PROFESSORIAL WORKLOADS AND EMOTIONAL LABOUR

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Lay Abstract

This study examines the workloads of professors at three Ontario universities. Through the use of an online survey and in-depth interviews, the working conditions of professors are revealed as well as the emotional labour professors perform in order to cope with the intensity of both institutional and student demands. It is hoped that these findings would be useful to faculty associations to better working conditions through contract negotiations and to increase public awareness of the changing and challenging environment of academia.

Abstract

The neoliberal university has transformed professors into front-line workers and their students into consumers of higher learning. Research has shown there is a positive correlation between a student's perception of supportive faculty and the completion of a degree. Professors are expected to support their students and to engage in emotional labour, labour that tends to be invisible and, thus, often unrewarded for faculty members. An online survey of professors - contract, tenure-track and tenure at three southwestern Ontario universities - indicates that many professors perform affective work as they mediate increasing institutional and student demands on their time and emotions. Data, from the survey and semi-structured interviews, highlights how emotional labour is not just about meeting student expectations, but also about dealing with job insecurity and institutional pressure to provide an educational product where the emphasis is on student satisfaction. The result is that many professors experience high levels of stress and burnout.

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Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction 1
Chapter 2: Literature Review 7
Chapter 3: Methodology 18
  Sampling 18
  Analysis of Data 25
  Limitations of Study 26
Chapter 4: Data and Discussion 27
  The Female Response 27
  Intersectionality 29
  Self-exploitation 32
    Job insecurity and stress 32
    Competing demands and stress 37
    Balancing work life and home life 42
    Overtime hours 44
    Working weekends 47
    Number of courses taught 50
    Committee workloads 54
  Faculty and Emotional Labour 55
    Student demands 57
    Emotional labour and grading 59
    Emotional labour and student support 64
    Emotional labour and 24-hour availability 70
    Burnout rates 76
Chapter 5: Conclusion 79
References 84

Illustrations

Charts

Chart 1. Frequency of stress related to job insecurity 34
Chart 2. Frequency of stress caused by increased workloads 37
Chart 3. Frequency of stress caused by competing demands on work time....................40
Chart 4. Frequency of stress caused by the provision of care 42
Chart 5. How many work hours in a week 45
Chart 6. Frequency of weekends worked 48
Chart 7. Number of classes professors teach....................51
Chart 8. Frequency of student requests for alternative testing times 58
Chart 9. Frequency of student requests to inflate grades 61
Chart 10. Do professors inflate grades? 62
Chart 11. Frequency of student requests for assistance....................65
Chart 12. Frequency of student requests for information 66
Chart 13. Frequency of student requests for support....................67
Chart 14. Frequency of student email requests 73
Chart 15. Frequency of symptoms of burnout....................77

Tables

Table 1. Response of professors by school 19
Table 2. Response of short-term contract professors 21
Table 3. Response of assistant professors 23
Table 4. Response of tenured professors....................24
Table 5. Ethnicity of professors 30
Table 6. Age of professors 30

Appendices

Appendix A: Survey on Faculty Workloads and Emotional Labour 92

Appendix B: Interview Guide for Professors (both tenure-stream and contract) 98

Appendix C: McMaster University Ethics Board 2019 Clearance 100

Appendix D: University of Guelph Research Ethics Board 2019 Clearance 102

Appendix E: University of Guelph Research Ethics Director Email 104

Appendix F: Email Invitation to Participate in Study 105

Appendix G: Email Reminder to Participate in Study 106

Appendix H: Letter of Information 107

Appendix I: Wilfrid Laurier University Ethics Board 2018 Clearance 111

Appendix J: University of Guelph Ethics Board 2016 Clearance 113

Chapter One

Introduction

When I was an undergraduate, I met a professor who was an excellent lecturer and who was always enthusiastic about the topic of the day. Before class, we engaged in light, casual conversations. When the course finished, we maintained contact and occasionally met for coffee. We discussed everything from the practicalities of what classes to enroll in to my own insecurities regarding being a mature student. She encouraged me to be both engaged and engaging in my own education. I thought of her as a mentor and, also, as a friend.

But, perhaps, from the professor's perspective, she was neither of those things. The difference she made in my educational experience was simply the result of a few philanthropic moments of her time, knowledge and emotions. Thus, our coffee chats may have been a positive experience for both of us, but for the professor they were also work. Once I graduated, the relationship ended. In looking back, I see that our interactions echo how professors are increasingly expected not only to teach, research and publish, but are also expected to provide the emotional services of a student counselor. Such expectations reflect how university has transformed into a service industry where students have become customers (Giroux, 2002; Constanti & Gibbs, 2004; Berry & Cassidy, 2013). Such expectations are also in keeping with current neoliberal ideology where market principles "permeate all aspects of life," including education (Standing, 2011, p. 1).

As the defining tenet of current political thought and economic management, neoliberalism has eroded the economic policies of the 1960s and 1970s when government grants covered more than 90% of direct post-secondary education costs, including the cost of instruction (Davison, 2015). Federal cash transfer payments for post-secondary education have decreased dramatically. For the 1992-93 academic year, the federal contribution (adjusted for inflation) was $3,291 per student, but declined 40% by 2015-16 to $2,007 per student (CUPE, 2018).[1] Waning government subsidies have resulted in the reorganization of the academic workplace where professors are quantified by their use-value in terms of their cost in the effective production of learning for the university customer base, the student.

Academic workers are divided into two groups, each experiencing distinct and different material working conditions. Tenured professors have a permanency of appointment, creating economic security and little fear of job loss due to the quality of their teaching, focus of research or lack of popularity for particular ideas or view points. They typically teach four courses each academic year, are given time to develop course curriculum and are paid to conduct research. At the opposite end of the spectrum, contract faculty make a fraction of the income of their tenured colleagues yet represent 58% of Ontario academic staff (COU, 2018). They teach approximately one in every two

[1] Federal and provincial governments, similar to American funding policies, have never fully covered indirect education costs such as living expenses, including housing and transportation, nor made up for lost income while students are in school. These considerable costs have always been the responsibility of students.

students (COU, 2018) and have limited administrative responsibilities. They are not financially compensated for administrative and committee work nor are they paid for research. The majority of contract faculty have no job security and must continually re-apply to teach the same courses each academic year, often each semester. There is never a guarantee of long-term employment.

These two-tiered hiring practices are commonplace in Canadian universities which are a $35 billion a year business with a student enrolment averaging one million a year (Universities Canada, 2019). In the cost-effective production of learning, however, the role of emotional labour is largely overlooked. Not addressed in collective agreements, emotional labour is the invisible work that “keeps the whole operation running” by anticipating needs, preempting displeasure and consciously maintaining a positive status quo (Hartley, 2018, p. 9). Hochschild was the first to write about how the management of feelings has an exchange value and is sold as a commodity.

> When the product – the thing to be engineered, mass-produced, and subjected to speed-up and slowdown – is a smile, a mood, a feeling, or a relationship, it comes to belong more to the organization and less to the self. And so . . . more people privately wonder, without tracing the question to its deepest social root: What do I really feel? (Hochschild, 2003, p. 198).

A person’s “face and feelings” become a resource for profit (Hochschild, 2003, p. 55).

Emotional labour is associated with customer service work which is also referred to as front-line work. In this paper, I examine the effects of neoliberal ideology in which professors are defined as front-line workers and students as the customer base. In this

way, it is possible to examine professors' working conditions in terms of a broader analysis of existing ambiguities and contradictions found in customer-oriented bureaucracy.

The purpose of my mixed methods study is to examine the working conditions of professors - contract, tenure track and tenured - by focusing on how all professors mediate increasing institutional and student demands on their time and emotions. The methodological strategy of an online survey is utilized to compare the experience of men and women who have similar education and perform similar work, yet have divergent career pathways. Semi-structured interviews are used to illuminate the lived experience behind the numbers. The intentional use of three Ontario universities - McMaster University (MU), University of Guelph (UoG) and Wilfrid Laurier University (WLU) - is not for comparative purposes, but rather to ensure a large enough sample so that the results could realistically be interpreted as reflective of systemic issues within the Canadian university structure.

While characteristics unique to specific universities may affect the experience of professors, the three chosen institutions do share similarities. At all three schools, the social sciences and humanities faculties tend to hire a significant number of short-term contract professors and all have large student enrolments. According to statistics for the 2016-17 academic school year, approximately 38% of the students at WLU were enrolled in the humanities and social sciences, 28% at UoG and 18% at MU (CUDO, 2019). The three universities are also located within a 60-minute drive of one another and,

consequently, serve similar student clientele. At all three schools, tenured professors are represented by faculty associations. The associations are certified trade unions at UoG and WLU. MU's faculty association is not unionized, but is responsible for collective bargaining for both contract and tenured professors. At UoG and WLU contract professors are represented by CUPE (Canadian Union of Public Employees). The roles played by faculty associations and unions are important, but beyond the scope of this paper.

Data, obtained from the online survey as well as from semi-structured interviews previously conducted at UoG and WLU, will be used to explore the patterns and relationships that form the professors' working life, highlighting how emotional labour is performed. Hochschild (2003, p. 55) defines emotional labour:

> one's face and feelings take on the properties of a resource…not a resource to be used for the purpose of art . . . self-discovery…or for the pursuit of fulfillment. It is a resource to be used to make money.

Emotional labour often transforms into free labour. Analysis of data will show how the hiring conditions of contract or tenure-stream professors affect such a transformation. Data will further show the interplay between emotional labour and gender.

A survey is a research strategy to provide a "snapshot of how things are" (Denscombe, 1998, p. 8). The semi-structured interviews provide the story behind the numbers, offering insight into the beliefs, values, feelings and motivation of participants (Berkwits & Thomas, 1998). The intention of this mixed methods research is to reveal multiple viewpoints, exposing the simultaneous social realities at play. These realities, when

layered together, reveal how professors perform emotional labour to offset their own working conditions and the student learning conditions.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

A positive student-professor interaction "pays rich dividends" in student development (Astin, 1999). Affective delivery has a significant role in creating positive consumer experience (Tsai & Huang, 2002). Not surprisingly, then, there is a positive correlation between a student's perception - realistic or not - of supportive faculty and the completion of a degree (Jaegar & Eagan, 2009). In contrast, emotional labour often remains invisible and, consequently, remains unrewarded for faculty members (Constanti & Gibbs, 2004).

Emotional labour was first coined in the early 1980s to describe how "feelings . . . come to belong more to the organization and less to oneself" (Hochschild, 2003, p. 198). Hochschild was describing how flight attendants were trained to control and regulate their emotions in order to present a friendly yet professional demeanor to customers. This training involved both deep acting and surface acting. In deep acting, employees consciously change internal feelings to align with organizational expectations while surface acting involves outwardly faking emotion through nonverbal communication, such as body language and facial expressions. It is estimated that two-thirds of all workforce interactions involve emotional labour in which employees fake or suppress their emotions (Mann, 1999). Bolton and Boyd (2003, p. 289) refer to front-line workers as "skilled emotion managers" who decide what emotion to perform, including "philanthropic," which is defined as an unexpected extra gift for customers. Ashford and

Humphrey (1993), however, look at emotional labour in terms of re-creating an impression of management. They look at task effectiveness and at observable behaviours and, not so much, the feelings. They suggest that emotional labour becomes routine and so is effortless and not a source of stress. It should be noted that Hochschild is female. Ashford and Humphrey are male.

Emotional dissonance occurs when there is a conflict between emotions experienced and emotions expressed (Hochschild, 2003). Such dissonance may result in stress and anxiety, often associated with burnout, within the workplace. Similar to physical and intellectual labour, emotional labour, when exploited, is associated with depression, alienation and loss of identity (Hochschild, 2003). My research examines in what ways professors perform emotional labour in order to manufacture student satisfaction. This research will create a better understanding of how professors reconcile the increasing institutional and student demands on their time and emotions.

The focus of the neoliberal university is on the cost-effective production of learning in which success is often measured by students' ability to produce quality grades and professors' ability to secure funding sources for research. At the same time, student satisfaction is promoted by universities in their competition for student enrolment as well as desire for alumni donors in response to declining government subsidies. A how-to-survive university handbook instructs students that the "right" professor is "big league, widely published, and respected" (Millar & Coli, 2011, p. 253). Unspoken is that the professor is both tenured and male. Guy and Newman (2004) indicate that an

institutional culture exists that perpetuates the myth of the successful male tenured professor because men tend to disregard affective work and focus on the traditional academic tasks of teaching and researching. Although teaching and service have always involved elements of emotional labour, the neoliberal university does not value nor reward such skills (Bellas, 1999). On the other hand, research and administration are associated with intellectual, technical and leadership skills: "traits culturally defined as masculine" and are highly compensated (Bellas, 1999, p. 96). The result is that female professors experience the "penalty for caring" (Guy & Newman, 2004, p. 292) as caretaking and emotional labour become identified as female work. Such identification rests in the historical association of unpaid private labour and what constitutes women's work in the home (Varallo, 2008). Although women are no longer expected to stay home, they are now expected to perform emotional labour for free in the public sphere (Varallo, 2008).

Organizational logic is found in collective agreements (Acker, 1990). Such agreements do not address emotional labour. Emotional labour is composed of "individual acts of emotion work, social feeling rules and a great variety of exchanges between people in private and public life" (Hochschild, 2003, p. X). Emotional labour, from a marketing perspective, has a direct correlation in satisfaction and future consumer loyalty (Hennig-Thurau, Groth, Paul, & Gremler, 2006). Unlikely to be documented and often remaining invisible, it is also reflected in the emotional expectations of the job (Hochschild, 2003).

My study will build upon this under-researched area of academia. There is practical merit in the examination of how male and female professors experience increasing workloads disguised as a "labour of love" (Lawless, 2018, p. 85). Workplace changes generally occur only when informal policies and procedures are formalized and codified. Scholarly documentation provides factual foundations on which to establish or re-establish parameters around professorial workloads. These parameters become increasingly important as the implementation of new technology changes the 9-5 traditional workplace. The result is an unspoken expectation that professors will perform affective work 24/7 by making themselves continually available to students via email, online learning spaces and by-appointment office hours.

Affective labour is invisible, yet is often intense work embedded in both the production and management of emotions. For professors, it includes

> demonstrations of sympathy and empathy, one-on-one attention, supportive communication, counseling, general development of personal relationships, and making a person "feel" good (Lawless, 2018, p. 86).

Affective work can be rewarding and enjoyable, but also frustrating. Emotional labour is how affective work is developed, managed and performed as professors engage with a diverse student population, both inside and outside the lecture hall. It is also a population in which 25% of the students are depressed, anxious or experiencing other mental health issues (Pang, 2017). Students may turn to professors to be front-line mental health workers as well as life coaches and guidance counselors.

Professors, however, may not be comfortable assuming these roles in which emotional labour is embedded and for which they are untrained. Institutionally sponsored workshops may be held to mitigate such feelings, but more than 50% of professors[2] are unlikely to attend. Low rates of participation are a result of contract faculty not being financially compensated for their attendance while tenured professors cannot afford the time to attend (Bresee, 2018). Contract faculty may also be less integrated into campus culture, lacking social, cultural and informational capital because of exclusion from orientation programs, workshops and departmental meetings (Kezar & Maxey, 2015). At the same time, contract professors are also dealing with their own job insecurity. Job insecurity leads to the four A's: anger, anomie, anxiety and alienation (Standing, 2011, p. 19). Emotional labour, therefore, is linked to student interaction as well as to a coping mechanism regarding increased work uncertainty and institutional expectations (Ogbonna & Harris, 2004). In additional to limited teaching and researching opportunities, contract faculty may find themselves suddenly without a course, just weeks before a semester starts or filling in course gaps with little or no preparation time. The result is that contract faculty may feel professionally "isolated" as well as both time strapped and financially stressed (Bresee, 2018, p. 29).

Vallaro (2008) further links increased emotional labour to universities' attempt to meet the unique needs of today's youth. A 2019 student survey took on the

[2] See the Council of Ontario Universities' 2018 study, which indicates 58% of Ontario's academic workforce is hired on contract to only teach and typically are not paid to attend such workshops.

characteristics of a marketing questionnaire in asking students whether they thought their educational experience was "good value" for the money (McKie, 2019). Good value is generally equated with customer satisfaction and often linked to the quality of service, not necessarily a product itself. Such philosophy is reflected on the UoG website where it promotes itself as a "community tailored for students" while the WLU website emphasizes "student satisfaction." In fact, student satisfaction is a specific category in the annual Maclean's Rankings of Canadian Universities. Students may also take to social media - some sites universities run themselves - to publicly rate their experiences. Student satisfaction, then, becomes a significant marketing tool aimed at potential buyers/students as well as the retention of existing students/customers.

The individualized caring attention provided to the customer is a significant dimension of front-line work (Parasuraman, Zeithaml & Berry, 1988). Constanti and Gibbs (2004, p. 246) maintain students are aware of the emotional labour performed by their professors, but students still "want to feel that they are different and enjoy the empathy of the teacher." The result is that professors experience not only institutional pressure to perform emotional labour, but also pressure from students.

In front-line service work, the traditional dyad of worker-management is replaced with a triad where the customer also has authority (Constanti & Gibbs, 2004; Korczynski, 2013). Thus, "customer sovereignty" begins to play a role and may pervade the entire organization of work (Korczynski, 2013, p. 5). Because the university, as an employer, plays a distant role in providing customer service, professors assume the role of front-line

workers, becoming the face of the university. As such, professors are confronted with increasing demands of the paying customers/students while also maintaining the academic standards of their institution. Emotional labour becomes embedded in the front-line delivery of the educational experience as professors strive for customer satisfaction while maintaining university standards and viability.

The triadic university-professor-student relationship may be further affected by gender stereotypes held by students. These stereotypes reflect traditional masculine and feminine binaries of agency and communion, competence and warmth, as well as instrumentality and expressivity (Kachel, Steffens & Niedlich, 2016). This binary reflects how gender identity is constructed, mirroring cultural norms and values surrounding masculinity and femininity (Butler, 1990). An American study (El-Alayli, Hansen-Brown & Ceynar, 2018) found that female professors reported students made more standard work demands, special requests and friendship behaviours in comparison to male professors. The self-reporting reflects how female professors have different and more time-consuming student interactions than their male peers.

The same study also indicates that students report higher expectations that female professors will grant their requests than will male professors. This difference may be rooted not in institutional culture, but in how students themselves have internalized societal masculine and feminine stereotypes, consequently perceiving female professors to be more nurturing and accommodating as well as accessible outside of the lecture hall (El-Alayli et al., 2018). The authors note when such demands are not met, there is a

negative emotional and behavioral reaction from students, which female professors must also subsequently handle. The indication is that there exists an extra burden of emotional labour which female professors experience that their male colleagues do not.

> Women must work harder to demonstrate both warmth and competence merely to be rated equally to their male peers . . . They must live up to professional expectations in the formal aspects of teaching while simultaneously serving as academic moms (El-Alayli et al., 2018, p. 138).

Yet, female professors are consistently paid less than their male counterparts. Women represent approximately 40% of the full-time faculty members in Canadian universities, but, on average, make about 12% less than their male peers (Samson & Shen, 2018). There may be several reasons for this discrepancy including race, the “mommy penalty,” gender bias in tenure and promotion processes, as well as how one negotiates a starting salary. No matter the cause, the existence of a wage gap negatively impacts women.

The interaction of race and student satisfaction is another relevant, but often understudied facet of the academic learning environment. Zimitat (2002) found a positive correlation between the student perception of inclusion and the perception of the quality of teaching. Rankin and Robert (2005) also discuss the interaction of race and student satisfaction. They found that students of colour perceive the university climate as more racist and less accepting than their white peers. The onus is on professors to understand the unique characteristics of campus diversity in order to foster a positive educational experience that satisfies the needs of student/customer. At a Canadian university, Samuel and Wane (2005, p. 76) found that minority instructors perceived

"racism as infusing most aspects of academic life such as curriculum design, evaluation, administrative support and mainstream student reactions." This topic, however, is beyond the scope of this paper, but is worthy of further study.

Lecturing is often performative, involving both the "demand to show or exaggerate some emotions" to promote student engagement and to "minimize or suppress" other emotions (Berry & Cassidy, 2013, p. 23). These other emotions may reflect the frustration, anger or bitterness contract faculty experience because of their current professional status. These negative emotions are rooted in job insecurity and accompanying wage gaps. Precarity impacts crucial life choices such as where to live, when to start a family, health care, childcare options and even leisure activities (Lewchuk & Lafleche, 2014). Women are overrepresented in contract faculty who Foster and Birdsell (2018, p. 4) describe as "underpaid, overworked and under-resourced." The result is that contract work and wage gaps amplify the emotional labour performed by women to manage their public and private roles in ways not experienced by tenured colleagues. Tunguz (2016) found that non-tenured professors engage in more emotional labour than tenured faculty and that the amount of affective work further decreases for male professors upon earning tenure.

The lecture hall becomes a place where the expectations and perspectives of all three participants - student/customer, professor/front-line employee and university/employer - become exposed.

> The distribution and power and measure of implicit and explicit performance places the emotional labourer in the most vulnerable position (Constanti & Gibbs, 2004, p. 245).

