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# PROSPECTS FOR FACULTY IN SOVIET & EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

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*by the*

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# SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

## *American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies*

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### OVERVIEW: PAST & PRESENT

Soviet and East European studies, like some other major fields of area studies, is a relative latecomer to American halls of ivy. Like other area fields, it has developed in response to the shrinkage of the modern world. Advances in communications technology, radio, jet travel, satellite TV, and electronic news services have opened instant access to the sights, sounds, and daily realities of once far-away places. "Out of sight" has changed in the mind as well as in the vernacular. Yet communications are only part of the story; accessibility alone does not ensure interest. Recent history, particularly the relationship between the US and the USSR during and since the Second World War, has played a large role in drawing American attention to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Before the 20th century there was little academic interest here in that area. A ground-breaking course in Russian and Polish history was offered at Harvard University in 1894 by Archibald Cary Coolidge. Two years later Harvard established the first chair of Slavic languages and literatures in the US. Gradually, a small group of scholars established their specializations at other leading institutions. The most commonly taught subjects were and remain the literatures, languages, and history of the area. In literature, especially, the focus was often on the common Slavic tie extending through much of the region. The historic relationships of Russia with Eastern Europe argued for an integrated areal approach, and the creation of the eastern "Bloc" after World War II cemented the union in scholarship. The name "Slavic" has persisted, though it is inaccurate, since the field of "Slavic Studies" includes many non-Slavs in the USSR, as well as in East-Central and Southeastern Europe.

The field matured slowly. At the outbreak of the First World War the Russian language was being taught at only three American universities (Columbia, Harvard, and the University of California at Berkeley). Russian history was offered only at the last two. Following the collapse of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires as a result of the war, and the subsequent rupture of American diplomatic relations with the new Soviet regime, the US government felt a need to improve its sources of information on the area. It is a reflection on the state of American studies of the region in the 1920s that young trainees (including such later notables as George F. Kennan and Charles Bohlen) had to be sent abroad by the State Department to obtain specialized education. A few eminent Russian scholars who emigrated after the Bolshevik take-over found employment at US universities and helped to prepare a small coterie of young American specialists over the next decades. In 1938 some of these joined ranks in a Committee on Slavic Studies, formed by the American Council of Learned Societies as part of its growing network of scholarly committees dealing with specific world areas. Yet on the eve of World War II in 1941 the US government still had fewer than 20 people (including support staff) specializing on the Soviet Union.

The outbreak of the war made the lack of American expertise on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union acutely evident. Government-sponsored language and training schools were hastily assembled. The handful of specialists in academia was quickly pressed into service to provide advice on and handle relations with the countries of the area. With the restoration of peace a number of the returning scholars, convinced of the value of an areal approach to study of the region, were instrumental in establishing new interdisciplinary centers. Columbia University's Russian Institute (now the W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union) received start-up funding from the Rockefeller Foundation. The Russian Research Center at Harvard was supported by the Carnegie Corporation. At the University of California in Berkeley, the first "Slavic Studies" program was launched. Meanwhile, in 1948, a group with links to the earlier ACLS Committee on Slavic Studies became incorporated in New York as an independent organization, the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, for the purpose of publishing a multi-disciplinary journal for the burgeoning field. Still the leading journal in the field, it is known today as the *Slavic Review*.

By 1951 there were five integrated area programs in the field (the three above had been joined by centers at the University of Washington and Yale), and significant programs of area studies were offered at the Universities of Chicago, Indiana, Minnesota, Stanford, Syracuse, Texas, and Wisconsin. The total faculty in the field nationwide numbered 64. There were 246 registered graduate students in the field, and about 300 students enrolled in Russian language courses at American universities. The 1950s brought the McCarthy era and a poor climate for entry into Soviet/East European Studies (SEES). Academics studying the area became accustomed (if not reconciled) to being challenged as to whether they were "for or against" communism. However, the waning of that troubled interlude, plus the jolt of the successful Soviet "Sputnik" launch in 1957, created a surge of national concern about the USSR and interest in global developments in general. In 1958 Congress passed the National Defense Education Act administered by the Department (then Office) of Education. This provided some financial support to major area studies centers (for all global sectors) throughout the country. That same year a Cultural Exchange Agreement with the USSR opened the first opportunity in several decades for Americans to study in the Soviet Union. This was a major breakthrough for scholarship on the area, and academic exchanges grew rapidly in the sixties.

