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The Reconfiguration of the American Academic Workforce:

Implications for International
Scholarly Exchange

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Martin J. Finkelstein
Seton Hall University

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About the author:

Dr. Martin (Marty) Finkelstein is Professor of Higher Education at Seton Hall University, and a widely acknowledged expert on documenting the faculty demographic and appointments revolution and in questioning the implications of these concomitant revolutions for faculty careers, the nature of academic work, the research enterprise and student educational experience. He is the author of *The American Academic Profession* (Ohio State University Press, 1988), and a co-author of *The New Academic Generation* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998) and *The American Faculty: The Restructuring of Academic Work and Careers* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006). He has served as co-director of the U.S. component of the Changing Academic Profession Survey 2007, a reprise of the 1992 Carnegie International Survey of the Academic Profession (Boyer and Altbach, 1996).

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Senior Advisor, Research & Strategy, IIE

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Executive Summary

The U.S. higher education landscape has shifted considerably over the past quarter century, undergoing a new “academic revolution” that has had significant implications for the teaching staff of U.S. colleges and universities. These shifts have occurred along three lines or discernable vectors of change: (1) the nature and duration of academic appointments; (2) the demographic profile of new entrants; and (3) the discontinuities in the career trajectories of the new majority.

Against this backdrop of a changing higher education environment in the U.S., the purpose of this paper is to suggest how these megatrends have translated into a new and fragmented topographical map of the American academic profession, one in which definable subgroups can be identified with distinctive constellations of motivations and constraints that are directly relevant to the structure and policies of international scholarly exchange programs. Specifically, the paper addresses the following questions:

- To what extent, and in what ways are these changes in who the faculty are, the conditions of their employment, and the trajectory of their careers reflected “on the ground” in relatively distinctively identifiable subspecies of faculty member and international scholarly exchange prospect?
- To what extent is it possible in a market segmentation analysis to identify a limited number of such segments whose needs can be met through existing and improved programs that engage them in feasible ways in international teaching and research?
- Is there a strategy or a set of concrete strategies to re-imagine any future international scholarly exchange program in a way that matches the evolving complexity and diversity of the new academic workforce in 21st century America?

The analysis suggests that the changing structure of academic appointments, together with associated changes in demographics and career patterns, has fragmented the American faculty into at least six discernable segments: (1) the shrinking core of tenured and tenure-track faculty; (2) an emerging cohort of post-tenure, septuagenarian faculty (beneficiaries of the end to mandatory retirement and increased life expectancy); (3) a motley cohort of pre- and early-career entrants (whose survivors constitute the future of the profession); (4) a long-term cohort of full-time, limited term faculty; (5) a demographically “distinctive” cohort of academic women with family responsibilities and partners with parallel careers (dual-career couples); and, (6) an emerging, largely “institutionally invisible” cohort of PhDs who are active scholars, but are employed outside PhD-granting universities, in teaching institutions, including two-year community colleges and small, four-year colleges and comprehensive institutions.

The paper further concludes that each of these segments may have distinctive constellations of motivations and constraints in contemplating international scholarly exchange opportunities—

and there may be benefit in thinking through and further specifying exactly how to tailor an international scholarly exchange opportunity to different, albeit definable, clusters of motivation and constraint.

This paper and its analysis offer a framework for re-imagining the complex of elements that constitute a strong and vibrant U.S. initiative for international scholarly exchange. It seeks to do so, however, within the broader context of the challenges of (1) reaching ever finer market segments with looser ties to their employing organizations, and of (2) competing with indigenous international partnerships of the target organizations themselves. These findings have salience for programs such as Fulbright which, for more than half a century, has exemplified the support of extended periods of international mobility for a fairly homogeneous cohort of American scholars, yet is faced with the challenges of continuing to serve an academic market that has become highly segmented and diversified.

The RECONFIGURATION OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMIC WORKFORCE:

IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL SCHOLARLY EXCHANGE

Introduction

We are just now coming to grips with the consequences of a new “academic revolution” that—largely under our collective radar—has re-shaped the instructional staff of U.S. colleges and universities over the past quarter century. The contours of that transformation are discernible along **three vectors of change** (1) the nature and duration of academic appointments; (2) the demographic profile of new entrants; and (3) the discontinuities in the career trajectories of the new majority.

