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Academic Work, Working Conditions and Job Satisfaction

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ACADEMIC WORK, WORKING CONDITIONS AND JOB SATISFACTION

3.1 Introduction

In this analysis of changing academic work, working conditions and job satisfaction in Europe, we will present the academics' assessment of facilities, resources, and personnel.[1] Subsequently, an overview will be provided about the academic workloads and allocation of time between the four major types of academic activities: teaching, research, service, and administration. A further section will discuss job satisfaction and, related to it, the academics' income.

The chapter provides a general picture of the variety of views and activities in 11 European countries, where differences between junior and senior academic staff as well as between academics at universities and at other higher education institutions will be presented, whenever relevant. As will be shown below, the facilities and resources are predominantly assessed positively by European academics, with the least positive scores for research funding. Thereby the ratings of those active at universities are more positive than those active at other higher education institutions, and we note substantial differences as well in the assessments of junior and senior academics. Assessments are by and large most positive in five countries: Finland, Norway, Switzerland, the UK and the Netherlands. Self-declared hours spent on academic work vary as well between European countries, between junior and senior academics, and between academics at universities and other higher education institutions. The longest hours spent at work in higher education institutions (when classes are in session) are reported on average of all academics in Ireland, Italy and Poland and the shortest in the Netherlands, Norway, and Portugal. The weekly mean time ranges from 27

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hours per week (junior staff in Norway) to 52 hours per week (senior staff in Germany). Senior staff works longer hours than junior staff in all countries analysed.

Differences in the proportion of time spent on teaching and research are striking: academics at universities spend substantial time on research, when classes are in session, in Switzerland, Norway, Germany and Austria, while substantial time is devoted to teaching in Portugal, the Netherlands, Poland and Ireland. Overall, the academic profession in Europe in the countries studied reveals relatively high levels of job satisfaction – notably in Switzerland, the Netherlands and Italy and least in Portugal, Ireland and the UK. In some countries, such as Germany, Italy and Switzerland, senior academics are clearly more highly satisfied than junior and senior academics, while in other countries, such as Norway and the Netherlands, this difference is negligible. However, many academics argue that they work under considerable personal strain. Altogether, about one-sixth or more of academics would not opt for the academic profession if they had a choice again.

Finally, the chapter indicates striking differences of the academics' income across Europe. At universities, the highest income is reported both for junior and senior academics in Switzerland, followed by the Netherlands and the UK. Academics at other higher education institutions across Europe have on average a higher income than academics at universities, the only exception being Portugal. This reflects the fact that universities employ substantially larger proportions of junior staff who are generally not as highly paid as senior staff.

The work situation of academics changes substantially, and this change is central for the academic profession as a whole, as prior analyses underscore. Enders and de Weert (2009: 252-253) name five "drivers" are central in changing the nature of the academic profession: massification of higher education, expansion of research, growing emphasis on the societal relevance of higher education and research, processes of globalization and internationalization, and policies and practices towards marketization and managerialism. Similarly, Kogan and Teichler (2007: 10-11) and Brennan (2006, 2007) name three pervasive recent trends in higher education: relevance, internationalization, and management. Some other analyses refer specifically to financial constraints, differentiation of higher education systems, competitive forces and, moreover, to a growing uncertainty of the academic profession: "We live in times of uncertainty about the future development of higher education and its place in society and it is therefore not surprising to note that the future of the academic

profession seems uncertain, too" (Enders and Musselin 2008: 145). The present chapter discuses some uncertainties related to academic work and working conditions, thereby comparing the academics' views and activities as presented in the surveys undertaken in twelve European countries.

3.2 Assessment of Facilities and Resources

The academics in the eleven countries have been asked to assess the facilities and resources provided by their institutions for their work. Twelve items - classrooms, technology for teaching, laboratories, research equipment and instruments, computer facilities, library facilities and services, office space, secretarial support, telecommunications, teaching support staff, research support staff and research funding – have been rated on a scale of answers from 1= "excellent" to 5="poor".

As Table 3.1 shows, the majority of academics in most countries assessed **classrooms** positively. This holds true for more than 70% professors in Switzerland and Finland. In contrast, slightly half than a half (51%) of those in Poland and even less than 40% in Italy (38%) and the UK (36%) were satisfied in this respect. The ratings by junior staff are similar on average as well as within the individual countries. The only noted difference is spot in Portugal with 64% of senior staff and only 47% of junior positively assessed classrooms facilities.

The technology for teaching is viewed positively. Positive ratings are again most frequent among all academics in Switzerland (78%) and Finland (70%) and least frequent among their colleagues in the United Kingdom (42% each) and Italy (36%). In the majority of countries, senior academics are more highly satisfied with the technology for teaching than junior academics, but there is no such a difference in the UK and the Netherlands. In Germany, Ireland and Norway junior academics rate the technology for teaching even more positively than senior academics.

