

Academic Salaries and Contracts: Global Trends and American Realities

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Successful academic institutions and higher education systems require strong, well-educated, and committed professoriates. But the academic profession now faces enormous challenges, including “masification” (unprecedented growth), increased student diversity, privatization, pressures for accountability, global competition for talent, and the economic downturn. Worsening employment conditions and salaries, and threats to job security make the profession less attractive to young scholars.

This essay examines salaries, remuneration, and the conditions of academic work: key elements at the core of academic appointments. The profession cannot thrive or compete with alternatives in the labor market without satisfactory salaries, appropriate contracts, and conditions of service assuring security. Academic staff in most countries must supplement their base salary by teaching overloads or in multiple institutions, by contracting for research, or by performing administrative service or non-academic work. The new challenges and risks

faced by the academic profession place universities in crisis.¹

Based on a study of compensation and careers in the academic profession, this essay examines key issues facing the American academic profession. It then reports about the conditions of academic work in 28 countries on six continents.² These international trends affect the U.S.—perhaps the leading academic system—because it is increasingly integrated into a global knowledge network.

AMERICAN REALITIES

The academic profession does not provide a lavish income anywhere. But the American professoriate is relatively well paid—salaries are in the top quarter of the countries we studied—and it benefits from favorable working conditions. The “brain drain” from other countries to the U.S. provides evidence of these advantages. But this characterization comes with a caveat: our salary study relates only to full-time faculty in the four-year sector. The American academic profession is increasingly made up of part-time teachers who receive much less pay and work under less favorable working conditions.³

Salaries for faculty members in western European countries, Brazil, India, and Japan can also permit a middle-class lifestyle. By contrast, academic salaries in Russia, China, and most of Latin America fail to provide an adequate income. Moonlighting in these countries is therefore common. Calculating total remuneration of American, European, and Canadian academics is simple: they receive salaries and little else. But the calculation for faculty members in some other countries is more complex. Academics perform administrative tasks and grade examinations to compensate for low base salaries. They may receive cost-of-living adjustments for inflation or for residing in urban areas.

Our research could not take into account taxes, health-care costs, and cost-of-living issues, though including these items would have changed the global rankings. Saudi Arabia, for example, which offers a middle-rank salary,

would possess the world’s best-paid academic profession, because there are no taxes and health care is free. Western European countries, with high taxes but low-cost or free health care, might retain their rankings. So might the U.S., with high health-care costs but relatively low taxes.

Academics have defacto job security in most of the 28 countries. But the U.S. is one of a few nations offering de jure protections via a tenure system related to job security and academic freedom. American academics pay a price, especially in early career stages: more performance evaluations. The six-year up-or-out tenure system is rigorous by international standards. Academics in many countries are considered government employees with the protections, and the rigidities, of the civil service system. Junior faculty members often have defacto tenure almost from the time of hiring.

The American academic labor market permits considerable interinstitutional mobility. Ingrained in the American system but unusual elsewhere, such mobility results in more flexible salaries and remuneration. Individual academics typically bargain, though often within narrow parameters. The American “star system” permits a few academics, especially those with distinguished research profiles, to command high salaries and attain greater mobility. The star system influences thinking about salaries, compensation, and working conditions at other high-ranking institutions. It even promotes regional mobility for the majority of faculty that are not nationally mobile.

Most other countries, however, report little mobility or a comparable academic marketplace. Inbreeding is common worldwide; professors often begin and finish their academic careers at the institution where they earned their highest degree. Most countries allocate salaries by rank and length of service; they do not evaluate academic work, nor respond to market conditions. Professors of French, information technology, and management earn the same base salary. This practice makes

estimates of academic salaries possible in much of the world. Canada, Germany, and the United Kingdom are partial exceptions; they permit some institutional mobility and significant salary variance among universities.

American private higher education shows an unusual profile. Many prestigious American universities are private, and most private institutions are non-profit, though the proprietary sector is expanding. American public and private colleges within the same institutional classification—the sectors are long integrated—show only minor variations in salaries, working conditions, and academic appointments. But this is a tentative generalization: most private institutions provide little information on compensation and working conditions.

Only the U.S., Japan, and some Latin American countries have nonprofit, research-oriented private universities. Elsewhere, the private sector is new and is the fastest-growing segment of postsecondary education. It is a largely for-profit and low prestige sector.⁴ Most academics in such private universities have no career track, lack full-time appointments, receive pay by the course, and have little if any control over the curriculum. Teachers in private institutions are often moonlighting professors from the public sector in countries where salaries are low.