In terms of *academic appointments*, the scope and magnitude of that revolution is striking: as late as 1993, just over 2/5 of the U.S. instructional staff at four-year colleges and universities were tenured and an additional 1/5 were tenure-track; by 2015, that tenured and tenure-track contingent had shrunk from about 60 to about 40 percent of the instructional staff of four-year institutions, with nearly 60 percent now in full-time limited term or part-time appointments (Finkelstein et al, 2016).ⁱ The “new majority” are in what have come to be termed “contingent” or non-tenure-track appointments. And these appointments differ from more traditional faculty appointments not simply in their duration and prospects for permanence (an issue we will treat under career trajectories), but in their scope and character of the work. Such contingent appointments are nearly always “specialized,” i.e. they involve teaching, research, or program administration, but almost never all three. Thus, the new majority of faculty in the U.S. are not engaged concurrently in the academic “holy trinity” of nearly equal proportions of teaching, research or service, but in one or the other. In short, contingent appointees are doing a different—and much more specialized—job.

In terms of *demographics*, the new generation of college and university faculty is majority female - with an increasing presence of racial and ethnic minorities and immigrants. In 1970, women accounted for just over 1/6 full-time faculty; by 2015, that figure had nearly tripled to 45 percent overall (with a numerical majority among new entrants) and a majority in some fields in the humanities, such as English (Finkelstein et al, 2016a; 2016b).ⁱⁱ What is significant here is not merely the surge of entering women, but rather the distinctiveness of their demographic profile by historical standards: they are nearly as likely as men to be married or partnered, especially to other career-oriented professionals,ⁱⁱⁱ and to be raising dependent children. Academic women have historically been less likely to engage in international mobility than men; and that has been especially true of women with young children (Finkelstein et al, 2016); so, it is likely that mobility constraints have only increased.^{iv}

A final quasi-demographic wrinkle is the changing distribution of faculty across academic fields. Over the past quarter century, the proportion of faculty in the traditional arts and sciences has been shrinking and the proportion in the professions, especially the “practical” professions such as business, engineering, and the health sciences has been growing. These “new” professionals are more likely to be on limited term appointments (off the tenure-track) and to also have professional work commitments outside of their primary academic job (i.e. small professional practice, etc.). Moreover, they are less likely to have been socialized into academic norms marking traditional doctoral programs in the arts and sciences (Finkelstein et al, 2016).

In terms of *career trajectories*, we have seen a constellation of related developments. First, a protracted “entry” period in which most PhDs navigate a series of temporary positions on the road to more stable employment (Nerad, 2008) – or, when permanent employment doesn’t come, either exit the academic sector or accept their consignment to a “secondary” or “tertiary” academic labor market off the tenure track. Indeed, there has emerged a clear segmentation/stratification of the U.S academic labor market into sub-markets for faculty in various appointment tracks (i.e. a market for tenured/tenure-track faculty; part-time faculty and fixed term, full-timers) which have only modest permeability, i.e. probability of moving successfully across tracks (Finkelstein et al, 2016).

Among the shrinking core group of tenured and tenure-track faculty, the pipeline has narrowed with standards for attaining tenure continuing their inexorable rise (even at historically non-research institutions) including, most saliently, increasing demands for publications and grant-procurement. At the same time, teaching loads have been maintained or increased amid declining opportunities for extended professional development, including sabbatical benefits which have traditionally served as an opportunity for international teaching and research.

Finally, and this reflects broader societal trends, the period of career exit has been extended with increasingly fuzzy boundaries between employment and retirement. Full-time, tenured faculty increasingly retire and continue some form of professional employment including full-time, non-tenure track appointments at other institutions or transition into part-time appointments.

The situation is further complicated by the intrusion of discernable patterns of difference by institutional type and academic field in the relative susceptibility to these trends. Conditions of appointment differ somewhat—sometimes dramatically—by the type of institutional employer (whether public sector or independent; research university or freestanding liberal arts college or two-year community college) and by academic field (the low-demand humanities with limited employment prospects outside academe vs. the high-demand fields of biological and physical sciences that enjoy plentiful employment opportunities and are well-funded). When programs and interventions focus their efforts on the “average” experience of a faculty member, the important nuances that result from variations across institutions and academic fields are often missed.

Finally, the salience of any one vector of change is complicated by interaction effects with others. Thus, for example, the infusion of women into the ranks of college faculty has been primarily in the non-tenured ranks, outside the natural sciences and engineering, and the stratification of academic careers has largely proceeded along gender lines.

