The Academic Identity Experience of Liberal Arts Faculty
in the Age of New Managerialism

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Dedication

For my parents, Darrell and Kathy Fleming, and my son, Andrew James Sole.

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Abstract of Dissertation

The Academic Identity Experience of Liberal Arts Faculty
in the Age of New Managerialism

Studies suggest that the academic identity of liberal arts faculty is changing due to the introduction and use of new managerialism practices in higher education. Increasingly, faculty members are being asked to take on tasks considered to be outside of traditional teaching, research, and service functions. These tasks are largely administrative in nature, and while previous research has documented some shifts in faculty duties, none has detailed the explicit impacts these shifts have on faculty identity.

This phenomenological study documents how 15 tenured and tenure-track liberal arts faculty members at a well-respected and highly ranked research 1 (R1) university in the Mid-Atlantic region have experienced new managerialism. It tells a story of a faculty devoted not only to research but also to teaching—one that values both the high caliber of undergraduate students and his colleagues and the strong academic tradition and reputation of the institution. The data in some ways paint a portrait of what one would expect to find: faculty members who fervently believe in the intellectual freedom that comes with tenure. At the same time, the data challenge previously held generalisms, such as a faculty member's primary identification with his or her discipline. The study also details concerns about what has been described as the rapidly expanding administrative core of the university—those individuals not primarily focused on conducting research or teaching students.

My conclusions question higher education's societal role and the academy's present challenges and opportunities, and depict faculty members who are clinging to an

idealized image of the professoriate of the past and, at the same time, attempting to define their future identity.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter 1: Introduction

Overview of the Study

An individual's social identity is derived from the groups to which the individual believes he belongs (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Professional identity is a narrower category of social identity. The general definition of professional identity may be stated as the perception one has of being competent or skilled in a given field; it is the perception one has of oneself as a professional (Paterson, Higgs, Wilcox, & Villenuve, 2002). In this study, professional identity is defined as the general beliefs, values, motives, and experiences—which may evolve over time—of those in the same professional role (Henkel, 2005; Ibarra, 1999; Mead, 1934; Tajfel, 1970). Within the constructs of social and professional identity and the context of the academy lies academic identity—that sense of belonging to teaching and research[1] faculty in higher education[2] (Henkel, 2005). Over the past three decades, the literature has begun to explore the concept of academic identity, yet it remains underconsidered, especially in light of the trend toward new managerialism in the academy (Deem, 1998).

I use Social Identity Theory (SIT) as the theoretical lens through which a liberal arts[3] faculty's identity experience is studied. The theory posits that an individual's self-concept is anchored in the salient group in which he finds himself a member (in-group); the benefits of in-group membership include "emotional and value significance" (Tajfel, 1972). SIT is based partially on the self-esteem hypothesis, which claims that in-group

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[1] The phrase "teaching and research faculty" is a designation used at the research site to describe the traditional tenure-track and tenured faculty members responsible for teaching, research, and service.
[2] "Higher education" is used interchangeably with "colleges," "universities," and "institutions."
[3] A liberal arts education is one that "pursues the articulation of a compelling vision of a good life, along with the preparation for and the cultivation of such a life…it is, in short, *structured learning that aims at human flourishing*" (DeNicola, 2012, p. 37).

members are likely to discriminate against those in the out-group as a way of maintaining or regaining positive self-concept (Hogg & Abrams, 1990).

The purpose of this study is to understand how the academic identity of liberal arts faculty is experienced in the age of new managerialism. A greater understanding of this experience may contribute to the gap in the literature that speaks to the academic identity of faculty during a time of burgeoning commoditization of higher education and, more specifically, to how the academic identity of liberal arts faculty and the mission of the university are evolving.

Statement of the Problem

The academic identity of liberal arts faculty is changing due to the introduction and use of new managerialism practices in higher education. Increasingly, faculty are being asked to take on tasks that would be considered outside of traditional teaching, research, and service functions, and in some cases, their influence in governance matters is diminished (Deem, 1998; Halsey, 1992). These practices are leading increasingly to universities being run as businesses. The reasons for this shift are well documented and include globalization, reductions in public funding, shifting and unclear academic values, and the growth of technology spurred by the knowledge-based economy (Bok, 2003; Hayrinen-Alestalo & Peltola, 2006). This trend is referred to as "new managerialism" (Deem, 1998) and is defined as "a way of trying to understand and categorize attempts to impose managerial techniques, more usually associated with medium and large 'for profit' businesses, onto public sector and voluntary organizations" (p. 49). It emphasizes the use of performance outcomes, efficiency measures, internal cost centers, and a focus on external competition (Deem, 1998). New managerialism has led to what Etzkowitz,

Webster, and Healey (1998) have called the "triple helix" role of higher education—its focus on teaching, research, and contribution to the (local) knowledge economy.

The university system's move toward new managerialism has influenced the composition and nature of faculty work. As Deem (1998) states, "Until quite recently, the notion that the activities and cultures of universities either required managing or were, in any meaningful sense, 'managed', would have been regarded as heretical" (p. 47). Now it seems that the "pressure on academic staff appears in the guise of the activities of academic managers and administrators re-organizing, controlling and regulating the work of academic staff and the conditions under which those staff work" (p. 48). Clark (1987) asserts that "when big money and applied professional practice enter academic units, collegial control diminishes and the power of headships increases. We then see more academic barons as well as more non-academic administrators" (p. 173).

Given these changes in the academy, it is not surprising to learn that "academics in general . . . are struggling to hold on to values and practices from the past. These include elite, or 'pre-modern' values and 'modes of specialization, divisions of labor and institutional governance that stem from the dominance of the discipline in concepts of academic identity and professionalism'" (Becher & Trowler, 1989). These shifts from traditional academy norms to those encountered in and viewed as managerial takeovers threaten to alter the academic identity of liberal arts faculty.

Purpose

In this study, I explore how liberal arts faculty experience new managerialism, which comes at a time when the majority of higher education institutions are struggling to remain economically viable. The pressure may be even greater for liberal arts colleges

and universities, as their relevance is increasingly questioned. During the previous four decades, there has been a steady decline in those seeking a liberal arts degree and a steady increase in individuals pursuing careers in business, education, and health professions (Sorum, 2005). Yet dating back to Aristotle, the literature has pointed to any number of individuals who recognize the intrinsic importance of the pursuit of knowledge for the betterment of society. A liberal arts education imbues its students with the desire to gain knowledge and the analytical abilities to fulfill that desire. My intent is to better understand liberal arts faculty's academic identity. Understanding this identity may be important in the coming years, as higher education institutions face growing scrutiny of their missions. I consider how managerial practices have influenced these faculty members' teaching, research, and service missions.

Research Question

The study will be driven by one central research question and three subquestions:

- How is the academic identity of liberal arts faculty experienced in the age of new managerialism?
    - How does new managerialism affect liberal arts faculty's teaching responsibilities?
    - How does new managerialism affect liberal arts faculty's research responsibilities?
    - How does new managerialism affect liberal arts faculty's service responsibilities?

Significance of the Study

Better understanding of how the academic identity of liberal arts faculty is experienced in the age of new managerialism will be valuable, as this trend significantly affects the nature of the professoriate and the of higher education during an important time in the history of both. The study contributes to the practical and ongoing debate as to whether or not universities are and should be run as businesses, and considers the potential impacts of shifting governance structures in higher education. Additionally, my research may contribute to the conversation occurring in institutions across the world by helping to strike a balance between being "profitable" and being a center of innovation and knowledge creation.

Are Universities Businesses?

Universities face two fundamental and competing questions: How do they remain economically viable given the tremendous financial realities they face, and how do they continue to educate individuals in meaningful and practical ways in order to continue to produce an educated citizenry? These questions often seem at odds with one another, and directly challenge the very nature of the liberal arts tradition. Regardless, financial pressures are real; the tuition costs of a traditional liberal arts education at medallion[4] institutions rose 82% between 1990 and 2002—from $13,997 to $26,496 (Lapovsky, 2005). Lapovsky (2005) found that at nonmedallion schools, the tuition "increased 102%, from $9,169 to $18,571" (p. 57) during the same period. However, Lapovsky writes, institutions are increasingly discounting these rates through institutional grants and financial aid; in 2002, medallion schools were offering 56% of their student body

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[4] Those colleges ranked "by *U.S. News and World Report* as the top national liberal arts colleges in the country" (Lapovsky, 2005, p. 50).

discounted tuition rates. The number was higher—86%—at nonmedallion schools. If revenues were to increase even slightly, by admitting more students and not increasing headcount or facilities, an institution's financial health might continue at the same level. If, however, faculty and facilities were necessary to address the increased student admissions rate, the institution typically suffered (Lapovsky, 2005).

Given the grave financial reality most universities face, it is not surprising that institutions look to a more profit-driven financial model and become increasingly attuned to streamlining to gain efficiencies. Departments, programs, and enrollments are more closely scrutinized, and perhaps even eliminated if they are unable to collect enough tuition dollars to offset their expenses. The decline in liberal arts majors may cause institutions that are looking for ways to save money to consider cuts in liberal arts programs.

Shifting Governance Structures

Higher education governance models have varied over the centuries but, generally speaking, faculty members have played a significant role, either in direct institutional governance or through a faculty senate. As such, they have had the opportunity to influence institutional direction, including course and programmatic decisions, student enrollments, and mission articulation. Meanwhile, the number of administrators brought in to help with tasks that lie outside the realm of faculty's direct work—teaching, research, and service—has grown considerably, and as their ranks grew, so did the breadth and depth of their job assignments. More and more administrators came from outside academia and gradually imported business practices. In turn, the influence of faculty, while still significant, was diminished.

Universities' Societal Role

There are essentially two camps concerning the role of the university in society. One contends that the mission of higher education is to build skill and produce pragmatic individuals who are capable of entering their profession of choice having studied it in undergraduate work. The other believes that the role of the university is far greater. They believe that the job of universities is to produce well-rounded learners who are capable of applying critical thinking skills to virtually any occupation. A liberal arts education "furnishes the mind and expands the imagination, and its pursuit enlivens the intellect" (DeNicola, 2012, p. 68). This divide is at the heart of much of the struggle in higher education. Should the academy produce skilled workers or intellectual individuals? This is fundamentally an ideological disagreement.

Conceptual Framework

The study's conceptual framework (below) considers the literature of academic identity from its origins in the constructs of social and professional identity; the contextual environment is higher education—i.e., the academy. The research question is "How is the academic identity of liberal arts faculty experienced in the age of new managerialism?" Each construct is introduced and briefly described below.