In 1960 the AAASS was transformed into a membership organization with the goals of promoting study, teaching, research, and publication about the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Membership grew rapidly as the field expanded, reaching over 2,000 by the end of the decade. At the start of the seventies there were 58 centers of Soviet and East European studies in the US, and 83 degree-granting programs in the field. An unparalleled 40,000 students were enrolled in Russian language classes. But the boom period was over, although it took some time before this became apparent. The slackening was due to a complex of factors. Other global and domestic concerns (Vietnam, Civil Rights issues, the OPEC crisis, the economy, etc.) distracted American attention from the then relatively tranquil Soviet/East European area. The shift of attention was made easier by nuclear and strategic arms limitations agreements, which created a perception that the "threat" from the Soviet Bloc area was, if not diminishing, at least not imminent. Some of the factors at play here, notably those in the economic sphere, affected not just area studies in the 1970s, but the entire higher educational structure in this country.

Economic problems brought cuts in university budgets, and led to retrenchment throughout academia. Area studies were particularly hard hit. As academic newcomers, they were more susceptible to cutbacks than the traditional core disciplinary programs. And they were hard hit by an abrupt withdrawal of public and private

funding support. Passage of the International Education Act in 1966 contributed to the cut-off of support from private funders such as the Ford Foundation, which had been providing substantial assistance for the development of area studies. Expecting that the new federal program would assume more of the burden, and experiencing financial reverses of its own, Ford pulled back. In one year, 1967-68, its support for international and area studies fell by almost 45 million. Yet the funds authorized by the Act in 1966 were never appropriated, and federal funding for external foreign affairs research was cut in half between 1967 and 1970. The result was an extended period of program cuts, layoffs, and failure to fill vacated positions. Yet students already in the training pipeline continued to pour out in the 1970s, and freshly-minted PhDs emerged to find that the job market had vanished.

By the beginning of the 1980s, Russian language enrollments had dropped below 24,000 (fewer than were studying Latin at the time). Under 2,000 were studying Polish, the second most widely used language in the field, and fewer than 200 were pursuing Serbo-Croatian, the next in line. The loss of faculty positions cannot be documented, but membership in the AAASS, which had peaked at over 2,500 in 1975, fell to about 2,000 in the early eighties. Graduate enrollments fell off sharply. By the mid-eighties the number of PhDs awarded in the field annually dropped to half that of a decade earlier. Meanwhile, Soviet involvement in the war in Afghanistan, developments in Poland, and a rapid succession of leadership changes in Moscow was drawing renewed attention to the area and to the national need for a core of specialists knowledgeable about it.

As a result, both public and private support began to trickle back into the field. The Soviet and Eastern European Research and Training Act of 1983 (the "Title VIII" Program) administered by the US Department of State was a critical factor in helping to arrest, then reverse, the erosion of US expertise on the area. The timing of the turnaround, coming on the eve of perestroika in the USSR, was highly fortuitous. Thanks to the improved funding situation and a widespread surge of public interest in the area, Soviet and East European studies have shown a healthy re-invigoration over the past several years. The momentous revolutions of 1989 in Eastern Europe markedly accelerated the process. Data collected by the AAASS show an increase in SEES programs, in faculty positions, in the number of courses offered, and in graduate student enrollments. Annual conventions, held in different sections of the country, are well attended, as are local meetings sponsored by the nine regional affiliates of the AAASS. Twenty-one additional affiliated societies serve special interest groups in the field, and an annual *American Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies*, published by the AAASS, tracks American publications on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The Association in 1991 includes approximately 4,000 individual members, about 400 of whom are foreigners or residing abroad. The primary occupations pursued by members are indicated in Table 1. Faculty in higher educational institutions make up the largest bloc. Over half the membership consists of faculty, and if non-primary occupations are included, the ratio approaches two-thirds. After faculty come students, researchers, government employees, librarians, and administrators. Specialists in government service are under-represented in the Association; although a substantial group of specialists is employed by the government, only six percent of AAASS members fall in this category.

A little over a third of the membership falls in the "under 40" category, and about the same proportion is 50 or over. Women account for a scant quarter in the older sector, but their substantial share of the youngest cohorts attests strikingly to their changing role in the profession. AAASS members have a wide range of interests, but as Table 2 demonstrates, close to ninety percent specialize in one of the ten major academic disciplines listed in the standardized table used for this NCASA survey. For the Association as a whole, the largest category of specialization is history, followed by political science and literature.

Table 1

**OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE**  
AAASS Members

	Number	%
Adjunct Professor	44	1
Administrator	163	4
Assistant Professor	400	11
Associate Professor	478	13
Attorney	21	1
Business	88	2
Clergy	4	-
Editor/Publisher	60	2
Government	206	5
Instructor/Teacher	162	4
Lecturer	50	1
Library/Information	167	5
Military	32	1
Professor	773	20
Professor Emeritus	162	4
Researcher	238	6
Retired	56	1
Student	648	17
Translator	34	1
Writer	11	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>3797</b>	<b>100</b>

\*Includes only those members who provided information on occupation, and only the primary category indicated.

