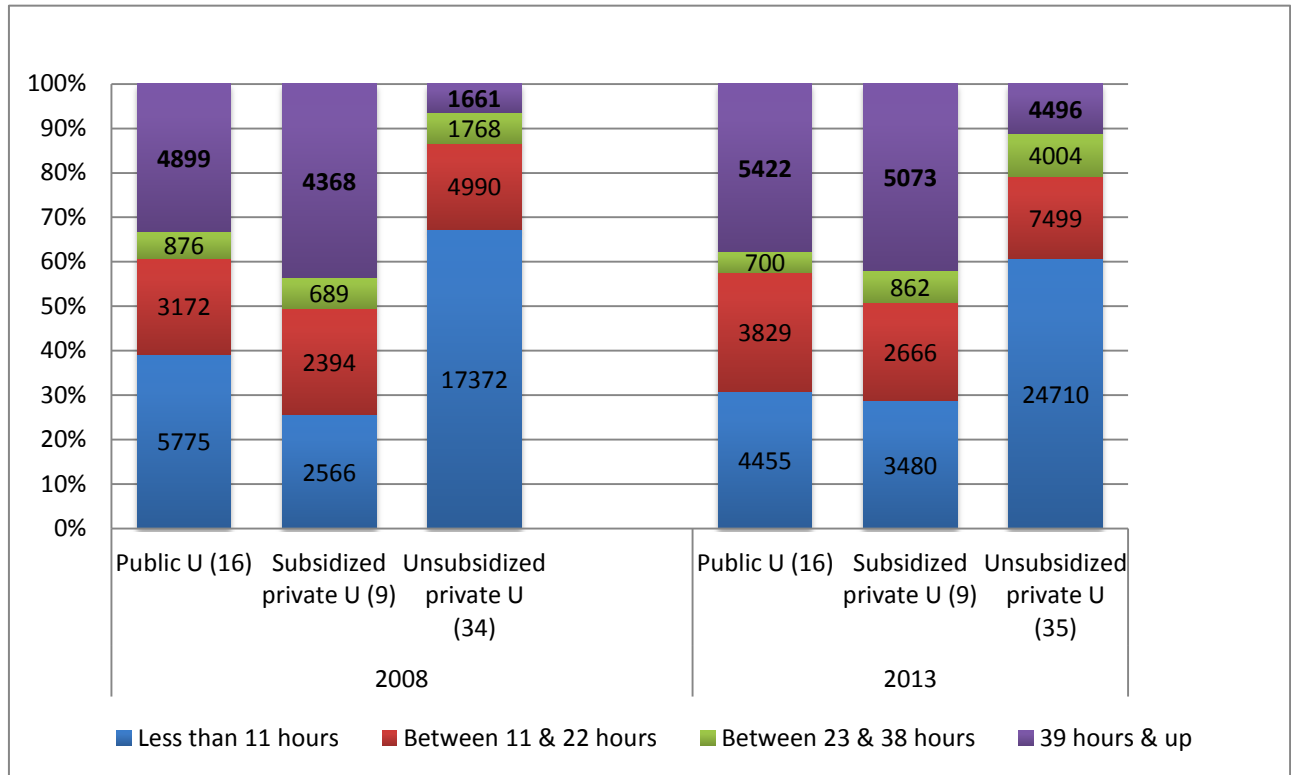
Source: SIES 2008, 2013, Ministerio de Educacion-Chile.

In particular, the participation of by-hours professors (less than 11 hours) both on public universities and on private subsidized ones is significantly lower than on the private unsubsidized universities. This holds for both years: 2008 and 2013. Specifically, by-hours professors in public universities, private subsidized universities, and private unsubsidized universities in 2008 accounted for 39%, 25%, and 61% respectively. In 2013, the figures for public, subsidized private, and unsubsidized private are 31%, 29%, and 60% respectively (Servicio de Informacion de Educacion Superior, 2008, 2013a).

Conflicting Trends: Retreat of Part-Time Professors vs. Rise of Full-Time Professors

Despite the fact that by-hours professors are predominant in contemporary Chilean higher education, since the 1981 reform there has been a counterforce in the development of a full-time professoriate. But this is not to imply a lack of such growth in the preceding decades. As Bernasconi (2003) points out, since the beginning of the 1990s there has been an increased professionalization of the professoriate (e.g. more PhD holders, more full-time professors, more money allotted for professors' salaries) as well as a 'new' labor market for professors (e.g. faculty mobility). Of course, Chile already had a relatively privileged position in Latin America from its prior academic development and its eager partnering in importing aspects of the US model (Levy, 2005).

As a result, the composition of the professoriate in Chilean universities reflects a mix between full-time and part-time status. This combination transcends the public-private divide: part-time professors have been, since the origins of Chilean universities, important actors in the system, not only in the private sector of higher education —where the international literature on private higher education suggests part-time professors are dominant— but in public universities as well. As an illustration, in 1966 only 32% of the professors at the Universidad de Chile –the most prestigious public research university in Chile- were full-timers (Brunner, 1986). Even more, as of 2013, Universidad de Chile that has 3,296 faculty still shows a majority of part-timers: 51 % of faculty work 22 hours or less in comparison to 43% who work full-time (39 hours and up) (Servicio de Informacion de Educacion Superior, 2013a).

8. Significance of the Study

Scant scholarly attention has been given to part-time professors in higher education. Coupled with it, is the negative perception associated with part-time professors that tend also to inform the way in which studies on part-time professors have been approached by researchers. Part-time professors are often depicted as aberrant figures (though rarely through their own fault) in higher education and they are treated as a malady that is hoped will fade away once institutions regain their economic solidity or develop their professional standing.

If part-time professors have been left aside by the mainstream literature on professors and higher education institutions, it is even scarcer the focus on their academic work. According to Pankin and Weiss' (2011) review of the US literature on part-time professors for the period of 1977 to 2010, led them to group researchers' main focus into 4 categories. These four categories are: 1) the status of part-timers. 2) Exploitation or the lack of justice for part-time faculty. 3) Job satisfaction. 4) Educational problems associated with the use of part-time professors in higher education. Moreover, in that scant literature on part-time professors, the setting for study has overwhelmingly been the US. Thus, when I look at what has been studied about part-time professors I am looking mostly at the US reality. In brief, this research attempts to bring a fresh perspective on part-time professors, by focusing on their academic work. At the same time, this research undertakes a major study on part-time professors in a kind of setting that has not been explored until now.

This study explores what part-time professors do. Because the 'what' is conditioned by multiple variables, the exploration of academic work of part-time professors needs to be seen through holistic lenses. Bringing together key different strands from the literature on sociology of academic

work and on system classifications into the analysis of part-time professors, can produce research that will help understand how institutions, organizational arrangements, national contexts of higher education, and individual dimensions such as employment profiles condition academic work of part-time professors. In so doing, a more holistic –and less biased- understanding on part-time professors can be seen within the larger framework of higher education professors.

In other words, as it links academic work and academic profession together, higher education literature has left out part-time professors. As a result, this study can contribute to understand better where the academic work of part-time professors stands in relation to both the academic work by full-time professors and the value that higher education institutions give them. Finally, this research also aims to contribute to develop a comparative context to study part-time professors not only in Chile but elsewhere.

9. Limitations

The scope of this study is delimited in multiple ways. First, the dissertation does not examine literature on broader contemporary trends in part-time employment[7] (and not only in Chile but also worldwide). Nor does the study consider the political economy of the higher education system in Chile and how that might affect part-time professors' work lives. While this dissertation gets to understand what part-time professors' academic work entails, it does not explore much the association of that type of employment with regard to for example market

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[7] Such is the case with the major work on part-time employment by Fagan and O' Reilly (1998), Kalleberg (2000), and Lee, McCann, and Messenger (2007)

forces leading towards more part-time positions[8], instability in employment, and lack of coverage of public social services such health and pension. All this would involve paying attention to the economics and labor market dynamics, which is again beyond the scope of this study.

Additionally, this dissertation does not consider either regulations or the evaluation of part-time professors' academic work. As this dissertation undertakes its research in an unexplored terrain, the rationale was to focus efforts and resources on getting the basics of what academic work entails first.

10. Overview of the Dissertation

This dissertation encompasses six chapters. The first chapter has introduced the study, set the research questions, provided the research context background of the investigation, and posited potential contributions to the study of part-time professors in higher education. Chapter two reviews pertinent research about two main strands in literature. First is the relevant literature on sociology of academic work. Additionally, chapter two also reviews two of the most comprehensive taxonomies on U.S. part-time professors. Chapter three lays out the qualitative methodological approach and the methods of data collection and data analysis. As well, chapter three will deal with potential limitations of the study coming from the methodology used in this research. Chapters four and five present and analyze the main findings. Chapter four displays and probes the meaning of the employment profiles of part-time professors by discovering their main

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[8] In this sense see Liu and Zhang (2013).

shared characteristics aspects. It also lays out the variation observed across profiles. Chapter five, in turn, manifests the main academic work--often exclusively teaching--including how autonomously the different types and subtypes of part-time professors perform it. Finally, chapter six concludes and integrates the many findings of this dissertation, and it also highlights the significance of the study. Whereas chapter 1 identifies the significance against the knowledge base to date, a perspective developed further in chapter 2, chapter 6 prioritizes the significance of the work's findings.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter examines the important literature guiding the main research question: *What is the academic life of part-time professors in Chile?* I approach this question by integrating two strands of the higher education literature. The first strand focuses on the ways scholars have categorized professors based on their reasons for becoming part-time faculty. The second strand defines those academic roles. In combination, these two strands of research help to understand part-time faculty in higher education, and clarify the kind of tasks they perform. However, existing literature lacks a comprehensive treatment of the academic life of part-time professors. In particular, the research is not only deficient within each strand, but also misses the essential link between the 'who' of these types of workers, and the 'what' of their professorial role.

The following literature review is organized into two main sections. The first section examines the system classifications of part-time professors, the reasons why faculty choose to work part-time in higher education, and the kind of employment experiences they have. These classifications show a wide range of variation among part-timers that differs from the conventional portrayal of part-time professors as a homogenous group. The section on system classifications of part-time professors relies heavily on literature from the U.S., as most empirical research to date has been produced by U.S. scholars. Additional literature on Latin American and Chilean higher education has not yet attempted a categorization of part-time faculty. Nonetheless this Latin American based literature chronicles the existence of one kind of context-specific sub-type of part-time professor.

In the second section, I introduce the sociology of academic work perspective that addresses what professors in higher education do, and the factors that differentiate their academic work. The international sociology of academic work literature reaches important findings on several essential aspects of faculty work, but the focus has been overwhelmingly directed to full-time professors and scientific activities. The international literature has thus far mostly overlooked the academic work of part-time professors. As a result, very little is known about part-time professors' academic work globally.

In the conclusions section of the chapter, a summary of the relevant literature is presented. The concluding section also identifies gaps in the existing literature regarding part-time professors' academic life. These gaps include the major types and sub-types of part-time professors and the similarities and patterns of variation in part-time professors' academic work.

1. System Classifications of Part-time Professors

1.a Demographics, academic credentials and type of institutional affiliation

The US literature on part-time professors addresses in detail the demographics, employment characteristics, and the institutional types where part-time professors work (Berger, Kirshtein, Zhang, & Carter, 2002; Conley & Leslie, 2002; Forrest Cataldi, Fahimi, & Bradburn, 2005). According to the 2004 National Study of Postsecondary Faculty[9] (NSOPF) survey data, 85% of part-time professors are white, comparable to the racial demographics of full-time faculty, who are 80% white (Forrest Cataldi et al., 2005). Other part-time professors' races include 5% Black, 3% Hispanic, and 6% other. For full-timers in turn, 5% are Black, 10% are Asian, 3% Hispanic,

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[9] Sample size corresponds to 35,000 survey responses from part-time instructional faculty and staff.

and 2% other. However, the gender differences are more pronounced between part-time and full-time faculty. For part-time faculty, there is a relatively even distribution between male (52%) and female professors (48%), whereas for full-time faculty, males outnumber females 62% to 38%.

The academic credentials of part-timers differ significantly from their full-time counterparts. U.S. part-timers are more likely than full-time faculty to hold master's degrees, while the full-timers more often hold doctoral degrees. Overall, one-half of part-time professors hold a master's degree, and only about one-quarter of part-time faculty hold a PhD or first professional degree (Conley & Leslie, 2002, p. vi). In contrast, more than 60% of full-time faculty hold a doctorate or first professional degree (Benjamin, 1998; Conley & Leslie, 2002; John S. Levin & Montero Hernandez, 2014).

The US literature on part-time professors highlights some common employment characteristics as well (Berger et al., 2002; J. Gappa, 1997; Judith Gappa & Leslie, 1993; Tuckman, 1978). One characteristic relates to tenure-track positions. U.S. data reveals that approximately 8,000 part-time faculty hold tenure track positions, which amounts to only 2% of total tenure track positions (Herbers, 2014). According to the 2004 NSOFP data, part-time professors are more likely to be employed in non-tenure tracks.

The literature also identifies the number of concurrent positions where part-time faculty work. According to Conley and Leslie (2002), drawing from 1993 National Study of Postsecondary

Faculty data,[10] only 23% of the study sample (comprising only of part-time faculty) report that their exclusive employment was part-time at a single institution. This compares to 77% who report working at more than one institution or job at a time. Among those part-time professors with other employment, 49% report they have full-time employment elsewhere.

Part-time faculty work at varied institutional types. While part-time faculty are more common at 2-year institutions, they increasingly work at 4-year institutions as well (Kezar & Maxey, 2012). Moreover, 2-year institutions and community colleges are more likely to have professionalist-oriented part-time faculty (Benjamin, 1998; Clark, 1997; John S. Levin & Montero Hernandez, 2014). Professional schools also tend to hire a high proportion of part-timers as experts from the field. In this way, professional schools at 4-year institutions and doctoral and research universities add to the diversity of employment profiles as their part-time faculty are professionalist-oriented (Clark, 1987; Socolar & Kelman, 2002).

Another distinctive pattern in the employment of part-timers is their distribution across program areas. In the US, part-time faculty are more prevalent in Business, Education, and Fine Arts than in Natural Sciences or Agriculture/Home Economics (Forrest Cataldi et al., 2005; Pullias Center for Higher Education, n.d.). In the fields of Business, Education, and Fine Arts, part-time professors comprise about half of the entire faculty population. In contrast, part-timers are only about one-fourth of all professoriate in the fields of Natural Sciences and Agriculture/Home Economics.

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[10] Sample size of 1993 NSOPF data contains about 32,000 part-time instructional faculty and staff.

Specific employment profiles or jobs skills also partly explain the concentration of part-time faculty in given fields. As Benjamin (1998) argues "the reliance of part-time faculty in fields such as Business, Health, and Law is in accord with the common argument that part-time faculty often bring their workplace skills to the university. Reliance on part-time faculty in English and Math, however, is consistent with the argument that part-time faculty are heavily employed in core academic subjects" (p. 47). Thus, part-timers are widely dispersed across the various fields. Yet there is a tendency towards concentration in specific fields. Depending upon their outside skills or core academic subject expertise such faculty also tends to fill out specific teaching needs.

While there is more information available for U.S. part-timers, existing research in Latin America does point out some aspects of the academic life of part-time professors in Latin American countries, and particularly in Chile. Research has shown that in Chile at least two demographic variables about part-time professors are available: gender and educational attainment. First, as chart 3 shows, in 2013 male part-timers tend to outnumber female part-time professors. Among those who work less than 11 hours, males account for 54% (18,164) of the total compared to 46% (13,772) for females. A similar proportion of male and female part-timers are seen within the sub-group between 11 and 22 hours: 57% (9,739) and 43% (7,513), respectively. These figures are slightly different from Chilean full-time professors. Yet even in that case, the trend still favors males (61% or 11,993) over females (39% or 7,695) (Servicio de Informacion de Educacion Superior, 2013).

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Chart 3: Professors by Type of Appointment and Gender, 2013
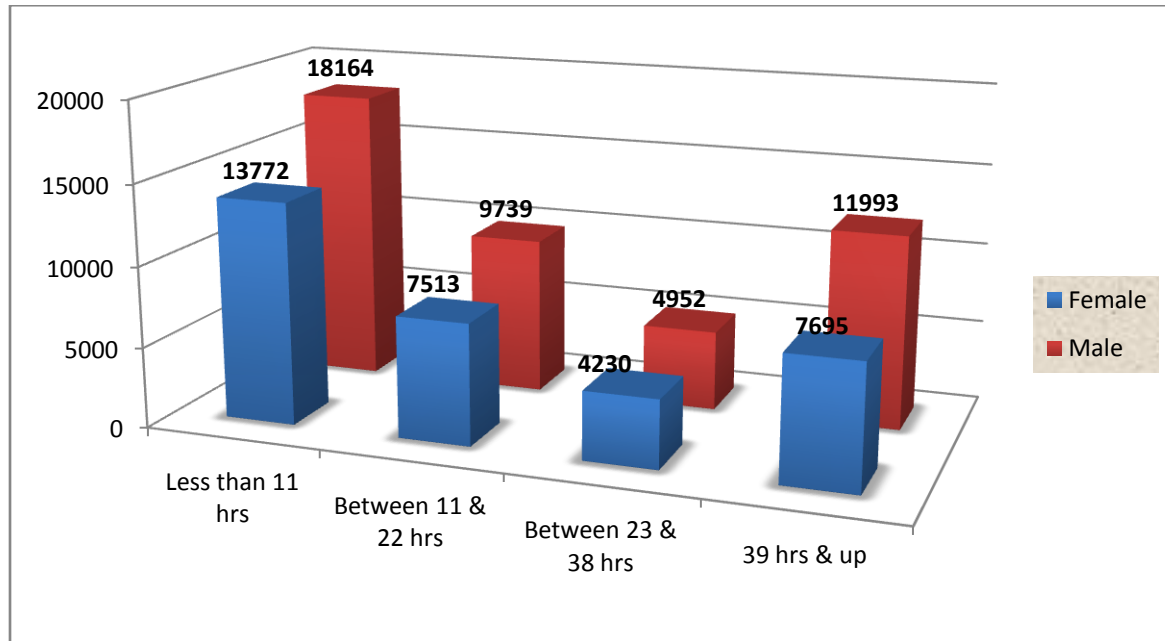
Source: Servicio Informacion Educacion Superior, Informe Personal Academico 2013

The distribution of part-time professors by gender in Chile does not seem to differ much from the US. While the data between the two countries is not fully comparable, it provides a general sense that in both national cases men outnumbers women across all types of appointments. However, at the level of part-time professors the gender distribution tends to be more equal.

Another aspect of Chilean part-timer's demographics relates to their educational attainment. According to 2013 data, the highest degree attained by Chilean part-time professors is usually the professional degree[11]. This held for sub-groups of less than 11 hours (17,408 or 57%) and

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[11] In Chile professional degree has specific 'meaning'. When a student in a given program finishes her/his bachelors they receive a *Licenciatura*. But if after the *Licenciatura* the student wants to pursue a thesis and defend it successfully, then that student will get the professional degree. In the past there was a very long time when the professional degree was required for those hoping to work in a state agency. That is not necessarily the case presently, as there are people with only *Licenciaturas*, or with Masters that work in the government as well.

between 11 and 22 hours (8,527, 50%), respectively. Following the professional degree, the master's degree is most common. Yet the difference between these two different levels of educational attainment among part-time faculty is significant. Very few part-timers are PhD holders; only 764 (3%) within the less than 11 hours sub-type and 718 (4%) among the sub-type between 11 and 22 hours (Servicio de Informacion de Educacion Superior, 2013).

Chart 4: Professors by Type of Appointment and Highest Degree Attained, 2013
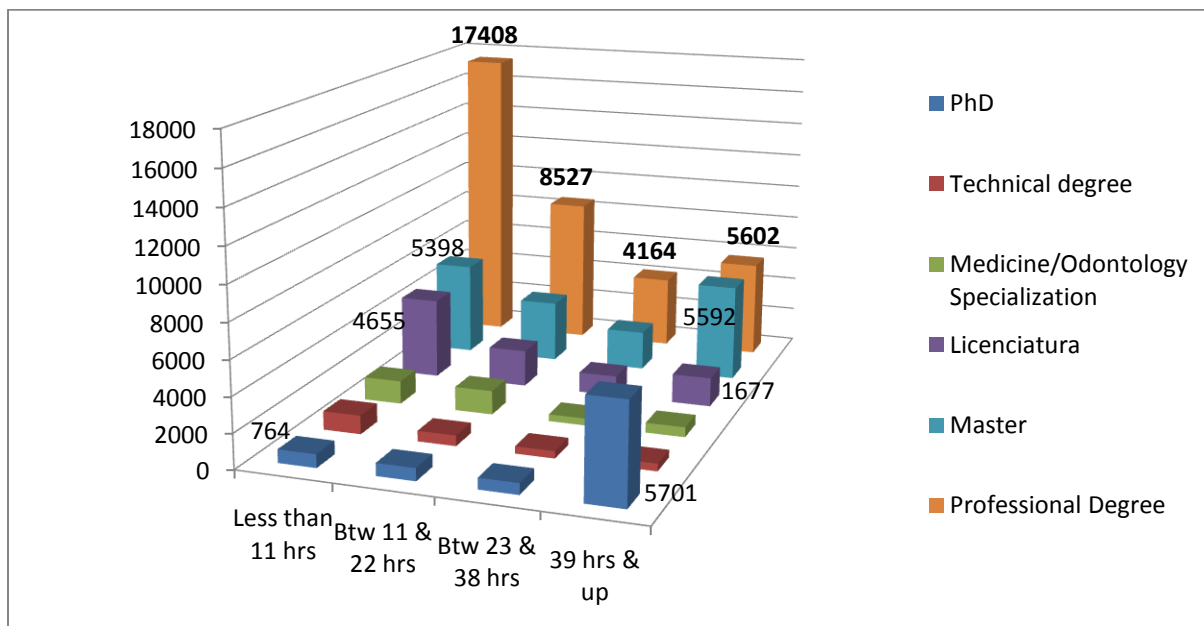
Source: Servicio Informacion Educacion Superior, Informe Personal Academico 2013

Overall, and quite unsurprisingly, part-time professors have lower academic credentials than their full-time counterparts. As chart 4 shows, the PhD appears as the most common highest degree full-time professors attain -5,701 or the equivalent of 29% of all the degrees attained by full-timers (Servicio de Informacion de Educacion Superior, 2013). The US case shows a similar gap. In both cases, part-time professors have significantly lower academic credentials than those of full-time professors. In the US about three-quarters of full-timers at 4-year institutions have a

PhD, compared to only a bit more than one-quarter of part-timers (Conley & Leslie, 2002). In Chile by comparison, only 30% of the full-timers are PhD holders compared to 2% of part-timers (Servicio de Informacion de Educacion Superior, 2013).

1.b Reasons for becoming part-time professor in higher education: Groundbreaking taxonomies

Motivations for part-time employment across all sectors of the economy receive significant scholarly attention in the US. In U.S. higher education the reasons for becoming part-timers have been described in the pioneering studies conducted by Tuckman and his associates (1978; Caldwell, & Vogler, 1978). Two decades later, Gappa and Leslie (1993) continued this exploration.

Tuckman's and Gappa & Leslie's taxonomies have in common their emphasis on the reasons for becoming part-timers in higher education. Although these studies are of significance to understand part-time professors, the most recent debates in the US seem not to take into consideration the main contribution of these taxonomies: part-time professors are a diverse group. Instead, the debate appears to align with 'conventional wisdom', showing (incorrectly) part-time professors as one homogeneous entity instead (Charfauros & Tierney, 1999; Goedde, 2014; Street, Maisto, Merves, & Rhoades, 2012).

Drawing from 3,763 survey responses from more than 200 higher education institutions across the U.S., Tuckman and associates (Tuckman, 1978; Tuckman et al., 1978) classify part-time professors based on their job experiences, motivations, and aspirations for full-time academic careers. Tuckman et al describe seven different sub-types of part-time professors:

1. *The Semiretireds* consist mostly of former-full-time academics and of former-full-timers from outside higher education. People who have taught their entire careers are also included in this group. The semiretireds teach fewer hours and are less concerned about their future job prospects. This group represents 2.8% of the sample or the equivalent to 107 responses out of a total of 3,763.

2. *The Students* are usually being hired as part-timers by institutions other than those where they pursued their academic degrees. Students want to gain teaching experience as well as increase their income. The students represent 21.2% of the total sample (796 part-timers).[12]

3. *The Hopeful Full-timers* are those wishing to land a full-time academic position. Different types of persons represent this category, including those with no prior job experience and who are teaching part-time to gain experience to become full-time academics. Another sub-type which fits within this category includes those part-timers with academic experience but who would prefer to have a full-time academic position instead. Finally, others in this category are those who by teaching part-time at more than one institution or academic department are in fact full-time academics. Hopeful full-timers represented 16.6% of the sample (624 people).

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[12] In our findings, the students sub-type was not found within the context of the participants of this study. While limited sample size might be the reason, additional reasons might be linked to the fact that in Chile it is only recently that graduate students are teaching (as part of their graduate studies funding package). Such part-time professors are still rare, however, though likely to increase.

4. *Full-Mooners* are those part-time faculty who hold a second job that is full-time; this group is also considered heterogeneous given the diverse educational profile and work experience. Full-mooners represent the biggest category, at 27.6% of the total sample (1,039 people).

5. *Homeworkers* are composed of people who work part time to afford the extra time to take care of children or other relatives. Homeworkers are represented both by primary income earners of the household as well asthose for whom this is a supplemental income to a spouse or other family member. Homeworkers compose 6.4% of people in the sample (240 part-timers).

6. *Part-Mooners* consist of people who in addition to their part-time work in higher education have another part-time job, together constituting less than a full-time income. Among the reasons to hold two part-time jobs were (1) the different rewards that come from different work environments, and (2) the person's skills were highly specialized and therefore could be used only to a limited extent by a single employer. The employer therefore did not offer enough work hours and the faculty member need to supplement their income with another part-time job. Part-Mooners represent 13.6% (512 people).

7. Finally, the *Part-Unknown*ers category consisted of people whose reasons to teach part-time in higher education were not clear and for that reason are difficult to define their characteristics accurately. They represent 11.8% of the sample (445 people) (Tuckman, 1978: p. 307-308).

Several years after Tuckman's study, Gappa and Leslie (1993) continued exploring similar topics regarding the motivations to choose part-time employment in higher education and the related

job experiences. Gappa and Leslie condense Tuckman's seven categories into four major clusters. The study rests on 240 interviews with part-time professors in the US, which allows for a more nuanced analysis than Tuckman's survey data. As the authors note, "Because the interview data gave us much more information about other components of people's lives, we found the patterns of work experience and motivation too complex to fit into the narrow categories Tuckman's typology suggests" (Gappa, 1997, p. 67).

The four major clusters Gappa identifies are: (1) Career Enders, (2) Specialists, Experts, and Professionals, (3) Aspiring Academics, and (4) Freelancers. Gappa renames Tuckman's semiretired category as *Career Enders*, which includes people making the transition from full-time careers both outside and inside of higher education to a 'semi-retirement,' as well as those who are already retired. As more professors are expected to retire from their full-time academic careers, Gappa and her team suggest this group is likely to see a significant increase over time.

The second category, *Specialists, Experts, and Professionals* is the revised term for what Tuckman called Full-Mooners. The Specialists, Experts, and Professionals category are mostly full-timers from outside academia. Their work experiences cover a wide spectrum from professionals to managers, and they all share their love for teaching as their main reason to teach part-time in higher education. Community service and professional commitment are also cited as reasons to engage in part-time teaching in higher education. In addition, for Specialists, Experts, and Professionals, the earnings that come from their part-time teaching tend to be minimal. However such faculty tend to have little economic needs given their main full-time employment provides comparatively high salaries and employment security. It is likely that this group of part-

timers do not aspire to full-time academic careers. Like the Full-Mooners, this category also has a large representation among Gappa's interviewees.