Laboratories are positively assessed by about half of academics. Positive statements are most frequent in Switzerland (69%), but far below average in Netherlands (33%), Poland (38%) Italy (29%), and Portugal (36%). There is little difference between the assessment given by senior and junior academic within the countries. On average the senior staff are more satisfied and only in Norway and the UK, the assessments by junior academics are clearly more

favourable than those by senior academics. One could assume that lower expectations rather than the availability of good laboratories explain this finding.

Assessments of *research equipment and instruments* vary strikingly by country. The ratings in Switzerland (73% of senior and 70% of junior academics) contrast very favourably those in Italy (32% and 28%), Portugal (39% and 28%) and Poland (36% and 33%). Ratings by senior and junior academics are similar on average on most countries. In Norway, however, junior academics are more satisfied in the respect than senior academics (59% as compared to only 38%), while the reverse is true for Portugal (39% vs. 28%). It reflects completely different logic of social structure of academic communities in these two countries.

In most countries, the majority of professors assesses *computer facilities* positively – most pronounced in Switzerland, Finland and Norway (more than 70% each). This applies, however, only less than half in Poland, Portugal, Italy and the UK. In more than half of the countries addressed in this study, senior academics rate computer facilities better than junior academics, while almost no such difference exists in the Netherlands and Finland. Junior academics rate these resources more positively in Ireland and Norway.

Library facilities and services are highly appreciated by more than 70% of the academics in Norway, Ireland, Switzerland and Finland, but only but about half in Portugal, Germany, the UK and Italy. Positive ratings seem to be reinforced by a high level of digitalization and access to digital resources all over the world. It is worth noting that junior academics in half of the countries rate library facilities and services more positively than senior academics; the reverse is true only in Italy, Portugal and Poland.

In most countries, the quality of ***office space*** is generally appreciated, notably by about two-thirds of the academics in Finland, Norway, Switzerland and Ireland, while less than 45% are satisfied in this respect in Italy and the UK. Ratings of office space given by junior staff are slightly less positive than senior staff. Only in Switzerland the ratings by junior and senior are equal.

Secretariat support is positively assessed by majority of academics in only two countries Switzerland (56%) and Finland (55%) which contrasts with amount of positive ratings given by academic in Norway (25%), Portugal (32%) and the UK (34%). It is interesting to know

that in Austria, the Switzerland, the Netherlands, Germany, Finland, Norway, Portugal and the UK junior staff on the average manifest higher satisfaction than their senior colleagues. This might be due to substantially lower expectations on the part of the junior academics. The reverse trend is observable only in Italy. In Ireland the ratings between senior and junior staff are the same (42%).

Telecommunications were by most positively assessed among all the facilitate and the resources addressed in the questionnaire. Ratings exceed 70% in most countries both among senior and junior academics, while the lowest score – in Portugal and the UK (52%) is even slightly higher than half. Differences between the ratings of senior and junior academics are negligible except for Portugal where ratings of juniors are lower (61% as compared to 51%). *Teaching support staff* is poorly assessed in all countries with highest positive ratings of Switzerland (46%) and Finland (43%) and lowest in Italy (15%), Poland (19%) and Norway (22%). Teaching support staff is more positively viewed by junior than senior academics in Poland, the Netherlands, Italy, Portugal and the UK. The reverse trend is identified in Austria, Switzerland, Ireland, Germany, Finland and Norway. By large the differences are not significant with the exceptions of Norway (17 senior – 26% junior), Finland (36% senior and 44% junior).

The ratings of *research support staff* are similar with most frequent positive assessments again in Switzerland (48%) and Finland (34%) and least frequent positive voices found in Norway (16%), Italy (17%) and Portugal (17%).

In this respect, junior academics make slightly more positive statements in Austria, Germany, Norway, the UK and Finland with higher share of positive statements while junior staff is slightly less positively impressed in Switzerland, Poland, the Netherlands, Portugal and Italy. *Research funding* is least often positively assessed among researched facilities. In many countries only by about one fifth of academics gave positive ratings. Exceptional positive ratings are found only in Switzerland (46%). This underscores the general picture of Switzerland as a country of best facilities for academic work in Europe. The least positive ratings again are those in Poland (9%) and Italy (8%). In the vast majority of the countries studied junior faculty members provide better assessment of research funding than their senior colleagues except for Portugal, Ireland, Poland and Italy, where the reverse is true. These relatively positive rating by junior academics, again, might reflect different

expectations, but might be also caused by the professors' impression that research funding has declined over time.