The Academy

Social Identity → Professional Identity → Academic Identity

New Managerialism → RQ → Academic Identity
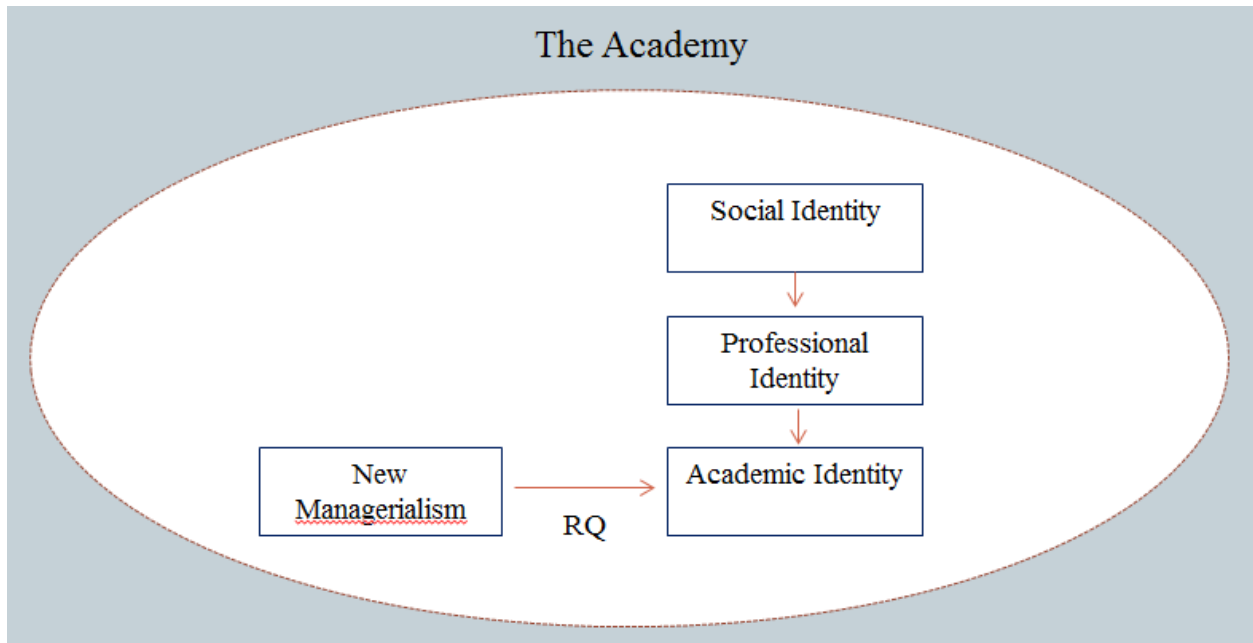
Figure 1. Conceptual framework

Social Identity

       Social identity and SIT grew out of the work of Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, and Sears' (1939) frustration-aggression theory; Allport's (1954) intergroup behavior theory; Festinger's (1954) social comparison theory; and Sherif's (1966) realistic conflict theory. It was expanded by Tajfel (1970), and refined and ultimately defined by Tajfel and Turner (1979). At the core of the theory is the idea that individuals categorize themselves according to the groups with which they identify. They then look for and adopt similarities among the members of their group (in-group) and compare themselves to others in different groups (out-groups). This comparison can generate competition and prejudice between groups, with each defending his or her own accordingly.

Professional Identity

       Professional identity is the perception of oneself as a knowledgeable actor in a particular field or specialty, and is a subconstruct within the social identity construct. Its

origins can be traced to Mead's (1934) social interactionism, which relies heavily on Ibarra's (1999) definition: the enduring beliefs, values, motives, and experiences of those in the same occupational role.

Academic Identity

Further narrowing the identity construct leads to the subconstruct of academic identity—the identity that academics embrace. This is grounded in the individual's discipline or field and not necessarily in the larger department or institution (Valimaa, 1998).

New Managerialism

The final construct in the conceptual frame is new managerialism, which is defined as the introduction of business practices to higher education (Deem, 1998). It typically is viewed as distracting faculty from their primary roles of teachers, researchers, and service providers by placing greater and greater administrative burdens on them. In the eyes of many faculty members, it stifles academic freedom (Clark, 1987).

Summary of Methodology

Hermeneutic Phenomenology

Because I sought to understand the discrete experience of a given population, hermeneutic phenomenology (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2013) was employed. This methodology was appropriate because it "[examines] how people make sense of their major life experiences" (Smith et al., 2013, p. 1) and it relies on both the interpretation of events experienced by the participants and the researcher's interpretation of the participants' interpretation; it is a double hermeneutic approach (Smith et al., 2013, p. 3).

Sample Population

Participants were solicited from the College of Arts & Sciences at a Mid-Atlantic R1 univeristy, thus limiting the population to those in the liberal arts disciplines. These disciplines were intentionally identified as the target population since the college in which they are housed is considered to be the "intellectual core" of the institution. An initial email soliciting participants was sent to those within the college. Faculty in the targeted population were either on a tenure track and had up to 8 years of experience in their departments, were tenured with approximately 8-15 years of experience in their departments, or were tenured with more than 15 years of experience in their departments. Fifteen participants were ultimately selected.

Interview Protocol

Participants were interviewed at least once using a modified Seidman[5] (2013) approach. The initial round of interviews was semistructured and in most cases lasted roughly 60 minutes each. The protocol consisted of 20 open-ended questions (Maxwell, 2013). Each interview was recorded and transcribed. A second interview was conducted, as necessary, to confirm my interpretation of the initial interview results. Interviews were recorded and transcribed—some by myself, to immerse myself in the data, and the remainder by a hired transcriptionist.

Data Analysis

Once participant validation had occurred and necessary adjustments made, the data were coded using Smith et al.'s (2013) six-step method: (1) reading and rereading

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[5] The term "modified Seidman" refers to an approach that relies on Seidman's interview practices, yet truncates his typical three interviews to two as necessary, combining what would typically serve as the first and second interviews into one.

the transcripts; (2) making initial notes; (3) developing emergent themes; (4) searching for connections across emergent themes; (5) moving to the next interview; and (6) looking for patterns across cases.

<div align="center">Limitations and Delimitations</div>

The use of hermeneutic phenomenology as a research methodology has several limitations, including researcher bias, researcher-participant trust issues, and generalizability. Because hermeneutic phenomenology relies heavily on researcher interpretations, the door is open to the introduction of bias. There are several mechanisms that can be put into place to minimize bias, including bracketing. Bracketing is the deliberate acknowledgment and setting aside of individual basic assumptions.

The need for trust between researcher and participant is key to the collection of sound data. Thus, the degree to which the researcher establishes rapport and builds the participant's trust will dictate, in large part, the quality of participant responses.

Generalizability could be a limitation as well, but because the sample is relatively homogeneous and previous literature indicates faculty typically identify more with colleagues within their discipline than with other professors at their home institution (Nixon, 2006; Piper, 1994; Valimaa, 1998), results may have broader application within the academy. Certainly, the possibility of theoretical generalizability exists (Smith et al., 2013).

Delimitations include the focus on liberal arts faculty who are either on a tenure-track and have up to 8 years of teaching experience in their departments, are already

tenured and have been teaching for 8-15 years, or are tenured with more than 15 years of experience in their department. A single research site is a final delimitation.

Definition of Terms

Several terms are especially relevant to this phenomenological inquiry:

- **Academic Identity:** the strong affiliation of an individual to a discipline, as opposed to an institution (Nixon, 2006; Piper, 1994; Valimaa, 1998);

- **New Managerialism:** "a way of trying to understand and categorize attempts to impose managerial techniques, more usually associated with medium and large 'for profit' businesses, onto public sector and voluntary organizations" (Deem, 1998, p. 49);

- **Professional Identity:** the enduring beliefs, values, motives, and experiences of those in the same occupational role (Ibarra, 1999);

- **Social Identity:** "Those aspects of an individual's self-image that derive from the social categories to which he perceives himself as belonging" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 40).

Chapter Summary and Preview of Remaining Chapters

This chapter presented the statement of the problem, purpose of the study and research questions, significance of the study, conceptual framework, a summary of the methodology, limitations and delimitations, and definitions of key terms.

The remaining chapters further explore the experience of liberal arts faculty in the age of new managerialism. A thorough literature review of the major constructs investigated in the inquiry is presented in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 offers an in-depth consideration of the hermeneutic phenomenological research methodology employed.

12

Chapter 4 presents the study's findings; I discuss my conclusions in Chapter 5, as well as the study's contributions to theory and practice and recommendations for further research.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

Introduction

The academic-identity literature springs from studies of social and professional identity, both of which have been well researched and analyzed. My purpose in this review is to provide a sound understanding of all three streams to inform the research question, "How is the academic identity of liberal arts faculty experienced in the age of new managerialism?"

Using the university library system's online catalog, multiple variations of terms were used to complete the requisite searches. Once an empirical source had been identified, I analyzed its content and construct validity to determine the soundness of its approach. I used a similar approach to estimate the soundness of material with theoretical sources; each source's bibliography was also combed for potentially helpful related material. Methodologically, there was a great deal of commonality among empirical sources, which led me to believe that hermeneutic phenomenology was a useful approach. The same can be said of sources' ontological and epistemological paradigms—there was a great deal of commonality, in that the majority leaned toward constructivist and relativist-subjectivist paradigms.

Methods of Literature Review

The initial research domains accessed through the university's research portal were sociology, psychology, education, and business. These domains were chosen because the major construct of this research—social identity—falls within their boundaries. Subsequently, a broader search was performed. Generally speaking, the majority of related texts and journal articles were written between the 1940s and the

present, so this timespan received the greatest attention (although initial searches did not preclude earlier documents). The following table details which databases were accessed within each domain; when a database reported the time range of included publications, those dates are shown. Multiple references to the same database have been excluded.

Table 1.

Research Databases

Domain	Database
Sociology	• Sociological Abstracts, 1952-present
	• Web of Knowledge (Web of Science), 1970-present
	• ICPSR (Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research)
	• JStor
	• PAIS International (Public Affairs Information Service), 1915-present
	• Academic Search Complete
	• WorldCat–FirstSearch
Psychology	• PsycINFO, 1800s-present
	• Neurosciences Abstracts
	• ERIC (ProQuest), 1966-present
	• ERIC (EBSCO), 1966-present
	• Mental Measurements Yearbook
	• PsycARTICLES, 1894-present
	• PsycCRITIQUES, 1956-present
	• PsycINFO, late 1800s-present
	• Sociological Abstracts, 1963-present
Education	• Education Full Text 1983-present
	• Education Index Retro, 1929-1983
	• Education Research Complete
Business	• Factiva
	• Business Source Complete
	• LexisNexis Academic
	• CCH Internet Research NetWork (Human Resources/Health, and Medical)
	• ProQuest Historical Newspapers, 1849-2010

Description and Critique of Scholarly Literature

Given the topic at hand, two broad sets of literature were reviewed to ground this research: social identity—and subsequently professional and academic—identity and the evolution of the university. The first is included because of its relevance to the major

construct of the research and the second because it represents the research context. Regarding the construct of identity, while a broad literature review was conducted, it was quickly evident that the majority of time should be spent on the more narrow topic of academic identity and the theoretical lens of SIT; this spoke more directly to the primary and secondary research questions.

Several decisions were made regarding what aspects of the university's evolution would be included. In the end, I decided to provide a broad overview of how the university came into existence and the various roles it has played in knowledge creation in Western societies throughout the last several centuries. Note that this discussion is bound to Western societies—and in particular the United Kingdom, various European nations, the U.S., and Australia—since this is where the majority of scholarly research on the use of new managerial practices within the academy is based.

Social Identity

Social Identity Theory (SIT)

To understand the identity issues facing liberal arts faculty in the academy, one must begin by defining *professional identity*. This study relies on SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) for its theoretical underpinning, and defines professional and academic identity in that light. The theory posits that individuals have multiple identities and can slip between and among these identities, depending on the group one finds oneself in at a given moment (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). For example, a person may identify with being a parent while at home, a runner while running a race, or an academician while teaching. Social context and group affiliation are what defines an individual's identity; this typecasting is referred to as *social categorization* and began with Tajfel (1970).

Foundational works. Tajfel (1970) determined that social categorization helps

individuals to both identify others and define themselves relative to others. Additionally,

Tajfel and Turner (1979) identified the minimal conditions required for individuals who

belong to a particular group to discriminate against individuals outside their group. Their

work primarily built on work by Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer & Sears (1939), Allport

(1954), Festinger (1954), and Sherif (1966).

Dollard et al. (1939), who were part of the so-called Yale Group, studied

frustration and aggression in military personnel and formulated the frustration-aggression

theory, which asserts that frustration precedes aggression. A later revision of the theory

claimed, "Frustration produces investigations to a number of different types of responses,

one of which is an instigation to some form of aggression" (Miller, 1948, p. 337).

Although subsequently criticized by scholars such as Bandura, the theory still retains

some of its original appeal.