Gappa's third category *Aspiring Academics* is the new equivalent of Tuckman's Hopeful Full-timers. Aspiring Academics are different from Hopeful Full-timers in that the focus is not necessarily on obtaining full-time teaching positions in higher education but in the aspiration to be fully recognized and rewarded as members of a community of scholars, including the aspiration for governance participation rights. The Aspiring Academics category includes those who are relatively new PhD holders, as well as ABD doctoral students. Moreover, this category is composed of both 'truly' part-timers and full-time part-timers. Aspiring Academics saw their part-time teaching as a means to get full-time academic positions, but as their attempts were not successful, they continue longing for a full-time academic career; one that is apparently not within their reach.

Finally, the *Freelancers* category is a composite of Tuckman's Homeworkers, Part-Mooners, and Part-Unknowners. The Freelancers were part-timers by choice and they do not have aspirations to full-time academic careers.

Both taxonomies continue to be critical for understanding part-time professors' employment experiences and motivations. Despite some recent studies that attempt to build more contemporary categories of part-time professors (J.S. Levin, Kater, & Wagoner, 2011; Monks, 2009; Wolfinger, Mason, & Goulden, 2009), Tuckman's and Gappa's taxonomies remain unparalleled given their well established methodologies and the national scope of their research.

1.c The traditional Latin American Part-timer

As has been noted in chapter 1, the motivations to work among traditional Latin American part-time professors are not primarily economic. As Levy (2005) suggests, part-time professors' motivations are not financial, as usually they work *ad-honorem* or for little pay. Instead, status and client building are among their main motivations. Historically, working at universities was long seen as a prestigious activity across Latin American countries. In addition, client building is also a big incentive to teach part-time in higher education. Professionals in fields such as engineering use teaching positions to meet and recruit students for the labor market (Levy, 2005).

The public/private nature of higher education institutions also seems to play a role in the diversity of employment profiles among part-timers. As the literature on Latin American higher education points out, in the 1980s and 1990s many of the part-time professors working at private institutions were indeed full-time professors working at traditional public universities (Bernasconi & Rojas, 2004; Levy, 1986; Schiefelbein, 1996; Schwartzman, 1993). The expansion and consolidation of the private higher education, at least in Chile, lured many full-time academics because the salaries offered by the newly founded private universities were attractive to supplement the low salaries paid by their public counterparts.

2. Sociology of Academic Work

There is an extensive body of research on the academic work of full-time professors, both within the U.S. context and globally (Altbach, 2000; Altbach & Finkelstein, 1997, 1997; Bernasconi,

2008b; Boyer, Altbach, & Whitelaw, 1994; Clark, 1986, 1987; Enders & Musselin, 2008; Finkelstein, 1984; Gil-Anton, 2002; Levy, 1992; Musselin, 2010; Schiefelbein, 1996; Schwartzman & Balbachevsky, 1996; Teichler, Arimoto, & Cummings, 2013). Whereas the few studies on part-time professors' academic work are concentrated in the U.S., the literature on full-timers' work covers the U.S., Europe, Asia, and Latin America.

Existing literature on the sociology of academic work includes at least three lines of inquiry: (1) roles and functions performed by professors (Altbach & Lewis, 1996; Musselin & Becquet, 2008); (2) patterns of variation among professors' academic roles (Clark, 1987; 1997; Cummings & Finkelstein, 2012a; M. Finkelstein, 2014); and (3) academic profession (Boyer et al., 1994; Enders & Musselin, 2008; Michèle Lamont, 2009; Musselin, 2008; Teichler et al., 2013). To date, the literature lacks depth of understanding regarding the academic work of part-time professors, including tasks, activities, and patterns of variation.

2.a The Professorial Role

The sociology of academic work has shed light on the multiple tasks and activities that professors perform in higher education. Pioneer author Burton Clark was critical to identifying that the professorial role is not comprised of one but multiple tasks. Moreover, he found that the academic work of professors tends to differ based upon three important factors: fields of knowledge, institutional type, and the national context (Clark, 1987). In the next section a more detailed account of these factors is presented. Clark's findings highlight the major patterns dividing the academic work and that the workload or time devoted for each academic activity tend to vary as well.

Faculty workload is commonly used to assess the tasks and activities that professors perform. Teaching, research, and service are the most cited activities and are typically measured in terms of the hours devoted to the execution of each task. However, these different tasks are not equally distributed among various types of professors. However, there is one activity that shows consistency in distribution across the board. Among all the academic activities, teaching appears as the primary activity of the professoriate worldwide (Altbach & Lewis, 1996; Teichler et al., 2013). For instance, in the first major international survey on the professoriate, commissioned by the Carnegie Foundation (and led by Philip Altbach) in the early 90s discovered that in the majority of the 14 countries surveyed, teaching appeared as the primary activity of professors (Altbach & Lewis, 1996). Teaching is the primary activity of professors regardless of their type of appointment (i.e. full-time, part-time), type of institution (i.e. public, private, 2-year, 4-year), or gender (i.e. female, male).

Teaching is both the most recurrent activity and is constant over the duration of the professors' appointment, despite the fact that many professors express a preference for conducting research. It is also the most enduring activity professors have performed since the origins of higher education systems (Finkelstein, 1984). As Altbach (1991) argues, "from the beginning professors have taught. Research, and a myriad of other roles, came later" (Altbach, 1991, p. 23). In addition to research functions, professors have begun to serve non-higher education constituencies through public service activities. Public service by means of offering advice and expertise were further added as expected activities of the professorial role (Altbach, 1991, p. 32). In a case study on full-time professors in France, Musselin and Becquet (2008) describe additional tasks that professors perform: administrative, consulting, doctoral training, and

professional training (Musselin & Becquet, 2008: 91). Among these tasks, administration has become increasingly important for the workload of French professors. Musselin and Becquet (2008) group administrative tasks into 4 main categories: (1) management of teaching (e.g. development of new curricula, responsibility for a team of teachers), (2) management of research (e.g. leading a research team or a research program, managing research contracts), (3) academic leadership (e.g. chairing a department), and (4) participating in deliberative bodies (e.g. hiring committees, faculty or university councils) (p. 93). As Musselin and Bequet's study illustrates, academic work has evolved over time to include a wider range of activities.

However, even with the rise of research, administrative tasks, and service activities to faculty work, recent evidence supports the sustained (and even increased) emphasis on teaching. According to the International Academic Profession (CAP) project (Teichler et al., 2013), teaching remains the principal activity of professors in higher education. In fact, the CAP project highlights the increased emphasis of teaching within faculty work. The resources and actual faculty effort being devoted to research have slightly declined (Cummings & Finkelstein, 2012a; Teichler et al., 2013). The major emphasis on teaching can be partially explained by rising fixed-term full-time appointments that are devoted solely to teaching. Meanwhile research has received proportionally less funding. These two trends contribute to an increased focus on teaching as a faculty work activity (Cummings & Finkelstein, 2012b).

Despite evidence showing teaching is the predominant activity of professors globally, within the sociology of academic work perspective, scholars have not given a proportional amount of research attention to teaching (Musselin & Becquet, 2008). Musselin (2008) argues that the

traditional way of looking at what professors do in higher education has focused overwhelmingly on research-centered activities. The focus on scientific activities has the ancillary effect of limiting the scholarly attention to full-time faculty, as research is typically carried out by full-time professors. In contrast, professors who primarily perform teaching activities have been less explored within the literature, and these faculty tend to be part-time. However, the limited evidence presented in the literature on part-time faculty does show that teaching is the primary work activity. In the U.S. context, scholars have demonstrated that teaching comprises the majority of part-timers' workload, and focuses primarily on undergraduate education (Berger, Kirshtein, Zhang, & Carter, 2002; Conley & Leslie, 2002; Forrest Cataldi, Fahimi, & Bradburn, 2005; Gappa, Austin, & Trice, 2007; Hurtado, Eagan, Pryor, Whang, & Tran, 2012). In addition, according to the 2012 Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) Faculty Survey[13], part-timers in the US tend to teach two different kinds of courses. Some teach specialized courses in their area of expertise (e.g. business, technical fields) while others teach introductory courses (Maynard & Joseph, 2008 as quoted by Hurtado et al., 2012, p. 14).

In Latin America, teaching is also the primary activity for their professoriate. Following on the findings of the International Academic Profession and the Changing Academic Profession, the Latin American based higher education literature has also found teaching to be the main activity for professors. This holds true for both full-time professors and part-time professors (Bernasconi, 2008a, 2008b; Gil-Anton, 2002; Levy, 2005; Schwartzman & Balbachevsky, 1996).

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[13] The 2012 HERI faculty survey included 3,547 responses from part-time faculty working in the US at 266 4-year colleges and universities.

2.b Patterns of Variation

Academic work differs immensely in kind and commitment (Clark, 1987, p. 70). According to Clark (1987), academic work is conditioned by three major factors: (1) institutional sector; (2) disciplinary and professional fields; and (3) the national context of higher education systems. These patterns affecting academic work are discussed in more detail in chapter one, and are used to frame the research findings on part-time professors' academic work in Chile in chapter five.

Institutional diversity affects the tasks and conditions of professors' work. Teaching load and research time are allocated differently depending on the type of institution. Research-oriented institutions tend to emphasize research time over teaching load. In contrast, in teaching-oriented institutions teaching load is heavier than at research institutions.

Clark (1987) also observed differences in duties based on variations between the disciplines. For example, chemists and biologists might require more time in the laboratory and less time teaching, while historians and sociologists might have heavier teaching loads. Professional fields also condition the academic work, often by combining professional practice and scholarly activity. In professional fields, outside experience is relevant and valued. For instance, business and medical professors are recruited to bring their outside experience to the classroom, though they may not conduct research as part of their professorial roles.

There are also significant national variations. As historical and national circumstances have shaped different academic systems, the academic work of faculty has evolved in parallel as well; tasks and activities differ from country to country.

Several studies have confirmed the validity of Clark's major patterns of variation in other national contexts (P.G. Altbach, 2000; Boyer et al., 1994; M. Finkelstein, 2014; Teichler et al., 2013). For example, Finkelstein (2014) extends the 'part-time professional model' to the Latin American context,[14] "With their focus on professional education for the first degree in business, engineering, law, and the health professions, the academic profession in Latin America has been largely a cadre of professionals who teach part-time at the university as almost a professional credential or certification of the incumbent's professional cachet… this has meant the absence of a traditional set of full-time academic professionals" (Finkelstein, 2014, p. 55). Thus, until a couple of decades ago, the majority of academics had no role in research in Latin America (Altbach, 1991; Finkelstein, 2014).

Although these patterns of variation are important for understanding the work of full-time professors, the academic work of part-time professors remains relatively unexplored. Therefore, it is unknown how these patterns would apply to part-time faculty tasks and activities.

2.c The Academic Profession

In his seminal work on the academic profession sociologist of higher education Burton Clark (1986; 1987) argued that the content of the academic work is critical to the definition of the profession. The process of professionalization among higher education professors includes a definition of the academic work related to the profession, the criteria to be part of the profession,

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[14] Other national models include the state-centered model (i.e. France, Germany), the institutional anchored model (i.e. U.S.), the communitarian model (i.e. China), and the hybrid model (i.e. Japan) (Finkelstein, 2014).

and the kind of activities they should engage in to prove they are legitimate members. However, differences arise depending on the national context. For example, in Europe, consistent, where the continental model is in place, the standards evolved gradually from guild activities. In the U.S. context academic activities are institutionally driven (Clark, 1987; Musselin, 2010). In the developing world, including Latin American countries, the development of the professoriate has tended to emulate that of the developed world (Bernasconi, 2006; Gil-Anton, 2002; Levy, 2005).

Cross-national analysis shows differences and similarities (at least at the top or elite institutions) between developing and developed countries (Altbach et al, 2002). In developing countries, professors work under less favorable conditions than what is the norm in developed countries. Differences can be found at the level of salaries, fringe benefits, tenured positions, and workload. For example, in contrast to the developed world, countries in the developing world have faculty with higher teaching loads and lower salaries. For example, Mexico, a developing country, has an average entry salary for professors of $1,336 USD per month in comparison to $4,950 USD for professors in the US (Altbach et al, 2012: 11).[15]   At the top level of professors for each country, differences remain stark: $2,730 USD for top professors in Mexico compared to $7,358 in the US.

Within the literature, as an ideal type, the academic profession embodies a particular type of Research University and particular types of academic work that is research-centered. In other words, the term academic profession alludes to that ideal type of professor who has been appointed for a full-time position in a research-centered university, holds a doctoral degree, and whose main academic task is to conduct research and publish results in scientific and

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[15] Presented in U.S. dollars and considering purchase power parity.

professional journals. Within the ideal type, teaching is a mandatory activity and tends to focus on graduate education. The US research university provides fertile ground for this ideal type to flourish. Yet the ideal type of the academic profession is difficult to find within other national higher education systems, including in other types of U.S. higher education institutions, such as community colleges or four-year teaching institutions.

However, the ideal types presented in the literature do provide a useful lens for studying the academic profession as it relates to the relative levels of authority within academic work among professors, administrators, students, and other actors within higher education. This lens can also be used to study part-time faculty, whose academic work and authority have been studied so little to date.

Clark (1987) refers to the split in two of the academic professions. The first tier is composed by professors at top universities with more favorable academic workloads to conduct research, better facilities, equipment, infrastructure, have more incentives to increase academic productivity, and are afforded with better opportunities to make worldwide academic connections. The second tier is made up of less authoritative professors, working at the least prestigious universities, working for low paying conditions, often without stable working conditions, and lacking access to tenured positions.

When it comes to the Latin American higher education system, the academic profession found fertile ground to develop in some countries. As student enrollments in the region skyrocketed during the last decades of the 20th century, the expansion of the higher education system

significantly increased the number and type of institutions as well as the professionals working in higher education. During this process, Latin American systems and institutions emulated the North to adapt its academic profession's golden pattern of research professor among its native professoriate. Policy makers and some sectors within the professoriate believe that by adapting the golden pattern of the academic profession they could get closer to the academic standards of productivity and quality of the North (Gil-Anton, 2002; Levy, 2005; Schwartzman & Balbachevsky, 1996). The adaptation of other academic profession models (such as the US research model) have been challenging for Latin American nations to achieve. It has been challenging in part because there is a lack of research training through doctoral education, adequate levels of research equipment, infrastructure, and levels of earnings for academic professionals. Thus, some authors have expressed skepticism regarding the ability to import developed countries' academic profession models without giving consideration to the local realities, the scientific resources, and the availability of human capital that are not prepared for that transition (Garcia de Fanelli & Moguillansky, 2010; Gil-Anton, 2002; Marquina & Fernandez Lamarra, 2012).

3. Conclusions

In this chapter I reviewed and discussed the most important research for the study from two perspectives. The first perspective, drawing primarily from U.S. studies, categorizes part-time faculty based on demographic information, job experience, and motivations for working part-time in higher education. Within these categories there are some common patterns as well as significant diversity among part-time faculty. This runs counter to the 'conventional wisdom' of

the part-time professoriate as a homogeneous group. In addition, the literature intends to inform policies for faculty personnel to understand the institutional demand for part-time faculty. In Latin America, and particularly in Chile, studies about part-time faculty are rare, although existing research analyzes the characteristics of an ideal sub-type-the traditional Latin American part-timer.

The second perspective uses the global literature on sociology of academic work to frame the roles, patterns of variation, and academic profession. The literature stresses that academic work is influenced by structures. Over time, the academic work of the professoriate has diversified and grown to include a more complex set of academic tasks, including the golden pattern of research. Despite the diversification of the professorial role, teaching remains the central aspect of the academic work. Yet the focus of these studies are overwhelmingly on full-timers, and do not extend the analysis to include part-time professors.

We are still limited by research models that do not take into account the particularities and complexities of part-time professors' academic life. With this project, I attempt to address this gap by linking the two perspectives discussed in this chapter, and extending the analysis to include part-time faculty in the Chilean context. As with full-timers, the academic work of part-time professors is influenced by structures, but their individual characteristics, including expertise, academic credentials, and motivations also appear to be critical. In the next chapter, I explain the qualitative methodology that will be used to address the research questions.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

1. Research Design

The overarching research question of this dissertation is *what is the academic life of part-time professors in Chile?* This question has been broken down into two sub-research questions:

- Who are the part-time professors?

- What are the part-time professors' tasks and activities (both inside and outside the classroom)?

This dissertation's research design is qualitative, exploring the above questions through in-depth interviews as the sole method of data collection. As stated in chapter one, the reasons to explore the academic life of part-time faculty are to understand the reality of a type of professor–the part-timer-that is increasingly present and important not just in Chile but worldwide. Yet despite the increasing importance of part-time faculty in higher education, little is known about them and few studies have been conducted to explore their personal and academic lives.

A qualitative approach is often ideal when exploring an issue that we know little about (such as the academic lives of part-time professors), as it enables the exploration and discovery of different realities based on individuals' own perceptions of their motivations to work part-time in higher education, and what it is that they do in higher education and elsewhere. Such explorations also allow for the interviewer to probe via personal in depth interviews where both uniform elements as well as divergent particulars of their motivations and work exist. Tuckman's (1978) and Gappa's (1997) pioneering taxonomies of part-time professors and Clark's (1987) framework for categorizing academic work are the sources informing the constructs, dimensions,

and research questions of this study. However the approach of this study is not theoretically driven. That is, the interview questions are not based on confirming or challenging the theoretical findings for the typologies and characteristics described in the relevant literature on part time professors and their academic work. While the existing literature certainly informed the research design, during the process of actual data collection the research approach turned into an inductive approach. This move towards an inductive approach was due to the emergence of empirical observations that made the data analysis "grounded". As Loftland et al (2006) have argued "when empirical or theoretical observations emerge inductively, they are often said to be "grounded" in the sense of emerging from the ground up rather than being called forth by prior theoretical constructs" (Lofland et al., 2006, p. 195). To illustrate, when interviewing part-time faculty to explore what their academic work was, it became evident that they all teach but teaching was more multifaceted than anticipated. So, as I proceeded with an inductive analysis I was able to 'refine' or 'extend' what the literature has said regarding part-time teaching as I discuss in more depth in chapter five but also in chapter four.

Qualitative methods are useful where a "detailed understanding of a process or experience is wanted, where more information is needed to determine the boundaries or characteristics of the issue being investigated" (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013, p. 2). In our study, we wanted to describe and understand the reality of part-time professors in relation to the notions of employment profiles and academic work as we will discuss in more detail in section 4 in this chapter.

In this study, content analysis is the main method for data analysis. Content analysis makes inferences by systematically identifying special characteristics of meanings in a given text (Elo

& Kyngäs, 2008; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Mayring, 2000). In our research, the inclusion (and exclusion) of content is done based on the text that comes from the transcription of the interviews. But since large sections of interviews wandered into many topics outside the area of interest for this research project, the content analysis used in this research includes only the dimensions and topics feeding the research questions discussed in chapter one.

2. Unit of Analysis

The study's unit of analysis is part-time professors, and the data was collected from individuals working as part-time professors as well as from university administrators. The rationale for also interviewing university administrators is that administrators often deal with faculty management and faculty personnel policies crucial to the academic life of part-time professors and provide perspectives that can be compared to and expand upon the perspectives provided by the part-timers.

3. Selection of Cases

Two main criteria were applied to select the institutions to include in our research: geographic location and the range of academic program offerings.

As resources for this research were limited both in terms of time and funding, the project had to limit its scope to a manageable amount which would also enable selected matters to be more deeply investigated as well. As this research could not include the whole spectrum of Chile's 60

universities, the geographical criterion did restrict the focus to the Santiago Metropolitan Area. The advantage of focusing in Santiago metro area was that by 2011 it concentrated 47.4% of the total student enrollment in higher education in Chile (Servicio Informacion de Educacion Superior, 2012). Moreover, Santiago hosts 35 universities – 4 public, 1 old private, and 30 new private—or 58% of all the universities in the country. Of the national level's 60 universities, 16 are public, 9 are old private, and 35 are new private institutions. That makes the number of old private and public universities in Santiago 'under-representative' of the national reality whereas the new private institutions are over-represented. Nonetheless, (a) the differences are not large and (b) I do not claim that findings for Santiago are necessarily representative of the country at large. Significantly, the metro area alone constitutes a major share of the national reality, and as such was worthwhile to explore.

On the other hand, the second criterion for inclusion -the range of academic program supply- dealt with the breadth of academic disciplines and professional fields within a given university. Specifically, an institution needs to offer academic programs in *each* of three main areas to be selected for this study, namely (1) natural and exact sciences, (2) social sciences and humanities, and (3) professional fields. The natural and exact sciences area subsumes academic programs such as Physics, Biology, Chemistry/Biochemistry, and Mathematics. The social sciences and humanities include disciplines such as History, Journalism, Sociology, and Political Science. Finally, professional fields encompass programs such as Law, Architecture, Medicine, and Engineering. The rationale for this ample variety of academic programs supply is twofold. On the one hand, as the study is limited not just to the university sub-sector but to rather comprehensive universities, I dealt mostly with institutions that are important in terms of student

enrollment and size and probable impact. On the other hand, by selecting universities that offer similar range of academic programs in the three chosen fields of knowledge, I covered certain greater similarity among the selected universities, which in turn allowed me to compare institutions that were akin and therefore I was able to avoid those who might be too specialized or that offer programs that others do not and so on. Chilean university sub-sectors tend to differ greatly in terms of year of foundation, geographical location, size, ownership and management, status of accreditation, balance between teaching and research, levels of students' selectivity (Brunner, 2009). By picking institutions that offer programs in three areas alike I insured a certain degree of comparability across the chosen universities despite the wide variation among the Chilean university sub-sectors.

Annex 1 shows the detailed information for the whole spectrum of universities functioning in Santiago regarding the type of programs they have (or do not) in the three selected fields of knowledge.

3.a Selected Institutions and Academic Programs

The study did not attempt to be representative of the whole university system, let alone the whole higher education system, and does not claim to represent the entire population of part-time professors working at Chilean universities (or higher education). But I proceed to spell out the selection of cases for research based on the two design criteria mentioned above by listing all the universities that function in the Santiago Metropolitan Area, including not only those that are *casas centrales* (main campuses) but also those that are *sedes*[16] (branch campuses). Next, I

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[16] *Casas centrales* refer to the city where the main campus of a given university is located. In comparison, *Sedes* are considered branch campuses as they are located somewhere else that is not in the city where the

reviewed all these pertinent universities' official WebPages to check what undergraduate programs they offer for the 2012-2013 academic year. At the end of the screening process, only seven universities met the two criteria. However, only five were selected for this study. The reason for selecting five universities even though seven met the required criteria was because I also counted the number of programs that every university has within each main field of knowledge. As there were some universities that have academic programs for every single category (e.g. biology, chemistry, law, medicine, sociology, etc) and others that have only one academic program under the broad category grouping the field of knowledge (e.g. natural and exact sciences), I decided to select those who have the higher numbers of academics programs within the selected groups of knowledge. In other words, as I have a range between a maximum of 12 academic programs –four under each group: natural and exact sciences, humanities and social sciences, and professional fields -and a minimum of three academic programs– one program under each broad group of field of knowledge, I decided that in order to be selected there should be at least 6 academic programs. This reasoning allowed the highest degree of comparability among academic programs. The chosen universities based on this criterion are: *Pontificia Universidad Catolica* (PUC), *Universidad de Chile* (UCH), *Universidad de Santiago* (USACH), *Universidad Nacional Andres Bello* (UNAB), and *Universidad San Sebastian* (USS). Annex 2 shows the breakdown of the selected universities and academic programs. These five selected universities embody Chile's three juridical types of universities: public universities

main campus is situated. Moreover, *Sedes* are detached from the main campus and usually are smaller and offer fewer academic programs than the main campus. Based on CNED data this author estimates that as of 2011 there were 47 universities functioning in the Santiago metro area. Among them, 34 were main campuses and 13 branch campuses. The breakdown for main campuses is 4 public universities, 1 old private, and 29 new private universities. On the other hand, branch campuses accounted for 7 public, 1 old private, and 5 new privates (CNED- comparador institucional, 2012).

(UCH, USACH), subsidized or old private university (PUC), and unsubsidized or new private universities (UNAB, USS).

The institutional profile of our five chosen universities is shown in table 1. By looking at the year of foundation, there are three universities that were founded prior to the 1981 higher education reform, namely UCH, USACH, and PUC. While these three universities receive state subsidies, PUC is in fact a private university. Prior to the reform, private universities were set as receivers of state subsidies, and that reality remains current as of 2014 for those institutions preceding the 1981 reform. Of new private universities –UNAB and USS- that were created after the reform, they do not receive any state subsidy.

On the other hand, if we look at the typology of universities by Brunner (2009) that is based on institutional characteristics (year of foundation, place in international rankings, mission, geographical location, field of knowledge coverage, size of students enrolment, accreditation status), academic features (type and number of academic programs in undergraduate and graduate levels, research projects, number of publications in international outlets, level of student selectivity), and students' socio-economic make-up, our five chosen universities fit within three different types: research universities (UCH, USACH, PUC), selective large private university (UNAB), and non-selective large private university (USS).

Regarding professors shares, the five selected universities represent more than half of the country's total professors − 58% (Base Institucional INDICES 2005-2011, 2012). Professors at the `top five' universities comprise 12,514 out of 21,686 (full-time equivalent). The breakdown

of these five universities by type of appointment, namely full-time, half-time and part-time (per-

hour) corresponds more or less to one third of the country's total, 36%, 31%, and 28%,

respectively[17].

Table 1: Institutional Profile of Selected Universities

Selected universities	Year of Foun-dation	Juridical type	Brunner's typology of Chilean univer-sities	Number of profs: 39 hrs & up* (FTE)	Number of profs: Between 23 & 38 hrs* (FTE)	Number of profs: Between 11 & 22 hrs* (FTE)	Number of profs: Less than 11 hrs* (FTE)	Total Student enrolment **
UCH	1842	Public	Research university	1,432	133	390	74	32,924
USACH	1849	Public	Research university	503	36	239	115	22,208
PUC	1888	Subsidized (old) Private	Research university	1,496	137	350	94	26,213
UNAB	1989	Unsubsidized (new) Private	Selective Large Private university	591	196	379	255	39,147
USS	1989	Unsubsidized (new) Private	Non-selective Large Private university	631	295	217	177	21,570

Source: Sistema Informacion Educacion Superior (SIES), base de datos personal academico 2013
* As of 2013
** SIES- Base de Datos Matriculados 2011, 2012

Finally, in terms of enrollment, these five institutions represent 46%, or 142,062 students, of the

total university enrollment in the Santiago Metropolitan Area. In comparison, the remaining 38

universities that also function in Santiago comprise the rest, 54%. Even at the national level's 60

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[17] The sum of the three groups does not equal to 100%. This could be understood in part due data collection corresponds to different years.

universities, these 'top five' represents almost one fourth of the total country's university enrolment, specifically 22%.

3.b Selection of Part-time Professors and Key University Administrators

Determining the number of participants in a qualitative study using interviews depends on several factors, but crucial to these factors, is saturation (Mason, 2010; Morse, 2000; Strauss & Corbin, 1991). Saturation means the point at which no new information or themes can be drawn from the data (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006; Morse, 2000; Strauss & Corbin, 1991). Mason (2010) in his study to determine what were the factors determining sample size and saturation among 560 qualitative PhD studies found that most of the time it appears to be arbitrary or pre-meditated. The existence of round numbers in samples –10, 30 or 40- speaks more about other 'quota' requirements (e.g. to give specific numbers of participants when submitting a research project for funding) rather than to a truly guiding principle for the process of qualitative data collection to achieve saturation.

