Report

The Work of Faculty: Expectations, Priorities, and Rewards

Committee C on College and University Teaching, Research, and Publication has approved the following report for publication for the information of the profession. The committee invites comments from chapters, conferences, and other interested parties.

"And gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche." Geoffrey Chaucer, on the Clerk of Oxenford, in The Canterbury Tales

Introduction

What is it that college and university faculty members really do? Much of the confusion surrounding the current debate over faculty workload stems from misconceptions about how faculty spend their time, particularly outside of the classroom. People making policy decisions need to understand the multiple components of faculty work and to take account of the diversity within the American higher education system, a rich variety that militates against the development of simple or uniform standards applicable to all types of institutions.

The purpose of this report is to assess the current state of public discussion regarding the duties and obligations of the professoriate: to look at recent debates about the size and nature of faculty workloads; to offer clarification of the roles of teaching, scholarship, and service for faculty, their institutions, and the public welfare; and to set the problems of the academy against the backdrop of public debates about the costs and returns of higher education.

In 1969 the Association addressed the question of faculty workloads and the appropriate balance between teaching and research. The statement that was adopted by the Council defined maximum and preferred teaching loads in terms of classroom contact hours; advocated collegial procedures for establishing, administering, and revising workload policies; and identified common sources of inequity in the distribution of workloads.

The world changes: the problems of the 1990s differ dramatically from those of 1969. In this report Committee C now addresses these issues by directing attention to total faculty workload, rather than classroom hours. We now approach the question of balance through definitions of teaching, scholarship, and service that emphasize the great variety of activities so embraced; we urge the integration of all the components of academic activity. We do this in the face of external pressures upon the academy and in acknowledgment of the need to reassess our profession and our priorities and to communicate to the general public our understanding of our work and its value, while emphasizing the immense variety of institutions of higher education and the wide range of their problems, resources, and academic and public missions.

I. Contexts

A. Widespread Concerns and Historical Background

Concern about what faculty do and how they do it is being expressed by a variety of voices across the country, both within and outside the academy. Externally, two major factors are contributing to the calls for reform: the national economic crisis and the related public concern about access to higher education, its quality, and its cost. Current efforts to improve undergraduate education began with the 1984 publication of the National Institute of Education’s report “Involvement in Learning.”

Since 1984 a plethora of books and studies have appeared, most of them less thoughtful about undergraduate needs than the institute’s report, and more broadly critical of higher education.1

The recession of the early 1990s, coupled with profound structural changes in the economy, has led to significant cutbacks in higher education, particularly in the public sector, which now accounts for 70 percent of U.S. postsecondary education. The fiscal crisis in most states has meant chronic underfunding for programs, faculty, and facilities. Colleges and universities have tried to compensate by raising tuition and student fees and by relying increasingly on part-time faculty; however, cuts in state funding have exceeded institutional ability to make up the losses. Rising tuition costs have triggered state and federal hearings for the purpose of considering legislative remedies, and numerous blue ribbon higher education commissions have been established, which have added to the public’s misgivings.

The higher education community cannot ignore calls for “accountability” from state legislatures. Eight states currently have some type of workload legislation and it is under serious discus-

1Allan Bloom’s 1987 The Closing of the American Mind, was among the first of many books casting a critical eye on education. Two that attracted the most media attention, Professum, by Charles J. Sykes (1990) and Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus, by Dinesh D’Souza (1991), were written by non-academics to appeal to a non-academic audience. Two written by faculty members, one from a conservative point of view, the other from a liberal perspective, are Martin Anderson’s Imposters in the Temple: American Intellectuals are Destroying Our Universities and Cheating Our Students of Their Future (1992) and Page Smith’s Killing the Spirit (1990).
sion in six others. Administrators face statehouse demands for greater "productivity," while funding is being reduced and student enrollments continue to rise. Prominent university presidents have called for increased emphasis on teaching, and many institutions have created special programs or task forces designed to advance teaching skills and promote excellence in teaching. Faculty feel caught in a "ratcheting up" of expectations: they are expected to teach more, but continue to be evaluated primarily on publication, as these institutions—regardless of the new rhetoric about teaching—remain obsessed with research as the road to the institution's prestige and success.

But more than external pressures are contributing to the reexamination of faculty workload issues. Many faculty members are acutely aware of the deleterious effects of various conditions shaping the education offered on today's campuses. At many institutions, first- and second-year students, including many ill-prepared students who require special attention and instruction, are forced into larger and larger classes, or are taught by teaching assistants or part-time faculty. Because of hiring freezes and cutbacks, fewer courses are offered, and many students are compelled to stay in school longer to fulfill graduation requirements.

Surveys demonstrate that faculty do recognize the importance of teaching. They want to teach well, and many devote most of their time to class preparation and instruction, meeting with students, marking papers, and other teaching-related activities. But they are overwhelmed by the need to meet larger classes and more sections, and by increasing demands for committee service and reports. Recent studies of faculty workload show average faculty workweeks at four-year institutions ranging from 52–57 hours. Yet, despite the long hours, many faculty members find themselves able to devote less time than they would wish to classroom preparation because of other demands.

The nature of higher education has changed greatly in the United States since World War II. With the introduction of the G.I. Bill, a college education suddenly became accessible for young people who had never dreamed it would be possible, and returning veterans flocked to fill the classrooms. The goal of a college degree for everyone also sparked the growth of the community college system—a growth that has been reinforced by the Carnegie Corporation. Two studies from this project deal with teaching-research issues were published: The Recognition and Evaluation of Teaching (1969) and Career Development of the Effective College Teacher (1971). The 1969 Statement on Faculty Workload talked of "preferred" teaching loads as necessary to fresh and energetic teaching, as well as to a career pattern that left time for research, service, and personal and professional renewal, above and beyond classroom teaching. The statement looked to shared governance and collegiality as the means of assuring workplace equity, encouraging diverse career patterns, and recognizing individual strengths and preferences.