Table 3.1 Positive assessment of facilities and support provided for their work by their institutions (percent, responses 1 and 2 among senior and junior academics at both types of institutions of higher education)

	2010					2007/08				
	AT	CH	IE	PL	NL	DE	FI	IT	NO	PT	UK
Classrooms	**54**	**72**	**57**	**49**	**57**	**50**	**71**	**37**	**58**	**48**	**37**
Senior	55	73	53	51	58	47	74	38	55	64	36
Junior	52	72	59	46	55	51	70	35	62	47	37
Technology for teaching	**58**	**78**	**64**	**42**	**58**	**53**	**70**	**36**	**61**	**50**	**42**
Senior	60	79	61	47	58	51	72	37	58	55	42
Junior	57	78	66	38	58	54	69	35	63	51	42
Laboratories	**45**	**69**	**61**	**38**	**33**	**53**	**53**	**29**	**44**	**36**	**43**
Senior	51	74	56	41	33	53	55	29	40	47	41
Junior	44	68	62	35	33	52	53	28	47	34	44
Research equipment and instruments	**47**	**70**	**55**	**34**	**36**	**53**	**53**	**31**	**51**	**30**	**39**
Senior	51	73	59	36	37	40	51	32	38	39	35
Junior	48	70	53	33	35	56	53	28	59	28	41
Computer facilities	**61**	**76**	**69**	**43**	**61**	**64**	**72**	**44**	**75**	**43**	**45**
Senior	69	80	69	47	61	66	72	47	73	50	48
Junior	59	76	70	40	60	64	71	39	76	42	44
Library facilities and services	**63**	**70**	**73**	**63**	**63**	**50**	**76**	**53**	**78**	**46**	**52**
Senior	61	70	71	67	61	46	70	56	72	55	51
Junior	64	70	73	59	65	52	77	49	82	46	53
Your office space	**62**	**64**	**63**	**49**	**59**	**60**	**67**	**44**	**68**	**45**	**42**
Senior	74	64	67	54	63	62	76	48	74	56	46
Junior	59	64	60	45	56	60	64	38	64	44	40
Secretarial support	**44**	**56**	**42**	**50**	**45**	**47**	**55**	**33**	**25**	**32**	**34**
Senior	37	53	42	53	44	39	47	34	19	26	28
Junior	44	57	42	47	45	49	57	31	29	34	36
Telecommunications (Internet, networks, and telephones)	**81**	**85**	**80**	**70**	**70**	**80**	**81**	**64**	**84**	**52**	**52**
Senior	85	84	81	72	71	77	82	66	84	61	53
Junior	80	85	80	67	69	82	81	61	85	51	52
Teaching support staff	**27**	**46**	**40**	**19**	**36**	**26**	**43**	**15**	**22**	**24**	**35**
Senior	23	46	37	22	37	23	36	16	17	25	36
Junior	28	47	42	17	35	27	44	14	26	23	35
Research support staff	**26**	**48**	**31**	**21**	**27**	**27**	**34**	**17**	**16**	**17**	**32**
Senior	24	50	31	23	28	21	28	18	12	18	28
Junior	25	48	31	18	25	29	36	15	20	17	35
Research funding	**14**	**46**	**20**	**9**	**18**	**24**	**22**	**8**	**23**	**17**	**17**
Senior	12	37	20	10	18	15	19	8	18	18	13
Junior	15	48	19	8	19	27	23	7	26	17	20

Question B3: At this institution, how would you evaluate each of the following facilities, resources, or personnel you need to support your work? (Scale of answers from 1 = Excellent to 5 = Poor)

Overall, the facilities and resources are more positively assess by academics at universities than by academics at other institutions of higher education (not presented in Table 3.1). This is consistently true in those countries where the ratings at universities are very positive (Switzerland and Finland, but also Norway, the UK and the Netherlands). In other countries, where the ratings by academics at universities are less positively, the facilities at other institutions are at least according to some categories equally or even more positively assessed. For example, the conditions for teaching are in some respects more positively assessed at other higher education institutions. Finally, the facilities and resources are similarly assessed in Poland by academics from both types of higher education institutions: in contrast to other countries, massification of higher education in Poland might have led to a loss of distinction in the quality of working conditions between the higher education sectors.

3.3 Workload and Allocation of Work Time

It is widely assumed that academics in Europe are expected to spend about 40% of their time on teaching, 40% on and the remaining 20% on service and administration. The mix of research and teaching, as Burton Clark has pointed out, "comes close to determining everything else about academic life" (see de Weert 2009: 136). The distribution of time, however, varies by institutional types, and national systems of higher education and research vary in terms of institutional compositions: whether all or only some institutions of higher education are more or less equally in charge of higher education and whether most publicly funded research is accommodated institutions of higher education or in substantial parts outside higher education. For many years, a distinction has been often made between unitary and binary systems in higher education. A more recent typology by de Weert (2009: 140-141) takes for granted that the distinction between universities and other institutions of higher education gets blurred in the Bologna Process. De Weert, therefore, names three models: (1) integrated systems (Germany, Italy, Austria – as well as most Central European systems except Romania, including the biggest system in the region, Poland); (2) concentration of research in a separate set of research institutes (France); (3) vertical institutional differentiation in the national system (the Anglo-Saxon tradition).