For some time, those familiar with the field of Soviet and East European studies have worried that difficulties may lie ahead. The rollercoaster track of the field's development suggests a fitful and possibly problematic supply of faculty. The sections that follow address that concern by aggregating and analyzing the available data on faculty. Before turning to the data, however, a brief word is provided about the sources used.

Table 2

## SPECIALIZATION AND AGE PROFILE

## AAASS Members

Specialization	Number of Members	% Total	Age														Age NA
			Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80+	
Anthropology	50	1	0	0	3	4	9	11	3	4	6	3	3	1	2	0	1
Arts	81	2	0	0	5	8	11	14	12	5	10	6	1	1	1	2	5
Economics	196	5	0	2	14	21	19	25	26	15	13	19	18	9	2	4	9
History	1208	32	0	22	116	117	135	145	172	162	107	86	68	29	2	11	26
Language/ Linguistics	314	8	0	8	31	24	26	44	42	45	29	19	15	8	1	3	19
Literature	542	14	0	7	33	49	79	80	89	64	38	36	23	7	7	5	25
Library/ Info Science	116	3	0	1	7	10	22	28	23	9	6	5	0	1	1	0	3
Political Science	790	21	2	19	100	118	107	110	89	71	49	43	36	18	9	1	18
Religion/ Philosophy	33	1	0	0	5	3	5	1	4	3	4	3	1	1	2	0	0
Sociology	61	2	0	0	3	8	6	17	9	4	1	5	1	2	0	1	4
Other	406	11	0	9	42	53	41	54	56	36	31	24	27	9	11	5	10
Sub-Total	3797	*100	2	68	359	415	460	530	525	418	294	247	193	86	48	32	120
Specialization NA	91		0	1	3	2	3	3	2	0	1	2	2	2	1	0	69
<b>Total</b>	<b>**3888</b>		<b>2</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>362</b>	<b>417</b>	<b>463</b>	<b>533</b>	<b>527</b>	<b>418</b>	<b>295</b>	<b>249</b>	<b>195</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>189</b>
Percentage*		100	-	2	10	11	13	14	14	11	8	7	5	2	1	1	
Percent in age bracket:																	
Male		65	50	43	54	59	58	61	69	70	77	79	86	80	94	81	45
Female		35	50	57	46	41	42	39	31	30	23	21	14	20	6	19	55

\*Percentages for specialization (vertical column) based on 3,797 AAASS members identified by specialization and, for age categories (horizontal columns), on the 3,699 identified by age. Table includes only members who provided information on age, gender or specialization.

Table 2A

## SUMMARY AGE PROFILE

## AAASS Members

	Under 40	40-49	over 49
Total	36%	28%	35%
Male	30%	28%	42%
Female	46%	30%	24%

Note: Percentages have been rounded here and in most of the following tables.

## DATA SOURCES

In recent years the information provided on annual membership forms has been entered into a computer database which provides the most comprehensive single source of information on the field. Part of this information is regularly distributed to all members in the AAASS *Directory of Members*. For the last several years the AAASS has also systematically collected data on programs in Soviet and East European studies at higher educational institutions throughout the country. This provides another database which enables the AAASS to publish its *Directory of Programs in Soviet and East European Studies*, with information covering approximately 300 institutions, and 2,800 faculty in the field.

In addition, this survey makes use of data on 15 area studies centers dealing with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. These "National Resource Centers," partially funded by the US Department of Education, are selected periodically in national competitions on the basis of uniform criteria. Although they have special characteristics, the NRCs provide a good sample of leading institutions within each field of area studies, and the data permit comparison of different fields. Data on NRCs has been drawn from the program directory files, and from the statistical reports of the Center for International Education in the Department of Education. Information on retirements in the field was obtained in a special survey of AAASS members aged 55 and over, conducted in the fall of 1990.

## FACULTY AND GRADUATE STUDENTS IN SEES

The specialization of faculty in the AAASS (Table 3) generally parallels that shown in Table 2 for the entire membership. However, comparison of faculty in the AAASS with faculty listed in the program directory and at NRCs reveals some differences, despite the substantial overlap of the three groups. There are relatively more historians and fewer language specialists among faculty in the Association than in institutions listed in the program directory (PD) or at NRC institutions. Historians have always been well represented in the Association, and the lighter showing of language specialists can be explained by the existence of two professional organizations specifically for teachers of Soviet and East European languages.