Emotional labour is intrinsic to the triad framework in which professors manage the multiple and sometimes conflicting demands of students and the university. Students may actively seek out courses taught by professors who have particular teaching styles or students may choose to minimize their own learning experiences in the expectation of higher grades. Whether or not these expectations are met is measured in course evaluations in which students grade professors on the quality of performance. For contract and tenure-track professors, these student evaluations are directly linked to job security. Because professors have a vested interest in keeping students satisfied, these evaluations are often perceived by faculty as "customer satisfaction surveys" (Bresee, 2016, p. 36).

Low grades have been linked to low course evaluations (CEPT, 2017). Research also shows course evaluations reflect student biases in terms of classism, racism, genderism and ageism (Boring, Ottobini & Stark, 2016). Contract faculty are dependent on positive student evaluations to maintain or further an academic career. In a separate study, students rated their "best ever" female professor as nurturing, while the "worst ever" female professor was rigid, mean and unfair (Sprague & Massoni, 2005). The implication is that desirable professorial traits - assertiveness, firmness and authority - tend to be masculine. The student evaluations reflect the male tenured professor as competent while his female colleague is seen as nurturing. This student positioning may

result in female professors investing more time and effort in the lecture hall simply to have students perceive them as good as male professors.

Literature does show that emotional labour in academia is often gender referenced and, consequently, more problematic for women. Yet, the corporatization of universities has resulted in all professors becoming front-line workers in which they must actively maintain the satisfaction of customers/students as well as the fulfill the mandates of management/university. The management of this triad relationship involves emotional labour. My research will help to further unlock the client/service provider dynamic present in the neoliberal student learning environment.

Chapter Three

Methodology

Sampling

Survey data for this study was drawn from an online survey (see Appendix A) conducted between March 18, 2019 and May 15, 2019. The original closing date of April 30, 2019 was extended after two professors emailed requests for an extension. The professors stated they wished to participate, but had been unable to do so because of time constraints. A total of six professors filled out the survey after April 30, 2019, including two contract, one assistant and three tenured professors. Data was also drawn from semi-structured interviews previously conducted in 2016 at UoG and 2018 at WLU (see Appendix B).

MU's Research Ethics Board approved the 2019 study protocols (see Appendix C). WLU did not require its own ethics board approval. UoG, however, required a second, separate approval process conducted by its own ethics board (see Appendix D) as well as an administrative review which highlighted the "burden on the faculty at this time of the year." An email, from the UoG research ethics director, did not state that administrative approval was actually granted, only that a review had taken place (see Appendix E).

The sampling frame consists entirely of university faculty members - contract, tenure-track and tenured professors - teaching at the undergraduate level in the 2019 winter term at both the Faculty of Humanities and the Faculty of Social Sciences at MU, the College of Arts as well as the College of Social and Applied Sciences at UoG and the Faculty of

Arts at WLU. These faculties were chosen because, historically, they have had a heavy reliance on contract professors. According to the universities' webpages, 365 professors were employed in these faculties at MU, 302 at UoG and 241 at WLU.

Table 1. Response of professors by school

University	Original sample	Not delivered and/or ineligible[1]	Final Sample	Response	Response Rate
McMaster University	365	24	341	106	31%
University of Guelph	302	22	280	102	36%
Wilfrid Laurier University	241	20	221	80	36%
Total	**908**	**77**[2]	**831**	**288**	**35%**[3]

Notes:
1 Not delivered invitations to participate include undeliverable emails as a result of issues with email addresses, professors who are on various leaves, such as sabbaticals, medical and maternity, professors who are no longer at the school, and professors who have retired, and one name listed that is not a faculty member.
2 The not delivered and/or ineligible total also includes 11 professors who responded to the first survey question that they do work at one of three universities, but not in the specified faculties. They were thanked for their participation and directed out of survey.
3 Percentages may not equal 100 because of rounding.

There is no definitive answer as to what is the correct sample size (Kelley et al, 2003). There is also no consensus as to what a response rate should be, but, in general, higher response rates lead to a higher probability of a sample being representative of a population (Baruch & Holtom, 2008). The inclusion of both contract and tenure stream professors at multiple universities creates a panoramic view of demographics, behaviours, attitudes and experiences of the professoriate and their working conditions. This breadth of coverage creates a representative sample from which obtained data can be generalizable (Kelley et al, 2003). The initial email list consisted of 908 professors. The

final sample consisted of 831 professors. A total of 288 responded, representing a 35% return rate (see Table 1).

All participants were cognizant that MU, UoG and WLU would be identified as research sites and that data may be used in future studies. WLU and MU professors were emailed invitations to participate (see Appendix F) on March 18, 2019. UoG granted ethics board clearance on March 22, 2019 and an invitation to participate was emailed to UoG professors on March 23, 2019. Professors at all three universities received reminder emails (see Appendix G) on Saturday, April 13, 2019 and Saturday, April 27, 2019. The initial email invitation and subsequent two reminders were the only efforts made to solicit responses from the sampling frame.

The invitation to participate included an individualized link to the survey. The link allowed a single access to the survey, preventing participants from creating accidental duplication of responses or malicious ballot-box stuffing. On the survey site, a preamble briefly explained the purpose of the survey as well as provided a link to a letter of information (see Appendix H) that offered further details about the survey. Potential participants were asked if they were associated with UoG, MU or WLU. If the answer was yes, participants were then asked to give their consent to participate. Only those who clicked "Yes, I agree to participate" were allowed to proceed to the survey. The first question on the survey inquired as to which faculty the professors taught in. Professors were offered the choices of the College of Arts and/or College of Social and Applied Human Sciences at UoG, Faculty of Social Sciences and/or Faculty of Humanities at

MU, Faculty of Arts at WLU or none of the above. Upon clicking none of these faculties, 11 professors received a pop up thanking them for their time and that their participation in the study was now complete.

Table 2. Response of short-term contract professors

Gender	Final Sample	Response	Response Rate
Female	128	30	23%
Male	92	24	26%
Other [1]	0	5	
Total	**220**	**59**	**27%**

Notes:
[1] The gender category of other includes professors who choose to identify as non-binary as well as professors who selected the "prefer not to answer" option or simply left the question blank.

Short-term contract professors are called instructors at WLU, sessionals at UoG, and MU refers to them as both contract and sessional faculty. The webpages listed 238 contract professors and the final sample consisted of 220. Of these, 59 participated in the survey, representing a response rate of 27% (see Table 2).

At UoG, several departments did not actually list contract faculty, but the names were included as part of the course descriptions on WebAdvisor where students register for classes. Email addresses for contract faculty, listed only on WebAdvisor, were obtained via a Google search, but nine UoG sessional email addresses remained unknown. All professors are listed on the WLU Faculty of Arts Faculty and Staff page. The majority of instructors, however, did not actually have an email address listed. I created the non-existent email addresses based on the WLU formula of first initial followed by last name

@wlu.ca. Surprisingly, only 3 emails were undeliverable. The lack of such information on the webpages does raise concerns of how students would connect with contract faculty about concerns regarding courses and enrolment. At the three universities, only one contract professor responded that they received a duplicate invitation because they taught at more than one of the universities. Their duplicate email address at the second school was deleted.

The contract faculty listings do appear low in comparison to a 2018 COU study, involving 17 Ontario universities, which indicated that the majority of the academic workforce are contract with tenure-stream faculty representing approximately 48% of academic staff. According to Brownlee (2015, p. 787), "the reluctance of universities to share data on contract faculty has been motivated by both political considerations as well as the nature of university data management." The number of contract faculty listed and excluded on the webpages could be interpreted that the three universities are actively hiding the number of contract faculty hired. A second interpretation is that as more administrative tasks are downloaded onto tenured professors, the contract list is not a priority and consequently not routinely updated each semester.

Table 3. Response of assistant professors

Gender	Final Sample	Response	Response Rate
Female	56	22	39%
Male	42	10	24%
Other[1]	0	2	
Total	**98**	**34**	**35%**

Notes:
[1] The gender category of other includes professors who choose to identify as non-binary, professors who selected the "prefer not to answer" option or simply left the question blank.

The inclusion of assistant professors provides an opportunity to explore another point of distinction among faculty: that between tenured and non-tenured professors. Webpage listings are unclear as to whether an assistant professor is long-term contract or tenure-track. Such inconsistencies reflect how employees, hired on contract, are systematically denied a worker identity (Standing, 2011). Tenure-track professors are subject to a review, five or six years after their initial hiring, which determines whether their work meets departmental and university standards and, thus, eligibility for tenure. It is also uncommon, but possible to gain tenure and remain an assistant professor. No survey participant held such a position.

Some assistant professors are hired as teaching professors, with less or no focus on research and service, and may also be eligible for tenure. A further distinction is that assistant professors may also be hired on long-term contracts that specify the number of courses to be taught over a certain period of time, ranging from one to three years. Once the contract has expired, the professor is no longer considered "full time" and,

consequently, will apply to teach individual courses similar to short-term contract professors. Ten professors indicated they held such a position. A total of 104 assistant professors are listed on the three university webpages: 98 received invitations. Of these, 34 assistant professors participated, representing a 35% response rate (see Table 3).

Table 4. Response of tenured professors

Gender	Final Sample	Response	Response Rate
Female	233	123	42%
Male	291	65	22%
Other [1]	0	7	
Total	**524**	**195**	**37%**

Notes:
[1] The gender category of other includes professors who choose to identify as non-binary, professors who selected the "prefer not to answer" option or simply left the question blank.

A total of 566 tenured professors were listed on the three university webpages. Some names were cross-listed by programs and by departments, giving the illusion of more robust academic programming. Of the 524 tenured professors reached, 195 participated in the survey, representing a 37% response rate (see Table 4).

Data for this study is also drawn from previously conducted semi-structured interviews involving contract, tenure-track and tenured professors teaching at the undergraduate level at both UoG and WLU. Previous Research Ethics Board approval at both universities (see Appendix I and Appendix J) include the use of this data in future studies conducted by the researcher. Interviews included professors hired only within the Faculty of Arts at WLU. A total of seven contract, seven tenured and three assistant

professors were interviewed. Additionally, five contract, five tenured and five tenure-track professors were also interviewed from one college (faculty) at UoG. Ethics board approval was given to name UoG as a site of the research, but not to identify the college.

The in-depth interviews, which lasted approximately one hour in duration, were designed to encourage self-reflection from participants about their own attitudes, departmental roles and interactions with students within the academic learning environment. The revealed themes of the lived everyday included emotional labour, free labour and an informal gender division of labour. The interviews are used in support of the statistical data of the current survey.

Analysis of Data

The survey examines professors' self-reported patterns of behavior by measuring the influence of such factors as hiring conditions, gender, race and age. The quantitative component of this study enables an analysis of faculty working conditions and how they affect the student learning environment. By utilizing a Likert scale with an ordered continuum of response categories, including a balanced number of positive and negative response options, it is possible to create a quantifiable profile of the participants in terms of attitudes, experiences and behaviours (Rowley, 2014). The survey consists of 28 questions and was designed to take 15 minutes to complete in the belief that a brief time commitment from participants would increase the likelihood of participation and decrease the potential for question fatigue. The anonymity provided by the survey encourages

participants to be more open about sensitive issues by reducing social desirability pressures (Lerner & Tetlock, 1999; Robins, 2011) surrounding emotional labour and/or existing gender divisions of labour among professors teaching at the undergraduate level.

The quantitative and qualitative data provides the opportunity to assess relationships between variables and between sub-populations - contract, tenure-track and tenured professors - giving insight into the patterns and relationships that form the professors’ working life and, in turn, impact the student learning environment.

Limitations of the Study

There are a few limitations within this study. Firstly, a sample may not be representative of a larger demographic. It is possible both the survey and interview results are not representative of all university faculties, particularly the science, technology, engineering and math (STEM) faculties. The hard sciences and the soft sciences may not share similar academic cultures. Secondly, the sampling method may have a voluntary response bias in that only professors with strong opinions agreed to participate. At the same time, there may also be a non-response bias because professors were unable or unwilling to participate. This situation could be related to the nature of the study as well as its timing. The busyness at the end of the semester may have precluded some professors from participating. Such scheduling, however, could not be avoided, given the limited timeline for this research project.

Chapter Four

Data and Discussion

The Female Response

The final sampling frame of 831 professors was equally divided between male and female professors. Yet, among respondents, 61% reported their gender - socially constructed roles, identities and behaviours - as female, 34% as male and 5% did not specify (see Tables 2, 3, 4 in previous chapter). Return rates were higher for tenured female professors (39%) compared to tenured male professors (22%). Response rates were again higher for assistant female professors (39%) compared to assistant male professors (24%). The anomaly was among contract professors, where the male response rate (26%) was slightly higher than the female (23%).

Because female faculty members contributed disproportionately to the respondent data set, the unintended consequence is a data set that reflects a female perspective of gender, institutions and power dynamics. A UoG tenured professor describes her experience with these gender dynamics:

> Despite some efforts to close gender gaps in pay, I still make significantly less money than my male colleagues. This, combined with the reality that women and non-male faculty need to work much harder to get the same recognition in the field is demoralizing . . . My sense is that academia is a much different workplace for me than it is for my male colleagues.

Women are more likely than men to participate in surveys (Holbrook, Krosnick, & Pfent, 2008; Smith, 2008). In reading between the numbers, so to speak, it is possible to interpret that the female and male faculty response rate is meaningful in itself and

reflective of different female and male values (Smith, 2008). For example, in the WLU set of interviews, when asked why they participated in a study of faculty, an assistant male professor states, "You want to hear the voice of contract faculty." A WLU tenured male professor identifies the study as an opportunity to "critique administration's policies on higher education." A WLU assistant female professor, however, gives a more affective response:

> As someone who has done research myself, I appreciate when people give me time. This is reciprocity in the world of research.

Her moment of reciprocity is important because research is considered a primary vehicle in the advancement of not only faculty looking for tenure, but also Master's students, such as myself, seeking entrance into a PhD program. The three professors' statements reflect the traditional masculine and feminine binaries that Kachel, Steffens and Niedlich (2016) define as agency and communion as well as instrumentality and expressivity.

It is possible that participation in my survey was construed by tenured and tenure-track professors as fulfilling the requirements of internal service to one's department, faculty or university. Interestingly, a significant number of professors filled out the online survey on the weekend (a scenario that is further discussed in the chapter on self-exploitation). Thus, it is likely the time it took to fill out the survey was done as the professors were completing a 50-hour plus work week (see Chart 5, p. 45 and Chart 6, p. 48). Tenure-stream professors' salaries are based on a 40-hour work week; therefore, their participation could be equated with a gift of their time.

Interestingly, several female professors also took their involvement one step further by sending an email about their participation and support of the project as well as offering feedback on the structure of the survey. Thus, the female professors' involvement became a positive teachable moment for me as the student. This unanticipated participation also reflects how emotional labour easily transforms into free labour.

Unpaid labour was also provided by contract faculty. Their involvement was strictly on a volunteer basis because they are not financially compensated to provide service to their departments, faculty or university. The survey itself, then, becomes an allegory for how male and female professors, depending on their conditions of employment, experience their work environments differently.

Intersectionality

My initial intention was to explore how the intersectionality of age, race and gender affects who performs emotional labour. The survey data, however, precludes explorations of the interrelationship between emotional labour and employment rank, gender and ethnicity.

A significant majority of all professors share a similar White/European background (see Table 5). According to the 2016 Canadian Census, 21% of academic staff are non-white, reflecting the white and non-white composition of the larger Canadian labour force (Dehas, 2018). In general, my data also reflects a similar breakdown. However, too few

observations about ethnicity can be made because the original sample size of racialized faculty is small and the response rate is also low.

Table 5. Ethnicity of Professors

Gender	White/European	Other Ethnicity	Prefer Not to say
Tenured Female	86%	20%	0
Tenured Male	78%	22%	0
Assistant Female	77%	23%	0%
Assistant Male	60%	40%	10%
Contract Female	93%	8%	0%
Contract Male	79%	17%	5%

Notes:
Percentages may not equal 100% because professors may have identified multiple ethnicities.

Table 6. Ages of Professors

Gender	Below 30 years	31-40 years	41-50 years	51-60 years	Over 60 years	Prefer not to say
Tenured Female	0	9	54	43	17	
Tenured Male	0	4	22	27	12	
Assistant Female	0	14	5	1	1	1
Assistant Male	0	3	3	2	1	1
Contract Female	1	10	7	9	3	
Contract Male	3	8	10	1	2	
Total	**4**	**48**	**101**	**83**	**35**	**2**

The median age of all professors is between 41 and 50 years, but there are caveats (see Table 6). Tenured male professors are likely to be over the age of 51 years. The natural assumption would be that assistant professors, who are just starting their academic careers, are slightly younger. That, however, is true only for assistant female professors

who have a median age of between 31 and 40 years, while assistant male professors tend to be older, with a median age of between 41 and 50 years. Contract female and male professors have a broad range of ages.

The data does suggest the interplay of age, gender and hiring rank is reflected in the roles that students cast professors. One MU tenured professor discusses her experience:

> I recently started a new position at my university and I have been disappointed by the gender politics . . . People say things to me that they would never say to a male colleague. I feel like the default is to treat me with disrespect because I am a youngish female academic (eg, no one ever thinks I am a tenured professor when they first meet me - they think I am a graduate student or post doc; students call me Miss). [It] feels like I am always fighting for the respect that would be granted to me by default if I were male.

In engaging with professors, students have their own set of prejudices, biases and expectations (El-Alayli et al., 2018). These student assumptions are based on existing societal and cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity. These gender stereotypes are not just merely descriptive, but also prescriptive (Eckes, 2002). The result is that professors perform emotional labour to maintain their own identity in the workplace (Hort, Barrett & Furlop, 2001). A UoG tenured professor wishes there was a greater . . .

> . . . awareness of the gendered and intersectional power relations/contexts within which women work. This would include politics between men and women that play out at the faculty level, but also the expectations that women students place on women faculty, and how the responses of male faculty can make the requests, relationships and power dynamics better or worse.

In the next sections, I will discuss how gender, age and hiring rank intersect in the performance of emotional labour.

Self-exploitation

As universities become service institutions, it becomes the responsibility of academic staff to provide quality service to ensure student/customer satisfaction. There is, however, a correlation between student satisfaction and professor job satisfaction which is negatively affected by job insecurities and increasing workloads (Kirshnan & Kasinathan, 2017). "Many people and objects, arranged according to institutional rule and custom, together accomplish the act" of emotional labour (Hochschild, 2003, p. 49). There are, however, negative consequences associated with emotional labour used to manage workplace stress. Linked to the deterioration in quality of service, emotional labour increases both customer dissatisfaction and worker discontent. Professors engage in emotional labour to avoid unhappy customers, but also to cope with a changing institutional structure which, in demanding efficiency and maximum productivity, emphasizes accountability and quantifiable outputs. In the following sections, I examine the overall workloads and emotional labour performed by faculty. The focus is on what role gender and rank play in relation to the stress and well-being experienced by professors.

Job insecurity and stress. Literature has shown that increased reliance on contract faculty negatively impacts both the professoriate's working conditions and student learning conditions. An MU contract professor portrays the current academic environment:

> These institutions are not making enough new tenure-track positions. As a result, departments are suffering in terms of the quality of education being offered and the investment of researchers who bring unique knowledge to classrooms. Contract hires are burning out and not being given any longevity with their careers - and institutions are also suffering as a result.

