Employment and Casualisation in Classics Departments in UK Universities

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This report presents the results of an online survey of Classicists and Classics students in the UK which was open from 1 March to 31 May 2017. The responses to the survey cover a wide range of effects casualisation in academia. Respondents reported their personal experiences of temporary and hourly-paid contracts, including ‘employment strain’, financial instability, health problems, feeling undervalued or frustrated, difficulties with career progression, and decisions to leave academia. Some of the most important issues highlighted by the respondents were the use of 9- and 10-month contracts and unfair calculation of hourly rates of pay. Respondents disagreed about how far casualisation has affected graduate and undergraduate students, and many respondents were positive about the excellent teaching that temporary colleagues provide. The survey also revealed that very few respondents were aware of existing guidelines on the employment of temporary staff issued by professional organisations in Classics. Although casualisation is a structural issue that cannot be solved at the level of the individual, this report reflects on the changes that academics and departments can make to their professional practice to promote the well-being of their colleagues.

Introduction

This report has its origins in a piece of work for the Postgraduate Certificate in Academic Practice at the University of Exeter. As part of this course, we were required to write a research essay on any issue affecting our professional practice; I chose to focus on the issue of casualisation. I have been unusually fortunate in the degree of stability I have been afforded during the early part of my career: after finishing my PhD in 2013, I went into a Research Fellowship at a Cambridge college and then my current (permanent) position as a Lecturer at the University of Exeter. However, I have seen many colleagues and friends affected by casualisation, and it has been a constant concern of my peers – even for those of us with relatively stable temporary positions – throughout our PhDs and early careers.

Despite its presence as a key issue in our profession, my colleagues in Classics all had different opinions on the scale and nature of the problem, and also disagreed on whether there were actions that could be taken on an individual or departmental level. I felt that the debate could be improved by bringing together the opinions of students and researchers at every level of our field, to get a better sense of what changes can be made in our collective professional practice. CUCD Bulletin ran a special issue on casualisation in 2007, which contained essays from several different perspectives. A decade on, it seemed a good time to renew our understanding of this subject, and to reflect on what has changed in the past ten years.
The report that follows is an expanded version of the research essay I submitted in July 2017. I would like to thank Karen Mattick and Susan Deacy for their comments and suggestions for improvements.

**Previous work on casualisation**

‘Casualisation’ has become one of the key issues for our profession, and has gained considerable attention over the past few years in scholarship, by unions, and in the press. Characterised by an increase in part-time, fixed-term and hourly-paid jobs, ‘casualisation’ is a catch-all term for an increase in precarious and poorly paid positions at the expense of open-ended, full-time contracts. It may arise from retiring academics being replaced with contingent labour, departments expanding staff numbers by hiring new staff on precarious contracts, or current staff being moved to less stable contracts. Casualisation has been noted particularly in the USA, where almost three-quarters of university teaching staff are on casual contracts, but has also recently become a feature of higher education in Australia and the UK, in response to increased financial constraints on universities.

Casualisation has a range of effects on university staff employed on these contracts. Financially, casualisation has led to academics being unable to afford basic necessities. UCU’s recent report found that 21% of university staff on insecure contracts in the UK said that they struggled to pay for food, 35% said that they struggled to pay rent or mortgage repayments, and 42% said that they struggled to pay household bills like fuel, electricity and water.

Frequent moves take a toll on other personal goals, including owning a home and starting a family. Anecdotal evidence suggest that this precarity is partly responsible for increasingly poor mental health among university staff: a 2014 survey by the Guardian found that more than two-thirds of academics with mental illnesses considered their illness as direct result of their university job. Other commentators, however, have seen this casualisation as part of an overall increase in flexibility in the workplace and not necessarily as a negative development.

Nevertheless, temporary employment (within and beyond academia) is rarely initiated or desired by employees, and is associated with ‘employment strain’, i.e. constant searches for...

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3 Patton 2012; Fazackerley 2013; Anonymous 2015; Else 2015a; Else 2015b; O’Hara 2015; Chakrabortty 2016; Chakrabortty and Weale 2016; Cutterham 2016; Grove 2016; Power 2016; Weale 2016.
4 Patton 2012; McKenna 2015; Edmonds 2015.
5 Kimber 2010; Lipton 2015; McKenzie 2016.
6 Fazackerley 2013; Else 2015a; Else 2015b; O’Hara 2015; Chakrabortty 2016; Chakrabortty and Weale 2016.
8 University and College Union 2015: 13–14.
9 University and College Union 2015: 15.
10 Ditton 2009; Shaw 2014.
11 Hope 2013.
new employment, stress associated with consistently gaining positive employer assessments, and balancing demands of multiple employers.\textsuperscript{12}

The main theoretical models for understanding why temporary and casual work causes distress are Social Comparison Theory, which focuses on employees’ perceptions of fairness and their tendency to compare their working conditions with others’ around them, and Social Exchange Theory, which focuses on how workers compare their efforts and rewards.\textsuperscript{13} Both frameworks are relevant to casualised work in academia, where employees are likely to have many opportunities to compare themselves directly to permanent staff, and typically have worked hard to maintain their career. It is possible to critique Social Exchange Theory on the grounds that the psychological contract of temporary workers has limited potential for breach because they have a lower commitment to their employer.\textsuperscript{14} However, in this sense, academics on casual contracts are not typical of all temporary workers, as their commitment to their career and their work is very high, and their experiences are therefore likely to reflect a breach of the psychological contract.

It has also been argued that temporary employment of staff may have a measurable negative effect on undergraduate and postgraduate students.\textsuperscript{15} Some studies, conversely, have emphasised the overall positive effect of casual and ‘adjunct’ teachers, who are often young, enthusiastic and experienced teachers.\textsuperscript{16} Some postgraduate students are themselves paid for teaching at their universities, and have been part of campaigns to improve contracts and conditions.\textsuperscript{17}

Casualisation is a systemic, structural shift in employment practices across the HE sector. It is important, therefore, not to put undue emphasis on the role of the individual researcher or department.\textsuperscript{18} However, discipline-based discussion has a place in the discourse, particularly when looking at how casualisation has affected individual academics’ professional practice.\textsuperscript{19}

Classics and Ancient History is a smaller subject in the HE sector, and has not received a great deal of attention in discussions of casualisation. However, Classics is worthy of individual investigation as a discipline. Firstly, Classics is disproportionately taught in Russell Group universities, which have a higher proportion of insecure contracts than other groups of universities (Russell Group average: 58.5%, sector average: 53.2%).\textsuperscript{20} Classics, Ancient History and other related degrees are offered at 26 UK universities, of which 18 are Russell Group universities.\textsuperscript{21} Of the eight universities reported to have over 60% of staff on temporary or

\begin{enumerate}
\item De Cuyper et al. 2008: 29.
\item De Cuyper et al. 2008: 30.
\item De Cuyper et al. 2008: 34.
\item Percy and Beaumont 2008; Klopper and Power 2014; Power 2016.
\item Bettinger and Long 2010.
\item Else 2015a.
\item Percy and Beaumont 2008: 154.
\item Lyons 2015; Whyte 2015.
\item University and College Union 2016b; Chakrabortty and Weale 2016.
\item Russell Group universities which do not offer Classics and Ancient History degrees: Imperial College London, London School of Economics, Queen Mary University of London, Queen’s University Belfast, University of Sheffield, University of York.
\end{enumerate}
‘atypical’ contracts,²² six offer Classics degrees. Secondly, there have already been attempts to discuss casualisation in Classics as a problem for our scholarly community to solve collectively.²³ The Council of University Classics Departments (CUCD) also issued a protocol for how Classics departments should support temporary members of staff almost a decade ago,²⁴ and in the previous year published a special issue of the CUCD Bulletin which contained a number of essays on casualisation from different perspectives.²⁵ A decade on, it is now time to revisit this subject.

In 2017, CUCD are collecting information on the types of contracts used in Classics departments for the first time – this data is not yet available, but shows a growing interest and awareness of casualisation in the discipline. Existing CUCD data suggests that numbers of atypical contracts in Classics are growing, particularly when we look at the number of individuals on these contracts rather than the number of FTE members of staff. Although departments have previously not been asked to disclose what these contracts look like, it is likely that this includes hourly-paid teaching staff.

![Figure 1: Contract types 2006-2016 (by number of individuals)](image)

Figure 1: Contract types 2016-2016, by number of individual members of staff

²² Chakrabortty and Weale 2016.
²³ Okell, Rowe, and Williams 2007; Green 2007; Dickey 2014a.
²⁴ CUCD 2008.
To investigate these issues further, and to inform my own professional practice as a Lecturer in Classics and Ancient History as part of the PCAP course at the University of Exeter, I designed a survey on employment practices in Classics and Ancient History departments.

The online survey was open from 1 March to 31 May 2017. It was advertised on the national Classicists listserv, and on my blog (c. 2000 readers per month) and twitter account @Katherine_McDon (c. 2900 follows; the tweet received 379 engagements).

Over two months, the survey received 165 responses, of which 116 were staff (including 26 post-graduate students who undertake paid employment in their departments), 21 were postgraduate students and 12 were undergraduate students. CUCD’s data for 2015-6 states that there were 695 people employed in Classics departments in the UK last year (data for 2016-7 not yet available). This survey attracted 90 non-postgraduate staff responses, or approximately 13% of the Classicists currently working in the UK. The postgraduate responses represent about 10-15% of the research postgraduates in the UK.