Faculty workloads were described in terms of hours per week of formal class meeting, although the text of the statement referred to "teaching loads." "Course loads" would be an even to social and economic advancement. Open admissions and government assistance programs have opened doors for a diverse student body. Non-traditional students—particularly reentering women and part-time students—are keeping many colleges and universities going in hard times. Because of financial need, many students take time off between high school and college and take longer than four years to complete their college education.

Despite the strenuous efforts of colleges and universities to cope with the stresses caused by all these developments, higher education is under serious attack. Its budgetary standing, once a privileged one, is being subjected to serious and often hostile scrutiny, amidst competing public and private agendas, in a prolonged period of economic stagnation. Academic research—both "pure" and applied—is being targeted as "the enemy" by many of the critics who charge that students have been neglected, that teaching has ceased to be the first priority of higher education, and that the quality of higher education is in decline. And some of the demands for a reassessment of academia, ostensibly disinterested and dispassionate, look much like attempts to diminish the scope of academic freedom and institutional independence, and to end the long effort to bring opportunities for scholarship and research into the career pattern of academics in most American colleges and universities. Speed-up, demands for cost effectiveness, performance assessment, and other strategies for external control, look to be major dangers of the 1990s.

B. Previous AAUP Studies

The Association has addressed the internal problem of the division of professional effort between teaching and research, as it has been in the last fifty years. Wealthy young men, pursuing a gentleman's liberal arts education, have given way to a diverse group of men and women who view a college degree as essential to social and economic advancement. Open admissions and government assistance programs have opened doors for a diverse student body. Non-traditional students—particularly reentering women and part-time students—are keeping many colleges and universi-
more accurate description of what was being discussed. Unfortunately, in the current debates "workload" is frequently confused with teaching hours, and the sum of hours spent in formal classroom contact is taken as the faculty member's work week. The need for a fuller account of what a faculty member actually does will be emphasized throughout this study. For the purposes of this report, workload means hours devoted to all the various forms of professional activity expected of faculty.

The 1969 Statement recommended the following maximum limits for faculty course loads: "For undergraduate instruction, a teaching load of twelve hours per week, with no more than six separate course preparations during the academic year. For instruction partly or entirely at the graduate level, a teaching load of nine hours per week." It went on to state that the recommended maxima for course loads were not, however, the preferred pattern. For effective teaching and scholarship the Association recommended: "For undergraduate instruction, a teaching load of nine hours per week. For instruction partly or entirely at the graduate level, a teaching load of six hours per week."

The 1969 Statement came at the end of a decade of unprecedented increases in funding for higher education. Faculty status and salaries, professional opportunities, and undergraduate and graduate student populations were all in a tremendous growth spurt. Though the problems of the academy were serious, they were not budget-driven, as they are today. The search for "relevance," so much part of our world a quarter century ago, was mainly inspired by questions posed within the academy by both students and faculty. And the questioning of authority that engulfed the nation made colleges and universities self-conscious about the need to reconsider the role of research, the curriculum, and the future of graduate training and professional schools. Self-assessment grew from our own need to understand our role in our society and in our students' lives.

In keeping with the discourse of the 1990s, we work in this report to redefine the concept of workload and the working week. In addition, we believe that in talking to the general public—the ultimate beneficiaries of higher education—as well as to administrators and state legislators, we must explain how "teaching," "scholarship and research," and "service" are activities that embrace many forms of academic endeavor. The wide range and the complex interrelations of these time-consuming responsibilities, in our individual lives and in our institutions, are major facts of academic life.

C. Recent Studies of Faculty Workloads

Many of the recent reports on teaching and faculty workloads reflect widespread recognition of the importance of teaching. The studies measure how faculty currently spend their time and how they feel they should spend it. Despite the public perception that faculty members do not teach enough, data show that even at public research universities faculty spend on average only about 29 percent of their time on research, compared to 43 percent on teaching. A report by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching found that 72 percent of faculty questioned said their interests lie primarily in teaching. Outside of research and doctoral universities, most faculty members consider teaching their primary function.

D. What Is Scholarship?

Much of the current debate focuses on the relation between "teaching" and "research." Although both will be discussed below, we should note the attention the academic community has given to Ernest Boyer's 1990 book, Scholarship Reconsidered: Priorities of the Professorate. Boyer urges that we shift attention from narrow definitions of "research" to broader definitions of "scholarship," in order to provide a more accurate description of the professional activities engaged in by faculty. He argues for recognizing as "scholarship" not only traditionally valued primary research and publication (which he calls "the scholarship of discovery"), but also acquiring and integrating interdisciplinary knowledge, keeping up with new developments within one's discipline, and applying professional knowledge and skills in service, both institutional and within the community. He recognizes that professional needs and interests vary and may change within a lifetime, and he advocates contracting for different goals and expectations commensurate with the interests and strengths of the faculty member. The strong reaction to Boyer's book attests to the genuine desire on the part of many faculty members and administrators to reconceptualize the nature of faculty work. We talk below about the value of a broader interpretation of scholarly activity, and the importance of recognizing that institutions, as well as individuals, have diverse needs and strengths, related to differences between disciplines and missions, as well as changing interests and demands.

E. The Current Situation

A great expansionist era of higher education has ended. The world of the 1990s is very different; the problems of higher education are much less campus-based, and the budget picture, for all types of institutions, so changed that an earlier reality seems almost utopian.

The call for reevaluation is driven by the realities of an economic crisis and fiscal constraints. Many believe that the current downsizing is not a cyclical phase but portends a permanent change within the academy. A few even argue that the "leaner, meaner university" is good for us and that the changes, painful as they are, will be beneficial in the long run. While it is natural that cutbacks force us to reexamine our enterprise, much of the
Along with what we perceive as a crisis in university expenditure - by which we mean research and scholarship rather than by their concern for the health of their institutions who are insufficiently sympathetic. For its own part, the academy must accept a share of the blame for public perceptions of higher education - concerning both the amount of money available and the priorities governing its expenditure - must be addressed. State intervention in such matters as workload determinations for the public sector, driven by both economic and political agendas, is a real danger. Such efforts bespeak a growing public and governmental "loss of confidence" regarding institutions of higher education, and a possible willingness - expressed by political leaders and even by some educators and administrators - to question many of the foundations on which quality education has been based, such as reasonable teaching loads and class sizes, and decently equipped classrooms, libraries, and laboratories.