Morse (2000) argues that to reach saturation several factors needs to be pondered. Among them are, the quality of the data, the scope of the study, the nature of the topic, the amount of useful information obtained from each participant, the number of interviews per participant, the use of shadowed data, and the qualitative method and study design used (Morse, 2000, p. 3). Accordingly, the final number of participants in this study was determined later in the field, which enabled the assessment of how much useful information -quality of data- I was able to gather from the interviewees. Moreover, as there were some participants that might have more knowledge than others or that would express themselves better than others, or that might have

richer experiences and correspondingly more eagerness to share that with the researcher, the number of interviews and participants that were needed to complete this dissertation made it hard to predict it in advance. This difficulty is even further compounded by the scope of the study which includes not only different types of institutions, but also several fields of knowledge, as well as different types of informants (e.g. part-time professors, key players such as department chairs, deans, human resources directors, and provosts). Nonetheless, there are some guidelines as highlighted by the pertinent literature that were helpful to set a preliminary number of interviewees.

While some authors such Ritchie et al (2003) have set some guiding principles to indicate that in qualitative studies the number of interviews could lie under 50, others have asserted that there is no need for it to be greater than 60 (Charmaz, 2006; Creswell, 2008). In any case, qualitative samples need to reflect the purpose and aims of the study (Charmaz, 2006; Mason, 2010; Strauss & Corbin, 1991).

As for this study, even though the scope of research was limited to five universities the fact that academic work by part-time professors has barely been studied, including in a qualitative fashion, allowed for large possibilities to discover many 'useful' facts, perceptions, and perspectives. Moreover, there is the matter of the array of academic disciplines and professional fields selected. And even beyond that is the fact that the interviewing was not limited to just university workers. Thus, it seemed reasonable to expect that many interviews could be conducted before even approaching any significant saturation point. The limitation on number would probably be more likely to result more from the inescapable reality of limited research

time and funding. Preliminarily I found it appropriate to set 60 interviews as the ceiling. Nonetheless, the actual number of interviews reached 70, of which 44 were with part-time professors and 26 with key university administrators.

The selection of participants for the study was set up originally in equal proportion from each of the three subject categories –natural and exact sciences, social sciences and humanities, and professional fields. While it was difficult to anticipate what I would find more relevant in the field, I did set a priori the number of participants of part-time professors at nine for each sampled university. These nine participants would break down in three for each subject category. If I set a priori the number of participants for each university in equal proportion that will count for twelve participants. Then, if the rationale is to have nine part-time professors the remaining three will correspond to department chairs, deans, and provosts. Again, the rationale to set the quota of participants for each selected university might appear arbitrary, but this is not to say that these numbers are definitive. In fact, once I was gathering interview data in the field, these 'quotas' were adjusted mainly because of access to interviewees. Thus, instead of nine part-time professors for each university participating in this study, I was able to conduct 16 interviews at the two selected public universities, 10 at the old private university, and 18 interviews at the two new private universities. The breakdown of part-time professor interviewees is presented in annex 3.

In addition, participants were grouped into two types of interviewees: the first group was comprised of part-time professors and the second group comprised key players related to the academic work of part-time professors. The second group comprised provosts, department

chairs, deans, and human resource directors. Department chairs along with deans were selected

to match the academic unit to which the sampled part-time professors were affiliated. Again, the

definite number of participants comprising this second group was defined in the fieldwork

process. I was able to conduct 26 interviews with this second group, of which 11 were university

administrators at the two public universities, 5 at the old private university, and 10 at the two

new private universities. The breakdown of key university administrator interviewees is also

presented in annex 4.

The justification for including these key players as participants of the study is based on both their

intimate knowledge of the workday realities facing part-time professors and the institutional

policies related to the academic work of part-time professors. As institutions tend to differ in the

way they structure and think of academic work of part-time professors, it could be that the

people who are in charge of the hiring or the making of institutional policies also reflect a

variation of attitudes towards part-time faculty. To illustrate, department chairs are key players in

the recruitment and hiring process of part-time professors. Because of this, they can provide

useful information about the institution. However, it also proved to be relevant to talk with

deans, provosts and human resource directors, as they all deal with part-time professors, although

in different capacities due the nature of these key players' work.

On the other hand, the part-time professors group consisted of professors who work on a per-

hour basis and get paid by course(s) taught. The figure of part-time professors who work on a

per-hour basis is different when compared to those part-time professors who work half-time

(between 20 and 32 hours per week). In Chile, half-time professors can be considered more like

full-time professors than like per-hour professors. Half-time professors usually have permanent contracts; enjoy similar benefits to full-timers on matters like pension benefits and health plan coverage; they can also be ranked and promoted. Half-time professors can also hold rights to participate in governance and to vote for their academic authorities. Unlike half-time professors, per-hour professors often do not have permanent contracts nor do they enjoy nearly any of the employment benefits that both full-timers and half-timers do. In addition, as the largest chunk of professors are the per-hour ones (Servicio Informacion de Educacion Superior, 2011), it is interesting to explore in profundity this particular group[18].

4. Methods of Data Collection

The data for this research came from 70 in-depth, semi-structured interviews that I conducted over the period of eight months in Santiago, Chile. According to Weiss (1995) interviews help the researcher to learn about the setting where participants live and interact with each other and learn about persons that might be unknown to the researcher. Interviews as means of data collection provide a window to understand social process with more depth. During this eight-month period, I was in fact able to familiarize myself with the part-time professors' reality. I did numerous on site visits where these professors' work at their respective universities and corresponding departments, schools, and *facultades*. Some interviews even took place at the other main job offices that some of the professional part-timers have, opening a window to observe their professional lives as it develops in their work office spaces.

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[18] While it is debatable whether I should make the distinction between half-timers and per-hour professors to represent the part-time professors' reality, I argue that the per-hour professor is closer to that part-time reality than is their half-time counterpart for the reasons aforementioned.

We used an interview guideline to conduct these 70 interviews. According to Weiss (1995) an interview guideline is a sort of topic list to be covered during the interview setting and it is composed by several questions for each topic. In this study, we relied on an interview guideline that was semi-structured. The semi-structured nature of the interview guideline allows the interviewer to be flexible at the moment of interview to deal with issues that were not considered previously but that could arise in the interview as important issues, thus allowing for the formulation of new questions at the time the interview is taking place. At the end of the interview, participants were asked to add any comments that they deemed were important but that did not arise during the interview. Doing so I wanted to make sure I covered, if not all, at least the most relevant issues that were not anticipated during the research design stage.

The interviews lasted on average one hour. The shortest was 15 minutes[19] and the longest were about two hours long. The interviews were recorded, and partially transcribed. Due to the amount of information collected –a bit more than 100 hours of interviews- and limited resources, the interviews were split into extracts of data, with the most relevant to the analysis being chosen for full transcription. In addition, note-taking was also part of the information collection I used to support the content analysis of the interviews. The partial transcription of the 70 interviews was in Spanish given that was the language used during the interviews[20].

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[19] This 15-minute interview was a sharp outlier compared to the length of the majority of the interviews, which for the most part had durations between 50-60 minutes.

[20] However, during the process of data analysis I did translate into English those partial transcriptions that were originally in Spanish, so the final write-up of the interview analysis was carried out in English.

As I grouped the participants into two clusters, I designed two interview guidelines, each tailored for the respective kind of participants –part-time professors or university administrators. While the topics of the interview guidelines were not the same for each cluster, they nonetheless tackled the same aspects and dimensions I wanted to analyze. For example, in regards to the employment profile of part-time professors, I asked part-time professors what their main job was and how many hours they spent at that main job. Whereas when it came to administrators I asked them about what kind of profile they were looking for when hiring part-time professors.

When engaged in the fieldwork, I found that one thing I had not realized at the time I had formulated my research design —that part-time professors are invisible to many— had a practical manifestation for how I needed to proceed: When trying to contact part-time professors for interviews, I came up against the reality that they were hard to reach, since their contact information was not easily available. Information for full-time professors could be found by just navigating a university's or department's website, but this was not usually the case for part-time professors. While I had some initial success in making connections with part-time professors, I realized that I would not reach my goal if I continued trying to contact them on my own. So I changed my strategy to gain access to the interviewees[21]: I switched to using a top-down approach instead. I made contact first with department chairs and deans at the selected universities and academic programs to not only learn how institutions define, manage, and monitor the academic work of part-time professors but also obtain a list of potential interviewees. This turned out to be a good strategy since I was able to interview department

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[21] While the change in the strategy allowed me to gain access to participants, the fact that I relied on university administrators to provide a list of potential interviewees could have distorted the results. This limitation is discussed in more detail in chapter six.

chairs and deans for my study and, at the same time, gain their trust. Trust in this context meant to convey the idea that the research is serious and scholarly-oriented, and that I have a keen research interest to learn about a novel subject. As I was working with the top five universities in the country, department chairs were eager to display how well their departments are performing. So, they seemed to wonder why I would not be interested in doing research on full-time professors. Thus, gaining trust was really important during the interview process. So, I made good efforts to explain the goals of my research, and all the procedures I had to undertake to assure participants the seriousness of my doctoral research. I displayed arguments as for how important it is to know more about part-time professors too. Then, interviewing department chairs also enabled me to receive additional information. In the end, I was able to conduct 70 interviews, going beyond the initial goal of 60.

In qualitative studies, establishing partnership between the interviewer or observer and the participants is relevant. The research partnership is the relationship between the researcher and the respondent, wherein the researcher establishes her role and what the research is about. The terms of this partnership may not be explicit, but imply working together to produce useful information. The interviewer also must be respectful of the respondent's privacy and integrity. Finally the researcher must assure the respondent's confidentially (Fine, 1980). As the interviews were taking place, I made sure I transparently explained to participants what the goals of the research were and the reasons for conducting the research. I also explained the meaning of the informed consent and how that instrument assures not only the participants' privacy but the confidentially of the data. Overall, in these important procedural respects, the interviews went well. Of course, I also used probing questions, which are types of questions used to remind the

interviewee for items that might not be mentioned spontaneously or that I was dubious about in terms of the accuracy of their initial responses. Probing questions were used also to get more detailed responses from the respondents.

5. Constructs and Variables

To understand who part-time professors are and what tasks and activities they perform in higher education, I developed two major sets of observable indicators.

First, the 'who' was operationalized around the notion of *employment profiles* [table 2]. This notion was analyzed along three dimensions: (1) motivations to work part-time in higher education, (2) where main job experience resides, and (3) aspirations for full-time academic careers. Second, the 'what' was operationalized around the notion of *academic work* [tables 3 and 4]. Academic work was also analyzed along three dimensions: (1) type of institutions, (2) schools' allocation of work, and (3) part-time professors' expertise.

Table 2: Operationalization of Employment Profiles

Source of information	Indicators
Interviews with part-time professors	**A**. Description of job where part-timers spend their time the most (i.e. inside or outside higher education). **B.** Description of their main source of income. **C.** Key reasons and motivations associated with the choice of working part-time in higher education. **D.** Perception about full-time academic careers and whether the part-time professors envision themselves as becoming full-time academics (aspirations for full-time careers)

The criteria for operationalization stem from the pertinent higher education literature. Regarding employment profiles, the dimensions mirror what studies on taxonomies of part-time professors have done (Gappa, 1997; Tuckman, 1978). The classification and categorization of the different types of employment profiles were for the most part straightforward. The information provided by the respondents fed well into the indicators, and while variation emerged in terms of reasons and motivations to work part-time, it was evident that there were major commonalities as well, as in where the main job experience resides, and aspirations for full-time careers.

Regarding the operationalization of academic work, Table 3 summarizes the main indicators included in the analysis of academic work as seen from part-time professors' standpoint.

Table 3: Academic Work: Part-time Professors' Standpoint

Source of information	Topics
Interviews with part-time professors	A. Description of academic tasks performed within a university B. Estimated amount of time spent in each academic task and relative importance of each task performed (e.g. do more hours mean the activity is more important or just that is more time consuming?) C. Degree of engagement with curriculum design (academic programs as decided at the departmental level) D. Degree of engagement with syllabus design (individual course level) E. Key aspects associated with academic work such as participation in governance and academic freedom

Table 4 also summarizes the operationalization of academic work, but this time from the key university administrators' point of view. In other words, the institutional view regarding the academic work of part-time professors was also examined.

Table 4: Academic Work: Institutional Point of View

Source of information	Topics
Interviews with department chairs, deans, provosts & human resource directors	1. Institutional view of part-time professors, specifically about their academic work (e.g. as highly qualified, not qualified) 2. How academic work of part-time professors is organized/allotted within academic units 3. What is the rationale to hire part-time professors? Are they assigned to specific tasks? If so, which ones? 4. How is part-time professors' workload set up? How different is it from full-timers?

6. Methods of Data Analysis

As mentioned before, our data was collected by means of in-depth semi-structured interviews. I used content analysis to dissect the interview data. In doing the content analysis, I broke the data down into two components so I could address separately and respond separately to each one of the sub-research questions at the core of this dissertation. Thus, one component was intended to cover the 'who' as operationalized under the notion of 'employment profiles'. The second component covered the essentials of what part-time professors do in higher education as operationalized under the notion of 'academic work'. For each component I developed a coding scheme identifying groups and patterns of such data relevant to the respective sub-research question. I utilized an inductive approach to analyze the interview data. That is, rather than trying to test what the literature has said about part-time professors and whether that reality fit into the literature, I let the interview data tell me about their academic lives. In doing so, I could establish the reality that emerged in the context of my study, and I tried to represent the full spectrum of profiles and categories of academic work as they appeared in the interview data.[22] Thus, as I was coding what the interview data revealed, I discovered patterns and relationships that proved to be novel; these discoveries make sense when compared against the pertinent literature.

Interview Analysis

I organized the raw data into conceptual themes and categories as informed by the research questions. Next, I started the process of data analysis trying to make sense out of what all the participants reported. I started inductively an analysis of what information I gathered and next I analyzed the conceptual themes and categories in light of the literature. In so doing I was able to

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[22] Of course by opting for this route, in a sense we 'test' which of the literature's findings hold up in the context of this study, but we do not formulate specific hypotheses from the literature.

identify multiple types and sub-types of part-time professors–who they are- and I also was able to identify different categories or manifestations of the academic work they do. Furthermore, I was then well situated to map how this who and what connect, i.e. which types and sub-types of part-time professors do which type of work.

7. Limitations in the Methodology

I chose a qualitative methodology because I wanted to explore the reality of part-time professors and reach a level of understanding on the academic life of part-time professors beyond the way that has been attempted previously. "What is the academic life?" is basically a descriptive question, but as I noted, there is so little research about it, by undertaking a qualitative study I am able to shed light on a topic that has been almost entirely unexplored. Specifically, a qualitative approach allowed me to challenge the idea that part-time professors are 'the group', and that 'the group' represents exploitation of part-time professors. Thus, this study frames the discussion differently, suggesting that there are multiple types of part-time professors, bringing and reflecting the considerable complexity within the part-time reality. Although this study did not set out explicitly to identify and understand the patterns of commonality and variation, these emerged as the research progressed leading to the realization of two inter-related and striking findings: there is great *diversity* within the part-time professors' reality yet the diversity exists within discernible *patterns*. Moreover, I also discovered *logic* behind the considerable diversity. Patterns and logic were discovered also in regard to some major commonalities in the part-time world, some covering virtually the full breadth of this world, others referring to commonalities between some types or subtypes.

The choice for a qualitative methodology also has its disadvantages. One of the disadvantages or limitations of this methodology is that the findings cannot be generalized to the whole Chilean higher education system. I cannot, therefore, claim generalizable conclusions from 70 respondents since they do not represent in any statistically chosen way the whole population of part-time professors in Chile. Yet, the types of universities I have selected (the five biggest universities in terms of enrollment and funding) taken together are themselves quite large, covering a major share of the country's higher education, and probably fairly representative of certain types of universities beyond Santiago. In other words, what I find to be a reality of part-time professors in the context of my study might well be applicable to much of the reality of other universities; I cannot assert the same for the non-university sector (encompassing professional institutes and centers for vocational training).

Another limitation refers to the breadth of the information gathered. Originally, the study planned to gather information by multiple means, most prominently interviews, but also surveys and review of contracts. But contracts proved hard to get. Regarding surveys, multiple attempts to use them in selected programs were frustrated by minimal response rates.[23] But perhaps more importantly than the failure to utilize additional methods is the limitation within the main source

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[23] I tried two different means for circulating the survey but was nonetheless frustrated. First, I asked department chairs to circulate the survey to their part-time professors. Second, I also distributed the survey among the interviewees of this study. I followed up multiple times with the chairs, urging them to send the survey at least three times, and I also distributed my surveys to interviewees three times as well. While it is difficult to assess how many surveys were sent from chairs, I know that at least all the interviewees of my study were given surveys by me. In the end I only received 19 survey responses, which I deemed insufficient for in-depth statistical analysis. Again, I did not know how many part-time professors were working at the 18 academic programs in my study, and the reality is that the number of part-time professors tends to vary enormously from one academic program to another.

of the study's information: interviews. With 70 interviewees we lack the desired assurance about how representative the group is of the whole body of part-time professors. Moreover, we did not get comparative perspectives on part-time work from full-time professors or students (though we did interview administrators). In such respects this dissertation is not different from much of the work on the academic world of full-time professors (also leaving out part-time professors and students' perspectives) (Clark, 1987; Cummings & Finkelstein, 2012; Musselin, 2007). As Tejada-Pena (2010) asserts "sometimes we sacrifice breadth to reach depth in our work" (Whyte, 1984 as cited by Tejada-Pena, 2010, p. 60). Thus, in conducting 70 interviews the goal was to reach in-depth understanding of this group of higher education workers –the part-timers- about whom we have known so little. These limitations in turn highlight the fact that more research is needed.

Additional limitations deal with the fact that I do not formulate specific hypotheses to test, and that I reflect, finding in hand, mainly on the small literature on part-time professors, not reflecting as much as warranted on the implications for literatures such as that on Latin American higher education.

CHAPTER 4: A PROFILE OF PART-TIME PROFESSORS

1. Introduction

The main findings of this dissertation will be presented in chapter four as well as in the ensuing chapter five. In particular, chapter four presents and explores the motivations and aspirations of full-time academic careers among part-time professors in Chilean universities, showing who part-time professors are and how they regard their academic careers (or lack thereof). It is important to have this information before chapter five explores the actual academic work performed by part-time professors.

In this particular chapter I build upon the two seminal studies in the U.S. to characterize and classify part-time professors. These two studies (Gappa, 1997; Tuckman, 1978) are among the most comprehensive to date because of their national scope and the extensive testing of their part-time professors typologies. Specifically, each study created a taxonomy of U.S. part-time professors based on (a) the reasons they teach part-time in higher education, (b) their desires to pursue full-time academic careers, and (c) their work experiences or employment profiles. From analysis of his data, Tuckman established seven different categories of part-time professors. A number of years later Gappa broadened Tuckman's taxonomy, converting them into four clusters. Following some of the basic rationale of the prior studies, I build a typology to reflect the different national reality in Chile. On the one hand, I am able to achieve greater parsimony, with just two major part-time professor typologies. On the other hand, I attempt to capture complex realities with multiple sub-types within each major type.

Like Tuckman and Gappa I look at (a) part-time professors' motivations, (b) aspirations to have academic careers, as well as (c) the employment profiles of part-time professors. In a sense I parallel these authors' three sub-topics. But my approach is different because the subject of my dissertation is different even beyond the obvious fact that it focuses on a different national reality. Tuckman's approach is from an academic labor market point of view, while Gappa's is from an administrator or faculty personnel policy point of view. In particular in my dissertation, I try to respond to my main research question: what is the academic life of part-time professors in Chile? But before I look at the actual work of part-time professors, I deem it is important to know who these part-time professors are. So, for the dissertation, these three sub-topics represent one aspect I look at, which I use as means to understand a broader phenomenon the type of academic work that part-time professors perform.

Chapter four is composed of two interrelated aspects. One is about the work part-time professors have (employment profiles), and the other is about the work part-time professors want (motivations and career aspirations). The employment profiles include the main occupations as well as relevant demographics: sex, age, academic degrees, and institutional affiliation. Next, drawing on system classifications of part-time professors in the US and interview data from Chile, I build a typology to depict the cases of my study. In the final section, I discuss the major findings of the chapter that show us basically two kinds of part-time workers –a higher education professional, and a mostly non-higher education professional. The latter having very little desire for full-time academic employment.

2. The Work Part-time Professors Have

Literature on part-time professors in the US has shown a diversity of employment profiles (Berger, Kirshtein, Zhang, & Carter, 2002; Gappa & Leslie, 1993; Gappa, 1997; Tuckman, Caldwell, & Vogler, 1978; Tuckman, 1978). Similarly, the Latin American higher education literature has also suggested the existence of heterogeneity of employment profiles among part-time professors, especially in regards to a more professionalist-centered type (Bernasconi, 2008; Levy, 1986, 2005). As for the particular case of Chile, not much empirical evidence exists.[24] However, the analysis of the interview data used in this dissertation indeed suggests that part-time professors lead varied work lives.

In analyzing professors' wide spectrum of work lives and the motivations for teaching part-time in higher education and their aspirations of full-time academic careers, I identify two distinct groups based on where their main expertise resides. In section 2, I deal only with the employment profile side and in the following sections I will address the motivations and aspirations in more detail.

2.a Part-time Professors' Main Occupation

The two distinct groups of part-time professors I identify are different in where their main work experience resides: Inside higher education or outside higher education. I have named these two groups as (1) Higher Education Teachers (HET) and (2) Outsider Professionals (OP). The *Higher Education Teachers*' main occupation is within higher education, and their main source of

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[24] Despite that little has been researched on this topic outside the US, Chile has been a prominent case in the analysis of Latin American part-time professors, as is the case in the major scholarly work that presently exists (Bernasconi, 2008; Levy, 1986, 2005).

income comes from higher education as well. Whether a *Higher Education Teacher* works full-time (as we will see with full-time adjuncts) or part-time (as most do), the main source of income comes from his/her work in higher education. On the other hand, the *Outsider Professionals* have their main activity outside the higher education realm and their main source of income also comes from outside of higher education. With the exception of one secondary-school teacher[25], all the *Outsider Professionals* –including sociologists, historians, architects, engineers, lawyers, and nurses- work in the business, government, or non-profit sectors.

Another salient finding about the two categories is their relative weight. By nearly 2:1 HET outnumber their OP counterparts. More precisely, among the 44 part-time professors of my study, 27 or 61%, fall under the HET category, compared to 17, or 39%, who fit under the OP concept. Of course, as with other findings in my small sample study, the portrayal must be regarded as tentative. More research will be needed to assess to what extent this might represent a broader trend at the national level —and indeed at the regional Latin American level. But we can tentatively see a shift in the profile in part-time work from a predominance of OP towards a predominance of HET. As mentioned in chapter 1, the Latin American part-time professor with a professionalist profile was the traditional norm, and depicted as such, although with less empirical research.

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[25] The inclusion of the schoolteacher under Outsider Professionals could be contentious, given that teaching is her main activity, just as Higher Education Teachers. But if the key defining criteria are where the main activity is performed and the main source of income, then, strictly speaking, the school teacher works outside higher education and her main source of income also comes from outside higher education.

2.b Sex, Age, Academic Degrees, and Institutional Affiliation

We now move beyond the raw data on HET versus OP to break them down by selected personal variables: Sex, age, and academic degrees. We also provide the institutional type breakdown (public/private). See Table 5.

Table 5: Principal Occupation by Selected Variables

Total	44				
Sex	**Female**		**Male**		
Higher Education Teachers (HET)	13		14		
Outsider Professionals (OP)	4		13		
Age	**Under 30**	**30-39 year old**	**40-49 year old**	**50-59 year old**	**60 & Up**
Higher Education Teachers	0	12	8	6	1
Outsider Professionals	1	7	1	2	6
Academic Degrees	*Licenciatura*	*Diplomado*	**Masters**	**MBA**	**PhD**
Higher Education Teachers	7	1	11	0	8
Outsider Professionals	9	0	6	2	0
Public/Private Distinction-Institutions	**Public**	**Old Private**		**New Private**	
Higher Education Teachers	11	3		13	
Outsider Professionals	8	6		3	

In terms of sex, two important findings emerge. One is the predominance of male faculty over female, 27 to 17. Second is the sharp difference between the two occupational types. The male predominance owes solely to the OP category, a decisive 13 to 4 margin. When it comes to HET there is almost gender parity, at 14-13 male to female faculty. Notwithstanding the small sample size, there is sound logic to expect that the gender split between the two categories would hold up under continued scrutiny. Overall, in Chile male faculty outnumber female faculty across all

types of appointments (e.g. by hours, full-time). This major gender difference likely reflects the soundness and value of the dual occupational categories considered here.

When it comes to age, we again see a combination of general findings on part-time professors and some difference in the HET-OP breakdown. For both part-time professor groups, the largest age group is 30-39: 11 or 45% for HET and 41% (7 cases) for OP. But the HET group is younger than the OP group. The second largest age group among HET is the 40-49 year old with 30% (8 part-timers), and third largest group is the 50-59 age range with 22% (6 part-timers cases). In sharp contrast, the second highest sub-group among OP is the 60 and up category with 35% (6 cases). In comparison, there is only 1 (4%) HET in the age range of 60 and up. Again the HET-OP categories appear to show a logical difference —we would expect OP to represent a more experienced and older group.

In terms of academic degrees, two important findings appear. One is the sharp contrast between the two groups. Second is the predominance of higher academic degrees among HET, with Masters representing 41% (11 cases) and PhDs 30% (8 cases). In contrast, for the OP group, the most common academic degree is merely *Licenciatura* (Bachelors) with 53% (9 cases). Again, the small sample findings appear to have a convincing logic: HET' expertise derives mainly from higher education, as for the higher education system academic credentials are central to expertise. But for OP, academic credentials are peripheral to their expertise, their primary external work being more at the core of their qualifications.

Lastly, regarding the institutional affiliation of part-time professors, based on the public/private distinction, we see a general trend with part-time professors, and some difference in the HET-OP breakdown. For both groups overall, the presence in public and private universities looks evenly distributed. But in the HET-OP breakdown, OP tend to be spread across all types, 8 at public universities (47%), 6 at old private universities (35%), and 3 at new private universities (18%). In comparison, HET tend to concentrate more in public and new private universities: 41% (11 cases) and 48% (13 cases), respectively. We would have expected OP, not HET, to be more strongly present at new private universities, given these institutions proclaimed ties to the practical world. Perhaps, instead, it is that new private universities are the most prone to hire part-time professors that have neither major traditional qualification: full-time academic or professionalist (Levy, 2005), but this remains mere speculation until further research is done. Nonetheless, in my findings OP and HET types appear overall equally desirable for both public and private universities when making hiring decisions.

3. The Work Part-time Professors Want

3.a Motivations to Teach Part-time in Higher Education at Glance

The motivations for teaching part-time in U.S. higher education have been described in depth in the pioneer studies by Tuckman, as well as by Gappa and Leslie who later continued the exploration. Both studies agree that people hold part-time teaching positions for several reasons.

According to Tuckman (Tuckman et al., 1978, 1978; Tuckman, 1978), some of the reasons to teach part-time in higher education relate to the inability to find full-time jobs elsewhere, the

need to take care of a relative or child, the desire to augment income, to find alternative career paths after retirement, and to complement professional experience as some part-time professors also hold full-time jobs. Similarly, Gappa and Leslie (1993) find alike motivations to teach part-time.

In the Latin American context, Levy (2005) shows that status and client building are among the main motivators for people to teach part-time. However, these reasons fit a particular type of part-time professor –successful professionals with no economic needs- as discussed in chapter one.

