STEPHEN PETRINA, SANDRA MATHISON & E. WAYNE ROSS

THREAT CONVERGENCE:
THE NEW ACADEMIC WORK, BULLYING, MOBBING AND FREEDOM

The convergence of the casualization, fragmentation, intensification, segmentation, shifting and creep of academic work with the post-9/11 gentrificaton of criticism and dissent is arguably one of the greatest threats to academic freedom since the Nazi elimination of the Jewish professoriate and critique in 1933, Bantu Education Act's reinforcement of apartheid in South Africa in 1952, and McCarthyism in Canada and the US in the 1950s and 1960s.[1] In the history of education, this would be quite the claim yet the evidence seems to speak for itself. Academic work has been fragmented into piecemeal modes and intensified as academics absorbed, through amalgamation, traditional clerical staff and counseling work. The balance of the academic workforce has been reduced and casualized or segmented to an "at whim," insecure, unsalaried part-time labor pool, the 8-hour workday and 40-hour academic workweek collapsed to 60-80 hours, and the primary locus of academic work shifted off-campus as the workplace crept into the home and its communal establishments. Academic stress— manifested as burnout through amalgamation and creep of work, and as distress through bullying, mobbing and victimization— underwrites increases in leaves of absence. Non-tenure track faculty are hit particularly hard, indicating "contingency or the precariousness of their position" as relentless stressors.[2]

Nowadays, it's whimsical to reminisce about work-life balance and promises that the academic workforce will be renewed as boomers retire with baited expectations, or that the workweek and workplace for salaried full-timers could be contained within the seduction of flextime and telecommuting. In many ways, the flexible workplace is the plan for boomers by boomers with both nest eggs and limits on retirement age breaking. As currency values, retirement portfolios, and savings spiral downward while dependent children and grandchildren and inflation spiral upward, incentives to retire erode. Precariously unemployed, underemployed and part-time academics aside, boomers still in the academic system are trended to face the biggest losses. As economic incentives to retire decrease, incentives for intellectual immortality and legacy management flourish with the boomers' political leanings moving toward the center. One can hardly blame them.[3]

Enthusiasts of anything "flexible" (learning, space, time, work, etc.) and everything "tele" (commuting, conference, learning, phone, work, etc.), academics readily workshift with additional liability but no additional remuneration— instead is an unquestioned acceptance of the "overtime exemption"— while the employer saves about $6,500 per year per worker in the tradeoff as worksite or workspace shifts from campus to home. The academic workweek is now conservatively 60 hours with many PT and FT reporting persistent 70-80 hour weeks. Perhaps academic women can finally have it all after putting in the 120 hour workweek. One reason institutions now cope with many fewer FT hires is that academics are all too willing to do the work of two. As Gina Anderson found a decade ago, "with apparently unconscious irony, many academics reported that they particularly valued the flexibility of their working week, in terms of both time and space… in the same breath as reporting working weeks in the order of 60 hours." For most

academic workers, the cost of flexibility is effectively a salary cut as overheads of electricity, heat, water, communication and consumables are shifted to the home. Carbon footprint reductions are a net benefit and for a minority, the savings of commuting and parking offset the costs of this homework or housework. What is the nature or implications of this increasing domestication of academic work and displacement of the academic workplace? For academic couples with or without children, the dynamics of housecohabitry, househusbandry or housewifery necessarily change as the academic workplace shifts and labor creeps into the home. With temptations to procrastinate on deluges of academic deadlines, academic homes have never been cleaner and more organized. Nevermind the technocreep of remote monitoring. Over the long run, although some administrators cling to the digital punch card and time stamp with *Hivedesk*, *Worksnaps* or *MySammy*, "smashing the clock" in the name of flextime and telework is about the best thing that ever happened to academic capitalism.[4]

This is not exactly a SWOT analysis, where Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats are given due treatment. Rather, the focus is on this threat convergence as it resolves through historic displacements of the academic workplace and work. To what degree are the new policies for academic speech inscribed in academic work, regardless of where it's done? As the academic workplace is increasingly displaced and distributed, are academic policies displaced and distributed as well? Observed at work, monitored at home and tracked in between—these are not so much choices as the cold reality of 21st century academic work.

* * * * *

The last of the academic luddites and proletarians died with David F. Noble on 27 December 2010 and academic socialists have yet to respond with the type of utopian academic communities raised in the nineteenth century. The problem here, however, is that electronic cottage utopians of the 1970s have some explaining to do: Why did cyberspace become a workplace? So much for the futurists—Toffler hyped in *The Third Wave*:

> Thus "low-abstraction" office workers for the most part perform tasks—entering data, typing, retrieving, totaling columns of figures, preparing invoices, and the like—that require few, if any, direct face-to-face transactions. They could perhaps be most easily shifted into the electronic cottage. Many of the "ultrahigh-abstraction" workers—researchers, for example, and economists, policy formulators, organizational designers—require both high-density contact with peers and colleagues and times to work alone.

And Naisbitt typed in *Megatrends*:

> The utilization of electronic cottages will be very limited: people want to go to the office; people want to be with people.