Graduate students in the AAASS show an even stronger interest than that of their faculty mentors in history. The discipline claims a smaller, though quite substantial, share of students reported in graduate programs. Student interest in political science (combined here with international relations) has been steadily rising, and has outstripped faculty specialization both in the educational institutions and in the AAASS. This appears to be a response to recent developments in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

In literature, on the other hand, the percentage of graduate students is considerably below that of faculty. Both within the AAASS and at NRCs, the proportion of students in the field specializing in literature is roughly half that of faculty. A similar pattern is evident in economics, where the interest shown by students lags well behind that of their professors. This is somewhat surprising in view of the intense and widespread interest in the economic transformation sweeping the entire Soviet/East European area. The small number of graduate students in the field specializing in economics at present may be explained in a number of ways (a response lag, a view that the economics of socialism are outmoded, the resistance of economics departments to area

specialization and their preference for more theoretical approaches to economics), but for whatever cause, and despite the fact that course enrollments in Soviet/East European economics are growing, only 3 percent of current graduate students are specializing in this understaffed branch of the field.

Table 3

**SPECIALIZATION OF FACULTY AND GRADUATE STUDENTS**  
Soviet and East European Studies  
(percent)

	AAASS Members		National Resource Centers*		Program Directory Institutions	
	Faculty	Students	Faculty	Students	Faculty	Students**
Anthropology	1	1	3	2	1	2
Art	2	2	4	1	2	1
Economics	5	3	8	3	7	3
History	34	41	16	20	18	23
Language/Linguistics	11	6	17	17	} 38 }	31
Literature	19	11	22	10		
Library/ Information Science	-	-	2	-	-	-
Political Science	17	24	16	24	19	22
Religion/Philosophy	1	1	1	1	2	-
Sociology	2	1	3	1	2	1
Other	8	10	8	20	11	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
(Number)	(2069)	(631)	(578)	(1623)	(2760)	(2220)

Faculty includes only those of known specialization.

\* 1988-91 Centers at:

University of California (Berkeley); UCLA-RAND; Columbia U; Emory U; Harvard U; University of Illinois; Indiana U; Universities of: Kansas, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Texas (Austin), Virginia, Washington; Yale U.

\*\* Data on students from program directory institutions is incomplete.

The rank and age profile of faculty is presented in Table 4, which shows that three out of four faculty members in the field are men. Compared to the demographic structure of the entire membership (including faculty) shown in Table 2, the faculty profile shows a pronounced rightward shift. A far larger percentage of faculty falls in the higher age groups. In part this reflects the inclusion of student members in the general profile, but comparison of the faculty age profile for 1990 with that for 1985 also shows a shift toward the higher age categories. In 1985, 37 percent of faculty were over 49; in 1990, 46 percent fell into that group. In the earlier year there were 6 members in the 80+ category; in 1990 there were 23.



Table 4

FACULTY BY AGE AND POSITION																			
AAASS Members																			
(Age as of 12/31/90)																			
Position	<20	20-	25-	30-	35-	40-	45-	50-	55-	60-	65-	70-	75-	80+	Age	Number	%	%	%
	24	29	34	39	44	49	54	59	64	69	74	79	NA	Total	Male				
Prof	0	0	0	1	7	67	150	180	140	121	71	10	1	0	25	773	37	84	16
Assoc Prof	0	0	0	10	67	114	126	71	41	19	13	2	0	0	15	478	23	68	32
Asst Prof	0	0	15	93	140	73	27	20	12	5	2	1	0	0	12	400	19	55	45
Prof Em	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	4	13	50	39	30	20	3	162	8	90	10
Adj Prof	0	0	2	0	6	12	9	4	5	3	1	0	0	1	1	44	2	45	55
Lecturer	0	0	5	4	12	6	10	3	4	0	3	2	0	0	1	50	3	44	56
Instr/Teacher	1	4	8	22	24	31	26	20	10	6	3	1	0	1	5	162	8	48	52
<b>Total for age</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>256</b>	<b>303</b>	<b>350</b>	<b>299</b>	<b>216</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>2069</b>	<b>100</b>		
% Total	-	-	2	6	13	15	17	15	11	8	7	3	2	1		100		# known age = 2007	
% Male	100	25	33	65	57	62	71	74	81	87	88	82	94	77		72		# known age = 1438	
% Female	-	75	67	35	43	38	29	26	19	13	12	18	6	23		28		# known age = 569	

Table 4A

**DISTRIBUTION ACROSS FACULTY RANKS**  
AAASS Members

Position	% of all Male Faculty	% of all Female Faculty	% of Faculty with PhDs
Professor	45	20	94
Associate Professor	22	25	93
Assistant Professor	15	30	88
Professor Emeritus	10	3	88
Adjunct Professor	1	4	68
Lecturer	2	4	63
Instructor/Teacher	5	14	30
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>86</b>

As might be expected from the age data, there is a heavy weighting in the highest academic ranks. Well over a third of all faculty in the AAASS are full professors. However, as Table 4A shows, in line with the difference in the age profiles of men and women, 45 percent of the faculty men are full professors while only 20 percent of the faculty women hold that rank. A larger proportion of the men hold top rank, but a larger proportion of men are also older. The growth in faculty members in the upper age echelons is not due solely to the