The heavy resort to part-time faculty and to non-tenure-track faculty, the significant expansion of two-year institutions, and the reduction of instructional budgets in four-year institutions are obvious economic expedients. Though we understand the short term economic and political appeal of such measures, just as we recognize and applaud the important educational contributions of two-year colleges, we must pause to consider the problems posed by these measures, for the future of the professoriate, the training and skills of our students, and ultimately the national well-being as it rests upon higher education and research.

But in assessing the current crisis of higher education and its importance in the public agenda we must not focus only on outsiders who are insufficiently sympathetic. For its own part, the academy must accept a share of the blame for public perceptions of higher education that see research as standing against teaching and the search for funding as driven by professors' self-interest rather than by their concern for the health of their institutions and the good of society. In some instances we have undervalued and underplayed our role as educators and teachers. More often we have failed to explain the full nature of the academy's contribution - by which we mean research and scholarship as well as direct service - to the wider community.

F. State Intervention Concerning Faculty Workload and Institutional Priorities

Along with what we perceive as a crisis in university expenditure on instruction, a more widespread fiscal crisis in all aspects of social services and the public sector has led to the raising of serious questions concerning the costs of higher education.

In addition, the political climate of recent years has led to a number of well-publicized discussions of productivity, of the ideological consequences and the economic price of tenure and academic freedom, and of the costs of academic research and of our highest quality teaching and training.

The most specific response to these controversies is taking the form of state intervention - either directly from the legislature or through some form of state supervision of higher education - into standards for workload, productivity, and classroom contact hours. In many states legislation is either on the books or under consideration whereby funding of units and programs, academic advancement for individuals, and even institutional budgets and resources are to be tied to extramural mandates and schedules concerning classroom contact hours and workloads. Though budget-driven, and not at first instance seen as political or intellectual assaults on academic freedom or tenure, such measures are intended to be intrusive. They clearly seek to influence local and individual decisions about the priorities assigned to research and teaching, about the ways in which we measure performance, and about the role of peer judgment in tenure and promotion processes.

At least twenty-three states have turned their attention, at some level or other, to the idea of closer supervision of higher education. Most recently the state of Ohio adopted legislation directing all faculty to devote 10 percent more of their effort to undergraduate teaching. But efforts in Texas to grade faculty on the basis of their performance against a fixed scale of accomplishments were abandoned as too cumbersome and not conducive, in practice, to better performance. The public concern is genuine, but the public's representatives too often resort to simplistic solutions, to calls for more supervision, for quantitative "speed up," and for formulae that prove unworkable and counterproductive when transported from state agency to the campus. Statehouse intervention is not the route to positive reform of the academy. It is more likely to threaten the quality of the educational enterprise, and ultimately, to weaken academic freedom and tenure.

Though always an extremely difficult and sensitive matter, the evaluation of members of a profession is, by general consensus, best done by peers trained to make informed and responsible judgments. Academic freedom, tenure, peer review (for scholarly publication, personnel decisions, and grants and fellowships), and shared academic governance are essential to the ways in which the professoriate defines and administers its qualitative standards. Few states are concerned, explicitly, to weaken these foundation stones when they turn to the scrutiny of workloads and performance. Nevertheless, advocacy of performance assess-

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Eight states, as of this writing, already have faculty workload legislation: California, Florida, Kentucky, Maryland, Minnesota, Nevada, Ohio, and Texas. Six additional states have such legislation under consideration: Arizona, Missouri, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia.
ment can quickly lead to micromanaging that will signal the decline of a system of higher education remarkable for its independence and its insistence on quality.

II. Review of Data: Workload and Priorities

A. Overall Faculty Workload

Much of the current controversy focuses on issues related to faculty workloads. Questions about both total hours worked and the division of effort between different forms of professional endeavor have become central in the debate about the functions of higher education, about cost-effectiveness, and about the assessment of "performance." The most hostile critics suggest that academia largely consists of highly paid professors who devote a short working week to research (usually in lieu of, or to the neglect of, teaching), to extra-academic endeavors, and to a wide spectrum of leisure activities. This is mostly fantasy. It ignores or distorts the data, and it impugns the professional commitment of the several hundred thousand academics in this country for whom it comes nowhere near the truth.

On the question of total workload, the data are unequivocal. They indicate a workweek for most faculty of somewhere between forty-five and fifty-five hours, and that a considerable fraction of this work week is maintained during vacation weeks as well.

A number of recent studies, conducted within various state systems, support these findings. In Arizona, where the three state universities have been under close scrutiny, a workload of between fifty-five and fifty-seven hours seems the norm, and California and Texas, among other states interested in this question, report comparable findings. The distinctions between senior and junior faculty, and tenured and nontenured, are not significant, and in general academics work a week that is comparable to that of doctors, lawyers, architects, the clergy, and other professionals.

### Table 1. Faculty Workload: Total Hours Per Week Spent In All Activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CARNEGIE CLASSIFICATION</th>
<th>ALL 2-year</th>
<th>ALL 4-year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ladd/Lipset (1977)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculty at Work (1988)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSOPF (1988)</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Faculty at Work (1988) refers to a 1988 study sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education’s Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI) and the National Center for Research to Improve Postsecondary Teaching and Learning (NCRIPITAL) at the University of Michigan. These data were supplied by Robert Blackburn at NCRIPITAL.


B. Distribution of Workload by Type of Activity and Type of Institution

Most studies of faculty workload distinguish three main components of the work week (or semester, or year): teaching, research, and service (covering both in-house and extramural professional service). Teaching covers in-class contact (including often unrecognized direct instruction such as laboratory supervision), plus course preparation, grading, and course-related student contacts. Service includes governance, curriculum work, committee obligations, and professional involvements beyond one’s department and school, as well as activities beyond the academic walls. Research, which in these studies usually refers to original scholarship aimed at publication, varies more than the other activities, in its claim to time and focus.