Which is right or wrong? Certainly, even when teaching, given blended or online courses, academic work is no longer "ultrahigh-abstraction," if it ever was. Let's face it, most academic work is already automated or automatable. Academic workers are now "low abstraction" homeworkers who, truth again be told, do *not* "want to be with people," or at least more academic people, or at least more administrators, bloated as their ranks became over the past two decades. It is a cliché to declare the 21st century academic worker, workplace and workload an historical achievement and effect. The question is an effect or product of what?[5]

How far do the new borders extend around campus life and college town? With all the top-heavy university policies, underworked administrators looking for something to do or someone to bother, obtrusive academic bullying legislation, and the new critiquette, who wants to go to the brick and mortar academic workplace if one can avoid it?

What is an academic workplace or workspace? Regarding smoking laws, a workplace is "any building or structure that is covered by a roof." Is it too much of an exaggeration to say for most academics, since work creeps into vacations at the beach or campground, this definition would be extended to include

anything under the sky? Academic employers necessarily adopt a legal definition of workplace. At the University of British Columbia (UBC), under the *Workers Compensation Act* (*WCA*), the academic workplace is "any place where a worker is or is likely to be engaged in any work." An academic's home becomes a workplace when academic work is undertaken. In compliance with *Bill 168*'s workplace bullying, violence and harassment legislation at the University of Western Ontario, workplace "is defined as 'any land, premise, location or thing, at, upon, in, or near which a worker works' (e.g. campus buildings, green spaces, sports facilities, research parks and sites, parking lots)." In Canada, under the *Public Service Labour Relations Act*, the workplace is defined as

> The location at or from which an employee ordinarily performs the duties of his or her position and, in the case of an employee whose duties are of an itinerant nature, the actual building to which the employee returns to prepare and/or submit reports, etc., and where other administrative matters pertaining to the employee's employment are conducted.[6]

Of course, for academics lauded as cultural creatives and knowledge workers, a place-based contained-by-the-sky definition of the academic workplace is anachronistic or an anathema to the creep of academic work. Accommodating the transformation of cyberspace into workplace, one can readily assume that a workplace is "anywhere one can be connected to a network or the Internet." However, the "networked office" and "smart workplace" fail to adequately capture that of the 21st century academic. "Technology is giving the office an identity crisis," *Newsweek* reported. "Even the word office now sounds like something your father went to." When most academics finally find time to "hunker down and think," it is no longer in their office on campus.[7]

In *Workplace Futures*, Ruth Saurin suggests that late 20th century definitions, such as "organizational ecology" or ecosystem, also fail to adequately capture changes. Better, she says, is to define a workplace as an

> an infrastructure that, not only includes the interior office space and building shell, but also considers the IT, telecoms and furniture systems that keep it operational; a support infrastructure that includes the people that make the environment work, such as the facilities and property management teams; and, a cultural and social space interchange within the workplace that reflects the relationship between the organisation and the employee.

Goffman's total institution suggests confinement, bookshelves, clocks, doors and windows; the "total workplace" is open, displaced, distributed and without spatial and temporal limits, yet administered in totalistic ways for the performance of, in this case, academic tasks. Rather than a panopticonic tower for the control of prison work and prisoners through observation, a model deployed in primary, secondary and postsecondary schools, academic work and workers are now more often coordinated from central ivory towers through signals much like the coordination of planes from central air traffic control towers. In this model, as Freud and Klein once said of da Vinci, high-flying academics are most subliminally concerned with the recognition of their genital achievements.[8]

If the total workplace cannot be leased, empty or underused academic workspaces or offices can be let to new revenue generating opportunities. Universities commonly lease research lab space and develop contracts with business and industry to occupy facilities. Some, such as UBC, develop land for residential use and double as a real estate agency or property trust. Academics should not be surprised to one day soon find their office advertised for $20 per day or $250 a month on ShareDesk, the Airbnb of office space. Entrepreneurial faculty members wanting to recover lost wages from the overtime exemption can readily skirt the fine print of visiting faculty policies to take advantage of hotdesking. Exploiting the trend, an entire department at the University of Steveston has reduced overhead and set up shop in a 600 sq. ft. anti-office. The upstart Sandranix State is pioneering sensory isolation systems that project VR office walls around faculty members on the fly, creating scalable academic compartments as necessary. Breaking new ground through its "*on* work instead of *at* work" academic culture, Waynesboro Open purged 75% of net under-utilized, quasi-vacant office space.[9]

With a redefinition and redistribution of the academic workplace are new definitions of academic work and workload. The fragmentation of academic work is not Dr. Rip van Winkle's eventual realization that some academics are hired or paid to do more research, teaching or service and administration (RTS) than others. A FT academic workload is often contractually, albeit notionally, defined as 40%-40%-20% or 60%-20%-20%, depending on the institution or discipline, but universities have made these ratios and associated contract language obsolete by redefining the "core functions" or triple mission to discovery, learning and engagement (DLE). There is no semantic one-to-one correspondence between RTS and DLE. Just as primary and secondary education has taken on and downloaded more and more social services to teachers, tertiary and higher education has taken on and downloaded more and more to academics in the redefinition of RTS to DLE. This necessarily redefined academic work. In the process is an erosion of special protection of the RTS functions under academic freedom and free expression. Indeed, it is increasingly difficult to defend special protection of either the "research function" or the "teaching function."[10]