Allport (1954) looked at group dynamics and intergroup behavior, especially as it

relates to prejudice, and found that positive contact between different groups tended to

improve intergroup relationships and reduce negative out-group stereotyping (Abrams &

Hogg, 1990).

Festinger (1954) focused on cognition and ability. He viewed cognition as the

sum of opinions and beliefs, and ability as the evaluation of one's own competencies. He

claimed that both cognition and ability affect behavior, and that comparing oneself to

others leads to increased competition. His studies revealed that individuals who have

some objective grounding for their position aren't likely to change their opinions, while

those who have little to no objective grounding tend to change their opinions and favor

the group's majority opinion. Festinger also posited that an individual is likely to change his opinion to match the majority of opinions in a group, and contended that social influence and competitive behavior derive from comparing oneself to others.

Sherif (1966) selected twenty-two 11-year-old boys of similar socioeconomic and familial backgrounds who did not know one another and divided them into two groups. Group members interacted only with members of their own group and were not aware of the other group for a week at Oklahoma's Robbers Cave State Park. After a week, the two groups met for the first time and were challenged to compete against one another for resources. The result was that the members of each in-group showed solidarity with their fellow group members and hostility for the opposing (out-)group. Sherif's (1966) framework was realistic group conflict theory, which focuses on the interpersonal side of the social behavior continuum.

Prior to Tajfel's work on social categorization (1970), he focused on the accentuation principle (1959), which is that similarities *within* a group become accentuated, as do differences *between* groups. This enables categorization. Turner (1978) claimed that in-group favoritism is not related to objective or economic gain, and can even occur at the expense of such gains. Turner's primary findings include:

- "Social categorization per se is not sufficient for in-group favoritism" (p. 138);

- "Minimal group discrimination is not a variant of instrumental or realistic competition: it is not a product of any perceived conflict of objective interests between groups" (p. 139); and

- "The importance of social categorizations in social conflict lies in their power to define the context of more basic intergroup processes. (p. 140)

In line with Turner, Tajfel (1978) contends that "social categorizations constitute necessary and sufficient conditions for intergroup discrimination" (1978, p. 12). In addition, he states that social conflict can be defined as "a conflict between large scale-socio-economic or socio-political groupings as distinct from conflicts inside an individual, between individuals or between small groups" (1978, p. 29). Tajfel also claimed that:

- "The nearer is a social situation to the intergroup extreme of the interpersonal-intergroup continuum, the more uniformity will the individual members of the groups concerned show in behavior towards members of out-groups" and

- "The nearer is a social situation to the intergroup extreme, the stronger tendency will there be for members of the in-group to treat members of the out-group as undifferentiated items in a unified social category" (p. 44).

From this work comes Tajfel's (1978) definition of social identity as "a part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 66).

Primary scholars. Tajfel and Turner (1979) continued to build on the work of previous scholars in the field, contending that lack of attention to the identification of and attachment to others within an in-group created inconsistencies in realistic group conflict theory (RCT), and sought to bolster RCT. They claimed that social behavior lies on a continuum, with interpersonal behavior at one end and intergroup behavior at the other,

and defined each as follows. Interpersonal behavior is "…the interaction between two or more individuals that is fully determined by their interpersonal relationships and individual characteristics, and not at all affected by various social groups or categories to which they respectively belong" (p. 34), while intergroup behavior is defined as "interactions between two or more individuals which are fully determined by their respective memberships in various social groups or categories, and not at all affected by the inter-individual personal relationships between the people involved" (p. 34). Tajfel and Turner claimed that when an intergroup conflict is intense, individuals in each group react not to the individuals in the group but to the group itself. They also posited that while social mobility implies an individual's ability to move from one group to another of his choice, the concept of social change makes it difficult for those in a stigmatized group to migrate to another, less marginalized one. It is within this latter context that one can see the difficulty of shifting identity groups in a highly stratified situation. This finding led to Tajfel and Turner's (1979) hypothesis that

> an unequal distribution of objective resources promotes antagonism between dominant and subordinate groups, provided that the latter group rejects its previously accepted and consensually negative self-image, and with it the status quo, and starts working toward the development of a positive group identity. (p. 38)

More importantly, they found that the self-esteem of the dominant group is improved when that group compares itself to the lower stratified group. This finding led to the integration of social categorization, identity, and comparison to create a "testable framework for contributing to the explanation of various forms of intergroup behavior" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 45).

Following the lead of Gergen (1971), Turner (1984) defined self-concept as "a hypothetical cognitive structure that mediates in appropriate circumstances between

20

social situation and behaviors" (p. 526). He claimed that self-concept has two parts, social identity and personal identity, that "identity and not interpersonal interdependence and attraction is the basic process in group formation" (p. 531), and that "psychological group membership is based upon the sharing of a common social identification rather than cohesive interpersonal relationships" (p. 535). In addition, "The group is both a social reality and a psychological process and there is a constant reciprocal determination between these two sides of the phenomenon at play in group behavior" (p. 536).

Turner and Tajfel (1986) then found that not only do in-group individuals discriminate against those outside their group; they also demonstrate in-group favoritism. Later, Hogg and Vaughn (2002) expanded Tajfel and Turner's work, and demonstrated that an individual's self-concept is directly related to his or her perceived membership in social groups. All of this leads to the conclusion that academicians, when engaged in the work of their profession, associate their own professional identity with their colleagues'. They may or may not identify with the larger institution and its mission, although Ashforth and Mael (1989) noted, "In organizations, conflicts between work-group, departmental, divisional, and organizational roles are somewhat constrained by the nested character of these roles" (p. 29).

Criticism of SIT. Social Identity Theory has its critics, despite all the empirical research attention it has received in the recent past. The primary criticisms seem to revolve around the observation that out-group favoritism does in fact occur and may not be all that uncommon, and that group identity affirmations can be met outside of intergroup comparisons (Abrams & Hogg, 1990). Tajfel (1978) himself acknowledged that social categorization "assumes people are okay with being randomly grouped and

that they will eagerly defend their group" (1978, p. 109). All of these criticisms merit further consideration.

<div align="center">Professional Identity</div>

Adding to how SIT views professional identity, Ibarra (1999) defined professional identity as the enduring beliefs, values, motives, and experiences of those in the same occupational role. Giddens (1991) defined identity as a "reflexively organized project . . . filtered through abstract systems" (p. 5). Mead (1934) believed that individual identity develops more fully when the individual is immersed in a given community's practices and shares similar values. Henkel (2005) demonstrated, by building on Jenkins' (1996) work, that identity construction is "the process of identity (individual and collective) as a continuous and reflexive process, a synthesis of (internal) self definition and the (external) definitions of oneself offered by others or an 'internal-external dialectic of identification'" (p. 157).

My definition of identity adopts the social aspects of Tajfel (1978), Ibarra (1999), and Mead's (1934) definitions and combines them with the flexibility offered by Giddens' (1991) and Henkel's (2005) perspectives: "the general beliefs, values, motives and experiences—which may evolve over time due to changes in societal norms and advances in science—of those in the same professional role." Therefore, it assumes a social interactionist perspective and argues that identity is influenced in large part by the continually evolving social processes that occur within any given professional community. Given that this research is located in the context of higher education, I will now turn my attention to the narrower topic of academic identity.

Academic Identity

As identity relates to academia, Piper (1994) argued, "Academics look to their occupation for their identity as teachers, but outside for their identity as subject specialists" (p. 6). The notion of faculty members looking outside their institution is supported by Valimaa (1998), who contends that an academician's identity lies largely within the individual's disciplinary identity dimension and secondarily in his professional, institutional, and national identity dimensions. This strong affiliation with one's discipline may create tensions within the academy, especially as institutions face dramatic changes—in student influx, structure, and the general public's perception of it—and increasingly ask faculty to take on managerial responsibilities (Nixon, 2006). Since faculty feel stronger affiliations to their disciplines rather than to their institutions (Nixon, 2006; Piper, 1994; Valimaa, 1998), it is understandable that, perceiving that their administrative duties are increasing and therefore the time available for research is declining, they may begin to feel as though their academic freedom is being challenged—or, at the very least, that their discipline is playing a lesser role in their work obligations. Through this shift in focus, then, faculty may feel that "the don becomes increasingly a salaried or even a piece-work labourer in the services of an expanding middle class of administrators and technologists" (Halsey, 1992, p. 13). Winter (2009) refers to faculty in this role not as scholars but as "managed academic[s]" (p. 121).

While the literature supports scholars' identification with their disciplines (Nixon, 2006; Piper, 1994; Valimaa, 1998), it also depicts a somewhat confounded, and at least contextual, affiliation of scholars to two pillars of the three traditional pillars of the professoriate: teaching, research, and service (Barnett, 2003, 2005; Brew, 2008; Clegg,

2008). It is within this confounded notion of identity that academics' loyalty to discipline, institution, research, and teaching converge.

Empirical studies. The specific studies I discuss here are highlighted in Table 2. These studies bring to bear three issues central to academic identity: (a) professional identity is rooted in personal and shared narratives of those working in the same occupation (Humphreys & Brown, 2002); (b) the narrative core of academia is nostalgic—one that harkens back to the days of perceived academic freedom and an absence of new managerialism (Ylijoki, 2005); and (c) current identity challenges stem from existing issues (Garcia & Hardy, 2007), with one primary issue being faculty's shifting academic identity and role in the academy.

Table 2

Empirical Studies Related to Academic Identity

	Study 1	Study 2	Study 3	Study 4	Study 5	Study 6	Study 7
Title/date	Positioning, similarity and difference: Narratives of individual and org identities in an Australian University, 2007	Narratives of org identity and identification, 2002	Academic nostalgia: A narrative approach to academic work, 2005	Becoming a lecturer in further education in England: The construction of prof. identity . . . 2005	Higher ed change and professional-academic identity in newly "academic" disciplines, 2011	The future of the academic calling?, 2008	Professional identity and the restructuring of higher education, 2006
Topic	Constructing identity through narrative	Narratives and their importance in individual and org identity construction	A nostalgic narrative represents the problems & tensions of the present rather than the past	Prof. identity development in lecturers; suggests a strong sense of marginalization and alienation among trainees	How those in "new" disciplines find familiarity in traditional identities	Motivations and identities of junior faculty	The role of university teachers and their identities
Researchers	Garcia, P., & Hardy, C.	Humphreys, M., &Brown, A.	Ylijoki, O.-H.	Bathmaker, A.M.	Findlow, S.	Hakala, J.	Nixon, J.
Paradigms	Interpretivist-constructivist	Interpretivist-constructivist	Interpretivist-constructivist	Interpretivist-constructivist	Interpretivist-constructivist	Interpretivist-constructivist	Interpretivist-constructivist
Methods	Case study	Case study	Phenomenology	Phenomenology	Ethnography	Phenomenology	Case study
Ontology/ Epistemology	Relativist/ subjective	Relativist/ subjective	Relativist/ subjective	Relativist/ subjective	Relativist/ subjective	Relativist/ subjective	Relativist/ subjective
Conclusions	Identities are formed not by the narrative	Identity is rooted in the personal and shared	One of the core narratives in universities is the	Newcomers to higher ed can easily be	Practitioners in "new" academic disciplines	Junior researchers search for	Any restructuring of higher ed must

one tells but by the positions one ascribes to; victimhood narratives create space for resistance; current challenges often are rooted in previously existing issues	narratives people author to make sense of their worlds; efforts of senior managers to control org. identity development is seen as a hegemonic act	nostalgic story line that refers to the loss of academic freedom and autonomy; nostalgia describes the problems of the present more so than the past	marginalized based on their rank, discipline, and institution	(nursing) feel more comfortable with their traditional identity	academic identity, and while some traditional elements of the identity are still sought, they also look for new interpretations and sources of meaning	reconsider the relationship between teaching and research and other traditions and styles of research

Social identity as it relates to professional and academic identity. Burford (2012) asserts that "professional identity is an instance of social identity" (Burford, 2012, p. 145). In a study of medical professionals, Wyness, McAuliffe, and Fellenz (2010) found that as clinicians make the transition to managerial roles, they may actually sabotage their role as managers in order to maintain their clinical identities. As it relates to professional identity and academic identity in particular, social identity may be generalized outside the medical profession to the extent that a similar in-group/out-group comparison and preference occurs in the academy as teaching and research faculty assume more administrative roles outside of their traditional academic responsibilities.