In analyzing the motivations to teach PT among the participants of my study, I identify multiple reasons too. Some of them are in part similar to what Tuckman and Gappa describe for the US case. However, I also find some distinctive reasons.

The analysis of the interviews reveals that a basic reason to teach part-time among participants is the love for teaching. While this self-reported motive may be suspect of bias, there are only a handful of cases where I am skeptical of the response. Such is the case with some disciplines such as nursing and dentistry, where the hourly-rate pay is so astonishingly high that 'love for teaching' sounds overrated and more a 'politically correct' answer. For the most part, however, it appears that part-time professors are motivated by their teaching vocation.

Beyond that basic reason, however, major differences emerge in people's motivations, and these differences significantly track their occupation. Perhaps this coincides with what the broad

literature on part-time employment has identified as 'voluntary and involuntary part-timers' or 'part-time for economic or non-economic reasons'. I mean that those who fall under the category *Outsider Professionals* (OP), are akin to voluntary or part-time for non-economic reasons. This is to say, they opt for teaching part-time because they are primarily committed to their external professions and want to give back to their alma mater or to serve the common good by providing training to future professionals. The OP have little economic need and do not look to augment or supplement their income by means of part-time teaching. They are in fact part-time by choice. Indeed, when I asked how much the earnings of their part-time teaching represented in their full income, most of them reported it represents only about 5% of their annual income. Some were even dismissive when I posed the question of what were the main reasons to choose teaching part-time in higher education: As one retorted, "I don't teach because of the money, as it barely helps me to afford the taxi to get to campus every day I teach." Another OP went even further; he used to be the president of the biggest mining company in the country, "How much do I get paid for teaching here? Ha! I pay to work here!" To a follow-up question of how this is possible, he turned to me and challengingly asked, "How much money do you think I make? My [outside] hourly-rate is so significantly high that this institution could not pay it." Moreover, this dismissive statement was made even though the institution in question is the top private university for the field of engineering, among the highest-paid fields. Beyond the colorful comments, they underscore that the stark commonality among all *Outsider Professionals* is the fact that they are part-time for non-economic reasons.

In contrast, *Higher Education Teachers* (HET) are dependent on the income from that teaching activity, as it constitutes both their main occupation and their main source of income.

Undoubtedly HET are part-time for economic reasons. Beyond the economic contexts for their higher education careers, their reasons are also multiple and varied. Further explanations on these reasons will be provided in the next section regarding types of part-time professors in Chile.

3.b Overview of Aspirations Regarding Full-time Academic Careers

U.S. scholarly research shows that aspirations for full-time academic careers are not predominant among part-time professors. In fact, Tuckman's and Gappa's studies suggest that only a fraction of part-time professors are aspirant academics. For Tuckman the 'hopeful full-timer' type composes this fraction, whereas for Gappa it is the 'aspiring academic' type.

Again, the literature on Latin American higher education has not accumulated much empirical evidence on aspirations of full-time careers among part-time professors. However, we can reasonably speculate, using contextualized literature, about at least one type of part-time professor--the traditional part-timer. It is likely that among traditional part-timers there will be little if any aspiration to pursue a career as a full-time academic professional. This type of part-time professor already has a professional career elsewhere, and perhaps the cost-benefit of embarking on a new career path would make this option less attractive for most of them.

As for what the aspiration of a full-time academic career implies, some clarifications are needed regarding the terms full-time and academic careers. The notion of full-time as a full-time appointment might appear a little contentious in characterizing some part-time professors. Such is the case for those who by adding multiple part-time positions make full-time hours. They have

only part-time appointments yet still manage to have a full-time work schedule. In terms of academic careers, the notion refers to people's work trajectories and opportunities for career advancement. Career advancement can take the form of promotion and moving into new tasks and responsibilities, and it could also mean raising salaries. Thus, when it comes to comparing full-time and part-time professors, the former have the possibility of promotions according to pre-established norms and procedures, while the latter do not. While some full-time academics might not have experienced a promotion in a number of years, they still have a career. But even if not promoted, the principle of seniority would prevail, which might have an impact–if not much-on their salaries. On the part-time professors' side, this point could be also debatable as some of them after a number of years might get a raise for their teaching or perhaps even get offered a more desirable course. But for part-time professors, promotion or career advancement has a meaning that is quite different from the idea of promotion that exists for full-time professors.

Keeping these clarifications in mind, when referring to aspirations of full-time academic careers the basic idea is to explore whether part-time professors aim for a full-time appointment within a higher education institution that provides the conditions for career advancement, whether it is a teaching-centered career, or a career that is a mix of both research and teaching.

Departing from the traditional part-time professor type, my research reveals that there are more part-time professors without aspirations than with aspirations for full-time academic careers. The breakdown of part-time professors by aspirations or lack thereof is presented in Chart 5.

Chart 5: Main Types of Part-time Professors by Aspirations

	Outsider Professionals	Higher Education Teachers
■ Without Aspirations	16	13
■ With Aspirations	1	14
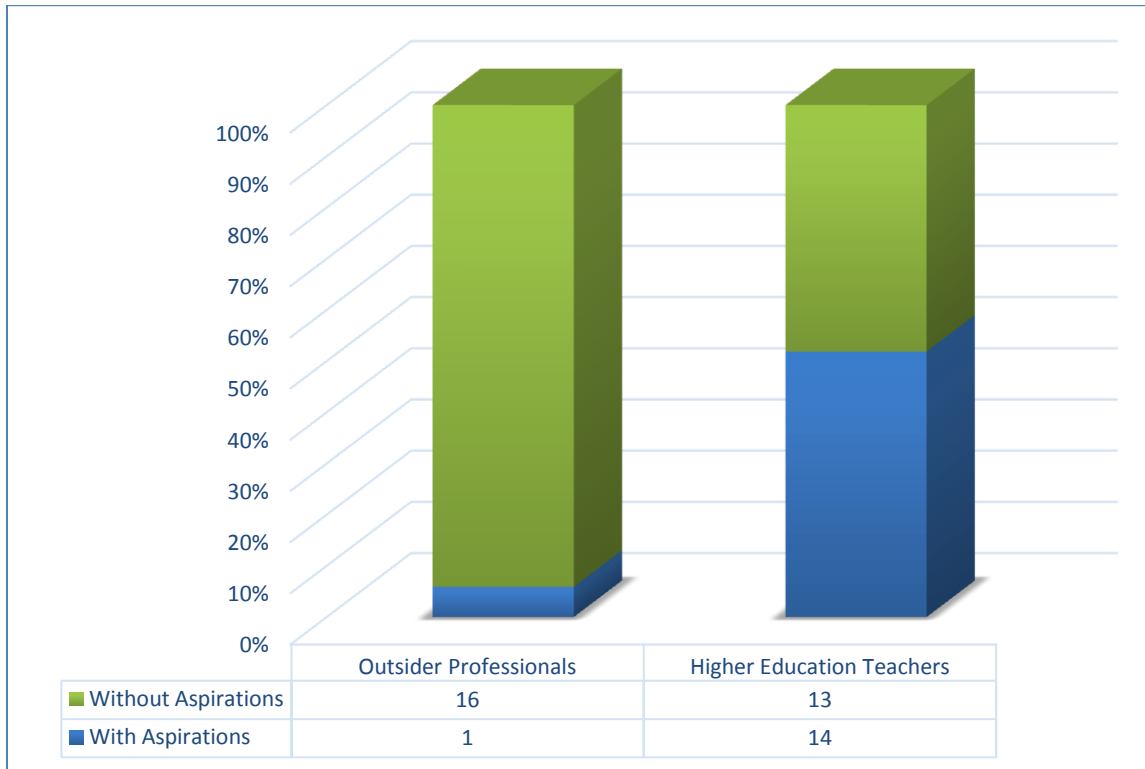
In terms of aspirations, two main findings emerge. One is the raw numbers showing a major overall difference between non-aspirants and aspirants: 29 to 44 respectively. Moreover, we find a sharp, although predictable, difference between the two types. The lack of aspirations is almost absolute among the Outsider Professionals (OP)--16 out of 17 cases. When it comes to Higher Education Teachers (HET) (27 cases) those with aspirations have a very modest lead, 14 (52%) to 13 (48%). There is good reason to have expected that the difference in aspirations of full-time academic careers between OP and HET would hold up. It likely reflects a broader reality wherein OP might show little (if any) preference for full-time academic careers as they already have established their own professional careers outside higher education.

4. Types of Part-time Professors in Chile

4.a The Building of a Typology: The Rationale and the Process

As mentioned earlier, I build upon two seminal U.S. studies (Gappa, 1997; Tuckman, 1978) to characterize and classify part-time professors in Chile. These studies provide a useful framework for analysis, which I have adapted to the context of my study.

I look at three variables –employment profiles, motivations to teach part-time in higher education, and aspirations regarding full-time academic careers. Then, I analyze these three variables in my interview data with 44 part-time professors in five universities and nine different disciplines and professional schools.

Based on this analysis, I am able to construct a typology of part-time professors that has its own particularities. As indicated above, one of these is a major distinction between part-time professors who work mainly in higher education and part-time professors who work mainly outside higher education. This basic distinction between two kinds of part-time workers led me to construct my main two types: The Higher Education Teacher (HET), and the Outsider Professional (OP).

Within my main two types, I create multiple sub-types as well. These multiple sub-types capture the full spectrum of possibilities within the context of my study. The Outsider Professionals' subtypes are: (a) The Traditional Latin American Part-timer, (b) The Career Turning Points, and (c) The Retirees. On the other hand, the Higher Education Teachers' subtypes are: (a) The

Family First, (b) The Entrepreneurial Part-timer, (c) The Falling Short, (d) The Getting There, and (e) The Full-time Adjuncts.

If I put together the US typologies and mine along them, it will look like Table 6.

Table 6: Typologies of Part-time Professors

Tuckman (1978)	Gappa (1997)	Author (2014)	
Semiretireds	Career Enders	Outsider Professionals (OP)	Traditional Latin American PT
Students	Career Enders	Outsider Professionals (OP)	Career Turning Points
Hopeful Full-Timer	Aspiring Academics	Outsider Professionals (OP)	Retirees
Full-Mooners	Aspiring Academics	Higher Education Teachers (HET)	Family First
Home-Workers	Specialists, Experts & Professionals	Higher Education Teachers (HET)	Entrepreneurial PT
Part-Mooners	Specialists, Experts & Professionals	Higher Education Teachers (HET)	Falling Short
Part-Unknown	Freelancers	Higher Education Teachers (HET)	Getting There
Part-Unknown	Freelancers	Higher Education Teachers (HET)	FT Adjunct

Tuckman's typology has seven categories; Gappa's four, whereas my system based on the Chilean narrative from my interviews has eight. For all typologies, each type is mutually exclusive too. As well, I find the common reality that real world cases do not always fall neatly into just one category within an ideal construction. But satisfyingly, in the case of my research many cases do fall neatly under one specific type.

In terms of commonalities among the typologies, two major findings emerge. One is that the three typologies show part-time professors do not comprise a uniform group but a heterogeneous one. This heterogeneity is manifested in the work experience part-time professors have and the work they want. Again, the small sample of this dissertation makes for tentative findings, but there is sound logic that the diversity of types of part-time professors would hold up at a national level. Second is the existence of certain similar types of part-time professors even across the two different national realities: U.S. and Chile. Although the names of the types might differ across typologies, the substance remains similar. This is the case of (a) Semiretireds (Tuckman), Career Enders (Gappa), and Retirees; (b) Hopeful Full-timers (Tuckman), Aspiring Academics (Gappa), Falling Short and Getting There; and (c) Home-Workers (Tuckman) and Family First.

Nonetheless, two important differences emerge between the typologies. One is the context-specific types that I get when I typologize the Chilean part-time professors. This is the case of the Traditional Latin American part-timer, the Career Turning Points, and the Entrepreneurial part-timer. The Traditional Latin American Part-timer is grounded in a particular professionalist tradition of the university model in Latin America. Still, and while there are aspects that make this type unique, they are close to the profile of part-time professors found in some U.S. professional schools. The Career Turning Points, is not only context-specific but also historically based, and refers to the impact of the authoritarian regime (1973-1990) upon the Chilean higher education system and its professors. As for the Entrepreneurial Part-timer, the particular market conditions of the Chilean higher education system allow for some faculty engaging in part-time teaching to make it a profitable activity. However, due to the small sample size, this remains mere speculation until further research is done.

Second, perhaps the Students type of Tuckman (that in Gappa is subsumed under Aspiring Academics) is the only case that does not allow for some link between the typologies. In fact, I did not find any person who could have been classified in my typology as a student. This might be also reflective of a different national reality. In Chile, the role played by graduate students in the part-time higher education workforce is incipient, and is certainly minimal and not as widespread as it is in the US.

When it comes to building our typology at least one limitation needs to be noted. This limitation relates to aspects not captured by the typology --holes in the typology that I might have not observed. With that being noted, in the ensuing pages I introduce my typology of Chilean part-time professors based on their employment profiles, and motivations for becoming part-time faculty in higher education. However, other aspects like socio-economic status were not included in this typology. Perhaps future studies might include this important variable.

Regarding my typology, I now move to the description and analysis of each sub-type of part-time professors as I find them in my study. Chart 6 shows the breakdown of part-time professors sub-types.

Chart 6: Overview of Part-time Professor Sub-types
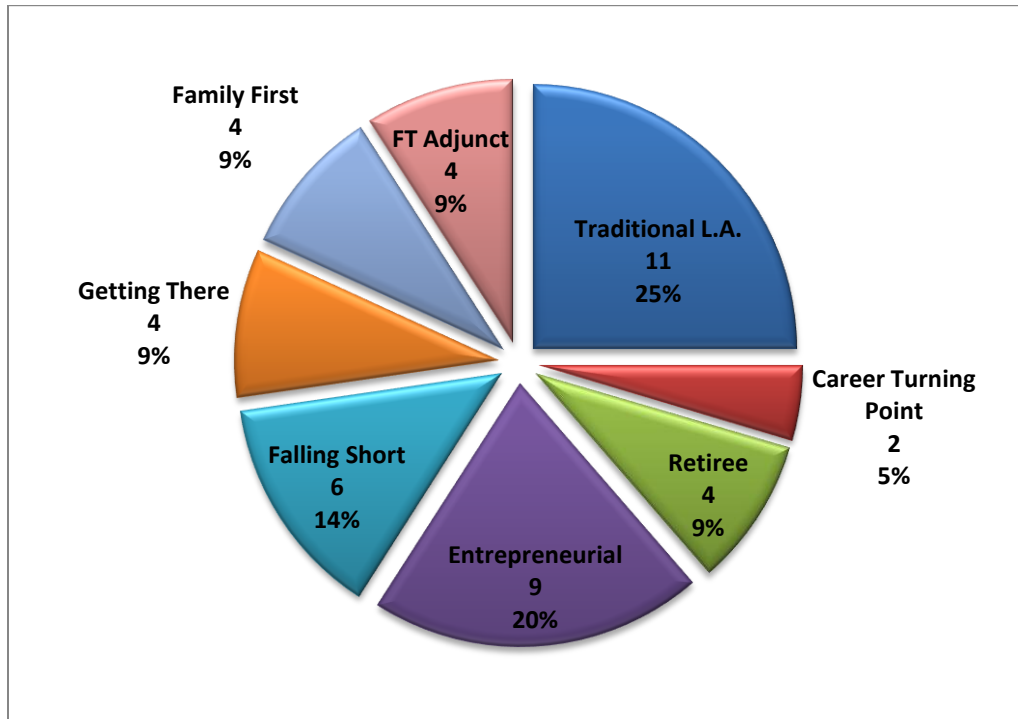
The display of the sub-types as they appear in my study has the purpose of showing the composition of my sample. It by no means intends to be representative of a broader reality. In the sample, the biggest groups are the *Traditional Latin American Part-Timer* (11 or the equivalent to 25%) and *Entrepreneurial Part-Timer* (9, 20%). Next is the *Falling Short* (6 or 14%). Then, are the *Retirees, Family First, Getting There,* and *Full-Time Adjunct*, each representing 9% (4 cases). The smallest group is represented by the *Career Turning Points* with only two cases (5%). As the number for the *Career Turning Points* appears less significant, it is important to note they are included because they represent part of the full range of possibilities in terms of sub-types, irrespective of their overall weight.

In the following sections, I present the sub-types in no particular order other than to distinguish which ones fall under Outsider Professionals (OP) and Higher Education Teachers (HET) respectively.

For every subtype I provide an overall occupational profile by addressing what they do and what their academic credentials are. Next, I account for their motivations to teach part-time in higher education by responding to the questions why they teach and what is their teaching load. Finally, I identify whether the specific sub-types of part-time professors have aspirations of full-time academic careers or not.

4.b Outsider Professionals (OP)

1) The Traditional Latin American Part-Timer

The *Traditional Latin American Part-timer* is mostly composed of successful professionals. Success is often linked to occupations of high status and high earnings. Similarly to the other OP, the 'Traditionals' work outside higher education in the government, business, and non-profit sectors. Nonetheless, perhaps this finding is exaggerated because my selected universities are the best five, including the top universities and one new private university; the employment profile of the 'Traditionals' in these universities may well be higher than in Chilean higher education overall. It is likely that the best universities tend to hire those with good job positions in business and government, and that these professionals would only be inclined to accept to teach in such prestigious institutions. Besides, most of the 'Traditionals' are alumni of their respective higher

education institutions; therefore the social stratification of Chile's higher education might also play a role in this regard.

The academic credentials of Traditional Latin American Part-Timers are mostly at a first professional degree level (licenciatura, in Spanish), with some holding MBAs and Masters Degrees too. All of them earned their degrees at either the top private university or the top public university in the country. As for the masters, some earned it from their alma mater and a handful of them from institutions abroad, such as the UK's London School of Economics, USA's University of Texas, and Australia's University of Canberra.

For the Traditional Latin American Part-timer the reasons to teach are to give back to their alma mater and to contribute to the common good. Their motives are not economically driven as they have other (full-time) employment outside higher education, which provides them not only with their main source of income but also with benefits such as health coverage and pensions.

Additional reasons to teach part-time relate to the prestige and authority associated with teaching at high-status universities. That seems even more the case for young professionals for whom teaching in higher education helps them to exert more authority in their non-higher education jobs. As one young interviewee (who also happens to be very young looking) asserted: "In my job [as Vice-President of a mall chain across the country] people obey me because I am high in the hierarchy. But in the board meetings when the board of directors asks me if I am certain about what I am doing I just respond 'yes I am'--that is why I am a finance professor at PUC University".

In general, even if these professionals are committed to their part-time teaching, they can only devote a few hours to this activity. Therefore, most of the 'Traditionals' teach one course per semester.

While adding a few extra hours to their work schedule might appear a little burdensome for some, at least those part-time professors who work in the government sector have some flexibility and support in their workplaces. In fact, in Chile there is a long standing tradition wherein government officers are allowed to teach a number of hours at the university level.[26] This 'benefit' applies to all government officials who are able and willing to teach. This means that part-time professors can accommodate teaching into their work schedules with their supervisors' approval. In order to get permission to teach at universities, the work schedule has to be approved and discussed with the supervisor in advance. Because the government sets up this 'right' the supervisor cannot deny it later on. But this 'right' is also part of the culture, and it is common that colleagues show respect for people who decide to engage in teaching, as they deem it a contribution to the common good. In this sense, one of the interviewees asserted: "I always choose to teach at the earliest time possible in the morning. So I go to campus first, and when I am done there I hurry to get to my job. But my boss gives me permission to do so, and my co-workers know too. So, sometimes when people ask for me in the office and I am not here they usually would explain 'she must be teaching at the university but will be in shortly'.

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[26] For many years this allowance only applied to public universities. However, in the past few years it was extended to private universities as well.

Overall, the Traditional Latin American Part-timer has no aspirations of a full-time academic career. As a matter of fact, among the 11 persons in this group, 10 reported having no aspirations to full-time academic careers either in the short term or long term.

2) The Career Turning Points

Successful professionals working full-time in the business and government sectors comprise the *Career Turning Points* subtype. For the most part they are very similar to the Traditional Latin-American Part-Timer but differ from them in one important aspect: they started their professional careers as full-time academics.

When it comes to academic credentials, the Career Turning Points hold licenciatura degrees only. However, one holds two degrees: one in Sociology and the other in Law[27]. Similarly to the Traditional Latin American Part-Timer, they also earned their degrees from the top public and private universities in the country.

To be sure, the Career Turning Points represent the smallest group (5%) among all the part-time professors' sub-types, yet they are relevant because they have experienced significant transformations over their work lives that are closely related to the context and change of the higher education system in Chile as well. The Career Turning Points are 60 years old and up, and at the beginning of their careers they were full-time academics. The 1973 coup d'état meant for both of them a turning point in their careers. Because of their political beliefs they were expelled

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[27] In Chile there is a Licenciatura in Law. However, in order to obtain the final professional license students need to be certified for practice by the Supreme Court of Chile.

from their respective (top tier) universities, and forced to find alternative career paths even if that was not what they had been envisioning for their careers. Thus, because of this abrupt termination from their academic careers, for these Career Turning Points teaching part-time in higher education is a means to keep connected with their 'career roots'.

On the other hand, and similarly to the Traditional Latin American Part-timer, the Career Turning Points are willing and able to teach mostly one class per semester. Due to their competing obligations at their full-time jobs outside higher education, this type of part-time professors cannot commit much of their time to teaching. But because they like teaching, they do teach to the extent that is possible for them.

Finally, when I asked if they would still like to have a full-time academic career they both declined, although one expressed some regrets. As one of the Career Turning Points explained: "It was a mistake not taking back my [full-time] academic position at Universidad de Chile with the return of the Democracy in the early 90s… now too much time has passed already, I do not have a PhD, and it is time to give opportunities to young people".

Perhaps if the political circumstances had not had interfered in their academic careers, it is likely that the Career Turning Points would be still working as academics. But this is a debatable matter as I deal with what they report and issues of credibility and veracity might be at play. Still the claims are plausible as I check them against additional sources of information (e.g. interviews with department chairs and administrators), and they seem to support this hypothesis.

The Career Turning Points have taught PT for more than two decades now and there appear to be good reasons for the universities to lure and retain them. As a matter of fact, they are ranked as associate professors. Both are specialists in areas that their respective universities consider assets. One had a professional career in the management of the biggest state mining company. He reports that he has been offered multiple times the directorship of one of the academic units within the engineering school whose focus is the mining industry, which he has declined. The other is an expert in the area of sociology of labor, which is an area of research that as to date has not been much developed in Chile. Certainly many practitioners work in the sociology of labor field, but none has the academic experience of this part-time professor. Perhaps this situation will change in the near future as many new young PhDs are returning to the country under the auspice of a national program; yet as to date she claims to be the most authoritative expert in the field. Thus, it may be that if these Career Turning Points had wanted to return to their prior academic lives, the universities might have accommodated them because of their highly valuable areas of expertise. Again, I am dealing with what interviewees self-report, and until further research is carried out this remain a conjecture.

3) The Retirees

If I would have carried out my dissertation research 10 years back, probably the *Retirees* would have fallen under the Traditional Latin American Part-timer category, for that is their employment profile. However, their motivations as Retirees for teaching part-time are in fact quite different. The Retirees teach part-time because they want to keep active after retirement. On the other hand, considering how Retirees presented themselves during the interview, it was

clear they had a very proactive attitude too, as they were actively looking to bring new opportunities into their lives.

Unlike Tuckman's Semiretireds and Gappa's Career Enders, the Retirees of my study did not include any full-time professor who, once retired, decided to continue working as a part-time teacher. Thus, the employment profile of this subtype remains grounded in the work experience outside of higher education.

In terms of academic degrees, the Retirees have mostly licenciaturas, and only one of the Retirees holds a Masters degree, which he earned while being retired. Again, these types of workers also earned their degrees from the most prestigious universities in the country.

Retirees by no means seek teaching part-time in higher education as a way to land full-time academic careers. They are 'done' with their professional careers, yet they are up for new challenges in their lives. One Retiree affirmed: "When I retired I decided to pursue a Masters at Universidad de Chile. It was when I was studying that it crossed my mind I could teach. Both academia and teaching are motivators for me. I just don't envision myself staying at home and doing nothing."

But retirement is not always a choice and, when it happens, the higher education job market appears as a niche for employment. That is the case of one Retiree who as a CEO of a bank was not planning on retirement but his bank terminated his contract. That was the time when he decided teaching part-time was a good way to keep employed given that he deemed his chances

of finding a job somewhere minimal. He affirmed: "In higher education your experience in the business sector counts. They welcome you because you bring real-world experience into the classroom. I have found no problems in getting courses to teach… I wish they paid more though. In the business sector as you get older you become expensive, and they kick you out as soon as they can."

Lastly, and not surprisingly, the Retirees were found teaching multiple courses. Although some teach as little as two classes per semester, one teaches four. He does so at two different institutions. As a matter of fact, and related to the perceived proactive attitude and their willingness to teach several courses, one Retiree asked me to introduce him to other schools so he could teach more. "With all the interviews you have done so far, you might have a good sense of where the opportunities for teaching are."[28]

If Outsider Professionals are less concerned about the economic outcome derived from their teaching activity in higher education, Higher Education Teachers count on it for a living. Nonetheless, for Higher Education Teachers the motivations to choose teaching part-time in higher education are not all necessarily economically driven.

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[28] As anecdote, I indeed did put him in contact with the chair of another school. To my (pleasant) surprise, I found later on that this Retiree was hired to teach at the recommended school.

4.c Higher Education Teachers (HET)

1) The Entrepreneurial Part-Timer

Unlike Outsider Professionals, the work experience of the *Entrepreneurial Part-Timer* resides in Higher Education. The 'Entrepreneurs' started working as HET as soon as they graduated or in some cases even when they were still students. Some do consultancy work in the business sector, but most of their experience remains grounded in teaching in higher education.

The academic credentials of the Entrepreneurial Part-Timer are a mix between licenciatura and master degrees. Here, however, the degrees come from a greater range of institutions, not to mention that there are two foreigners who earned their degrees in their home countries (Colombia and Venezuela). The variety of institutions includes one Professional Institute (now converted into a public university), regional public and private universities, and the top private university.

For the Entrepreneurial Part-timer teaching part-time is a way to make a good amount of money. This type of part-time professor purposely looks to teach numerous courses at the same time. Lucrative employment is always via accumulation of courses--not necessarily because a given part-time professor is so valued in an area of expertise that he/she will get paid a lot for teaching little. Thus, an Entrepreneurial Part-timer teaches somewhere between 6 and 10 courses per semester. One Entrepreneurial Part-timer was teaching 11 classes simultaneously in at least four different institutions. He said, "This is the last time I will teach so many courses. I mean I am

making a lot of money, which is good, but I have barely slept when I have had to deal with the grading of 11 different courses."

This subtype of part-time professor has not been identified much in the US higher education literature on part-time professors and even less worldwide. But Levy (Levy, 2005) has shown this practice of accumulating part-time teaching in higher education among professors in Latin American universities. As new private universities demanded professors, many public university professors went into part-time teaching at the private schools as a means to increase their salaries, and others, less qualified, saw the accumulation of teaching as means to have adequate employment. What is novel among the *Entrepreneurial Part-Timer,* however, is that they "take advantage of the market system" as one said, and make teaching a profitable activity. They are 'savvy' in their choices, they know what institutions pay the best, have networks of part-time colleagues who spread the word when a new good opportunity arises, are not necessarily committed to their higher education institutions, and instead they opt for the best financial offer they can get.