The respondents came from range of career stages and demographic groups. Although casualisation is often discussed as an early-career issue, 28% of the respondents (over a third of the staff members who responded) received their PhD more than ten years ago. The only group not represented was Emeriti and retired staff.

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26 Ethics approval reference number: P/16/17/01.
Figure 3: Respondents’ career stages

Figure 4: Respondents’ time since PhD

27 Some job titles have been grouped with their nearest equivalent.
The respondents were also in a range of different contract types. 43.5% were in full-time, permanent posts and 56.5% were in other kinds of contracts. This is roughly representative of the overall proportion of staff on temporary or atypical contracts in Russell Group universities.

Of the respondents who gave more information about their career progression: 6 were hourly-paid teaching fellows/associates or lecturers; 4 were temporary part-time teaching fellows/associates; 4 were temporary full-time teaching fellows/associates; 1 was a temporary part-time lecturer; 10 were temporary full-time lecturers; 2 were temporary part-time research fellows/post-docs and 7 were temporary full-time research fellows/post-docs. 12 of these 34 respondents (35%) stated that they had a second job, most of which were hourly-paid positions.

Of those in more stable positions, 2 were permanent teaching fellows/associates; 13 were lecturers; 16 were senior lecturers; 8 were readers/associate professors and 18 were professors. Most of those who were part-time in these more stable roles indicated that they were part-time by choice. 7 of these 57 respondents (12%) stated that they had a second job; most of these additional positions were temporary or permanent part-time roles, and none were hourly paid positions.
Respondents described a range of different career progressions, with several mentioning periods outside academia as well as academic jobs. There are clearly many paths to a permanent academic role in Classics, but it was notable that respondents in more senior roles were more likely to have had a period as a research fellow/post-doc than their more junior colleagues. More senior colleagues were also much more likely to have progressed straight from graduate study to a position with the title ‘Lecturer’ (whether temporary or permanent), with no periods as either a research fellow/post-doc or teaching fellow/associate. Classicists in more junior permanent positions were more likely than their older colleagues to have worked as a teaching fellow/associate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Current position (permanent positions only)</th>
<th>% with previous position as Research Fellow/Post-doc</th>
<th>% with previous position as a Teaching Fellow/Associate</th>
<th>% who progressed directly from graduate study to a ‘Lecturer’ position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Lecturer</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reader/Associate Professor</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>38</td>
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<tr>
<td>Professor</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Career progression of permanent staff in Classics

There are two possible explanations for this. The first explanation is that temporary teaching fellowships and other temporary teaching-heavy contracts are now much more common than they once were, demonstrating that casualisation has taken place in our field over the past few decades. The second explanation is that teaching fellowships were always available, but those who were employed in this way found it much harder to progress to a permanent position and chose an alternative career. From the anecdotal evidence of the respondents, both of these explanations are likely to be true to some extent. It is important, therefore, for senior colleagues to be aware that their junior colleagues – especially those on temporary contracts, but also those on permanent contracts – have had a very different experience of the job market in Classics.

Women were 62.4% of respondents. This may reflect my personal networks within Classics, as a member of the Women’s Classical Committee, or it may suggest that women have a greater interest in questions of casualisation, by which they are disproportionately affected.

10.7% of the respondents identified themselves as having a disability as defined by the 2010 Equality Act.

**Report structure**

The survey as a whole resulted in over 24,000 words of responses. The wealth of detail in these answers cannot all be examined in detail here – instead, this report will draw out some of the main themes and issues. Quotations have been chosen to try to represent the range of issues,

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28 Respondents were given a free-text space to answer this question. ‘Female’, ‘F’, ‘female’ and ‘cis female’ have all been grouped as ‘female’; ‘Male’, ‘M’, ‘man’ and ‘male’ have all been grouped as ‘Male’.

29 Trades Union Congress 2014.
concerns and opinions raised by the respondents. The questions in the survey were phrased in a deliberately broad way, to allow respondents to answer with reference to whatever issues they thought most important (and, indeed, some respondents expressed concern that the questions were too broad). As a result, there was considerable overlap in themes and content between the answers to the different questions. This report has been structured by theme, to bring together answers which addressed the same issues, and quotations which appear together are not always responses to the same question.

The full text of the survey, showing the wording of all the questions, is available online.

Fixed-term posts

Figure 6: Wordcloud of most common words in the responses to the survey.

Effects on staff

Respondents commented on the personal and financial difficulties that come with fixed-term posts, particularly when someone is employed in this way for a number of years. The reported problems were typical of the ‘employment strain’ associated with temporary work in all sectors. They commented in particular that the time spent on applications, moving and other activities detracted from their teaching and research:

I am very happy to have a post (and a second part-time post) (especially in the current climate) and to be actively involved and able to pursue a career that I love - a career as a researcher and lecturer in Classics has always been my aspiration and my passion in

30 De Cuyper et al. 2008: 29.
life. Overall, I really love my job and my career. However, I feel exhausted, tired and stressed from the constant uncertainty and instability (having now spent 8 years now post-PhD on one-year or ten-month contracts) of undertaking temporary, fixed-term contracts. Working for this length of time on temporary contracts leaves me unable to move ahead fully with plans for the future and long-term life goals, such as buying a house/flat. It is incredibly unsettling and unstable to never know where you will be living next (academic) year - or if you will even have a job next year. I have worked incredibly hard to become a Classicist - and even the possibility that one may not have a post in a few months or a year’s time is very stressful. (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of more than five years)

My life is in financial chaos, and I am forced to constantly look for work every few months to keep going. (Hourly-paid adjunct)

Although my current employer is excellent and I feel that I am supported in my research and teaching in a very fair, equal and professional manner, the same cannot always be said of previous contracts that I have undertaken at previous institutions. In 2010-11, I was hourly-paid for teaching (and minimal payment for some marking but not all) at a (well-respected) UK HE institution (on a minimal ‘zero hours’ type of contract) - I was paid so little that I had to claim housing benefit to be able to afford rent and definitely felt exploited. (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of more than 5 years)

I earn money from teaching, which has left my research way behind. I’m concerned I will either be unemployed at the end of my current contract, or left jumping from one fixed-term position to another, with no time or money to develop my research enough to become competitive for permanent jobs. (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of less than 1 year)

I have been on some pretty exploitative contracts in the past, including a 3-month 0.33 position and a 6-month full time position. These offer no security, especially since it is hard to even get a rental agreement for less than 9 months. (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of less than 1 year)

Mixed [feelings] - fixed term contracts gave me jobs that I needed and allowed me to build my experience, ultimately leading to a permanent post, but they were also stressful and brought uncertainty, not to mention far too many location shifts around the country. (Senior lecturer)

Working on temporary contracts, I have previously not been paid over the summer for several months (between two 9-month contracts), although the university have changed their policy on this now. For temporary posts, there is also no provision for relocation fees/expenses (as there is for permanent posts), even though moving to another part of the country is almost certainly involved in most cases. (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of more than 5 years)
Job security is, in some ways, even more important than salary. No security = no possibility to buy a house, start a family, invest in the future. Unless specifically requested, temporary contracts and especially "zero-hours" contracts have no role to play in a properly, ethically run university (or business). (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

Someday I would quite like a mortgage and the uncertainties in academic work/contracts put me off. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

Holding temporary posts with gaps in the summer has meant periods of unemployment and no re-location costs for temporary posts. In a personal sense, holding temporary posts has impacted my ability to move forward with important long-term life goals and I think may have impacted my career progression too (at least potentially). (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of more than 5 years)

Answers showed that temporary jobs, particularly several temporary jobs in a row, have had a profound effect on respondents’ personal lives, including their health:

The uncertainty of 2 or 3 year research posts is very unsettling - as is the pressure to do what one is contracted to do, while applying for the next post (Professor)

I’ve been very lucky to always have a full time contract. The process of shifting between two one year posts (both at the same institution but renewal was very late) and then finding the three year post that has since turned into a permanent post (but no hint that was on the cards at the time) was exhausting, time-consuming and often dispiriting. (Full-time permanent lecturer)

HR is really awful. I have been messed around over my contract status for MONTHS - enormously stressful and emotionally wearing. (Full-time temporary teaching fellow on a contract of between one and three years)

The lack of job security means that my husband and I are delaying having children. (Hourly paid or zero-hours teaching fellow)

The fact that I will have to spend the next 2-5 years in temporary contracts moving around the country in order to get the ‘experience’ required for a permanent contract, does not exactly encourage having a family and I have made the choice to delay having children for this reason. Additionally if I do get a permanent role, the attitudes I have witnessed from both male and female colleagues towards women who have children are disappointing. I do not feel that male colleagues of the same age as me have to face this choice. (Hourly paid or zero-hours teaching fellow)

Feel very demoralised. (Part-time temporary teaching fellow, on a contract of less than 0.49 FTE and less than one year)
My morale has been incredibly low this year. I have had to force myself into work and get on with it whilst suppressing feelings of wanting to just quit there and then. Had I known that my life would be like this post PhD, I would have thought twice about pursuing this path. (Full-time temporary teaching fellow, on a contract of less than one year)