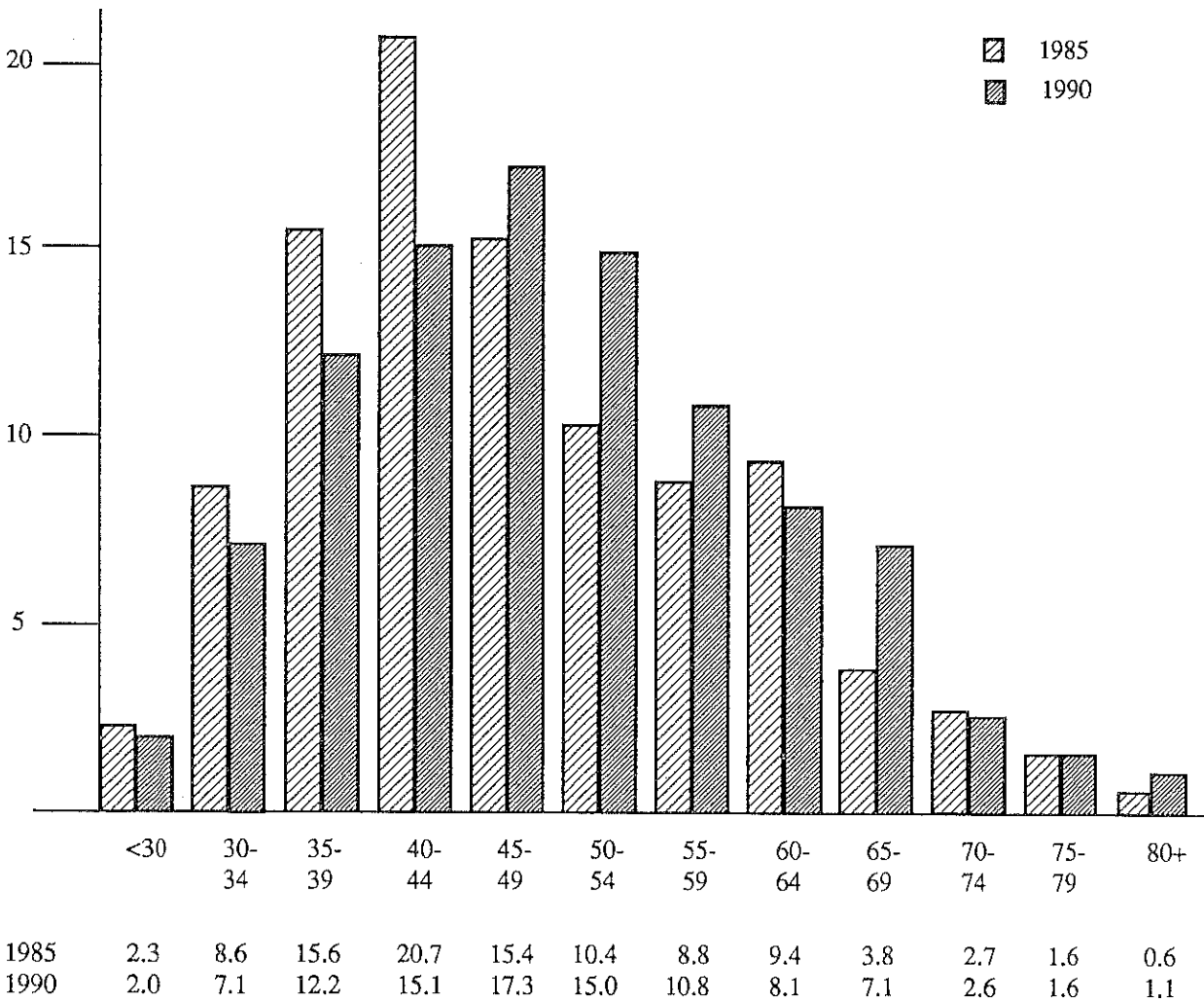
maturation of cohorts. Nor, in view of the age category, is it likely to represent new graduates (even though it now takes an average of 12 years to earn a doctorate in history). Rather, it appears to represent in part new entrants into the faculty, presumably from the pool of professionally un- or under-employed graduates who had been unable earlier to secure academic positions.

Graph 1 depicts the shift in age cohorts over the last five-year period. Bars representing age cohorts in 1985 show a relatively higher percentage in the younger ages at that time, while those for 1990 show a shift to the older groups. A clear break occurs in the group in their forties, reflecting the drop in new hires from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s.