The fact that part-time teaching might become a profitable activity for some is certainly striking. But perhaps that is in part the result of the steady growth of higher education in Chile in the past decades in terms of enrollment. Student enrollment has increased from 483,282 in 2001 to 1,127,181 in 2012.[29] Thus the demand for teaching faculty has increased dramatically over the past decade. Of course, more research needs to be done on the demand and supply of professors in the academic job market. Nonetheless, there are good reasons to expect that in a competitive

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[29]   For   more   details   see   PROPHE   national   database   on   Chile: http://www.albany.edu/dept/eaps/prophe/national_data.html

market such as Chile, the best institutions will want the best part-time professors and in order to attract them such higher education institutions might be willing to pay well.

Another characteristic that makes teaching part-time appealing in economic terms concerns how higher education institutions bypass national labor regulations. Because the law turns any fixed-term labor contract into an indefinite contract after its second renewal, a common practice is to offer part-time professors a contract for five months and then pay an additional sixth month as severance. Thus, for the Entrepreneurial Part-timer (but also, rather less consequentially, for most of the part-time professors in my study) it is very attractive to get paid fairly well and work roughly 10 months (or the equivalent to two academic semesters) while getting paid in reality 12 months. In this sense, one Entrepreneurial part-time affirmed: "I like how flexible my work schedule is: It gives me two full months of vacations while I still get paid for the whole year. I like traveling around the world and this type of job allows me to do so because of the flexibility I have in my work schedule."

According to Entrepreneurial part-time professors, teaching numerous courses and getting paid handsomely has drawbacks too. For one young Entrepreneurial part-timer: "This is not a type of job you will be doing till you get to 65 year old. It's physically demanding, and you cannot keep doing it forever. But I will do it till I increase my net wealth and then I will move on to another type of job." In this context, it is also noteworthy that the majority of 'Entrepreneurs' are between 30 and 39 year old. So, they are young people who see teaching part-time as a good means to earn money.

On the other hand, an overwhelmingly majority have no aspirations of full-time academic careers. Out of 9 'Entrepreneurs' 8 claimed to have no aspirations at all. The reasons might sound contradictory at first. But as the Entrepreneurial Part-timer put it, being a part-time professor is comparatively better in certain ways than being a full-time professor. Part-time professors are hardly evaluated by their institutions. Instead, students' evaluations are the norm, and oftentimes Entrepreneurial part-time professors appear to be young and motivated, and in turn receive good students' evaluations. In contrast, a full-time career means more work, less vacation time, and being accountable for performance. As one of the interviewees admitted when talking about the enormous number of well-paid hours she gets when she does 'clinical teaching' (that is, mostly supervision work by checking items on a list on how students perform certain tasks): "When I got this [PT teaching] job I quit my old job as a nurse because of the night shifts and because I worked at the intensive care unit which was very exhausting. I like this much better. I work little and yet make such good money." Thus, there are good reasons for 'Entrepreneurs" to feel content about their part-time status.

Moreover, it appears that the Entrepreneurial part-timer tends to be free-spirited and proactive. And while stability might be desirable for many people it does not appear to be a priority for the 'Entrepreneurs'.

2) The Falling Short

Like all Higher Education Teachers the work experience of the *Falling Short* also resides in higher education. What is distinctive about them is that they want to be academic professionals

and have a permanent and progressive career in higher education. However, as the name suggests, they fall short in what is required to be a full-time academic: they lack PhD credentials or lack records of publications.

All of them have graduate degrees. Some at the masters' level and a couple of them are PhD holders. The majority earned their degrees at the best five universities in Chile, while others obtained their PhDs from highly renowned foreign higher education institutions in Spain and UK.

The main reason to teach part-time in higher education is because they consider it as means to get a full-time academic position. In fact, most of the Falling Short started teaching part-time to gain experience hoping it will make them stronger candidates when applying for full-time academic positions. But that is not necessarily true as their experience shows. As one of the 'Falling Shorters' explained: "I love teaching and doing research. In fact, I did my PhD because I wanted to do research. I like teaching too. But my frustration with teaching is that presently that is the only thing I do. I know this first year is a time for me to improve my CV. But now I am not so sure. It's so difficult to get a full-time position wherein I can combine both research and teaching. Whenever I see a call for position, you know it is already assigned to somebody; applications come with a 'name on it', which is discouraging. In any case, my plan is to do a post-doc and then see what happens."

Unlike most of the types of part-time professors described so far, the *Falling Short* have aspirations of full-time academic careers. They are truly motivated and their ambition is to do

both teaching and research. And while some of the *Falling Short* stated their preference for doing research, none of them mentioned any evidence of publications. They are all experienced teachers but that is hardly enough to get them into full-time research academic careers.

The Falling Short coincides with some of the US 'adjunct' type. Some US 'adjuncts' perceive their careers as truncated because their working conditions do not allow them to develop academic careers or to have full-time hours in a single higher education institution. They are typically well educated (graduate level), experienced teachers, yet they appear as weak candidates for full-time research academic careers. They lack the most precious and decisive skills associated with research and publishing. And institutions know it and act accordingly by treating them differently. However, this is just one type of part-time professors among many others. And certainly it is not the predominant group either. Here, however, my findings are again tentative given the small sample of this study. But even in the US where national typologies have been applied and tested, what could fit as 'Falling Short' appears to be somewhere between one fifth and one fourth of the total U.S. part-time professorial workforce (Gappa & Leslie, 1993). Regarding the US typologies, a caveat needs to be added here though. These studies are not recent, though they continue to be frequently cited by more current studies.[30]

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[30] Thus, if there were more recent research on the topic of part-time professors along the lines of those studies, perhaps we might see more US aspiring full-timers than existed in the past.

3) The Getting There

Getting There's main work experience also resides in higher education. They have planned their academic careers purposefully, so in addition to being experienced teachers they are also honing their research skills. These part-time professors indeed seem to be getting there - towards the full-time academic career.

In terms of academic careers, the majority of the Getting There hold a PhD, and the one who doesn't is already a PhD candidate. They obtained their degrees at the top public university, a regional public university, and one at the renowned German university –Bielefeld.

Like the Falling Short, the Getting There also want full-time academic careers. However, what is different is that they appear to be on the right track to achieve just that. Although I am dealing with participants' perceptions, the interviews with department chairs seem to support the accuracy of their claims regarding their likely future as full-time academics.

Getting There display accomplishments that would indeed make them good candidates for full-time research academic positions. Almost all of them have PhDs in hand; some have published in international journals while others have published nationally. They participate fully at the department level, including one who is coordinating the accreditation process undertaken by the department where she is affiliated. The 'Getting There' possesses all the skills that make them valuable assets for their departments. Three of them are experts in fields that are rather new –e.g. internet legal regulations-or areas that are highly demanded as it is quantitative methods in a

sociology department or analytic chemistry in a chemistry department, which they claim are their distinctive and main areas of training.

These part-time professors seem to have a clear purpose and determination to obtain a full-time academic position and act accordingly. They are aware of the importance of networking and making strong connections at the departmental level and beyond as well. In this sense, one Getting There asserted: "After I came back from my PhD in Germany, the problem was I did not have professional contacts. So, I started to teach PT… At the beginning it is like a rite of passage, you teach everything. Then, you become more selective. Regardless, if you want to succeed in a part-time career then you must have a strategy... The part-time career is a means for intellectual survival. But the part-time career has nothing to offer you. Well, at the beginning it offers you means to get started and get to know more people, but after that initial stage you are done...to get out from the part-time career you have to validate yourself by means of your international connections, your experience when researching and studying abroad."

The Getting There have made persistent efforts to publish even if they are not getting paid for such endeavors. At the end, their tactics bring them positive results. Among the interviewees, one has been recently hired to be a researcher at the top public university (and did not plan to quit his part-time teaching, as it was indeed good money, he said). Another is already working at a second-tier public university. In this particular case, he works half-time only but he enjoys all the employment benefits and lower teaching loads of as his full-time counterparts. The other two have already secured a promotion and at the time of the interviews they were waiting for the paperwork to make the new full-time academic position official.

4) The Family First

Among the Family First sub-type, half have mostly teaching experience in higher education, whereas the other half have vast experience in the business sector. The latter turned into part-time teachers once they lost their full-time time jobs elsewhere. As a result of this loss, they saw the part-time teaching as an opportunity to reconsider their priorities and at the same time get paid fairly well for the limited number of hours worked. Regardless of where their work experience resides, all of them share their main priority in life: their families. Family is first and work is to be accommodated to fit their domestic responsibilities. They are mostly the breadwinners in their households, and just one interviewee is the second-earner in her family.

When it comes to academic credentials, Family First sub-types hold licenciatura and master degrees. They obtained their degrees from the best five universities in Chile.

Given that for this group the primary concern is their families; their part-time teaching in higher education is a means to reconcile domestic responsibilities and work. A male Family First commented: "I chose teaching part-time because of a personal reason: I wanted to spend time with my kids. I have three months of vacations, which coincide with my children' school vacations…Part of the motivation is grounded in the fact I am good at doing this too." However, because the Family First sub-type is so oriented towards their domestic responsibilities, it is difficult to address to what extent teaching part-time in higher education is different from any other type of part-time work. Thus, it leaves a little bit obscure the real reasons to opt for part-time work in higher education as opposed to any other type of part-time work in another field.

In terms of teaching load, the Family First has probably more leeway to teach more courses – compared to the Traditional Latin American Part-Timer and Career Turning Points, for example--but because of their family responsibilities their availability is also fairly limited.

Regarding aspirations, and because their primary concern is their family, this group is well aware that a full-time career in higher education is not a choice for them. Limited time available makes it difficult to engage in activities that would eventually make them strong candidates for full-time academic positions. But again, it is difficult to assess to what extent this perception is unique to teaching part-time in higher education or to a more general situation of part-time work elsewhere. Nonetheless, there is one Family First who sounds a little bit more open to find a full-time academic career once his children grow up: "Eventually I would like to have a full-time academic position, but perhaps when my kids grow up and I am done in my role as father." All in all, it is fair to say that Family First part-time professors have no aspirations of full-time academic careers at all.

5) The Full-Time Adjunct

As the label suggests, and unlike the Entrepreneurial Part-timer, the Getting There, and the Falling Short that all piece together multiple part-time work, the *Full-time Adjunct* is in fact a full-time position in its own. Nonetheless, the Adjunct position focuses solely on teaching. The particulars of the full-time adjunct position needs to be explained in light of the methodology of this research too.

In my search for assistance from chair departments in natural and exact science fields at two different universities I encountered some special cases that led me ultimately to interview 4 full-time adjuncts. All four full-time Adjuncts are PhD holders with multiple publications. These two departments are similar in the sense that they did not have even a single part-time employee among their professorial staff. Digging deeper into this situation, I found out that these departments –Mathematics and Chemistry- carried out a restructuring of their faculty personnel a few years ago making the transition from some positions that were in the past part-time towards full-time positions. The newly created full-time adjuncts positions are meant to be teaching-oriented (research is excluded from their activities), are placed in a special career track (adjunct track), and get paid less than their full-time researcher counterparts. In turn, Full-Time Adjuncts have permanent contracts, enjoy similar fringe benefits as full-time research academics, but they are not granted some of the faculty governance rights (e.g. they cannot vote to elect the university president or dean).

Three out of four Full-Time Adjuncts had previously held part-time positions. Perhaps this could have made a good case for classifying them as 'Getting There' if I had interviewed them some years back, prior to the departments' restructuring processes. On the other hand, the fourth case is a special situation. It corresponds to a female professor who after gaining her PhD moved to one of the top regional research universities in the country. However, at some point, she decided she wanted to have children and be close to her family in Chile's capital city, Santiago. Thus, as she started to move back to Santiago, she found out about the Full-time Adjunct position, applied and got it. In her view, the trade meant a downgrade in her working conditions (she gets paid

significantly less), but the performance evaluations are less strict as there are no expectations for publishing. The trade off for her however, opens for her the chances to be a mother and have time to devote to her children.

All in all, the Full-time Adjunct professors have aspirations of full-time academic careers. However, their idea of full-time academic careers is of a special nature: It is solely focused on teaching.

5. Conclusions

Chapter four explores both the reasons part-time professors have to teach in higher education and the aspirations for full-time academic careers. I distill a typology framework from U.S. part-time professors by looking at three dimensions–employment profiles, motivations to teach part-time, and aspirations of full-time academic careers, which I adapt to the specific context of my research on Chile. The US higher education literature shows that part-time professors' employment profiles are varied, motivations are wide-ranging, and only a minority of part-time professors have aspirations for full-time academic careers. The findings in the Latin American higher education literature that are available are in a sense similar to those from the U.S. in the diversity of employment profiles, although leaning toward a more professional profile of part-time professors. But the Latin American higher education literature also points out special motivations to work part-time in higher education. Status, client building, and desire to contribute to the country's wellbeing are reasons that are present among the Traditional Latin American Part-Timer, but they do not appear as reasons to teach part-time among US part-time

professors. In relation to Chile, analysis of the interviews with 44 part-time professors reveals that their reasons to teach PT are heterogeneous, employment profiles are varied as to whether they are primarily inside or outside higher education, and aspirations for full-time academic careers prove to be present only among few part-time professors.

A major finding of chapter four is that there are two major kinds of part-time professors: Higher Education Teachers (HET) and Outsider Professionals (OP). HET have their main work experience in higher education. In contrast, OP's work experience resides chiefly outside the realm of higher education.

Regarding my attempt to build a typology of part-time professors to fit the Chilean reality, I discovered that part-time teaching is not usually a disappointment among the different sub-types of part-time professors. For some, the point is rather obvious, as with the Outsider Professionals' sub-types of the *Traditional Latin American Part-Timer*, the *Career Turning Points*, and the *Retirees*. For others, the fact that part-time teaching is not a disappointment is more striking. This is the case for some of the Higher Education Teachers' sub-types: *Family First*, *Entrepreneurial Part-Timer*, and *Full-Time Adjuncts*. For these six sub-types becoming a part-time professor is a personal choice. The reality is different for the remaining two sub-types for whom part-time teaching is indeed a disappointment. This is the case of the *Falling Short* and the *Getting There* sub-types. For these two subtypes an academic career that focuses solely on teaching is not good enough.

CHAPTER 5: THE CONTENT OF ACADEMIC WORK

1. Introduction

In our prior chapter we developed a profile of part-time professors. This profile shows there are two major types of part-time professors based on where their main work experience is grounded: inside higher education, Higher Education Teachers, or outside higher education, Outsider Professionals. In addition, we also discovered that only a minority of part-time professors reported aspirations for full-time academic careers. Overall, there is widespread satisfaction with working part-time in higher education, and most part-time professors are highly motivated and show a great teaching vocation. Chapter five will build upon chapter four to discuss the link between the last chapter's profile of part time faculty and what part-time professors do inside and outside the classroom. In particular, in chapter five we attempt to respond to the research question 'what is the academic work of part-time professors working at Chilean universities?' To address this question I again analyze 70 in-depth interviews, of which 44 are with part-time professors and 26 with university administrators.

Chapter five's identification and analysis of part-time professor's academic work refers mostly to the tasks and activities that these types of professors predominantly engage in or even what their contracts call for. Thus, chapter five shows what tasks and activities these type of professors engage in at the top five universities in Chile across nine different academic programs in both social and natural sciences and professional schools. Further, chapter five explores how universities understand and allocate that academic work. The rationale for looking at the intersection between academic work and institutions derives from the sociology of academic work literature showing that this interaction is critical to understanding what the academic work

of higher education professors entails (Clark, 1987; Finkelstein, 2014; Teichler, Arimoto, & Cummings, 2013). However, given that this literature focuses overwhelmingly on full-time professors, I adapt it to fit part-time professors' reality.

In chapter five I build upon Burton Clark's sociology of academic work framework to characterize both the academic work of part-time professors and the dimensions making that academic work vary. In his pioneering study on U.S. full-time professors, Clark (1987) identified four key dimensions fashioning the academic work of full-time professors: institutional definition of work, disciplinary specification of work, professional school difference, and national context. Subsequent sociology of work studies on the U.S. and worldwide professoriate have tested, and continue to observe, the same dimensions shaping the academic work of contemporary full-time professors (Altbach & Finkelstein, 1997; Boyer, Altbach, & Whitelaw, 1994; Finkelstein, 2014; Musselin & Becquet, 2008; Musselin, 2008). From some of the basic rationale of these studies on sociology of academic work, I shall distill key features to fit both the particular national reality of Chile and the type of professors that these studies tend to overlook: part-time professors.

The academic work analysis includes both the main activity that part-time professors execute, which is teaching, and the multiple tasks that revolve around teaching: development of curriculum and evaluation of students. On the other hand, the analysis of the dimensions bringing variation to the academic work is composed of three dimensions: inter-institutional

differentiation (i.e. public/private), *facultad*[31] allocation of tasks, and sub-types of part-time professors (author's typology). The institutional definition of part-time professors' academic work is also analyzed by means of teaching allocation. In the final section, I discuss the main findings of the chapter that shows us that the dimensions shaping full-time professors' academic work –as laid out by Clark and supported by ensuing research on sociology of the professoriate-can be distilled and applied to the analysis of part-time professors' academic work as well. In addition, one more dimension appears to be critical in this analysis given the particulars of part-time professors' academic work: their employment profiles.

2. Main Elements of What Part-time Professors Do

Literature on part-time professors in the US has paid very little attention to the actual academic work they do. The limited research that does exist focuses on comparing full-time and part-time professors primarily in two areas: (1) teaching effectiveness and (2) workload allocation (Weiss & Pankin, 2011). Regarding teaching effectiveness (which is measured using students' evaluations, class retention rates, etc.), it seems that there might not be significant differences between these two types of professors (Gappa, Austin, & Trice, 2007; Schuetz, 2002). As for workload allocation, part-time professors generally teach more hours when compared to full-time professors (Berger, Kirshtein, Zhang, & Carter, 2002; Conley & Leslie, 2002). Despite the relative lack of scholarly attention to what the academic work of U.S. part-time professors entails, there appears to be a tacit understanding or 'common wisdom' that teaching is their most predominant activity.

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[31] *Facultad* is the largest academic unit of which the university is composed. It derives from the tradition inherited from the Continental model where Latin American universities found their origins (A. Bernasconi, 2011).

Conversely, the Latin American literature on part-time professors does not tackle the issue of work allocation and pays even less attention to teaching effectiveness among part-time professors. That literature seems to deal more with the core academic work of part time professors in higher education: teaching (Altbach & Lewis, 1996; Andrés Bernasconi, 2008; Levy, 2005). As for the particular case of Chile, not much evidence is provided, although we can deduce from the Chilean higher education literature (not focused on part-time professors) that teaching is the main work of this type of professor (Andres Bernasconi & Rojas, 2004; Andrés Bernasconi, 2007; Brunner, 1987; Levy, 1986, 2005). The interview data analysis used in this dissertation shows directly and strongly that indeed there is one main activity-–teaching-at the core of part-time professors' academic work. I then proceed to analyze the nature and dimensions of that work. Moreover, I analyze a range of support activities occurring alongside this core activity.

2.a Teaching: The Core Activity

Teaching is by far the most prominent aspect of what academic work entails among the part-time professors participating in this study. Of the 44 part-time professors interviewed all indicate that most of their working time in higher education is spent teaching. Moreover, all the part-time professors report that their contracts call for one activity–teaching-and they get paid for the hours they spend in teaching. However, a handful of exceptions appear. Out of these 44 interviewees, eight part-time professors state that in addition to teaching they execute other academic activities such as research, guide of theses, and participate in the accreditation of their programs. These additional activities are outside of part-time professors' contracts, and they are not considered

part of their 'official' duties. They might get paid extra for these activities though. Unlike teaching, these 'extra activities' are not included in any contract.[32]

While we find teaching is the main activity part-time professors perform, we also discover teaching is not as uniform a task as it might appear at first sight. In fact, teaching is a varied activity, and it is not executed only inside the classroom. There is a lot of teaching activity outside the classroom, as we will proceed to elaborate on. For example, we discover there is also laboratory teaching and supervision of clinical work. As mentioned before, the existing literature on U.S. part-time professors does not tackle the main aspect of what part-time professors do, but even when it addresses teaching (mostly by means of teaching effectiveness) it tends to deal with only part-time professors lecturing in the classroom (Berger et al., 2002; Gappa & Leslie, 1993; Schuetz, 2002).[33] Thus, a salient finding regarding teaching is that we discover part-time professors teaching extends beyond the classroom.

Though teaching is the overarching constant, we find at least three forms of teaching among part-time professors: classroom teaching, laboratory teaching, and supervision of clinical work. Still classroom teaching are the most prominent among these. More precisely, among the 44 part-time professors, 40 perform classroom teaching. In comparison, laboratory work is part of the teaching of 9 part-time professors, and supervision of clinical work is present among 6 part-time

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[32] A very common practice in Chile is to get paid for work performed by means of a '*boleta de honorarios*'. *Boleta de honorarios* does not need to have a work contract, does not imply any affiliation with the employer, and has no benefits associated either (e.g. health or pension coverage).

[33] Perhaps one exception to this trend is what can be observed in the US medical and health fields wherein hospital and community visits are also part of what is considered teaching for part-time professors (Bunton, 2014).

professors.[34] The portrayal of three teaching modes must be regarded as tentative due the small size of the sample used for this dissertation, and further research is needed to assess the extent to which this might represent a broader trend at both the national (Chilean) and regional (Latin American) levels.

Other support activities also complement their teaching, and for analysis we break these activities down below. Such a breakdown of teaching support activities is not documented in any of the scholarly literature although there are a few references to the work of research assistants in the case of the US, which is something that we also address here.

2.b Teaching Support Activities

The interviews reveal that most of the part-time professors do teaching preparation. Some part-time professors claim they spend between 3 to 10 hours to prepare for a two-to-three hours class. While this might be true –I only deal with what part-time professors reported-in some cases I am skeptical on the amount of teaching preparation time stated. Such as in the case of the *Entrepreneurial Part-timers* sub-type that we discussed in chapter four. These type of professors accumulate so many courses (as high as 11 courses per semester), and have taught the same courses for quite some time and so may not be needing to take that much time to prepare for classes. For the most part, however, it appears part-time professors are quite motivated with their classes, and spend a fair amount of time to prepare fine and engaging sessions even though

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[34] Total does not equal 44 because some part-time professors perform more than one type of teaching.

they are not paid for the preparation.[35] Young part-time professors and part-time professors teaching in their first or second year tend to spend more time in preparing given that they are not as familiar with their subjects of teaching and of course are less likely to have taught their courses previously.

Beyond that basic 'support activity' of teaching preparation, I identify two main aspects of teaching support activities, with multiple dimensions within each, based on what the interviewees report. First is the *evaluation of students*, which includes (a) test preparation, and (b) grading.[36] Of a different nature but also related to evaluation of students is (c) use of teaching assistants to assist with the grading of students. Second on teaching support activities is the *curriculum development.[37]* Here I identify two sub-dimensions: (1) degree of engagement with programme/curriculum design (engagement at department level), and (2) degree of autonomy for course/syllabus design (individual course level).

2.b.1 Evaluation of Students

In terms of test preparation, the majority of part-time professors develop their own instruments to evaluate their students. That is, they design their tests and exams. When it comes to grading, however, not all of them do their own grading. In fact, some part-time professors are free from

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[35] All part-time professors claimed they get paid only for their time spent in teaching. In other words, they do not get paid for any additional time to prepare for classes, office hours, and to grade students' papers, among other activities.

[36] By grading I mean the mechanical task of reading and assigning a score to a piece of work, including exams and tests.

[37] By curriculum development I mean a set of activities around the creation of planned curriculum, instruction, and delivery methods for teaching.

grading. This happens when teaching assistants (T.A.s) are assigned to do the grading. In all cases, the university pays teaching assistants

In the US research literature regarding resources available to support teaching, it appears that teaching assistants are made available to full-time professors at a rate of nearly 2:1 when compared to part-time professors (Conley & Leslie, 2002). Even more significant differences appear in the availability of this resource when comparisons are made between 2-year and 4-year institutions with professors at 4 year institutions being almost twice as likely than those at 2 year institutions to be given a teaching assistant (Conley & Leslie, 2002).

In the Latin American and Chilean cases, we do not have much evidence yet, but as the findings of this research suggest, the availability of teaching assistants could be more connected to the type of institution since I only deal with the top five universities in the country. Four of which are doctoral-granting institutions. But as we will see later, the availability of teaching assistants appear to also be connected to the kind of part-time professors that teach at these universities.

2.b.2 Curriculum Development

In relation to the first dimension of curriculum development that is engagement with programme or curriculum design, only a minority of part-time professors engage in this type of task. Program design is discussed and decided upon at the departmental level, and oftentimes includes full-time professors and experts in curriculum programming. In my study, there are a few instances where departments invite part-time professors to engage in the curriculum design. This might occur because of the perception that some of the part-time professors might have vast

experience in teaching their subject matter or because they are experts in their field. In this regard, one department chair said "whenever we need to review our curriculum because it needs an upgrade or we are being called upon because of accreditation requirements, we invite some of our part-timers that work full-time elsewhere. Who else can tell me better what job skills are needed and therefore what the focus of our education should be other than this part-timer?" Another reason why departments invite in the part-time professors is linked to the organizational culture. Some departments tend to be more inclusive of part-time professors and engage them into the academic life of the department, including curriculum programming. As another departmental chair expressed "it is policy of this department to include part-time professors in our department life as much as we can." This department case is also interesting in that part-time professors comprise the majority of the faculty at the undergraduate level. Thus, we could tentatively see that at least in this case, a high proportion of part-time professors are connected to participation in designing the curriculum. Or even if full-timers might outnumber part-timers at the department meetings, there is still an explicit policy that makes the voice of part-time professors heard.

When it comes to course or syllabus design, we observe that in the context of this study part-time professors can be (a) fully autonomous to design their syllabi, (b) limited in their autonomy as syllabi are standardized but part-time professors have some room for modifications, or (c) curriculum is also standardized and they have no room for modifications. Further explanations on the autonomy to design their syllabi among the participants of the study will be provided in the section regarding types of academic work.

2.c Few Exceptions to Part-time Professors' Academic Work

Occasionally part-time professors' academic work includes activities that are not teaching-centered. For example, two part-time professors (in different departments) participate in their departments' accreditation process. Another activity that is not teaching-centered refers to research. In our study, eight out of 44 part-time professors conduct research. These eight do so because of personal initiative, not because their contracts call for research. As a matter of fact, they do not get paid for such research endeavors–expenses and time spent are part-time professors' personal investment. The reasons they conduct research are related to what we find in chapter four. Some part-time professors have aspirations for full-time careers, and they believe that conducting research is one of the key activities they need to invest in to make that advancement happen. Research; even if it is a personal investment, is what motivates and makes the *Getting There* sub-type of professors able to make the transition from a part-time appointment towards a full-time position.

Finally, four other part-time professors indicated that they guide theses for undergraduate students in addition to their classroom teaching activities. Some guide theses ad-honorem, while others get additional pay for such activity. In many academic programs all students are required to write a thesis to graduate, and for the most part full-time professors are the ones who guide the students in this process. Although part-time professors are not obliged to participate in theses, some do regardless. This finding is striking and less predictable compared to the other findings on what part-time professors do. Oftentimes, part-time professors are perceived as marginal actors in students' journey, but guiding theses is certainly an important step towards degree completion. The fact that some departments and schools consider part-time professors to perform

this function of guiding theses imply a more relevant role and higher professional esteem for the expertise of part-time professors than is commonly believed.

3. Patterns of Variation

Analysis of the 70 interviews (44 with part-time professors, and 26 with department chairs, ex-deans, provosts, and human resources directors) reveals the existence of patterns of variation in part-time professors' academic work. We find variation in academic work in terms of (1) types of institutions (public, old private, new private), (2) *facultad* or school[38] level, and (3) types of part-time professors. The first two are major patterns dividing the academic work according to Clark's (1987) pioneering work, and reaffirmed by more contemporary research on the professoriate (Cummings & Finkelstein, 2012; Finkelstein, 2014; Musselin, 2010). The third is another major pattern for variation that we discover as part of our findings. Until now however, scholarship has explored the variation of academic work only in regard to full-time professors. While we cannot generalize it to patterns of variation among part-time professors in the US or Latin America, this research unveils that, in the Chilean case, there is indeed variation in part-time professors' academic work. Another inter-related finding is that the patterns of variation in part-time professors' academic work parallels the patterns of variation of full-time professors.