My personal life is extremely affected by the movement and uncertainty of the job. HR are awful, which makes the experience harder (such as being left questioning whether your contract might be extended up to the last moment). (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of less than one year)

I, as well as a number of colleagues, have had serious issues with stress (to the point of actual long-term illness). I was on part-time and then full-time temporary contracts for years and if I hadn't done more than I should have done, I would not have been made permanent. However, as I then became ill and have struggled with anxiety, being made permanent was detrimental to my health. (Reader/Associate Professor)

I am female and I feel like I need to worry about potentially spending a decade in temporary contracts a lot more than my male peers. Overall they don't seem to care anywhere near as much if they have to hop from job to job with no benefits because they don't care about things like parental leave. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

Illness caused by stress cost me several years of research output. (Reader/Associate Professor)

[I]t has made me mentally ill. (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of 1-3 years)

I was on part-time temporary contracts for many years. It was awful (particularly as single mum) and I fully understand how difficult it is for early career academics now. (Senior lecturer)

I have found the early career path very demoralizing and exploitative. I am now thinking about leaving academia to teach in a school. (Research fellow / Post-Doc)

After a series of short-term contracts during which my performance was praised but my contracts not renewed due to ‘the risk of becoming permanent’ if extending beyond 3 years, I have struggled to maintain confidence, become more likely to question my work/worth, and routinely reflect on what else I might do with my life. It took 6 months to start to feel more like ‘myself’. (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of less than 1 year)

A number of respondents were also concerned that temporary jobs tend to be ‘teaching-only’ or ‘teaching-focused’ posts leave no room for research. This is a concern because research is needed to get a permanent job and, in many cases, research is even needed to secure another teaching-only contract:
15 years ago temporary posts were exploitative, but there was a good chance it would lead to a permanent job. Now the temporary posts are so overwhelming, there's no chance to do the research that would lead to a permanent job. (Full-time permanent lecturer)

The Department tends not to shortlist or hire temporary staff when they apply for permanent jobs. (Hourly paid or zero-hours adjunct)

I also feel that working on temporary contracts has impacted and adversely affected my academic career in Classics (especially over the past three years, where I have had many prospective PhD enquiries from postgraduate students but have only been able to supervise one of those students; so have temporary contracts is impeding my ability to undertake PhD supervision and has potentially hindered my career progression). In addition, having to spend so much time (every year for the past eight years) filling in endless job applications has meant that those hours were effectively detracted from my research time and has definitely affected my time and resources available for research. I really feel as though the odds are stacked against you when you do temporary posts, and I feel very exhausted and stressed from living in this situation for such a long period of time. (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of more than five years)

Some good, some bad [contracts]. I had a five month contract (maternity cover), which only worked because I was finishing up my thesis. A contract that was less than full time (0.95) was only used so as not to pay for research time, but the expectations were still that you would overwork. A career development post I held was referred to as 'career destruction post' by a colleague; his explanation was that its length (five years) meant that you emerged at the other end no longer as newly minted from PhD and therefore not as attractive. In many ways, he was right. (Full-time permanent lecturer)

Although some respondents were happy with their current position and terms of employment, they suggested that they would not have stayed in academia if they had been employed on less favourable terms:

Perfectly happy. I would have done something else had they not been sufficiently remunerative and flexible to suit my life... The rates are good, and the work fits flexibly around childcare and other commitments... There is a tendency to consider only full-time appointments, which is not necessarily flexible as regards family commitments. (Part-time temporary teaching fellow, on a contract of 0.5FTE or more and more than 5 years)

Although respondents in temporary research posts (such as post-docs and JRFs) mostly seemed contented with their contracts, many of those in temporary teaching positions were not. This reflected the findings of Brown and Gold (2007), who found from interviews that the majority of academics on non-standard contracts would prefer a permanent post with similar hours. Several respondents also commented that there was no clear reason why their current

post was temporary, and that the same work was being done by a series of temporary members of staff.

The use of nine- or ten-month fixed-term teaching posts was specifically highlighted by a number of respondents as the most exploitative and troubling practice currently in use at their university:

_I am very concerned about the fractional appointments (and 10 month contracts). They are not fair to employees, and sometimes leave them in a position where they can’t afford to maintain themselves properly._ (Full-time permanent professor)

_Happy with pay for 10-month teaching post but being thrown off email/access to online resources for the summer not helpful. Including research facility access over the summer would make these contracts more acceptable (though much better when depts pay for whole year)_ (Full-time temporary research fellow/post-doc)

_The trend towards employment of staff on temporary contracts, and particularly exploitative, 10-month contracts is insidious and damaging to morale and career progression for recent graduates._ (Former lecturer)

_My current contract is a fixed term one (ten months) and does not have any fixed hours, I, like many others in the department, are obliged to work until all responsibilities are fulfilled. It is deeply troubling that most academic contracts do not have fixed hours because most of us work over the weekends. I cannot remember the last day that I did not work because of the workload._ (Full-time temporary teaching fellow on a contract of less than 1 year)

_Temporary contracts result in lots of work for a dept in misguided hope of being made permanent._ (Full-time permanent lecturer)

_10 month contracts - which admittedly I've never had until this year - are criminal._ (Part-time temporary teaching fellow on a contract of less than 0.49FTE and less than 1 year)

_The department hands out difficult and insecure 9 month contracts as a way of handling a large section of its teaching._ (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

_Very worried about people (particularly early career people) who are hired for ‘one year’, but the contract is actually for eight or nine months._ (Full-time permanent Reader / Associate Professor)

_There needs to be less complacency. I feel grateful for my current contract because at least I’m paid for the summer. 9/10 month positions are truly awful, and should be banned. They squeeze out all the work from people, and then leave them unemployed and unemployable for up to 1/4 of the year, with no way to pay for rent etc._ [...] My
institution made a stand on this, and it shows that others should (and can) too. (Full-time temporary lecturer)

We have just voted to stop giving 10 month contracts after drifting into that practice. (Part-time permanent Reader / Associate Professor)

I am lucky that the department has sheltered me from the university's apparent policy of hiring 9-month TFs, and as such I have a 12 month contract. (Full-time temporary teaching fellow on a 1 year contract)

As the last three quotations above show, collective resistance to this kind of casualisation has already been successful in some departments. Other respondents stated that their departments have decided not to use 10-month contracts apart from, for example, covering parental leave.

Many respondents suggested that temporary contracts, which are often teaching-focused, are not only a problem because they are insecure. Many describe a ‘two-tier’ system, in which permanent and/or research-intensive staff are treated better, and have more funding and research opportunities open to them. Some even describe secure staff being inconsiderate, unaccommodating or disrespectful of temporary staff:

I have been very fortunate (looking back) but I do remember disliking short term contracts, especially one in which my duties were assimilate to those of permanent staff but I was paid 2/3 their salary. (Full-time permanent professor)

I find it incredibly frustrating that 7 years after my PhD I've not once been able to call myself ‘Lecturer’ – even though this is essentially the job I've been doing. AND payscales are in my experience very un-uniform even within departments for temp staff, e.g. depending on how the post is funded. When not on a postdoc, I've always been 'Teaching Fellow' which (a) doesn't contract for Research time; and (b) I'm afraid does imply that you are a second class member of the department. Or maybe that's just the way my current employer makes me feel.... (Part-time temporary teaching fellow on a contract of less than 0.49FTE and less than 1 year)

I feel undersupported and exploited. There seems to be a two tier system between colleagues who are seen as research active and those who aren't - even though many of those who aren't paid for their research are highly research active (including me). This drains confidence. (Part-time permanent teaching fellow)

[T]emporary staff are used as place holders without any intention of developing or keeping them. (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of less than 1 year)

The HR department is poor and there are ongoing disputes between gtas [Graduate Teaching Assistants] and the school, and constant [p]roblems with paying them correctly and fairly. Permanent staff rarely get involved in disputing/supporting employment practices even though there is much unhappiness about e.g. The use of
short term contracts less than 12 months. (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of less than 1 year)

Many academic staff are treated with contempt by non-academic staff and students, and this is the accepted culture. (Full-time permanent lecturer)

Our university has different contracts for different roles. I'm not on a research intensive contract even though I bring in significant research funding and am research active. I know I'm lucky to be permanent and have already been promoted, but even then, there is still a hierarchy and you're not taken as seriously by other academics if you're not on a research contract. (Full-time permanent senior lecturer)

Teaching assistant and postgraduate staff are treated as lesser members, which results in being left out of decision making (especially regarding teaching) and often not being informed of decisions which have a direct and immediate effect on us. (Hourly-paid teaching assistant)

Staff on teaching only contracts are demoralised by not being allowed to bid for funding or funded to go to conferences. (Full-time permanent senior lecturer)

Temporary staff do an incredibly important role in supporting permanent staff on research leave and should be given more support and their careers valued more. (Full-time permanent senior lecturer)

We employ a few staff on temporary contracts. This isn’t easy for them, but mostly happens with early career staff. (Full-time permanent senior lecturer)

One respondent mentioned the REF in connection with hiring practices, again suggesting a hierarchy between research-intensive and teaching-intensive staff:

I think it is a shame that the university always seems to employ on the merits of an applicant's potential REF score rather than on their capacities as a teacher. My university has turned down several people in the past who I know could do the job well in favour of uncollegiate individuals who do not have as much time for their students. I wonder how the TEF will impact upon employment, but I suspect little will change. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