Graph 1

AGE PROFILE OF FACULTY IN SOVIET & EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

Percentage



In order to compare the age pattern of faculty in Soviet and East European studies with that of American faculty in general, we use data (for 1987) from Bowen and Sosa's *Prospects for Faculty in the Arts & Sciences*. Since their study indicates that the age distribution of faculty in the humanities and social sciences (HSS) differs somewhat from that of faculty as a whole, and since virtually all faculty in SEES are humanists or social scientists, the HSS data may be most relevant.

Table 5

	FACULTY AGE DISTRIBUTION BY SECTORS (percent)		
	Under 40	40-49	Over 49
All Faculty (Bowen/Sosa 1987)	21.7	39.4	38.9
Humanities & Social Sciences	20.3	40.0	39.7
Humanities	16.4	39.8	43.8
Social Sciences	25.2	40.3	34.5
<b>Faculty in Soviet/E E Studies* (1990)</b>			
<b>In AAASS - Total</b>	<b>21.0</b>	<b>32.5</b>	<b>46.5</b>
Women	31.3	37.8	30.9
Men	16.9	30.5	52.6
<b>In National Resource Centers</b>	<b>17.5</b>	<b>26.5</b>	<b>56.0</b>

\*Includes only faculty of known age, i.e., virtually all faculty in AAASS, and approximately half of National Resource Center faculty.

Table 5 confirms what has long been suspected by SEES veterans. Due to the boom and bust pattern of the field's development, the age distribution of faculty in Soviet and East European studies is even more skewed than that prevailing in the humanities and social sciences. The proportion of the Soviet/East European field clustered in the higher age brackets is exceptionally high. And in leading institutions in the field, the National Resource Centers, the imbalance is highest. Although Bowen and Sosa show that age distribution varies with the type of institution, no group of institutions comes close to the ratios prevailing among Soviet and East European faculty. According to their study, less than 40 percent of all humanities and social sciences faculty in the country are over 49 years old. Yet AAASS data indicate that 46 percent of all SEES faculty and 56 percent of the SEES faculty in NRCs are in that age category. In the middle (40-49) category, from which replacements would normally be drawn, the field has a deficit. For the humanities and social sciences as a whole, 40 percent of faculty fall in this range, but less than 33 percent of SEES faculty are located here. At the National Resource Centers not only the mid-range, but the under-40 group as well, is exceptionally small.

The faculty age pattern and its implications give particular interest to the changing share of women in the field. Although they currently account for less than 30 percent of the faculty, women constitute about half of all graduate students. And since the specializations of women vary to some extent from those of men, the growing

proportion of women in the field could bring about shifts in interest patterns. Women faculty and students both show a strong interest in literature and language, but female students are drawn more heavily than faculty to history, political science, and economics. Women already provide almost half of the assistant professors in the AAASS, and should provide a stronger component of the senior faculty ranks in the years ahead. That there will be openings to fill seems likely.

Table 6

**WOMEN  
FACULTY AND GRADUATE STUDENTS**  
Soviet and East European Studies  
(as a percent of all faculty and graduate students in major disciplines)

Disciplines	AAASS Members		National Resource Centers		Program Directory Institutions
	Faculty	Students	Faculty	Students	Faculty
Anthropology	50	50	33	52	28
Art	49	60	17	30	32
Economics	23	37	22	40	12
History	19	40	11	40	14
Language/Linguistics	48	41	35	53	
					} 37
Literature	47	59	37	56	
Library/Info Science	33	0	54	67	55
Political Science	19	40	11	27	15
Religion/Philosophy	0	38	0	50	6
Sociology	33	63	30	32	19
Other	22	65	NA	NA	NA
% Women in Total	29	45	24	42	24

**PROJECTED SUPPLY OF FACULTY**

Bowen and Sosa's investigation leads to the conclusion that there is likely to be some loss of faculty ahead in the humanities (especially) and social sciences, due primarily to the age distribution of faculty. They expect the supply of HSS faculty to drop by about 6 percent by the end of the century, and to remain stable thereafter. They also consider the demand side of the picture. Enrollments in higher education are not expected to fluctuate widely in the 90s, so no immediate or acute shortage of faculty is foreseen. The basic need throughout most of the decade, in their view, will be for replacement rather than expansion of faculty. However, they anticipate that significant shortages of faculty will develop by and after the turn of the century as demand overtakes the supply of faculty.

In an attempt to get a clearer picture of the prospects for faculty in the Soviet and East European field, we have made use of the "exit probability" ratios developed by Bowen and Sosa. The ratios, which involve

assumptions about departures due to death, retirements, and "quits" (voluntary or involuntary) out of higher education, make it possible to calculate anticipated losses of faculty for successive five-year periods when age distribution is known.