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[38] I use *facultad* and school indistinguishably, even though some places are called *facultades*, and others schools.

3. a Inter-institutional Differentiation: Public versus Private

While Burton Clark focuses on different types of higher education institutions across different sectors, this research looks at only one sector–the university sector.[39] Moreover, within the university sector we look at one type of inter-institutional differentiation--the public versus private nature of universities. In terms of the public and private distinction, I look at two dimensions as well: main activity that part-time professors perform and support activities around teaching.

3.a.1. Core Activity

Two main commonalities exist across institutions. Teaching is the core activity among part-time professors at public, old private and new private universities. In other words, I do not find significant differences across the three institutional types in what the main activity of part-time professors concern. Of the 19 part-time professors at public universities, 19 report their main activity is teaching. Similarly, 9 out of 9 part-time at old private, and 16 out of 16 part-time professors at new private universities report their principal academic activity is teaching.

But teaching can also be found beyond the classroom. Here too we see that the predominant type of teaching spreads across public, old private and new private universities relatively evenly. After classroom teaching comes laboratory teaching, which appears to be higher at publics, and

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[39] As mentioned in chapter three given the method employed to select cases, I only work with the top five universities in the country. And they represent the three juridical types of universities present in Chile namely: Public, subsidized (old) private, and unsubsidized (new) private universities.

minimal at the old and new privates. The breakdown of type of teaching by types of institutions is presented in Chart 7.

Chart 7: Core activity by Type of University

	Public Universities	Old Private Universities	New Private Universities
■ Classroom teaching	17	9	14
■ Laboratory teaching	6	2	1
■ Supervision of clinical practice	0	0	6
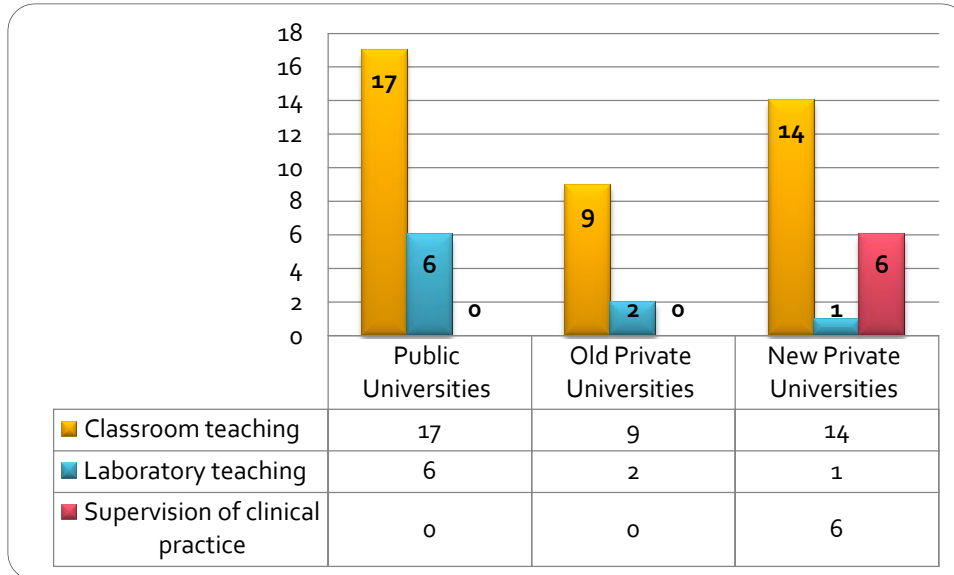
In terms of core activity, two findings emerge. One is that, in addition to the common reality that across different types of institutions-teaching is the main activity, the predominant *type* of teaching is shared as well. Classroom teaching accounts for 17 out of 19 at public, 9 out of 9 at old private, , and 14 out of 16 at new private as the main activity.

When it comes to differences, and regarding other types of teaching, although predictable, we find some differences among types of institutions. The case of laboratory teaching was concentrated in public and old private institutions, compared to new privates: 6 out of 19, 2 out of 9, and 1 out of 16, respectively. Laboratory teaching is more associated with scientific fields, and as highlighted in the literature on global private higher education (PHE), public institutions

are more likely to offer scientific fields related programs compared to privates. These scientific fields tend to be more expensive and require more full-time professors (Levy, 1986; Musial-Demurat, 2012; Praphamontripong, 2011). In the case of PUC–old private-, it tends to align more with public universities than with the new privates, and it is considered the top private research institution in Chile.

Finally, in regards to supervision of clinical practice we find that all six cases carried out by part-time professors are at new private universities. Clinical practice is an integral part of the curriculum in health fields, and in our study we find that part-time professors supervise what a student does (e.g. in a dental clinic). The student will attempt to diagnose, or treat a patient at the school's dental clinic, and the part-time professor will be guiding the students attempts, making sure the student integrates the content he/she has learned throughout the academic program. In the supervision of clinical practice, there is a lot of observation and feedback on how the student performs. Again, this type of teaching is related to health fields, and it appears consistent with the PHE literature that observes that as private higher education institutions tend to promote and market their ties to the practical job-oriented world, programs in the health fields fit within that rationale (Bjarnason et al., 2009; Kinser, 2014; Levy, 2009). But, as the selection of academic programs in this research project is limited in scope, further research is needed to confirm this trend.

3.a.2 Teaching Support Activities

In terms of teaching support activities, three findings emerge regarding the evaluation of students. The first is the predominant common activity of test and exam preparation among part-

time professors across institutional types. Second, grading of students' work also appears to be fairly common across institutions. Third, some considerable inter-institutional differences appear in terms of the use of teaching assistants to support the grading of students' assignments. The breakdown of evaluation of students' activities by type of institutions is shown in Chart 8.

Chart 8: Evaluation of Students by Type of Institutions

	Public Universities	Old Private Universities	New Private Universities
Test/Exam Preparation	17	9	12
Grading	16	5	15
Teaching Assistant	11	6	2
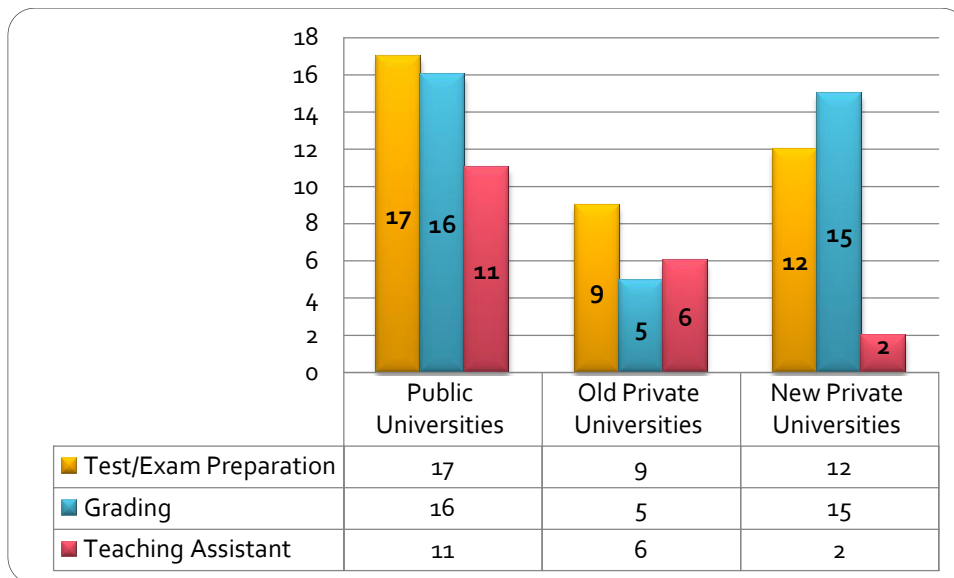
Test and exam preparation among part time faculty is widespread across public, old and new private institutions. We would expect all part-time professors develop their own means to evaluate students, but in reality it appears that this task sometimes is detached from part-time professors' teaching. As Chart 8 suggests, a high proportion of part-time professors at public-17 out of 19 cases-and old private -9 out of 9 cases- are in charge of their test and exam preparation. In comparison, at the new private universities part-time professors develop their instruments for evaluation to a lesser extent-12 out of 16 cases. Sometimes departments tend to be in charge of some of the 'support activities' as means to streamline teaching delivery given the large number

of sections and their organizational models to control part-time professors' work. This situation is consistent with what appears to be an increasing practice, as for example, at U.S. for-profit private institutions (Kinser, 2002, 2014).

Next, regarding grading, part-time professors at both public and new private universities tend to have a higher proportion of grading as part of their obligations. While 16 out of 19 and 15 out of 16 part-time professors from public and new private universities respectively, have grading as part of their work, only 5 out of 9 part-time professors at old private universities undertake this task. To be sure, all part-time professors in this study consider grading to be a very time consuming task. Thus, having support for grading or having this task removed from their teaching responsibilities is considered a 'good perk'. This is mostly because that means less work, yet the hourly-rate pay remains the same. Sometimes institutions release part-time professors from grading as a way to lure and retain them. That is the case of PUC, the old private university that uses this mechanism as a means to entice their part-time professors, and especially those working outside of the university. But if grading is removed from teaching, it means someone else is assuming that role. The PUC has the economic resources to afford this 'extra cost'; PUC explains the full old private edge. This is not the case of public universities, which, while very prestigious in the country–particularly the ones selected in this study, they oftentimes lack sufficient economic resources. Thus, it could be that at public universities, part-time professors are required to do the grading, although as we will see below, the university might provide teaching support to alleviate this task. At new private universities, part-time professors tend to undertake a higher share of the grading in light of the inter-institutional comparison.

Also related to grading is the availability of teaching support that universities provide by means of teaching assistants (T.A.s). Here we see a return to our common inter-sectoral configuration: public and old private on the one hand, and new private on the other. Public and old private universities provide T.A.s in higher proportion than do the new private universities: 11 out of 19 part-time professors at public, 6 out of 9 at old privates, and only 2 out of 16 part-time professors at new private have teaching assistants..

A second dimension regarding support activities refers to the design of curriculum. Chart 9 provides an overview on the breakdown of curriculum development by institutional types.

Chart 9: Curriculum Development by Types of Institutions

	Public Universities	Old Private Universities	New Private Universities
Design of curriculum	7	1	0
Design own syllabus	7	4	2
Syllabus is standarized but WITH room for modifications	10	3	5
Syllabus is standarized but with NO room for modifications	2	2	9
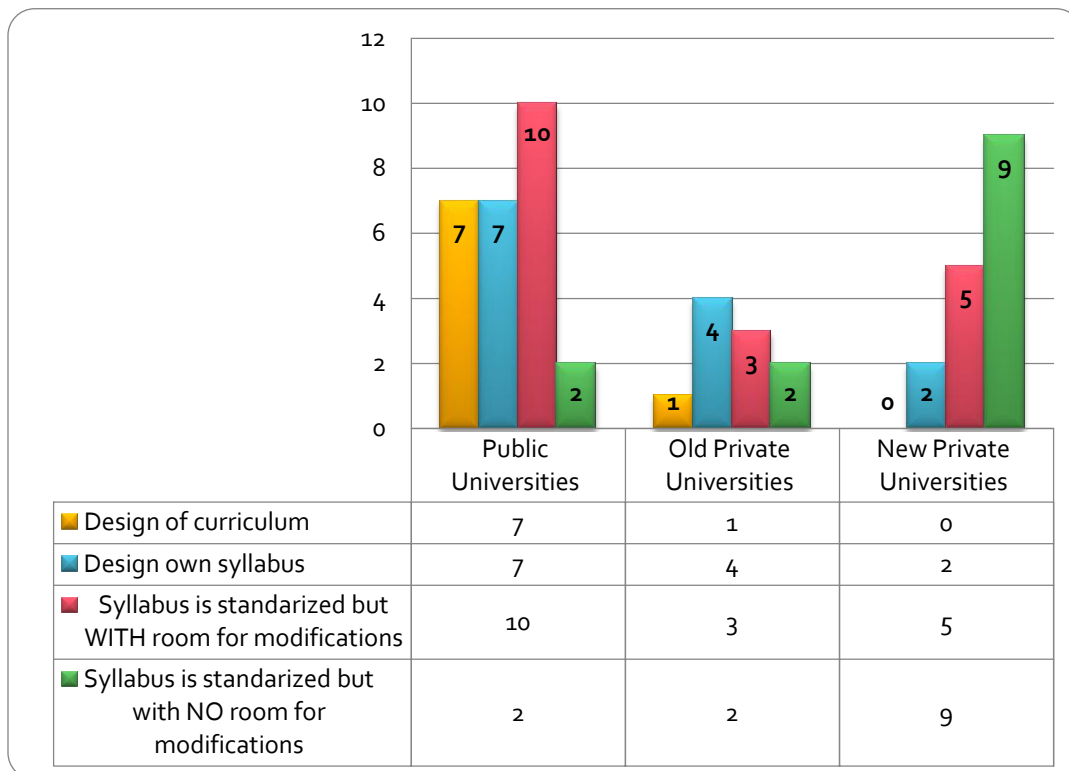
We see again our typical combination on inter-institutional differentiation and academic work. Part-time professors at public universities tend to engage more in curriculum design at the departmental level (7 out of 19), than their old private counterparts (1 out of 9), and none (zero) at new private universities. The PHE literature highlights that institutional governance tends to be more top-down at private universities (Levy, 2002), which is the case even for our old private university (Andrés Bernasconi, 2004). Public universities, in contrast, would lean towards a bottom-up approach to governance when it comes to academic matters. Of course these modes of institutional governance are ideal types and they tend to show nuances in the reality, or even show some degree of homogeneity between public and old private universities, as is the case in Chile (Andres Bernasconi, 2010; Levy, 1986). However, and not surprisingly, we observe that part-time professors tend to engage with curriculum design to a greater extent at public universities, even though the figures do not appear so significant. In contrast, the engagement with curriculum among part-time professors is almost non-existent at both old and new private universities.

Regarding syllabus design, additional modest inter-institutional differences appear. Public and old private universities align in this facet of teaching support activities, although proportionally it appears that part-time professors are more autonomous to design their own syllabi at old private universities than public universities with 4 out of 9, compared to 7 out of 19 part-time professors respectively. Again, at new private universities, part-time professors have little autonomy in designing their syllabi with only 2 out of 16 doing so. The autonomy of full-time professors has long been considered an important characteristic of the academic profession, and while no U.S. research evidence exists on what autonomy of part-time professors enjoy, our findings reveal

some degrees of autonomy, as we will discuss more extensively with the third major pattern of variation in part-time professors' academic work.

Where part-time professors are not autonomous to design their syllabi, they instead receive pre-designed syllabi from their *facultades* and schools. This pre-designed syllabus might have some room for modifications or no room for modifications at all. As chart 3 displays, pre-designed syllabus with room for modifications tend to be fairly widespread across the three types of institutions. However, again we see old and new private universities align as they have a higher proportion of syllabi with room for modifications: 33%, 31%, and 53%, respectively. When it comes to a syllabus that is handed down by departments and schools but have no room for modifications, more stark differences appear across institutions. In this regard, new private universities take the lead: 9 out of 16 (56%). In contrast, this is the case of only 2 out of 19 (11%) at public universities, and 2 out of 9 (22%) for part-time professors at old privates.

3.b *Facultades* and Schools

Another (different) dimension that accounts for variation in part-time professors' academic work refers to *facultades* and schools. In our research, and as discussed in chapter three, nine different fields of knowledge are represented, including both disciplinary and professional fields.[40] In terms of fields of knowledge we discover salient findings regarding teaching allocation. Findings can be seen in terms of major differences as well as key commonalities.

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[40] Mathematics, chemistry, sociology, and history comprise the disciplinary fields, whereas engineering, nursing, education, odontology, and architecture comprise the professional fields.

3.b.1 Teaching Allocation: What is Common Across *Facultades* and Schools

Two main commonalities emerge between *facultades* and schools. One commonality is that none of these academic units in our study assign part-time professors to teach core courses. In fact, the core courses[41] are all taught by full-time professors. Because in Chile core courses are understood to mean both required and fundamental coursework, it seems there is a 'double' reason to not entrust core courses to part-time professors.

Second, another commonality emerges between *facultades* and schools in what is called *lineas profesionales*. *Lineas profesionales* refer to those areas of the curriculum that have a professionalist component as taught in specific courses, which is obviously more prominent in professional fields than in disciplines. In the disciplines, part-time professors teach professionalist-related courses that are intended for advanced students in their fourth and fifth years. In professional fields, part-time professors also teach professionalist-related courses but as *lineas profesionales* are more relevant for the professional fields, part-time professors are found teaching this type of courses to a wider range of students –not only advanced students as would be the case in the disciplines.

To be sure, the need and importance of part-time professors in professional fields is well and long established in the Latin American higher education literature (Levy, 2005). Our research findings support this evidence as I also found how critical part-time professors are for the training of students at professionalist programs. In the words of the department chair in Architecture, "our program exists only because of our part-time professors. Otherwise, we could

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[41] The meaning of core courses in the Chilean context is both courses that every student should get and courses that are considered to be the foundations of the program.

not even exist." Similarly the chair of the odontology program claimed "the part-time professor is the soul of this university. They are the link to the real world." These claims represent well the relevance that part-time professors have in professional fields, and while this relevance is a tradition in these fields, we nonetheless find evidence that this is reflective of the current reality.

What could be considered novel in this study, however, is the role of part-time professors in the disciplines. Disciplinary fields can indeed live well without part-time professors, but even in the case of the natural sciences, where the research paradigm is at the core of its work; their need for part-time professors is to some extent critical. For example, in mathematics, the department chair mentioned how much they regret the policy of wiping out part-time professors from their department.[42] The chair expressed some regrets because there was one part-time professor who was so specialized in his topic in the industry that since he could no longer be hired that meant the mathematics department missed his critical knowledge. Similarly, is the point in case made by the ex-dean of the *Facultad* of Chemistry. In chemistry (PUC) they have mostly full-time professors and just a handful of part-time professors. The ex-dean explained they keep their part-time professors because of their unique expertise as well as because they provide training in areas that those full-time professors are not knowledgeable about. These examples bring a point pertinent to our findings that while the role of part-time professors and their need is rather obvious in professional fields, as it is in its very nature of work, the critical need for part-time professors goes beyond the professional fields and also reaches disciplines whose critical need is also a reality, especially in regards to the *lineas profesionales,* although at a smaller scale.

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[42] In fact, this department converted the part-time model into the full-time adjunct model, as we discussed in more detail in chapter four.

3.b.2 Differences

When it comes to differences regarding teaching allocation, two major findings emerge. One important aspect appears in the disciplines that is absent in the professional fields. In the disciplines, there are some cases where the use of part-time professors is directed to absorb the teaching demand coming from other academic units within the same university. In part because of the particular organizational modes of universities and their arrangements for teaching delivery, some disciplinary programs have to provide *cursos de servicios*[43] to students that need them to meet their program requirements. In such cases these program requirements are not offered by their own department. Thus, in order to absorb this extra teaching demand, departments hire part-time professors. That is the case for Sociology (PUC), Chemistry (PUC, USACH), and Mathematics (UNAB). For example, USACH's chemistry program provides 'teaching services' to all USACH programs that need basic science courses in their programs. Similarly, the sociology program at PUC also has to offer *cursos de servicios* to other academic units. What is distinctive in this case is that both the Institute of Sociology Chair and the academic coordinator claimed that they use their own graduate students[44] to perform the service function. It is a policy for the sociology program not to hire part-time professors other than those developed through their own program. By doing so, they provide teaching experience for sociology's graduate students, which will be beneficial for those who might have full-time career aspirations once they finish their graduate programs. At this point, it is difficult to assess to what extent the service function fits into the disciplinary fields, as many factors might be at play

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[43] *Cursos de servicios* are mostly introductory and lower division courses.

[44] Unlike the US system where graduate students get to teach as part of their obligations related to their funding (i.e. assistantship) in Chile, and in this particular case at PUC, graduate students get pay for their teaching duties at the same competitive pay any other employee would have for this work as a part-time job. In other words, for these Chilean graduate students teaching is not considered part of their scholarship/assistantship obligations.

including organizational structures and curriculum planning that goes well beyond the scope of this research.

Another aspect that is distinctive in the handling of part-time teaching appears in professional fields. In some of the professional programs–engineering and odontology-the allocation of part-time teaching appointments is directed to provide basic science courses. Because the field is mostly professionalist, their full-time academics are also professionals, so all the areas that are related to basic sciences are contracted out, hence the use of part-time professors. In this regard, one department chair in engineering explained that in his school "the engineering program is comprised of many courses in basic sciences during its first two years [e.g. biology, physics], so for these particular scientific courses we employ part-timers." Drawing on the relevant Latin American higher education literature (Levy, 2005), and related to the prior findings on the 'service function', we can assume that professional schools tend to follow their tradition of being rather self-sufficient in the sense of not depending upon other units in the university to offer courses to their students. It could be that instead of engineering students going to the mathematics department to take mathematics courses, the engineering school hires part-time professors to teach the sort of mathematics they think engineers should have. A different yet similar case is architecture. In the architecture program, some of the 'basic science' courses are taught by full-time professors affiliated with other academic units at the university. So, for these types of courses, they also contract out, but instead of part-time professors they employ full-time professors from other academic programs. Once more, further research is needed to understand in-depth what is at the core of these findings.

3.c Control Over Academic Work

3.c.1 Types of Academic Work

In the prior sections of chapter five we have discussed the overarching findings showing that teaching is the predominant activity part-time professors perform. Additionally, we discussed how teaching manifests itself in different forms depending on whether the professors are working at a public or private university. Further we found that departments, *facultades,* and schools allocate teaching loads based on particular rationales and needs. In this section, one more dimension related to what makes the academic work vary is discussed. As opposed to the previous discussions where the variation among part-time faculty was based on structural dimensions (i.e. institutional type, academic units) this third discussion will revolve around the individual characteristics of the faculty. These characteristics of individual faculty will be examined through the different employment categories of part-time professors, as presented in chapter four.

In this section, I will characterize and categorize the academic work of part-time professors in Chile by building upon both the extant sociological literature on academic work both in the US and globally (Clark, 1987; Finkelstein, 2014; Teichler et al., 2013). I will also continue to build upon the typology of part-time professors developed in chapter four. The sociology of academic work has long established the connection between full-time professors' expertise and their ability to exert influence and create autonomy over academic matters such as curriculum and evaluation of students (AAHE-ERIC/Higher Education Research Report, 1979; McConnell, 1971). The basic idea is that the more well regarded a full-time professor is in relation to their expertise in his/her field, the more autonomous and authoritative such faculty are to make decisions upon

academic matters. But as previous research has focused mostly on full-time professors, we do not know yet what will be the case for part-time professors. However, this study has shed light on part-time professors' expertise as we analyzed their employment profiles in chapter four. We cannot fully extrapolate the concept of autonomy to the analysis of part-time professors' academic work because of limited empirical research. Nonetheless we can classify part-time professors' academic work and group the different sub-types of professors based on how much personal control over academic workaday academic life each of the specific types of part-time professors have. This is to say in this section, I deal with only one dimension that distinguishes and categorizes the academic work of part-time professors: personal control.

In this section (3.c) I combine the prior structural variables we discussed in the earlier sections (inter-institutional variation and *facultad* allocation of work) and add one more into the analysis of what part-time professors do: part-time professors' employment categories. Then, I look at four variables-activities performed by part-time professors (main and related tasks), type of institutions (public/private)[45], *facultad allocation of work*, and type of part-time professor (author's typology). Then I analyze these four variables in my interview data with all of the 70 interviewees –44 part-time professors and 26 university administrators— in the five universities across the nine different *facultades* and professional schools.

Based on the analysis of these four variables, I am able to construct a set of categories of what the academic work of part-time professors entail. These categories of academic work have specific characteristics. One of these is a connection between who these part-time professors are

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[45] We use institutions interchangeably with universities.

(as analyzed in our typology in chapter four) and what they do in higher education. As the chief academic work of part-time professors is teaching, I examine how much personal control faculty have within these different categories of academic work in matters related to curriculum and evaluation of students. Both of these activities are fundamental aspects of teaching. Thus, the relationship between the types of part-time professors and the activities they perform led me to identify different clusters of personal control among part-time professors' academic work. In doing so, I discover patterns of academic work based on the recurring activities of part-time professors. I then group these differing patterns of academic work into three main clusters based on their levels of personal control.

Our working definition of personal control is the freedom that part-time professors have to decide about the conditions of their academic work. As we now know their main academic work is teaching, so then the personal control is observed in relation to the ability that part-time professors have to decide about teaching and the activities revolving around teaching. Teaching includes curriculum design, syllabus design, evaluation of students, and access to teaching assistants. I consider the curriculum design to represent the highest level of personal control, with design of syllabus, evaluation of students, and access to teaching assistants being in descending hierarchical order respectively. I put curriculum design highest because it refers to the ability of part-time professors to exert influence on academic matters at the departmental level. In other words, curriculum design is the highest because it refers to the ability of part-time professors to influence academic affairs that go beyond their individual performance, as it influences academic design policies at a broader level. Syllabus design is important for personal control at the 'course level'. Evaluation of students and access to teaching assistants are aspects

that the literature on full-time professors does not include but that we add because they contribute to the affective control these part-time professors have about the conditions of their academic work. In the following sections, I will discuss the different configurations that these activities form as I try to group them in clusters based on what and how much personal control each sub-type of part-time professor displays. To be sure, this is a matter of qualitative interpretation, and I do not weight quantitatively the configurations that these tasks form in reality because of the small scope of this dissertation. Based on this working definition, I proceed to pair all the sub-types with their corresponding cluster based on their different levels of personal control over academic activities. That is how I was able to sort and classify all the sub-types in one coherent framework, as we discuss below.

3.c.2. Overview of Sub-types of Part-time Professors and Categories of Academic Work

Regarding the three clusters, the first cluster corresponds to the academic work performed by two sub-types: *Traditional Latin American Part-timer* and *Career Turning Point*s. The second cluster, is represented by the *Getting There, Family First,* and *Full-time Adjuncts* sub-types. Finally the third cluster includes the sub-types *Retirees, Entrepreneurial Part-timers,* and the *Falling Short* [Table 7].

Table 7: Part-time Professor Sub-types and Control over Academic Work at Glance

	Personal Control		
	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3
Outsider Professionals (OP)			
Traditional Latin American Part-timer	✔		
Career Turning Points	✔		
Retirees			✔
Higher Education Teachers (HET)			
Entrepreneurial Part-timer			✔
Falling Short			✔
Getting There		✔	
Family First		✔	
Full-Time Adjunct		✔	

For each cluster I provide an overall description of the main and related tasks part-time professors perform. I show how each of the eight specific sub-types of part-time professors fall under one respective cluster. Next, I characterize how universities (including private vs. public), as well as departments, *facultades*, and schools put to use the academic work of part-time professors by addressing how they allocate tasks.

Table 8 provides a summary overview of the types of academic work based on the levels of personal control. In the following sections I explain in more detail what each of these clusters entails.