“American exceptionalism” reflects current conditions when it comes to the academic profession, especially salaries and appointments. Salaries may resemble compensation in Canada, Japan, and Western Europe, but the organization of academic careers varies.

THE ACADEMIC REVOLUTION AND THE ACADEMIC PROFESSION

The academic revolution of the 21st century affects all faculty members. Three forces—massification, diversification, and accountability—are especially salient. Global enrollments grew from 100 to almost 200 million in the early 21st century, and continued growth will dramatically affect India, China, and sub-Saharan

Africa. Higher education is no longer an elite enterprise, though a decline in the traditional age cohort has curtailed expansion in parts of East Asia, much of Europe, and in North America. The global knowledge economy, made possible by the revolution in information technology, has made research a key function of the top-tier universities worldwide.⁵

These forces have diversified higher education. Some segments are devoted mainly to teaching and to providing access; a smaller segment focuses on research. Diversification and segmentation have led to a declining sense of academic community. Sociologist Burton R. Clark, referring to the U.S., viewed the professoriate as divided into “small worlds, different worlds”—academic subcultures functioning in a complex system.⁶ At top research universities in most countries, the working conditions, salaries, and roles of the professors differ greatly from the work of those working at mass-access lower prestige institutions—the bulk of the academic workforce. Remuneration and working conditions of faculty members in high-demand areas—such as business studies or information technology—are beginning to differ significantly from pay in the humanities. Size and diversity contribute to the decline of the academic community. There were at least six million postsecondary teachers worldwide in 2007; their numbers are increasing rapidly to keep up with growing enrollments.⁷

Increased demands for accountability, greater attention to vocational education, and the shortcomings of pre-university education, add to the challenges facing the academic profession. Heightened tension results from international competition for talent and institutional prestige that often conflict with local needs.

Private higher education, for-profit and nonprofit, is now the fastest-growing segment of postsecondary education worldwide. This sector enrolls the majority of students in parts of Asia and Latin America. Many faculty members who teach in the private sector also hold positions at public universities. The terms

and conditions of academic appointments in the private sector are often less favorable than in public universities. The private sector pays more in some countries, but it offers less-attractive working conditions, demands more teaching hours, and offers no compensation or time allocated for research, preparation, advising, or service. With some minor exceptions, the largely for-profit private higher education sector globally offers few full-time appointments—most faculty members are moonlighting.

Globalization also increased the mobility of talent, especially for academics at the top of the prestige hierarchy. The 28 countries divide into two categories—brain drain and brain gain. Countries with greater resources draw talent from weaker economies—an ability that traditionally aided institutions in Canada, the U.S., and Western Europe. But new players—Saudi Arabia and China, for example—have entered the global competition for top researchers and scholars. Their competition hurts weaker economies that need talent, such as Armenia, Ethiopia, and Latvia. South Africa gains talent from the African region but loses top talent to Europe and other more-developed countries. The United States is still the most attractive country for international scholars and scientists—with a significant net inflow into all segments of its academic system.

CONFRONTING NEW REALITIES

During the 20th century, expanded enrollments transformed higher education in Australia, Canada, France, Norway, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.. These countries now report relatively stable enrollments, while Japan and Russia may have over-expanded their institutions, capacity, and employees.

Now, dramatically expanding enrollments in most developing countries have created an urgent need for more teaching institutions, seats, and academic staff. This expansion has resulted in tension between priorities. Academic staff must teach the expanding numbers of students

in institutions exclusively dedicated to teaching. But research productivity, not teaching performance, determines institutional prestige and individual salary and promotion. This reality often influences national policies and budget allocation. Governments, for example, now permit the heretofore-insignificant private sector, often for-profit teaching institutions, to address enrollment demand in countries where public institutions monopolized or dominated higher education. This sector now provides supplementary employment for academic staff in the public sector.

PATTERNS OF ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS AND CONTRACTS

Patterns of appointment and working conditions vary widely, but the academic profession remains a remarkably stable career that provides social prestige. But it does not always provide a reasonable standard of living. The need to cover expanded enrollments during worldwide fiscal austerity strained budget and human resource capacity, while diversifying the academic workforce. Many countries—including nations with strong tenure systems, or with permanent civil service hiring arrangements—have therefore retained more part-time or full-time, fixed-contract academic staff. Half of the new appointments in the U.S. are such employees.⁸ Western Europe seems least affected by this trend, though its numbers are also growing.