The results, summarized in Table 7, show that in contrast to the general situation in the humanities and social sciences, where a shortage of faculty is expected to reach problem levels only toward the close of the century, the Soviet and East European field faces an imminent and steep drop in faculty. Rather than the "remarkably steady" outflow anticipated for faculty in higher education in general over the next two decades, the SEE field, on the basis of this projection, can expect to lose over a quarter of all current faculty between 1990 and 1995 alone. Subsequently, the hemorrhage will be stanching and the outflow will diminish. But before the end of the century another 16 percent will have left the field. Later losses should then drop to slightly below those anticipated for humanities and social sciences in general.

Table 7

**PROJECTED FACULTY EXITS, 1990-2010**

Humanities & Social Sciences		Soviet & East European Studies		
	%		Number	%
1987-92	19.6	1990-94	539	26.8
1992-97	17.2	1995-99	320	15.9
1997-2002	16.9	2000-04	309	15.2
2002-07	16.8	2005-09	290	14.4

\*Based on age profile of AAASS faculty members (Table 4) projected according to overall five-year exit probabilities provided by Bowen and Sosa, chapter 2 and appendix B. N = 2,007 (1990). HSS figures calculated from ratios provided by Bowen and Sosa, p. 28, Table 2.4.

The destabilizing impact on the field of the anticipated outflow over the next five years could be aggravated by a rising demand curve. Enrollments may not be changing much across the board in humanities and the social sciences, but, as noted above, developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe over the last few years have led to heightened interest in the field, an expansion of course offerings, growth of student enrollments, and an increase in faculty. The reserve pool of un- or under-employed specialists in the field appears now to have been drained, and continued growth would create a need for additional new faculty at the very time when large numbers are likely to be needed simply to replace retiring faculty.

The demand for replacements however, remains uncertain. Despite the recent revitalization of the field, it cannot be assumed that all institutions plan to replace all retiring specialists. Area studies specialists rarely hold positions as such in their academic homes. Anchored in discipline-based departments, they have no assurance that their faculty slots or chairs will be reserved for successors in their area of expertise.

In an attempt to learn more about the retirement plans of senior faculty in the field, and to find out whether they are being replaced as they retire, the AAASS sent out a questionnaire in the fall of 1990 to faculty members aged 55 and over. Almost two-thirds of the group responded. One of every five respondents had already retired. The distribution across disciplines approximated that of the entire group, so the respondents may be considered a fair representation of the senior faculty in Soviet and East European studies.

Given the age of the group, a high rate of imminent retirement "exits" from the field would be expected, and this is confirmed by the respondents. Approximately half of the unretired respondents plan to retire in the period 1991-95, and another 37 percent plan to do so by the end of the century. The peak year for retirements will be 1995. The age of retirement appears to be moving slowly upward, a movement that may reflect longer life expectancies, and which could gradually augment the supply of senior faculty. For those already retired, the average age at retirement was 66, but among the not-yet-retired, those in public institutions (60 percent of all respondents) plan to retire at age 67, and those in private institutions (40 percent) at 68.

Table 8

**EXPECTED RETIREMENTS IN SEES**  
% of respondents

	1991-95	1996-2000
Economics	73	27
History	49	32
Language/Linguistics	36	49
Literature	49	34
Political Science	35	46

The economists, perhaps with an eye to marginal utility, plan to work somewhat longer than most. The average age at which they intend to retire is 69. Yet in the next five years (1991-95) 73 percent of the respondents in economics plan to retire. In ten years all of them expect to be retired. By that time over 80 percent of all respondents will be retired. The responses appear to confirm predictions that the end of mandatory retirement is unlikely to affect retirement age significantly.

Somewhat surprisingly, 4 out of 5 formally "retired" members indicated that they remain professionally active, primarily through part-time teaching and/or research and writing. The proportion of activists may be inflated because the sample is from AAASS members, and professionally inactive retirees are less likely to retain membership. Nonetheless, active emeriti appear to be a significant part of the actual faculty pool, and this could help cushion the shock of heavy departures over the next five years.

Responses to the survey question about replacement of retiring faculty revealed that among those already retired, only 57 percent had been replaced with someone in the Soviet/East European field. Those not yet retired expected little improvement in this respect: sixty-one percent anticipated being replaced with a SEES specialist, 23 percent were confident they would not be replaced, and 16 percent were uncertain. Replacement is of critical concern if the field is to achieve stabilization and avoid the destructive consequences of its erratic past development. There is no way at present to assess the accuracy of faculty projections, but it appears that the replacement rate has been rising of late in concert with rising demand for area specialists in Soviet and East European studies. In many cases, however, it appears that retiring senior faculty are being replaced by untenured junior faculty at the entry level, primarily as a cost-cutting measure.