American higher education is celebrated for its diversity. Our colleges and universities represent a variety of missions and a wide mix of private, independent and publicly-supported schools. The mission of the institution is a primary factor in determining the distribution of the faculty workload among the three major categories of activity. The commonly followed Carnegie Classification system divides American colleges and universities into five categories: research, doctoral-granting, comprehensive, liberal arts (all four-year), and two-year. Research and doctoral institutions, about 10 percent of all institutions, emphasize research most heavily, although as we have seen, even at these institutions faculty devote only about 30 percent and 25 percent respectively of their in-sems time to research. Although research is also done at comprehensive universities and liberal arts colleges (and some of the more selective institutions and more scholarly faculty in these categories devote more time to research), the primary faculty assignment at most of these institutions is teaching, and their faculty members report spending, on average, about 10 percent of their time on research. Finally, the 40 percent of all faculty in the country who

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Teach at community colleges, (and who teach 50 percent of entering students), allocate only 3 percent of their time to research. These data validate the perception that faculty teaching loads in two- and four-year colleges and comprehensive universities are significantly higher than those in research and doctoral universities, public and private. However, the data suggest that fears of the dominance of the research model have been exaggerated by students, parents, and opinion leaders who have looked to comprehensive universities to provide an affordable substitute for the prestigious private universities. Many students seek out and attend private research institutions (and pay more for it) because they want to benefit from the kind of educational experience offered at these institutions. However, most public universities, which spend on average a third less per student than private universities, lack the funding essential to provide both strong graduate research programs and intensive collegiate instruction based on small classes and personal instruction to tens of thousands of undergraduates. Even some private research universities find such a dual mission beyond their means. Yet the public, as well as many critics who should know better, have often blamed the research universities (private as well as public) and their faculty—who teach a minority of students—for the perceived overall decline in student involvement in learning. Most critics have ignored the actual situation of the majority of undergraduates, as they do the problem of dwindling resources for all forms of higher education. They fail to consider that undergraduate instruction is increasingly dominated by community colleges and comprehensive universities, institutions where teaching predominates.

C. Variations in Course Loads within Institutions, by Disciplines and Departments

Faculty course loads differ among disciplines as well as among types of institutions. In a study by the Pew Higher Education Research Program (1992), in liberal arts colleges course loads were fairly evenly distributed among disciplines, although languages reported a relatively high average department median course load (five courses) and science a relatively low one (three courses). Research universities present a more uneven distribution. However, although the variations in average course load among types of institutions are fairly consistent, differences within universities, even within departments, can be significant.

The need to accept and deal with the realities of the different missions and obligations, among the vast span of institutions of higher learning, is a matter of critical importance. We must educate our students, continue our own research, attract the next generation of men and women into the academy, and strive for lives that are financially secure and personally rewarding. And, while doing all these things, we must articulate a mixture of scholarship, teaching, and service, and advocate a reward system that is both realistic and equitable.

D. Faculty and Institutional Priorities

Surveys by the Carnegie Foundation and the 1988 National Survey of Postsecondary Faculty (NSOPF) show that large numbers
of faculty are dissatisfied with current institutional priorities, as
reflected in the perceived reward structures of their institutions.
Over the two decades from 1969 to 1989, the majority of the
professors polled by the Carnegie Foundation agreed that

"teaching effectiveness, not publications, should be the primary
criterion for promotion." In 1989 large majorities still agreed
with this view at two-year and liberal arts colleges and at com-
prehensive institutions, though support for this position had de-
clined at doctoral and research universities. Over the same pe-

Table III. Liberal Arts Colleges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Research</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctorate-granting</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comprehensive</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>75%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liberal Arts</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-Year</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Respondents</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>69%</td>
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</table>

Source: Data supplied by the Carnegie Foundation for the
Advancement of Teaching

Table IV. Research Universities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Research</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctorate-granting</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comprehensive</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Arts</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-Year</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Respondents</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>59%</td>
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</table>

Source: Data supplied by the Carnegie Foundation for the
Advancement of Teaching
Table VII. Total and Selected Expenditures Per FTE Student 1976–77 and 1985–86 For Public and Independent Institutions in Constant 1985–86 Dollars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Institution</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Instruction</th>
<th>Administration</th>
<th>Research</th>
<th>Libraries</th>
<th>Scholarships &amp; Fellowships</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pub</td>
<td>Ind</td>
<td>Pub</td>
<td>Ind</td>
<td>Pub</td>
<td>Ind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976–77</td>
<td>$9,944</td>
<td>$15,394</td>
<td>$3,877</td>
<td>$5,853</td>
<td>$1,658</td>
<td>$2,552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985–86</td>
<td>11,320</td>
<td>18,779</td>
<td>4,206</td>
<td>7,093</td>
<td>1,991</td>
<td>3,539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Change</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Four Year</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976–77</td>
<td>$7,251</td>
<td>$7,589</td>
<td>$3,363</td>
<td>$2,834</td>
<td>$1,626</td>
<td>$2,110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985–86</td>
<td>8,243</td>
<td>9,130</td>
<td>3,713</td>
<td>3,201</td>
<td>2,031</td>
<td>2,740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Change</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-Year</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976–77</td>
<td>$3,908</td>
<td>$4,790</td>
<td>$1,996</td>
<td>$1,693</td>
<td>$1,036</td>
<td>$1,679</td>
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<tr>
<td>1985–86</td>
<td>4,223</td>
<td>5,272</td>
<td>2,107</td>
<td>1,792</td>
<td>1,253</td>
<td>2,046</td>
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<tr>
<td>% Change</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


E. Institutional Expenditures

Often overlooked in discussions of the priorities of colleges and universities are dramatic shifts in the proportions of institutional resources devoted to instruction and to other purposes, particularly administration and research.