Against this backdrop of a changing higher education landscape in the U.S., the purpose of this paper is to suggest how these megatrends have translated into a new and fragmented topographical map of the American academic profession, one in which definable subgroups can be identified with distinctive constellations of motivations and constraints that are directly relevant to the structure and policies of international scholarly exchange programs. Specifically, the paper addresses the following questions:

- To what extent, and in what ways are these changes in who the faculty are, the conditions of their employment and the trajectory of their careers reflected “on the ground” in relatively distinctively identifiable subspecies of faculty member and international scholarly exchange prospects?
- To what extent is it possible in a market segmentation analysis to identify a limited number of such segments whose needs can be met through existing and improved programs that engage them in feasible ways in international teaching and research?
- Is there a strategy or a set of concrete strategies—a “silver bullet”—to re-imagine any future international scholarly exchange program in a way that matches the evolving complexity and diversity of the new academic workforce in 21st century America?

In what follows, we present a kind of market segmentation analysis in which we identify and briefly describe subgroups of faculty that reflect concretely the result of the three vectors of change we have identified above. We conclude with implications for international scholarly exchange programs, as well as some reflections on the broader context in which such programs operate on the nation’s campuses.

Identifying Market Segments in the American Faculty

In an ideal market analysis, we could perhaps identify a 2-3 category taxonomy or classification for each of our three vectors of change (appointment type x demographic category x career trajectory) to assess how these three areas interact with each other. This could be used to define a three-dimensional matrix that might yield anywhere from eight (2 x 2 x 2) to 27 (3 x 3 x 3) cells or identifiable market segments of the academic profession—similar to the Burton Clark’s design of a matrix of academic life defined by the twin axes of institutional type and academic field (Clark, 1983) or the effort of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation to define the market for the introduction/adoption of instructional technology applications by college and university faculty (Gates Foundation, 2015). However, in reality, any such analysis results in a matrix and categories that are not always mutually exclusive and in fact may overlap to some extent. Despite such modest overlap, a market segmentation analysis nonetheless helps

broadly identify a manageable number of “on the ground” and actionable market segments. This enables us to analyze the characteristics of each segment of U.S. faculty, the barriers they face, and the likelihood that they will engage in a program for the promotion of international teaching and research.