Having reviewed the literature of social identity, professional identity, and academic identity, I next discuss the origins and history of the university system.

The University

The Origins of the University

The university began in medieval times, for the purpose of "teaching priests, public servants, lawyers and so on; and scholarship in a variety of disciplines (biblical, classical, philosophical, medical etc.)" (Martin & Etzkowitz, 2000, p. 8). Scott (2006) reports that by the end of the Middle Ages, more than 80 European universities were led by guilds of masters who served as teachers and scholars who were their students. Scott also found that institutions in the northern part of the continent were governed by faculty, while those in the south relied on student governance. Notably absent was another group: administrators. Only in the later Middle Ages was there an increased need for these individuals, and this was largely because society was advancing to the point where its larger institutions required the help of others to operate.

Scott (2006) notes that between 1500 and 1800, or the age of the early modern university, the university's focus was shifting to advocating, advancing, and supporting nationalism and humanism; this was the case for institutions in both Europe and Latin America. It wasn't until the 19th century and the birth of universities in America that their focus began to form around the notion of championing democratization. During that period, Germany universities were also beginning to advance the mission of research and the pursuit of academic freedom (Scott, 2006).

To understand the continued evolution of the university, Scott (2006) asserts that in the U.S. public service was added to the institution's broader mission in the 20th century. In contrast, Scott contends that today its focus is almost entirely on internationalization—or as Scott states it, "service to the body of nation states" (p. 6). Boyer (1990) summarizes the evolution of the purpose of the university as follows:

> Thus, in just a few decades, priorities in American higher education were significantly realigned. The emphasis on undergraduate education, which throughout the years had drawn its inspiration from the colonial [classical] college tradition, was being overshadowed by the European university traditions, with its emphasis on graduate education and research. Specifically, at many of the nation's four-year institutions, the focus had moved from the student to the professoriate, from general to specialized education, and from loyalty to the campus to loyalty to the profession. (p. 13)

Universities' Role In Knowledge Creation

The university was conceived to both develop the potential of individuals and create new knowledge for its own sake and for the sake of society (Martin & Etzkowitz, 2000). Eventually, these competing purposes forced the academy into two fundamental camps: the classical university and the technical university, both of which continued to co-evolve (Scott, 2006). Examples of classical universities are Oxford and Harvard,

while Imperial College and MIT represent technical universities (Scott, 2006). The classical university model dominated in the U.S. in the early 20th century.

Since 1945, the classical university has been known for its production of Mode 1 knowledge, although the technical university contributed to this knowledge type as well (Scott, 2006). According to Martin and Etzkowitz (2000), Mode 1 knowledge "involves new knowledge being produced primarily within individual disciplines, mainly in universities and other academic institutes" (p. 4), while Mode 2 knowledge "generally involves multi-disciplinary or trans-disciplinary research carried out in a growing variety of institutions (i.e., not just universities) and with a blurring of the boundaries between the traditional sectors (university, industry, etc.)" (p. 5). Much Mode 2 knowledge was generated in the latter half of the 20th century in research institutions that benefited from their partnership with federal agencies (Scott, 2006).

The Work of Nonadministrative Faculty

Throughout the institution's evolution, and depending on the type of institution, the role of faculty shifted. Generally speaking, though, faculty were expected to participate in the governance of the university. Tracing this role, Shattock (2006) describes three governance models: (a) the Oxbridge model, which placed great emphasis on academic self-governance and in which faculty were clearly responsible for the university's operations; (b) the Scottish model, in which a rector reported to a chancellor whom a bishop had appointed and the role of faculty in institutional governance was diminished but remained present; and (c) the civic university governance model, which was a bicameral system managed by a court and council, along with an academic senate; as with the Scottish model, faculty played a role in university governance, but not a

definitive one. In describing a fourth governance model, that of the U.S., Duryea and Williams (2000) contend that "by the eighteenth century, the government of American colleges lay irreversibly with external groups of lay trustees holding the status of corporations" (p. 83). It is evident in this fourth model that by that time, faculty governance of the university was in decline—yet as the former president of the College of Charleston so aptly remarked mid-20th century, "No college in America has permanently flourished, in which the Trustees have not been willing to concede to the faculty, the rank, dignity, honor, and influence which belong essentially to their station" (Hofstatler, 1955, p. 237). The constant theme during the inevitable changes within the governance of the academy has been that of faculty authority and influence on the academic mission of the university, be it as complete as at Cambridge (Halsey, 1992) or as diminished as at a community college described by Clark (1987).

Shifting and Unclear Values in the Academy

By the late 1980s, "there was a fundamental shift in the balance between the pure and the instrumental view of the university towards the latter" (Martin & Etzkowitz, 2000, p. 15). The reasons for this came from both outside and inside the university. According to Martin and Etzkowitz (2000), external forces included "the end of the Cold War, the growing importance of new technologies; globalization and growing competition, constraints on public expenditure, firms becoming more reliant on knowledge and skills for their competitiveness; and students demanding not only useful skills but also education in cheaper and perhaps more convenient form" (pp. 15-16). Internal forces included "the emergence of interdisciplinary research areas; poor infrastructure pressures to do more teaching as a consequence of the higher student/staff

ratios linked with the move toward a mass higher education system; and, relatively low academic salaries" (p. 16). Each of these contributed to the lack of clear values among faculty as they sought to find their way in a changing academic environment. Everything from a decline in faculty participation in institutional governance to difficult funding conditions led to the shift in academy values. Part of this shift, too, is due to the introduction and onslaught of business practices in a higher education environment. This will be explored further in the next section preceded by a summary of the management theories and practices that led to new managerialism.

<div align="center">Managerialism</div>

A Perspective on the Past

The topic of management has been written about since 496 BCE (Tzu, 2014). Sun Tzu was a Chinese military general whose focus was on military strategy, but who was also interested in change management and planning (Dent & Bozeman, 2014). It isn't surprising, therefore, to encounter the topic throughout the literature of the last 2,500 years. St. Benedict of Nursia wrote the Rule of St. Benedict in 480 CE, which addressed topics such as leadership, the benefits of using a consultative approach when dealing with others, how to cultivate humility and obedience, and how to effectively handle disciplinary issues (Dent & Bozeman, 2014).

Fast forward to the early 1800s and the industrial revolution in Great Britain; two individuals in particular are noteworthy. The first is Welshman Robert Owen, who published four essays in 1814 titled *The New View of Society* (2014). In these essays, Owen focused on the treatment of textile mill workers, especially those who worked and lived in the utopian socialist community of New Lanark which he founded. Owen's

greatest contributions to the nascent management movement were the creation of a

minimum age, 10, for children workers; a reduction in the work day from 14 to 10 hours;

and the institution of worker sick leave and child education.

A few years later, in 1832, the Scotsman James Montgomery, a successful cotton

mill manager, offered the following management advice:

> It may therefore be stated, in a general way, that in governing a Spinning Factory with propriety it would be prudent for the manager, while guarding against too much lenity on the one hand, to be careful to avoid too much severity on the other; let him be firm and decisive in all his measures, but not overbearing and tyrannical; not too distant and haughty, but affable and easy of access, yet not too familiar. In the giving of orders or directions, it is much better to give them in a pleasant manner, but with few words; they are then likely to be received with a good grace, and promptly obeyed. But to be frequently giving orders and laying down rules, which are never followed up, tends only to harass the mind without any good effect. If the manager be strictly just and impartial, showing no desire to favor one more than another, but always treating every person according to their merits, it generally has a good effect on the minds of those that are un-der him, by impressing them with the assurance that it is only by uniform attention to their business that they can secure his approbation: in a word, let the manager, at all times, maintain that dignified deportment which good sense would dictate—let him conduct himself so as to make this impression on the minds of all that are under him, viz. that while they continue to attend their work quietly and diligently, they will not be causelessly interfered with, but allowed to attend their employment in peace. (The President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1968, pp. 224-225)

The Industrial Revolution and Bureaucracy in America

Capitalism was firmly rooted in American culture by the mid-19th century. Even

so, one of social science's "founders," socialist Max Weber—along with Marx and

Durkheim—"had no faith whatsoever in the ideology that large-scale capitalism was a

positive evolution for society" (Dent & Bozeman, 2014, p. 153). Weber, considered by

some to be the "father of organizational theory" (Lounsbury & Carberry, 2005, p. 501),

was also considered to be the founder of bureaucracy (Bateman & Zeithaml, 1990). He

"was described as a German Sociologist who was 'the first [scholar] to develop a

systematic concept of authority in bureaucratic organizations'" (Mills, Weatherbee, & Durepos, 2014, p. 233).

Two of Weber's most influential contributions to management science are his metaphor of the "iron cage" (1930) and his three concepts of authority: traditional, rational-legal, and charismatic (Weber, 1968). For Weber, the iron cage represented a state in which we were irrationally bound to bureaucratization and technology, unable to see or reach beyond it; he saw the cage as severely limiting human potential (Weber, 1930).

Weber (1968) explained his three concepts of authority as follows. Traditional authority is that which is stable, impersonal, and nonrational and is based on customs and traditions; an example of traditional authority is that of tribal chiefs or monarchies (Houghton, 2010). Rational-legal authority is based on laws, rules, and power from legitimate office; it is bureaucratic, yet brings stability and order (Conger, 1993; Houghton, 2010; Weber, 1930). Charismatic authority is displayed when a leader has extraordinary personal characteristics (Weber, 1968); it tends to shepherd change and disorder and is unstable, personable, and nonrational. Given the growth of industry and capitalism that Weber witnessed during the industrial revolution, it was rational-legal authority he feared most; he saw it, essentially, as the iron cage of modernity.

New Managerialism

As one considers Weber's rational-legal authority and the mass bureaucracy it implies, it is not difficult to make the leap from that concept to managerialism and from there to new managerialism. According to Davies and Ryan (2006),

> managerialism is an ideology or set of beliefs and practices, at the core of which
> burns the seldom tested assumption that the application of more and superior

management will prove an effective solution for a wide range of social and economic ills. (p. 30)

New managerialism is the application of managerialism to the public sector,

including its use in higher education institutions:

> New managerialism [is] highly critical of the ways in which human resources in organisations are wasted by the inflexible boundaries of professional controls and practice. A multi-tiered level of administration encourages buck passing, discourages individual responsibility and personal involvement. (Davies & Ryan, 2006, p. 30)

New Managerialism in the Academy

Much of the literature suggests that globalization and decreased public funding

have compelled the university to adopt market-forces logic (Hayrinen-Alestalo & Peltola,

2006). This trend is referred to as "new managerialism," which Deem (1998) defines as

"a way of trying to understand and categorize attempts to impose managerial techniques,

more usually associated with medium and large 'for profit' businesses, onto public sector

and voluntary organizations" (p. 49). As Deem notes, it emphasizes the use of

performance outcomes, efficiency measures, internal cost centers, and external

competition. New managerialism has led to what Etzkowitz et al. (1998) have called the

higher education "triple helix": its focus on teaching, research, and contribution to the

(local) knowledge economy. This third contribution—to the knowledge economy—is

what shifts the university's focus from service to knowledge production for economic

gain. Etzkowitz (1998) writes:

> The entrepreneurial university integrates economic development into the university as an academic function along with teaching and research. It is this "capitalisation of knowledge" that is the heart of a new mission for the university, linking universities to users of knowledge more tightly and establishing the university as an economic actor in its own right. (p. 833).