As diffuse and displaced as the academic workplace is, the contractual or legal definition of academic work has become expansive. In general terms, all responsibilities of academic work have expanded and intensified over the past two decades: administrative functions and planning; correspondence, consultation and counseling; research, revenue generation and related scholarly activity, including presentation; teaching and related connected responsibilities, including preparation and supervision; and staff and institutional development. The expansion and intensification for FT faculty is partially due to the automation of academic work, which speeds up the flow of information in both low and ultrahigh abstraction, and partially to a shear reduction of the FT ranks. For PT faculty the result is exploitation or more work for less pay. An academic workload allocation model (AWAM) helpfully disaggregates work and gives a provision of equity and protection against exploitation. For instance, some labor unions in Australian and British institutions of higher education advise that for FT faculty, any more than 1,600 hours per year for a 12 month contract is unpaid work (as is anything over 1,200 hours for a 9 month contract). However, a nuanced AWAM can also make academics more vulnerable to audit culture and measures. Ignoring or overlooking the intensification of invisible academic work by romanticizing the academic is nonetheless increasingly counterproductive.[11]

Unable to countenance this convergence but nonetheless anxious to shore up confidence, Munchausen managers tell stories of their travels across the institution, for years on end, conducting workplace climate and job satisfaction surveys and responding with new policies and procedures. With clear as mud directions from steering committees, academic managers' travels get waylaid in true Munchausen fashion and they notoriously embellish and finesse what is experienced or found. Fantastic tales are told about encounters with the rare satisfied employee and well-functioning department. Stock photos of happy researchers fist-bumping their way through positive development are downloaded and posted in slide shows to depict the exotics from journeys around campus. Incredible accounts of responsive reward structures are given to drive good behavior. Administrative fabulism and Munchausen stories of academia are invariably prefaced and delivered with a straight-faced punch-line: "The core strength of an institution of higher education is its faculty." "People are our core strength," UBC's workplace satisfaction report affirms. For

> three years, under the direction of the Human Resources Department, members of the University community were consulted individually or in groups about the appropriate directions that the University should take…. What we learned from the consultation process was that most faculty and staff were generally satisfied with their job and their working conditions.

The power of beleaguered faculty members' daily affirmations (i.e., "I'm good enough, I'm smart enough, and doggone it, people like me!") and non-respondents to satisfaction surveys aside, academics routinely report that the two most important determinants of their well-being are salary and job security (i.e., tenure track)— the two things 2/3 of academic workers do not have. Contingency, not security, burnout and discomfort, not satisfaction, mark academic work.[12]

* * * * *

On trend with other provinces and states in Canada and the US, effective 1 November 2013 in British Columbia (BC), *Bill 14* amended the *WCA* to cover any "mental disorder" "predominantly caused by a significant work-related stressor, including bullying or harassment, or a cumulative series of significant work-related stressors, arising out of and in the course of the worker's employment." This prompted postsecondary institutions to respond with legal risk management and diversity and sensitivity training. Overlooking suggestions that this training rarely works and sometimes backfires, faculty and staff at UBC were required in spring 2014 to attend a one-hour anti-bullying workshop and complete a twenty-minute online module. It was confirmed that management's exploitation of an increasing number of PT faculty does *not* constitute bullying or harassment. Downloading liability to employees, this training and the university's heavy-handed *Statement on Respectful Environment* fixed boundaries on speech. The Faculty Association of UBC did nothing despite warnings from the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT): "In invoking the need to be 'respectful' and 'civil' and to avoid 'provocation,' too many universities are suppressing free speech and freedom of expression. Some universities are even stretching to invoke human rights' codes to justify suppression."[13]

With the transformation of the domicile into cottage industry comes the academic regalia of workplace policy, procedure, and law, albeit unbundled for domestic conditions. The procession of policy, procedure, and law creeps into the home with spillover onto or into the mobile body through work device, cable, and signal. The precondition for domestic academic work is acceptance of the terms of monitoring by academic managers. Whereas one still 'represents' the institution and its reputation outside the workplace the academic employee now carries increasingly more of the institution and its liabilities, risk and trappings home, along for a walk or ride, or into the local cafe. Moreover, just as a single soldier, packed with materiel and provisions, became a troop in the late twentieth century, the academic worker, packed with policy material and content provisions, turned into a walking workplace, albeit looking more like the working dead than the determined intellectual.[14] Of course, academic discontent, dissent, and employee-on-employee bullying and mobbing accompany this casualization, fragmentation, intensification, segmentation, shifting and creep of academic work.

Is it that academics at home are affable, civil, collegial, congenial, personable, polite and sociable but thrown into the physical company of one another on campus somehow become academic bullies, mobsters and monsters (Figures 1-2)? Could it be for administrators watching what transpires in professional work what Jane Elliott observes in pre-professional work? "I watched what had been marvelous, cooperative, wonderful, thoughtful children turn into nasty, vicious, discriminating, little third-graders in a space of fifteen minutes," she concludes.

Figures 1-2. Academics turn bullies, mobsters and monsters (Images by C. Peters).