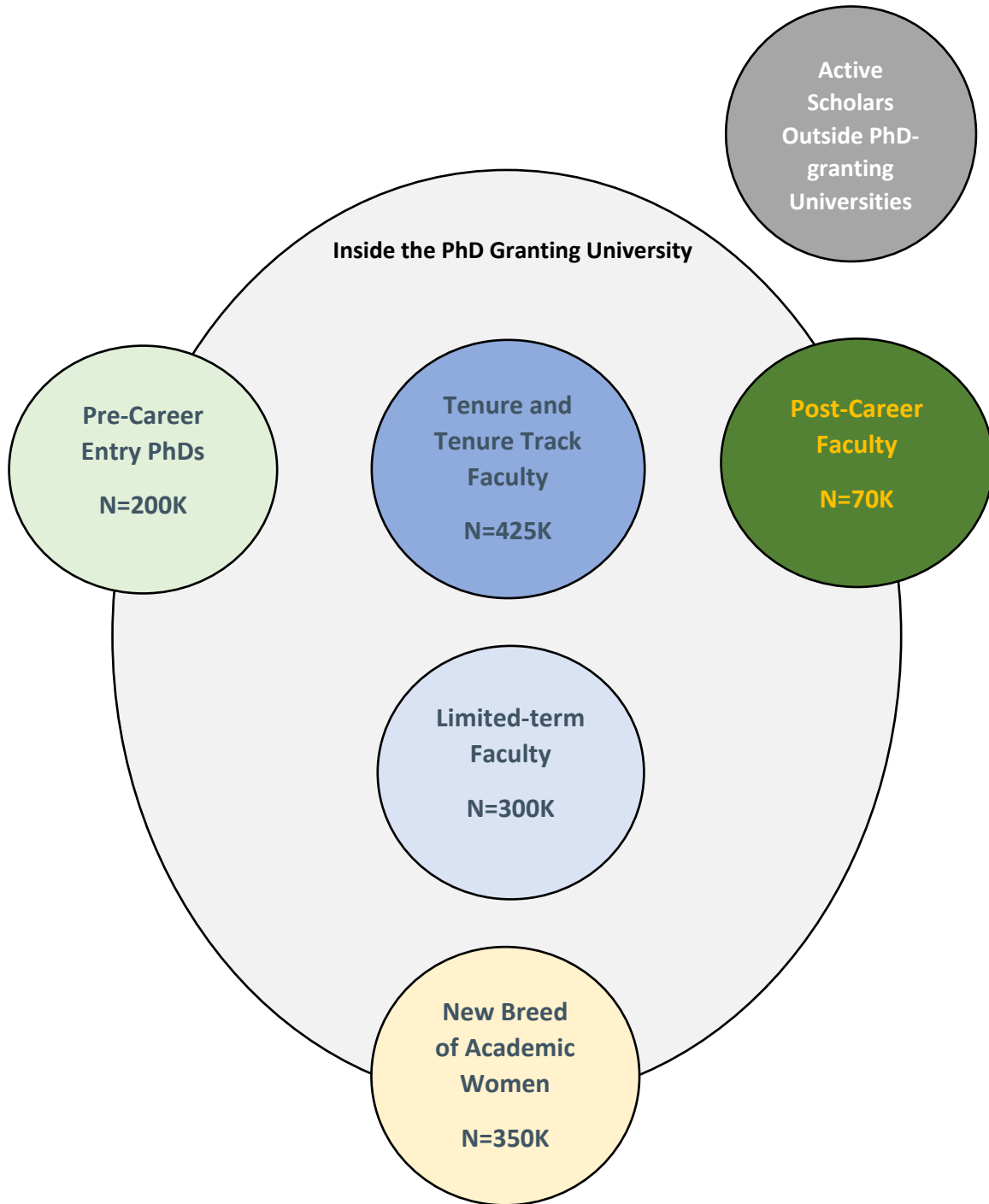
The Map

Figure 1 displays a map/diagram of the six primary segments that emerged from our analysis, as well as the major sub-segments within each when such sub-segmentation seemed appropriate or necessary. The six primary segments include:

1. The traditional, albeit shrinking tenured and tenure-track faculty cohort (N=~ 425K);
2. The newly burgeoning “post”-career faculty cohort of academics in an “extended” transition into retirement (N=~70K > 65);
3. New PhDs engaged in an extended entry transition into academic careers, typically 3-4, but extending to as much as ten years; (N=~ 200K, including 25K annually for four years of immediate post-PhDs and 25K annually of PhDs in precarious limited term appointments);
4. The expanding cohort of full-time, albeit non-tenure track faculty who have come to define a new secondary labor market in American higher education (N=~300K);
5. The “new breed” of academic women displaying the new “family” constellation who, while crossing segments, nonetheless constitute a distinctive demographic (N=~350K);
6. The expanding cohort of PhDs who are “active” scholars but employed outside the traditional university sector (N=~100K).^v

Figure 1: A segmentation analysis of the American academic workforce

- Pre-Career Entry PhDs Universities
- Post-Career Faculty
- Active Scholars Outside PhD Granting Universities
- Tenure & Tenure-Track
- Limited-term Faculty
- New Breed of Academic Women



We describe each segment (and its associated sub-segments) in turn below:

The Traditional Tenured/Tenure Track Cohort

The first and most obvious, if shrinking, segment is the tenured and tenure-track professor at the four-year college or university in the liberal arts and a few traditional professions, including education and perhaps management and law. The most striking characteristic of this segment is its shrinking size, albeit less in absolute numbers than in proportion of the workforce.^{vi}

Substantively, the pre-tenure contingent of this segment is subject to increasing tenure-track pressure primarily in terms of research productivity—even at non-research intensive institutions—and the prospect of going on leave for a full-year international exchange opportunity is likely to be viewed as a potential career-killer.^{vii} Only ¼ of research and doctoral universities explicitly recognize international scholarly exchange in their promotion and tenure criteria; and that portion drops by half among other four-year institutions (ACE, 2017).