Table 8: Overview of Categories of Academic Work and Personal Control[46]

Cluster 1 (OP)	Cluster 2 (HET)	Cluster 3 (OP) + (HET)
Design own syllabus (Traditional L.A., Career Turning Point)	Some participate in curriculum design (FT Adjunct)	Syllabus is standardized but WITH room for modifications (Retiree)
Do not have to grade	Design own syllabus (Family First, Getting There)	Syllabus is standarized but with NO room for modifications (Entrepreneurial, Falling Short)
Have teaching assistants	Have to grade	Have to grade
Engineering, Chemistry (Professionalist & Disciplinary fields)	Have teaching assistants (Getting There, FT Adjunct)	Do not have teaching assistants
Old private university	Do not have teaching assistants (Family First)	Engineering, Chemistry, History, Architecture, Nursing, Odontology (Disciplinary & Professionalist fields)
	Sociology, Mathematics, Chemistry, Nursing (Disciplinary & Professionalist fields)	Public, Old, New private university
	Public, new private university	

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[46] In different color (purple) appear the structural variables bringing variation to part-time professors' academic work, and that we include here for summary overview purposes.

3.c.3 Cluster 1 (OP)

Only Outsider Professionals (OP) falls within cluster one. This is effective—dealing with the big two separate major types and thereafter the sub-types within them. But not all OP fit; it is the *Traditional Latin American Part-timer* and the *Career Turning Points* sub-types that comprise this group. As we know, the predominant form of their teaching is in the classroom (not in the laboratory or in the form of supervision of clinical practice). In regards to curriculum development and evaluation of students, the *Traditional Latin American Part-timer* and the *Career Turning Points* are in charge of the design of their own syllabus. Facilitating this, they all have teaching assistants, and they are released from grading.

Underscoring the weight of the syllabus control as an indicator of personal control is the fact that such control is rare among the other groups of part-time professors, as seen in Table 8. But the authority that the *Traditional Latin American Part-timer* and the *Career Turning Points* exert at the 'course level' needs to be seen in light of the schools and departments where they work as well. These two sub-types of part-time professors are found working at the Engineering School and the *Facultad* of Chemistry. In other words, the Outsider Professionals that comprise cluster one are found in only certain disciplinary and professional fields.

As we mentioned earlier, the literature on sociology of academic work has shown faculty power comes from the expertise that professors have. As for our study, the higher degree of personal freedom in the first cluster stems from their expertise, not from job experience in higher education, but from their job experience outside academia. Moreover, these sub-types of part-time professors are very successful in their professional careers; they are also experts in areas

that are well paid and high in status within the Chilean society. Thus, the academic units housing them perceive this group of part-time professors as 'experts' that are invaluable in providing some type of knowledge that otherwise the university would not be able to provide for their students. To some extent, that is why these part-time professors have leeway to decide on the content and on how to teach their particular courses as reflected in their ability to design their own syllabus. In fact, all the *Traditional Latin American Part-timers* and *Career Turning Points* design their syllabus. They know better than anybody else their field of study, and given their employment profiles, the *facultades* and schools that employ them trust and accept their authoritative knowledge thus granting them greater personal control within the university.

But as often happens with successful professionals, these part-time professors–the *Traditional Latin American Part-timer* and the *Career Turning Points*-are very busy, and so their time is limited. In order to recruit such part time faculty and make teaching part-time more attractive for them, these academic units–The Engineering School and *Facultad* of Chemistry-exempt both sub-types from grading. Grading is a very time consuming task and even more so when the size of the classes continues growing year after year (as many of the participants of my study report), which oftentimes leads part-time faculty to consider grading as the 'dark side of teaching' or the dirty work that is to be avoided whenever possible. Additionally, the *Traditional Latin American Part-timers* and the *Career Turning Points* are provided with teaching assistants who are intended to assist with the evaluation of students under the part-time professor's oversight, thus further reducing their workload. Being free from grading as well as being provided with teaching assistants is probably less clear in terms of faculty's degree of personal control. But as we observe, these two activities of grading and access to teaching assistants, are reflective of a part-

151

timer's academic status and authority, not to say they also free their time for activities they choose, These two activities help to strengthen the influence that cluster one exerts in regards to their teaching activities.

In terms of teaching allocation, we observe the *Facultad* of Chemistry and the School of Engineering tend to use these sub-types of part-time professors–*Traditional Latin American Part-timer* and *Career Turning Points*-for very specific subject matters, These courses are intended mostly for advanced undergraduate students at the end of their academic programs. That is to say that these academic units use the 'expert' knowledge of part-time professors to provide training in areas that are both fairly unique and that full-time faculty are not able to teach because it is mostly linked to the outside professional world. Research academics have limited knowledge and access to this world. A notable example of this phenomenon is in the case of the course taught at the *Facultad* of Chemistry titled 'private pharmacy'. This part-time professor is a chemist whose work stems from his experience in the management of transnational drug companies. So, rather than conducting experiments and research as most of the full-time academics would do, this part-time professor teaches about how the for-profit business of chemistry looks internationally. This part-time professor develops his own syllabus as no one else could design it the way he does given his distinctive expertise. The ex-dean of the *facultad* argued that in this particular case they treat him with "kid gloves" because otherwise they could lose him and there is no means to replace him. "If he leaves us, then the class is over" the ex-dean said. Besides, the students really like him because his class focuses on the 'real [job market] world', and a few of them have even followed his career path. Thus, the "kid gloves" treatment in this context means to give him leeway to design his class as well as to provide him with

teaching assistants. But this specialized knowledge also has limits. As the ex-dean put it "what do I do with this professor beyond his class? He is too specialized in his topic and by no means could I have him full-time." Based on these needs for specialized teaching, schools and *facultades* have a corresponding demand for such types of professors. We observe that in the context of our study the more specialized the expertise and the higher the demand for such specialized teaching, the more resources institutions are likely to display to attract their part-time professors.

The School of Engineering also has a similar approach of using these types of part-time professors to train students in areas of expertise that otherwise are not attainable by the school. Because of the specialized subject matter, the School of Engineering also allocates this type of teaching to students in their fifth and sixth years.[47] That is the case, for instance, with the course on 'finance'. The school has very specific requirements for the classes' part-time professor: an alumnus who also has an MBA from a foreign institution. The requirement is not so easy to meet given the alumni are always in high demand in the job market because of the field and therefore often unavailable to teach. Since the institution these specific students are coming from is also the top private university in the country, for most of these students there are ample opportunities for well-paying jobs, without needing to further pursue a graduate education. The challenge of finding competent teachers for such a course get even more complex when in addition to trying to find that type of professional with an MBA, they add the fact that the professional has to be willing to spend some of his/her time in the classroom. So, for the few of them who are willing to teach, the institution clearly creates accommodations to lure them. One of the participants of

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[47] A common reality is in Chile is that most of the academic programs last 5 years or the equivalent to 10 semesters. As for the particular case of Engineering, it tends to be even longer: 6 years or 12 semesters.

my study even said that the School of Engineering has a database with the most recent alumni, and they track them. "One day I got a call from the school saying they knew about me, and asked me if I was interested in teaching finance, which I thought was great because I am actually the CEO for finance in a national company." It is clear, then, that the school also has very specific ideas of what a 'good part-time professor' is. If this good part-time professor is hard to get, then the school becomes very proactive in order to recruit them.

Just as the scarcity of available 'expert' part-time professors for certain disciplines is an issue, so too is their retention. Some of the professors and administrators at the School of Engineering asserted, "we have here two types of part-timers: The ones who stay in the institution for many years, and the others, usually the younger professors, who come and teach one or two years [and then leave]." The retention challenge grows, as enrollment increases along with the accompanying increase in demand for such faculty. The School of Engineering has implemented different initiatives, such as to engage these part-time professors with the academic life of the school. On the other hand, money is not an incentive since the pay for teaching part-time is relatively low considering the astonishing salaries these engineers command outside of academia.[48] So, the school has been trying to make their part-time professors feel at home and has also tried to acknowledge their contribution publicly to increase the status of such teaching positions. And it somewhat "compensates" these part-time professors with personal control over ongoing academic activities, even as it cannot compensate much with money. In fact, a couple of years ago the School of Engineering began organizing an award ceremony at the end of the academic year. In the interview, the assistant dean explained that the dean sends an invitation to

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[48] In the market for part-time professors, however, the pay at the School of Engineering is among the highest when compared to other fields, especially the disciplinary fields.

all the part-time professors working at his school (of which we speculate many would fit into our two sub-types of OP, given the profile of the school and their requirements for being a part-time professor) to participate in a formal cocktail ceremony wherein they give awards to the best part-time professors for the year. The award to the best part-time professors includes both a commemorative plaque as well as an economic incentive. At the ceremony the dean also takes the opportunity to inform part-time professors about the ongoing activities and projects of the school, so they can understand the contribution of their teaching within a broader context. As one of the part-time professors exclaimed, "The award ceremony is very useful to keep us up to date with what is going on at the school. I also found it great that the Dean stayed until the end, so he made sure he talked to each of us." Thus, for those academic units that perceive their part-time professors as a special and rare 'asset', efforts at enticement and retention are significant.

But if these types of part-time professors are so authoritative how is it that they do not participate in the curriculum design, which is probably more critical when it comes to professors' personal control? When analyzing the patterns of academic work among the participants of this study, it was clear that part-time faculty in cluster one stand apart from their counterparts. However, it was striking to observe that among these part-time faculty none engaged in curriculum design, which is carried out at the school/*facultad* levels, and which in our working definition appears as the highest representation of personal control. Full-time professors exercise their influence in academic matters, not only in terms of their individual activities but also in wider governance structures, including the department level. So, our initial conjecture is that as we observe these two sub-types of part-time professors exerting a higher degree of personal control in what and how they teach at the individual course level, they could also be found emulating the

155

participation of full-timers by engaging in the planning/design of the curriculum at their respective *facultad* or school. However, we did not find that to be the case. In fact, no single individual in this cluster engages in curriculum design. Thus, although this cluster has a great deal of personal among part-time faculty it is still behind the personal control and autonomy level common with full-time research professors.

More research is needed to understand this phenomenon further. However it is worth noting another commonality within this cluster that may help us gain insight into this. Namely the fact that faculty within this first cluster all teach at the old private university type. While part-time professors appear to enjoy personal control at the individual and school/*facultad* levels, the type of institution that houses them seems to impose certain limitations to that personal control. As the literature on private higher education has shown, private institutions tend to be more top-down and less democratic in their decision-making processes.[49] Another possible reason for such part time faculty not engaging with the curriculum at the department level might relate to the fact that these part-time professors are very busy with their outside jobs, and may simply lack the time or interest to engage with departmental meetings.

While the part-time professors of cluster one perform academic work that includes the design of their own syllabus (and not curriculum design), they are released from grading students, have teaching assistants, and their academic units accommodate them in some special ways. The second cluster, presents a mix of academic work and available resources.

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[49] So, it could be that these part-time professors are granted personal control to the extent that is acceptable for a private institution but that this does not include granting them access to curriculum design at the school level.

3.c.4 Cluster 2 (HET)

In sharp contrast to cluster one that is comprised exclusively by OP, the second cluster consists exclusively of Higher Education Teachers (HET). Thus, even though cluster one is not about personal control across the board, we are observing here major differences between our first two clusters. The sub-types of the HET in cluster two are the *Full-time Adjuncts, Getting There,* and *Family First.*[50] Of course, their main academic work is classroom teaching but some part-time professors in this group do laboratory teaching as well. One part-time professor also does supervision of clinical work. Regarding teaching support activities–curriculum development and evaluation of students-the *Full-time Adjuncts, Getting There,* and *Family First* are sometimes even involved with the curriculum design, design of syllabi, as well as teaching assistants who are available for some (but not all) of these faculty. Without exception all have to grade their students work.

This cluster two presents a more diverse mix of activities compared to the first cluster, even though there is some mix even there. A main commonality within the semi-autonomous cluster is that all faculty have to do their own grading. As Table 8 shows, the second cluster is also similar to cluster three in regards to grading obligations. Furthermore, the combinations of diverse activities found in this second cluster preclude them from fitting in with the first cluster. Within the second cluster the three sub-types-*Full-time Adjuncts, Getting There,* and *Family First*-come to fit the cluster in different ways, with different mixes as to where they have considerable personal control and where they do not. For example, while some of the cluster two part-time

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[50] The other two sub-types that also comprise the HET type are the *Entrepreneurial Part-timer* and the *Falling Short*. These two types do not fit within the semi-autonomous group but to the minimally autonomous cluster instead.

professors like the *Full-time Adjuncts* engage in curriculum design (unlike their highly autonomous peers who do not engage with it) at the same time they also have to work with a syllabus that is already pre-designed. Other cluster two faculty in turn design their syllabus but the other activities revolving around teaching do not appear to strengthen their authority as they have to grade, and do not have teaching assistants.

In our analysis, the mixed or uneven authority that the *Full-time Adjuncts, Getting There,* and *Family First* sub-types of professors have is best understood if we consider both the academic units and the type of institutions they work at: The cluster two part-time professors are found in disciplinary as well as professionalist fields. Moreover, some work at public universities, while others are employed at the new private universities.

In Table 8 we observe degrees of personal control among part-time professors that appear to be consistent with their level of expertise. At the same time this personal control not only influences the perception and authority they might have but also how colleges and schools make use of that expertise. In the particular case of *Full-time Adjuncts*, for instance, we know from our typology that they are PhD holders and have vast experience in the classroom. They have full-time contracts, and are in some ways similar to their full-time counterparts. Nonetheless they are hired solely for teaching. Given their credentials they are perceived as authoritative to participate in all matters related to teaching, including the development of the curriculum or the preparation of study materials for the students. They also have teaching assistants. However, their authoritative knowledge in teaching related matters presents some limitations. A couple of them exclaimed, "some of the faculty look down on our role because we do not engage in research. They do not

understand our role as adjuncts." Another said, "Being a full-time adjunct is like being a second-class citizen. There is this demeaning treatment to what we do." So while the *facultades* perceive them as 'teaching experts' and therefore they have influence at the curriculum programming level, that authority is to some extent diminished when it comes to academic status.

Regarding the other sub-types of professors included in this cluster, the *Getting There* and the *Family First*, we observe uneven degrees of personal control. All the *Getting There* and some of the *Family First* design their syllabi, but they have to do the marking of students' papers, and do not have teaching assistants. As we discussed before, the evaluation of students and access to teaching assistants is less critical to the concept of personal control, but as we see in the case of our part-time reality, these two activities come to strengthen the authority that part-time professors exert. Thus, unlike the *Traditional Latin American Part-timer* and the *Career Turning Points* who also design their syllabi, do not have to grade their students, and have teaching assistants, the *Getting There* and the *Family First* differ in these two 'less' yet important aspects. To some extent, having the obligation to grade students and the lack of access to teaching assistants reflect how *facultades* and schools impose some restrictions to the personal control of these part-time professors, which is not the case for the first cluster.

The authority to design the syllabus is also related to the subject matters that these part-time professors are experts on. They are fairly specialized. As the name suggests, the *Getting There* are transitioning towards a full-time (research) position. This means they are considered valuable by their respective academic units, and the *facultades* and schools deem them authoritative in their fields. So much so, that all of them were already in the process of getting hired as full-time

professors by the time the interviews were taking place. As for the *Family First* professors, they are also part of cluster two because of their training and expertise. That is the case for example, of one *Family First* who 'runs with advantage' compared to his colleagues: he is an engineer teaching at the mathematics department. This engineer is unique in various ways. He started teaching part-time when he was an undergraduate, and has never stopped teaching. He claimed to 'run with advantage' because of his training in engineering, which no one else has at the mathematics department. The department chair oftentimes asks him to teach different courses, and when he does he also designs the syllabus. This advantage also translates into salary gains. "I get paid more than my colleagues who are mathematicians or bio-statisticians, because I'm an engineer. But I also get a lot of requests from the chair, as he oftentimes approach me to give him ideas as for how to teach X and Y given the type of students we have too." Thus, the uneven degree of personal control we observe appears in regards to the different expertise and specific type of training of the part-time professors.

When it comes to teaching allocation, we observe that the sociology and mathematics departments, along with the *Facultad* of Chemistry and School of Nursing tend to use these three sub-types of part-time professors for introductory courses that serve mostly freshmen and sophomore students. These academic units use the great experience in the classroom that all the *Full-time Adjunct, Getting There,* and *Family First* have to provide teaching in areas that are in high demand given the curriculum requirements that all undergraduate students are mandated to fulfill. Thus, the departments and schools use these part-time professors to teach classes that due to their mandatory nature are always full of students. Unlike the very specialized courses for advanced students that the *Traditional Latin American Part-timer* and the *Career Turning Points*

teach, that have only a handful of students in their classrooms, these introductory classes are usually large in size. As a result of this large classroom size, and given that this second cluster all have to grade, and only some have teaching assistants, one can see how the grading can become very burdensome for such faculty. Then, without T.A. support and with a grading burden, part-time professors are left with less time than they would be otherwise for activities they might choose and activities they do autonomously.

But the fact that the *Full-time Adjuncts, Getting There,* and *Family First* tend to teach introductory courses is also influenced by their perceived degree of expertise. This expertise is valued by the schools and *facultades* for different reasons when we consider the first cluster. For the mathematics department, for example, they moved from the 'part-time teaching model' towards the 'full-time adjunct model' because they considered that the students need the same professors more consistently if they want to succeed. In this sense, the chair argued, "Mathematics is not something you can memorize only. You need to practice it to get it right. That is why the presence and availability of the professor is so important. If a student comes with a question and they do not find his/her professor then that student is going to be in trouble with their learning. Thus, in our case the professor who comes to teach and then leaves does not work well for us." On the other hand, the fact that the *Full-time Adjunct* professor is always available for the students assures that the other full-timers (researchers) do not get bothered with other professors' student requests, and therefore they are at ease to pursue their research endeavors. "What happened in the past [with the part-timers] was that the students would come to the department looking for them to get help. Because they couldn't find them, what did they do? They went to ask whoever was at the department. Thus, I didn't want the researchers to add more

workload that in fact belonged to other [part-time] professors. I prefer to have them [Full time faculty] focusing on their own students and do their research." So, in this particular case the part-time professors comprising cluster two appear to have their personal control restricted. The rationale that this academic unit has to allocate teaching tends to diminish the value of their expertise. This in turn negatively affects their ability to decide about teaching as these *Full-time Adjuncts* work with pre-designed syllabi only.

But how is it that some part-time professors in this cluster engage in curriculum design, a small number design syllabus, while a few others show nearly no signs of personal control whatsoever? As I analyze the configuration of academic work among the part-time professors I realize that the institutional affiliation might play a role in this uneven exertion of faculty authority. That is the case of the public universities in our study, which are the only type of institution that allows part-time professors to engage in the curriculum design that is decided at the departmental level. Interestingly, for example, is the different degree of personal control between two equivalent sub-types of cluster two professors as compared with *Full-time Adjuncts*. The *Full-Time Adjuncts* overall show similar characteristics in what their academic work concerns, but differences arise as some are found at one old private university and others at public. None of the Full-time adjuncts affiliated with the old private schools participate in curriculum design. In contrast, at the public universities all the *Full-time Adjuncts* participate in the development of the curriculum. But the participation in curriculum development within this second cluster of part-time professors is not limited to *Full-time Adjuncts* only. We also observe a similar situation at some public universities in regards to a handful of *Getting There* and *Family First* sub-types. Thus, it seems that public universities tend to be more inclusive in their

162

governance structure even when it comes to their part-time professors, influencing the degrees of control that these faculty exert. Of course, the small number of part-time professors interviewed places restrictions when trying to generalize the findings. Nonetheless the findings seem consistent with what the literature has found, especially the extant literature on private higher education.

3.c.5 Cluster 3 (OP) + (HET)

Clusters one and two each involves only one major type of part-time professors--OP for cluster one and HET for cluster two. Unlike these first two clusters, the third cluster has sub-types from both OP and HET. To be more specific, the *Retirees* (OP) and the *Entrepreneurial Part-timers* and *Falling Short* (HET) comprise this third cluster. Among the schools where we find this third cluster working are both professional and disciplinary fields, namely the Engineering School, Schools of Architecture, Nursing, and Odontology, and *facultades* of Chemistry, and History. As with clusters one and two, teaching comprises the main academic work for cluster three, with classroom teaching the predominant form of teaching. A handful of the cluster three part-time professors also do laboratory teaching, and supervision of clinical work. Regarding teaching support activities, the *Retirees, Entrepreneurial Part-timers,* and *Falling Short* sub-types all work chiefly with pre-designed syllabi–some might have room to modify them, others not. Additionally all of the part time professors within this cluster have to grade their students, and none have teaching assistants. As we see for one cluster there is a relatively large amount of personal control, for the other cluster there is a relatively low amount. However this difference between the clusters does not mean that the configuration of the personal control (or its lack) is similar across part-time sub-types.

The minimal personal control over academic activities shows itself even at the course level. The fact that no professor in these sub-types has authority to design his or her syllabus relates to the perception of limited fitness to make decisions about the content as well as the methods of instruction. Some might argue that even where an institution mandates the curriculum or some other authority imposes syllabi, there still can be room for teaching autonomy in regards of how to teach the syllabi. Even where this is true, the room for such 'autonomy' is very limited. As one of the part-time professors claimed, "I have freedom to teach [within the pre-designed syllabi] and add to the course whatever the content I deem appropriate. But as always happens I barely have enough time to cover even the already [extensive] established contents for the class". In this case, limitation on personal control comes from the large amount of imposed tasks, rendering moot the formal authority to add content.

The correlation between expertise and personal control of professors over academic work seems to have a negative impact as well. The expertise of the *Retirees, Entrepreneurial Part-timers,* and *Falling Short* is not perceived to be on par with the high regard for the part-time professors in the other two clusters as we gage the perception from the administrators participating in our research. The experience of the cluster three part-time professors stems mostly from inside higher education, with the notable exception of the *Retirees* whose job experience is grounded outside of academia. But as we know there are different kinds and levels of expertise within academia and not all of them are being equally appreciated. In the previous two clusters we note how the role of the unique-kind-of expert that many such faculty play helps create authority and prestige for them and their demand from the schools where they teach. Thus, in cluster three the

main role assigned to part-time professors is to teach large numbers of students in general subject matters, not specialized subject matters. Nor do these part time faculty provide unique kinds of subject matter for new courses. They are the 'undifferentiated many' that schools and colleges employ to fill their teaching workload gaps when, for example, a class gets too big and then additional sections need to be opened. That is the case at the School of Nursing for example. All freshmen students need to take the introductory class 'nursing in hospital settings', which a full-time professor is intended to be in charge of. But as it happens that enrollment increases every year, this course has been getting bigger and bigger, and there is only one full-time professor. Then, part-time professors come to help to absorb the demand. To be sure, it is the full-time professor who designs the syllabus and engages in the process of curriculum design at the department level. The full-time professor that is in charge of the class hands her syllabus to those part-time professors who will be teaching the course sections.[51] The part-time professors have to report to the full-time professor as well. Thus, in this case, the nurses teaching the full course (additional sections or versions of the same course) work with a pre-designed syllabus that has no room for modifications. Interestingly, these nurses fall under the *Entrepreneurial Part-timer* sub-type, and as we discover in our typology one of their motivations to teach is handsome payment. So, it could be that in this case, to be exempt from designing the syllabus (that is also a time consuming task) is 'convenient', as it frees more of their time. Extra time for the entrepreneurial sub-type could well mean more time to add more teaching load, which is how they attain their handsome payment–as discussed in chapter four. We also note that this sub-type of *Entrepreneurial* part-time professors have no aspirations for full-time academic careers, which

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[51] Course sections means in this case that a part-time professor gets to teach the full course. It does not mean one course with break off course sections.

makes them satisfied with the working conditions they presently have, including this minimal authority over curriculum.

Facultades and schools perceive their part-time professors differently, and they seem to treat them accordingly. That is the case, for instance, of some of the *Getting There* and *Falling Short* sub-types that work at the same f*acultad*. However one type–the *Getting There*- are perceived to be more into the research career path and show more personal control than the *Falling Short*, whose workload is basically teaching freshmen students, with no research or publication. Moreover, there is a different teaching allocation rationale. The *Getting There* teach students from their own *facultad*, while the *Falling Short* teach only to students from other academic units. As one of the *Falling Short* asserts, "I'm bitter. I can't do what I want. I want to be a full-time researcher but I can't. I'm frustrated, I want to publish and conduct research too. I have a PhD, but that doesn't count because I don't do research. I only teach *clases de servicio* to first year students at other academic units. I have nothing I can contribute by my own. I have to do what my chair asks me to do, which is teaching. Besides, I'm not young anymore, so I don't see how I could even compete for a spot against a fancy new young professor." Such a case illustrates low authority and, in contrast to the recent nursing case shows that some part-time professors lament having such minimal personal control over academic activities. From this different perception that the same *facultad* show in relation to the different profiles of its part-time professors, we observe that the way *facultades* and schools perceive their part-time professors also affects the degrees of control they exert in their academic work.

Regarding the other sub-type of professors in this third cluster, the *Retirees*, we also observe low degrees of personal control. However there are different reasons for this low control, likely including the different perception by academic units towards the *Retirees*. As we discuss in chapter four, the *Retirees* in our study develop their professional lives outside of academia, and their motivation to teach part-time in higher education is to keep active at this new stage in their lives. In our study we did not get to interview any *Retiree* whose job experience stems from academia but rather from the business sector. In chapter four we also discuss how similar the career paths the *Retirees* have are in relation to their *Traditional Latin American Part-timer* and *Career Turning Points* counterparts. It is then somewhat striking to observe that when it comes to personal control, the *Retirees* stand apart from their other OP counterparts, with the others being granted considerable personal control while the *Retirees* are not—despite them having high levels of expertise. In this particular case it could be that the correlation we have been observing between expertise and authority comes up with bias against people who are not currently active in the field, such as the *Retirees*. It seems that even within similar and successful professional career paths, which the entire OP group have in common, there is a fine distinction between those who are still active in their fields (*Traditional Latin American Part-timer* and the *Career Turning Point*s), compared to those who are not active anymore (*Retirees*). At this point, more research is needed to understand better the reasons behind the *Retiree*'s low personal control. But we could speculate that while it is a great asset for schools to have experts from the business and government sectors they tend to perceive and value differently and consequently treat them differently, as their uneven degrees of personal control over academic work seem to suggest.

As we mentioned earlier, some schools and *facultades* tend to use the *Retirees, Entrepreneurial Part-timers,* and *Falling Short* to absorb the extra demand for teaching that otherwise they could not meet with their current number of full-time professors. The type of students the cluster three part-time professors teach ranges from freshmen students to advanced students at the end of their programs. It is the *Retirees* who teach the advanced students, not the *Falling Short* or the *Entrepreneurial* sub-types of professors whose teaching focuses on the lower division courses.

But sometimes the lack of personal control within this cluster is not necessarily related to the expertise that part-time professors have but to the type of institution[52] where they work. That is the case at the School of Odontology at a new private university. Their part-time professors are mostly (young) dentists who have experience in clinical practice either by having their own dental clinic or working for a private health company. These dentists, while having experience in their field, [though not lots of experience] have no personal control to design their courses. In fact, they work with a pre-designed syllabus and have no room for modifications at all. But this relates to the 'multi-campus' model that this new private university has been implementing for many years. This new private university started with a single campus in 1989 and since then has created more campuses through the country. The multiple campuses tend to offer the same academic programs, and they use a 'multi-campus syllabus'. The multi-campus syllabus congregates professors from different campuses that meet via conference call to discuss and design the syllabus collaboratively. Because the idea is to have a uniform academic program across campuses, the syllabus is handed then to all the professors who have to follow the

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[52] We observe here an overlap between authority and type of institution. In section 3.a in this chapter we deal more extensively with type of institution–public/private-as this is one type of structural variable bringing variation to part-time professors' academic work.

guidelines for content and methods of instructions strictly. Examinations and tests are also uniform. As the chair highlights about this model, "The basic idea is that whether students are studying in our campuses in Valdivia or Santiago, they will receive the same education. No matter who teaches the class that student will get the same content by the same method of teaching as all the other students taking the same class no matter at what campus they study." So, in this case the lack of personal control for part-time professors stems not from their lack of expertise but from an institution's philosophy of education.