The impact of new managerialism on faculty. The move toward new

managerialism in the university system has influenced the composition and nature of

faculty work. As Deem (1998) writes, "Until quite recently, the notion that the activities

and cultures of universities either required managing or were, in any meaningful sense,

'managed,' would have been regarded as heretical" (p. 47). Now, Deem continues, it

seems that the "pressure on academic staff appears in the guise of the activities of

academic managers and administrators re-organizing, controlling and regulating the work

of academic staff and the conditions under which those staff work" (p. 48). Clark (1987)

concludes that "when big money and applied professional practice enter academic units,

collegial control diminishes and the power of headships increases. We then see more

academic barons as well as more non-academic administrators" (p. 173).

Given these changes in the academy, it is not surprising that Becher and Trowler

(1989) contend that

> academics in general, and those in the UK in particular, are struggling to hold on
> to values and practices from the past. These included elite, or "pre-modern"
> values and "modes of specialization, divisions of labor and institutional
> governance that stem from the dominance of the discipline in concepts of
> academic identity and professionalism." (p. 16)

Halsey (1992) continues by outlining the implication of this increase:

> There is a short-term and real meaning to be attached to the decline of donnish
> dominion[6] in Britain since the middle of the twentieth century. We have sadly
> portrayed deteriorating conditions of intellectual work. The autonomy of
> institutions has declined, salaries have fallen, chances of promotion have
> decreased. The dignity of academic people and their universities and polytechnics
> has been assailed from without by government and from within by the corrosion
> of bureaucracy. Dons themselves have largely ceased to recommend the
> academic succession to their own students. They see themselves as an
> occupational group losing its long-established privileges of tenure and self-
> government, pressed to dilute its tutorial methods, hampered in control of

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[6] Halsey's (1992) "donnish dominion" refers to faculty's historic role as those who establish institutional
policy, as opposed to the roles of others, including administrators.

syllabuses, and restricted in its research ambitions by chronic shortage of funds. And these worsened conditions are not simply the outcome of justified pressure to raise the educational standards of the majority of the populace—that after all is a central concern of the key profession—but also, and above all, the melancholy consequences of disapprobation. They are unloved by their political masters. (pp. 268-269)

Faculty response to new managerialism. Academicians have responded to new

managerialism with their own nostalgic narrative—one that claims a "loss of academic

freedom and personal autonomy in work" (Ylijoki, 2005, p. 570). Ylijoki (2005) argues

that this narrative "concerns the moral order of academic work: what is academic work

all about, what is its purpose, who determines its content, which duties form the core or

the profession, to whom is it directed, and which commitments and assumptions are the

most fundamental" (p. 570). As Ylijoki points out,

> Nostalgia can offer one way to answer the crucial question of how it is possible to sustain the fundamental virtues and morals of the community in changing conditions. Thus the collective yearning for the golden past provides researchers under increasing pressures with cultural resources through which they are able to create continuity and integrity in the academic identities and also to socialize newcomers into the tradition and morals of the specific academic work environment. (p. 571)

> Gabriel (1993) suggests that nostalgia is quiet. It "treats the deterioration of

academic work as something to which researchers can only try to adapt and then suffer in

silence. . . . [It] might even be seen as a 'progressive' force" (p. 573).

An example of new managerialism. A recent example of both the ongoing debate

over university governance and the role of the faculty is that which occurred at the

University of Virginia during the fortnight between June 8 and June 26, 2012, when the

then Rector of the Board of Visitors' (BOV), Helen Dragas—a political appointee of

Republican Governor Robert McDonnell—demanded and received President Teresa A.

Sullivan's resignation. Because of an overwhelming outcry from faculty, staff, students, alumni, and other supporters, President Sullivan was unanimously reinstated on June 26, following a vote of "no confidence" in the BOV by the faculty senate and multiple widely attended public rallies in her support.

Dragas, who allegedly acted without a majority of board members' consent, offered 10 specific reasons for her decision, including that President Sullivan had not acted swiftly enough on the university's behalf and had "no long-range articulated approach" for fundraising on the university's behalf (Finkin, Scott, & Poston, 2013). Another reason, Dragas stated, was 'the changing role of technology, including the "coming tsunami" of online learning for which the university lacked a centralized approach'(Finkin et al., 2013).

In a statement given at a June 18 BOV meeting, President Sullivan stated, "I have been described as an incrementalist. It is true. Sweeping action may be satisfying and may create the aura of strong leadership but its unintended consequences may lead to costs that are too high to bear. . . . Corporate-style, top-down leadership does not work in a great university. Sustained change with buy-in does work" (Finkin et al., 2013, p. 7).

The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) concluded that Dragas's attempt to oust the president was "nothing more than a crude exercise of naked power: perhaps the board acted to redirect the university along more 'corporate' or business-oriented lines" (Finkin et al., 2013 p. 11). In addition, Finkin et al. (2013) contend that

> it bears reemphasis that a more involved board is also one more likely to tread
> closer to or even to transgress the line of academic authority in a system of shared
> governance. The voice of the faculty aids the board in oversight of its own

competence, to ensure that a proposed course of action is not in excess of it role (pp. 18-19).

In a footnote to this last statement, then-Faculty Senate chair George Cohen "stated publicly that absent tenure it was unlikely that the faculty would or could have been as outspoken and persistent as they were" (Finkin et al., p. 18).

Empirical Studies

While the idea that higher education can benefit from corporate efficiency practices has increased in popularity over the past two decades, relatively few empirical studies have been conducted in this area, and in particular, the impact on faculty of these processes. Four studies that most closely match the phenomenon under investigation are included; they illustrate how the shift from the classical university model—where knowledge was sought for its own sake—to a model where the bottom line is increasingly important is clearly evident. Themes across the four studies include the impact of the loss of collegial control (Clark, 1987), the increasing presence of market force logic (Hayrinen-Alestalo & Peltola, 2006), the emphasis on implementing and gaining administrative efficiencies (Deem, 1998), and the growing questioning of the value of corporate work in academia (Winter & Sarros, 2009).

What isn't clear from these studies is the impact changes in the academy have on faculty; however, Halsey's (1992) surveys, which were conducted in the United Kingdom in 1976 and 1989, provide a compelling view of some of the potential impact. In 1976, the academicians[7] Halsey polled reported that they spent approximately 19% of their annual time on administrative functions, while they would have preferred to spend just 10%. By 1989, when Halsey again surveyed them, the time faculty estimated they spent

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[7] For detailed information on study populations and data analyses, refer to Halsey (1992), Appendices 1 and 2. The sampling frame was the Commonwealth Universities Yearbook.

on administrative functions had grown to 24%; ideally they would have preferred it to be 12%. In this case, time spent on administrative functions includes activities such as performing management responsibilities, serving on committees, and participating in admissions and exam processes. These same studies indicate that faculty preferences in relation to time spent on undergraduate and graduate teaching changed little. In 1976, the actual and ideal percentages were 26/10% (undergraduate) and 10/14% (graduate), and in 1989 the same data were 26/22% (undergraduate) and 12/15% (graduate). The greatest change in the data relates to faculty research preferences, including time spent on "other creative activity" (p. 186). Here the numbers shift substantially, from 40/45% in 1976 to 28/43% in 1989. Interestingly, the ideal percentage of time spent on research changed little, yet the actual percentage saw a substantial decline—suggesting that at least to a degree, research time was being subsumed by administrative tasks. These data indicate that there have been substantial changes in the composition of faculty duties. However, the data do not reveal how faculty members experience these changes. This study aims to fill that gap. In Table 3 I highlight the specific studies related to the history of the university that I discuss in this chapter.

Table 3

Empirical Studies Related to the University

	Study 1	Study 2	Study 3	Study 4
Title/Date	The academic life. Small world. Different world: A Carnegie Foundation Special Report, 1987	"New Managerialism" and higher education: The management of performance and cultures in universities in the UK, 1998	The problem of a market-oriented university, 2006	Corporate reforms to Australian universities: Views from the academic heartland, 2009
Topic	Excerpt used addresses the authority environments of institutions	New approaches to the management of public sector institutions	The role of public universities as adaptors of market forces logic	Academic work attitudes and responses to corporate reforms within eight Australian universities
Researchers	Clark, Burton	Deem, Rosemary	Hayrinen-Alestalo, Marja & Peltola, Ulla	Winter, Richard & Sarros, James
Paradigms	Interpretivist- constructivist	Interpretivist- constructivist	Interpretivist- constructivist	Interpretivist- constructivist
Methods	Case study	Case study	Case study	Case study
Ontology/ Epistemology	Relativist/subjective	Relativist/subjective	Relativist/subjective	Relativist/subjective
Conclusions	"As size increases, the hierarchy of control stretches," p. 161; "the sense that transformation promises more self-determination" appeals to faculty, p. 170; "when big money and applied prof practice enter academic units, collegial control diminishes" p. 173	"New managerialism" is infused with masculinities; the move to new forms of managerialism may prove problematic, both with respect to performance and cultures if gender and ethnicity are not considered in selection processes.	Universities are expected to give space to pure commercial activities and rationalize their activities…through results-based performance and input-output efficiency. Market forces logic is becoming an integral part of the academic world.	A recurrent managerial challenge will be how to achieve more admin efficiency in academic work environments. Academics will most likely have to accept of the validity of corporate work to not suffer a decline in their quality of work life

Summary of the Literature and Inferences for the Study

Summary of the literature

The academic identity literature springs forth from the literary streams of social identity and professional identity both of which have been well researched and analyzed. The academic identity literature has been investigated also, although to a lesser degree. The purpose of this review was to provide a sound understanding of all three streams in order to inform the research question, "How is the academic identity of liberal arts faculty experienced in the age of new managerialism?" The preceding review indicates that understanding the academic identity experience of liberal arts faculty in the age of new managerialism is a gap in the literature. This study aims to fill that gap.

Inferences for the Study

The literature indicates that the academic identity of faculty is being challenged through the growing use of new managerialism as a way for institutions to gain business efficiencies by controlling costs and achieving greater global reach. What is not sufficiently explained are the consequences these challenges may pose for the academic identity of tenure-track and tenured faculty and for the liberal arts tradition of producing critical thinkers who are capable of "seeking the truth" (Aristotle, 2014). As a result, this research may contribute in significant ways to understanding both in order to put practices in place to either maintain faculty academic identity or transition to another form of it.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

Overview of Methodology

For this qualitative research study, I chose a hermeneutic phenomenological design (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2013) and a modified Seidman (2013) interview methodology to understand how faculty members' academic identity is experienced in the age of new managerialism. The context is the academy, and more specifically, the College of Arts and Sciences at an R1 university in the Mid-Atlantic region. The level of analysis focused on the individual.

Research Paradigm

Regarding my worldview, my ontological perspective is more nominalist than realist; my epistemological view is more anti-positivist than positivist. I see human nature more through a voluntary lens than a deterministic one, and am drawn to methodologies such as phenomenology more than those that are nomothetic. Throughout my research, I remained aware that these perspectives could influence my interpretation of people and events, and sought to ensure that I bracketed accordingly.

Methodology

Because this study seeks to understand the discrete experience of a population, I chose hermeneutic phenomenology (Smith et al., 2013). This methodology is appropriate because, as Smith et al. (2013) state, it (a) "[examines] how people make sense of their major life experiences" (p. 1), and (b) relies on both the interpretation of events experienced by the participants and the researcher's interpretation of the participants' interpretation, which means that it is a double hermeneutic approach (p. 3).