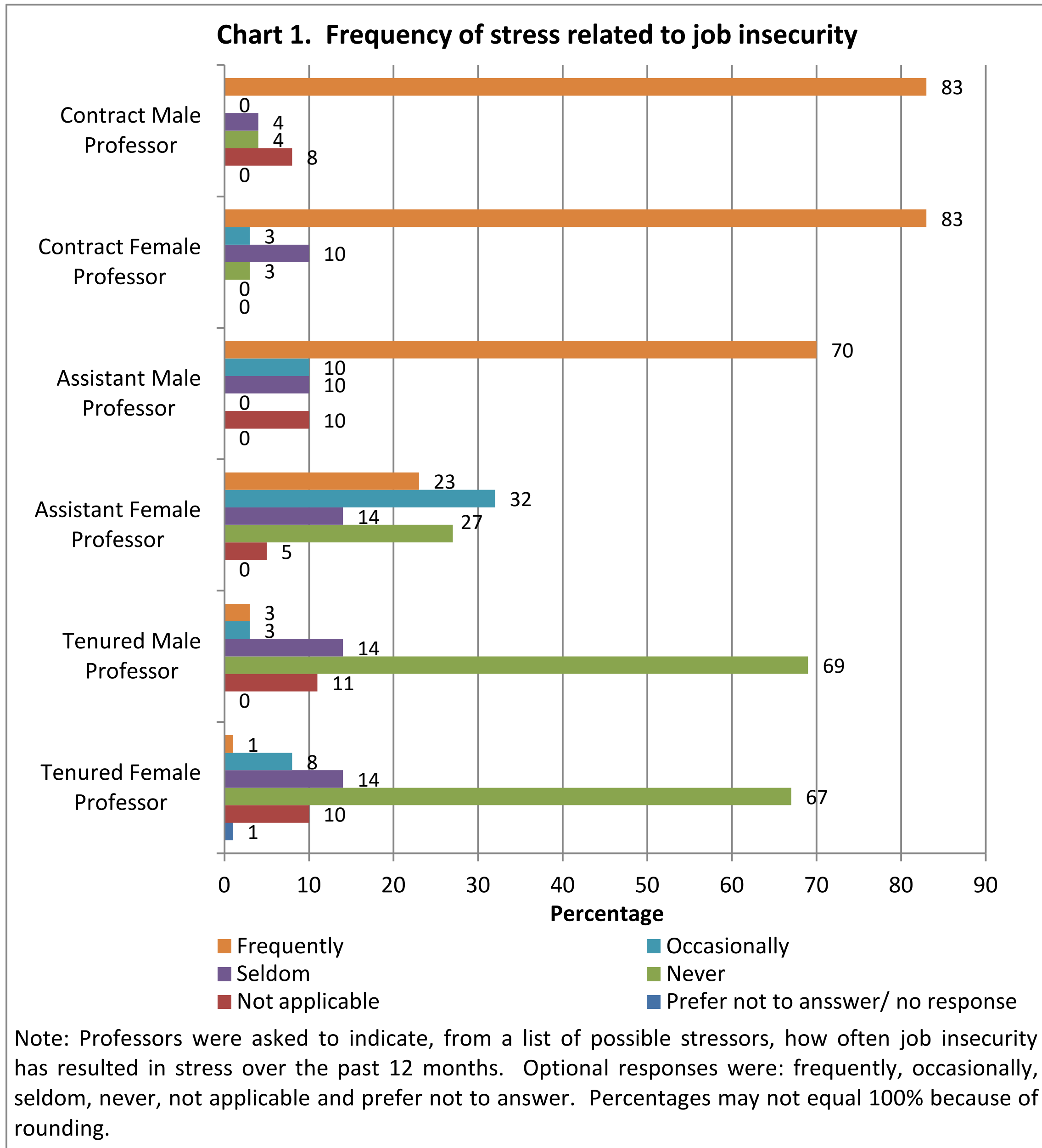
Such a negative outlook is further amplified by increasing precarity in academia. Another MU contract professor also emphasizes that the precaritization of academic labour . . .

> . . . is so utterly destructive to all parties - the lives of the adjuncts, the quality of learning among students, the institutional cohesion of the department. The system is unsustainable.

It is well documented the negative force of precarity on workers' lives. The stress of precarity "makes people sick" (OFL, 2017), negatively impacting the physical and mental well-being of workers. Chart 1 indicates that 83% of contract faculty frequently experience stress related to job insecurity. A WLU contract professor describes their employment situation:

> If your pattern at work is constantly changing, you do a lot of accommodating. There is no continuity.

Job insecurity impacts the ability of contract faculty to develop and implement strategies involving their own long-term career and life management plans. The emotional labour performed by contract faculty to manage their public and private roles is not experienced by tenure-stream professors.



Note: Professors were asked to indicate, from a list of possible stressors, how often job insecurity has resulted in stress over the past 12 months. Optional responses were: frequently, occasionally, seldom, never, not applicable and prefer not to answer. Percentages may not equal 100% because of rounding.

Survey data confirms this. Only 2% of tenured faculty frequently experience stress attributable to job insecurity (see Chart 1). While many assistant professors frequently

experience stress surrounding job insecurity, these stress levels are likely short-term and reflective of insecurity associated with the start of a new career.

By comparison, about 68% of both tenured female and male professors indicate they never experience such stress or that such stress is not applicable to their career path. They have permanency of appointment, an economic security resulting in little or no fear of job loss regarding the quality of their teaching, focus of research or lack of popularity for particular ideas or viewpoints. Contract faculty have no such employment guarantees or freedoms. In addition, contract faculty are often hired last minute, given little time for course preparation, lack opportunities for professional development and research, and, in addition, may not have access to office space

“It’s exhausting,” states a UoG contract professor. The existing hiring process also leads to feelings of devaluation by contract faculty. A WLU assistant professor notes there is a belief in academia that:

> You are good enough to be a contractor to teach courses, but you are not good enough to be a [tenured] colleague.

A WLU contract professor also addresses the myth of the academic who is only good enough for contract positions.

> I have colleagues that I have worked with for around 10 years or more, and we still struggle every term to get courses, have zero resources to support our teaching and development, expected to do research (for free) while teaching 2-3x as many courses as our FT peers (I will not call them colleagues). If you have taught 4-5 courses consistently for five years, then it proves that the university needs you and likes the work you are doing; they just don't want to pay you.

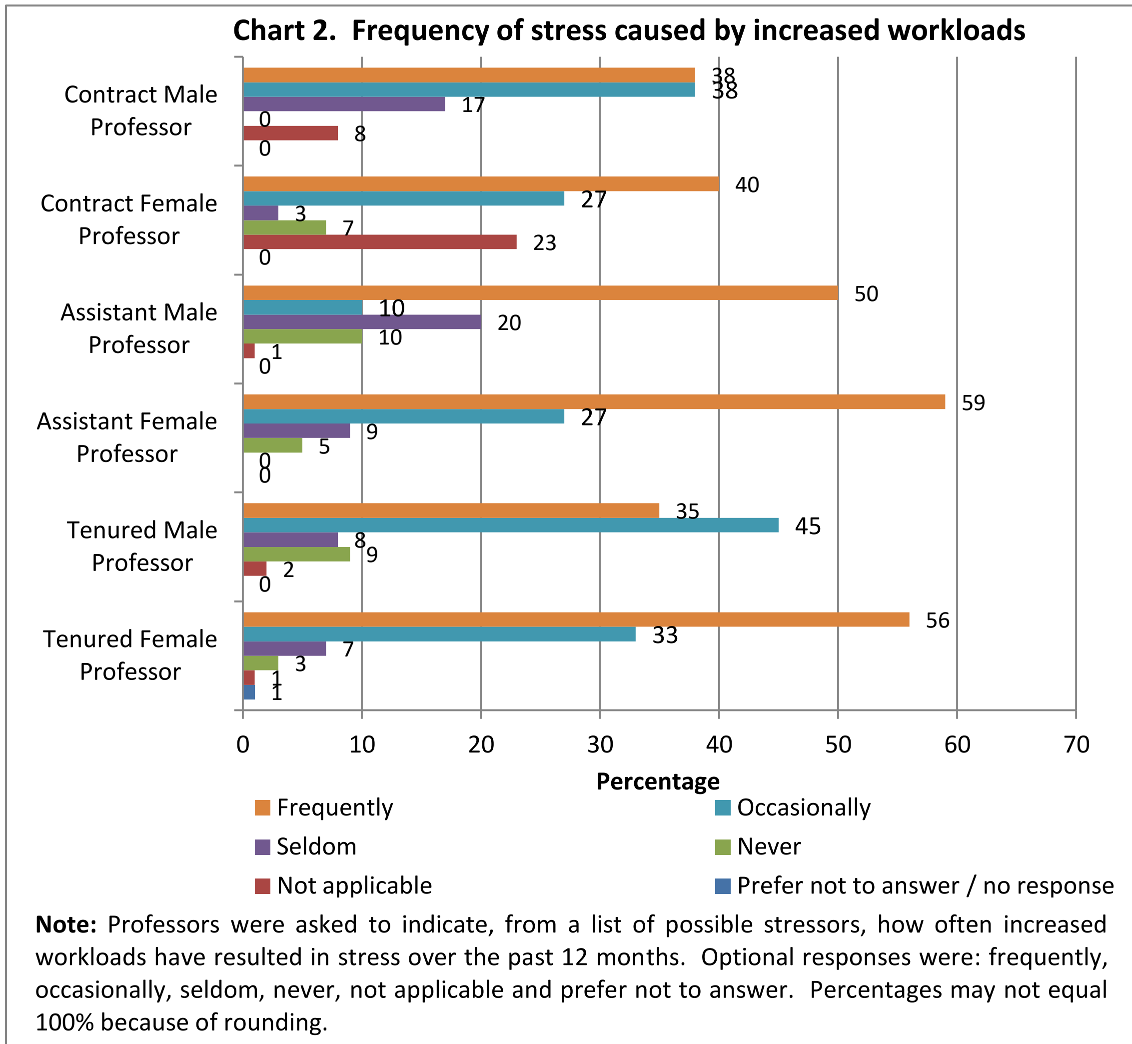
The application process for an academic position involves the intellectual labour of creating a cover letter, a curriculum vitae, references, teaching evaluations and custom course outlines among other items. It is time consuming. Consequently, contract faculty experience both time stresses as well as financial constraints. A UoG contract professor uses humour to address the time constraints she faces:

> I am a mother of two. And, I do research. It's not as if I don't have anything to do [except teach]. I tell my husband I need a wife.

The comment reflects a traditional marriage social arrangement that supports and enables the male professor's career. Yucel (2018) found households, with dual income earners, continue to reflect that traditional social arrangement. Men tend to focus on traditional male-dominated tasks, such as bill paying or physical household maintenance while women are responsible for traditional female-dominated tasks, such as planning and preparing meals and household cleaning. Female household labour also tends to involve more extensive time commitments.

In addition to intellectual labour, the application process also involves emotional labour as contract faculty balance the hope and fear of future employment with a positive persona in the student learning environment. Many contract faculty experience this emotional labour every academic year, sometimes every semester, as they reapply for positions already held and for which there is no guarantee of rehiring. This repetitive emotional labour is experienced only by short-term and long-term contract faculty.

Chart 2. Frequency of stress caused by increased workloads



Note: Professors were asked to indicate, from a list of possible stressors, how often increased workloads have resulted in stress over the past 12 months. Optional responses were: frequently, occasionally, seldom, never, not applicable and prefer not to answer. Percentages may not equal 100% because of rounding.

Competing work demands and stress. The neoliberal university has increased the student population, but decreased funding with the result that increased faculty workloads are the new normal (Berry & Cassidy, 2013). Not surprisingly then, 48% of all professors say they frequently experience stress caused by increased workloads (see Chart 2). But, as Acker (1990) pointed out almost 30 years ago, men and women are affected differently by the organization of the workplace. This difference, often reflected

in the divisions of paid and unpaid work, is further mirrored in women's stress levels and rank within the university workplace.

Chart 2 highlights how tenured female professors (56%) frequently experience stress related to increasing workloads compared to male tenured professors (35%). This stress level drops among contract faculty. Approximately 40% of both contract female and male professors report frequently experiencing stress caused by increasing workloads. It is surprising that while contract female faculty experience significantly less stress regarding workloads than tenured female professors, there is virtually no change between male contract and male tenured professors. Thus, the decline in rates among contract female professors cannot be attributed only to contract faculty having limited workloads because they are hired to teach, not to conduct research or perform service. It is unclear as to what factors may come into play.

Professors have a wide range of responsibilities (teaching, administration, research and student counseling). The management of these responsibilities involves emotional as well as physical and intellectual labour. But, not all labour is considered of equal value. A neoliberal university is one that prizes the ability to find grants and publish research which, in turn, brings prestige to a university, defines Lawless (2018), who also recognizes that universities transform professors into caretakers, guidance counselors and life coaches. Women tend to do more service and more emotional labour, which is often invisible and consequently not valued. A WLU assistant professor acknowledges there is a need for . . .

> . . . greater recognition of all types of academic work beyond peer-reviewed research outputs - e.g. attempts at knowledge mobilization, media work, service work, and advising of students.

The division of labour often falls along gendered lines. Larson (2008) refers to this gendering as "pink-collar duties" in which increased nurturing demands on female professors result in them performing greater emotional labour with students. A WLU assistant professor explains:

> I am wary . . . It is fantastic that students trust me and see me as someone who might be helpful, but, on the other hand, it is emotionally taxing and there are services for that [personal issues]. I wonder if a big part of it isn't because I am a woman. I want students to think I am authentic and open and helpful . . . I am here to help them academically . . . I have classes and have prep . . . I am tired. I do have other things I have to do, but, at the same time, I am here [for the students].

These "pink-collar duties," however, are seldom taken into account when determining tenure, promotion or salary increases.

Just under 75% of both tenured female professors and assistant female professors frequently experience stress caused by the management of competing demands on work time (see Chart 3). Such stress levels drop among tenured male professors (62%) and assistant male professors (70%). A UoG tenured female professor voices her frustration:

> It's hopeless. Academic departments in current university institutions are not a place for a person like me: collectivist, pragmatic, devoted to students and student wellness, voluntaristic, not [focused on] "growth" and "productivity."

A MU tenured male professor takes a more pragmatic view in critiquing the system. The issue, according to the professor, is rooted in financial and political decisions over which professors have no control.

> The problem is not at the departmental level . . . The problem comes from funding models and incredibly poor management of resources at the dean/provost/federal level.

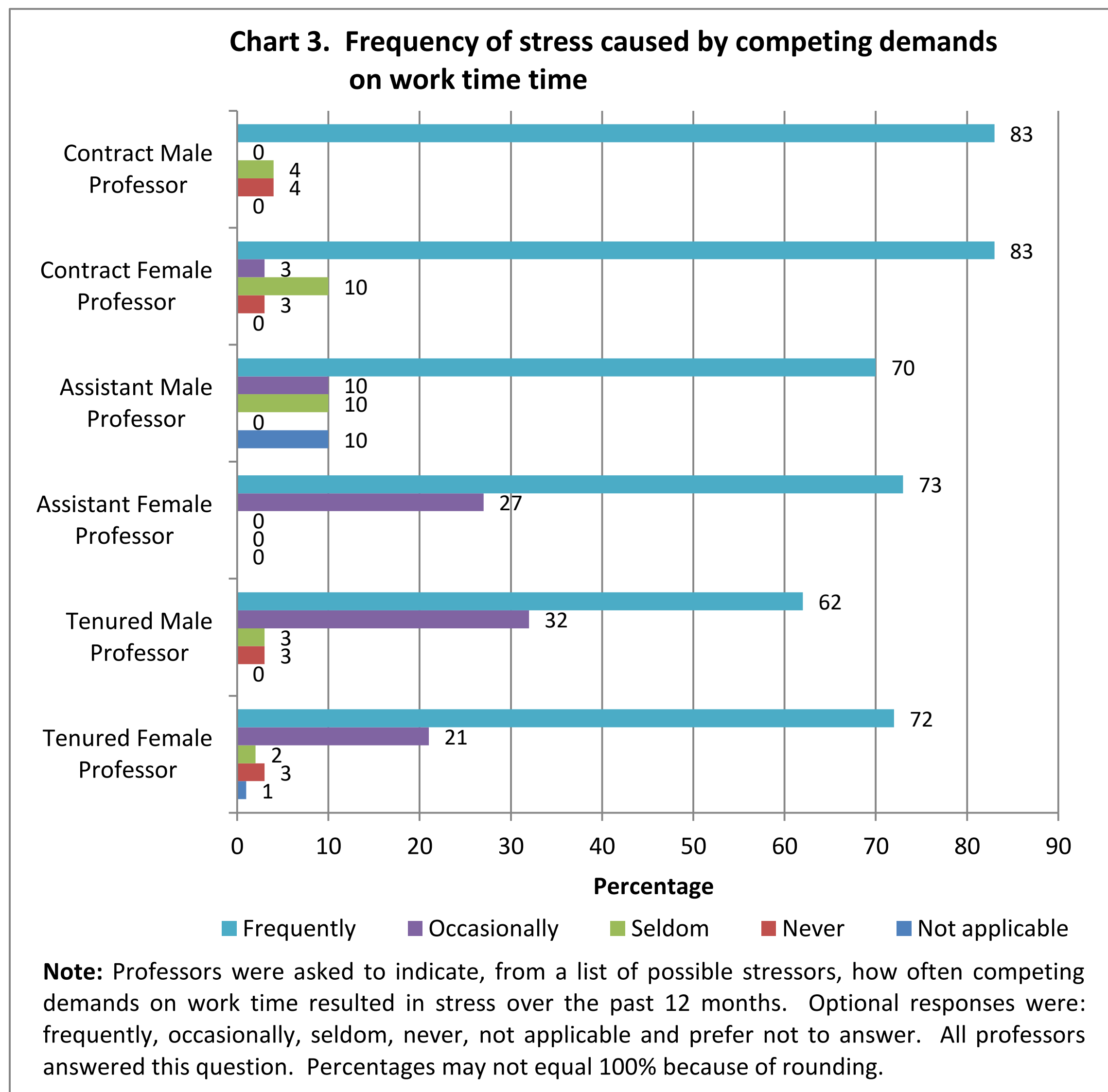


Chart 3. Frequency of stress caused by competing demands on work time time

Note: Professors were asked to indicate, from a list of possible stressors, how often competing demands on work time resulted in stress over the past 12 months. Optional responses were: frequently, occasionally, seldom, never, not applicable and prefer not to answer. All professors answered this question. Percentages may not equal 100% because of rounding.

Krishnan and Kasinathan (2017) attribute the stress of competing demands to the ongoing conflict between the role of service provider and the role of academic. Hochschild (2003, p. 60) notes that emotional dissonance occurs when there is a "discrepancy" between what a person feels and thinks and what they ought to feel and think. Professors perform emotional labour in their decision of whether to fulfill the demand of the customer/student or the expectations of the institution. A MU tenured professor outlines her current work dilemma:

> For the last two years I have been carrying heavy administrative roles, and the same is true for many of my female colleagues. I also sometimes take on more students as supervisees than I should, because they are conducting research in areas where we have insufficient expertise. I see the same imbalance reflected in other departments. I don't want to shortchange students or my department, but I end up shortchanging my research, and I rarely have time to think about how to make my courses more engaging. I am concerned that this is affecting my professional reputation and standing, but am not sure how to take more time for my own work and spend less time on administrative functions.

Such emotional labour creates a surplus value in the student learning environment, but results in increased stress levels among academic workers.

Chart 3 reflects how contract faculty are the most stressed by competing demands on their work time. A situation that is attributable to their having less autonomy to determine how and when to respond to the demands of either the student or the institution. A total of 83% of both male and female contract faculty frequently experience stress caused by the management of competing demands on work time. In the case of contract faculty, the dominant link to stress is not one of gender, but most likely

one of secure employment where saying no to either the student or the institution may jeopardize future employment opportunities.

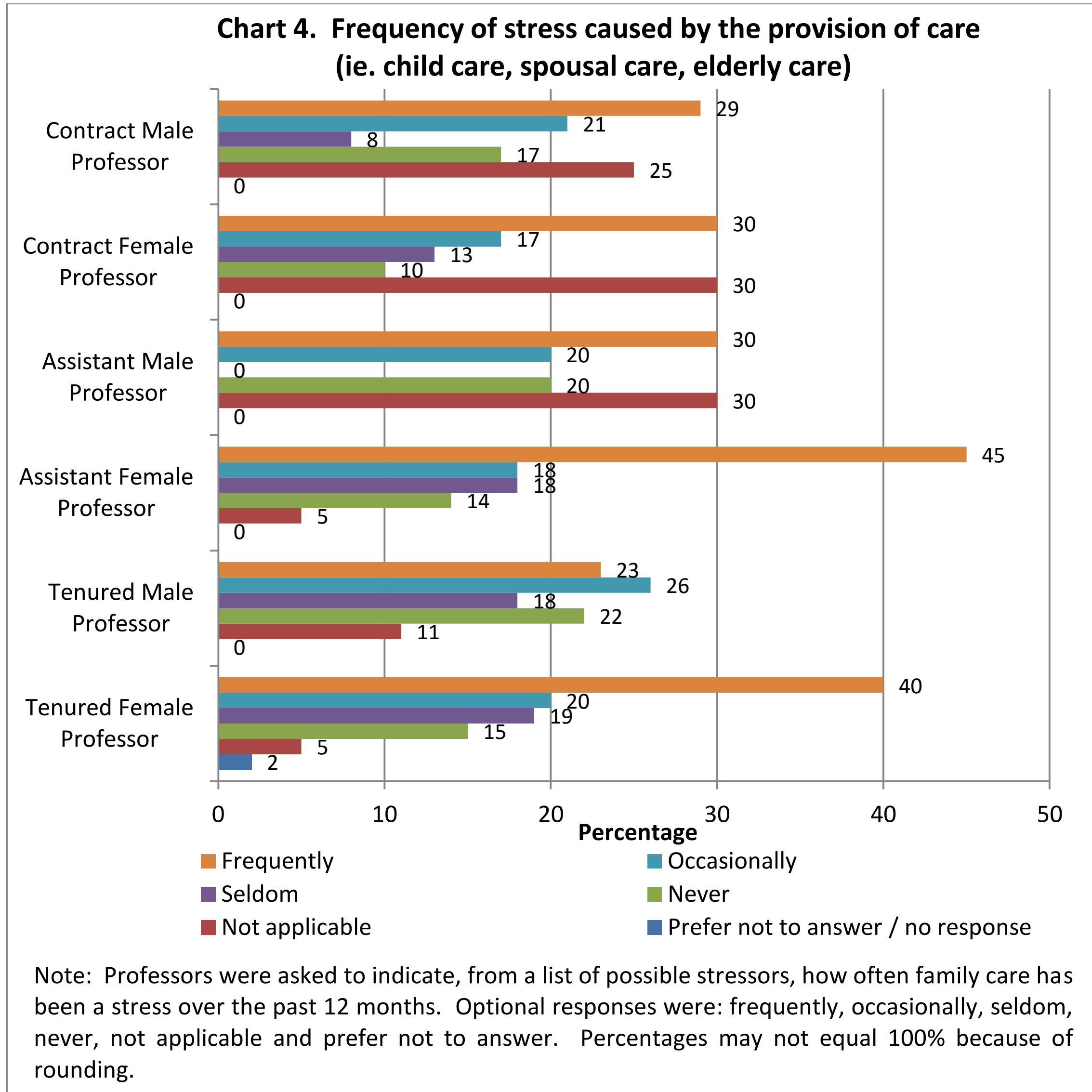


Chart 4. Frequency of stress caused by the provision of care (ie. child care, spousal care, elderly care)

Note: Professors were asked to indicate, from a list of possible stressors, how often family care has been a stress over the past 12 months. Optional responses were: frequently, occasionally, seldom, never, not applicable and prefer not to answer. Percentages may not equal 100% because of rounding.