If higher education recapitulates lower education no matter the locale, then certainly academic policies, procedures and laws best extend into the home, including the bedroom where academics do their worst work. Or is it that academics and academic communities are just like any others: "cooperative and divisive, nasty and nice to themselves and others— complex, contradictory collections of real human individuals"?[15]

Is it that academic managers hold a popular view that "it is only natural to be at ease during interaction, embarrassment being a regrettable deviation from the normal state"? In the classroom, hallway and office, academics must now avoid at all cost creating interactions wherein there may be "objective signs of emotional disturbance: blushing, fumbling, stuttering, an unusually low- or high-pitched voice, quavering speech or breaking of the voice, sweating, blanching, blinking, tremor of the hand, hesitating or vacillating movement, absent-mindedness, and malapropisms." Or is it, as Goffman argues, that "embarrassment is not an irrational impulse breaking through socially prescribed behavior but part of this orderly behavior itself"? "Flusterings are an extreme example of that important class of acts which are usually quite spontaneous and yet no less required and obligatory than ones self-consciously performed."[16]

Is it, as Charlotte Bloch suggests, that research is an activity that is "intoxicating, giving rise to a sense of delight and involvement" but the balance of academia generates "envy, mistrust and malice," giving rise to "anger, disappointment, bitterness and broken bonds"? Given the fiery passions of anger, envy, malice and mistrust of academics, one can see why they work in cahoots and conspire to become bullies and mobsters. One can also empathize with academic labor and management's collusion in creating policies to neutralize these passions and defer to the politicians' better judgment on higher education workplace regulations. Is it academia from which academics need protection? Or is it that the "corrosion of character" inherent in academic capitalism and neoliberal workplaces reduces an otherwise delightful workforce to conniving individuals and conspiratorial squads? Do academics and their market both need moralizing? Antagonsim, anxiety, confusion and instability are endemic to new austerity measures of academic capitalism and neoliberalism.[17]

An increase of academic bullying and mobbing is not unique to current trends; this is recurrent during hard times from the founding of the modern university. New bullying legislation, policies and tactics characterize current trends and emerge as signs that managers are anxious to buttress their power against discontent and dissent. One sub-question here is why did academic managers, who otherwise specialize in the languish arts, rush to this judgment on regulating academic freedom? Increases of bullying and mobbing and subsequent gentrification and proscription of critique and dissent are in themselves alarming threats to academic freedom. Inasmuch as one can justifiably argue that academic freedom is synonymous with a protected subset of free speech, one might argue that academic work, workers or the academic workplace are synonymous with a protected subset of 'work,' 'worker' and 'workplace.' However, with recent bullying legislation that protection is lost as academic work, workers, and workplaces have become just like any other work, workers, and workplaces. Therein partially lies what makes this a serious threat convergence.[18]

Yet the threat is not merely reductionism; in this post-tenure era it is difficult to find sympathy for defenses, smacking of elitism and exclusivity, that academic work, workers, and workplaces are value-added above domestic, emotional or manual labor. No one buys anymore post-Romantic sentiment that the life and work of the academic ought to be valued over the life and work of the homemaker and plumber. Relatively speaking in the public mind, the university professor is the third least stressful job, and by implication third easiest, one can have (edged out this year by the hair stylist but still less stressful or easier than the jeweler, seamstress/tailor, dietician and forklift operator have it). The gig is up. The "heart and soul" or "spirit" of the university are now the stuff of legend and metaphysics.[19] Nor is the threat simply that universities and faculty unions were caught sleeping as they dreamed that bullying legislation and policies would buffer them from having to be responsible to discontent and dissent. In pragmatic terms, university administrations and faculty unions slept and dreamed that legal risk management was most advisable: A University is just like any other employer and a faculty union just like any other union. That is not in itself a threat to academic freedom but does beg the question: Why are

universities amalgamating, casualizing, fragmenting, intensifying, segmenting, and shifting academic work and workers, and expanding the scope of the academic workplace from within, while they are devalued from without? Certainly not idle spectators, faculty unions have become entirely ineffective in defending against these changes to academic work. Trying to sprout angel wings every time the budget and contract bell rings, and it rings quite a bit these days with the fiscal Pavlov providing a diminishing stimulus, public institutions of higher education are reluctant to stand up to politicians while faculty unions mimic the behavioral cue and are increasingly disinclined to disagree with employers. Academic employees are increasingly averse to disagree with either. And so goes a reduction to *status quo*.

Another part of the threat is that academic bullying and mobbing are immensely complex, tugging on the heartstrings of even the staunchest advocate of academic freedom from the left and the most emboldened defender of free speech from the right. Voices of reason—Rosa Luxemburg's third persons and Spiro Agnew's silent majorities— desperately try to find solid ground as they teeter and totter between the celebrated tolerance of prohibition and the uninhibited, between moderating offences that might be received as workplace bullying and utterances that might be sent as academic freedom. They bounce between the proper implementation of workplace bullying legislation and proper expression of academic freedom, all the while reporting that the utilitarian's 'proper' (i.e., theirs) is the soundest (i.e., *centrist Doc ergo proper Doc*). The two may be contradictory in many cases but not incommensurate: bullying legislation and policies put limits on, but do not eliminate, academic freedom and the latter tests the legal and policy limits of the regulation of speech in the workplace. The threat to academic freedom herein lies a potential inability of academics, left and right, to articulate contradictions of how their own longing for an unfettered or unbullied and unsullied academic life may well compromise their peer or future academics' need to speak with "reasonable hostility." This is not to say that 'your academic freedom ends where my academic nose piercing begins.'[20]

This generation of intellectuals is now left with the Russian doll of academic freedom inside respectful workplace policies inside risk management and liability legal mechanisms inside anti-bullying laws. Rather than complemented by charter or constitutional law of free speech or expression, academic freedom is now a nested subproblem of workplace law. Constrained optimization has never been insurmountable in academia. This time things are different.