Moreover, taking a year away from campus is to forego the development of on-campus faculty networks as well as publications which may be pivotal in the tenure process. The most promising subsegment here is newly tenured faculty, who are overall less constrained by promotion expectations. Among that subsegment, relatively new associate professors who have recently received tenure may find the novelty of international scholarly exchange a welcome departure from the pre-tenure grind and may be less subject to the immediate pressures of preparing for promotion to full professors – a promotion that comes on average 5-10 years post-tenure in most fields (Finkelstein et al, 2016). At the same time, insofar as tenure is still granted to individuals in their early forties, these individuals promise to have long careers still in front of them that are subject to the positive shaping influence of international scholarly exchange. Once approaching promotion to full professor, a year away from campus may be risky unless they can show that the linkages from their international activity explicitly benefit the department, its students, the home institution, generally, or their standing in their academic field. Indeed, at many campuses, the expectation for promotion to full professor is that the candidate will have assumed a leadership role in campus affairs and/or in their national professional associations. To the extent that international scholarly exchanges and the extended absences they entail discourage such activity, the years immediately preceding promotion to full professor may not be fertile ground for engaging in international scholarly exchange.^{viii}

A second challenge has to do with disciplinary differences in perceived value of international activity. As early as 1991 (Goodwin and Nacht, 1991), we learned that faculty attitudes towards international activity are shaped to a considerable extent by academic field. In some fields – archeology, arctic studies, climate science, ceramic engineering – international work is an expected requirement of being a good scholar; in others, it is viewed as peripheral insofar as the best scholarship may be viewed as coming from the U.S. and other English-speaking countries (Goodwin and Nacht, 1991; Altbach and Lewis, 1996; Finkelstein, 2011, 2016). This

kind of cultural attitude militates against outbound scholarly exchanges and presumes that inbound exchanges from the periphery to the intellectual center (to use Altbach's terminology) ought to be the normal direction for internationalization (Altbach, 1981).

A third challenge relates to the opportunity structure for professional development on many campuses. The sabbatical leave has been the centerpiece of most campus-based faculty professional development and a key element of the infrastructure supporting international scholarly exchanges. In 1998, 4% of American faculty reported being on sabbatical leave (NCES, 1999). While there is no recent reliable data on whether that percentage has changed (or on the percentage of U.S. campuses continuing to offer sabbatical leaves), impressionistic evidence suggests that the criteria for awarding sabbatical leaves has only become more stringent (sabbaticals are increasingly considered a "privilege" rather than a "right"); and, in many institutions, the conditions of sabbatical leaves have changed: explicit expectations for scholarly productivity have increased, while the generosity of financial provisions may have decreased.^{ix} There is the further challenge that there may be some mis-alignment between the institutional timeline for deciding on sabbatical awards and the timeline of organizations sponsoring international scholarly exchanges, making it difficult for applicants to align one with the other. Thus, even when sabbaticals are available, their rhythms may not be aligned the schedule of application for international scholarly exchanges.

A fourth challenge within this tenured/tenure-track segment is demographic: it is increasingly female and that poses complications in terms both of personal safety considerations in foreign travel, as well as family responsibilities for those who are increasingly married – and increasingly married to either other faculty or individuals in demanding professional careers – and who also are more likely than in the past to be raising dependent children or caring for elderly parents (See Ward and Wolfe-Wendel, 2012). This subsegment will be treated at greater length in a separate discussion below.

In sum, we have suggested that while the tenured and tenure-track segment of the academic workforce is proportionately shrinking, the work pressures associated with identifiable career stages seem to militate against participation in international scholarly exchanges on the part of pre-tenure faculty and those who are preparing for promotion to full professor. At the same time, the period immediately following such promotions provides particularly fertile ground for engaging in international scholarly exchanges. We would argue that among this segment, career timing is everything.^x

The Burgeoning Cohort of New PhDs Navigating Pre-Career

As the later stages of an academic career have come to define a separate, identifiable "post" career segment of the professorate, the long-term buyer's market for academic labor in most fields has spawned what amounts to a third segment of the newly reconfigured American academic profession: individuals in the earliest and least stable stages of an academic career.

This growing “pre-career” segment constitutes what is to become the “future” faculty and, as a function of both their cohort size and their “staying power” (to the extent that they are retained)^{xi}, they will define the academic labor force over the next half century. This early career segment includes two readily identifiable sub-clusters: first, those who are in the immediate post-doctoral phase (or concurrently completing a doctoral program) and may be moving around among 1-2 year gigs as post-docs or teaching part-time at multiple institutions or in non-faculty staff positions at colleges and universities; and second, those who have secured a first job that is likely a limited or fixed term faculty assignment and (1) will likely involve specialized responsibility for teaching (or research) only; (2) little or no opportunity to engage in research or other “career building activities”; and (3) will likely have insufficient job security to enable them to engage in international scholarly exchange.

Members of this segment share both a common motivation—the desire to find an opportunity that will serve a potential career-building function—and a common deterrent: a lack of a secure home base from which to venture forth into an international exchange situation. For this group, the benefits of international scholarly exchange are very high, but the risks are also very high.