Balancing work life and home life. A total of 30% of contract female professors frequently experience stress surrounding child care, elderly care or spousal care, although 40% responded they never experience any such stress or it was not applicable in their

current life stage (see Chart 4). A similar number of contract male professors (42%) also never experience such stress.

There appears to be no gendered response among contract male and female professors surrounding the stress levels of family life and child care. The contract male professor's response mimics that of their contract female colleagues: approximately 30% frequently experience stress around family care. In the case of contract faculty, these statistics, perhaps, reflect that family care issues are linked to hiring conditions than to gender. Literature has shown that people in precarious employment delay life decisions such as where to live, when to get married and when to start a family.

Family care is a frequent cause of stress for assistant female professors (45%). This high stress rate is likely linked to the median age range of 31 to 40 years of female assistant professors, who, now having gained job security, are starting families. The fact that 50% of assistant male professors say they never experience this stress or that the issue of family care is not applicable to them, compared to only 19% of assistant female professors, does indicate that family care responsibilities continue to be the traditional domain of women. Such ideology is further reinforced in the response of tenured professors. Tenured female professors (40%) are also more likely to frequently experience stress surrounding family care issues compared to tenured male professors (23%).

There is emotional labour in the job, but there is also emotional labour inherent in making decisions as to where best to direct one's energies. The result is often not a

work-home balance, but rather a choosing of one over the other. According to these statistics, family care is an emotional labour that has significantly less involvement from male academics.

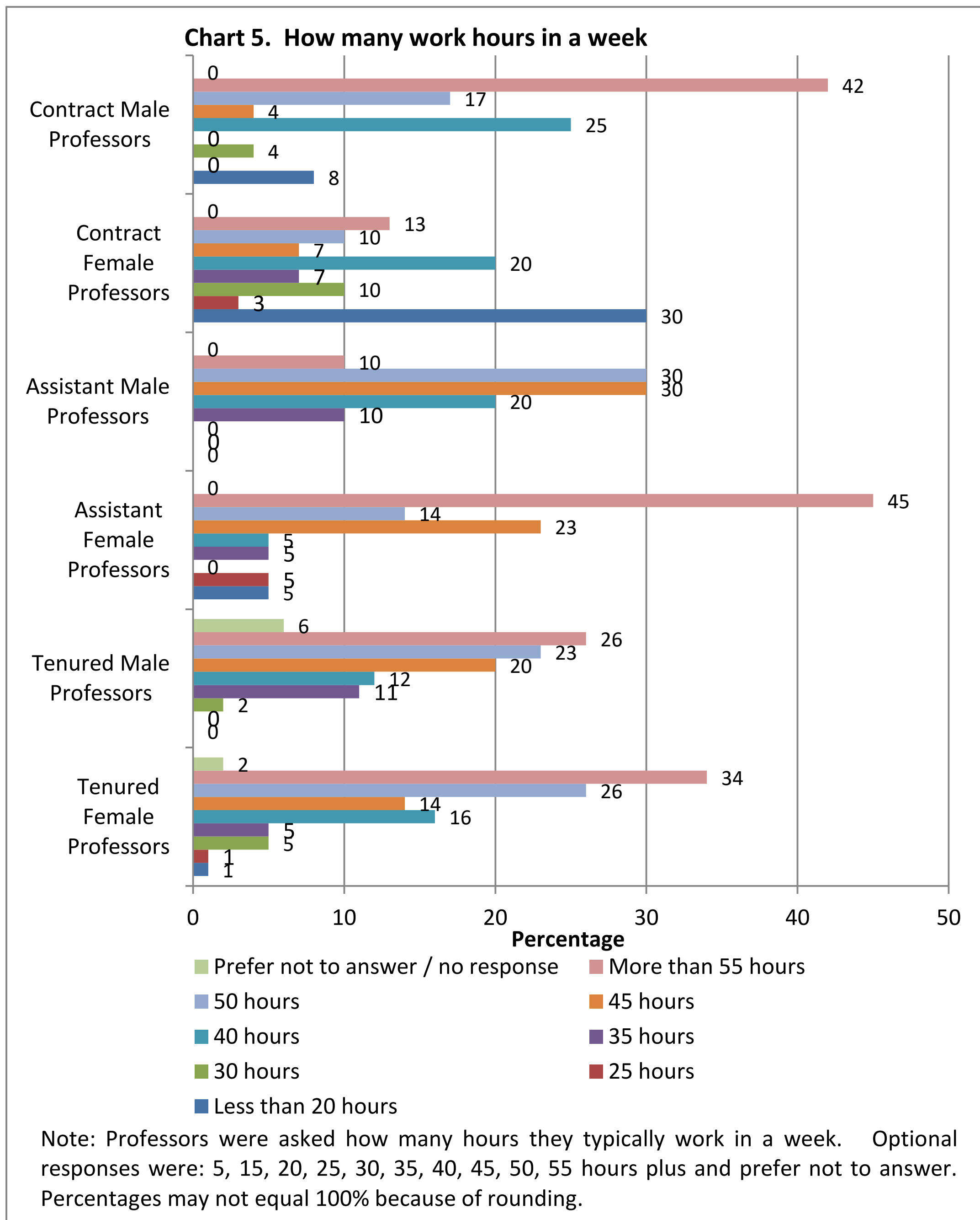
Overtime hours. The system continues because professors have a "willingness to exploit their free time for work" (Flaherty, 2014). Tenured faculty receive a salary that is based on a 40-hour work week. Their working hours are divided among teaching, research and service. Contract faculty are paid only to teach. They are not compensated for research nor for service to the university which includes committee work. Unpaid overtime, however, has become part of the neoliberal academic working conditions (see Chart 5), reflecting the organizational expectations that reside in the assumption of workload efficiency. Unpaid overtime further reflects institutional pressure within the neoliberal university for productivity, quality and profit. The result is that professors willingly work unpaid overtime as if they were on result-based contracts rather than contracts that remunerate on the basis of time worked. A UoG assistant professor qualifies their own work hours:

> How many hours do I work and how many I could are not the same answer. It is always a struggle we deal with. I would say [I work] between 55 and 60 hours. I could easily work 80 to get it all done.

Tenured female professors (60%) are more likely to put in 50 hours or more a week compared to tenured male professors (49%) (see Chart 5). Among assistant professors, there is also a similar gender gap: assistant female professors (59%) compared to assistant male professors (40%). This gender dynamic, however, does not play out

among contract faculty. Contract female professors (23%) are significantly less likely than contract male (59%) to put in a 50-hour plus work week.

Chart 5. How many work hours in a week



Note: Professors were asked how many hours they typically work in a week. Optional responses were: 5, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, 40, 45, 50, 55 hours plus and prefer not to answer. Percentages may not equal 100% because of rounding.

These contract faculty findings differ from those in Foster and Birdsell Bauer's (2018) Canadian survey on precarity in academia, which indicates contract female professors are more likely than their male counterparts to spend 15 hours per week on a course. Contract faculty typically teach four classes (see Chart 7, page 51) which, according to Foster and Birdsell Bauer, would mean contract professors typically put in a 60-hour work week. It is unclear why my statistics are significantly lower. Initially, I thought there may be a link between lower working hours and child care, elderly care and spousal care. This assumption was based on an international 2018 work-life balance survey in which 43% of female academics, who have children, state this "significantly" holds back their career (Bothwell, 2018). My assumption was further based on the fact that a third of the contract female faculty are between the ages of 31 and 40 and another third between the ages of 51 and 60 (see Table 6, p. 30). These ages are often associated with child care and elderly care. The findings (see Chart 4, p. 42), however, indicate that this is not the case.

The elongated work-week reflects a corporate culture of competitiveness and the neoliberal transformation of university into an educational service where customer satisfaction is often perceived as job one. It is systematically quantified by student learning outcomes and professor performance indicators. Yet, professors may not necessarily see themselves as unionized, academic workers. While the university focuses on a "more economically productive workforce," professors find intrinsic value in their labour that may be framed in terms of creating "better informed citizens leading to

improved democracy and a more inclusive society and knowledge conceived of as an end in itself" (Williams, 2016, p. 622). Perhaps, it is these intrinsic rewards that motivate both tenured and non-tenured professors to put in more labour hours than what is mandated in their contracts.

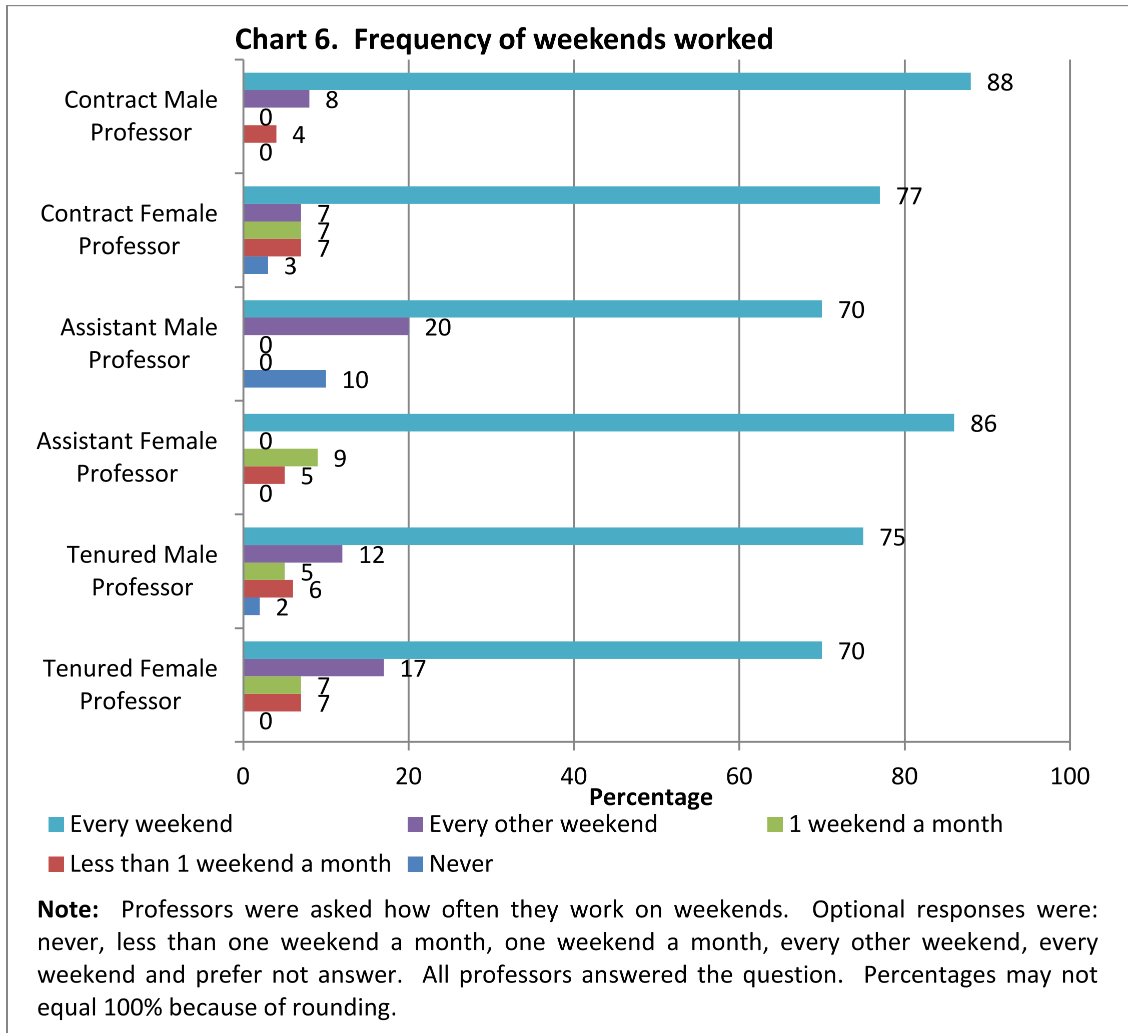
Based on their contract, which specifies a 40-hour work week, tenured professors are not financially compensated for approximately 25% of the hours of their labour each week. The survey statistics do indicate this applies more to female professors than their male colleagues. Overtime work often remains invisible and, thus, unrewarded, but does ensure the current system continues. Not surprisingly then, literature on emotional labour often encourages workers to document how they spend their work time.

Working weekends. The academic culture, where overtime becomes the norm, valorizes overwork where there is an expectation of "always being available for work purposes" (Parizeau et al., 2016, p. 197). Consequently, professors who are not working all the time may experience anxiety that they are not doing enough. Wunker (2017) calls it a "culture of academic exhaustion" where addressing workload concerns "stigmatizes" people and nonstop work is "equated with competence." A WLU tenured professor states:

> I don't have a weekend anymore because work and life blurs. Anything that would have been taken care of by a secretary or admin assistant [has been downloaded]. Work has infiltrated life.

It becomes easy to be consumed by work and fail to protect time outside of employment which, in turn, adds to stress levels because important components in life

become ignored. Fritz and Sonnentag (2005) found positive effects in terms of mental and physical health when weekends were time scheduled away from work hassles and low social activity. Positive weekend experiences tended to forecast future positive job performance, including lower burnout rates.



Note: Professors were asked how often they work on weekends. Optional responses were: never, less than one weekend a month, one weekend a month, every other weekend, every weekend and prefer not answer. All professors answered the question. Percentages may not equal 100% because of rounding.

Early survey responses indicated the majority of professors work every weekend. As a litmus test, I sent out a survey email reminder at noon on Saturday, April 13. By the

end of Sunday, April 14, I received 65 responses, representing 23% of the total survey responses received. It is surprising the number of professors, no matter what rank, who work weekends. More surprising is that, despite female tenured professors' tendency to work longer hours, it is tenured male faculty (75%) who are most likely to work every weekend than tenured female professors (70%) (see Chart 6). Contract male professors (88%) are also more likely to work every weekend compared to contract female professors (77%). This gender differential, however, does not hold true for assistant professors. Assistant female professors (86%) tend to work every weekend compared to assistant male professors (70%). Overall, the gendered trend of extending the work week may be reflective of traditional societal pressure for men to be breadwinners and to place career priorities above family time or leisure activities. The findings further hint it is the women, rather than the men, who are responsible for performing emotional labour in the home.

The amount of overtime and weekends worked, however, is also reflective of how technology, such as smartphones, has transformed the workplace from a 9-5 setting to 24/7 worker availability. In the 288 completed surveys, only one assistant male professor, one tenured male professor and one contract female professor say they do not work weekends. The results support Cannizo and Osbaldiston's (2016, p. 890) position that work/life balance has become "porous" with the number of professors working from home and on weekends.

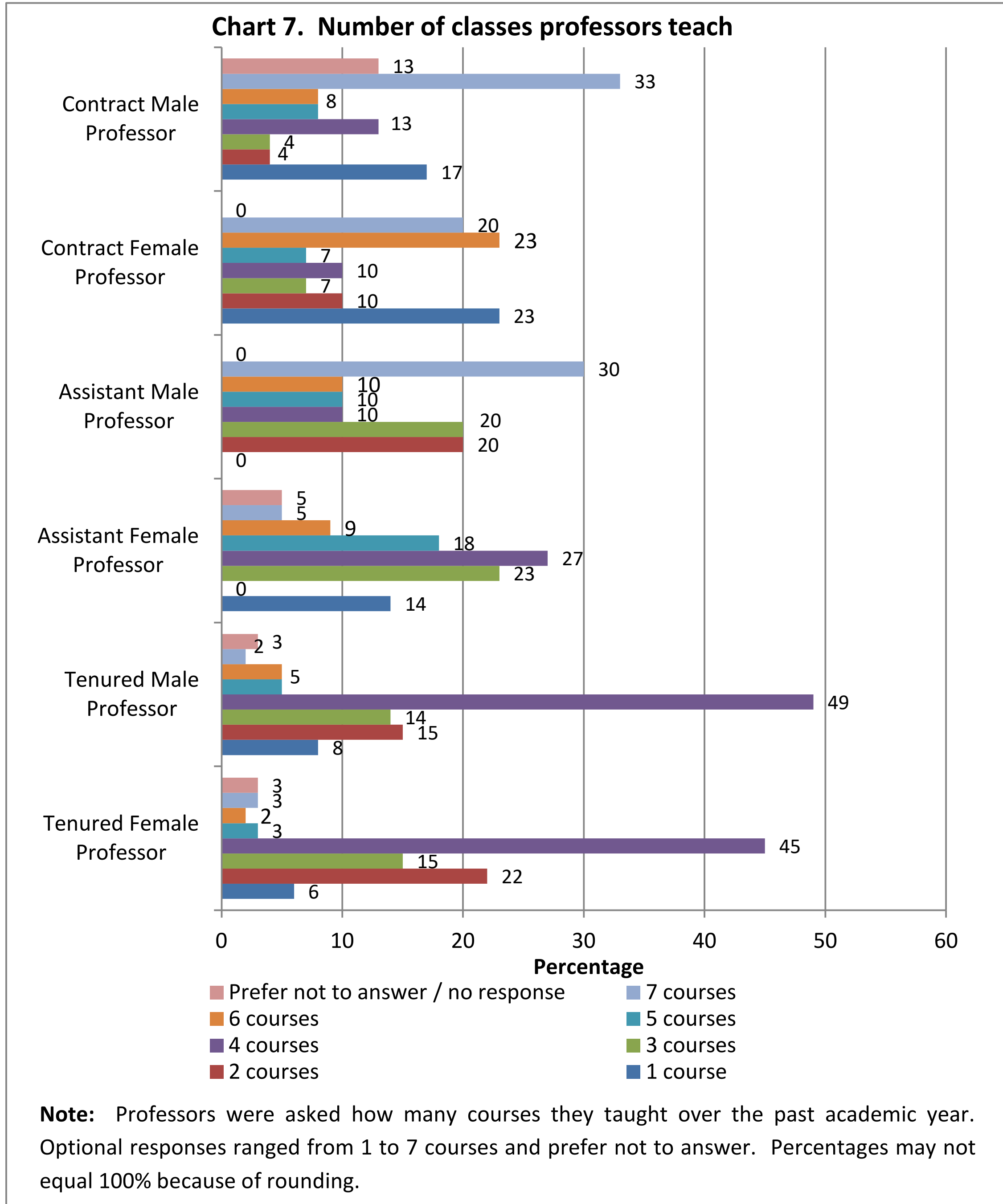
As the boundary between home life and work life blurs, weekends are no longer associated with time for relaxation, leisure and rejuvenation. When people do not "clock out," there are feelings of guilt and further stress for "not living up to the expectations imposed upon us by society and by ourselves" (Hartley, 2018, p. 103). While putting in weekend hours may be perceived as a good career move, research does suggest it is bad for mental health. Weekend social and relaxation time have a positive effect in decreasing stress, anger, worry and sadness while increasing levels of positive emotions such as enjoyment and happiness (Helliwell and Wang, 2014). Increased weekend daily social time, of just under two hours, with family and friends, raises the average level of happiness by 2% (Helliwell and Wang, 2014).

Number of courses taught. The working conditions of contract faculty have direct implications for tenured and pre-tenured professors. Tenured professors experience increased workloads because of fewer hires.

> There are so many of us (contract faculty) because there is so much teaching to be done. Our regular faculty are struggling because Administration expects them to do 100 percent of the service and administrative work with just over half of a full complement (WLUFA, 2019).

Literature shows that contract faculty have more teaching responsibilities than tenured professors. Not surprisingly, then, Chart 7 also indicates this. Just under 50% of tenured professors taught four classes in the last academic year and 28% taught only one or two courses. At the other extreme, about 3% taught seven courses. It is unclear how such a heavy teaching load would affect fulfilling research, service and administrative

responsibilities. The 30% of assistant male professors and 5% of assistant female professors who taught seven or more classes were all hired on long-term contracts.



Note: Professors were asked how many courses they taught over the past academic year. Optional responses ranged from 1 to 7 courses and prefer not to answer. Percentages may not equal 100% because of rounding.