Relatively few countries have formal tenure systems, but most full- and part-time academic staff members are renewed as a matter of course. Tenure systems tend to have well-defined norms for determining when contracts will be renewed, with a clearly defined threshold to permanence. In systems without formal tenure, academic staff members are infrequently subjected to a formal and comprehensive review and are rarely dismissed. The terms of continuance are clear and strict only in Germany, Japan, and the U.S.. Academic staff in these countries must leave their positions when performance is deemed inadequate.

Developing countries are hard pressed to find staff holding advanced degrees, so teachers with only a first degree—the equivalent of a bachelor's degree—fill many entry-level positions. The first university degree may be the modal academic qualification in postsecondary education today. A first degree was the norm even before massification in Argentina, Brazil, and Colombia, where graduate programs were sparse. More countries require new hires to have advanced degrees, and younger faculty members are more likely to have such degrees where graduate programs expanded. The doctorate, a requirement for almost all appointments in Australia, Canada, Europe, and the U.S. for the past century, is now required at most research universities.

Hiring practices tend to follow similar patterns, often outlined in national legislation. Typically, institutions may determine when they have openings and how they are promoted and filled. The national press then announces the vacancies. Candidates in a few countries—France, for example—undergo a national-level review before they are considered for a specific position. Despite a trend toward making the hiring process more competitive and transparent, individuals are still often hired through personal networks or are offered temporary contracts that bypass the public contest system. Academic staff can be hired more quickly under “interim contracts” in Argentina. Colombia does the same by hiring temporary or occasional staff.

Many positions are filled internally with faculty from lower ranks or from among the university's graduates. In Russia, the chair has considerable autonomy to make hires, including his or her own Ph.D. students. Armenian universities give preference to their own students when hiring. Japan tends to rely on personal connections for appointment to entry-level academic posts.

Inbreeding in hiring and in promotions, in short, is a common practice that is encouraged by tradition, by the lack of a national market or

of financial incentives to move, and by inferior working conditions elsewhere. The practice, analysts concur, may promote loyalty and solidarity, but it inhibits creativity by emphasizing the continuity of ideas and practice, not innovation. Inbreeding also reinforces academic hierarchy, because elders choose younger scholars who fit into existing arrangements.

Several countries resist inbreeding. The Italian Ministry of Education subsidizes tenured academics who move to a university in another region. The U.S., Turkey, and Germany traditionally oblige graduate students to apply to a different university for entry-level faculty positions. A quota system complicates hiring in India. The system reserves a percentage, sometimes approaching half, of university positions for members of specific castes or other social classifications. The positions remain vacant if the university cannot find qualified staff members with the required characteristics. These practices reduce inbreeding while creating challenges for covering rapidly growing enrollments.

Academics in public universities in Brazil, Germany, Malaysia, and Saudi Arabia are civil servants who are appointed, evaluated, and often paid according to government rules and procedures. These academics often gain strong job protections equivalent to tenure soon after their appointments. Length of service and rank, not an evaluation of job performance, typically determine their salaries. Many continental European countries maintain the public employee status of academics, but several countries, including the Netherlands, have moved away from the civil service pattern of hiring academic staff.

ACADEMIC SALARIES

Defining the elements of an academic salary required dissecting complex constructions of basic salary, supplements, bonuses, allowances, and subsidies. Determining the extent to which salaries placed academic staff in the middle class further complicated international comparisons.

Defining “middle class” depended on the economic and cultural environment, so this study relied on the judgments of country experts.

Another challenge was accurately determining the purchasing power of a salary in each country. A simple currency conversion does not take into account differences in the cost of living. The purchasing power parity (PPP) index provides a more accurate and uniform tool for comparison. This index is based on a set of items, or basket of goods, whose prices are compared with the price of the same items in the U.S., the reference country. This study adjusted salaries in each local currency to the PPP index to obtain a comparable amount in PPP dollars.⁹ The PPP index allowed quantitative comparisons across countries, but country experts determined whether academic salaries could support a middle-class standard of living in their local economic environment. Combining quantitative and qualitative assessments allows for “first-cut” comparisons of academic salaries.