The Cohort of Long-term, Full-time Contract Faculty

While new PhDs and PhDs in progress may find themselves in “specialized” academic positions with faculty status off the tenure track as they seek entry into an academic career, an expanding cohort of individuals find themselves stably ensconced in a series of specialized (teaching or research), progressively longer fixed term contracts as part of what might be termed a “secondary” academic career. These individuals tend to be in a circumscribed range of fields, including the humanities (English and foreign languages, philosophy and classical studies), the applied professions (health sciences, business, media studies and communications, criminal justice) for those on teaching-only appointment and in the biological, medical and physical sciences for those on research-only appointments. They are disproportionately women and their mobility outside their “track” or “market” tends to be highly circumscribed. In the professions, they may be individuals in their second career. Their “secondary” academic career may be a free— even welcome —choice as in the case of those newly pursuing an academic career option within their chosen profession (e.g. nursing or physical therapy) or women seeking to trade the demands of the tenure track for a more circumscribed and manageable work role. While this is a motley segment in some respects, they share a common motivation/constraint mix. They are likely not eligible for sabbatical leaves and associated institutional financial support and unlikely to be able to commit to a year-long absence, except in-between contracts.^{xii} Moreover, they may be less likely to participate in institutional governance and be less visible on-campus, increasing the challenge of directly reaching them. Nonetheless, there are possibilities here, especially with those in second careers.

The New Breed of Academic Women

A fifth segment of the contemporary U.S. academic workforce – one that cuts across both the traditional tenured/tenure track segment, the pre-career segment (although less often the post faculty segment), and the long-term, full-time contract worker is academic women. More than 2/5 of all full-time academic staff are now women and more than half among new hires over the past 10-20 years. Proportionately, the plurality of these women are in part-time or full-time, non-tenure track positions (2/5) and they are more likely to be so than men. The numbers are sobering: in 2015, 43.9 percent were on full-time appointments; 56.1 percent on part-time appointments. Among those on full-time appointments, just over half (55.5 percent) were either tenured or on the tenure track. While less likely to be well represented than men in the post-career phase, they are more likely to be represented in the “pre” career stage (Finkelstein et al, 2016b) and in the “active scholar” segment outside the PhD granting universities.

What is distinctive about this subgroup of new academic women is that irrespective of their tenure status, they are much more likely than in the past to be married and to be married to other professionals, frequently other academics with parallel career pressures, and to have dependent children. While academic women have always been less likely to spend time abroad for academic study and research than men (in part of a function of the risks associated with women travelling alone in foreign environments), the “new” academic woman is now much more likely to be constrained by family needs than her predecessors. Sustained study/research abroad must now likely address spousal opportunities associated with the exchange (not unlike academic appointments generally), provision for schooling for dependent children, etc.

Active Scholars Employed Outside PhD-Granting Universities

As the landscape of American higher education has shifted over the past quarter century in terms of the ascendance of the two-year sector and the for-profit sector, and as the buyer’s market for academic labor has persisted (or even accelerated in many fields), we have witnessed something of a redistribution of doctorally-prepared and research-oriented faculty over the institutional landscape. Two-year community colleges are now attracting doctorally-prepared faculty in increasing numbers, especially in the traditional liberal arts disciplines and smaller baccalaureate and comprehensive, non-doctoral institutions are now recruiting their faculties from the major elite centers of graduate study. This represents a “trickling down” across the system of elite academic credentials and research preparation in a way that re-allocates academic talent and active scholarship across the institutional spectrum. Together with increasing penetration of the “research model” into every corner of the higher education system, the pool of potential scholars for international exchange is now much more institutionally diverse. In 2003, about 1/10 full-time faculty in the two-year community college sector were PhD recipients; that percentage has only grown, especially in those community colleges located in major metropolitan areas with a surplus of PhD talent.

Summary and Further Considerations

In sum, our analysis suggests that the changing structure of academic appointments, together with associated changes in demographics and career patterns have fragmented the American faculty into at least six discernable segments: the shrinking core of tenured and tenure-track faculty; an emerging cohort of post-tenure, septuagenarian faculty, beneficiaries of the end to mandatory retirement and increased life expectancy; a motley cohort of pre- and early career entrants (whose survivors constitute the future of the profession); a life-long cohort of full-time, limited term faculty; a demographically “distinctive” cohort of academic women with family responsibilities and partners with parallel careers (dual-career couples); and, finally, an emerging, largely “institutionally invisible” cohort of PhDs who are active scholars, but are employed outside PhD-granting universities, in teaching institutions, including the two-year community colleges and the small, four-year colleges and comprehensive institutions.