In the eleven-country study, academics from all types of institutions have been asked to state the number of weekly hours each for the period when classes are in session and when classes are not in session. The have been asked to sub-divide the time according to teaching, research, administration, service and other activities. The longest average weekly hours, when classes are in session, are reported by all academics on average, i.e. senior and junior academics, at both types of higher education institutions, in Ireland (46.7 hours per week), Italy (45.5 hours), and Poland (44.9 hours). The average time is also more than 40 hours per week in more than half of the countries, slightly less than 40 hours in the Netherlands and Portugal as well as only 33.2 hours in Norway (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Weekly hours spent by academics on professional activities when classes are in session (arithmetic mean, both types of institutions of higher education)

	2010					2007/08				
	AT	CH	IE	PL	NL	DE	FI	IT	NO	PT	UK
Junior academics	40.8	41.1	45.0	44.6	36.8	38.4	40.5	44.3	27.0	39.3	41.8
Senior academics	49.0	49.1	50.1	45.3	39.6	51.9	45.8	46.3	41.7	41.0	47.3
All academics	42.4	42.4	46.7	44.9	38.2	41.2	41.8	45.5	33.2	39.5	43.7

Question B1: Considering all your professional work, how many hours do you spend in a typical week on each of the following activities? (hours per week) …

Overall, academics in Europe estimate their weekly working time when classes are in session as comprising between 27 hours (junior staff in Norway) and 52 hours (professors in Germany). On average, senior academics work more hours than junior staff. This differences ranges from almost 15 more hours in Norway and Germany to more or less the same time in Poland. Only part of this difference is due to the fact that part-time employment is clearly more widespread among junior staff than among senior staff.

Of all academics surveyed of the respective country, those in Switzerland (44%), Norway (43%), Germany (41%), and Austria (39%) academics spend on average most hours on research. As Table 3.3 shows, academics in Finland spend more or less the same number of hours on teaching and research while classes are in session, while those in Portugal (54%), the Netherlands (54%), Poland (44%), Ireland (43%) academics state that they spend more time on teaching than on research. Somewhat surprisingly, Poland, commonly believed to have teaching-focused higher education institutions, is not at the end of the list in the time spent on research..

Table 3.3 Weekly hours spent by academics on professional activities when classes are in session and when classes are not in session (arithmetic mean, both types of institutions of higher education)

	2010			2007/08							
	AT	CH	IE	PL	NL	DE	FI	IT	NO	PT	UK
Teaching											
When classes are in sesssion	30	27	43	44	54	32	39	41	34	54	38
When classes ore not in sesssion	13	12	19	22	32	16	19	18	11	27	17
Research											
When classes are in session	39	44	26	32	22	41	40	37	43	28	31
When classes are not in session	59	56	47	50	40	56	58	59	66	51	51

Question B1: Considering all your professional work, how many hours do you spend in a typical week on each of the following activities? (hours per week) (A) Teaching: Preparation of instructional materials and lesson plans, classroom instruction, advising students, reading and evaluating student work. (B) Research: Reading literature, writing, conducting experiments, fieldwork. (C) Service: services to clients and/or patients, unpaid consulting, public or voluntary services. (D) Administration: committees, department meetings, paperwork. (E) Other academic activities: Professional activities not clearly attributable to any of the categories above

When classes are not in session, academics spend on average less than one fifth of the time on teaching (including all teaching-related activities) and more than half of the time on research. Teaching activities takes the relatively largest share in the Netherlands (32%), Portugal (27%) and Poland (22%), while research is most widespread during this period in Norway (66%) as well as Italy and Austria (59% each).

The time spent by junior academics on research as compared to that on teaching varies more strikingly between countries than in the case of senior academics. In some countries, a substantial proportion of junior academics is only in charge of teaching, and in some countries junior staff has a smaller teaching load than senior staff in order to qualify for a professorship predominantly through research achievements (notably those who have not yet been awarded a doctorate); in other countries, in contrast, junior academics have a similar or even higher teaching load the senior academics. Juniors notably spend more time on average than senior academics, when classes are in session, in Norway (58% vs. 30%), Finland (55% vs. 28%) and Switzerland (56% vs. 35%). In contrast, as Table 3.4 shows, juniors and seniors spend about the same proportion of their work time on teaching and research, when classes are in session, in Ireland, Poland, the Netherlands and Portugal.

Table 3.4 Weekly hours spent by senior and junior academics on professional activities when classes are in session (arithmetic mean, both types of institutions of higher education)

	2010					2007/08					
	AT	CH	IE	PL	NL	DE	FI	IT	NO	PT	UK
Teaching											
Senior academics	29	30	32	43	41	35	42	40	42	44	40
Junior academics	29	19	41	45	49	27	28	42	26	52	36
Research											
Senior academics	34	35	30	32	33	31	28	37	30	30	27
Junior academics	41	56	29	33	33	48	55	38	58	31	34

Question B1 (see Table 3.3)

Also at times, when classes are not in session, senior academics altogether across countries spend slightly more time than junior academics on teaching. Again, there are variations between countries: While junior academics in Norway spend substantially more time on research during this period than senior academics, this difference is small in Ireland and Portugal.