Table 1 shows the average public sector entry- and top-level salaries reported by each country expert, and the average for each system. Armenia, China, Ethiopia, Kazakhstan, and Russia offer the lowest average, entry-level salaries. Canada, Italy, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, and the United Kingdom offer the best-average salaries to senior staff. Salaries are most attractive where the top-level salary is high and the gap between entry level and top level is small. Conversely an academic career is less attractive where entry-level and top-level averages are low. These countries are vulnerable to “brain drain.”

China shows the largest gap between entry-level and top-level salaries by far. Argentina, Germany, and Norway show the smallest gap. Median salaries are difficult to determine because public sector compensation includes a combination of sources—base salary, bonuses, competitive awards, and allowances—that vary by individual. Thus, the average salaries in Table 1 tell only part of the story. Additional employment provides critical income for most

of the academic profession. Full-time academic staff can live comfortably on their base salary in fewer than half of the 28 countries: Australia, Canada, Japan, France, Germany, India, Italy, Malaysia, the Netherlands, Norway, Saudi Arabia, the U.S., and the United Kingdom. Senior scholars are more likely to live a middle class lifestyle than younger staff.

Academic salaries in many developed countries are declining relative to pay in other professions requiring comparable education. Japan, Germany, Israel, and the U.S. will have difficulty attracting young talent, absent improvement in salaries at the lower end of the hierarchy. Increased teaching loads and emphasis on the number of publications—in China and Colombia, among many other countries—also deter younger staff members.

Elsewhere, salaries do not provide a comfortable standard of living. Staff members in Kazakhstan tend to earn half the salaries of peers in other sectors with similar qualifications. In Russia, young faculty earn approximately 70 percent of what the average worker earns, regardless of educational qualification. Professors’ salaries often fall ten percent below the average wage of others who completed higher education. A middle-class income in most countries depends on additional employment within the same institution, at another academic institution, or on nonacademic employment. Such financial pressures decrease the attractiveness of the academic career and deter the “best and brightest” from choosing to become a professor.

It is difficult to generalize about salaries across 28 countries because bonuses, allowances, and supplements cause salaries to vary widely within a discipline, institution, and nation. These bonuses and allowances compensate for poor-base salaries or salaries that are too low to provide a middle-class standard of living. They may include a frozen turkey at Christmas in Mexico; housing subsidies in Ethiopia, India, and Japan; stipends for marriage and children in Germany, and compensation for inflation in

Table 1. Indexed Public Sector Academic Salaries at Entry Level and Top of Salary Hierarchy, and Average Salary (Purchasing Power Parity Index in U.S. Dollars)

Country	Entry	Average	Top
Armenia	\$ 405	\$ 538	\$ 665
Russia	433	617	910
China	259	720	1,107
Ethiopia	864	1,207	1,580
Kazakhstan	1,037	1,553	2,304
Latvia	1,087	1,785	2,654
Mexico	1,336	1,941	2,730
Turkey	2,173	2,597	3,898
Czech Republic	1,655	2,495	3,967
Colombia	1,965	2,702	4,058
Argentina	3,151	3,755	4,385
Brazil	1,858	3,179	4,550
Japan	2,897	3,473	4,604
France	1,973	3,484	4,775
Norway	4,491	4,940	5,847
Nigeria	2,758	4,629	6,229
Israel	3,525	4,747	6,377
Germany	4,885	5,141	6,383
Netherlands	3,472	5,313	7,123
United States	4,950	6,054	7,358
India	3,954	6,070	7,433
Australia	3,930	5,713	7,499
Malaysia	2,824	4,628	7,864
United Kingdom	4,077	5,943	8,369
Saudi Arabia	3,457	6,002	8,524
Italy	3,525	6,955	9,118
South Africa	3,927	6,531	9,330
Canada	5,733	7,196	9,485

Source: Data collected by country experts from multiple sources and compiled for this study.

Notes:

Ranked in ascending order according to salary at top of salary hierarchy.

The Purchasing Power Parity Index is based on a set of items whose prices are compared with the price of the same items in the U.S., the reference country.

India. Supplemental payments in some countries are neither included in taxable or pensionable income nor reported—an omission that makes collecting complete and accurate national data even more difficult.