Among the shrinking tenured segment, we identified two subsegments that hold promise as prospects for international scholarly exchange: newly-tenured faculty and faculty newly-promoted to full professorships. We noted the extraordinary lack of professional constraints among post-career faculty and the promising prospects they offer, albeit limited by the promise of long-term future contributions. Furthermore, we identified the challenge of accessing the large and diffuse cohort of pre-career faculty: while a sizeable chunk may ultimately leave the academy, the remainder constitute the future of the profession. A long-term cohort of career contract faculty – some portion of whom are pursuing a second career in their chosen profession – offer some clear opportunities for international scholarly exchange. Our analysis suggests that academic women are emerging as a newly distinctive segment – as they have increasingly become part of dual career couples (including other academics) and as they increasingly take on substantial responsibilities for family and childcare. Finally, we identified a sixth, heretofore largely invisible, segment of prospects for international scholarly exchange: doctorally-prepared, active scholars who are employed outside U.S. PhD-granting universities who may be less constrained by career pressures and more open to the prospect of international scholarly exchange.

Our analyses suggest that each segment –and its sub-segments – may have distinctive constellations of motivations and constraints in contemplating international scholarly exchange opportunities and there may be benefit in thinking through and further specifying exactly how to tailor an international scholarly exchange opportunity to different, albeit definable clusters of motivation and constraint.

This paper began with the basic premise that understanding those changing contours of the target population – the American faculty – directly relevant to international scholar exchange programs would help such initiatives to more effectively target the elements of, and options within, their programs to the more finely nuanced contours of these market segments. While that premise certainly has merit, it is important to understand that effectively reaching those

changing target markets involves more than an abstract – however refined and nuanced – understanding of the academic market and its ever-differentiating segments. Indeed, in some important respects, premier international scholarly exchange programs like the Fulbright program have already made substantive programming modifications aligned with the market segment analyses in this paper. The “Flex” program, for example, has for the past five years offered opportunities for multiple short-stays of no more than a month – recognizing the personal, career and family challenges associated with committing to a 6 to 12 month relocation to a foreign country. A Global Scholars Program now allows applicants to plan visits to multiple countries in a single grant – and can be combined with the “Flex” program to allow for short stays in multiple geographic venues. A program specifically geared to new PhDs and early career faculty was also established recently and there has been greater outreach to “active scholars” outside the PhD granting universities, including those in two-year community and small four-year baccalaureate colleges. These are program modifications moving in the right direction.^{xiii}

That said, it is equally important to emphasize that whatever program modifications might be made, it is important to understand the organizational nexus within which the target population is embedded and the challenges of reaching ever finer market segments in a changing and increasingly opaque institutional environment. Where is the “sweet spot” organizationally where communication about the program is most likely to garner the attention of the “right” faculty, including those on non-traditional appointments, at the “right” time –just after tenure receipt or promotion to full professor– and be viewed as a “product” that is realistically attainable and congruent with career and personal needs? Beyond this organizational layer is the matter of the changing competitive environment for internationalization in American higher education. Historically, the Fulbright program represented the only “game in town” on all major university campuses in the U.S. Over the past 20 years, nearly every American campus has not only established its own office of international programs, but may also have established partnerships with major universities across the globe which provide a custom-made vehicle within which scholarly exchanges that reflect the idiosyncratic interests of the sponsoring university can flourish (Wildavsky, 2010; ACE, 2017). National programs, such as Fulbright, must now navigate a newly expanded, highly individualized, set of “internal” markets for the sponsorship of scholarly exchanges.^{xiv}

In many respects, the changing characteristics of the American faculty can be seen as interacting with the shifting and increasingly complex organizational arrangements of colleges and universities and the changing competitive landscape for international scholarly exchanges. The changing population must be viewed in its interaction with the changing organizational landscape and the changing competitive landscape for internationalization initiatives – three layers of complexity.