As for the third cluster, we see it across all three institutional types: public, old private and new private universities. So it could be that no matter what type of institution the cluster three type of part-time professors are teaching at, universities have specific needs for teaching allocation, and they seem to be well aware of how to use this type of part-time professors.

4. Conclusions

Chapter five has explored part-time professors' academic work and the dimensions of variation within that work. I distill a sociological framework of (full-time professors) academic work in the US and globally by looking at two dimensions–types of institutions (public vs. private) and *facultad* allocation of tasks, both of which I adapt to the reality of part-time professors as well as to the specific context of Chile. The sociology of academic work literature shows that full-time professors' activities tend to vary depending on (a) the type of institution, (b) the school affiliation, (c) the disciplinary affiliation and (d) the national context. The literature on Latin American higher education does not directly address at any length the issue of what work part-

timers do; while it implies (correctly) that their primary academic work is teaching it makes no major analysis of variation within that broad reality. In the Chilean context, our analysis of the interviews with 44 part-time professors and 26 university administrators confirms that teaching is the overwhelming and indeed often exclusive academic work, but our analysis also discovers major patterns of variation.

We find variation by type of institutions (public, old private, new private) and *facultad* allocation of tasks, two variables noted above to be prominent in the literature on full-timers. Thus, the type of teaching, as well as the available resources to support that teaching tends to vary depending on whether a part-time professor is affiliated to a public, old private, or new private university. *Facultades* show different needs and means to allocate the work of their part-time professors.

But we go beyond the institutional and *facultad* variations and discover a great deal about two other variables. First, we identify where and how teaching goes beyond classroom teaching, though classroom teaching is clearly the most common form of teaching for part timers. Second and quite importantly, we discover and map how teaching varies by the types and sub-types[53] of part-time professors. We thus integrate different crucial elements of the "what" of academic work, dissected in this chapter, to the "whom" of the previous chapter. Different types and sub-types of part-time professors do identifiably different forms of academic work and do so under

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[53] To remind the reader,-our two major types–Outsider Professionals (OP) and Higher Education Teachers (HET)--, both have multiples sub-types –OP with Traditional Latin American Part-timer, Career Turning Points, and Retirees, HET with Family First, Entrepreneurial Part-timer, Getting There, Falling Short, and Full-time Adjuncts.

identifiably different work conditions, very much depending on the kind of expertise they bring to their teaching.

All this --what the work tasks are, what the working conditions are, and the varied forms of expertise— is integrally related to the great variation in part-time professors' degree of personal control over academic work. Analysis of the different categories of academic work and who does that work come to suggest patterns of personal control among part-time professors. Of course that variation among part-timers should not obscure the overarching differences between part-timers overall and full-timers. So treasured at the core of the academic life of full-time professors, authority is (unsurprisingly) less at the core of part-time professors' academic life. For full-timers personal control reflects their authority and power to influence areas in which they claim expertise: academic policies for undergraduate and graduate education, and terms of faculty employment and hiring. Yet we discover that even within the part-time universe, expertise can be decisive in determining employment profiles and different degrees of personal control over academic work.

Although professional authority is valued by some part-timers, as it reflects not only choice and power but also more desirable work conditions, status, and even sometimes superior remuneration, we find that not all part-timers want more personal control over academic work than they have. Personal control can bring time-consuming tasks and responsibilities. So some part-time professors prefer that curriculum (and even syllabus) development be done by others and just followed by them. This is the case with the Outsider Professionals', *Traditional Latin American Part-timers,* and the *Career Turning Points* sub-types Similarly, the cluster two (HET)

Family-First sub-type do not show much interest in engaging with the development of the curriculum academic life and they are comfortable working with pre-designed syllabi because their top priority, as the sub-type label suggests, is to spend time with their family. Perhaps even more striking is that those in the third cluster, who possess little power to influence teaching related matters (both at the departmental level and individual course level) do not desire to escape from the authority basement. Here again time is a major factor. This is notably the case of the *Entrepreneurial Part-timer* (HET) and the *Retirees* (OP). Thus, these five sub-types do not aspire to robust personal control. The reality is different for the other three sub-types (all HET), for whom different degrees of personal control put them on different academic career tracks, influencing what they do as well. But we observe differentiation even within sub-types for which personal control becomes a value as it appears more central to their aspirations for full-time careers. This is the case with most of the cluster two for which gaining influence and power in their academic work is necessary for entry into full-time careers, as with the case of the *Getting There* and *Full-time Adjuncts*. For *Full-time Adjuncts* the limitations to personal control also come with their terms of employment as they exclude them from conducting research, leaving teaching as their sole obligation. In turn, the *Falling Short* sub-type's lack of personal control proves to be problematic for them, because it reflects the limitations they experience in their freedom to teach. This in turn comes to add more impediments to their (already frustrated) aspirations for full-time careers. In sum, when it comes to personal control over academic work, part-timers differ not only in how much they have, over what, but even in their desire to have it.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

1. Synthesis

In this final chapter I first synthesize the analysis and the major findings of this dissertation research. Next, I discuss the significance of the study. Finally, I state the limitations of the study and explore topics for future research.

The overarching research question of this dissertation is of course *what is the academic life of part-time professors in Chile?* This question was essentially broken into two components, one on who the part-timers are, the other on what part-time professors do inside and outside the classroom. Chapter one introduced the research topic involving the notion of academic work, importantly introducing a focus on part-time professors, whereas in the literature on higher education the focus is overwhelmingly on full-time professors. The chapter also discussed the context-specific reality of part-time professors in Latin America and Chile. Chapter two reviewed literature prioritizing pioneering as well as contemporary literature on main facets of academic work, including roles, patterns of variation, and the academic profession ideal. It also highlighted Tuckman's (1978) and Gappa's (1997) pioneer taxonomies on part-time professors. Chapter three laid out the qualitative design of the research, featuring in-depth interviews as the source of data collection, and content analysis as the main means to interpret the interview data.

Chapters four and five show the major findings fundamental to answering the main research question and two major sub-questions. Chapter four presents the employment profiles of part-time professors. This includes their motivations to work part-time and aspirations for full-time careers. Key is my novel conceptualization of two main types of part-timers (based on their

primary worksite) and then eight sub-types within those two types.

Chapter five then analyzes the work these professors do, including how much personal control they have over that academic work. Discriminating findings again result from the disaggregated types and sub-types of part-time professors.

Chapter six now concludes and integrates the overall findings of the research that are common to the breadth of part-time professors as a group are mostly two. One is about the basic motivation to teach part-time in higher education, the other about their main academic work. Love for teaching or teaching vocation is commonly found among all part-time professors and teaching is virtually the totality of what they do. However important these commonalities are to discover and analyze, it is impossible not to be struck by how few and limited they are —how little is generalizable to the overall category of part-time professors. Almost immediately in our research on Chilean part-time professors we are thrust toward variation. Variation manifests in multiple forms, as we will see in more detail below.

In brief, although the general discourse and even much of the literature on part-time professors refers to *the* part-time professors and generalizes about that, we find overwhelmingly variation.

2. Variation among Part-time Professors

Chapter four dissects the part-time professors' academic life based on individual characteristics. While the subjects all share their part-time status, the analysis reveals that they share little else.

Instead important variation emerges along the following dimensions. First are the motivations to work part-time in higher education. A second dimension is where the main work experience resides along with where the main source of income comes from. Finally, the third dimension tackles whether part-time professors have aspirations for full-time academic careers.

Where some would have expected to find a uniform cadre of part-time professors, we find complexity and variation instead. The analysis shows part-time professors are quite varied in who they are. Teaching vocation is the main point of commonality for part timers, beyond the obvious part-time status they share in common. Chapter four discovers a great deal of divergence alongside the shared main activity of teaching. Fortunately, it also manages to discover decisive patterns within that variation, developing types and sub-types to find and show understandable patterns in the variation. To aid in conceptualizing the variation and complexity found in the data, a typology of the different types and sub-types of part-time professors was established. This typology underscores that part-time professors have heterogeneous reasons to teach part-time, different employment profiles, some inside, others outside higher education (with diversity as to where outside), and relatively few of them aspire to full-time careers.

While variation is a major theme across our findings, the commonalities we find are also striking. They are striking, not because of how much part-time professors share in common, that, as argued before is little when compared to the variation, but mostly because some of the commonalities deviate significantly from the conventional wisdom. That is the case with job satisfaction and aspirations for full-time academic careers. Although much of the common wisdom argues that part-time professors are 'by nature' unsatisfied with their working

conditions, and that much of their despair rests in the fact that they are aspiring full-time academics. In our research, we find instead part-time professors are largely satisfied with their part-time teaching, and only a minority expressed aspirations for full-time academic careers. So, we find indeed a mix of commonalities and variation among part-time professors, though of course the dissertation overall finds and emphasizes variation more than commonality.

Literature on part-time professors too often speaks of part-time professors as if they compose one overarching entity. However, while I did not anticipate we would find so little that characterizes all part-time professors, and in turn so much (patterned) variation, the methodology used in this research was created in ways that probed for both commonalities and differences on multiple separate dimensions.

In fact, a major finding of chapter four is that there are two major kinds of part-time professors: Higher Education Teachers (HET) and Outsider Professionals (OP). The former have their main work experience in higher education; whereas the latter's work experience resides chiefly outside of higher education. But as with the diversity and complexity found regarding the motivations to teach in higher education and the aspirations for full-time academic careers, we observe multiple sub-types within each major type. For HET's sub-types include (1) *Family First,* (2) *Entrepreneurial Part-timer,* (3) *Getting There,* (4) *Falling Short,* and (5) *Full-time Adjuncts*. For OP's sub-types include (1) *Traditional Latin American Part-timer,* (2) *Career Turning Points,* and (3) *Retirees*.

In brief these major types and their corresponding sub-types are an original conceptual representation of the variation of part-time professors in Chile. And they highlight the novelty of the complexity we find. At the same time, however, the fact that we could group individual professors into sub-types, and even just two principal types, is a feat in showing commonalities, albeit not blanket commonalities, across the entire terrain of part-time professors. These commonalities, coupled with the differences, mark important patterns within what is routinely viewed merely as "the part-timer."

When it comes to academic work there is one large commonality. All part-time professors share teaching as the singular focus of their work. Teaching is at the heart of their academic work; mostly classroom teaching. However, teaching activities vary significantly. We have discovered the patterns of variation within teaching tasks, developing different categories of academic work, and find diverse degrees of faculty personal control related to these differences.

Our dissection of the academic work of part-timers is based on a combination of structural variables and individual variables. Institutional type and *facultad* allocation of tasks are both structural patterns of variation that are prominent among part-timers' academic work. Along with these structural patterns, we integrate one more individual pattern of variation: types and sub-types of part-time professors. These patterns of variability further highlight the complexity of academic work of part-time professors.

Another important finding is that there is variation of personal control over academic work among part-time professors. At one extreme, we find a cluster of part-time professors, who

include the *Traditional Latin American Part-timer,* and *Career Turning Point* sub-types. At the other extreme, another cluster includes *Retirees, Entrepreneurial Part-timer,* and *Falling Short.* The variation is yet greater, as some sub-types have personal control on different aspects of academic work. Also important, across these five sub-types, is that high or low personal control does not necessarily correlate with the *desire* for more control. Low degrees of personal control also do not generally correlate with low degrees of satisfaction with the working conditions. In fact, relatively few of the part-time sub-types appear to value personal control as central to their academic work. Only the *Full-time Adjuncts, Getting There* and the *Falling Short* sub-types expressed the importance of personal control over academic work as a core value, in contrast to its centrality in the full-time academic ideal. However, as found in part-time professors' individual characteristics and teaching work, there was significant variability and complexity in relative levels of personal control and authority.

To sum up, we reach many findings regarding part-time professors' academic lives and develop a conceptual framework to understand it. Chilean part-time professors share their teaching vocation and the main activity of teaching, yet differ in their profiles, working conditions, expertise, and degrees of control over academic tasks. The typological analysis and characterization of part-time professors' academic work provides a multi-dimensional framework for the understanding of part-time professors at universities in Chile.

3. Significance of the Study

This dissertation provides considerable new information for understanding the academic life of part-time professors. As discussed in chapter one, much is known about full-time professors and far, far less about part-time professors. This dissertation very modestly narrows that gap. It also brings a different approach to the portrayal of part-time professors as a uniform group. There is not "the" part-time professor, but "many" part-time professors. We find diverse types of part-time professors, patterns of variation in their academic work, and how these differences relate to their degrees of authority and control over academic tasks. Taken together, the analysis reveals considerably more complexity about the academic life of part-time professors than what was previously described in the higher education literature and "conventional wisdom."

In highlighting the academic life of part-time professors this study contributes to the increasing scholarship on higher education in Chile. In light of the type of profiles and the content of work of part-time professors, it is pertinent to study how they relate to structures. This research has implications for discussions of how Chilean universities function, how they allocate professors' workloads, and how they organize and deliver the curriculum.

The discussion of the traditional Latin American part-timer, as seen in chapter one, points to the traditions and idiosyncrasies of Latin American universities where this sub-type has been born. With the introduction of different types and sub-types of part-time professors, I find that this traditional sub-type remains relevant and highly appreciated by the universities that employ them, but it is no longer "the" (only or overwhelming) sub-type of part-timer. I have found other sub-types which bring complexity to what we understand by part-time professors.

As a theoretical concern, this dissertation sought to address how part-time professors fit the predominant ideal of 'academic profession'. As we now know much more about what part-time professors do and what their academic credentials and expertise are, we can compare the part-time professoriate against this academic profession ideal. By definition, the part-time professors would not fit into that ideal due to their employment status alone. However, as discussed in chapters one and two, the academic profession has multiple defining components. These include full-time dedication to academic activities, members of the profession with specialized training by means of a doctoral level education, a predominant activity of research and publishing, and a great deal of autonomy over academic matters.

According to our findings, *none* of these aspects applies to part-time professors. First, among all these aspects comprising the academic profession ideal, the full-time devotion to academic activities is the least applicable for part-time professors. As we observed, the *Entrepreneurial Part-timers* in our study worked full-time hours by piecing together multiple part-time teaching jobs. They were teaching part-time for handsome pay and they did not have aspirations for full-time careers at all. Thus, even if they were able to piece together full-time hours, they still fall far from fitting into the academic profession ideal. Others, in turn, even if they work as *Full-time Adjuncts*, are not considered to be part of the academic profession because they only teach and do not also conduct research. Of course, this distinction is true for full-time professors as well, if they do not have records of publication. In other words, the amount of time spent in academic work is less central to the concept of academic profession than engaging in research activities. Second, the findings reveal that only a handful of part-time professors have achieved the PhD

degree, and again this one factor alone bars them from fitting into the academic profession either. That is the case with the *Falling Short* sub-type. These professors have PhDs, yet their teaching-only tasks frustrate their aspirations to achieve a full-time research position. The lack of research is of course another ground on which part-timers basically are at odds with the academic profession ideal type. Although we find those few part-time professors who were proactive and conducted research by their own means were moving to full-time research positions, as seen in the *Getting There* sub-type. Finally, the link between academic work and autonomy did not align with the academic profession ideal. Autonomy is central to the academic profession ideal, and this core value was expressed as less important to part-time professors' academic life. Even if some enjoy varied degrees of personal control over academic work, they do not aspire to have more control over it, given that this implies more work and responsibilities. These part-time workers are satisfied with their part-time teaching and the majority of them have no aspirations for full-time careers. This is the case with all OP's *Traditional Latin American Part-timers, Career Turning Points,* and *Retirees*, and the HET's *Family First*.

Clark's 'split in two' of the academic profession, is a divide between the academic profession embodied by the full-time research faculty and professors at the bottom of the academic hierarchy. Our findings obviously bring part-time professors in on this lower end. The teaching/research divide is a central example. But as we see that part-time professors have an academic life in their own terms, Clark's comparison leaves us short. For one thing, the majority of part-time professors in the study did not aspire to move to the top of the academic hierarchy and were largely content with their current positions.

4. Limitations of the Study

Beyond the limitations in the research scope presented in chapters one and three, other limitations appear to skew the findings of this research, making it challenging, or risky, or both, to generalize the discoveries to broader contexts.

First, due to the methodology for selecting the participating institutions of the study, the study has dealt exclusively with the top universities in Chile. These are the largest in terms of enrollments and economic resources, and have the highest prestige. While these universities might appear bigger than the rest of Chilean universities, they are still fairly generalizable to the whole. However, the working conditions and the status of part-time professors might be significantly better at these universities compared to lower tiered universities. On the other hand, it is possible that the gap between part-time and full-time professors is in some ways narrower at universities lacking full-timers operating close to the academic profession model. At any rate we have covered the three different types of universities that exist in Chile, namely public, old private, and new private. Therefore the present coverage will strengthen the generalization of the findings particularly at top public, old private and new private universities. Expanding the research to cover a wider range of institutions would allow for more generalized findings across institution types.

Another important limitation stems from the accessibility to get part-time professors to participate in the study. When engaged in the field, I found that part-time professors are often invisible to many. In practice, part-time professors are difficult to contact, since their contact information is not easily available to the public and oftentimes does not appear listed on

department websites. To overcome this problem, and as discussed in chapter three, I asked department chairs to provide a list of part-time professors. By using this method I was able to contact and interview 44 part-time professors. But the fact that the department chairs provided the list might also have skewed my findings. They could have provided contact information on their 'best' part-timers, the professors that they feel closest to, or those whose chairs might have thought a specific faculty member would be a better fit for the purposes of my study. In fact, among the interviewees an overwhelming majority was highly satisfied with their part-time appointments, and almost none were critical about their working conditions. Their profiles were in many cases outstanding, so it could be that by gaining access to part-time professors through department chairs, I did not acquire an accurate representation of part-time professors. Despite this limitation, I did achieve saturation –meaning I began to hear the same points over and over– in my interviews for what is relevant to this study.

Some of these limitations also present opportunities, as they provide areas for further research.

5. Recommendations for Future Research

This study has highlighted not only the great variation that exists but also what those variations are. We find patterns and we understand and explain the patterns. This study has thus addressed the different categories of part-time professors and the different types of academic work at the top five universities in Chile.

Whereas we have studied the who and what of part-time professors' academic life, future research could extend the scope of study to address the regulations and evaluation of academic work, matters that may reveal additional information on how universities manage their part-time faculty. Regulations and evaluation of academic work appear in our research as variables that are critical to faculty personnel policies but that we did not address because it went beyond the scope of our study. Thus, future studies could approach these other aspects of academic work to help institutions target, recruit, select, and evaluate the academic work of these different types of part-time professors

This study also leads to additional questions regarding differences between part-time and full-time faculty. Future research may address two key notions that I term as *merit* and *temporality*. Both are at the foundations of the differences between part-time professors' and full-time professors' careers. *Merit* is understood as movement through academic ranks, while *temporality* is understood as the timeframe for one's own scholarly contribution. Thus, the academic work of part-time professors appears detached from *merit*, as their academic work even if well performed does not advance them towards promotion or rewards. While part-time professors may eventually get more desired courses to teach, or see a slight increase in their salaries based on seniority, *merit* does not place them in higher ranks, as would be the case for full-timers. *Temporality* also seems to play a role in distinguishing part-time faculty from full-timers' careers. For full-time professors, and especially full-time research faculty, it is expected that their work will develop over the course of a life trajectory. Therefore temporality is seen as an evolving contribution to the generation of knowledge over a life-long career span. In contrast, the work of part-time professors appears contingent. Their teaching contribution develops within a

very limited time -either a semester or an academic year. In other words, there is no continuity of the progress and contribution part-time professors can bring to students and universities. While *merit* and *temporality* appear as interesting sources for further comparative research, I am not claiming they are part of my findings since my dissertation has focused on part-time professors' profiles and their academic work.

Additional recommendation for future research stems from the sample size. As the qualitative methodology only allowed for a small number of cases, the main typologies and characterization of academic work lack statistical support to back up the analysis of the interview data. Forty four interviews are too few when we are ultimately dealing with eight sub-types. Expanding the numbers of cases, like expanding the number of institutions (including into the non-university sector such as vocational training centers and professional institutes) could also be warranted in future research.

Weighing such points, we conclude with the hope that the dissertation will be not only a source of substantive contributions but also a light toward further fruitful research.

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ANNEX 1

List of Universities (Main Campus & Branch Campus) and Fields of Knowledge, Located in Santiago Metropolitan Area, 2012

	Physics	Biology	Mathematics	Biochemistry	TOTAL CS	History	Sociology	Political Science	Journalism	TOTAL CS SOC	Law	Engineering	Architecture	Medicine	TOTAL PROFS
PONTIFICIA UNIVERSIDAD CATÓLICA DE CHILE	√	√	√	√	4	√	√	√	√	4	√	√	√	√	4
UNIVERSIDAD DE CHILE	√*	√**	√** *	√	4	√	√	X	√	3	√	√	√	√	4
UNIVERSIDAD DE SANTIAGO DE CHILE	± *	±**	± ***	√	(4) 1	√	X	X	√	2	X	√	√	√	3
UNIVERSIDAD METROPOLITANA DE CIENCIAS DE LA EDUCACIÓN	± *	±**	± ***	± *** *	(4) 0	± **** *	X	X	X	(1) 0	X	X	X	X	0
UNIVERSIDAD TECNOLÓGICA METROPOLITANA	± *	±**	± ***	√(1)	(4) 1	X	X	√	X	1	X	√	√	X	2
UNIVERSIDAD ARTURO PRAT (3) BRANCH CAMPUS	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	X	√	X	X	1
UNIVERSIDAD DE ATACAMA (1) BRANCH	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	X	√	X	X	1

CAMPUS

UNIVERSIDAD DE LOS LAGOS (1) BRANCH CAMPUS	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	X	√	X	X	1
UNIVERSIDAD DE TALCA (1) BRANCH CAMPUS	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	0
UNIVERSIDAD DE VALPARAISO (1) BRANCH CAMPUS	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	X	√	X	X	1
UNIVERSIDAD TECNICO FEDERICO SANTA MARIA (1) BRANCH CAMPUS	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	X	√	X	X	1
UNIVERSIDAD ACADEMIA DE HUMANISMO CRISTIANO	X	X	X	X	0	√	√	√	√	4	√	X*	X	X	1
UNIVERSIDAD ADOLFO IBAÑEZ	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	√	1	√	√	X	X	2
UNIVERSIDAD ALBERTO HURTADO	X	X	X	X	0	√	√	√	√	4	√	X	X	X	1
UNIVERSIDAD BERNARDO O'HIGGINS	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	√	1	√	√	X	X	2
UNIVERSIDAD BOLIVARIANA	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	√	√	X	X	2
UNIVERSIDAD CATÓLICA CARDENAL SILVA HENRÍQUEZ	X	X	X	X	0	X	√	X	X	1	√	X	X	X	1
UNIVERSIDAD CENTRAL DE CHILE	X	X	X	X	0	X	√	√	√	3	√	√	√	X	3
UNIVERSIDAD CHILENO BRITANICA DE CULTURA	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	0
UNIVERSIDAD DE ACONCAGUA	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	X	√	X	X	1
UNIVERSIDAD DE ARTE Y CIENCIAS SOCIALES ARCIS	X	X	X	X	0	√	√	√	X	3	√	X	X	X	1

Universidad															
UNIVERSIDAD DE ARTES, CIENCIAS Y COMUNICACIÓN – UNIACC	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	√	1	√(2)	X	√	X	2
UNIVERSIDAD DE LAS AMÉRICAS	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	√	1	√	√	√	X	3
UNIVERSIDAD DE LOS ANDES	X	X	X	X	0	√	X	X	√	2	√	√	X	√	3
UNIVERSIDAD DEL DESARROLLO	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	√	√	2	√	√	√	√	4
UNIVERSIDAD DEL PACÍFICO	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	√	1	X	X	X	X	0
UNIVERSIDAD DIEGO PORTALES	X	X	X	X	0	√	√	√	√	4	√	√	√	√	4
UNIVERSIDAD FINIS TERRAE	X	X	X	X	0	√	X	X	X	1	√	√	√	√	4
UNIVERSIDAD GABRIELA MISTRAL	X	X	X	X	0	√	X	√	√	3	√	√	X	X	2
UNIVERSIDAD IBEROAMERICANA DE CIENCIAS Y TECNOLOGÍA, UNICIT	X	X	X	√	1	X	X	X	X	0	√	√	X	X	2
UNIVERSIDAD INTERNACIONAL SEK	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	√	1	√	√	X	X	2
UNIVERSIDAD LA ARAUCANA	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	0
UNIVERSIDAD LA REPÚBLICA	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	√	√	X	X	2
UNIVERSIDAD LOS LEONES (ex Universidad Marítima)	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	√	X	X	X	1
UNIVERSIDAD MAYOR	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	√	1	√	√	√	√	4
UNIVERSIDAD MIGUEL DE CERVANTES	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	√	X	1	√	X	X	X	1
UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL ANDRÉS BELLO	√	√	√	√	4	X	√	X	√	2	√	√	√	√	4

UNIVERSIDAD PEDRO DE VALDIVIA	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	√	√	√	√	4
UNIVERSIDAD SAN SEBASTIÁN	X	X	X	√	1	X	X	√	X	1	√	√	√	√	4
UNIVERSIDAD SANTO TOMÁS	X	√	X	X	1	X	X	X	√	1	√	√	X	X	2
UNIVERSIDAD TECNOLÓGICA DE CHILE INACAP	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	0
UNIVERSIDAD UCINF	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	√	X	√	X	2
UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA DE CHILE (1) BRANCH CAMPUS	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	√	√	√	√	4

Note: The list includes academic programs at the undergraduate level only.

* Major in Sciences, concentration in Physics

** Major in Sciences, concentration in Biology

*** Major in Sciences, concentration in Mathematics

±* No academic program in Physics, but has a Physics department

± ** No academic program in Biology, but has a Biology department

± *** No academic program in Mathematics, but has a Mathematics department

± **** No academic program in Chemistry, but has a Chemistry department

± ***** No academic program in History, but has a History department

√(1) Corresponds to Industrial Chemistry; with Chemistry department

√(2) Corresponds to Law, Continual Education Program. Requires prior academic degree and labor experience

X* Corresponds to Engineering in Public Management not to Mechanical Engineering or Civil Engineering

ANNEX 2

Selected Universities and Academic Programs by Fields of Knowledge

		Public Universities		Old Private University	New Private Universities	
		Universidad de Chile (UCH)	Universidad de Santiago (USACH)	Pontificia Universidad Catolica (PUC)	Universidad Nacional Andres Bello (UNAB)	Universidad San Sebastian (USS)
Social Sciences & Humanities	Sociology	✔		✔	✔	
	History		✔			
	Education					✔
Natural & Exact Sciences	Mathematics	✔			✔	
	Chemistry	✔	✔	✔		
Professional Fields	Engineering	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
	Architecture	✔				
	Nursing					✔
	Odontology					✔

ANNEX 3

**Selected Part-time Professors Interviewees
by Program and Type of University**

		Public Universities (2)	Old Private University (1)	New Private Universities (2)
Social Sciences & Humanities	Sociology	3	3	3
	History	3		
	Education			2
Natural & Exact Sciences	Mathematics	2		1
	Chemistry	3	3	
Professional Fields	Engineering	2	4	6
	Architecture	3		
	Nursing			3
	Odontology			3
	Total	16	10	18

ANNEX 4

Selected Administrators Interviewees
by Selected Universities

		Interviewees
Public universities	Universidad de Chile (UCH)	8
	Universidad de Santiago (USACH)	3
Old private university	Pontificia Universidad Catolica (PUC)	5
New private universities	Universidad Nacional Andres Bello (UNAB)	4
	Universidad San Sebastian (USS)	6
	Total	26