Many countries provide incentives to encourage research, especially in the top research-intensive sector. In Mexico, the National System

of Researchers supplements base pay by 50 percent to qualified scholars. The National Science Institute sponsors a similar program in Argentina. French scholars receive bonuses for scientific excellence. Israeli faculty can increase their salary by more than 13 percent for research achievements. South Africa provides salary supplements, ranging from U.S. \$7,000 to \$18,000,

depending on the scholar's achievements. Top Chinese universities pay their academic staff a significant bonus for each article published in internationally recognized refereed journals. These programs encourage productivity, but they only benefit a small proportion of a nation's academic staff.

A middle-class income often requires additional employment. In most countries, faculty members accept extra-teaching assignments at the same institution. These assignments may include an "overload" beyond the hours specified in the contract, or teaching in evening programs, professional seminars, or summer sessions. Faculty may also teach in other institutions, consult for industry or government, work in research institutes or think tanks, or write for newspapers. Some faculty members even have parallel careers as doctors, accountants, lawyers, or information-technology professionals. The motives for combining academic and nonacademic activities are difficult to analyze. Academics may pursue full-time professional careers and teach part time for the satisfaction teaching provides or out of financial necessity. Still others hold full-time academic positions and engage in professional activities part time for income, professional challenge and renewal, or prestige.

Many state or national governments establish salary steps for public institutions. Private sector salaries are negotiated confidentially between the staff member and the hiring institution. These salaries are rarely supplemented, save for required payments to retirement and health insurance programs. In a few cases—Argentina and Mexico are two examples—private-sector academic staff members with significant histories of research and publications are eligible for salary supplements offered by the national government.

Unions represent academic staff in 12 of the 28 countries. Their influence over salary structures and working conditions varies considerably. National negotiations establish benchmarks in Israel, Japan, the Netherlands,

and Nigeria. Negotiations in Australia were conducted at a national level, but the trend is toward local negotiation with institutional management. Unions in Canada, Norway, and South Africa also tend to negotiate locally. In Argentina the faculty union for public universities first negotiates with the National Council of Public University Rectors and the Ministry of Education. Local unions and university authorities then negotiate directly. Unions significantly improved the working conditions of part-time academic staff in Argentina, Brazil, and Canada. The U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Yeshiva University case has largely limited union influence to mass-access public colleges and universities.

Factors determining salaries include rank and seniority—which often carry the most weight—academic degrees, and publications. Salaries vary by institutional type, geographical location, control, and discipline. Research universities generally offer higher salaries than teaching institutions. Public universities tend to pay better and offer superior conditions (fewer teaching hours) than private universities—Ethiopia, France, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and the U.S. are exceptions. Salaries and working conditions are often more beneficial in urban centers, perhaps because of the availability of employment alternatives. In most countries, academic salaries vary by discipline. Salaries are typically higher in medicine, law, economics, and accounting, where universities compete with other sectors of the labor market for talent. Salaries may not reflect market conditions, academic discipline, or productivity in countries where they are determined through civil service norms or the education ministry.

PROMOTION AND CAREER ADVANCEMENT

Full-time academic careers usually show a slow but steady march up the academic hierarchy, not national or international mobility. Academic hierarchies usually include three to five levels—starting with "lecturer" and advancing

to “professor”—often with several salary steps at each level. A newly hired academic staff member is typically offered a term appointment at the assistant professor rank or its equivalent. Promotion, often to tenured or permanent status, is granted in many cases following rigorous review after five or more years of service. Seniority, possession of advanced degrees, and sometimes research productivity are the key criteria; tenure is granted less often for service or teaching excellence. Only a small proportion of faculty reaches the rank of full professor or chair in some systems.

The 12 countries in which public institution faculty members are in the civil service typically provide lifetime job security. So do countries with a formal tenure system—including Australia, Canada, the Netherlands, and the U.S.. Assurance of academic freedom accompanies tenure. Only Mexico offers tenure (*definidad*) to part-time as well as full-time academic staff.

Most countries provide no formal guarantee of job security, but academic staff members usually have de facto tenure. University control of appointments means that the process seldom depends on government participation or approval. Reappointments and advancements may therefore result from inertia—few countries have effective evaluation systems—not from meeting stated criteria. Effective implementation of promotion rules, when it exists, varies by country and institution. Contracts in Japan, Latvia, Russia, and the United Kingdom are renewed automatically after several substantive reviews, except in cases of gross negligence.

Advancement within academic hierarchies falls into two categories. Peer review of research achievement largely determines promotion at universities in Australia, Canada, Norway, and the U.S.. Criteria at teaching institutions range from student evaluations to administrative service. The relatively few senior academic positions in universities in Argentina, Germany, and the United Kingdom must be vacated before they can be filled. Internal candidates

do not receive preferential consideration; they must apply in an open competition with external candidates.