Beyond these larger considerations sits the invisible elephant in the room: the historic American attitude toward internationalization. Since at least 1991 (Goodwin and Nacht, 1991), studies have shown that American scholars tend to be fairly U.S. centric in their views, viewing the U.S. as the center of global scholarship and viewing scholarly exchange as primarily a one-way street where those scholars at the periphery seek to visit the center. These cultural attitudes have provided the mega-headwinds against which international scholarly exchange programs must navigate. To what extent are these historic attitudes changing? The ACE surveys of campus internationalization have shown that there has tended to be more rhetorical than actual support for internationalization, including scholarly exchanges. The most recent ACE report (ACE, 2017) suggests that while modest change may be afoot, the area of faculty professional development continues to lag behind student mobility and study abroad as priorities for university attention and action.

In conclusion, this paper has sought to offer a framework for re-imagining the complex of elements that constitute a strong and vibrant U.S. initiative for international scholarly exchange. It has sought to do so, however, within the broader context of the challenges to reaching ever finer market segments increasingly hidden behind increasingly thick and impermeable organizational membranes and, in effect, competing with international initiatives of the target organizations themselves. In this respect, programs like Fulbright run the risk of succumbing to their own success. As a brand, Fulbright has for more than half a century symbolized the support of extended periods of international mobility for a fairly homogeneous cohort of American scholars – and continues to do so at a time when the relevance of that brand to an increasingly diverse population continues to wane. The ultimate question is: To what extent can programs like Fulbright enhance their relevance for the new and highly segmented academic market they seek to serve?

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Notes

ⁱ These data are drawn from the Integrated Postsecondary Educational Data System [IPEDS] Fall Staff Survey in 1993 and 2015.

ⁱⁱ Most of that explosion occurred in the 1980s and 1990s, with some deceleration after 2003 (Finkelstein et al, 2016b)

ⁱⁱⁱ The “dual career couple, “as it is usually known, and not infrequently to other academics.

^{iv} The presence of racial and ethnic underrepresented minorities has increased if less dramatically from about 1/8 to 1/6 of the faculty over the past quarter century. The infusion of immigrants, especially non-resident aliens has been almost as great: from 1/10 to 1/20 over the last quarter century. Moreover, it has been concentrated both in the natural sciences and engineering and at research universities (Finkelstein et al, 2016)

^v These estimates are based on data from IPEDS 2015 for segments 1, 4 and 5. Estimate for segment 2 is based on age distribution of full-time faculty responding to UCLA’s Higher Education Institute Faculty Survey, 2013-14 as described in Finkelstein et al, 2016. Estimate for segment 3 is based on NSF Survey of Doctorate Recipients, 2015, including overall number and % indicating firm commitments to academic employment multiplied by 4. Estimate of segment 6 is based on percent faculty reporting PhD as highest degree among institutional types outside research and doctoral universities, including other four-year institutions and two-year community colleges. It does not explicitly include “active “scholars holding a PhD with no formal academic institutional affiliation.

^{vi} The number of tenured faculty actually increased from 275K to 306K (+ 11.3%) between 1993-2015, and the number of tenure track faculty increased from 112K to 124K (+10.7%) during that period – when the total instructional workforce increased by 66% from 88K to 1.5K.

^{vii} That is unfortunate because it may largely be myth in at least one respect. What we know is that faculty who spend extended periods abroad (more than 3-6 months) in professional activity develop new and wider professional networks that tend to increase scholarly productivity (Huang, Finkelstein and Rostan, 2013).

^{viii} In a recent telephone conversation, Pauling Yu, ACLS, reported her impression that faculty are increasingly reluctant to consider re-location – even within the United States—to accept research fellowship opportunities sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies.

^{ix} A majority of recent Fulbright grantees reported receiving salary from their home institution during the grant period, with fully half reporting receiving 100% of their institutional salary (J. Enrich personal communication, 2018). It would be useful to compare these findings with data from 5 and 10 years earlier.

^x Although discipline specific socialization also plays an important role, irrespective of career timing.

^{xi} There is some credible evidence that those who enter academic careers in temporary and other non-tenure eligible positions are three times more likely than those on the tenure-track to transition out of academic, on the order of 45% to 15% (see Finkelstein et al, 2016a, p.190).

^{xii} Those in a second career, however, may have the resource base from their first career (including a hefty pension) to allow them to bear the financial risk and even the future employment risk of undertaking an extended international scholarly exchange.

^{xiii} I am indebted to Peter Vanderwater for an introduction to these program modifications (conversation, September 28, 2018)

^{xiv} I am indebted to a conversation with Peter Vanderwater on September 21, 2018 for raising some of these issues in reporting on his experiences with Fulbright campus liaisons.

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