In explaining the distribution of time between teaching and research, we cannot only refer to the above stated national distinction in the understanding of research and teaching roles of junior staff and senior staff. In addition, senior staff on average spends more time on other functions: service, e.g. services to clients and/or patients, unpaid consulting, public or voluntary services, and administration, e.g. work in committees, department meetings, paperwork. For example, administrative work can be viewed as both (time-consuming) privilege and duty for senior academics, while junior have fewer rights to play a substantial role in intra-institutional decision-making.

Further, as already pointed out, institutions of higher education in Europe are sub-divided in some countries (e.g. Switzerland, Finland, Ireland, Germany, the Netherlands and Portugal) between universities both more or less equally in charge of teaching and research and other institutions of higher education predominantly in charge of teaching on the one hand and on the other hand with no such clear institutional divide (e.g. Italy, Poland and the United Kingdom).

Moreover, we have to take into consideration that teaching and research are to a different degree regulated or open to individual choices. Clark (1987: 72-73) has pointed out that teaching loads are defined for most academics, while "'the research load', on the contrary, is

not part of the vocabulary", and research is done "in time freed from teaching", professors are "saving hours for research". Time spent on administration is "time diverted": "it may be mandated, but it steals away from something more basic and is seen as more of a burden; more time for research is not. Time spent on administration, we may note, is widely viewed as wasted, often not even regarded as a legitimate demand" (Clark 1987: 72-73). The personal options for spending more time on teaching or on research are influenced by the individual academics' views about the trade-offs and tensions between teaching and research (see Enders and Teichler 1997). In recent years, the academics' activities seem to become more diversified, whereby the demands from different directions seem to grow. For example, the ability to raise money and to manage research projects based on external funding, as Musselin (2007: 177) points out with reference to Germany and the US, "is no longer something academics can do: it is something they must do". Not surprisingly: "the traditional job of the professor is expanding to include entirely new kinds of responsibilities" (Altbach 2007: 153). This seems to be increasingly the case throughout most competitive European higher education systems. We observe "blurring boundaries between traditional roles and quasi-entrepreneurial roles. … Academics are, for example, increasingly expected to raise their own research funding, and success in leveraging funding becomes more and more important for both the institution and the individual faculty member" (Enders and Musselin 2008: 145). As a consequence, increasingly diversifying academic activities and new responsibilities, or changing balance between responsibilities, seem to contribute to professional stress and to have an impact on academic satisfaction. Many academics believe that they are required "to do more with less", (Welch 2007: 11) and that here is an "imperatives for faculty to do 'more'" (Schuster and Finkelstein 2006: 75-134). Therefore, it is interesting to note how many academics consider their job as a strain and how many are overall dissatisfied.

3.4 Job Satisfaction

Overall, academic profession in Europe in the countries studied seems to derive relatively high satisfaction. On the scale from 1 = "very high" to 5 = "very low", senior academics at both institutional types in Switzerland, the Netherlands, Italy and rate their job satisfaction in the 1.9-2.1 range, in Austria, Finland, Poland and Norway 2.2 and in Germany rated 2.3. As Table 3.5 shows, the ratings are 2.4 each in Portugal and Ireland, while the mean of 2.6 in the UK expressed the highest level of dissatisfaction in Europe. The ratings by junior staff are slightly less positive (2.4 as compared to 2.2) across countries. Junior staff differs from senior

staff most visibly in a lower degree of satisfaction in Portugal (2.8 vs.2.4) and in Switzerland (2.2 vs. 1.9).

Table 3.5 Junior and senior academics' overall job satisfaction (arithmetic mean*, both types of institutions of higher education)

	2010					2007/08					
	AT	CH	IE	PL	NL	DE	FI	IT	NO	PT	UK
Senior academics	2.2	1.9	2.4	2.2	2.1	2.3	2.2	2.1	2.2	2.4	2.6
Junior academics	2.4	2.2	2.5	2.4	2.2	2.6	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.8	2.8

Question B6: How would you rate your overall satisfaction with your current job?

* Responses on a scale from 1 = Very High to 5 = Very Low

Elaborating further (data not presented in tables, though) The proportion of those satisfied with their job (scores 1 and 2 on a five-point scale) is highest among seniors from both types of higher education institutions in Switzerland (82%) and in the Netherlands (78%), ranges from two-thirds to three quarters in the majority of countries, and is only lower in Ireland (60%) and substantially lower in the United Kingdom (49%). In reverse, the proportion of those dissatisfied is 18% in Ireland, 16% in the UK and between 5% and 13% in the remaining countries. Clearly, the only European country which stands out is the UK. The situation has not changed much from what was reported in the academic profession studies throughout the 1990s and 2000s (e.g. Fulton 2000; Fulton and Holland 2001).

The data suggests that job satisfaction does not differ substantially between academics active at universities and at other institutions of higher education. This holds true both for senior and junior academics. It allows us to have more detailed analysis of academics at universities which have been under growing political and (in particular) economic pressure. With raising expectation various expectations aired by external stakeholders the traditional role of universities has been recently seriously questioned, so has the traditional role of a faculty. Under this circumstances it is worth drawing attention to the university academic's job satisfaction.