Data from 28 countries show varied career patterns. Academics once hired remain at the same university throughout their careers. China, Japan, and Russia have no tradition of individual academic mobility among local institutions. The exceptional, most talented scholars tend to accept positions outside of their countries to obtain better income and infrastructure, academic freedom, and opportunities to collaborate with international peers. Only in a few countries, largely in the more prestigious universities in the United States and Canada, is there much internal career mobility.

CONCLUSION

These are not the best of times for the academic profession. Salaries fail to keep up with inflation or with incomes for similarly qualified professionals. Tenure is less assured, while accountability diminishes professional independence and adds supervision. The best and brightest may no longer opt for academe.

The dramatic expansion of the part-time labor force to meet the demands of massification has created “second-class” academics with significantly lower salaries and benefits. Exceptions include part-time faculty members in Mexico, who are eligible for tenure, and in Argentina, who are considered members of the permanent workforce and are often paid on a par with full-timers.

The rapid growth of private higher education has produced unprecedented divisions in the academic profession. Employment conditions, including salaries, contracts, and working conditions, vary sharply by country, institution type, rank, and academic discipline. “Mandarins” exist at the top of the system, with many full- and part-time teachers at the bottom. The global knowledge economy has nurtured this class of “super professors,” who enjoy better salaries, working conditions, and prospects for mobility.

The starkest variations occur between academics in developed and developing countries, and massification may exacerbate current inequalities in income and working conditions. The proportion of full-time positions is shrinking; part-time positions now dominate the academic labor market. Holding only a first university degree, most academics cannot improve their salaries or working conditions. Ph.D. production has not kept pace with enrollment expansion in the developing world.

Salaries and working conditions vary considerably between for-profit and nonprofit institutions in the private sector. Save for a few elite institutions, the additional employment opportunities offered by this sector are part-time, low-paid positions that support little, if any, research or knowledge production.

Some countries, including India and Malaysia, have increased salaries to compensate for purchasing power lost during years of salary stagnation. This step makes the academic profession more attractive to young scholars, encourages productivity, and stems the tide of brain drain. In Nigeria, benefits often compensate for low-base salaries and make the total remuneration reasonable. Elsewhere, incentives and rewards for research productivity can lead to a reasonable standard of living.

Where do academic salaries provide a middle-class income for full-time faculty? Senior faculty receive such compensation in Argentina, Brazil, Canada, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Malaysia, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, South Africa, the U.S., and the United Kingdom. Obtaining a middle class income elsewhere often depends on allowances, incentives, and bonuses, or on teaching “extra sessions.” An academic salary fails to provide a comfortable standard of living in Ethiopia and Kazakhstan. Salaries are losing ground in the U.S., where employment conditions were among the most attractive in the world.¹⁰ Nor can salaries compete with

professional positions requiring comparable education in most countries.

The unique problems for calculating the pay of academic staff made precise comparison of remuneration across 28 countries nearly impossible. Universities, for example, might award supplementary pay and benefits to some or all employees. Some countries have national health-care and pension systems; others include these benefits as compensation. Some national governments establish salary structures; individual academics and institutions negotiate salaries in other countries. The enormous variation in the size of higher education systems further distorts comparisons.

The conditions of academic work are changing from uniform arrangements under bureaucratic civil service systems to flexible, individual hiring arrangements, contracts, and evaluations. Yet change is often slow, and most full time academics have career stability. Our data yield significant insights about these global realities. Vacations and benefits may help to offset low salaries, but most people do not pursue an academic career to become rich. The key motivators include social status, independence, flexibility, and enjoyment of the life of the mind.

NOTES

¹ Altbach, 2003.

² Altbach, et al., 2012.

³ Schuster and Finkelstein, 2006.

⁴ Altbach and Levy, 2005; Altbach, Reisberg, and Rumbley, 2010, 75–85.

⁵ Altbach, Reisberg, and Rumbley, 2010; Task Force on Higher Education and Society, 2000.

⁶ Clark, 1987.

⁷ Altbach, Reisberg, and Rumbley, 2010, 228–33.

⁸ Schuster and Finkelstein, 2006.

⁹ We based our calculations on the index from Heston, Summers, and Aten, 2011.

¹⁰ Schuster and Finkelstein, 2006.

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