Once bastions of free speech, are universities now blocks of gentrified speech management? Academic freedom is tolerated as long as it is 'not in my backyard.' Once a collective of independent thinkers, is the NIMBY university now reproducing Stepford faculty and students? "Free speech is so last century. Today's students want the 'right to be comfortable'," an analyst recently reported. 'Stepford' signifies docile and submissive faculty and students turning conformist to avoid even the slightest accusation of disrespecting anyone or prevent even the mildest slight and remain in a comfort zone. The result is active avoidance of controversy, provocation and conflict. Yet in compromise is promise. If, like society, academic freedom must be defended, then academics must be offended.[21]

NOTES

[1] Of course, comparisons with overt oppression and suppression of academics are exaggerated. This history has yet to be written and must necessarily include separate and unequal Jim Crow segregation of African diaspora scholars, suppression of feminist academics in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and postindustrial segregation or confinement of east and south Asian scholars to medical and scientific labs and software sweatshops. For parameters and sources on the suppression of critique and criticism, see Stephen Petrina, "The New Critiquette and Old Scholactivism: On Academic Manners, Managers, Matters, and Freedom," *Workplace: A Journal for Academic Labor* 20 (2012): 17-63.

[2] For the casualization and segmentation of the academic workforce, see e.g., California Federation of Teachers, *The Challenge to End Casualization of Academic Labor* (Burbank, CA: CFT, 2010),

http://www.cft.org/your-work/community-college/part-time/154-part-time/resources/478-the-challenge-to-end-casualization-of-academic-labor.html; Alex Wardrop & Deborah Withers, Eds., *The Para-Academic Handbook: A Toolkit for Making-Creating-Learning-Act*ing (Bristol, UK: Hammeron, 2014), http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0; Alan Finder, "Decline of the Tenure Track Raises Concerns," *New York Times* (November 20, 2007). On academic work-related depression and stress, see Marc Bousquet, *How the University Works: Higher Education and the Low-Wage Nation* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 104-108; Gretchen M. Reevy & Grace Deason, "Predictors of Depression, Stress, and Anxiety Among Non-Tenure Track Faculty," *Frontiers of Psychology* 5 (July 2014): 1-17, on 13.

[3] For trends in retirement portfolios, see e.g., Barbara A. Butrica, Howard M. Iams, Karen E. Smith, and Eric J. Tode, "The Disappearing Defined Benefit Pension and its Potential Impact on the Retirement Incomes of Baby Boomers," *Social Security Bulletin* 69, 3 (2009): 1-27. On the political beliefs of academics, see Neil Gross & Solon Simmons, eds., *Professors and Their Politics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014).

[4] On the academic workweek, see Gina Anderson, "Carving out Time and Space in the Managerial University," *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 19 (2006): 578-592, on 583; William Alden & Sydney Ember, "Wall St. Shock: Take a Day Off, Even a Sunday," *New York Times* (January 11, 2011): A1, http://dealbook.nytimes.com/2014/01/10/wall-st-shock; Sara Robinson, "Why We Have to Go Back to a 40-Hour Work Week to Keep Our Sanity," *AlterNet* (March 13, 2012): http://www.alternet.org/story/154518/why; John Ziker, "The Long, Lonely Job of *Homo Academicus*," *Blue Review* (March 31, 2014): Retrieved https://thebluereview.org/faculty-time-allocation/. On women and work, see Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Why Women Still Can't Have It All," *The Atlantic* (July/August, 2012): Retrieved http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2012/07. On flextime, see Sarah Fister Gale, "Formalized Flextime: The Perk That Brings Productivity," *Workforce* 80, 2 (February 2001): 39-42; Michelle Conlin, "Smashing the Clock," *Bloomberg Businessweek Magazine* (December 10, 2006): http://www.bloomberg.com/bw/stories/2006-12-10/smashing-the-clock; Karen E. Klein, "How to Make Your Employees Work From Home," *Bloomberg Businessweek Magazine* (February 15, 2011); http://www.businessweek.com/smallbiz/content/feb2011/sb20110215_286886.htm. For examples of academic flextime and teleworking policies, see Georgia Regents University, "Telework & Flextime Policy," (January, 2013): http://policy.gru.edu/archives/3776; Massachusetts Institute of Technology, *A Guide to Job Flexibility at MIT* (June 2004), http://hrweb.mit.edu/system/files/all/worklife/flexible_work_arrangements.pdf; Stanford University, "Staff Telecommuting," (September 5, 2013): https://adminguide.stanford.edu/chapter-2/subchapter-1/policy-2-1-21. For examples of how telecommuting saves the world, see Global Workplace Analytics, "Pros and Cons," http://globalworkplaceanalytics.com/pros-cons. From here, the $6,500/year employer savings on flextime and telecommuting is commonly quoted.