Table 3.6 shows the extent of job satisfaction at universities and also the gap between senior academics' and junior academics' job satisfaction varies substantially by country. In looking again specifically at the data on academics at university, we hardly note such a gap in Norway (2%) and the Netherlands (3%). In contrast, junior academics are clearly less satisfied than

senior academics in their country in Germany (16% difference), Italy (15%) and Switzerland (14%).

Table 3.6 Junior and senior academics' overall job satisfaction (percent, universities)

	2010					2007/08					
	AT	CH	IE	PL	NL	DE	FI	IT	NO	PT	UK
High satisfaction*											
Senior academics	73	83	59	67	76	71	72	70	69	66	49
Junior academics	60	69	53	58	73	55	65	55	67	54	43
Low satisfaction**											
Senior academics	13	6	19	8	8	10	6	5	9	9	15
Junior academics	12	9	18	11	10	16	10	10	9	18	20

Question B6: How would you rate your overall satisfaction with your current job? Responses on a scale from 1 = Very High to 5 = Very Low

* Responses 1 or 2 ** Responses 4 or 5

The respondents from universities have been also asked to react to the following statement: "This is a poor time for any young person to begin an academic career in my field". As Table 3.7 shows, this view is shared most frequently both by senior academics and junior university academics in Austria and Italy (2.0). The most optimistic views of the academic career opportunities for young people come from Norway, Switzerland and the Netherlands. It is interesting to note that the career opportunities are not viewed most pessimistically in those countries where academics express a low degree of job satisfaction. Academics in the United Kingdom and Portugal – i.e. the countries with a low average job satisfaction – do not view the future of academics especially bleak.

Table 3.7 Junior and senior academics' assessment of young persons' academic career prospects (arithmetic mean*, universities)

	2010					2007/08					
	AT	CH	IE	PL	NL	DE	FI	IT	NO	PT	UK
Senior academics	1.8	3.2	2.6	2.9	3.1	2.9	2.5	2.0	3.4	2.9	2.6
Junior academics	1.8	3.2	2.7	2.8	2.9	2.9	2.7	1.8	3.7	2.9	2.6

Question B5: Please indicate your views on the following: "This is a poor time for any young person to begin an academic career in my field"

Responses 1 and 2 on a scale from 1 = Strongly agree to 5 = Strongly disagree

Job satisfaction has been also addressed in an additional statement posed in the questionnaire: "If I had it to do over again, I would not become an academic". Actually, on average across countries, 15% of the senior academics and 17% of the junior academics state that they would not do again. As Table 3.8 shows, the most negative views are expressed in this respect by academics at universities in the United Kingdom (22% among seniors and 30% among juniors). It is worth noting the responses by academics in Finland: While senior academics

respond very positively to this statement with only 9% negative responses, juniors are among those reacting quite negatively (20%).

Table 3.8 Junior and senior academics stating that they would not become academics again (percent*, universities)

	2010					2007/08				
	AT	CH	IE	PL	NL	DE	FI	IT	NO	PT	UK
Senior academics	16	13	14	17	18	17	9	9	15	15	22
Junior academics	17	14	13	18	15	19	20	15	17	15	30

Question B5: Please indicate your views on the following: "If I had it to do over again, I would not become an academic"
Responses 1 and 2 on a scale from 1 = Strongly agree to 5 = Strongly disagree

The identical questions and items as regards job satisfaction had been asked in the Carnegie survey undertaken in 1992. Thus, a trend analysis is possible for three European countries both included in the Carnegie survey and the recent survey undertaken between: Germany, the Netherlands, and the UK. For example, 42% of academics in the UK, 36% of all academics in Germany, and 29% in the Netherlands have been agreeing in 1992 with the statement about a poor time for any young person to being an academic career in a respondent's field. 13% of academics in the Netherlands, 17% in Germany and 20% in the UK have responded that they would not become academics if they had it to do over again. The responses by academics in Germany at that time were among the most negative ones in the Carnegie survey. Thereafter, changes moved in different direction: Academics in Germany become towards a positive attitude in various dimensions of job satisfaction, while is opposite is true academics in the United Kingdom.

Finally, both the Carnegie Study and this recent study have explored the extent the academics consider their job as a source on personal strain. They also have aimed at establishing how responses to this question are related to the academics' overall job satisfaction.

As the Carnegie Survey report put it: "one wonders about the personal strain among professors. How much does it reflect financial worries? How much does it involve frustration over inadequate facilities and technical support? How much does it reflect the contradictory signals faculty are often given about the value of their work?" (Boyer et al. 1996: 14). All the above questions are relevant today but it is still hard to link professional stress directly to all of them: in the present survey, only the overall level of satisfaction with remuneration was reported, the overall satisfaction with different facilities, and a number of points related to

intrinsic and extrinsic value of academic work. What is certainly clear is that the causes for professional stress are multiple, and in some countries are more related to income, in others to increasingly managerial management styles or measuring effectiveness through performance indicators.