Several respondents were unsure of the impact of insecure contracts on their colleagues, and indicated that it was not a subject that was openly discussed in their workplace:

I believe that the lack of job security affects the quality of life of those on temporary contracts, but I don’t have evidence to substantiate this as staff don’t speak openly about it. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

Not sure of what contracts people are on - it feels rude to ask (Full-time permanent lecturer)
Several respondents were concerned about contracts which created insecurity even for staff on open-ended contracts, and about the increase in ‘zero-hours’ contracts:

*My previous contract allowed the university to terminate permanent members of staff’s contracts if the university wished to cut costs. (I believe all contracts in all universities post-1986) allow this. I did not consider this important for most of my career, but now see it as a significant and unwelcome factor.* (Full-time permanent professor)

*My current contract, introduced recently to replace my previous contract, makes it easier to fire permanent members of staff. I find this very depressing [and] stressful.* (Full-time permanent professor)

*Hourly-paid staff at my university were moved to zero-hours contracts in 2010. I do have a sense of increasing casualization but can’t offer statistics to back that up.* (Full-time permanent professor)

Despite may negative experiences, some respondents pointed out examples of good practice at their universities in the use of temporary and part-time contracts. We should note that the majority of those who were positive about their university’s use of such contracts were in permanent senior positions:

*Very satisfied - a well-paid position that includes the summer after my teaching ends.* (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of 1-3 years)

*Generally good, in particular where there is teaching to be done because of leave, full-time 12 month contracts are normally given.* (Full-time permanent professor)

*University has been pretty good at granting requests of permanent staff to go to part time hours, and also back full time again (and promoted permanent staff on part time hours)* (Full-time permanent reader/associate professor)

*While the university is quite cautious about filling posts when people leave, I do not think that permanent posts are being exchanged for temporary ones, or full-time for part-time.* (Full-time permanent professor)

*Flexible working after returning from maternity leave helpful, as is Academic Returner’s Fellowship, added on to end of maternity leave to assist with adjustment back to full-time work* (Full-time permanent professor)

*Flexible working and proper parental leave has kept many of my colleagues in academic who otherwise would have left.* (Full-time permanent professor)
Casual work

Many respondents stated that hourly paid work is sometimes appropriate. In particular, hourly-paid teaching is an important mechanism for PhD students to gain teaching experience around their other commitments:

I think the figures for staff on hourly-paid and part-time contracts need to be carefully contextualised. [...] The hourly-paid staff are all PhD students who need to gain teaching experience alongside their research, and they only teach for a couple of hours a week. (Full-time permanent Senior Lecturer)

However, there were also concerns about how hourly-paid teachers are treated, the terms of the contracts, and the lack of clarity about expectations:

My hourly rates were initially unclear to me because I never received a formal contract or a letter of appointment. Instead, I had to acquire this information by asking other postgraduates. (Graduate student undertaking hourly-paid work)

Contracts are often not finalised until after teaching has started. (Hourly paid or zero-hours teaching assistant)

There were also concerns that hourly-paid contracts are used in inappropriate and exploitative ways. Two respondents brought up Oxford University as a specific example of poor practice in the over-use of hourly-paid contracts:

Oxford colleges where I did my PhD and some teaching posts early in my career were very exploitative, often offering meals as part of a laughable compensation package. On one contract, I covered for a colleague’s research leave and was paid a retainer and then hourly for teaching, so I earned a tiny fraction of what ought to have been paid. (Full-time permanent reader/associate professor)

My experiences were mainly - though not exclusively - at Oxbridge (well, Oxford), and I would add a small plea not to discount what happens there [...] It was a great place to be in many ways, but also highly exploitative: graduate students and temporary lecturers shoulder huge burdens and are paid at (what would be, if calculated) a terrifyingly low hourly rate. (Former lecturer)

I hope that hourly paid lectureships will soon be a thing of the past! (Lecturer on an hourly-paid contract)

The pay is exceptionally bad. I would have expected double what I am earning for the amount of work put in, and the expertise required. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)
Some respondents compared their recent rates of pay unfavourably to rates in other countries or for similar kinds of work. Some even pointed out discrepancies in hourly pay within one university:

*I have also worked in a similar position overseas where the pay was double the amount it was in the UK and marking was paid extra on top of the teaching contact hours. Considering the amount of hours of preparation expected, it still wasn’t a great pay rate but it makes the UK rate look like a joke.* (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

*I understand that the rate paid for language teaching was notably lower than one would earn as a private tutor.* (Full-time temporary research fellow/post-doc on a contract of 3-5 years)

*I believe that my department is generally representative of practices elsewhere in my University. However, I am aware that some hourly-paid workers in ‘richer’ departments get a better ‘pay deal’ than we do.* (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

Respondents reported hourly pay of between minimum wage (in 2017, £7.50 per hour for those aged over 25) and £75 per hour. The mean was £23.75 per hour.

![Figure 7: Hourly rates of pay quoted in respondents’ answers.](attachment:figure7.png)

There was a great deal of variation in what these rates covered, and this survey did not gather detailed enough information to make a full comparison. Some respondents stated that they were only paid for contact hours, while others were paid for separately for preparation (ranging from 45 mins to 2 hours of preparation per contact hour) and/or marking. Another
reported being paid just £450 for ‘producing the] reading list, VLE materials, all teaching materials including slides and handouts, answering emails from students, marking 45 essays, liaising over poor academic practice cases, feedback, and evaluating [the] module’. Several respondents reported that they had discovered that other departments paid casual staff more, even within the Humanities.

Only a minority felt that the way their pay accurately reflected the number of hours they worked, and this is reflected in other research done on hourly-paid teaching in academia.\textsuperscript{32} Many respondents commented that one hour’s preparation was rarely enough to produce a high-quality session. Of those paid for marking, the marking time given to an essay or exam script was typically between 10 and 30 minutes per essay/script. For formulae based on wordcount, the reported rate typically varied between marking 50-100 words per minute. One respondent reported being given 15 minutes to read and mark each 5000 word essay. Several respondents commented that their real rates were well below minimum wage (as little as £2 per hour). This was not always because of the respondent choosing voluntarily to spend longer on marking or preparation, but because extra marking, preparation or admin was requested or expected by the other members of the department:

\textit{I did about 3-4 hours prep and marking for which I was not paid.} (Full-time temporary research fellow/post-doc on a contract of less than one year)

\textit{Preparation time was much longer. I was also not paid for attending the weekly lecture for the module, which was essential in making sure my seminar material fitted in with the overall content of the module structure.} (Graduate student undertaking hourly-paid work in the department)

\textit{In some cases my real pay would have fallen below minimum wage.} (Graduate student undertaking hourly-paid work in the department)

\textit{Some examples: 1) when marking language exercises, 15 hours of pay was allocated for a term’s marking but I spent 3-7 hours per week doing the work over 9 weeks. 2) when marking a batch of Level 3 essays, my module convenor disagreed with the grades I awarded and asked me “go over the essays again”, thus doubling my workload.} (Graduate student undertaking hourly-paid work in the department)

\textit{[Previous contracts] have been various levels of exploitative, but I think my (previous) department has always actually had the best interests of its casual staff in mind. Sometimes there is not much that can be done with college regulations - and I understand that.} (Full-time temporary teaching fellow)

\textit{I like the department and students but the money does not cover the amount to I put in or the time send money I spend travelling.} (Hourly paid or zero-hours lecturer)

\textit{Previous contract was really not manageable. Enormous amount of work for barely liveable wage. Used parental support, savings from PhD to survive for 8 months, had to}

\textsuperscript{32} Percy and Beaumont 2008: 148.
move home for the summer. (Full-time temporary teaching fellow, on a contract of 1-3 years)

I have had teaching contracts where I was working at a loss. (Full-time permanent senior lecturer)

It would be nicer if preparation for first time teaching could be taken into consideration, if only by a token payment! (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

The hourly paid contracts are a way by which universities can employ early career academics for under minimum wage and yet pretend that the salary is acceptable. Marking and class prep takes far longer than the time for which hourly paid tutors are paid, and yet there have been no attempts to make this fairer. It often works out that an hour’s work is getting paid a couple of pounds maximum. These contracts are highly exploitative and take advantage of the desperation of early career academics who need to get work experience. (Part-time permanent teaching fellow on a contract on 0.5FTE or more)

Now I have [recently secured] a permanent post I can see that they have all contributed to where I am, but at the time, particularly some of the hourly paid positions, I have felt somewhat exploited. I have been essentially running modules (coordinating, teaching, attending exam boards) and yet paid only for teaching. And as a non-member of staff I have often not been given information on how/when things should be done, or given basic access to things like photocopying. (Hourly-paid or zero hours lecturer)

This monetary value reflects, in my view, the rather low opinion held by the university both of the dignity of postgraduates as its employees and of the quality of feedback owed to undergraduates. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

Due to all kinds of administrative blunders, I was forced to spend circa 20 hours a week for four weeks to ensure I even got paid the hours stated in my GH-contract. Keep in mind that I was only teaching two hours a week. In other words, my admin exceeded by contact hours by a factor ten. This is not only demotivational, it is exploitative. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

Several respondents, including both people who were happy and unhappy with their current contract, emphasised the need to create strong boundaries in their professional practice. Others discussed how difficult it was to enforce these boundaries when there might be a negative effect on students:

Yes [the pay did reflect the hours worked]. But only because I enforced that - and shifted some of the preparation hours around - so I would spend less time preparing something I had taught previously, and add that time to the preparation of material I hadn’t taught before. On previous hourly-paid contracts I have worked well over the contracted hours.
(Full-time temporary teaching fellow/teaching associate on a contract of less than one year)

I am unable to fully prepare for my seminars in the prep time for which I am paid. I therefore have to make the difficult choice between doing extra prep for free or providing lower quality teaching. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

Generally positive [about previous contracts I have held], but I have felt that I can only put in as much work and care as I will be paid to do. Otherwise I am being exploited by the system. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

It has made me less willing to be loyal to a specific institution. I know I am not valued enough to be offered longer term employment, so I do not feel obliged to behave more favourably towards the university. I also refuse to offer extra student support that I am not paid for, even though I know that it would benefit my students. I dislike this, but I always make sure to tell my students why I am unable to run extra classes or office hours (which are not included in my contract); I do point them towards other members of staff, however. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

When I was head of department I spent a lot of time trying to encourage those on insecure contracts to say 'no' more. (Full-time permanent professor)

Again, despite an overall negative picture in the use of hourly-paid contracts, some respondents gave examples of positive experiences and good practice. It is notable that, again, the positive reactions to their department’s current practice came mainly from people in secure positions:

The university often moves to improve the contracts of staff who have been on hourly-paid contracts to part-time contracts. (Full-time permanent professor)

We don’t do zero hours – graduate students are contracted for a fixed number of hours as Hourly Paid Teaching Staff that includes preparation and marking time (probably not enough, but it includes them). So while the number of hourly-paid looks high, the amount of teaching they deliver can be comparatively low (e.g. five hours of seminar in a first year course). (Full-time permanent lecturer)

Wider impact of casualisation

Respondents to the survey highlighted that poor conditions for temporary, part-time and hourly-paid staff has a wider effect on the department. Answers highlighted, in particular, low morale among staff, uncertainty around teaching provision and, in some instances, increased workload for permanent staff:

Anxiety and uncertainty over the following year’s teaching load distribution, and over the poor contracts meted out to temporary staff. In other words, related to planning and collegiality. (Full-time permanent lecturer)

https://cucd.blogs.sas.ac.uk/bulletin/
The use of non-full time temporary contracts creates tension and disillusionment with the department and university as a whole. (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of 1-3 years)

The increasing number of shorter contracts lowers morale and makes it more difficult for people to integrate and participate in the department because they don't always know how long they'll be there for. (Full-time temporary research fellow/post-doc on a contract of 1-3 years)

[T]he use of visiting lecturers creates additional work because all of their work has to be fully second marked and approved (whereas we practice sampling and moderation of each other's work normally): Moodle pages have to be monitored, and support provided etc... a high percentage of visiting lecturers can negatively impact upon the whole staff team in any department. (Full-time permanent senior lecturer)

I find the trend in the sector to casualization very disturbing, even though I'm relatively safe. I do not think anyone is completely safe. (Full-time permanent professor)

Both full time permanent and temporary staff are drastically overworked – the department needs more investment from the university to turn the temporary contracts into permanent ones, so that those staff can share some of the administrative burdens and get paid for the research that they are currently doing on their own time. (Full-time permanent lecturer)

The nature of the terms of employment naturally impact department culture as well as an individual’s relationship with their job. The more stability, the better one can undertake one’[s] job. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

There are currently a LOT of temporary staff covering perm. staff on leave - there’s a lot of uncertainty and all of us are overworked. It makes the environment rather frenetic, and often a large portion of the staff has no idea what it is doing... (Full-time teaching fellow on a contract of 1-3 years)

Harder to plan long term with temporary contacts, less commitment to the department (understandably!) from temporary contacts (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

It is hard to feel involved in a future that you will not be part of. This changes the attitudes both of those in fixed-term positions and those who are permanent, creating a ‘two-tier’ system which is hard to see when viewing from the outside, but very apparent on the inside. (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of less than 1 year)

Low morale. (Part-time temporary lecturer on a contract of less than 0.49FTE and 1-3 years)
My university regular closes departments and fires people with permanent contracts, and also picks on departments in which particular individuals will be fired. This creates an atmosphere of uncertainty, stress and mistrust. (Full-time permanent professor)

High staff/student ratios mean that we are constantly over-stretched. In particular, cover for staff on leave is minimal (we get a 10-month 0.3 FTE lecturer to cover for 1 FTE on research leave, and currently no cover for sick leave or parental leave), which increases the workload for the remaining permanent staff, although the replacement lecturer is often over-loaded too. (Full-time permanent senior lecturer)

It has created a group of full-time staff who do not do much teaching. I am reliant on better and harder working part-time members of staff to do the work. Taking over as head, I have cut this a lot, but sadly I would rather employ our better workers than some of the permanent members who contribute very little to the academic and even research environment. (Full-time permanent senior lecturer)

General atmosphere is that everyone should be a robot - any sense of compassion or support is gone (Full-time permanent lecturer)

These far-reaching effects on departments’ morale and organisation suggest that insecure employment has a negative effect on both temporary and permanent staff. Better support and employment terms for temporary and casual staff would therefore have knock-on benefits for those in more secure positions.

Several respondents emphasised that universities’ hiring practices had significant problems in past generations, and that HE is not the only industry with uncertainty for people early in their careers:

Lots of rights have been eroded in the last decades but I am not sure the past was quite so idyllic except for professors who until the 80s often had enormous power over their junior colleagues. It is easy to romanticise a Republic of Letters in which few were fully enfranchised. Things are often tough now but academics are still better off than many who work in state schools or the NHS (at least those I am related to!) and state employees still have quite a few rights in the UK those in the private sector do not. That’s not a reason to roll over of course! (Full-time permanent professor)

There are perhaps misplaced expectations (because of long past practices of people finishing a PhD and seamlessly stumbling upon a permanent job). It is very frustrating early career and feels very unfair, but it is not the only career path with uncertainty and that wider perspective might be helpful (Full-time permanent professor)

A number of respondents mentioned leaving academia, considering leaving or (if they were PhD students) not pursing an academic career:

Speaking to people on their umpteenth temporary 1 year contract about their life and career has made me wonder whether that's the kind of life and career I want – I would
like the result, but don’t know if I would be prepared to let personal / familial relationships and my mental health suffer for that. Life is too short. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

I’m considering leaving – either to another university or academia altogether – as I have no idea how I could get to the next stage and don’t feel adequately supported. (Full-time permanent senior lecturer)

I am considering leaving academia because the working conditions are unsustainable and unhealthy. (Full-time permanent lecturer)

If this is the way matters are conducted nationwide (or even across academia tout court), I do not want to be a part of it. I think I have a reasonable shot at an academic career, but this has completely put me off. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

I would love an academic career but I am increasingly concerned by the ‘normalisation’ of bad working practices, excessive hours and unrealistic demands. Due to these ‘industry-standard’ employment practices, I sometimes feel it would be impossible for me to have an academic career if I wanted to maintain a good level of mental health and to start a family. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

My two-year experience in HE in the UK leads me to the decision to leave this country and seek employment elsewhere. Working conditions are ineffective, inhumane; we mass-produce qualification, not knowledge, at a very pricey premium and of standards very low when compared to the continent or the US. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

I’ve decided not to pursue academia after seeing the state of affairs. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

I still plan to apply for academic jobs, but I am far more willing to seek employment outside the academy. Job security is a very tempting offer. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

The whole situation in academe makes me anxious to retire as soon as possible. (Full-time permanent professor)

I have decided not to become an academic to escape the prospect of low pay, way too many hours, consecutive short-term contracts, and constant moving about. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

I will not accept any post that is not salaried and inclusive of sick pay (i.e. zero hours even though these are pensionable and HP must be paid on them) nor anything below a minimum of 1 year in length including summer pay (so no 9-month contracts). This
drastically reduces the number of available jobs I can apply to at this stage in my career (postdoc/ECR soon) (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

I have decided to use my skills elsewhere and have been offered alternative employment. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

I am leaving academia. I have been overworked in a temporary teaching contract (20 hours contact time rather than 12) which has impacted my research. I am now no longer a competitive candidate for academic jobs. (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of 1-3 years)

During the abusive working conditions of the hourly paid contracts I managed to stay afloat on the hopes that one of the hundreds of job applications I worked for hours at a time on would come off and the situation would improve. I have now realised that there is no such thing as an academic job with reasonable or fair working conditions. (Full-time permanent lecturer)

One respondent has decided to temporarily leave academia to improve their chances of doing enough research to secure a more stable position:

I want a research post but won’t get it by being stuck in teaching fellowships – so I’ve decided to take a break from academia as it is not worth all the unpaid hours – I’ll have time for research if I just work in an office, with structured hours and evenings and weekends to myself. (Part-time temporary teaching fellow on a contract of less than 0.49FTE and less than one year)

Several respondents mentioned how departments can take steps to support ECRs better, and some gave some helpful examples of best practice. They also emphasised that while departments may feel powerless in the face of wider university policies, there are often many positive steps that can be taken to improve collegiality and support on a personal and departmental level:

We at my college, and I think across Oxford, have become much more active in ensuring that the major non-permanent component of our teaching team, temporary full-time teachers/researchers get the remuneration, support and advice they need. I should say that this is driven by other teaching staff more than the administration. (Full-time permanent professor)

Departments/institutions may not be able to provide more jobs or more security, but they often could do a lot more to make temporary people’s lives easier and more pleasant, e.g. by making them thoroughly valued and included, giving them as many of the benefits of departmental membership as possible, involving them in departmental projects, seeking out career development opportunities, foregrounding their research, etc. There is no doubt that some institutions positively exploit the over-supply of early-career academics by offering them low pay for high teaching hours, but in others the problem is more insidious, and more to do with being treated as second class. There is
often also a problem with more senior staff asking temporary people to do things as a favour that they shouldn’t have to, but can’t really say no to (e.g. extra tasks or responsibilities). As a junior research-only post-doc I got roped into all sorts of time-consuming examining tasks that were not my responsibility for this reason, because I was too afraid to refuse in case the person asking me turned up on the next job panel. (Full-time permanent senior lecturer)

The goal posts are constantly shifting, senior staff do not seem to realise that more is asked of ECR staff than ever before with increasingly limited support, compensation, and opportunity for advancement or security. (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of less than 1 year)

The lack of support is not always limited to insecure or early career staff. Supporting work/life balance and a good working environment is something which affects all academic staff. Where departments have explicitly family-friendly or flexible working policies, this is noticed and appreciated by staff at all levels. Practices such as core hours, flexible working, senior staff encouraging staff to work their contracted hours, and accommodation of requests for permanent part-time work were all mentioned as desirable:

I am glad to have a permanent post now, as I now receive something nearer adequate recompense for my time (I work 60-70 hours a week during term time), but my hopes of having a more manageable and fair workload at this stage have not been realised. I do not have any time for research even though I am on a research and teaching contract. I am exhausted and at breaking point. (Full-time permanent lecturer)

No official culture of encouraging a work-life balance and/or respecting the contracted hours of work pw for those with permanent contracts that I know of within the dept, though some (2 younger both female of whom 1 with kids) do assert these boundaries. So I suppose I mean: absence of guidance on this from either uni or dept that I know of. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

Overall I am impressed with the family-friendly policies (the part-time permanent contracts are to accommodate staff who want to care for children; core working hours for meetings to accommodate carers are strictly adhered to, etc.) (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of 1-3 years)

Impact on students

There has only been a limited amount of research on the effects of casualisation on students, and most of it has focused on American universities. Bettinger and Long (2010) investigated whether first-year undergraduate students taught by temporary adjuncts for a particular subject were more or less likely to major in that subject later on, using transcript data from 43,000 undergraduates.\(^\text{33}\) They found that adjunct instructors had a positive effect on later student interest in a subject – this effect was strongest in vocational courses, but was also

\(^{33}\) Bettinger and Long 2010: 599.
found in STEM subjects and, to a lesser extent, in the arts and humanities.\textsuperscript{34} They also found that the age of the adjunct was relevant – younger temporary teaching staff (under age 40) had a much greater positive effect on their students.\textsuperscript{35} Other studies, however, have shown that there are negative effects associated with higher numbers of temporary teaching staff, such as higher drop-out rates.\textsuperscript{36} Percy and Beaumont (2008) have argued that framing temporary staff as a risk to ‘quality’ misleadingly shifts focus from structural issues onto the individual.\textsuperscript{37} The survey answers reflect Percy and Beaumont’s analysis: reduced teaching quality does not seem to be the main perceived effect of casualisation in Classics.

A recent in-depth study of mental illness about graduate students showed that incidence rates for mental illness are significantly higher among graduate students than among other highly educated portions of the population.\textsuperscript{38} The authors associate the increased prevalence of mental illness with ‘[o]rganizational policies […] [e]specially work-family interface, job demands and job control, the supervisor’s leadership style, team decision-making culture, and perception of a career outside academia’. These results are highly relevant to the views expressed by graduate students in this survey, many of which expressed dissatisfaction with academic working practices.

**Graduate students**

A few respondents considered casualisation to have had a negative impact on the quality of teaching and supervision for graduate students:

> More uncertainty and qualified supervisors leaving PhD students mid-thesis. (Full time permanent lecturer)

> MA students are often unable to receive the supervisors they want as some staff are on temporary contracts. Also, several members of staff then cannot have PhD students. (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of 1-3 years)

> [A] small team which relies on Visiting Lecturers arguably doesn’t have the capacity to draw in high volumes of MA or PhD students, because it cannot offer a full range of supervision topics. This might in turn affect the postgraduate community and research environment for them. (Full-time permanent senior lecturer)

> PGTs struggle with large seminar groups and mentorship is dependant upon the staff member they are paired up with rather than a formalised training system. The uneven quality has been mentioned on student evaluations. (Full-time permanent lecturer)

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\textsuperscript{34} Bettinger and Long 2010: 608; They had previously found a slight negative effect on humanities subjects: Bettinger and Long 2004.

\textsuperscript{35} Bettinger and Long 2010: 610; See also Klopper and Power 2014, who found that casualised lecturers were generally still effective teachers.

\textsuperscript{36} Ehrenberg and Zhang 2004.

\textsuperscript{37} Percy and Beaumont 2008: 150.

\textsuperscript{38} Levecque et al. 2017.
Some respondents felt that employment practices had little or no impact on graduate students:

*There is no obvious connection [between employment conditions and the graduate students’ experiences].* (Full-time permanent senior lecturer)

*I’m not aware of anything.* (Full-time permanent senior lecturer)

Graduate students are themselves often university employees, and many responses to this part of the survey focused on graduate students’ role as paid employees of the university. Their rates of pay and treatment as casual teaching staff can affect whether they decide pursue a career in academia after finishing their degree. Although graduate students are, on the whole, happy to get teaching experience, many respondents felt that graduate students are not sufficiently valued, and that the terms of their employment caused low morale.

Some felt that graduate teaching was a valuable experience, and reported no problems:

*Being able to teach while studying helps career development as well as providing extra financial help.* (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

*I am pleased that I have had the opportunity to gain work experience as a GTA.* (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

*I taught seminars on various modules during my PhD study (at a different university from where I work now) and I found it very enjoyable and very valuable for my career development.* (Hourly paid or zero-hours teaching associate)

Others were less happy with how they, or graduate students in their department, had been treated while teaching. These complaints were about both pay and conditions, and about treatment by academic colleagues:

*I think graduate and early career scholars aren’t really considered part of the department despite the work they do.* (Full-time temporary Research Fellow/Post-Doc on a contract of less than 1 year)

*The university recently moved from paying students monthly for their work to having these students apply to be paid monthly for their work. This has completely casualised their contracts, and makes them feel undervalued.* (Graduate student undertaking hourly-paid work in the department)

*Positively: we get lots of teaching. Negatively: some of the temporary contract staff take advantage of the GTAs or don’t respect their other commitments.* (Graduate student undertaking hourly-paid work in the department)

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39 Anonymous 2015.
Exploitative. Although it is helpful in terms of experience, it is often detrimental for producing meaningful work on the PhD (i.e. the thing you are at university to do) or, at an early career stage, publications (i.e. the thing which now seems to be a requirement for temporary as well as permanent academic jobs). Many permanent members of staff do minimal teaching but seem unwilling to support their TAs in meaningful ways. Permanent members of staff are required, for example, to provide guidance for their modules so that teaching affiliates can prepare for seminar delivery in the paid time (contractually 1 or 2 hours). This is especially important for TAs because many teach subjects that are not their area of expertise (although Late Antique historian I recently found myself teaching about women in Classical Greek literature (seemly my suitability was because I am a women)). Although it has been brought up in repeated staff meetings and TA forums in the department, only one staff member provides guidance which allows TAs to prepare within this paid window. Instead, most provide minimal to no guidance or will still require TAs to read a number of articles for the seminars, which will naturally then take them far beyond that preparation time frame. This is particularly problematic as it takes large chunks of time away from the PhD or research for ECs, which then of course has the potential to be detrimental to a future academic career.