Hermeneutic phenomenology is largely credited to Heidegger, and marks the point of its divergence with that of Husserl's transcendental phenomenology (Smith et al., 2013). The two are closely linked, however, with hermeneutics growing out of transcendental phenomenology. This close connection makes sense, given Husserl's tutelage of Heidegger. While transcendental phenomenology is largely concerned with "individual psychological processes, such as perception, awareness and consciousness" (Smith et al., p. 16), Heidegger's hermeneutic variety is "concerned with the ontological question of existence itself, and with the practical activities and relationships which we are caught up in, and through which the world appears to us, and is made meaningful (Smith et al., p. 17).

Data collection

Fifteen nonadministrative faculty members were interviewed up to two times each using a modified Seidman (2013) approach. The initial round of interviews was semi-structured and lasted 45-90 minutes each. The protocol was comprised of up to 20 open-ended questions (Maxwell, 2013). Each interview was recorded and transcribed. The second round of interviews, if they were required, were briefer lasting approximately 30 minutes each, with their primary purpose to confirm the researcher's interpretation of the initial interviews. Once participant validation occurred and necessary adjustments made, the data was coded using Smith, Flowers, & Larkin's (2013) six step method.

<div align="center">Research Site</div>

The research site was a well-respected university that is among the top public institutions in the nation and is often referred to as a"public Ivy." The university is located in the Mid-Atlantic region of the country. It counts itself as distinctive among

institutions of higher education and has set for itself a goal to produce an educated citizenry that can serve as local, national, and world leaders. The university is public, yet its academic division receives only about 10% of its annual $1.36 billion operating budget from the state in which it is housed. It consists of 11 schools and grants 51 bachelor's degrees in 47 fields, 81 master's degrees in 65 fields, and 57 doctoral degrees in 55 fields. Six educational specialist degrees and two professional degrees, in law and medicine, are also offered.

Choosing this institution as a research site was a deliberate decision, as the university is one of the most stalwart liberal arts institutions, public or private, and emphasizes the undergraduate student experience. Liberal arts education at the university includes the social sciences, arts, humanities, and sciences. While this is only one indicator of its perceived value, the university consistently achieves high marks in *U.S. News & World Report*'s annual rankings. In August 2013, the magazine's latest (undergraduate) college rankings placed the university among the best public universities in the country and in the top 17% of all national universities.

I further narrowed the target population for the study to those tenured and tenure-track faculty in the College of Arts & Sciences, because it is considered the "intellectual core" of the institution. While some may argue that focusing only on faculty members within the College could lead to a potentially biased sample, I believe that the College is the optimal school within the institution to study, as it is largely the liberal arts—and, even more so, the humanities—that have been affected by new managerialism, which seems to threaten the very reasons for the College's existence.

Subject Selection

The sample population was drawn from more than 750 faculty members within the College, many of whom are eminent scholars in their fields. As the institution's website states, the College's

> mission is to equip our students with the wisdom and sensibilities to excel in this new century. That means developing the kind of contemporary minds—powerful, versatile and subtle—that will enable them to meet the challenges of a world that is becoming more volatile, complex, diverse, and global than ever. We aspire to create a vibrant community of students who share a hunger to learn and discover. We want them to have the ability and desire to make a difference in the world and inspire others to do the same.

The college, through pursuit of its strategic priorities, seeks to heighten its own and the university's stature as a leader in research and graduate education while maintaining its longstanding reputation for excellence in undergraduate education and exceptional teaching. The College also upholds the university's commitment to diversity, alongside ethics, integrity, and academic excellence, as the cornerstones of university culture (source withheld to prevent identifying the university).

Study participants were required to meet the following criteria:

- tenure-track or tenured individuals with up to 8 years of experience in their departments;

- tenured with approximately 8-15 years of experience in their department;

- tenured with more than 15 years of experience in their department.

- Not currently serving in an administrative capacity

- May have served in such a role in the past

Tenure-track faculty members are those who are responsible for teaching, research, and service at an institution; they are seeking tenure, but haven't yet received it.

Tenure, according to the American Association of University Professors (AAUP, 2014), is "an arrangement whereby faculty members, after successful completion of a period of probationary service, can be dismissed only for adequate cause or other possible circumstances and only after a hearing before a faculty committee" (2014).

I also focused on faculty members whose primary responsibilities lie within the three domains of higher education's mission—teaching, research, and service. Excluded from this population are general or research faculty. Participants were not to be serving, the time the research was performed, in an administrative role, including as department chair, assistant or associate dean, dean, or provost. Additionally, an even gender and ethnicity distribution was sought among the participants, and the distribution of those who participated in the study was consistent with that of the faculty body. Purposeful sampling (Seidman, 2013) techniques, including maximum variation sampling, was used to identify participants. Initial contact was made by email and explained the study and sought participants. Interested parties were instructed to either email or phone me for more information. Following distribution of the email, I performed targeted outreach to the College of Arts & Sciences to solicit likely participants. The figure below outlines the process for identifying and selecting participants.

```
┌─────────────────────────┐        ┌─────────────────────────┐
│  Identify target school │        │  Verify participants    │
│  (the                   │        │  meet                   │
│  College of Arts and    │        │  requisite criteria     │
│  Sciences)              │        │                         │
└─────────────────────────┘        └─────────────────────────┘
             │                                   │
             ▼                                   │
┌─────────────────────────┐                      │
│  Identify participants  │                      ▼
│  through                │        ┌─────────────────────────┐
│  purposeful (maximum)   │        │  Identify and confirm   │
│  variation sampling     │        │  participants           │
└─────────────────────────┘        └─────────────────────────┘
```
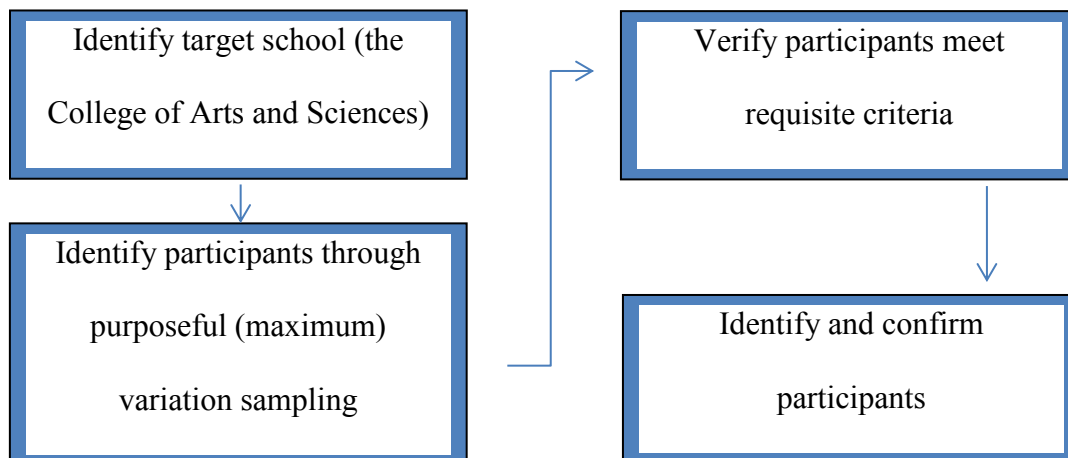
Figure 2. Process outline for identifying participants

Data Collection and Analysis

Data Collection

During the early stages of data collection, I reviewed my subjectivity statement and, to the greatest extent possible, bracketed any biases that I was aware of; I continued to do so throughout the research (Smith et al., 2013). This was challenging, however, I recognized that I needed to remain vigilant throughout the interviews to achieve the greatest authentic responses from participants, and employed strategies such as journaling or peer debriefing to ensure that my bracketing was sufficient.

Prior to the start of data collection, I tested possible interview questions and uncovered additional information that was helpful in the creation of the final set of questions. This pre-discovery phase was followed by data collection which occurred in semistructured interviews using the modified interview protocol (Appendix A). Questions were designed to explore the academic identity experience of liberal arts faculty in the age of new managerialism. The protocol also reflects Smith et al.'s (2013) suggestion that the goal of the researcher is "to design data collection events which elicit

detailed stories, thoughts and feelings from the participant" (p. 57). Figure 2 shows the major phases of the data-collection process.

Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4	Phase 5
• Bracketing (began during week 1 and continued throughout study)	• Conducted purposeful sampling; invite and select participants (1 month)	• Conducted semi-structured interviews (2 months)	• Transcribed interviews; overlapped with previous phase (2 months)	• Conducted 2nd round interviews, if required • revised/edited transcripts (1 month)

Figure 3. Major phases of data collection

Once participants had been identified and confirmed, at least one interview was conducted with each participant. The first interview was semistructured and in-depth in nature, and consisted of up to 20 open-ended questions in an interview protocol (Appendix B) that was sent in advance to participants (Smith et al., 2013). The protocol included main questions, follow-up questions, and probes (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Probes were used to clarify my understanding of participant responses and to solicit additional data based on comments made by the participant. A second interview was conducted when necessary to clarify and verify data.

Interviews were recorded, transcribed, and stored in a secure location, until the completion of the study and dissertation defense and revision, after which they were destroyed.

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed in an SIT context, in accordance with Smith et al.'s (2013) six-step process: Step 1, Reading and rereading; Step 2, Initial noting; Step 3, Developing

Emergent Themes; Step 4, Searching for connections across emergent themes; Step 5, Moving to the next case; and Step 6, Looking for patterns across cases.

In Step 1, it is important that the participant is the focus of the analysis (Smith et al., 2013). During this phase I listened to, read, and reread transcripts to facilitate accomplishing this goal. Step 2 "examines the semantic content and language use" (p. 83,) and therefore is generally very time consuming and can involve adding descriptive, linguistic, or conceptual comments, as well as "decontextualizing" (p. 90) the participant's words. I identified emerging themes by analyzing and regrouping exploratory comments (Smith et al., 2013). This process is common in hermeneutic phenomenology, as it requires one to revisit comments by viewing them in different contexts (Smith et al., 2013). Following Smith et al. (2013), I typed the themes in the order in which they appeared in the transcripts and then organized them in related clusters. The quintessential key to step 5 was ensuring that each interview was approached fresh, without carrying over thoughts from the previous one (Smith et al., 2013). To avoid this, I took 24-hour breaks in between analysis of each interview. In the final step, I identified patterns across cases (Smith et al., 2013) by listing the broad categories of emergent themes from each interview and identifying overlap and similarities.

<div align="center">Trustworthiness</div>

There were two primary threats to the reliability and validity of my fieldwork. They lay mostly in the realm of what Yardley, as cited in Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) refers to as *rigor*—the quality of the interview questions—and *impact and importance,* which is whether the outcomes are interesting and significant. I addressed

these potential threats by continuing to refine and test my questions and by organizing references and data so that my research could be recreated through an independent audit. Additionally, researcher subjectivity generally poses a validity threat but I addressed this threat through journaling and peer debriefing.

Secondary threats included the fact that the research site was a single institution. Additionally, the dean of the College of Arts & Sciences, who was still new to his position when I began my data collection, succeeded a dean who had been somewhat controversial. Therefore, because participants were not yet familiar with the new dean, some of their responses were likely to be colored by experiences with the previous dean. Finally, the research site was implementing a new university financial model (UFM) based on resource-centered management (RCM), which distributes accountability for financial matters to the local school or unit level. This model is being introduced at a time when sensitivities to the emphasis of finances over education may be heightened. I was aware of these threats to trustworthiness, and remained vigilant in identifying when they might or had arisen. I followed up with probing questions to ensure each interviewee's comments were fully understood and put in the proper context. Interviewees had the opportunity to review their own transcript prior to the commencement of data analysis.