"One reason institutions now cope with many fewer FT hires is that academics are all too willing to do the work of two." Academics have yet to theorize this pronounced problem of academic labor. Is this low wage paid labor or shadow work? Ivan Illich describes "the fundamental bifurcation of work that is implicit in the industrial mode of production" as a distinction between paid and unpaid work. Unpaid work or "shadow work is a complement to paid work: "unpaid performance is the condition for wages to be paid." Increasingly, says Illich, "the unpaid self-discipline of shadow work becomes more important than wage labor for further economic growth." Academic shadow work refers to those unpaid tasks, seemingly routine and unrecognized, that academics assume as supplemental to their workload. Academic shadow work increasingly buttresses or contributes to the growth of academic capitalism. Ivan Illich, "Shadow Work," in *Shadow Work* (Boston: Marion Boyars, 1981), 98-116, on 99, 100; Craig Lambert, "Our Unpaid, Extra Shadow Work," *International New York Times* (October 29, 2011): http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/30/opinion/sunday/our-unpaid-extra-shadow-work.html?pagewanted=all&_r=1

On academic capitalism, see Bousquet, *How the University Works*; Eli Meyerhoff & Elizabeth Johnson, "Time and the University," *ACME* 10 (2011): 483-507; Christopher Newfield, *Ivy and Industry: Business and the Making of the American University, 1880–1980* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004); idem, *Unmaking the Public University* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008); Sheila Slaughter & Larry L. Leslie, *Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies, and the Entrepreneurial University* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); Gary Rhoades and Sheila Slaughter, "Academic Capitalism, Managed Professionals, and Supply-Side Higher Education, *Social Text* 51 (Summer, 1997): 9-38; Sheila Slaughter & Gary Rhoades, *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

[5] Alvin Toffler, *The Third Wave: A Classic Study of Tomorrow* (New York: Bantam, 1980), 213; John Naisbitt, *Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives* (New York: Warner, 1982), 46; Erik Sandberg-Diment, "Waving to the Future from the Electronic Cottage," *New York Times* (January 21, 1986): 19.

On administrative bloat, see Benjamin Ginsberg, *The Fall of the Faculty: The Rise of the All-Administrative University and Why It Matters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). At the University of British Columbia, the number of Associate and Assistant Deans swelled from 47 in 2000 to 72 in 2015— all without searches. Administrative salaries significantly outpaced faculty salaries, in some cases by 10:1 ratios. Comparatively, increases for part-time online teaching faculty making piecemeal $258 per student wages have lagged well behind rates of inflation over the past 15 years.

[6] Ontatrio Ministry of Health Promotion, *Smoke-Free Ontario Act* (1994/2006), http://www.e-laws.gov.on.ca/html/statutes/english/elaws_statutes_94t10_e.htm; Bluewater District School Board, "Human Rights," Board Policy (2003), https://www.bwdsb.on.ca/director/policies/BP_7520-D.pdf; University of Western Ontario, A Safe Respectful Campus (2013), http://communications.uwo.ca/safe_campus/Bill168_Web.pdf; National Joint Council, "Workplace," *Public Service Labour Relations Act* (2002), http://www.njc-cnm.gc.ca/doc.php?did=82&lang=eng; WarrenShepel Research Group, "Organizational Health & Wellness Trends in Technology," *Sector Review* 2 (2003): https://www.shepellfgiservices.com/research/pdf__/sr_it_en_REPORT.pdf;

[7] Kevin Maney, "Cloud Computing Is Killing the Traditional Office," *Newsweek* (July 17, 2014): http://www.newsweek.com/2014/07/25/cloud-computing-killing-traditional-office-259338.html.

[8] Ruth Saurin, A *Case Study of an Adaptive Scenarios Approach to Establish Strategies for Tomorrow's Workplace*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation (Dublin Institute of Technology, 2012), on 24. For the total institution, see Erving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situations of of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961), 1-124.

[9] C.S.W., "Mind if I Take This Space?," *The Economist* (May 28, 2014): http://www.economist.com/blogs/schumpeter/2014/05/hot-desking-and-office-hire; Maney, "Cloud Computing." For "on work" vs. "at work," see Steecase, "Offices on the Cutting Edge," *360* (May 2009): 1-7 http://steelcase.idigitaledition.com/images/issues/1/360RealEstateontheCuttingEdgeJune09.pdf. For the record, changes at the University of Steveston, Sandranix State and Waynesboro Open are the stuff of urban legend as there are no such universities, yet. In all seriousness, online universities readily compress departments into 600 sq. ft. or worse, into a single square foot of physical server space or simply a terrabyte. Gone are the days of the 60,000 sq. ft. ranch style Departments. The tiny unit—office, Department— is all that is necessary in most cases.

As well, the walking academic workplace, the walking university, the upstart is the reality for a new class of itinerant para-academics. For the past four hundred years, it has been clear that one does not need a university nor be a professor to teach and learn. This is increasingly the case with open access to the vast realm of resources on which professors routinely draw. On the new para-academics, see Alex Wardrop & Deborah Withers, eds., *The Para-Academic Handbook: A Toolkit for Making-Learning-Creating-Acting* (Bristol, UK, 2014), http://hammeronpress.net/shop/paperback/the-para-academic-handbook/. The term

"para-academic" "captured our attention because it seemed to describe the knowledge making and learning practices we were involved in as trained scholars who were unable to, or felt uneasy about, securing a permanent role within the contemporary neoliberal university."