The other side of the question has to do with supply, and this is closely tied to the training of new experts in the field. The PhD is virtually mandatory for faculty positions (See Table 4A), and 70 percent of all graduate students in SEES National Resource Centers (where the ratio is highest) are pursuing doctorates. According to statistics compiled by the Department of Education on the career choices of NRC graduates (U.S. Dept. of Education, Center for International Education, *Report on 1985-88 Center Graduates*, compiled by Ann I. Schneider, March 29, 1990), about 40 percent of all new area studies PhDs in 1985-88 went into higher education. Among those in the Soviet and East European field, the proportion was considerably higher — 49 percent. This may be attributable to the lack of alternative employment opportunities (e.g. in business) for specialists on the area.

The annual record of PhDs produced in the Soviet and East European field throughout the 1980s (Table 9) shows that about 2,600 doctorates were awarded in that period. The 49 percent ratio indicates that approximately 1,300 new PhDs may have entered higher education over the course of the decade. (This includes PhDs accepting non-faculty positions such as librarians, administrators, etc.) If the production of PhDs in the field were to continue at the same rate, about the same number might be expected to enter higher education in the next decade. However, a number of factors could affect entries. On the one hand, the data for the last few years suggest that the number of PhDs being produced in the field is rising. But at the same time, the changing situation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is creating new job opportunities for specialists, and this could reduce the proportion of new PhDs entering the academic market, bringing it closer to the 40 percent average of all NRC PhDs. If these two contrary tendencies offset one another, the projection of 1,300 new specialists entering the field in higher education over the next decade may be a reasonable guidepost.

Table 9

**DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES\***  
1980-89

	All Institutions Total	NRC Institutions Total	NRC as % of Total
1980	259	77	28
1981	281	71	24
1982	214	69	30
1983	226	65	28
1984	244	72	28
1985	252	72	27
1986	263	71	26
1987	273	84	29
1988	326	89	26
1989	256	68	25
<b>Total</b>	<b>2594</b>	<b>738</b>	<b>28</b>

\*Based on annual reports compiled by Jesse Dossick and published in the *Slavic Review*. Data for recent year(s) may be incomplete, but lists are updated as additional information becomes available.

From the data on projected exits (Table 7), it appears that over 2,000 departures from the field can be anticipated during the nineties. By the end of the century, if the projections are valid and if most retiring academic specialists in the field are replaced, there will be a shortage of roughly 700 faculty in Soviet and East European Studies. This will be the case even if no further demand develops in the field. Should demand continue to grow, the shortage could be greater. On the other hand, if full replacement does not occur, the anticipated deficit will be correspondingly reduced. In any case, the capacity of the academy to provide sufficient area expertise to the American public and its leadership over the coming decade is likely to be strained.

## CONCLUSIONS

According to the above analysis the decade ahead may witness the development of significant shortages of faculty in Soviet and East European Studies. Due to the historical evolution of the field and its erratic growth pattern, an unusually large contingent of the current faculty is in the higher age brackets and approaching retirement. Especially heavy losses will occur over the next five years, and in some disciplines, such as economics, they will be critical. The entry of new PhDs into the field during the nineties cannot be counted on to fill the gap left by the exodus, since contemporary developments, and the opening of alternative employment prospects for graduates with expertise on the area, are likely to keep academic demand high.

To address the problem of an imminent outflow of faculty from the field, senior faculty should be encouraged to continue part-time teaching and research following official retirement. Many AAASS survey respondents indicated that they would welcome some continuation of their professional work under certain conditions. Among these were opportunities to assume a reduced teaching load, and more support for ongoing research. Such measures would help to ward off or reduce impending shortages and would be a sensible investment, maximizing the academic output of the field's most experienced human resources.

At the same time, and with greater long-range significance, young scholars should be encouraged to enter the field and to persist throughout the extensive training essential for academic careers in the Soviet/East European field. Motivated and able graduate students should be able to find needed assistance as they seek to acquire language competency, obtain on-site experience of the region, complete the dissertation, and establish themselves as professionals. In the long run, shortages would be less damaging to the health of the field and its ability to serve national needs than continued instability.

Note should be taken also of the changing role of women in the field. Increasingly, women account for a larger part of the national pool of expertise on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and their growing numbers could have a positive bearing on the question of faculty supply. To the extent that the disciplinary



specializations of women differ from those of men, the gender shift may also influence future trends in specialization.

The states (and would-be states) in the area covered by the Soviet Union, Eastern and East Central Europe, and the peoples in that area, are currently involved in a complex process of political, economic, and ethnic re-identification. In the throes of a major historical transition, they are undergoing a reformation that is likely to proceed unevenly and to take considerable time. Meanwhile, the field of Soviet and East European scholarship will be involved in its own process of redefinition as it responds to the changes within the area. Whatever the outcome, American interest in the region is likely to remain high in the foreseeable future, as is the national need for expertise to interpret developments there.

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