Postgrads are relied on to pick up the slack of what the permanent staff just can’t cover. My institution does not attract wealthy students, and they often have multiple paid jobs to pay their fees and living expenses and the demands of unreliable teaching hours creates added stress. (Full-time permanent lecturer)

Inadequate training was another common concern:

We offer good teaching opportunities for our postgraduates, and pay fairly for preparation. However, we do not offer formal teacher training which is a real shortcoming and inadequately prepares the students for the wider job market. (Full-time permanent lecturer)

Sporadic and unhelpful training provided (Graduate student undertaking hourly-paid work in the department)

Pressure to take on hourly teaching without any real support systems in place to help new teachers (Full-time permanent lecturer)

Dissatisfaction with teaching as a PhD student often centred on overwork. Many felt that PGRS were pressured to take on too much teaching, and that this had a negative impact on the progress of their research:

I know students - plural - who were overworked and (nearly) quit their degree altogether as a result. It is a given that those teaching, whether as part of a scholarship or on a GH-basis, have very little time to work on their theses throughout the semesters. (Graduate student undertaking hourly-paid work in the department)
Very demoralised, students often sacrifice one year of PhD study due to teaching. Many postgrads require extensions for submission or restart PhDs. (Graduate student undertaking hourly-paid work in the department)

Many postgraduate students choose not to teach for more than two years because it is not financially viable, especially if you are self-funded. In particular, self-funded students struggle to obtain experience in language teaching because of the disproportionately high time commitment outlined above. (Graduate student undertaking hourly-paid work in the department)

It delays their PhD completion and burns them out. It also discourages them from pursuing an academic career, this is particularly sad as many are excellent teachers (and researchers). (Hourly paid or zero hours teaching fellow)

It has taken me longer to complete my PhD because I have spent a disproportionate amount of time teaching. I felt pressurised by my department and wider academic standards to accept a large teaching load, with the expectation that I should 'get on with it' and find other time in which to work on my PhD. When I attempted to liaise with staff about reducing my workload, specifically to devote more time to my research, they did not engage with me. (Graduate student undertaking hourly-paid work in the department)

Several PGRs also raised questions about how teaching was distributed among graduate students. They suggested that there are moral problems around informal methods of arranging graduate teaching:

There is a definite element of nepotism in my department about the way that teaching is given to postgraduate students. Those who did their undergraduate degrees at the same institution are often emailed by lecturers and asked to teach while those students who came from other universities have to email around begging to get any teaching at all. This is seen as a logical practice rather than a problematic one and there is no mechanism whatsoever to demonstrate previous experience or success in teaching. (Graduate student undertaking hourly-paid work in the department)

Unfortunately, I think teaching is given to funded PhDs first. (Full-time temporary teaching fellow on a contract of less than 1 year)

My institution uses graduate teaching quite a lot, which is broadly a good idea for training, but it is distributed unequally. (Full-time permanent professor)

The allocation of contracts for postgraduate teaching is not always done in a transparent manner. This makes it difficult for the postgraduate students coming in from outside the university to obtain teaching when they are unknown to directors of studies and tutors. (Part-time temporary research fellow/post-doc on a contract of less than 0.49FTE and 1-3 years)
One graduate student pointed out the troubling pattern of universities not hiring their own graduates for academic positions:

*I am aware that my university does not tend to employ its own PhD students as staff members once their studies have concluded. There is a noticeable skew towards Oxford & Cambridge PhD students.* (Graduate student undertaking hourly-paid work in the department)

The different value placed on postgraduate students as teachers and employees can be seen in the range of different attitudes of the respondents. Some stated that post-graduates were fundamental to their department’s teaching; others were not sure whether they should count as staff at all. Post-graduates felt that their concerns were not always taken seriously by other staff:

*Postgrad teaching is fundamental to the department - where most lectures are delivered by permanent staff, language teaching and all seminars are run by PG students.* (Part-time temporary teaching fellow on a contract of less than 0.49FTE and less than 1 year)

*I have included among ‘zero hours’ graduate students who do piecemeal teaching. This may give a false impression, since they are primarily ‘employed’ doing something else. Are they ‘staff’?* (Full-time permanent professor)

*A particular point of frustration is that, when students voice their concerns to staff, we are often told that we should not complain because they themselves had a similar experience.* (Graduate student undertaking hourly-paid work in the department)

Although a few respondents reported recent pay rises for graduate students who teach, several respondents said that graduate students were sometimes not paid for their work:

*Payment for postgraduate teaching assistants was removed recently… Most feel demoralised and unappreciated by the university.* (Graduate student undertaking hourly-paid work in the department)

*Until recently, unpaid teaching was (illegally) part of bursaries.* (Hourly paid or zero hours teaching assistant)

*Study on a partial stipend with 2 hours compulsory unpaid teaching.* (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of less than 1 year)

**Undergraduate students**

In general, respondents thought that undergraduate students were not aware of employment issues in academia:

*Under grads are blissfully unaware of the state of the academic employment landscape. The majority are not serious about pursuing an academic career, so these are not issues they tend to look into.* (Hourly-paid adjunct)
TFs [teaching fellows] are such high quality and the UG [undergraduate] life-cycle is such that UGs don’t notice/distinguish between temp. and permanent staff. (Full-time permanent lecturer)

Very occasionally students notice that they are taught by pgrs [post-graduate research students] rather than by people in possession of the PhD - even less often do they complain. (Full-time permanent professor)

Undergraduates get good teaching somehow or other. They are the least disadvantaged. (Full-time permanent professor)

Not really sure – don’t speak to many of them, but I am aware that staff try to make them aware of the realities of going into academia. I honestly don’t know if they notice. (Graduate student undertaking hourly-paid work in the department)

This was reflected in undergraduates’ comments, such as:

I’m not really aware of most of the employment practices. As far as I’m aware, my lecturers are satisfied enough with their jobs, and someone has always been there if I’d needed them. (Undergraduate)

Many answers also highlighted the benefits that early career members of staff bring to the department, particularly in terms of teaching quality:

The lack of consistency could be a potential issue, but most temporary teachers do an excellent job, despite sometimes having less experience or on occasion less specialist knowledge of the topic taught. (Full-time permanent senior lecturer)

UG students benefit from being taught by PG students who closer to their age and often more enthusiastic teachers than full-time permanent staff. (Hourly-paid teaching associate/teaching fellow)

I like to think that all of our students get taught a mix of senior academics and more junior ones that they can perhaps relate to better. (Full-time permanent professor)

Perhaps positively - they get more variety of teachers. (Graduate student undertaking hourly-paid work in the department)

Students normally enjoy the teaching from temporary staff, and from hourly paid graduate student tutors. (Part-time permanent senior lecturer)

I think graduate and early career scholars work really hard in their teaching practice. (Full-time temporary research fellow/post-doc on a contract of less than one year)
Nevertheless, others were concerned about the quality of provision for undergraduates being taught by large numbers of temporary staff, particularly in regards to overwork and high staff turnover. Respondents were concerned about lack of continuity for students, and staff, especially temporary staff, being pushed to teach new modules outside their specialism. Several mentioned weaker pastoral support as a consequence of high staff turnover:

*I think it impacts all students detrimentally to be taught by temporary staff - both in terms of practical arrangements, such as teaching staff writing references for students, but also educationally[...] It also seems deeply unfair to students that numbers of temporary posts have been progressively increasing [...] while students have to pay increasingly larger tuition fees. (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of more than five years)*

*Frequent changes in staff have the potential to impact upon our efforts to build rapport and strong working relationships with students. (Part-time temporary teaching fellow/teaching associate on a contract of less than 0.49 FTE for less than 1 year)*

*Increase in hourly sessional contracts making it difficult for students to access tutors in between lectures and promoting exploitative working practices which take advantage of postdocs desperate to get a foothold in a dept for the future chance of a permanent post. (Hourly paid or zero hours lecturer)*

*Students do not seem sure why certain staff members are not offered longer contracts. They want stability in their teaching but are not provided it by their department’s employment strategies. (Graduate student undertaking hourly-paid work in the department)*

*Positively: new and interesting honours courses; negatively: less chance to feel like that staff member is part of your education long term. (Graduate student undertaking hourly-paid work in the department)*

*Lack of continuity in staffing > changes in course offerings > disappointed students (Full-time permanent lecturer)*

*The high degree of temporary staff with too-high workloads impacts teaching (it CERTAINLY impacts my teaching!), and the availability of long-term pastoral support via personal tutor roles, most of whom are currently temp. staff who won’t be here next year. (Full-time temporary teaching fellow on a contract of 1-3 years)*

*Undergraduate teaching is done more and more by people with less and less stake in the system. Eg my institution encourages externally paid leave by staff, meaning there is a fair amount of teaching by people on short-term contracts. Not always for the worse. (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of 1-3 years)*

*Students need references and sometimes never see full-time members of staff. (Full-time permanent senior lecturer)*
With the best will in the world, temporary staff don’t have the time to go the extra mile for students, and there’s a danger that they become disillusioned and just do the minimum required (Full-time permanent lecturer)

Absence of continuity in staff provision. For example, students from my 2nd year course want to do dissertations with me next year, but I won’t be here. (Full-time temporary lecturer on a contract of 1-3 years)

We do not give them the attention we should. (Part-time permanent professor)

Better pay would mean we might spend more time preparing for teaching because the hourly rate would seem less abysmal. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

If post-graduate tutors and staff were compensated more fairly for the work they do, in theory there would be more incentive to provide better teaching. Happier, less stressed people are better teachers. (Full-time, temporary research fellow/post-doc on a contract of 3-5 years)

The permanent members of staff who were fired in a cost-cutting exercise were from the same field, which left that field bare. (Full-time permanent professor)

It’s better for students to be taught by full time permanent members of staff on secure contracts, and the institution’s focus on research means a lot of leave and students often being taught by too many temp staff (Full-time permanent Readers/Associate Professor)

We have a terrible staff/student ratio. I am unable to teach seminars because there are just too many students and not enough hours in my day. I am required to teach new module after new module, often on material I am not familiar with, and my prep is always more hurried than I would like. The quality of teaching in my department is definitely affected by the poor working conditions, though we try our absolute best. (Full-time permanent lecturer)