Actually more than half of the academics at universities both in the United Kingdom (61% among seniors and 56% among juniors) and the Netherlands (56% and 58%) state affirmatively. Table 3.9 suggests that the European averages are somewhat lower (43% each) and that the job is seen much less frequently a source of strain in Italy (27% and 35%) as well as in Norway (34% and 35%).

In comparing the findings with those of the Carnegie study, we note that the strain seem to have increased in both European countries for which data are available at both points in time (see Teichler 1996: 43-44). Accordingly, however, the strain increased more strongly in the United Kingdom (from 45% to 61% among senior academics and from 49% to 56% among junior academics at universities) than in Germany (from 41% to 48% and from 32% to 36%).

Table 3.9 Junior and senior academics considering their job is a source of considerable personal strain (percentage*, universities)

	2010						2007/08				
	AT	CH	IE	PL	NL	DE	FI	IT	NO	PT	UK
Senior academics	43	40	47	34	56	48	51	27	34	38	61
Junior academics	42	41	42	40	58	36	46	35	35	47	56

Question B5: Please indicate your views on the following: "My job is a source of considerable personal strain "

Responses 1 and 2 on a scale from 1 = Strongly agree to 5 = Strongly disagree

Overall, there are marginal differences between academics from universities and from other institutions of higher education, but a few points need to be made. In Switzerland, Ireland and Germany, academic job at the university seems to be a considerable bigger source of personal strain than employment in the non-university sector; this in notably the case in Switzerland (41% vs. 30%) and Ireland (44% vs. 32%). In a few other countries, the reverse relation holds true.

3.5 Links between Income and Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction, from a global perspective, is also linked to the academic income. The academic income is an important factor determining the overall shape of the academic profession: it is connected to the ability of academic institutions to attract and to retain able individuals (Schuster and Finkelstein 2006: 234). Competitive salaries can be expected to draw brightest graduates and doctoral students to the academic profession, especially that universities are increasingly treated like other organizations from both public and private sectors. The prestige of the academic profession is relatively high but, globally, diminishing. Young academics are being compared to young professionals, and university professors to advanced professionals. High job security and friendly, non-competitive work place is increasingly less common throughout Europe, as reported by such indicators as personal stress, individual affiliations, academic freedom and pressures to publish or obtain competitive, outside funding.

As Philip Altbach and colleagues stressed recently in their global survey of academic salaries, "central to the working conditions of the professoriate is remuneration. … We are convinced that successful universities and academic systems must offer their academic staff adequate and assured salaries, along with the option to pursue a full-time career path with appropriate guarantees of long-term employment. Without these conditions, no academic institution or system can be successful – let alone achieve world-class status" (Rumbley et al. 2008). University professors in Europe and in the North America have traditionally been members of the (often upper-) middle classes and their financial status in the postwar period was relatively stable. In most European countries, though, in the last two decades, academic incomes seem not to have caught up with incomes of other professionals. References to the "proletarisation" of the academic profession have been heard ever more strongly in higher education research (see, for instance, Amaral 2007, Fulton and Holland 2001, Fulton 2000, Enders and de Weert 2009). So far the general rules were clear: "along with full-time commitment, salaries must be sufficient to support a middle-class lifestyle. … professors must be solid members of the middle class in their country" (Altbach 2007: 105). In all European countries studied, the above condition seems to be met for senior academics; for junior academics, traditionally, the link has been much weaker. Overburdened, overworked, and (relatively, compared with other professionals) underpaid academics will not be able to

make European universities strong and attractive (and as Cavalli and Moscati concluded recently, "underpayment and an uncertain future make the academic profession less appealing when compared with other professions in almost every country", 2010: 50).

Current global trends show the diminishing attractiveness of the academic career, academic workplace and academic remuneration and, consequently, may indicate growing future problems in the retention of best talents in academia in the future. Attractive higher education systems should be able to offer academics competitive career opportunities. The widening of the gap in economic status of academics and other professionals needs to be stopped, at least in top national institutions, to avoid further "graying" of the academic profession and to make universities a career option for the best talents. In the context of the current economic crisis in Europe it needs to be stressed that, historically, and based especially on the US experience, budget cuts in higher education in financially harsh times have always been disproportionately higher than in other public services.

Globally, academic working conditions and remuneration have been deteriorating, as documented by comparative studies edited by Altbach (2000, 2002, and Rumbley et al. 2008). Teichler and Yagci stressed in a global context that "in a substantial number of countries, the salary level of academic staff in higher education and research institutions is far too low to earn a living" (Teichler and Yagci 2009: 108). European countries do not seem to follow this pattern, though. Overall, while global comparative academic profession literature shows the clear links between job satisfaction and academic incomes, especially in middle-income and developing countries (Altbach 2000, Rumbley et al. 1998, Welch 2007), in a specific context of high-income European countries studied in the survey, the links are weak.