Data published in 1988 by the U.S. Department of Education Research and Improvement show that in the mid-1980s expenditure per student, and especially expenditure per student for instruction, was lowest in the expanding world of community colleges, while it was greatest—even for instruction—at universities. Private independent universities outspent their public counterparts by more than 50 percent overall and, more significantly, in expenditures for instruction. Moreover, over the previous ten years private independent universities and four-year institutions had increased both their total and their instructional expenditures per student more than their public counterparts, despite massive increases in allocations for financial aid and student recruitment required to cope with the growing inadequacy of federal aid and the widespread decline in family income.

Public universities and four-year institutions did, as Table VII shows, disproportionately increase their research expenditures over this ten-year period. At the end of that period public universities spent only about 64 percent as much per student as private independent universities overall (setting aside student aid), and about the same 64 percent as much per student for research. Of course, the majority of students attend community colleges and four-year colleges, where research expenditure is relatively insignificant. In the community colleges, which have experienced the greatest enrollment increases, research expenditures declined to less than one-tenth of one percent of overall expenditures per student.

Data compiled by the Michigan Conference AAUP Budget Analysis Task Force for that state confirm the trend toward decreased instructional expenditures. At the same time, expenditures for "pure administration" were increasing in almost inverse proportion to declining outlays for instruction.
III. Teaching

For many faculty members, teaching is the defining academic activity. Teaching is a basic expectation of most academic positions, and no one—regardless of the local culture and commitment to research and publication—ever counsels that faculty members should not teach with careful preparation, concern, and dedication. More problematic, however, are the relationships or correlations between the quantity and the quality of teaching, the appropriate mix—in any given context—between teaching and scholarship, and the question of how rewards and prestige are, or should be, distributed. Current interest in "rewarding" teaching reflects questions about the existing reward structure, in both its tangible and its intangible aspects. While all agree that good teaching is vital to the health and future of the academy, and that good teachers must and indeed do carry their share of the common enterprise, there is no consensus as to how their achievements should be evaluated or rewarded. In our concluding comments we will return to this complicated and contentious problem.

Workload studies indicate that the normal academic working week runs in excess of fifty hours. Within this number, the course load for full-time faculty varies a good deal; from about six classroom credit hours per week (or two courses), as the average at research institutions, to eight to ten hours at most four-year institutions, to fourteen to sixteen hours at the majority of junior and community colleges. Except at the highest levels, these averages fall within the guidelines of the 1969 Statement. We should note, however, that at those highest levels they practically preclude opportunities for sustained scholarly work. As with the general issue of workload, variation can hinge on the mission of the school, the discipline, rank, the equivalency of other duties and commitments, and even personal preference.

Some data suggest that a course load of six to nine hours per week allows reasonable time for scholarship and offers the opportunity for an optimal mix or balance between teaching and scholarship, so as to make each genuinely and usefully complementary to the other. Those who teach fewer courses seem to spend about the same number of hours per week preparing and grading, on average, as do those who teach more. This suggests a positive relationship between less teaching and better teaching.4

4Recent studies support the idea that faculty who have lighter teaching loads spend more time preparing for their classes than faculty who have heavier teaching loads.

In a 1989–90 Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) study at UCLA, those faculty who taught nine to twelve hours per week spent 32 percent of their time teaching and 25.2 percent preparing for teaching. Faculty members who taught thirteen to sixteen hours per week spent only 17.3 percent preparing for teaching while those who taught seventeen to twenty hours spent only 13.8 percent of their time preparing for teaching.
Some faculty, such as many scientists at major research universities, carry course loads lower than average for their institutions. But it is important to remember that supervising a laboratory is as much teaching as is lecturing or leading a class discussion. Nor does a conventional tally of hours take into account the different amounts of energy and preparation needed for different types and levels of courses, for the duties of teaching a set curriculum as against the labors of creating new courses or using experimental pedagogy, and for variations between undergraduate and graduate instruction.

Teaching must be understood to embrace a very wide range of activities. Work counted as course load in the classroom or in the laboratory is a central part, but only a part, of what actually constitutes teaching in higher education. Work with individual students on their projects, faculty-student planning of curricula and courses of study, one-on-one supervision of research, informal interactions on or off campus, are but some of the forms of teaching that most faculty members are engaged in on a regular basis. Also included among the variety of pedagogical forms and situations that exist beyond the classroom are clinical teaching, field work supervision and training, and the training offered on a daily basis by academic librarians.

A general formula for course load assignments is not necessarily appropriate even within a single department. At some institutions, lighter course loads go to senior faculty and/or to research-oriented faculty. Although such variations seem to be widespread, we are skeptical about their overall effect on pedagogy and morale. But if hard to justify across the board, they are perhaps most likely to be handled equitably if left to collegial departmental decisionmaking. At the same time, at the other extreme, we find instances where economic pressure, especially in the lower faculty ranks, may compel full-time faculty, in addition to the legions of part-time faculty, to seek extra teaching for monetary reasons, either at their own schools or as moonlighters. Some faculty members indicate that they are quite content with their present distribution of labor; what they do conforms to what they wish to do. Others would prefer a lighter teaching load, offering more time per course and more time for scholarship. Many who consider themselves primarily teachers indicate that they would still welcome fewer classroom hours, in part because fewer hours would mean more time for each preparation and more energy to devote to their students.5

One of our goals is to urge that the genuine and much-valued diversity of academia be reflected in the distribution of rewards as well as duties. In the public debate, the research university is too readily advanced as the norm. In reality, most faculty members work at institutions where teaching is the principle assignment and course loads are heavy. For them, teaching is the major career endeavor and should be treated accordingly, in terms of status and reward. Criteria for promotion and tenure, merit salary increases, and other institutional rewards at such institutions should recognize and validate this fact. This is applied common sense; without it, neither the institution's mission nor faculty career satisfaction is likely to be realized.