Just over 60% of contract faculty taught four or more courses in the last academic year. More contract male professors (33%) taught seven classes than contract female professors (20%). The contract faculty data disproves the myth that short-term contract faculty teach only one or two courses to supplement another regular, full-time income. Contract work is not synonymous with part-time work.

It is also important to note that not all classes are equal. There is a “universal dysfunction” in universities, according to a UoG tenured professor. Because tenure-track and tenure faculty, says the tenured professor,

> can have more say in their classes, they are probably less likely to choose those really big ones…and, so, the ones left over, for sessionals, tend to be crappy, huge lecture courses that no one wants to teach . . . I do think that in a lot of places it is something that is disproportionately pushed onto sessionals and they have to deal with those really crappy teaching/ learning environments.

Many faculty, both tenured and non-tenured, are frustrated with the current academic environment. As one UoG contract professor states:

> Students trust that who is at the front of the classroom has their best interests at heart. But, they are wrong. The system does not support them. The system does not even support its own teachers.

The contract professor is referring to the open secret of the institutional barriers encountered on a daily basis by contract professors. These professional barriers include just-in-time hiring practices that provide contract faculty with little opportunity for class preparation and contracts that often fail to build in extra time needed for experiential assignments and subsequent marking. Thus, unpaid overtime often becomes a reality for

contract faculty in the hopes that such efforts will pay dividends in future employment. The comment also reflects how contract faculty often do not have office space which further limits interactions with both students and other professors in the department. The result is sense of professional isolation. A WLU tenured professor explains the importance of making physical space for contract faculty:

> Currently, office space for those colleagues is in a different part of the building and includes large shared offices with multiple computer stations and individual meeting rooms (usually very small) which can be booked weekly for one-on-one interactions with students. The separation from the full-time faculty offices and the department's administrative assistant hinders the development of community within the department and contributes to the isolation of contract faculty.

This scenario is not unique to WLU. A UoG tenured professor states, "I don't even know who the sessionals are."

Inside the lecture hall, professors also experience pressure from both students and the institution. A UoG tenured professor acknowledges that "there is some pressure to have the students be happy." This pressure to perform emotional labour is amplified for contract faculty who also require good student evaluations in order to obtain future employment. Student evaluations, however, have been shown to reflect existing gender and class stratifications (Boring et al, 2016).

Many professors also express concern that students are not prepared for university, and that the university lacks a support system for both professors and students. One MU tenured professor explains:

> More support for first-year courses and instructors [is needed] as the workload is very heavy and students are increasingly unprepared and entering university (frequently) with inflated grades and high expectations of themselves. I feel I don't have enough TA's or other support for first year courses.

The professor's comment reflects how many tenured faculty also experience institutional pressure to perform emotional labour, but do not necessarily feel supported in their endeavors. Emotional labour is not linked to just one variable. Gender and professorial rank play a role, but so does student interaction. Statistics also show that emotional labour is performed as part of a coping mechanism for increased workloads and increased institutional expectations.

Committee workloads. Committee work appears to be relatively equally shared among the tenured professoriate. According to survey data, approximately 50% of tenured female professors sit on two or three department committees as do 56% of tenured male professors. Just over 40% of all tenured professors sit on at least one faculty committee and approximately 35% sit on at least one university-wide committee. About 50% of tenured professors are involved in professional organizations outside of the university.

Surprisingly, approximately 35% of the contract male and female faculty also sit on at least one departmental, faculty or university-wide committee: work for which they are not financially compensated. Additionally, almost half of the contract faculty, similar to their tenured colleagues, are also involved in professional organizations outside of the university. When professors were asked for one change they would make in their

departmental practices that would improve the department as a place for all to work, approximately 10% described the need for a "concerted effort" to ensure "gender equity in terms of departmental committees and responsibilities." In addressing what changes would be recommended to improve the department, a WLU tenured professor states:

> I would make sure that there is gender balance in the administrative/service roles in the department. There is still a tendency in our department for male colleagues to assume (or at least project) that their research responsibilities are somehow greater/more important than those of their female colleagues.

It would seem, then, that not all committee work is created equal.

Excessive workloads are frequently the result of undercounting the time necessary for fulfilling tasks, necessitating unpaid overtime by all professors. The subsequent overloading negatively impacts a professor's ability to effectively teach and publish while meeting institutional deadlines and having a life outside of academia (McClurken, 2009). Moreover, Bellas (1999, p. 99) notes the "feminine" emotional labour inherent in teaching and service is not rewarded the way that "masculine" academic activities (i.e., research and administration) are.

Faculty and Emotional Labour

University websites reflect how students have become customers and universities have become competing sellers of the educational experience. In mimicking the marketing strategies of the corporate world, universities actively develop unique branding. UoG assures potential students they are more than just a number in a "community tailored for

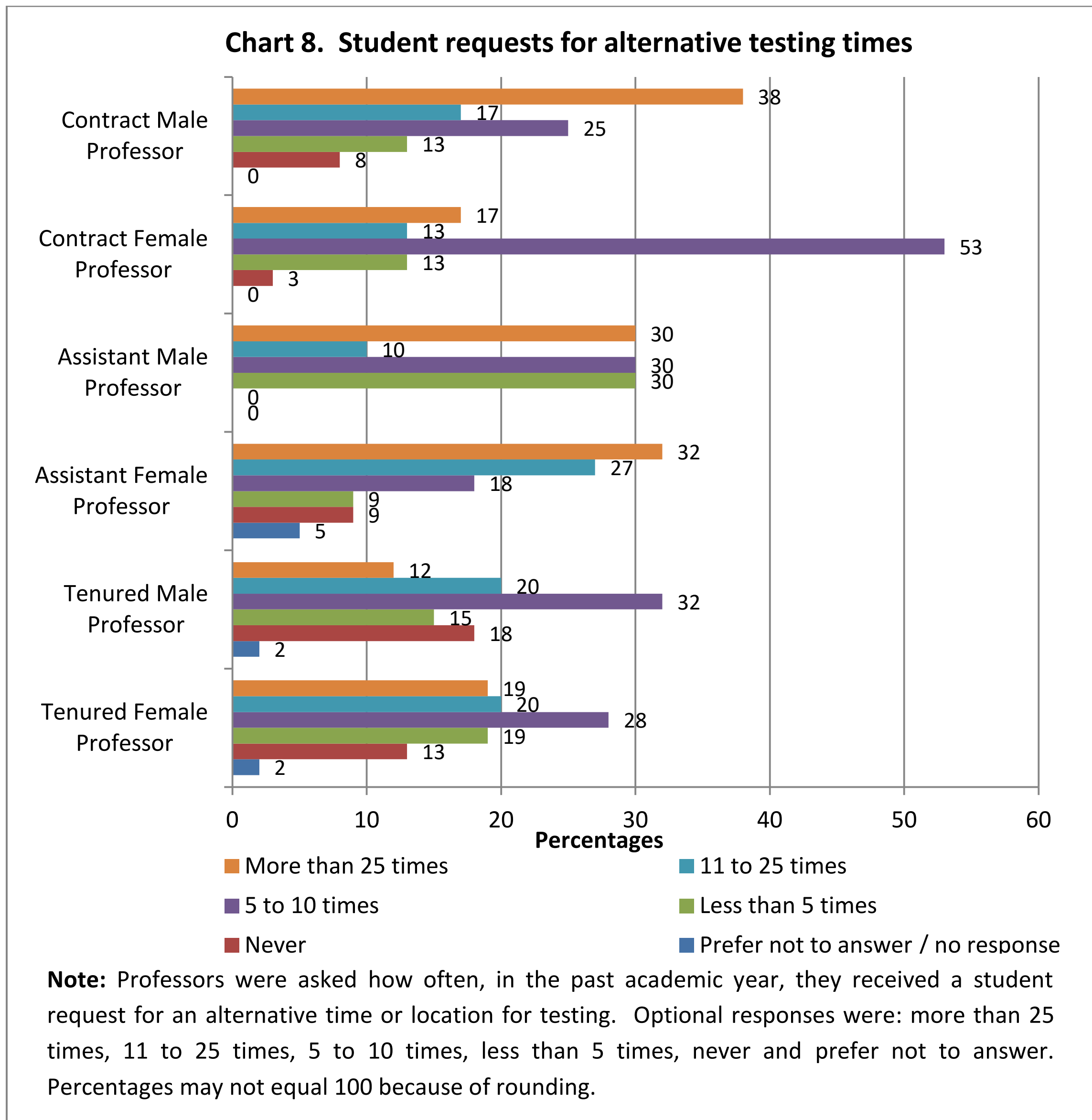
students" (UoG, 2019). In this "community of learners," everyone who "studies here, explores here, teaches here and works here is committed to one simple purpose: to improve life" (UoG, 2019). Prospective students can then click on a "choose your life" icon to explore the different degree programs available. At WLU, the language is also emotive in the university promise of "student satisfaction" in a learning environment where the "culture fosters, supports and celebrates teaching excellence," reflecting the "dedication, engagement and passion" of professors (WLU, 2019). MU adopts a more pragmatic approach. Its marketing slogan could also be its mission statement: "committed to creating a brighter world." In adopting a more business-like approach to education as a transaction, MU encourages students to explore a school that is ranked "second in the world in social and economic impact" (MU, 2019) and has an "international reputation for innovation for educational programming" (MU, 2019a).

The selling of credentialism encourages students to "buy into" the learning environment culture associated with a degree (Hearn, 2010, p. 206). At the same time, by positioning students as consumers of higher learning, the websites' phraseology may also create unrealistic student expectations of the supportive role that professors play both inside and outside the lecture hall. Consequently, as customers, students are "increasingly diverse and mobile learners [who] are expecting ever-increasingly high quality in return for what they pay" (OMTCU, 2012, p. 4). The universities' promotional material ignores the existing "ensemble of social relations," including power dynamics and institutional structures, that shape existing practices (Hymes, 1996, p. 97). It is these

parameters of overpromises of the student learning experience and understatements of institutional logics that determine the front-line work of professors and require faculty to perform emotional labour.

Student demands. At first glance, the survey data indicates that this front-line work is gender neutral. For example, both male and female tenured professors typically received 5 to 10 student requests to provide an alternative testing time or location during the past academic year (see Chart 8). However, a closer look at the data shows it is the "tails" that tell the "tale." In that same example, tenured female professors (19%) were more likely to receive more than 25 such student requests compared to tenured male professors (12%). Tenured male professors (18%) were more likely never to receive such requests compared to female colleagues (13%).

Chart 8. Student requests for alternative testing times



Note: Professors were asked how often, in the past academic year, they received a student request for an alternative time or location for testing. Optional responses were: more than 25 times, 11 to 25 times, 5 to 10 times, less than 5 times, never and prefer not to answer. Percentages may not equal 100 because of rounding.

No similar gendered comparisons, however, can be made among assistant and contract faculty. Requests to change the time or location of a test do increase among assistant and contract professors. Approximately 30% of both assistant female and male professors received more than 25 such requests during the past academic year. The number of

requests rises again among contract male professors (38%) who were more than twice as likely to receive more than 25 requests compared to contract female faculty (17%).

It is difficult to determine what factors affect the rise in student requests for alternative testing times. The gender dynamic is most apparent among tenured professors who typically teach four classes during the academic year. Comparisons among assistant and contract faculty become more difficult due to variances in their teaching load which can be anywhere from one to seven classes (see Chart 7, p. 49). These professors may receive more student requests because they teach more students. Gender does not appear to be a factor. One consideration may be that students direct their requests to assistant and contract faculty, regardless of their gender, because these professors are slightly younger, thus more approachable and less intimidating than older, more mature tenured professors.

Emotional labour and grading. Grades have become the equivalent of currency in academia. Professors award them to students for learning and developing new skills and knowledge. Students bank on good grades to gain entrance into future academic programs or as a credential for employment upon completion of their degree. Universities use grades to promote their positive student learning environments, thus ensuring the retention of existing customers/students as well as future clients. A UoG tenured professor acknowledges:

> The university wants to have a good reputation . . . and part of that means having good instructors and good engagement and good marks because that is how we evaluate people.

My previous studies at WLU and UoG revealed that students consciously adopted an entrepreneurial stance regarding grades and were often successful in attempts to negotiate better grades from their professors. The students, however, were generally unaware of what ranking was held by a professor standing at the front of the lecture hall (Bresee, 2016, 2018). In fact, there is no way to know what rank a professor holds unless that information is disclosed. A WLU assistant professor admits:

> I would not [volunteer my credentials] because I am embarrassed. I feel like I didn’t make the cut.

A tenured professor at UoG, however, insists it is not necessary to disclose professional credentials.

> Students do not know who is at the front of the class . . . They don’t necessarily need to know the gritty details of those things.

As discussed earlier, it is difficult for anyone to understand the rank of assistant professors and whether it represents full-time, secure employment or insecure contractual work. Job title inconsistencies reflect how employees, hired on contract, are systemically denied a worker identity which, in turn, affects emotional and physical well-being (Standing, 2011).

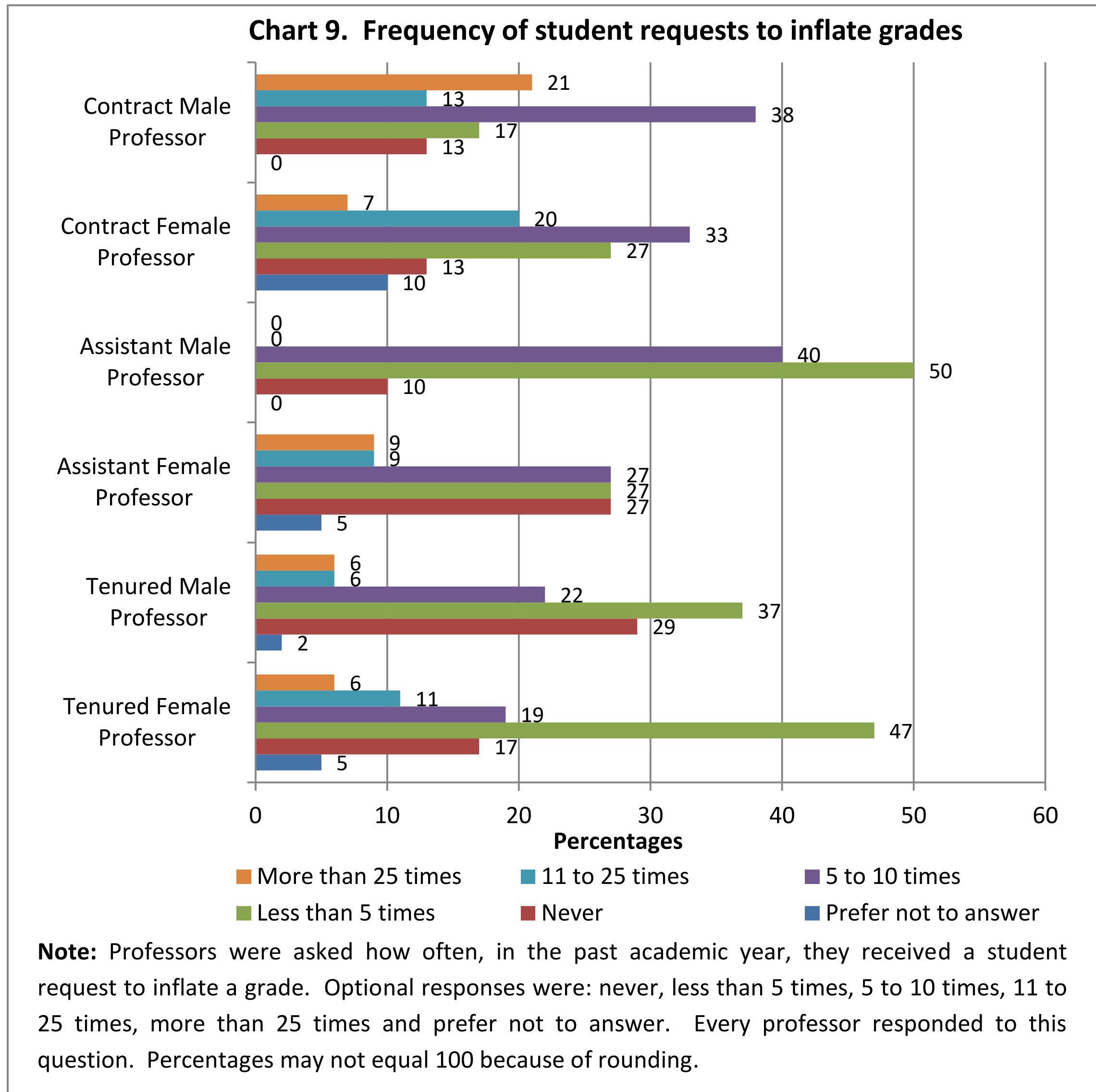


Chart 9. Frequency of student requests to inflate grades

Note: Professors were asked how often, in the past academic year, they received a student request to inflate a grade. Optional responses were: never, less than 5 times, 5 to 10 times, 11 to 25 times, more than 25 times and prefer not to answer. Every professor responded to this question. Percentages may not equal 100 because of rounding.

A total of 6% of tenured male and female professors received more than 25 student requests to inflate grades in the past academic year (see Chart 9). By comparison, 9% of assistant female professors reported receiving more than 25 such student requests. No assistant male professor received more than 25 student requests. Contract male professors (21%) were most likely to receive more than 25 student requests to alter

grades compared to contract female professors (7%). Tenured male professors (29%) were most likely never to receive such student requests. By comparison, 13% of all contract professors never received student requests to inflate grades in the past academic year. Admittedly, requests to inflate grades may not actually result in grade inflation.

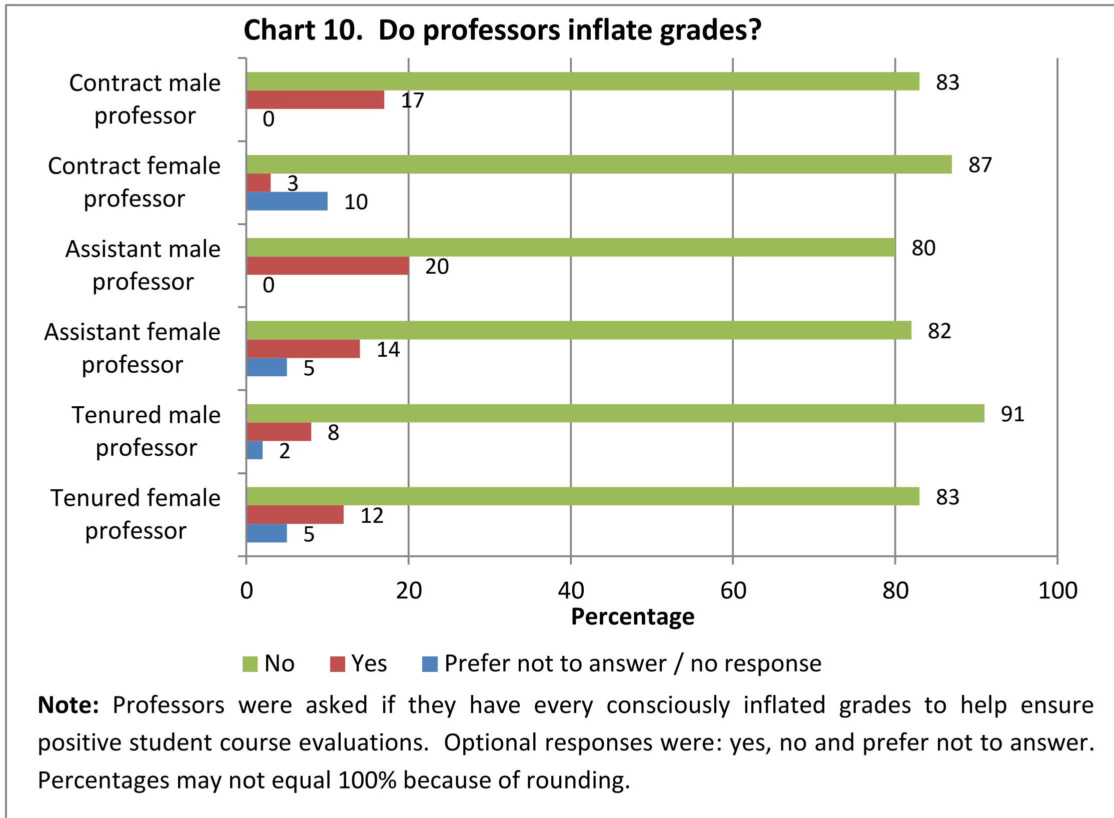


Chart 10. Do professors inflate grades?

Note: Professors were asked if they have every consciously inflated grades to help ensure positive student course evaluations. Optional responses were: yes, no and prefer not to answer. Percentages may not equal 100% because of rounding.

The data from Charts 9 and 10 reflect no evident pattern of grade inflation in terms of gender or hiring rank of professors. These findings mimic that of Hoffman and Oreopoulus' (2009) study at an Ontario university where they found the professional status of a professor had no affect on grading practices. Rojstaczer and Healy also found in their 2016 study, which included both Canadian and American universities, that the

“influence on adjunct faculty on grades has been overstated.” The authors were referring to the existing narrative that contract faculty may grade lightly in order to keep student satisfaction high which, in turn, ensures positive course evaluations which, then, in turn, help secure future employment. When professors were directly asked whether they consciously inflate grades to help ensure positive student course evaluations, the response was a resounding “no” in my survey (see Chart 10). Interestingly, it was the contract and assistant male professors who were slightly more inclined to say “yes.”