Several cross-country differences in academic incomes need to be stressed, though. The survey reveals significant differences in academic incomes across Europe and shows that the highest median income for both junior and senior respondents is in Switzerland, followed by the Netherlands, Italy and Norway. At the other end of the spectrum, there are countries where academics earn considerably less, such as Poland. This difference is substantial but it is not surprising, considering both national GDP and the average salaries of professionals in these countries. There is a third, biggest group of countries for which cross-national differences between the income of academics are small (see Chapter X for details). Academic incomes substantially increase with the progression in the academic career: professors in all

systems report considerably higher income than the juniors (on average, professors earn approximately two times more than their junior fellows except for Switzerland in which the income gap is bigger). The UK and the Netherlands stand out as countries with the smallest differences in distribution of income between senior and junior academics. Academics employed at other higher education institutions have in general higher income than academics from universities, with the exception of Portugal. The biggest differences between academic incomes in universities and in other higher education institutions are in Germany and Finland. The explanation could be that the non-university sector in these countries has strong focus on applied sciences and has traditionally been closely linked to the business sector and it can provide much more attractive financial conditions for academics than the university sector.

5. Conclusions

The academic profession in Europe is very much under pressure, working under considerable personal strain. Even though academics work beyond routine hours, they are relatively satisfied and consider their work conditions as at least good or acceptable. Across Europe, they assess lowest, among the various categories of facilities, resources, and personnel, their current access to research funding. There is no enthusiasm in Europe about academic work and work conditions on average, but there are also no complaints about the two on average. Seniors and juniors differ substantially in their employment situation, as another chapter in the present volume shows (see Chapter X), but they differ in most countries studied only moderately in their perception of work situation and their job satisfaction. It can be argued that between seniors and juniors there are substantial differences in employment conditions, some differences in working conditions, and very similar attitudes towards research, teaching, university governance etc. (as shown also in other chapters). There are significant cross-country differences in Europe, and there are clearly higher education systems which seem more academic-friendly (e.g. Switzerland) and less academic-friendly (e.g. the United Kingdom), to show two extreme cases. About one-sixth or one-fifth of academics would not enter the academic profession if they had a choice, which is a powerful warning signal for some countries (in Europe, especially in the UK where the reported rate is 22% for senior and as high as 30% for junior staff).

The commitment to research as a university mission differs drastically across Europe, between institutional types, and between junior and senior academics, with some systems

clearly more research-oriented (e.g. Switzerland and Norway), and some clearly more teaching-oriented (e.g. the Netherlands, Ireland, and Portugal).

What seems to be gone from European higher education in general is the golden age of the research university professor (which perhaps existed only as an idea, or as a reference point for generations of scholars looking back to their predecessors). The number of academics has been increasing radically in the last few decades, following the massification of higher education throughout the continent. A sense of nostalgia, or even loss, of good old times among academics, seems perhaps inevitable among the ongoing transformations. National systems are populated with up to two million students in the biggest (France, Germany, Italy, the UK, Poland, and Spain), with more than 100.000 academics in each of them. As Burton Clark put it, "the size of the profession affects the strength of its cultural bonds. One of the reasons why older professors in numerous systems can reminisce happily about their lives in the old days of 'elite' higher education is that the overall profession was much smaller" (Clark 1983: 93). The academic profession today becomes increasingly differentiated between various academic professions, as clearly empirically demonstrated by the EUROAC project, with different perceptions, norms, working habits and incomes across not only different countries but also across generations, research fields, and institutional types within the countries studied. The processes of stratification of the academic profession(s) are well advanced across the continent.

Transformations of European higher education systems have been substantial in the last two or three decades, with significant impact on the academic profession. The growing complexity of the academic enterprise leading to growing uncertainty about its future today is also due to the fact that higher education systems in Europe have been under powerful reform pressures for the last two or three decades, following huge reforms of the 1960s and early 1970s. Recent reform initiatives lead to current reform initiatives which, in turn, may lead to new reform initiatives (not only in Europe but globally, in both developed and developing worlds). Reforms increasingly, and throughout the continent, lead to further waves of reforms. Higher education as a whole has already changed substantially in most European economies but it is expected to change more. Perhaps the least susceptible to fundamental changes in the next decades will be the traditional research university, viewed as crucial for the economic prosperity of regions and nations. Different directions of academic restructuring in different countries and within particular national systems add to the complexity of the

picture which certainly lead to the overall more stressful working environment than three decades ago or more. Academics, the core of the academic enterprise, are working in turbulent times. Universities and other higher education institutions are changing faster then ever before in the last two centuries, together with their social and economic environments.

The changes in academic work are intensive today but for the first time they can be assessed in much more detail through large-scale European quantitative research which provides a refined empirical dimension to the growing academic profession research literature. There are ongoing changes in the academic work and there are attempts to measure them and draw valid conclusions from the empirical material available. But it is also possible that the sheer scale and speed of changes makes it hard to interpret them by the community of higher education researchers. The gap between data and their interpretation may be more important in the times of change, as today, than in the times of relative stability.

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