[10] For the changing triple mission of the university, see Stephen Petrina & E. Wayne Ross, "Critical University Studies: Workplace, Milestones, Crossroads, Respect, Truth. *Workplace* 23 (2014): 62-71. On academic work, see Craig McInnis, "Changes in the Nature of Academic Work," John McCollow & Bob Lingard, "Changing Discourses and Practices of Academic Work," *Australian Universities Review* 35, 2 (1992): 9-12; John McCollow & Bob Lingard, "Changing Discourses and Practices of Academic Work," *Australian Universities Review* 39, 2 (1996): 11-19. On academic workloads, see Don Houston, Luanna H. Meyer & Shelley Paewai, "Academic Staff Workloads and Job Satisfaction: Expectations and Values in Academe," *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, 28, 1 (2006): 17-30; Richard Hull, "Workload Allocation Models and 'Collegiality' in Academic Departments," *Journal of Organizational Change Management,* 19, 1 (2006): 38-53; Janice Malcolm & Miriam Zukas, "Making a Mess of Academic Work: Experience, Purpose, Identity," *Teaching in Higher Education* 14, 5 (2009): 495-506.

[11] For the AWAM, see University and College Union, "AWAM," http://uel.web.ucu.org.uk/local-news/awam/. The AWAM provides a comprehensive, albeit notional, scope of academic work. We do not have good empirical research on the new academic work or what academics actually do. Management is served by the romanticization and mystification of academic work while PT and FT faculty absorb the cost of expansion and intensification. Deriving an empirical sense of academic work from a workload allocation or annual summary of a CV provides merely an administrative and romantic sense of what academics actually do on a daily basis. Academics are therein stuck, on one hand opaquing and mystiquing what they do, like a tightly guarded guild sceret, and on the other unable to articulate what they now do to their publics and politicians. Hence, high-minded descriptions of what academics do, such as informing social processes, designing solutions or speaking critically to power brokers, are as arbitrary as the justifications for this.

[12] For academic workplace satisfaction surveys, see e.g., The Collaborative on Academic Careers in Higher Education (COACHE), *COACHE Faculty Job Satisfaction Survey, PROVOST'S REPORT, Auburn University* (Cambridge, MA, COACHE, 2014), 3, https://oira.auburn.edu/factbook/survey/coache/2013-14/COACHE_2014_Provost_Report_Auburn_University.pdf; Roderick Duncan, Kerry Tilbrook & Branka Krivokapic-Skoko, "Does Academic Work make Australian Academics Happy?," *Australian Universities Review* 57 (2015): 5-12; UBC Department of Human Resources, *Focus on People: Workplace Practices at UBC* (Vancouver, BC: UBC, 2008), 2, 3, http://focusonpeople.ubc.ca/wp-content/uploads/Focus_on_People_Workplace_Practices-s.pdf; Jesús Montero-Marín, Javier Prado-Abril, José Miguel Carrasco, Ángela Asensio Martínez, Santiago Gascón, & Javier García-Campayo, "Causes of Discomfort in the Academic Workplace and Their Associations with the Different Burnout Types: A Mixed-Methodology Study," *BMC Public Health* 13 (2013): 1-14; Reevy & Deason, "Predictors of Depression."

[13] BC *WCA* section 5.1, http://www.bclaws.ca/civix/document/id/complete/statreg/96492_01. For UBC's Risk Managament Service's "Workplace Bullying & Harassment" module, see http://www.riskmanagement.ubc.ca/sites/riskmanagement.ubc.ca/files/uploads/Documents/B%26H%20Training.pdf, http://www.riskmanagement.ubc.ca/courses/preventing-and-addressing-bullying-harassment and http://bullyingandharassment.ubc.ca. For problems with diversity training, see Hans Bader, "Diversity Training is Useless and Harmful, but Compulsory," *Examiner.com*, http://www.examiner.com/article/diversity-training-is-useless-and-harmful-but-compulsory. Penni Stewart & James Turk, "Universities Are Betraying Their Central Mission," *CAUT Bulletin* 56 (March 2009), http://www.cautbulletin.ca/en_article.asp?ArticleID=2801. On the respectful environment or workplace, see Petrina, "The New Critiquette."

[14] This is somewhat underestimated as the real shift is from 'walking workplace' to "working dead." The shift from RTS to DLE may have provided a novelty effect bump in engagment but in the longer run

insitutions of higher education will continue to suffer the "high cost of low engagement." WorkFront's 2013 *AtTask* survey of over 500 in various industries found that "more than half (56.5%) of workers are either completely overwhelmed or are barely meeting their deadlines." "Half of respondents feel that they are understaffed, resulting in lots of work after business hours." Workers cited "crushing interruptions," "lack of focus," "famine of recognition and purpose" and "never-ending overtime" as the four most common reasons for low engagement and burnout. WorkFront, *AtTask Survey* (November 14, 2013), http://www.workfront.com/resources/pressrelease/attask-survey-workers-overwhelmed-deadlines-blame-lack-focus-constant-interruptions and http://www.workfront.com/resources/infographic/work-hell; David Griner, "Infographic: 8 Types of 'Working Dead' Zombies Plaguing Your Productivity," *AdWeek* (2014): http://www.adweek.com/adfreak/infographic-8-types-working-dead-zombies-plaguing-your-productivity-157285; James O'Brien, "The Working Dead: How to De-Zombify Your Business," *American Express Open Forum* (2014): https://www.americanexpress.com/us/small-business/openforum/articles/the-working-dead-how-to-de-zombify-your-business/.