While stating they do not actually inflate grades, professors do indicate they experience pressure from both students and their university to do so. One MU assistant professor believes the issue is systemic and begins in the lower level undergraduate classes.

> It creates an expectation amongst students that they should receive higher grades, and results in almost bullying behaviour by entitled undergraduate students (especially amongst racialized, women faculty who appear "young" to students, at least relative to other faculty).

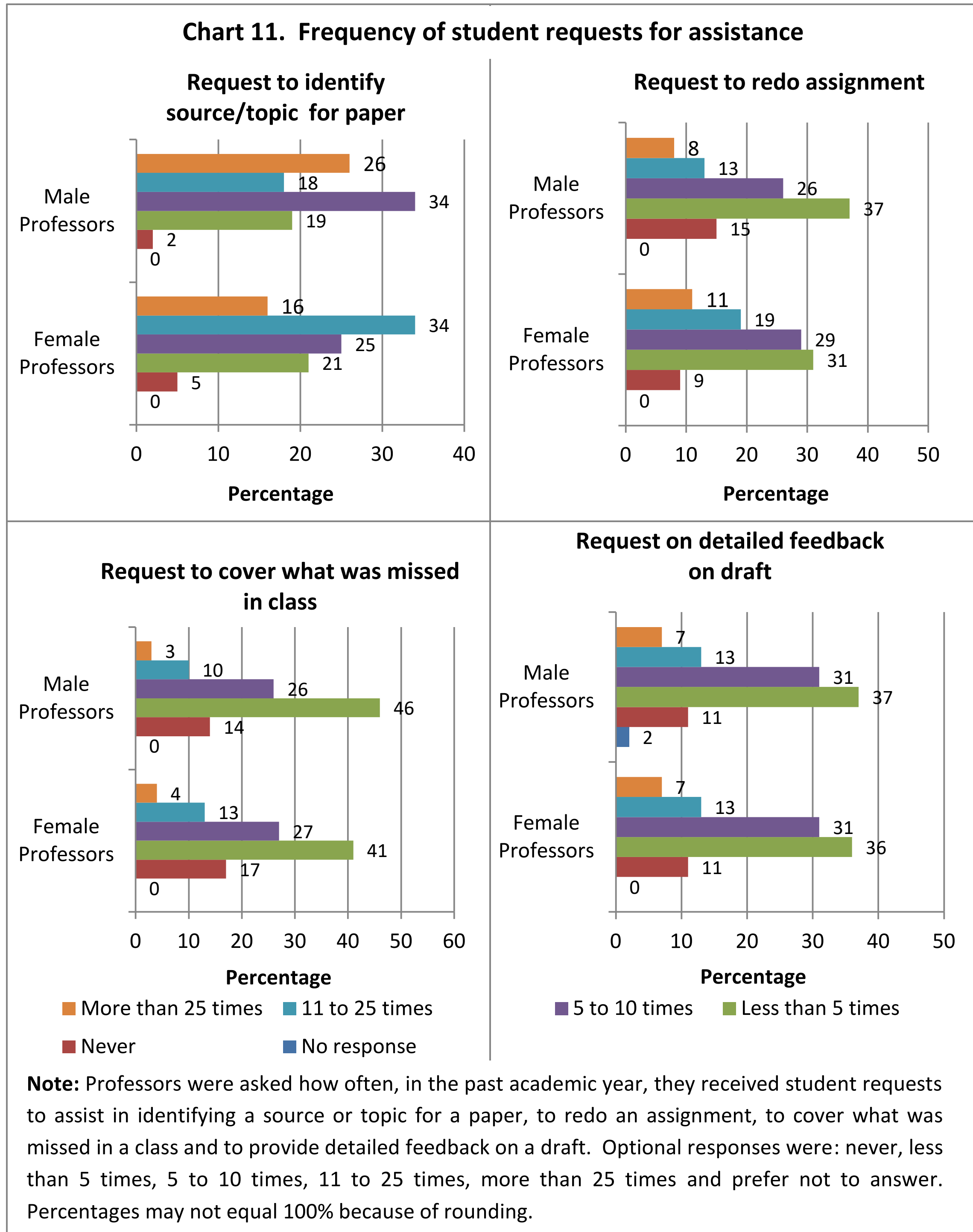
A tenured professor, also at MU, suggests there is a need for more open discussion about the pressures experienced in the lecture hall.

> More open discussion about our responses to increased fees, the bottom-heavy classroom (Bank of Mom and Dad students' infrequent attendance and sense of entitlement, while students working full-time hours in part-time jobs struggle to do their best) . . . all such aspects of our job we have no control over, while demands from Accommodations increase exponentially (the practice of long extensions for students who haven't attended many lectures and have submitted few or no assignments is often the kiss of death for them) - we need to talk more about our lack of power in the institution.

My data does appear to show that it is not rank or gender, but rather the number of courses taught which may be the significant factor in determining the frequency of student requests to inflate a grade. These findings are similar to those of El-Alayli et al. (2018, p. 146), who found the gender of a professor did not deter or encourage students from engaging in an “opportunistic manner” of making special requests, such as increasing a grade. That same study also indicates that when student requests are not met by female professors, there tends to be a more negative emotional reaction from students who female professors must then handle: an emotional labour in which their male colleagues do not have to engage.

Emotional labour and student support. Routine student requests may reflect how gender plays a role in the student perception of and interaction with professors. There exists a “competent, confident and competitive” gendered expectation of men (Eckes, 2002, p. 103) while female professors will function like “academic mothers” (El-Alayli et al., 2018, p. 137). Such statements reflect how the same academic job may require more time as well as more personal and emotional demands from female professors than male professors.

To eliminate the “number of classes taught” factor, I chose to focus on an overall comparison of male and female professors in terms of student requests for support. The unanticipated finding is that the male and female professors receive relatively the same number of routine student requests (see Chart 11). The data does not reflect that it is the female professor who receives the most requests for student support.



Note: Professors were asked how often, in the past academic year, they received student requests to assist in identifying a source or topic for a paper, to redo an assignment, to cover what was missed in a class and to provide detailed feedback on a draft. Optional responses were: never, less than 5 times, 5 to 10 times, 11 to 25 times, more than 25 times and prefer not to answer. Percentages may not equal 100% because of rounding.

These findings do contrast with El-Alayli et al. (2018) who found female professors reported receiving more requests for standard work demands and special requests than their male colleagues. This concept is not a new one. More than 50 years ago, Wikler (1976) found that students expected female professors to be warmer and more supportive than male professors. "The world turns to women for mothering and this fact silently attaches itself to many a job description" (Hochschild, 2003, p. 170). But, that is not what my initial statistics appeared to reflect. Consequently, I re-examined whether the requests themselves held gender components.

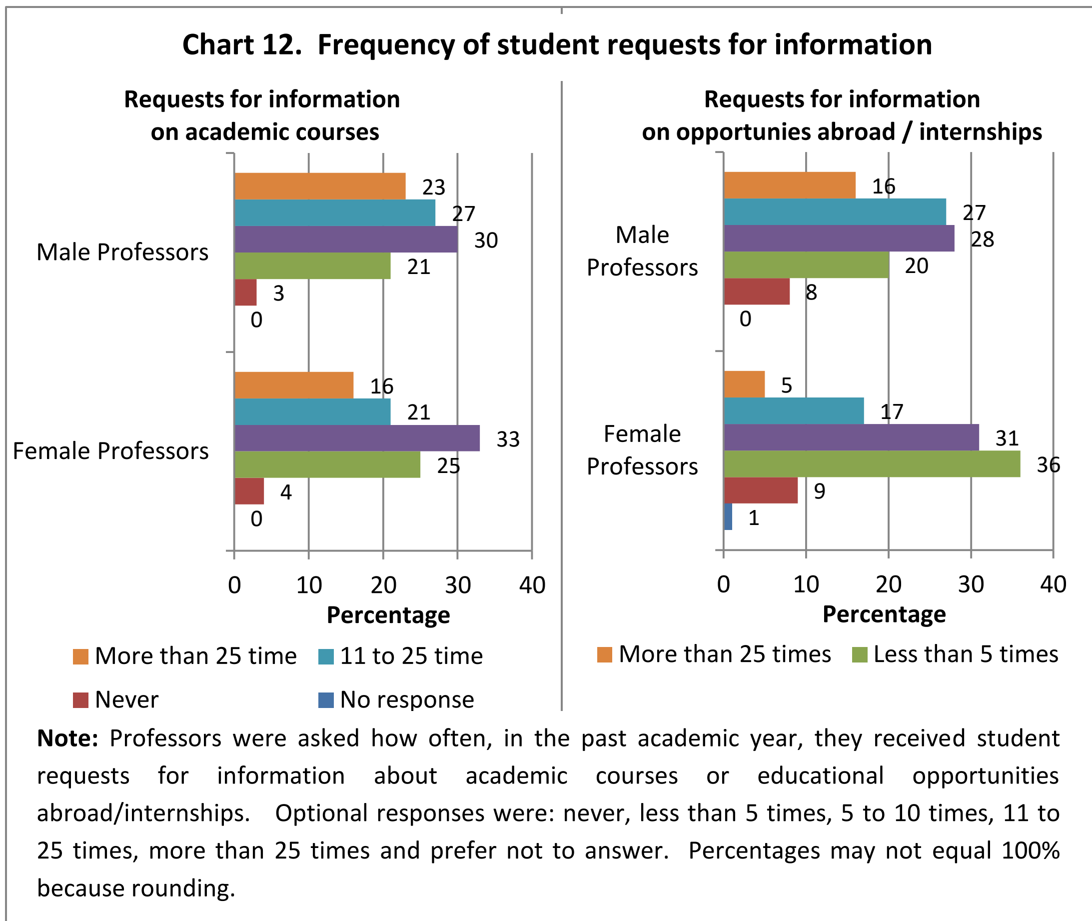
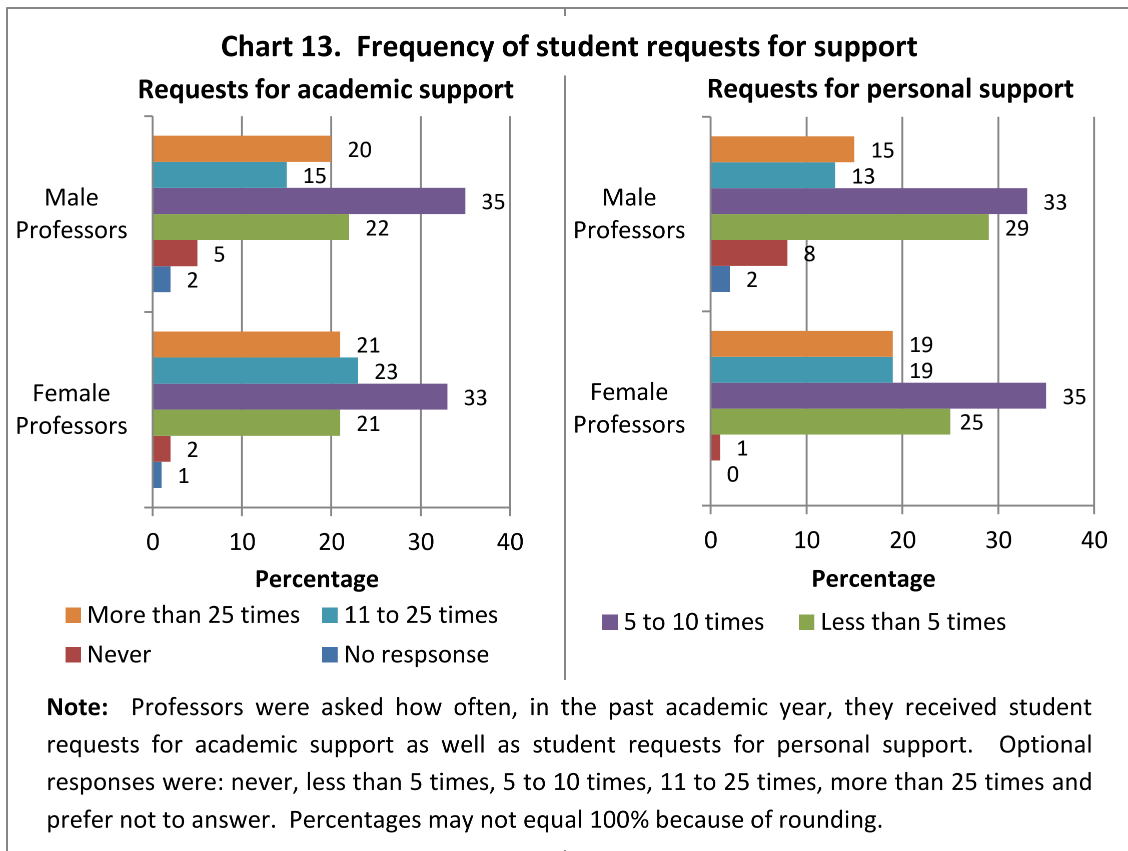


Chart 12. Frequency of student requests for information

Note: Professors were asked how often, in the past academic year, they received student requests for information about academic courses or educational opportunities abroad/internships. Optional responses were: never, less than 5 times, 5 to 10 times, 11 to 25 times, more than 25 times and prefer not to answer. Percentages may not equal 100% because rounding.

What I discovered is that when it comes to sorting data or gathering information, students turn to their male professors. Male professors (23%) are likely to receive more than 25 requests for information about academic courses compared to female professors (16%) (see Chart 12). Male professors are also likely to receive more student requests for information about internships and opportunities to study abroad than their female colleagues.



Note: Professors were asked how often, in the past academic year, they received student requests for academic support as well as student requests for personal support. Optional responses were: never, less than 5 times, 5 to 10 times, 11 to 25 times, more than 25 times and prefer not to answer. Percentages may not equal 100% because of rounding.

Chart 13 indicates that approximately 20% of all professors received 25 or more student requests for academic support. Students are equally inclined to turn to either a male or female professor to seek out discussions surrounding academic support options,

such as study skills, financial aid, writing centre and disability resource centre. A gender difference, however, was reflected in contract faculty responses. Contract male professors (33%) received more than 25 student requests for academic support. By comparison, 17% of female contract faculty also received more than 25 student requests for academic support.

It is unclear what other factors impact the high contract faculty numbers. One possibility is that contract faculty may be teaching more first year courses which have high enrolments of students who are new to the university system. A second possibility is that students, perhaps, perceive contract faculty as more open and approachable because these professors may be slightly younger in age and newer to the academic workplace than assistant and tenured professors. Such positioning, however, reinforces the myth that contract faculty are short-term positions of employment held by newly graduated PhDs. The reality is that the survey results indicate that over 60% of the contract male and female professors have been employed by the same university for over five years. And, 20% have been at the same university for more than 10 years.

Chart 13 also reflects that student discussions concerning personal difficulties and the availability of support options, often involving wellness centers and counseling services, tend to be directed to female faculty members. A total of 19% of female professors received 25 or more such student requests compared to 15% of their male colleagues. To whom these requests are directed continues to reflect the traditional masculine/feminine binary. Masculinity is associated with effectiveness and objectivity while femininity is

associated with warmth and accessibility. The subtext, according to Acker (1990), is that women are perceived as less logical and, consequently, less competent than their male counterparts. The result is that female professors actively seek a balance between warmth and agency that meets their own professional needs as well as the needs of students (MacNell, Driscoll & Hunt, 2014). A UoG contract professor describes her experience with requests for student support:

> Students tell you a lot about their personal issues. But, the personal issues are usually used as a reason why they cannot do something . . . There are certain circumstances where they really need some help and may be asking, but not asking outright.

A UoG tenured professor has a different perspective as to why students come to professors looking for personal support.

> When you are teaching about things that the students are having issues about, they assume you have knowledge that will be helpful . . . I have had to walk a student to counseling service.

For many students, the lecture hall does, in fact, become a potential site of intervention. Kirk and Sobota (2019) estimate that one in ten McMaster students - the numbers are similar at all Canadian universities - receives accommodations, involving both physical and mental health, to minimize barriers within the academic learning environment. Mental health issues affect approximately one in five post secondary school students (Pang, 2017). It becomes the responsibility of professors to be supportive while, at the same time, ensuring a fair and equitable learning environment. Varallo (2008, p. 153) states special requests by students reflect society's "vulnerable-child

parenting philosophy" and increasing student expectations that institutions will "care about their personhood." Such student expectations are created by the institutions' own webpages wherein universities market themselves to potential students.

As requests for student accommodation are growing in number, Kirk and Sobota (2019) suggest that all professors would benefit from training sessions focusing on the universites' student accommodation policies. This suggestion, however, fails to take into account contract faculty, who teach approximately 50% of undergraduate students, are not paid to attend such orientation programs. Contract faculty are hired only to teach classes and consequently receive little institutional support in the form of workshops or conferences. The result is barriers to social, cultural and informational capital that may also be experienced by long-term contract professors, but not by tenure-track and tenured professors. According to a WLU contract professor,

> We are continually not given the resources to do our job . . . there is a two-day workshop I can take, but I do not have the two days I can take off from teaching [or] from all my responsibilities.

Emotional labour is described as "the effort, planning, and control needed to express organizationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions" (Morris and Feldman, 1996, p. 987). However, as the professor states, contract faculty lack the institutional resources to play the supportive role for students.

Emotional labour and 24-hour availability. Office hours are a means to provide both academic and personal support to students. However, many contract faculty frequently share office space or may not actually have an office. Their limited time on

campus also means limited access to students. Each week they face time management dilemmas in meeting students. Unlike, tenured professors who can, with a click of a mouse, arrange a convenient time to meet a student, contract faculty must also ensure the availability of a location and arrange their own availability to be on campus. They deal with physical and time barriers not encountered by their tenured-stream colleagues. A WLU contract professor discusses the issue of having to share an office space:

> I don't get the same context to meet students that full-time professors do. I think that sends a message to not only the students, but also to me. It says I am not part of this university. It says you are not considered. You are not valued. You are simply a number. There is nothing in those meeting spaces [offices booked by the half hour] that say I belong. I can bring in a box of Kleenex . . . it may not be there the next time I am in the office . . . I have a student who is sitting across from me upset, and I have to say I am sorry, let me get some Kleenex and then I go up and down the halls looking for someone who will lend me their box of Kleenex. It diminishes what we do.

The professor's poignant description of the working environment reflects the issues of two-tiered hiring practices. Such hiring practices may be good for the university's neoliberal bottom line, but not necessarily good for the emotional well-being of front-line academic staff or the customer/student. Professors are often the initial point of contact for students experiencing academic and personal issues (Deil-Amen, 2011). There appears, however, to be a correlation between the positiveness of that initial contact and the hiring rank of a professor.

Survey statistics indicate the majority of professors tend to designate between 1.6 and 3 hours a week on office hours, including contract faculty whose employment agreement

typically includes financial compensation for only 1 to 1.5 hours of weekly office hours. At the same time, the majority of professors also say that students frequently make use of time before and after lecture to address questions and concerns. It is unlikely this student interaction time is reported as part of office hours. A UoG contract professor discusses this unpaid labour:

> I have 10 students at my desk. But, I never turn them away . . . I am supposed to finish at 9:50. I leave at quarter after.

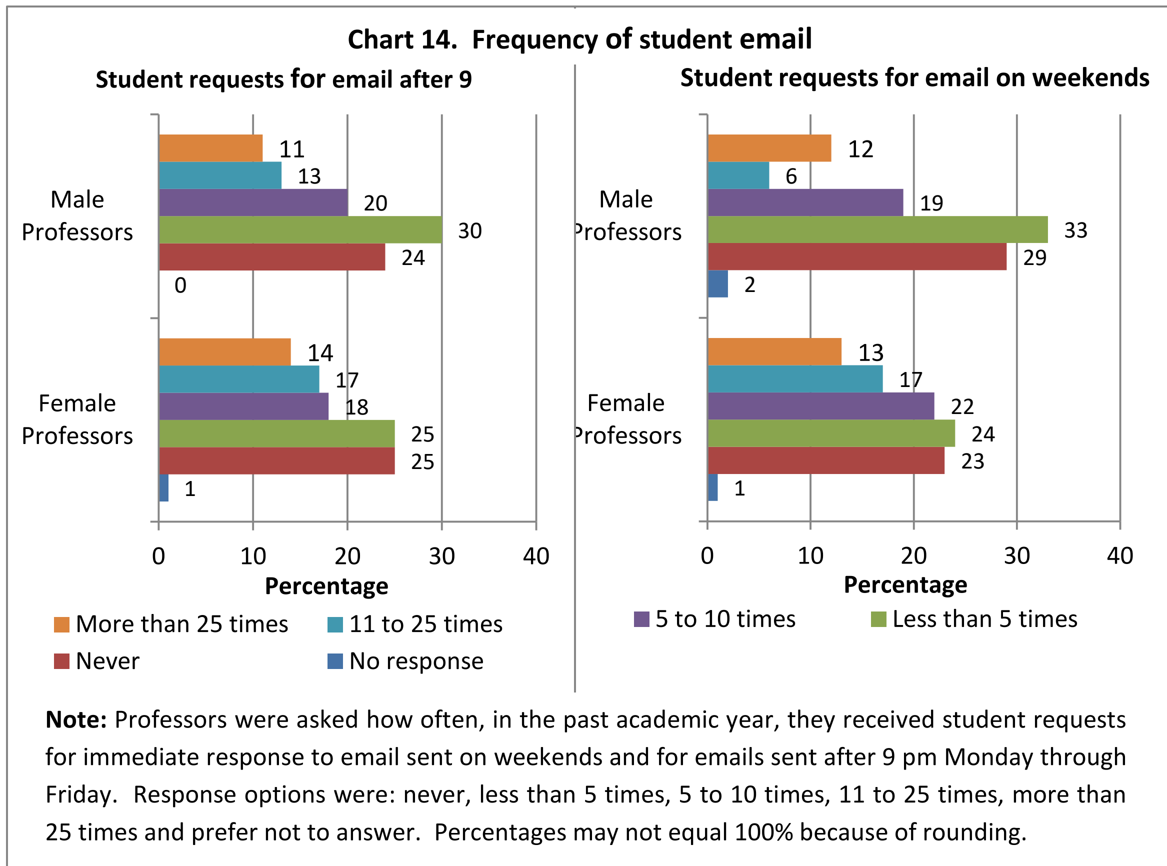
A UoG tenured professor also indicates the acceptability of the use before lecture or after lecture, but then adds the caveat: "I am okay with that [questions after class] unless I have to be somewhere."