There is considerable truth to the widespread observation, within and beyond the academy, that research and publication are more highly rewarded than teaching in its many forms. To a degree, this reflects the culture that the professoriate, academic administrators, and the lay public have all encouraged since World War II. Research and doctoral universities compete for the best research faculty by rewarding research and publication more than teaching. This practice shapes the national market and has some effect on other four-year institutions. But in looking at data on the distribution of time and on career satisfaction, we see that much depends on what we control for. It is not clear to what extent research, per se, commands a higher salary at the many institutions where research is but one component of the professional work profile. Nevertheless, at many institutions where both forms of activity are expected of most faculty, and even at some where teaching is the primary activity—research is much more likely to lead to tenure and promotion, and to merit increases in salary, than is a career focused primarily on teaching, however well that teaching may be done.

This generalization about the privileged position of research increasingly applies to many comprehensive universities, as well as to doctoral and research universities. Because of their desire to emulate research universities, there is probably validity in the perception that research-oriented faculty at such institutions have above-average salaries, and are sometimes assigned below-average teaching obligations. But beyond such institutions and such faculty, in the vast world of four- and two-year colleges, public and private, the pattern is different. At many four- and two-year institutions research is often no more than a minor factor either in tenure and promotion or in other rewards.

Since teaching—in its full meaning, running far beyond classroom lecturing and discussion—is based on and is strengthened by scholarship (in a broad sense), a course load that makes scholarship possible is essential to teaching of high quality. Conversely, scholarship and research are often enhanced when tested in the classroom or laboratory, by explanation or demonstration before students. Moreover, students derive unique learning experiences when they study with faculty actively engaged in research. Consequently, although there is a place at the university for some full-time researchers, most research faculty members should teach. This helps ensure that teaching is more than the transmission of received and traditional views and skills; it should constantly be enlivened and renewed by engagement with new discoveries, new controversies, and new interpretations.

5Ibid.
IV. Research and Scholarship

Research is often held up as "the problem" when higher education comes under attack. As we have already suggested, this view grossly oversimplifies the diverse activities of scholarship and research in contemporary colleges and universities, and their complex relationship to the other responsibilities of faculty. We must never lose sight of the importance of research and the value it contributes to the academic and global community. Research requires continued support, not only because it advances knowledge, but also because it advances vital and fundamental aspects of the academic endeavor. It is through research that we train graduate students and future scholars. Research and publication also provide an important means of assessing the scholarly competence of faculty members by permitting peer review and evaluation of scholarly output.

Research enables faculty members to keep up with new developments in their fields. Familiarity with new discoveries and theories is integral to informed and challenging teaching. Indeed, community college faculty, whose heavy teaching schedule does not generally allow time for research, should have their teaching loads lightened so that they too can engage in scholarship. The quality of teaching is enhanced when faculty have time to revise courses and develop new curricula. Of course, this requires an institutional commitment; faculty alone cannot make the changes necessary.

Although the pressures of limited funding sometimes lead to trade-offs between teaching and research, these activities should be complementary. While research activity does not guarantee effective teaching, it is generally an essential basis for a faculty member's understanding of the discipline. Indeed, the process, as well as the results, of scholarship and research are often precisely and appropriately what faculty members teach. Consequently, when asked what the priorities should be, university faculty and administrators alike say they favor a balance between teaching and research. When university education expanded after World War II, the complementarity of teaching and scholarship was the guiding principle. Students and faculty would profit by the interaction of both forms of academic activity.

At many institutions, research leading to publication (in the sense of Boyer's "scholarship of discovery") is explicitly identified as a major component of the academic mission. In such instances, it is fitting that the structure of the institution and definitions of faculty responsibilities are designed to support this demand, and the reward system and teaching loads are arranged accordingly. Moreover, the pressure "to publish or perish" is generally accepted at such institutions as an integral aspect of the career ladder; promotion requirements, merit pay, collegial encouragement, and faculty members' scholarly commitments and habits all reinforce the research mission.

But for the majority of institutions, neither workload nor resources permit a major orientation towards research, and most of them place heavy demands, in practical terms, on teaching—whatever the official ideology or the public perception. At these institutions, serious malaise results when the expectation or obligation to engage in research is imposed upon all, without due regard for the particular realities of the institution, its constituency, the faculty it has recruited, or the nature of the workload and student body. The expectation of original research and publication has been cruelly introduced at many institutions able to provide neither adequate support nor appropriate rewards for it: the stick without the carrot, atop heavy teaching loads and different values and commitments. Data cited earlier in this report show the uneasiness of faculty members who perceive a gulf between realistic standards for performance, given their actual workload, and their understanding of what administrators really expect—no matter what they say—when faculty members are being evaluated. This ratcheting up of expectations is a cause of great stress on campuses today, particularly for junior faculty.

Quality education requires a mixture of the forms of academic activity and integration of teaching with the new knowledge that comes to each member of the academy with his or her scholarly endeavors. All faculty members—wherever they teach—should be active scholars and should have opportunities to engage in research. Levels of expectation and priorities should be realistically adapted to the specific mission and working conditions of the institution. Evaluation should reflect the merit of individual contributions in terms of appropriate and explicit standards.

It is also essential to keep in mind that research, in its traditional sense, not only contributes to intellectual enlightenment and satisfaction, but also attracts recognition and funding to the institution and to the surrounding community. It contributes, additionally, as either "pure" or "applied" research, to the national well being and economy. Since World War II, institutions of higher learning have emerged as the centers of national research, at all levels and in all fields and disciplines. The close interrelationship between government, industry, social policy investigation, and the university now goes back for two generations. Neither the public interest nor the quality of our institutions of higher education will be served by a general attack on research and scholarship, easy though it may be for critics to point to "irrelevant" and erudite projects that seem to have little justification beyond individual enrichment or aggrandizement. It is also true that there are very real problems associated with academic research, often having little to do with a perceived struggle for academic time between research and teaching. The funding requirements attendant upon many kinds of research can generate a "he who pays the piper calls the tune" orientation which can distort priorities and decisions that should be based on other considerations. The academy must work to preserve its internal integrity and avoid subordinating academic to funding priorities. The secrecy associated with classified research, faculty taking research from campus to the for-profit sector, and paid
consulting that distracts from academic obligations may also threaten academic standards. But, serious though these research-related problems are, they are different in kind from the simplistic teaching-research polarization so misleadingly presented as our major educational dilemma.