[15] Jane Elliott, *Eye of the Storm*, Producer, American Broadcasting Company (1971/1985): http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/divided/etc/script.html. John Watanabe, "Letter to the Editor," *Chronicle of Higher Education* (February 12, 1999): B10.

[16] Erving Goffman, "Embarrassment and Social Organization," *American Journal of Sociology* 62 (November 1956): 264-271, on 264, 271.

[17] Charlotte Bloch, *Passion and Paranoia: Emotions and the Culture of Emotion in Academia* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 1; Richard Sennett, *The Corrosion of Character: The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998). We define neoliberalism simply as "an economic ideology of capitalism that valorizes the free market and suggests that all aspects of life have market value." Shalini Shankar & Jillian R. Cavanaugh, "Language and Materiality in Global Capitalism," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41 (2012): 55–69, on 357. On academic neoliberalism, see e.g., Bousquet, *How the University Works*; Sandra Mathison, "Public Good and Private Interest in Educational Evaluation," in *Handbook of Social Justice in Education* eds. William Ayers, Therese M. Quinn & David Stoval (New York: Rutledge, 2009), 5-14; Sandra Mathison & E. Wayne Ross, "The Hegemony of Accountability in Schools and Universities," *Workplace* 9, (2002): 88-102; E. Wayne Ross & Rich Gibson, eds., *Neoliberalism and Education Reform* (Creskill NJ: Hampton Press, 2007). On neoliberalism and austerity, see Jeffrey R. Di Leo, "A Dog's Life," *symploke* 2 (2014): 59-76.

[18] For increases in academic bullying, see Jaime Lester, ed., *Workplace Bullying in Higher Education* (New York: Routledge, 2012). Academic mobbing is not merely a "practice of isolating and demoralizing employees;" it is also a "practice that indexes the fragmented nature of the neoliberal workplace." Emanuela Guano, "Review of *Labor Disorders in Neoliberal Italy: Mobbing, Well-Being, and the Workplace*," *American Ethnologist* 40 (2013): 402-403, on 402.

[19] CareerCast.com, "The Least Stressful Jobs of 2015" (January 2015): http://www.careercast.com/jobs-rated/least-stressful-jobs-2015; Martin H. Fischer, "The Spirit of a University," *Science* 40 (October 2, 1914): 464-471; George E. Vincent, "Purpose and Spirit of the University," *Science* 33 (June 30, 1911): 977-984; Miroljub Radojkovic & Andrew Calabrese, "Intellectual Autonomy and the Future of the University," *Educational Technology Research and Development* 40 (1992) 117-124, on 118. "Alongside this agenda of accountability to the marketplace," Radojkovic & Calabrese promise, "is a different agenda (or the need for one) that is geared toward the revitalization of the spirit of the university as a collectivity of intellectuals who share not only a sense of allegiance to their professions but also a sense of membership in a spatially defined community, working and struggling together to identify and perpetually revise a shared sense of common goals."

DIY higher education and para-academia (see n. 9 above) may soon prove that even the diploma, the last symbol of authority and power of colleges and universities, is redundant or unnecessary. Recall that when Toto pulls back the curtain, the mechanisms of academic power are revealed. "Do you presume to criticize the Great Oz?," the man behind the curtain blares. Dorothy then asks, "Who are you?" "Well, I — I — I

NEW ACADEMIC WORK, BULLYING, MOBBING AND FREEDOM

am the Great and Powerful— Wizard of Oz." It's unconvincing and when it's all said and done, it's clear that the university's authority lies in the credentialism of giving diplomas. Mocking what the institutions do, the Wizard explains:

> Back where I come from we have universities, seats of great learning — where men go to become great thinkers. And when they come out, they think deep thoughts — and with no more brains than you have.... But! They have one thing you haven't got! A diploma!

"Therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Universitatus Committeeatum e plurbis unum, I hereby confer upon you the honorary degree of Th.D.," declares the Wizard. "Th.D.?," the Scarecrow asks… See Noel Langley, Florence Ryerson & Edgar Allen Woolf, *The Wizard Of Oz* (Cutting Continuity Script based on Frank Baum, *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*) (Hollywood, CA: MGM, 1939), http://www.wendyswizardofoz.com/printablescript.htm.

[20] Karen Tracy, "'Reasonable Hostility':" Situation Appropriate Face-Attack," *Journal of Politeness Research* 4 (2008): 169-191. On reasonable hosililty and academic freedom, see Petrina, "The New Critiquette," 39-44.

[21] On the rise of the Stepford student, see Brendan O'Neill. "Free Speech is So Last Century. Today's Students Want the 'Right to be Comfortable'," *The Spectator* (November 22, 2014), http://www.spectator.co.uk/features/9376232/free-speech-is-so-last-century-todays-students-want-the-right-to-be-comfortable/. Especially given the misfits and "oddballs" in higher education said the AAUP in 1965, "academic freedom must be defended." David Fellman, William P. Fidler, Glenn R. Morrow and James M. Darlington, "Report of the Self-Survey Committee of the AAUP," AAUP Bulletin 51 (May, 1965): 99-209, on 161. See also Kim Emery, "Academic Freedom Requires Constant Vigilance," *Thought & Action* (Fall 2009): 111-120.

"The docile subjects of the neoliberal academy are perfectly constituted to follow austerity measures into one of the darkest chapters in the history of democratic education." Di Leo, "A Dog's Life," 59.