Subjectivity Statement

I am a 50-year-old female professional working in higher education at an institution I think highly of and care about. My position at the university is one of fairly significant responsibility and visibility; I have 23 years of professional experience in my field of organization development. My role at the university is to provide faculty and

staff with challenging and meaningful development experiences that support their

continued professional growth. As a result, I deeply value education, since it affords one

the opportunity to become something other than what one is currently—learning is an

evolution, a process of constantly becoming. Additionally, though, I am a university

administrator operating in an era of year over year budget reductions that have allowed

for few salary increases in the last five years, as well as a continual and significant

reduction in overall federal research funding. Therefore, I believe I can appreciate aspects

of both faculty and institutional perspectives.

One potential issue I faced in this research was ensuring that the faculty members

I interviewed trusted me or, at the very least, believed that I would protect their

confidentiality. While I may be viewed by some as purely an administrator, it is my hope

that my lengthy experience in organizational and leadership development, along with the

fact that I am pursuing a doctorate with the intention of entering the academy, helped

alleviate any concerns participants might have had.

<div align="center">Protocols</div>

Appendix A contains the informed consent agreement for those participating as

research subjects. The interview protocol is included in Appendix B. The design of

interview questions was guided by my research question, "How is the academic identity

of liberal arts faculty experienced in the age of new managerialism?" and by three

subquestions.

<div align="center">Human Subjects Considerations</div>

Ethical considerations, including privacy and confidentiality, will be a primary

area of focus. Internal Review Board (IRB) guidelines at both institutions will be

adhered to. Additionally, the three primary ethical principles addressed in the Belmont Report (1979)—respect for persons, beneficence, and justice—were committed to and practiced.

Limitations and Delimitations

The use of hermeneutic phenomenology as a research methodology has several limitations, including researcher bias, researcher-participant trust issues, and generalizability. Because hermeneutic phenomenology relies heavily on researcher interpretations, the door is open to the introduction of bias. There are several mechanisms that can be put into place to minimize bias, including bracketing. Bracketing is the deliberate acknowledgment and setting aside of individual basic assumptions.

The need for trust between researcher and participant is key to the collection of sound data. Thus, the degree to which the researcher establishes rapport and builds the participant's trust will dictate, in large part, the quality of participant responses. Seidman (2013) suggests a three-interview approach, using the first as a way of introducing oneself to the individual. I believed that because of my relationship to and knowledge of the institution, this same goal could be accomplished in the interview in which primary data were collected.

I realized that generalizability could prove to be a limitation as well, but because the sample was relatively homogeneous and because faculty typically identify more with colleagues within their disciplines than with other professors at their home institutions (Nixon, 2006; Piper, 1994; Valimaa, 1998), my results could be useful for a broader

application within the academy. Certainly, the possibility of theoretical generalizability exists (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2013).

In addition to the methodology used, a final limitation could be the unique institutional culture of the research site. Although it is only one R1 public university out of many, the university being studied maintains its own distinct and historic culture, one that is steeped in tradition and ritual. This unique culture may have affected how participants responded to certain study questions, each having been enculturated accordingly.

Delimitations include the focus on liberal arts faculty members who are either (a) on a tenure track and have up to 8 years of teaching experience in their department, (b) are already tenured and have been teaching for 8-15 years, or (c) tenured with more than 15 years of experience in their department. The single site is a final delimitation.

Chapter 4: Findings

Introduction

Fifteen tenured or tenure-track liberal arts faculty members at a well-respected and highly ranked public R1 university in the Mid-Atlantic region were interviewed. Interviews took place over an 8-week period and were followed by four weeks of data analysis, synthesis, and interpretation. I considered how managerial practices have influenced faculty members' teaching, research, and service missions, driven by the central research question: How is the academic identity of liberal arts faculty experienced in the age of new managerialism?, and three subquestions: How does new managerialism affect liberal arts faculty's teaching responsibilities?; How does new managerialism affect liberal arts faculty's research responsibilities?; How does new managerialism affect liberal arts faculty's service responsibilities?

The chapter begins with a review of both the selection criteria for study participants and the interview methodology. It provides three tabular data sets: the first is a profile of each of the 15 subjects (Table 4); the second cross-references participants and major findings (Table 5); and the third presents the findings sorted by category (length of service in their respective departments) of participants (Table 6). Table 6 is offered as a way of introducing three inconsistent findings (Findings 3, 4, and 5) within the data. These findings are relevant because of the variation in citing frequency among participant categories. Each inconsistent finding is addressed in its corresponding section, along with data that help to illuminate it. In addition to the study's major findings, three paradoxes within the data were noted. These, too, are examined individually.

Study findings are considered major, since they were referenced by at least 50% of study participants. Findings are presented in the following order: those that contradict

the literature in this area to the greatest degree (1 and 2), those that differ from other findings because there was at least a two-point gap in participant category responses (3, 4, and 5); and those that are consistent with the literature (6, 7, and 8). The eight categories of findings include: (1) Faculty Identified Largely with Research, but also with Teaching; (2) Faculty Identified with Their Disciplines, the University, and Their Departments; (3) Faculty Frequently Used Aggressive Language; (4) Faculty Felt Significant Constraints on Their Time; (5) Faculty Claimed Intellectual Freedom Through Tenure as a Highlight of Their Work; (6) Faculty Anticipated Significant Future Changes in Higher Education and the Professoriate; (7) Faculty Expressed Concern Regarding the Increased Number of Administrators and Amount of Administrative Tasks They Themselves were Assigned; and (8) Faculty Valued the Caliber of Their Students, Colleagues, and the Institution.

<div align="center">Study Participant Selection Criteria and Interview Methodology</div>

Fifteen non-administrative[8] faculty were interviewed up to two times each using a modified Seidman (2013) approach. The initial round of interviews was semistructured and, while intended to last between 45-90 minutes, none lasted less than 60 minutes, and two lasted 120 minutes each. The protocol consisted of 20 open-ended questions (Maxwell, 2013). Each interview was recorded and transcribed, and each interviewee was given the opportunity to review the transcript and to revise if he[9] deemed necessary. A second round of interviews was conducted when it was necessary to confirm my interpretation of the initial interviews.

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[8]One individual interviewed had just assumed his first administrative post but had yet to act in any official capacity in that role.
[9]Study participants are referred to in the masculine form moving forward as a way of further bolstering confidentiality. Four females served as study participants.

Study participants met the following criteria:

- Five faculty were tenure-track or tenured individuals with up to 8 years of experience in their departments (Category 1);

- Five faculty were tenured with 8-15 years of experience in their departments (Category 2);

- Five faculty were tenured with more than 15 years of experience in their departments (Category 3); and

- None was currently serving in an administrative capacity (see footnote 8 above)

- They may have served in an administrative role in the past

It is worth noting too that several interviewees responded to questions with some degree of emotion: At least three individuals were visibly upset by the nature of the conversation, especially when the topic of increased administrators and administrative tasks was addressed. This leads me to believe that these participants felt a deep bond between themselves, their work, and the institution.

Subject Profiles

The table below identifies participants by title, tenure status, length of time in department, and study category number. It is presented according to the length of time each participant had served in his department. No participant numbers are assigned to the data in Table 4, and the order is intentionally different from the participant numbers assigned in Table 5 in an effort to bolster confidentiality.

Table 4

Subject Profiles

Title	Tenure Status	Length of Time in Department	Category
Assistant Professor	Tenure track	1 year	1
Assistant Professor	Tenure track	4 years	1
Assistant Professor	Tenure track	6 years	1
Professor	Tenured	7 years	1
Professor	Tenured	11 years	2
Associate Professor	Tenured	13 years	2
Associate Professor	Tenured	14 years	2
Associate Professor	Tenured	14 years	2
Professor	Tenured	14 years	2
Professor	Tenured	16 years	3
Professor	Tenured	23 years	3
Professor	Tenured	28 years	3
Professor	Tenured	34 years	3
Professor	Tenured	35 years	3
Table 4			

Quotations appear verbatim from the transcripts, followed by the participant's

study identification number in parentheses. An ellipsis indicates a significant pause in

the speech of the participant. A set of brackets containing an ellipsis [. . .] indicates that

material was omitted, and where necessary, I added explanatory material; this text

appears inside a set of brackets, e.g., [text]. Explanatory information is included to

further clarify meaning or to provide a transition between participant comments. Phrases

deemed unique or those that could serve as identifying markers have been removed to

maintain confidentiality.

Major Findings

Eight major findings are presented. For a category to qualify as a major finding,

it had to appear in at least 8, or more than 50% of, participant interviews. Table 5 cross-

references participants and findings, and lists the frequency with which each finding was

mentioned by each study participant. Note that not all comments made in the interviews

have been included in the text of this chapter; however, all those referenced in this work

appear in Table 5.

Table 5

Participants Cross-Referenced with Findings

Participant, by study number	Findings inconsistent with existing literature		Findings with a disparate citing frequency among categories			Findings consistent with existing literature		
	Finding 1: Identification with Research & Teaching	Finding 2: Identification with Disciplines, University, & Depts.	Finding 3: Aggressive Language	Finding 4: Hampered by Significant Time Constraints	Finding 5: Intellectual Freedom as Highlight of Work	Finding 6: Anticipation of Change in Higher Ed & Professoriate	Finding 7: Concern Regarding Administrators & Admin Tasks	Finding 8: Students, Colleagues & Institution
#1	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
#2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
#3	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
#4	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
#5	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
#6	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
#7	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
#8	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
#9	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
#10	x	x		x	x	x	x	
#11	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
#12	x	x	x			x	x	x
#13	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
#14	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
#15	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Total Frequency of Participant Acknowledgements	15	15	9	12	13	15	15	13

Table 6

Findings/Frequency of Participant Acknowledgement by Category

Findings/Frequency of Participant Acknowledgement by Category	Findings inconsistent with existing literature		Findings with a disparate citing frequency among categories			Findings consistent with existing literature		
	Finding 1: Identification with Research & Teaching	Finding 2: Identification with Disciplines, University, & Depts.	Finding 3: Aggressive Language	Finding 4: Hampered by Significant Time Constraints	Finding 5: Intellectual Freedom as Highlight of Work	Finding 6: Anticipation of Change in Higher Ed & Professoriate	Finding 7: Concern Regarding Administrators & Admin Tasks	Finding 8: Students, Colleagues & Institution
Category 1 (up to 8 yrs. of experience)	5	5	3	4	3	5	5	5
Category 2 (8-15 yrs. of experience)	5	5	1	5	5	5	5	4
Category 3 (more than 15 yrs. of experience)	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	4
Table 6								

Finding 1: Faculty Identified Largely with Research but also with Teaching

Study participants identified strongly with the research aspect of their jobs. Research was presented as anything from "a religion" (participant #12) to being "integrated with teaching" (participant #13) and used as "a tool for teaching" (participant #10). Participant #15 stated, "I am such a happy camper, so to speak, with respect to my research obligations. I love doing it." The same individual said:

> Well we are a research university, we're a Research 1 [R1] and therefore that means publish or perish if you don't have tenure and in—how can I put this? Earn the disrespect of your peers if you don't publish. You know, once you do have tenure so there is a sufficient amount of pressure that most people, you know, continue to perform.

Contrary to participant #15's reference to research as an "obligation," most interviewees corrected the way in which the interviewer phrased this question, noting that research was not an obligation but rather an exciting part of their work. Participant #2 said, "[research responsibilities] feel more to me like opportunities than like obligations at this stage in my career. I'm pretty settled and at a plateau where the atmosphere is high and good, I think. They're not presented to me as obligations." Participant #7 posited that it was the very nature of research that made it interesting: Oh, well, [research responsibilities] always change; that's why research is interesting [. . .]. And you know, one of the appealing things about research is you know you're generally only doing things that you don't understand very well, right? You know it's like—well you know if you know how to do it then forget it, right? So it's like-what am I completely unqualified to do? Let's do that. Okay…a bit of an exaggeration but you know but there's the mystery.

Also for participant #7, the ideal academic environment was one in which he could focus on research.