As stated earlier, all faculty put in a significant amount of unpaid labour. Statistics also indicate that classroom-care work is unequally distributed, often invisible and time consuming. In striking a balance between meeting their obligations to students while dealing with a workload that also involves teaching as well as researching, tenured professors are time stressed. A tenured UoG professor admits to often experiencing burnout:

> I work 8-10/hr day when I have no teaching: sabbatical, summer. With teaching and committee work, it becomes much more than that and very, very draining. There are days I am so exhausted I just sit in my office and cry.

In the profit-first corporate culture of doing more with less, servicing the customer has meant professors extend office hours and ensure 24-hour availability via email and online course management systems. Survey statistics indicate that each week, the

majority of professors spend the equivalent of one full workday on email, including an average of four to five hours on student email.



Female professors are more likely to receive student requests for email responses after 9 pm and on weekends (see Chart 14). A UoG tenured professor describes what it is like accommodating today's student . . .

> . . . who feels free to berate a prof for not having responded by 8 am to an email s/he sent at 2 am, or who expects to pass, with a good grade, in spite of not having done any significant amount of the course work. This culture is draining because everyone ends up feeling cheap and undervalued.

Survey statistics also reflect that tenured female professors (13%) and assistant female professors (23%) were most likely to receive more than 25 requests for emails after 9 pm. By comparison, tenured male professors (8%) and contract male professors (5%) were least likely to receive 25 or more such email requests. The number of student interactions, that involve weekend or late night responses, do not appear to be linked to hiring rank, but rather to gender.

Not all departments have policies on email nor are there institutional policies. Consequently, when it comes to weekends, professors are unclear about protocols concerning their accessibility. A MU tenured professor believes there should be a departmental wide policy on no student emails. It is unclear whether the professor was being facetious. It is important to note that humour is considered a coping mechanism when it comes to dealing with stress. The professor goes on to explain:

> They (students) don't know how to effectively use email, and instead should be encouraged to attend class or office hours/appts.

On a more serious note, a UoG assistant professor focuses on the importance of managing student expectations.

> Perhaps it would be fruitful if we could agree, as a department, to set some basic guidelines (e.i., no guaranteed response on weekends) so that students had a sense of the "standard."

In my interviews at both WLU and UoG, professors express concern that emails and online course management programs have given students 24/7 accessibility to professors. Without guidelines in place, professors say they feel obligated to respond quickly and

students expect that instant response because that is what they are socialized to expect on other social media. The result is a "perpetual classroom" as one WLU contract professor describes it.

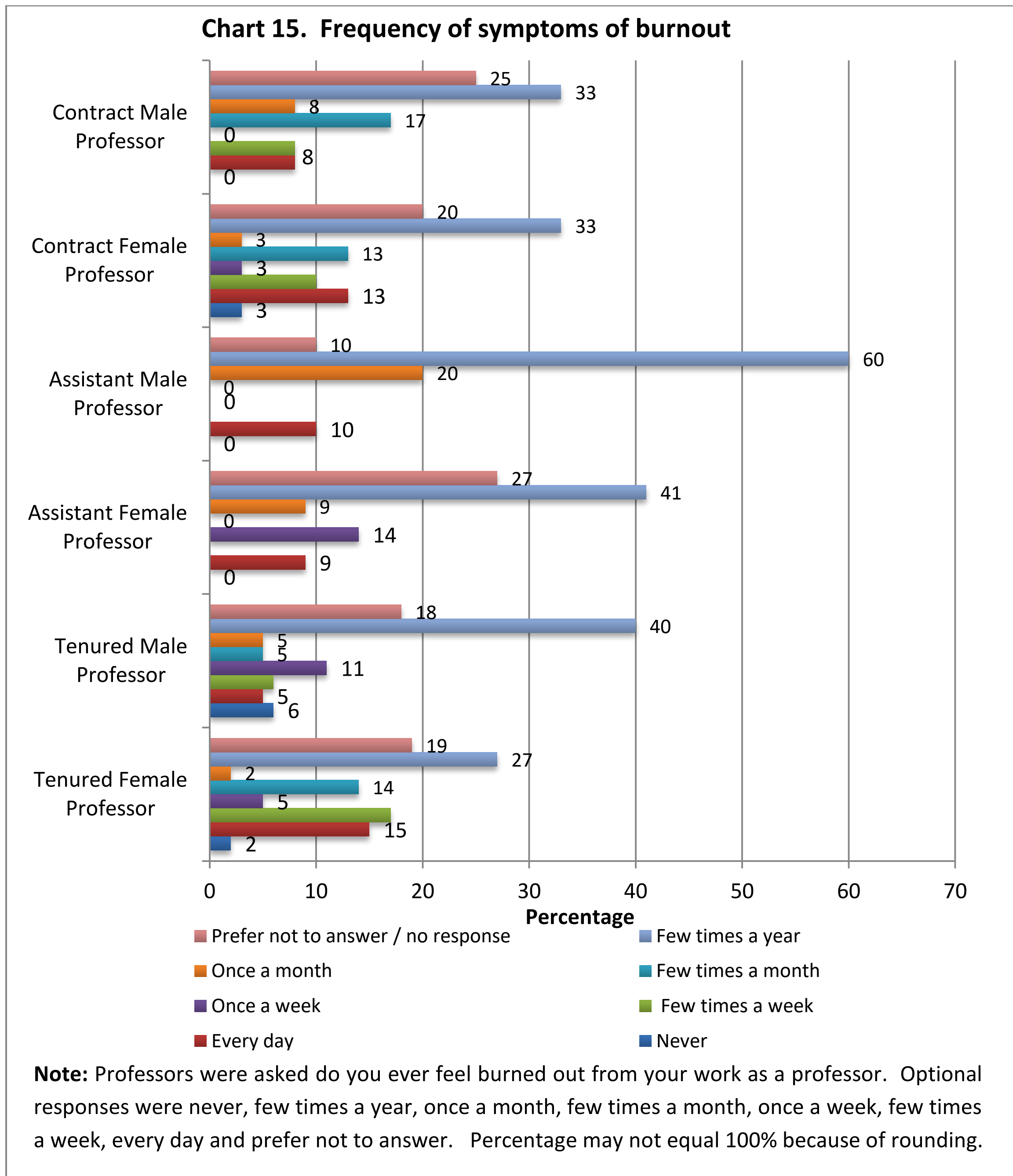
Survey results indicate that professors typically spend 4 or 5 hours a week on student emails, but then tenured professors typically spend an additional 6 to 7 hours a week on departmental/institutional emails while assistant professors generally spend 4 to 5 hours and contract faculty spend less than 3 hours. One UoG tenured professor laments, "We are deluged by irrelevant emails by administrative support staff."

Manufacturing student satisfaction becomes more difficult as professors face increasing student expectations and increasing administration demands. Consequently, professors perform emotional labour as they mediate these demands as well as maintaining their own integrity as academics. The survey shows that many professors, particularly female faculty, are working unpaid labour hours and experiencing the symptoms of burnout. Consequently, if given the opportunity to do it again, only 33% of tenured female professors say they would definitely choose their current academic career path. However, this number drops to 23% among assistant female professors and further drops to 13% among contract female faculty. By comparison, 52% of tenured male professors would choose their existing academic paths. The number drops to 25% of male contract professors, and most dramatically drops to 10% of assistant male professors. It would appear, then, that just as the perception of the supportive learning environment leads to student satisfaction and the successful completion of a degree

(Jaegar & Eagan, 2009) so also does a supportive workplace lead to professor satisfaction.

Burnout rates. Emotional dissonance – the faking of positive emotions and repression of negative emotions – is linked to professional burnout. A total of 36% of all professors experience burnout only a few times a year, likely corresponding to the start and finish of each semester (see Chart 15). Out of 288 responses, only 2 tenured female professors, 4 tenured male professors and 1 contract female professor say they never experience burnout.

Burnout is not an actual medical condition, but may include physical and emotional exhaustion as well as symptoms of depression (Mayo Clinic, 2019). Emotional labour leads to a loss of individual identity (Hochschild, 2003). According to Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), emotional labour is functional for an organization, but dysfunctional for the individual. It also often remains invisible. Not surprisingly, then, this question was the least answered in the survey.



Approximately 20% of all professors left the question unanswered (see Chart 15). It is unclear what this missing data represents, but may indicate how, in a competitive work

environment, professors are unwilling to admit weaknesses, even in an anonymous survey. In order to combat burnout, a MU tenured professor says what is required is to "reduce administrative load [and to have] fewer committees [in order] to free up time and mental space to do a good job on research and teaching."

Lawless (2018) observes that in order to determine what direction should be taken by departments and faculties to deal with these issues is the formation of new committees. These committees also tend to be gendered. Consequently, female professors may find a supportive network in these committees. But, at the same time, male professors find a similar supportive network in their own committee activities. The result is that existing cultural norms and values of a department continue.

The data does indicate that burnout is a gendered experience. Tenured female professors (15%) tend to experience symptoms of burnout on a daily basis more often than their male colleagues (5%). Assistant female and male professors (10%) experience roughly the same daily burnout rate. Contract female professors (13%), however, experience daily burnout more regularly than contract male professors (8%). Regarding the question of what changes in departmental practices would improve your department as a place for all to work, a UoG tenured professor states, there needs to be "more attention to the fact that faculty can require accommodations for disabilities as well as students!" Many universities now openly discuss the need for mental health services for their students, but it would seem they do not take a similar supportive stance for their academic staff.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Neoliberalism has turned students into consumers of education and professors into front-line workers. In this front-line role, professors develop, manage and perform affective work as they engage in an increasingly diverse student population while also experiencing institutional pressures for productivity. The result is heavy workloads which, in turn, lead to high levels of stress and burnout.

Survey results indicate that a professor's work week typically consists of 50 hours or more despite a tenured professor's salary based on a 40-hour work week. At the same time, contract professors also work more hours than specified in their contracts. This unpaid labour extends the work week, in many cases by more than 25%, and becomes a significant stressor for professors maintaining a balance between work life and home life. At the same time many professors also perform emotional labour in the management of competing student and institutional demands on their time. Not addressed in collective agreements, emotional labour is the invisible work that enables the current system to function.

Survey statistics are admittedly inconsistent about whether emotional labour is a gendered experience. Indications, however, are that female professors tend to perform emotional labour more than male professors. Based on professor comments, this gender differential appears to be an open secret within the university workplace, which, in turn, may reinforce existing positionality. Female professors are perceived as nurturing and

caring. Male colleagues are seen as competent and competitive. An unanticipated finding is that professors also find themselves in traditional gender roles not necessarily by choice, but as a result of student prejudices and biases, based on existing societal and cultural definitions – descriptive and prescriptive – of masculinity and femininity. Consequently, it is the students who call upon a female professor to assume the role of “academic mother.” The result is that female professors often become engaged in more time consuming affective work than male colleagues. In maintaining the anticipated position of warmth and agency, female professors further perform emotional labour to maintain their own social and work identity.

Both male and female contract faculty also engage in emotional labour to manage their own personal identity in a society that often defines people by their rank of employment. Contract faculty openly discuss the myth of the failed academic, in which the blame is placed on the individual rather than the onus placed on the university to be a fair and equitable employer. Universities increasingly mimic the corporate sector in employing bottom-line approach to the delivery of their educational product, including just-in-time hiring practices. The result is that more than 50% of Canadian professors are hired on a contract basis. At the same time, neoliberal universities attempt to grow their customer base by marketing the supportive roles professors play in the student environment, ignoring their own institutional structures and logics. These marketing attempts, however, represent an ideal, not the current reality.

Contract professors also utilize emotional labour as a coping mechanism as they consciously decide to put in unpaid overtime. For contract faculty, saying no to unpaid workloads (i.e., committee work or the provision of extra office hours) may also mean saying no to building potential credentials and professional networks that could lead to future job security. Such dilemmas add another layer to time management which tenured professors do not experience. Institutional reliance on short-term contract positions also creates stress for tenured professors who, because of lack of tenured hirings, assume increased committee and administrative workloads.

Survey data indicates increased student demands and heavy workloads have a corresponding impact on the stress level among all professors. There does appear, however, to be a gender gap in which female professors tend to work more hours than their male colleagues. This situation is, perhaps, attributable to women socialized to expect less control of their time and, consequently, results in more flexibility and fluidity as to when the workday ends. It is noteworthy, however, that male professors are more likely to work weekends, reflecting a traditional gendered response in which career aspirations and work are given priority over family time.

Many professors, both contract and tenured, express uncertainty of their own autonomy to set limits to protect their personal time. Consequently, they willingly subjugate their own personal time in favour of student demands. Professors frequently experience the strain of maintaining 24/7 availability through online course management sites as well as email. Surprisingly, professors spend the equivalent of one full work day

a week on email. While email can be a valuable communication tool, it has also become a source of stress. This stress is amplified for female professors who are more likely to receive student requests for email responses after 9 pm on week nights and on weekends than their male colleagues. Thus, work life continues to encroach on home life.

Unpaid labour leaves little time for faculty members to replenish emotional resources. The result is burnout leading to physical and/or mental exhaustion and/or depression which, in turn, may lead to fewer personal accomplishments and a reinforcement of negative feelings about the current work environment. Professors experience dissonance as they suppress one set of emotions while simultaneously expressing another (i.e., suppressing their own feelings of frustration within the workplace while displaying empathy and support for students in the learning environment).

Just over 1 in 10 female professors are likely to experience daily symptoms of burnout. By comparison, just over 1 in 20 male professors experience similar daily symptoms. Burnout rates may be even higher because approximately 20% of all professors chose to leave that particular survey question unanswered. The burnout rates reflect how emotional labour is performed as a silent coping mechanism in the workplace. Professors regulate their emotions in order to keep their jobs. Such emotional regulation is advantageous to the customer/student and profitable to the institution/employer. The burnout rates further reflect that the supportive learning environment, promoted to ensure student satisfaction, is not equated with an equally supportive work environment for professors.

This study adds to the scholarly documentation of how men and women experience the workplace differently. These gendered differences are often amplified by the already existing differences in the working conditions between contract and tenured professors. The study also reveals how emotional labour frequently transforms into free labour.

It is hoped this paper will promote discussions that minimize existing TINA (there is no alternative) attitudes that enable the current system to function. While such discussions are important, it is also important to have concrete data to provide a factual foundation on which to establish or re-establish parameters around professorial workloads. It is hoped that this study could be utilized in future faculty associations' collective bargaining to better the working conditions of professors as well as increase awareness of how neoliberalism is changing academia for both professors and students.

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Appendix A

Survey on Faculty Workloads and Emotional Labour

1. What faculty/college do you work in? Choose all that are applicable.
- o Faculty of Social Sciences and/or Faculty of Humanities at McMaster University
- o College of Social and Applied Human Sciences and/or College of Arts at University of Guelph
- o Faculty of Arts at Wilfrid Laurier University
- o None of these faculties

2. What position do you hold?
- o Short-term contract
- o Long-term contract
- o Pre-tenure
- o Tenure
- o Prefer not to answer

3. What is your age?
- o Under 30
- o 31-40
- o 41-50
- o 51-60
- o Over 60
- o Prefer not to answer

4. What is your gender?
- o Male
- o Female
- o Other _______________.
- o Prefer not to answer

5. Which of the following best describes your ethnic background? Please check all that apply?
- o Arab (Saudi Arabian, Palestinian, Iraqi, etc)
- o Black/African/Caribbean

- o Indigenous (Inuit/First Nations/Métis)
- o Latin American (Costa Rican, Guatemalan, Brazilian, Columbian, etc)
- o South Asian (East Indian, Sri Lankan, etc)
- o Southeast Asian (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Filipino.etc)
- o West Asian (Iranian, Afghani, etc)
- o White/European
- o Other (please specify) ___________________________________
- o Prefer not to answer

6. How many years have you been at this university?

- o 1-5 years
- o 6-10 years
- o 11-15 years
- o 16-20 years
- o 21-25 years
- o 26-30 years
- o 31 plus years
- o Prefer not to answer

7. How many one-term courses did you teach in the last academic (2017-2018) year?

- o (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 or more)
- o Prefer not to answer

8. Approximately how many hours do you typically work in week?

- o (5, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, 40, 45, 50, 55+)
- o Prefer not to answer

9. How often do you work on the weekends?

- o Never Seldom Occasionally Frequently
- o Prefer not to answer

10. Please indicate the number of committees, working groups, task forces (formal and informal), you served on during the previous year.

a. Departmental committees (0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5)

b. College/faculty committees (0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5)
c. University-wide committees (0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5)
d. Professional organizations outside of the university (0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5)
e. Prefer not to answer

11. During the last academic year, approximately how many students came to your office hours?

- o None less than 25 26-50 51-75 76-100 More than 100
- o Prefer not to answer

12. How often do students make appointments outside of regular office hours?

- o Never Seldom Occasionally Frequently
- o Prefer not to answer

13. How often do students ask course-related questions immediately before or after a lecture is given?

- o Never Seldom Occasionally Frequently
- o Prefer not to answer

14. How much time do you dedicate to office hours in a typical week?

- o Less than 1.5 hours 1.6-3 hours 3.1-4.5 hours 4.5-6 hours More than 6 hours
- o Prefer not to answer

15. How many hours do you spend each week on student emails?

- o Less than 3 hours 4-5 hours 6-7 hours 8-9 hours More than 9 hours
- o Prefer not to answer

16. How many hours do you spend each week on departmental/faculty emails?

- o Less than 3 hours 4-5 hours 6-7 hours 8-9 hours More than 9 hours
- o Prefer not to answer

17. In the past academic year, how often have you:

- o Never less than 5 times 5-10 times 11-25 times More than 25 times
- o Prefer not to answer.

Provided information about academic policies.

Provided information about academic courses.
Provided information on other academic opportunities (ie. study abroad, internships).
Discussed with students their academic difficulties and explained availability of support options (ie. study skills, financial aid, writing centre, disability resource centre).
Discussed with students personal difficulties they are experiencing and explained the availability of support options (ie. wellness centre and counseling services).

18. How often, in the past academic year, have students made the following requests:

- Never less than 5 times 5-10 times 11-25 times More than 25 times
- Prefer not to answer.

Student request for help to identify a topic or source or project paper.
Student request for an alternative test time or location.
Student request to redo an assignment to earn a better grade.
Student request to inflate a grade.
Student request for detailed feedback on rough drafts of assignments.
Student request for your personal lecture notes.
Student request to personally go over what a student missed in class.
Student request for immediate reply to email on weekends.
Student request for response to emails after 9 pm Monday through Friday.

19. Do you think it is important to offer:

- Strongly disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly agree
- Prefer not to answer.

A challenging learning experience.
An entertaining lecture style.
Opportunities to redo assignments to improve grades.
Flexibility in terms of assignment deadlines.
24/7 availability through email and online learning environment (ie. avenue to learn, my learning or course link).

20. Do you think grade inflation is an issue in your faculty/college?

- Strongly disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly agree
- Prefer not to answer

21. Do you believe your own grading reflects academic rigor?
- o Strongly disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly agree
- o Prefer not to answer

22. Have you ever consciously inflated grades to help ensure positive student course evaluations?
- o Yes No
- o Prefer not to answer

23. Do you consider student course evaluations a useful tool in assessing the quality of a course taught?
- o Strongly disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly agree
- o Prefer not to answer

24. Describe your everyday interactions. (as a chart)
- o Strongly disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly agree
- o Prefer not to answer.