The most nefarious outcome of the system is that it rewards those who do not care about teaching and/or pastoral care: those who spend the least amount of time to guarantee a good, informative lecture/tutorial have more time for research. Students suffer as a result. There is also a treacle-down effect: permanent staff who prioritise research at the expense of teaching and do not answer e-mails from students or other staff members on the course are difficult to reprimand; meanwhile, people lower down in the hierarchy will either learn to behave the same way or will have to do the work for them - if the former, it goes without saying that students do not receive the education they deserve. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)
Whilst I know that my undergraduates have generally valued my essay feedback and found it helpful, I am aware that I have marked undergraduate essays when I have been stressed and fatigued, and therefore not given the work as much attention as it deserves. Moreover, I have taught seminar topics for which I have very limited subject knowledge and I think undergraduates deserve a higher level of subject specialism, especially in their Level 3 modules. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

Some arrangements for temporary contracts have led to people wanting to leave earlier than they might have done, creating greater turnover of staff, which affects student experience. (Full-time permanent Senior Lecturer)

Complaints about constant rotation of personal tutors; students being stimulated by research in particular subject area, only to find they can no longer pursue it later on as the person has left. (Full-time permanent Lecturer)

Several respondents made a connection to the increase in student fees, and felt that it was unfair for students to be taught by so many casualised members of staff in the circumstances:

Should students pay full fees when they are being taught by other students? (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

Being underpaid does very little justice to the effort I put. It was suggested to me that I should lower my standards but when considering the ridiculous amount UGRs pay towards tuition fees, lowering my standards is not an option. (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

I believe that if undergraduates were made aware that their work and its assessment appears to count for so little in the eyes of the university, they might have a question or two to ask about how their exorbitant tuition fees are divvied up and allocated! (Graduate student undertaking paid work in the department)

Although several of the respondents above expressed uncertainty about whether undergraduate students noticed how academic staff were employed, several also mentioned that undergraduates were aware of these issues:

Students have complained that postgrads are not ‘proper’ teachers, wonder what they are paying for... and also do not respect the postgrad teacher, either skipping classes, being rude in class, not doing prep work... (Part-time temporary Teaching Fellow/Associate, on a contract of less than 0.49 FTE and less than 1 year)

Students sometimes don’t think about VLs as properly qualified tutors and prefer to be taught by the permanent staff members. There have even been complaints made. (Full-time permanent Reader/Associate Professor)
UG students being taught by a constant turnover of temp staff, and the use of such staff as personal tutors, has a destabilising and disorientating effect - and they do notice (Part-time temporary Teaching Fellow/Associate, on a contract of more than 0.5 FTE and less than 1 year)

This ambivalence about the effect of casualisation on teaching was reflected in the answers to the question, ‘do you think that employment practices at your university have impacted on the undergraduate students in your department?’ In general, staff were more likely to respond ‘yes’ than students.

![Bar chart showing responses to the question](https://cudc.blogs.sas.ac.uk/bulletin/

Figure 8: Answers to the question, ‘do you think that employment practices at your university have impacted on the undergraduate students in your department?’

One undergraduate said:

> I think the university should be more transparent with its employment practices considering we're the ones paying for them with our fees. I've heard of staff complaining that they aren't receiving a fair wage so it makes me wonder where the money actually goes, since I had assumed we're mostly paying for our lectures. (Undergraduate)

With the introduction of the TEF, universities should keep in mind that students may start asking more questions around the pay and conditions of their teaching staff.

Taking this into account, it is striking that one respondent suggested that it was ‘unfair’ of temporary staff to talk about the nature of their contract with students:

> It need not impact on the student experience, because Visiting Lecturers are as well qualified in terms of experience and knowledge as permanent members. But, there is certainly a problem insofar as Visiting Lecturers find it more difficult to arrange personal office space for meeting students and they are not always as readily accessible (probably because they have more than one job). The morale problem also filters in here
as we have had some Visiting Lecturers say to students ‘Although I am ONLY a Visiting Lecturer ...’. The largest problem then is that students feel they are being ‘fobbed off’ if the permanent lecturer is on research leave. This is, of course, both understandable on the part of the students, but unfair on the part of the Visiting Lecturers. (Full-time permanent Senior Lecturer)

Improving our professional practice

Many of the personal experiences discussed above are the result of systemic structural changes, and responsibility for casualisation usually does not lie at a personal or departmental level. However, not all of the problems associated with casualisation are caused by the university-wide or sector-wide policies, and there is a role for departments to play. Professional organisations within Classics already offer some suggested solutions for best practice. Many of these solutions relate to the behaviour and professional practice of individual Classicists, or ways in which academics can encourage change in their departments.

Professional organisations’ perspectives

CUCD40 and the Hortensii project41 have both issued statements on the practical steps that institutions, departments and individuals can take to improve the experiences of precariously employed and unemployed colleagues in Classics and related fields. These relate to how recruitment should be conducted, how PhD students and temporary colleagues should be supported in their work, and the minimum standards for pay and conditions in temporary contracts. However, these guidelines are not widely known. In my survey, only a minority of staff had heard of the CUCD guidelines, and even fewer were aware of whether these guidelines were used in their departments.

Professional organisations’ perspectives

![Graph showing responses to a survey question.]

**Staff (inc. graduates paid for teaching)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Staff (inc. graduates paid for teaching)</th>
<th>Graduate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t know/I’m not sure</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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40 CUCD 2008: 15-16
41 Dickey 2014b; Dickey n.d. The Hortensii project, run by Prof. Eleanor Dickey (Reading), has the specific aim of improving the situation of academics without permanent jobs in Classics, Philosophy and related fields. Their conclusions are based on a survey undertaken in 2014.
Figure 9: Responses to the question, ‘Are you aware of the CUCD’s protocol for the employment of salaried academic staff on short-term contracts?’

![Bar chart showing responses to the question]

Figure 10: Responses to the question, ‘In your opinion, does your department follow this protocol?’

90% of graduate students who do not teach were not aware of these guidelines, and 100% did not know whether the guidelines were in use in their department. This suggests that MA and first/second year PhD students may be making decisions about their future academic career without being aware of their rights or what they might reasonably request of their employers. Comments on these questions included:

- *I realise that I should know more about this than I do!* (Full-time permanent lecturer)

- *I don’t remember hearing it discussed, especially during meetings about new temporary contracts.* (Full-time permanent lecturer)

- *The CUCD refuses to publicize their protocol annually. This is cowardly!* (Part-time permanent Professor)

- *I think the protocol is a good way to advertise principles but no UK departments have power to influence institutional policy on recruitment and terms and conditions. I think this area is one for unions not subject associations.* (Full-time permanent Professor)

- *I tried to keep an eye on the CUCD protocol when I was HoD but I am not sure how much attention is paid to it by the current HoD.* (Full-time permanent Professor)

- *It isn’t an explicit part of the hiring process (unlike, eg, unconscious bias testing).* (Part-time permanent Reader/Associate Professor)
What is CUCD? Never heard of it. (Full time temporary Research Fellow/Post-doc on a contract of 3-5 years)

I’d not heard of it, either via the university, nor (perhaps more importantly) through word of mouth from new post-docs, advisors already in academia, or from my peers who are also worried about their futures. (PhD student not currently undertaking any work in the department)

This last comment shows that the CUCD guidelines, and other guidelines issued by professional bodies, are not commonly discussed even though graduate students are keen to discuss employment issues in general.

Conclusions

While individuals may not be able to overcome structural issues in academic employment, the answers to this survey suggest that (a) there are some practice steps that departments and individual academics can take to improve the situation of their colleagues and (b) some departments and individuals are already taking these steps.

The answers suggest that we should focus our energies on resisting some of the most damaging practices in our universities, particularly the use of temporary contracts under 12 months. We can also advocate for rates of pay and/or calculation of hours which more accurately reflect the work done. We can promote the existing guidance by professional organisations among colleagues and graduate students, and encourage our departments to follow this guidance. The CUCD could, for example, be encouraged to publish their guidance at the beginning of each academic year.

It is also clear that it is important for secure members of staff to understand the pressures of precarious employment. It is important more securely employed colleagues understand the terms on which temporary staff and post-graduates who teach are employed, and advocate for them when issues arise. As we have seen, these issues include: delayed or unclear contracts, delayed payment, insufficient payment for preparation and marking time and lack of research support. Permanent staff should also consider giving very careful consideration to their demands on the time of their insecurely employed colleagues, avoid demanding commitments of our colleagues which go beyond the hours for which they are paid. They should also do their best to support their colleagues’ teaching, research and professional development.

Key questions to ask in departments might include:

- Do other departments in the university, or in the humanities, pay casual staff more, or have a different model for the ratio of preparation to contact hours?
- What proportion of teaching is done by temporary or hourly-paid staff? Are there roles which could be made permanent or more stable part-time roles?
- Could nine or ten-month contracts be replaced with twelve-month contracts?
• Do other departments have different policies for flexible working, flexible retirement or support for parents returning to work (e.g. a research term immediately following parental leave)? Can these be implemented in Classics?
• Are temporary staff given support for their research?
• Are temporary staff routinely considered for permanent roles? If not – why not? Is the department providing enough professional development for its temporary staff?

From the answers to this survey, these often are issues which can be, and have been, tackled on a departmental level.

From the answers given by those in temporary and insecure contracts, it is clear that supportive colleagues make a meaningful contribution. Taking the practical steps suggested by the CUCD, Hortensii and the respondents to this survey steps can help to show that we as colleagues value the contribution of all the members of our departments, and can create a more positive working environment for all of us.

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