Humanistic research and scholarship are, traditionally, conducted with little external funding; direct links between such work and the classroom seem easy to maintain. Heavily funded research in the sciences poses a greater potential for a "need to choose" between activities. All scholarly activity must have intrinsic value as well as extrinsic rewards. Scholarly discovery and enrichments—whether humanistic or scientific, or "pure" or applied and directly related to social and economic interests—are a major raison d'etre for research universities. We conclude by reiterating that scholarship—while crucial—is but one component of a total academic career, and is best valued when seen as a part of our commitment to all of the complex responsibilities and roles of higher education.

V. Service

In the grid of workload studies and reports on how time is spent on professional activities, the third partner, after teaching and research, is service. There are actually two varieties of service. One is within the academic community, running from service within one's department, as in collective work on a core course or a committee to evaluate graduate applications, to the presidency of the local AAUP chapter. The other is the service academics are called upon to offer to the extramural world: advice to local and state government or to non-profit organizations, presentations in areas of expertise to communities and civic causes, expert testimony, talks to high school students, and the like.

Service to the common enterprise should be seen as a vital contribution to the life of the academy and a necessary and legitimate use of faculty time, expertise, and energy. Service is the engine that drives peer review, shared governance, and professional life and development. It provides much of the impetus for reexamination and change in higher education. It is the extension of academic experience and counsel—the outreach that bridges "town and gown" and makes the fruits of scholarship readily available to those who need them—and the professoriate should be generous with time and advice. Yet such labors are generally undervalued in the reward system of higher education. This should be addressed.

Service, as compared to teaching and scholarship, gets a bad press. Because it takes one away from other activities, and because much service time is spent on committees in collective deliberation, it often seems less productive and less satisfying. Faculty members without tenure are often warned to concentrate on other forms of endeavor, to keep service to a minimum and to focus on activities that will count more when they are being evaluated. Few faculty members are inclined to speak in glowing terms of the value of the service they themselves offer, year after year. For most, the extrinsic rewards of service are few. And yet even state agencies, when they evaluate and assess academics and talk of quotas for workloads and course loads, realize that service—at all levels and of all sorts—must be recognized in the tables of equivalencies.

As higher education is process, so our collective deliberations and reports and conferences, within and beyond the academy, are a vital part of that process. It is interesting that while many faculty members assign relatively little value to such meetings, in the worlds of business and government they constitute a major form of professional activity. Service to one's department, college or university is like the portion of the crop held aside to be planted next year, or like the reinvestment of capital so that institutions and academic disciplines may both maintain themselves and change and adapt. Moreover, service is essential to the realization of the ideal of the college or university as a collegial institution, a community of scholars.

We have no wish to see institutions put new kinds of service, and new demands for "voluntary" service, into the normal package of professional duties. Faculty service is most valuable—in terms of faculty time and energy, and in terms of the expertise we offer—when it pertains to matters related to academic questions: governance and curriculum, personnel considerations, long-range planning, and the administration of academic units. Professional service to one's disciplinary association is important to the long-term improvement of teaching and scholarship. Application of faculty expertise to matters of public concern and benefit is also worthy of encouragement and support. These activities may, however, be best recognized when they merit evaluation as applied research or public instruction.

Though we do not urge that the rewards for service be fully commensurate with those for teaching or scholarly creativity, we take issue with those who denigrate and undervalue the roles that faculty members must play in the self-sustaining institution. We urge that professional and public service of high quality be given appropriate recognition and reward.

VII. Conclusions and Recommendations

We offer these conclusions and recommendations as a summary of what has been discussed here, with the forceful reminder that no single answer to any of the complex questions we have examined can possibly fit all in the diverse world of colleges and universities.

1. Faculty workload combines teaching, scholarship, and service; this unity of components is meant to represent the seamless garment of academic life and it defines the typical scholarly performance and career.

Higher education works best when faculty members teach with enthusiasm, engage in scholarly activities and research, and
are deeply committed to collegial, community, and professional service. All of these are vital components of the work of faculty. Ideally they reinforce each other, to the benefit of students and institutions and as major motives and sources of satisfaction in the life and career of each faculty member. We distort the enterprise of higher education if we attempt to separate these endeavors, or to define them as essentially competitive rather than as complementary.

2. Faculty workload and hours in the classroom are not the same thing.

The general public tends to equate the number of hours spent in the classroom—the contact-hour teaching load—with a faculty member's workload, which properly should be seen as the aggregate of hours devoted to all the forms and demands of teaching, of scholarship and research and publication, and of the many varieties of professional service. Not only does a mere tally and consideration of "teaching hours" ignore members of the faculty who teach in laboratories, or in settings other than within the traditional classroom (as in studios, small-group tutorials, field work, or clinics); it also distorts the nature of academic work by minimizing the value of the integrated career and the synergetic nature of experience and judgment that comes from engagement in the multiple dimensions of faculty work.

Data show that on average faculty members routinely work somewhere between forty-five and fifty-five hours per week. Workload should be thought of as total professional effort, which includes the time (and energy) devoted to class preparation, grading student work, curriculum and program deliberations, scholarship (including but not limited to research and publication), participation in academic and governance activities, and a wide range of community services, both on and off campus.

3. External mandates of workload and productivity are not an effective or desirable means of enhancing the quality or cost-effectiveness of higher education.

We believe that nothing of any value, in so far as the quality of higher education is at issue, is likely to result from extramural efforts to define workload or to determine an appropriate mixture among types of professional activity, whether we refer to individuals or to institutions. Many such attempts at external supervision and demands for accountability rest on an unsupported idea that heavier teaching loads are the solution to the current budgetary ills of higher education. We find no reason to think that more hours of student-teacher classroom contact are the road to better higher education. Nor does any convincing logic indicate that closer supervision of faculty performance will raise productivity and cut costs.