I am treated with respect by students.
I am treated with respect by colleagues.
Colleagues consider male faculty who have children to be less committed to their careers.
Colleagues consider female faculty who have children to be less committed to their careers.
I have a voice in the decision-making that affects the direction of my department.
I am satisfied with how well "I" fit in my workplace.
I have to work harder than my colleagues to be perceived as a legitimate scholar.

25. Do you ever feel burned out from your work as a professor?
- o Never Few times a year Once a month Few times a month
- o Once a week Few times a week Every day
- o Prefer not to answer

26. Please indicate the extent to which each of the following have been a stress for you over the past 12 months.
- o Never Seldom Occasionally Frequently Not applicable
- o Prefer not to answer.

Teaching
Advising students
Committee roles
Increased work responsibilities
Scholarly or creative productivity
Securing funding for research or creative work
Working with unprepared students
Managing competing demands on my time at work
Job security
Review/promotion process
Performance evaluation process
Department or campus politics
Care of someone else: ie. child care, elderly care, spousal care
Discrimination, subtle or overt (ie. Prejudice, racism, sexism)
Additional responses (please specify)

27.) All things considered, if you had to it all over again, would you choose to be an academic?

- Definitely Not   Probably Not   Maybe   Probably   Definitely
- Prefer not to answer

28.) If you could make one change in your departmental practices that would improve your department as a place for all to work, what would it be?

Text box:

Appendix B

Interview Guide for Professors (both tenure-stream and contract)

How do you communicate with students?

Probes:

- Do you have an office and have regular office hours? Why or why not?
- Do students make use of them? Why do you think that is?
- What are the advantages / disadvantages with communication done through emails?
- How do you feel about students making use of time before or after class to ask for assistance?
- How frequently do students ask for help in career planning or further studies?
- How often do students ask for help with personal issues?
- How do students treat you?

How are you assigned to teach a course?

Probes:

- What kind of prep / lead-in time do you receive?
- Is the course within your area of expertise?
- How involved are you in course curriculum / department learning goals?
- What kind of support does the university provide you with?
- How do other faculty treat you?

Are you currently conducting research, and, if yes, how is it funded?

Probes for those who are:

- Why are you conducting research?
- Are your research specifics discussed in class?
- Do you think your research is an important element in your teaching? Why or why not?

Probes for those who are not:

- Why are you not conducting research?
- Do you envision doing research in the future?
- How important an element is personal research in teaching?

What methodology do you use to teach your courses? For example, traditional lecture, class discussion, critical thinking assignments, experiential learning?

Probes:

- Why do you choose that methodology?
- Do class size or time constraints play a role?

Do you experience any pressure to raise grades or grade lightly?
Probes:
- Where does this pressure come from: the department? Students? Other?
- Do you think this pressure has been increasing? Why is that?
- How have you responded?

Appendix C

McMaster University Research Ethics Board 2019 Clearance

McMaster University Research Ethics Board (MREB)
c/o Research Office
for Administrative
Development and
Support MREB
Secretariat, GH-05
1280 Main St. W.
Hamilton, Ontario, L8W 4L8
email: ethicsoffice@mcmaster.ca Phone: 905-525-9140 ext. 23142

CERTIFICATE OF ETHICS CLEARANCE TO INVOLVE HUMAN PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH

Today's Date: Feb/28/2019

Research Assistant/Coordinator:	
Supervisor:	Professor Wayne Lewchuk
Student Principal Investigator:	Mrs Anne-Marie Bresee
Applicant:	Anne-Marie Bresee
Project Title:	A survey on faculty workloads
MREB#:	1725

Dear Researcher(s),

The ethics application and supporting documents for MREB# 1725 entitled "A survey on faculty workloads" have been reviewed and cleared by the MREB to ensure compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement and the McMaster Policies and Guidelines for Research Involving Human Participants.
The application protocol is cleared as revised without questions or requests for modification. The above named study is to be conducted in accordance with the most recent approved versions of the application and supporting documents.
Ongoing clearance is contingent on completing the Annual Report in advance of the yearly anniversary of the original ethics clearance date: Feb/28/2020. If the Annual Report is not submitted, then ethics clearance will lapse on the expiry date and Research Finance will be notified that ethics clearance is no longer valid (TCPS, Art. 6.14).
An Amendment form must be submitted and cleared before any substantive alterations are made to the approved research protocol and documents (TCPS, Art. 6.16).
Researchers are required to report Adverse Events (i.e. an unanticipated negative consequence

or result affecting participants) to the MREB secretariat and the MREB Chair as soon as possible, and no more than 3 days after the event occurs (TCPS, Art. 6.15). A privacy breach affecting participant information should also be reported to the MREB secretariat and the MREB Chair as soon as possible. The Reportable Events form is used to document adverse events, privacy breaches, protocol deviations and participant complaints.

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Recruiting Materials	Appendix 5 screening question	Jan/31/2019	1
Consent Forms	appendix 3 online survey preamble	Jan/31/2019	1
Response Documents	revisions chart	Feb/22/2019	1
Recruiting Materials	appendix 1 email recruitment script version 2	Feb/22/2019	2
Consent Forms	appendix 2 letter of information version 2	Feb/22/2019	2
Test Instruments	appendix 4 survey version 2	Feb/22/2019	2

Dr. Steven Bray

Appendix D

University Of Guelph Research Ethics Board 2019 Clearance

RESEARCH ETHICS BOARDS

Certification of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Human Participants

APPROVAL PERIOD:	March 22, 2019
EXPIRY DATE:	March 21, 2020
REB:	G
REB NUMBER:	19-03-026
TYPE OF REVIEW:	Delegated
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:	McInnis, Karina (avpres@uoguelph.ca)
DEPARTMENT:	Associate VP Research Services
SPONSOR(S):	N/A
TITLE OF PROJECT:	A survey on faculty workloads

The members of the University of Guelph Research Ethics Board have examined the protocol which describes the participation of the human participants in the above-named research project and considers the procedures, as described by the applicant, to conform to the University's ethical standards and the Tri-Council Policy Statement, 2nd Edition.

The REB requires that researchers:

- Adhere to the protocol as last reviewed and **approved** by the REB.
- Receive approval from the REB for any **modifications** before they can be implemented.
- Report any **change in the source of funding.**
- Report **unexpected events or incidental findings** to the REB as soon as possible with an indication of how these events affect, in the view of the Principal Investigator, the safety of the participants, and the continuation of the protocol.
- Are responsible for **ascertaining and complying with all applicable legal and regulatory requirements** with respect to consent and the protection of privacy of participants in the jurisdiction of the research project.

The Principal Investigator must:

- Ensure that the ethical guidelines and approvals of facilities or institutions involved in the research are obtained and filed with the REB prior to the initiation of any research protocols.
- Submit an **Annual Renewal** to the REB upon completion of the project. If the research is a multi- year project, a status report must be submitted annually prior to the expiry date. Failure to submit an annual status report will lead to your study being suspended and potentially terminated.

The approval for this protocol terminates on the **EXPIRY DATE**, or the term of your appointment or employment at the University of Guelph whichever comes first.

Signature: Date: March 22, 2019

Stephen P. Lewis
Chair, Research Ethics Board-General

Appendix E

University of Guelph Research Ethics Director Email

From: Sandra Auld
Sent: March 22, 2019 9:56 AM
To: breseea@mcmaster.c
Cc: Office Associate VP Research Services
Subject: Fw: Anne Bresee's research project

Attached please find the approval certificate for your submission. This has received administrative review. In the interests of time, K. McInnis, the AVPR is standing in as the local PI.

We are concerned about the burden on the faculty at this time of year - it was to facilitate these discussions that any delay occurred. Please note that you first submitted this project on March 7th, and you should expect ethics review to take at least 2 to 3 weeks. In future, please submit any request in sufficient time to allow review processes to occur.

Sandy

Sandra Auld
Director, Research Ethics
University of Guelph, UC437
(519) 824-4120 X56606

The Research Ethics Office is undergoing a period of personnel change and growth. During this time, you may find responses delayed and educational outreach opportunities limited. We appreciate your patience, and we will continue to do our best to provide you with high-quality services during this time.

Appendix F

Email Invitation to Participate in Study

Dear {FIRSTNAME},

You are invited to participate in an online survey that will take approximately 15 to 20 minutes to complete. As a member of the graduate program in Labour Studies at McMaster University, I am carrying out the study to learn how professors mediate both institutional pressures and student demands on their time and emotions. Emotional labour is how affective work is developed, managed and performed as professors engage with a diverse student population both inside and outside the lecture hall. I am interested in learning what role employment rank or tenure plays in if or how emotional labour is performed to offset professors' own working conditions and student learning conditions.

I am inviting all contract, pre-tenured and tenured professors who teach at the undergraduate level at McMaster University as well at the University of Guelph and Wilfrid Laurier University within the faculties that historically hire the most contract professors. At Wilfrid Laurier University, this is the Faculty of Arts. At the University of Guelph, this is the College of Arts as well as the College of Social and Applied Sciences. At McMaster University, the two faculties are Humanities and Social Sciences. The survey will take place in March and April of this year.

The risks involved in this study are minimal. You may feel uncomfortable being asked about your working conditions, but the advantage of a survey is that it can be done in a location of your choosing that maximizes both your privacy and convenience. You can stop being in this study at any point during the survey. To participate, please click on this link.

{SURVEYURL}

I have attached a copy of a letter of information about the study that gives you the full details. This study has been reviewed and cleared by the McMaster Research Ethics Board. If you any have concerns or questions about your rights as a participant or about the way the study is being conducted you can contact:

The McMaster Research Ethics Board Secretariat
Telephone: (905) 525-9140 ext. 23142
c/o Research Office for Administration, Development and Support (ROADS)
E-mail: ethicsofficer@mcmaster.ca

I would like to thank you in advance for your time and consideration. To participate, please click on the link below.
Sincerely,

Anne-Marie Bresee
(breseea@mcmaster.ca)

{SURVEYURL}

Appendix G

Email Reminder to Participate in Study

Dear {FIRSTNAME},

Recently we invited you to participate in a survey on how professors mediate both institutional pressures and student demands. We note that you have not yet completed the survey, and wish to remind you that the survey is still available should you wish to take part. The survey is titled: **Survey on Faculty Workload.** It should take about 15 minutes to complete. To participate, please click on the link below.

{SURVEYURL}

If you do not want to participate in this survey and don't want to receive any more invitations, please click the following link: {OPTOUTURL}

Sincerely,

Anne-Marie Bresee
(breseea@mcmaster.ca)

Appendix H

Letter of Information

A study on faculty workloads

Faculty Advisor:

Dr. Wayne Lewchuk
Labour Studies
McMaster University
Hamilton, Ontario, Canada
(905) 525-9140 ext. 27293
E-mail: lewchuk@mcmaster.ca

Principal Student Investigator:

Anne-Marie Bresee
Labour Studies
McMaster University
Hamilton, Ontario, Canada
E-mail: breseea@mcmaster.ca

There is a positive correlation between a student's perception of a supportive faculty and completion of a degree. At the same time, emotional labour often remains invisible and, thus, unrewarded for faculty. The purpose of this study is to examine how professors mediate both institutional pressures and student demands on their time and emotions.

The survey, to be conducted in March and April of this year, is part of a thesis I am working on as a mature student in the Master's Labour Studies program at McMaster University. My faculty advisor is Professor Wayne Lewchuk. The interplay between professors and the student learning environment is a line of research that I hope to continue at the PhD level. I will use your data for this project and may include it in future related studies.

Data will be collected from professors teaching at the undergraduate level specifically within the Faculty of Arts at Wilfrid Laurier University, the College of Arts and the College of Social and Applied Sciences at the University of Guelph, and the Faculty of Humanities and Faculty of Social Sciences at McMaster University. It is estimated that approximately 200 professors will receive this invitation to participate at each university.

What will happen during the study? You are encouraged to click on the link to the online survey at the bottom of the email inviting you to participate in this study. Your participation is completely voluntary and will not involve too much of your time. It is estimated that the survey will take 15 to 20 minutes to complete. It may be completed at your leisure. I encourage you to complete the entire survey, but you do have the right to refuse to answer any questions or to end the survey at any time.

I will ask you about some demographic/background information. I will also be asking questions designed to gain insight into the patterns and relationships that create workloads that may vary among professors depending on whether they are contract or tenure stream. The survey questions are about how you spend your work day, interact with students, and sources of stress and satisfaction.

Are there any risks to doing this study? The risks involved in this study are minimal. You may feel uncomfortable being asked about working conditions, but the advantage of a survey is that it can be done in location of your choosing that maximizes both your privacy and convenience.

Social and economic risks vary among the three groups of professors. Contract faculty may face some risk by merely being known by their colleagues or superiors for participating in a study on working conditions in academia. Their participation in the online survey may be interpreted as expressing criticism, complaints or negative effectives of working conditions. The consequences may include social ostracism. Economic risks may include non-renewal on contract.

Full-time faculty, both pre-tenure and tenure, have similar risk of being known to participate in a study that focuses on existing hiring practices in academia. There is a risk colleagues could pass the information along to a chair, dean or higher authority. Such situations may result in the social consequence of participating faculty being treated differently. At the extreme end, economic consequences may include negative opinions viewed as insubordination that could jeopardize job security. There is a risk of subtle punitive measures such as the assignment of less desirable classes.

You do not need to answer questions that you do not want to answer or that make you feel uncomfortable. There will be a quit button displayed throughout the survey. If you decide to hit the "quit button" at anytime during the survey, the following statement will appear: "Thank you. You have decided to quit this survey. None of your survey responses have been collected or stored." All your data will be deleted.

Who will know what I said or did in the study? Your participation in the online survey is anonymous. There is a risk to potential participants that they may be identifiable based on certain demographic characteristics, and participants are encouraged to keep this in mind when responding to demographic questions. No one, including me, will know that you have participated in the survey unless you choose to tell them.

Are there any benefits to doing this study? The research does not benefit you directly, but I hope it will create a better general understanding and awareness of the emotional labour performed by professors. It will also enrich the existing theoretical body of work in the little studied area of the immaterial working conditions of all faculty members. In

particular, part-time faculty will benefit from the opportunity to voice their experience because they have fewer opportunities than their full-time colleagues to discuss their working conditions that often reflect a lack of status, deprivation of resources and preparation time. The results may draw attention to issues that particularly affect contract faculty work environment. The study may also reflect how emotional labour often becomes free labour for all professors. The documentation provided in the study could conceivably be used as fact-based data to promote positive changes to existing union contracts to improve working conditions for all professors

How long will the data be kept? The data from the McMaster LimeSurvey will be stored on McMaster's servers and accessed on a password protected laptop. The anonymous data from the online survey will also be kept in an encrypted file on a laptop in the unlikely event the laptop is stolen or lost. I may use the data in future studies that explore the interplay between professor working conditions and student learning conditions. My plan is to continue similar research as a PhD student, and can foresee this research being the focus of an academic career.

What if I change my mind about being in the study? Your participation in the study is completely voluntary. If you decide to be part of the study, you can stop (withdraw) at any time. If you decide to withdraw, there will be no consequences to you. In cases of withdrawal, any data you have provided will be destroyed unless you indicate otherwise. If you do not want to answer some of the questions you do not have to, but you can still be in the study. Once you have submitted your responses for this anonymous survey, your answers will be put into a database and will not be identifiable to you. This means that once you have submitted your survey, your responses cannot be withdrawn from the study because I will not be able to identify which responses are yours.

How do I find out what was learned in this study? I expect to have this study completed by September 2019. If you wish to receive the survey results, upon completion of the survey a link will be provided to a secondary survey in which the only question is what is your e-mail address. Only the student principal investigator will have access to the email list which is not linked to any data or names. The list will be maintained in an encrypted file. After the survey results are sent to participants, the file will be deleted. Data from the McMaster LimeSurvey will be stored on McMaster's servers, and I will access it from a password protected laptop that also has firewalls in place. The anonymous data from the online survey will also be kept in an encrypted file on the laptop in the unlikely event the laptop is stolen or lost.

Questions about the Study: If you have questions or need more information about the study itself, please contact me at

breseea@mcmaster.ca

This study has been reviewed by the McMaster University Research Ethics Board and received ethics clearance. If you have concerns or questions about your rights as a participant or about the way the study is conducted, please contact:

McMaster Research Ethics Secretariat
Telephone: (905) 525-9140 ext. 23142
C/o Research Office for Administrative Development and Support
E-mail: ethicsoffice@mcmaster.ca

Appendix I

Wilfrid Laurier University Ethics Board 2018 Clearance

Wilfrid Laurier University Mail - REB #5599 Clearance Notification https./' /mail.google.com/mail/u/O/?ui=2&ik=d7lc4Ob3aa&jsver=B...

Anne-Marie Bresee <bres8900@mylaurier.ca>

RES #5599 **Clearance Notification**
1 message

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do-not-reply-laurier@researchservicesoffice.com <do-not-reply-laurier@researchservicesoffice.com> Fri, Feb 16, 2018 at 11:04 AM
To: "Ms Anne-Marie Bresee (Principal Investigator)" bres89OO@mylaurier.ca
Cc: "Prof. Penelope Ironstone-Catterall (Supervisor)" <pironstOne@wlu.ca> , reb@wlu.ca, do-not-reply-laurier@researchservicesoffice.com

February 16, 2018
Dear Anne-Marie Bresee
REB # 5599
Project, "Two-tiered University Hiring Practices and Their Impact on Faculty Working Conditions and Student Learning Conditions"
REB Clearance Issued: February 16, 2018
RES Expiry / End Date: June 30, 2018
The Research Ethics Board of Wilfrid Laurier University has reviewed the above proposal and determined that the proposal is ethically sound. If the research plan and methods should change in a way that may bring into question the project's adherence to acceptable ethical norms, please submit a "Request for Ethics Clearance of a Revision or Modihcafion" form for approval before the changes are put into place. This form can also be used to extend protocols past their expiry date except in cases where the project is more than four years old Those projects require a new REB application.
Please note that you are responsible for obtaining any further approvals that might be required to complete your project.

Laurier REB approval will automatically expire when one's employment ends at Laurier.

If any participants in your research project have a negative experience (either physical, psychological or emotional) you are required to submit an "Adverse Events Form" within 24 hours of the event.

You must complete the online "Annual/Final Progress Report on Human Research Projects" form annually and upon completion of the project, ROMEO will automatically keeps track of these annual reports for you. When you have a report due within 30 days (and/or an overdue report) it will be listed under the 'My Reminders' quick link on your ROMEO home screen; the number in brackets next to My Reminders' will tell you how many reports need to be submitted Protocols with overdue annual reports will be marked as expired. Further the REB has been requested to notify Research Finance when an RE8 protocol, tied to a funding account has been marked as expired. In such cases Research Finance will immediately freeze funding tied to this account.

All the best for the successful completion of your project.

(**Useful links:** ROMEO Login Screen ; RES Students Webpage; RES Connect Webpage)

Yours sincerely,

Robert Basso, PhD
Chair, University Research Ethics Board
Wilfrid Laurier University

OR
Rosemary A. McGowan, PhD
Vice-Chair, University Research Ethics Board
Wilfrid Laurier University

Jayne Kalmar, PhD
Vice-Chair, University Research Ethics Board
Wilfrid Laurier University

Please do not reply directly to this e-mail. Please direct all replies to reb@wlu..ca

Appendix J

University of Guelph 2016 ethics board clearance

RESEARCH ETHICS BOARDS
Certification of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Human Participants

APPROVAL PERIOD:	February 10, 2016
EXPIRY DATE:	February 10, 2017
REB:	G
REB NUMBER:	16JA008
TYPE OF REVIEW:	Delegated Type 1
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:	Kowalchuk, Lisa (lkowalch@uoguelph.ca)
DEPARTMENT:	Sociology and Anthropology
SPONSOR:	None
TITLE OF PROJECT:	Two-tiered University Hiring Practices and Their Impact on Faculty Working Conditions and Student Learning Conditions

The members of the University of Guelph Research Ethics Board have examined the protocol which describes the participation of the human participants in the above-named research project and considers the procedures, as described by the applicant, to conform to the University's ethical standards and the Tri-Council Policy Statement, 2nd Edition.

The REB requires that researchers:

- Adhere to the protocol as last reviewed and approved by the REB
- Receive approval from the REB for any modifications before they can be implemented.
- Report any change in the source of funding.
- Report unexpected events or incidental findings to the REB as soon as possible with an indication of how these events affect, in the view of the Principal Investigator, the safety of the participants, and the continuation of the protocol.
- Are responsible for ascertaining and complying with all applicable legal and regulatory requirements with respect to consent and the protection of privacy of participants in the jurisdiction of the research project.

The Principal Investigator must:

- Ensure that the ethical guidelines and approvals of facilities or institutions involved in the research are obtained and filed with the REB prior to the initiation of any research protocols.
- Submit a Status Report to the REB upon completion of the project. If the research is a multi-year project, a status report must be submitted annually prior to the expiry date. Failure to submit an annual status report will lead to your study being suspended and potentially terminated.

The approval for this protocol terminates on the EXPIRY DATE, or the term of your appointment or employment at the University of Guelph whichever comes first.

Signature: Date: February 10, 2016

L. Kuczynski
Chair, Research Ethics Board-General