It is not difficult to understand why such externally imposed remedies are widely advocated for the problems that beset higher education. However, they neither blend with nor add to higher education's ongoing efforts to improve educational quality and to broaden access to institutions of higher learning.

4. Teaching is a basic activity of the professoriate, and institutional reward systems should reflect the fundamental importance of effective teaching.

Teaching—which includes laboratory instruction, academic advising, training graduate students in seminars and individualized research, and various other forms of educational contact in addition to instructing undergraduates in the classroom—should be given very high priority in all institutions of higher education. Surveys and interviews indicate that faculty members derive great satisfaction from teaching well and from working closely with students. Expectations of teaching effectiveness should be high, and those who meet them should be rewarded for their success—as for other noteworthy contributions—as part of the regular reward system of colleges and universities.

We worry that efforts to offer special rewards to a few faculty members for superior teaching may in some instances be substituted for broader and deeper institutional commitment to teaching and to the educational welfare of the students. Such rewards are well earned and come as a welcome signal of institutional concern. But, by themselves, such individualized rewards can become mere tokens and can even detract from efforts to direct scarce and contested resources towards an across-the-board enrichment of education, especially of bread-and-butter undergraduate teaching and student needs. The culture of each institution should expect the vast majority of its faculty—at all ranks—to engage in serious teaching as well as educational planning, just as it should interpret the many forms of teacher-student interaction as dimensions of its pedagogical mission.

5. Research, generally understood to mean discovery and publication, should be related to a broader concept of scholarship that embraces the variety of intellectual activities and the totality of scholarly accomplishments. Though discovery and publication are the core of scholarly endeavor, scholarship seen in its many forms offers a wider context within which to weigh individual contributions.

Innovative and integrative research are essential to research and graduate institutions as well as the capstone of many faculty careers. But scholarship can also mean work done to further the application and integration or synthesis of knowledge, and new directions in pedagogy clearly fall on both sides of the line between what we see as teaching and what can be classified as scholarship. In addition, work in the creative and performing arts, in applied fields of academe, and in areas that demand practical training, is also—by the working definitions of the needs and traditions of such areas—often best classified as research. By enlarging the perspective through which we judge scholarly achievement, we more accurately define the many ways in which intellectual inquiry shapes the path of scholarly pursuits and of...
our complex and interrelated roles as teachers and researchers in a multitude of institutional and disciplinary settings.

We believe that all faculty members—regardless of institution and regardless of workload—should involve themselves as fully as possible in creative and self-renewing scholarly activities. We envision all institutions to commit a suitable share of resources to encourage faculty to engage in the scholarship appropriate to their careers and to each institution’s mission. Each institution should create and interpret its system of rewards to reinforce the efforts of all members of its faculty who are striving to contribute. The responsibility of providing opportunities for such creativity falls upon administrators as well as upon the faculty themselves, and we especially point to the responsibility of senior faculty members to encourage and support the scholarly development of their junior colleagues.

6. In a public climate that, in recent years, has posited a competition between teaching and research, and that is inclined to blame the latter for a perceived decline in the quality of the education available to undergraduates, we need to affirm our support for research.

Eliminating research from the bulk of our campuses, and relegating it to an elite few, would cost our country dearly. It would also deal a heavy blow to the morale of the professoriate, as well as to the status of higher education as a profession that attracts a stream of gifted and dedicated young men and women.

Major reductions in research would also ultimately lead to a decline in the quality of teaching. We would find it more difficult to prepare a new generation of graduate students and researchers, and our collective loss would extend to the humanistic and social enhancements, as well as to the material gains, that come to our society through the advancement of knowledge. The arguments offered against academic research—that if faculty did less research they could teach more—disregard the quality of teaching that students would receive were professors to become mere transmitters of received information, rather than explorers and discoverers. We must pay tribute to the many ways in which research informs teaching within the world of higher education, just as it serves society beyond the walls of the academy.

7. The “ratchetting up” of expectations is detrimental to students as well as to faculty.

Public calls for more faculty time in the classroom have not been balanced by reduced demands, on the part of educational administrators and even by faculty peers, regarding faculty publications and service. The current and highly publicized calls for a “renewed” emphasis on teaching, combined with the long fiscal crisis in the service sectors of our society, have meant that faculty at many institutions—and especially those in the public sector—are being called upon to teach more courses and more students.

At the same time, however, institutions have increasingly urged faculty to publish, and they have shaped the reward system accordingly. Faculty who wish to continue to devote time to scholarship and publication—generally seen as the surest route to tenure and promotion—must often do so while carrying teaching loads that are becoming heavier each year. This is cruel to members of the faculty, as individuals, and it is counterproductive for our students’ education. Institutions should define their missions clearly and articulate appropriate and reasonable expectations against which faculty will be judged, rather than simply exercising a managerial prerogative of demanding all things from all their men and women.

8. Service, both institutional and community, is an important component of faculty work.

The institutional service performed by faculty is vital to the functioning of our institutions of higher education. We do not urge that the rewards for service be commensurate with those for dedicated teaching and scholarship. On the other hand, we believe that such service is essential to the health of our institutions and can make significant contributions to our society. It should be recognized and appropriately rewarded.

Service represents enlightened self-interest on the part of faculty, for whom work on the curriculum, shared governance, academic freedom, and peer review comprise the scholars’ and teachers’ contributions to the shaping and building of the institution. In addition, it is through service that the professional disciplines communicate, and the exchange of scholarship, by means of conferences and publications, is made feasible. And it is through service that the faculties of our colleges and universities offer their professional knowledge, skills, and advice to their communities. The faculty’s commitment to the public welfare, as well as its reinvestment in the health and continuing social and intellectual utility of the academy, is expressed to a considerable extent by what we refer to as service. It is a vital component of our collective lives and of our role in society.

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