Several individuals noted that while research was the most important aspect of their identity when ranking it alongside of teaching and service, teaching was certainly a close second. Participant #6 said:

> I would say in terms of my teaching and my research, I mean I—I certainly like them both and I spend more time on research because—because it's more important in terms of how I'm evaluated and everything. Now I can imagine if it were more 50/50, that's not something I would mind. I would be happy to sort of be given the liberty to spend more time on my teaching. As much as that would make me personally happy, it's not what I would suggest. I wouldn't suggest that [name of institution] actually change their priorities on that. I mean I guess like— yes, for me like I would make my identity in the field as a researcher; like it's really hard to make an identity as a teacher and if you want to do that, I mean you can get an identity, like around the department—"Oh, he's good, you should take a course from him," but like to get any sort of your widespread identity as—as a teacher you either have to write some serious book, which I'm never going to do, because I don't like writing and I don't like—I write when I have to but I can't imagine sitting down and writing some big [. . .] textbook or something like that or have to, you know—nowadays maybe have some famous MOOC [massive open online course] or something like that, which—who knows, maybe there could be something to that, but you have to decide you're really going to focus on that and that doesn't seem like the best idea.

Several individuals reported that when it came to their identities, they related most to both teaching and research. Participant #13 said that the two are intertwined—at least they were before the administrative portion of research was required, and then teaching edged out research.

Participants' primary identification with research was not surprising, given the fact that the university is an R1 institution. However, their close connection with teaching was somewhat unexpected. I attribute this keen interest in teaching to the fact that the university prides itself on the amount and quality of its faculty-student engagement/interaction rates. The university was founded in the tradition of the classical colleges, with roots in the British—as opposed to the German—university system;

typically, the classical model focused on building student character and an educated citizenry by taking a more liberal arts approach.

Faculty members, particularly those in R1 institutions, typically feel a clearer and stronger affinity to the research aspect of their roles than to that of teaching and service, because it is through publishing that they gain tenure. As Boyer (1990) states:

> Research and publication have become the primary means by which most professors achieve academic status, and yet many academics are, in fact drawn to the profession precisely because of their love for teaching or for service—even for making the world a better place. Yet these professional obligations do not get the recognition they deserve, and what we have, on many campuses, is a climate that restricts creativity rather than sustains it. (p. xii)

Study participants reported a nearly equal affinity for research and teaching. This finding challenges the literature in one way, yet supports it in another. Finding 1's challenge to the literature may be the direct result of the institution's classical college tradition, which is now competing directly with other research institutions for much of its funding. Another cause for the equality in role functions may be explained by the fact that the university is a liberal arts institution that seeks to foster an exceptional undergraduate experience. Additionally, faculty members provide numerous opportunities for undergraduates to participate in research. This elevated level of interaction requires more intensive faculty-student instruction and collaboration. This finding may reflect a highly engaged faculty and student body, as well as a higher-than-average graduate school placement rate at medallion institutions for undergraduates.

An alternative, and supportive, view of the finding in relation to the literature suggests that faculty feel their research largely defines their academic identity and their status in the academy—not to mention that it reflects how they are evaluated—and

therefore research is more important than teaching. This view is supported by participant

#6's statement, above, that

> in terms of my teaching and my research, I mean I—I certainly like them both and
> I spend more time on research because—because it's more important in terms of
> how I'm evaluated and everything. Now I can imagine if it were more 50/50,
> that's not something I would mind. I would be happy to sort of be given the
> liberty to spend more time on my teaching.

Finding 2: Faculty Identified First with Their Disciplines, and with Their University and

Departments

When asked if each faculty identified the most with their discipline, their

department, the College of Arts and Sciences, or the university, the majority of

individuals felt closest to their discipline, with the university and their departments

competing for second place.

Discipline. The majority of study participants identified with their disciplines

first. These individuals had the least amount of difficulty answering the question, with

their responses coming quickly. For example: "The discipline would be the first one"

(participant #10); "I identify most with my discipline" (participant #11); and "Discipline"

(participant #1). Participant #13 stated, "I'd have to say the discipline because I wouldn't

be here without that, so I don't think I'm first just a professor of anything—and if I retire

I will still be engaged in my discipline, so I would say that that comes first."

Participant #12 identified most "with spirits of dead scholars past," which I

interpreted to mean his discipline, since it is within that subject that those scholars reside.

Institution. Three study participants identified primarily with the institution. "I

suspect the university is the biggest and probably most important identifier" (participant

#14); "I think it's the university" (participant #3). Participant #2 stated:

This is an easy university to identify with at a certain ideal or warm and fuzzy level because it is [name of founder]'s university and he wasn't a perfect human being, but he's a pretty good person to have out in front historically, and to be able to draw on and refer [to] in support of certain kinds of initiatives. It's an appealing and attractive university and—somebody said this to me when I was interviewing for my job here—that one of the things—this was a senior administrator—said, "It's a university that's never actually realized its . . . potential," and the drive to do that, he said, was one of the things that kept him at his work. I've never forgotten that. I think that's something that actuates a number of us here. (participant #2)

Finally, one faculty member stated, "I think that [name of institution] is a wonderful place and it certainly is a flagship for public education in the United States, and even though we didn't make the Top 20, I think, [in the] world." (participant #15)

All Other Affiliations. Several participants had a difficult time narrowing their preferred affiliations to just one area—discipline, department, school, or university. In fact, a number of individuals said they related to all, or most all, of these aspects of their identities, and in that same order—as participant #7 explained, "Basically the order that you have: discipline, department, school, institute, yes." Participant #6 said, "I have a very strong identity with the [discipline-specific descriptor] department and yes, I have a reasonably strong identity with the school, although probably it's not as strong as my identity as a [department member]." Participant #9 stated, "I don't identify with the College of Arts and Sciences. I identify with my department and my discipline very strongly, and I also feel very strongly invested in the university." Participant #4 said:

I identify with all of them to some extent you know [. . .] And so you know I identify with the university as a whole [. . .]. I got my degree from this department and I was hired by this department so I do identify with the department. I guess I feel some loyalty to the department. And I also identify with my particular academic area [. . .]. I have a lot of friends in the field and so I can't—I don't identify with one, let's say, more so than another, but I do identify with all of them to some extent.

While the majority of interviewees identified predominantly with their disciplines, a significant number, roughly 40%, identified strongly with both the institution and all other categories. This primary affinity of participants to their disciplines is consistent with the literature (Piper, 1994; Valimaa, 1998) and is a logical conclusion, given that faculty publish within their specific disciplines, and are then evaluated and promoted—or not—based at least partially on their publication prowess. Faculty members may identify with their departments due to the reputation of either the department itself or their relationships with prestigious colleagues within it. Either is quite plausible, and speaks most likely to the strong connection faculty members typically feel to their disciplines in general.

That participants identified at all with the university was interesting. While some obviously felt a great affinity for the institution, others expressed disdain, writ large. Participant #1 declared,

> The university is only happy when you paint this pretty picture of the place so that you can attract the students they want, good students and rich students and a few token [specific program name] students just so that they can look good in [the state capital], but that part of it is very disquieting.

When asked about his affinity for his institution, the same individual claimed, "The university? Frankly not really, it's just not a major consideration."

Participant #11 said, "There's a joke among the faculty that if [the university] had their way, they would be charging us for the privilege of teaching [here]." And participant #12 minced no words when proclaiming, "The whole pedagogical system is just—you know, holier than thou."

Participants' paradoxical view of the university seems to indicate that while being associated with a prestigious institution was important to them, some of those same

individuals had little appetite for engaging in citizen-like activities on its behalf. Some simultaneously wanted to benefit from their affiliation with the university and distance themselves from the contributions that sustain it.

Finding 2 challenges existing literature via the definition of academic identity—one of the major constructs of this study—which is defined as "the strong affiliation of one to his discipline as opposed to his institution (Piper, 1994; Valimaa, 1998). While this finding indicates that study participants did in fact identify with their disciplines, the frequency with which the institution, departments, and the College of Arts & Sciences were cited suggests that liberal arts faculty at this university hold their institution, their departments, and, to a lesser extent, their college, in nearly comparable positions.

The causes for this finding are most likely a result of the rich cultural legacy established by the institution's founder; namely, its historical relevance to U.S. higher education and its strong academic ranking as one of the country's top public universities. Additionally, high faculty engagement in matters related to institutional governance, and greater challenges to implementing institutional change as faculty seek to maintain the perceived stability of the past, may be contributing factors. Potential causes may also include the changing milieu of the academy due to the introduction of new managerialism practices, and, as a result, the differing expectations for and requests made of faculty.

Finding 3: Faculty Frequently Used Aggressive Language

Faculty language was at times both combative and aggressive and seemed to be directed at the "idiocy" (participant #1) of the increased administrative burden brought on by the "corporatization of higher education" (participant #14) and the "global capitalist system" (participant #15). Participant #1 suggested that the administration's desire to roll

out new initiatives, such big data, was comparable in its vagueness to the concept of declaring war on terrorism. He stated: You know we have this new big data institute . . . it's the same thing. It's—it's like declaring war on terrorism. Terrorism is not an end. It's a technique that people use for whatever horrible goal they have in mind, and the same is true with analysis of big data, handling of big data. [. . .] This idea of directing from the top is just hopeless because they can't [. . .] understand what's at the forefront of all these fields, no human could, and they're no different, yet they presume to make these kinds of decisions and it simply doesn't work.

Participant #2, who claimed to be an "armchair Marxist," felt "embattled" with regard to serving at a public university, yet described himself as "a pretty happy worker." Participant #15, speaking of the political atmosphere in higher education, stated, "The bottom line is we have a neo-fascist movement and it makes it difficult—in academia it has become an absolute cancer."

The most aggressive language was used by category 3 participants who were tenured and had more than 15 years of experience in their departments and included terms such as: "terrorism," "revolution," "eruption," "turmoil," and "chaos." Aggressive language was cited less frequently by category 2 individuals, and only once by category 1 participants.

The language used by study participants was not addressed in the literature review, yet it is salient. Study participants' use of aggressive language was descriptive of the embattled stated in which they viewed themselves. They felt that the additional administrative burden distracted from their true work of research and teaching. They also saw administrative encroachments as impeding their ability to provide institutional

governance in a collective manner. Their use of aggressive language supports a bias against members of out-groups, which in this case is those individuals who are not teaching and research faculty. It seemed to automatically set up an "us versus them" relationship.

Regarding the inconsistent aspect of this finding, only one person in category 2 used aggressive language, whereas three individuals in category 1, and all five in category 3, used some type of aggressive language. Category 3 participant results may be directly attributable to the length of time the individuals had served in the academy. Having been associated longer, senior participants may have viewed the waves of change they've witnessed over the course of their careers in a cumulative way and, already tenured, feel little hesitation in verbalizing their resistance to those changes. Individuals in category 2 seem the most content, and this comfort level could be attributable to the notion that they are in the prime of their careers, tending to research, teaching, and high levels of service obligations—and, perhaps having recently gained tenure, feel more secure and settled than category 1 participants, who are feverishly seeking both.

Finding 4: Faculty Felt Significant Constraints on Their Time

Faculty felt significantly constrained by time and by a lack of research funding. Participant #15 stated, "The biggest constraint is you know [you only have] 168 hours in a week." Participant #5 said, "Yes, of course it's a time constraint." Participant #8 commented, "I think we take the job also as a job that cannot be accomplished in 40 hours and I think a lot of us are working really hard to make it in 50 or under 50. And that's just a reality."

Participants expressed concern about the type of work encroaching on their time. The following excerpt from participant #9's comments is characteristic of the general feelings shared by many.

> Yes [laughing], I do, I do, hugely [feel constrained by the additional work]. I do not feel intellectually constrained by the university or my department, and I think I'm very lucky in that because I don't think this is true everywhere. In the kind of work that I do, about the kinds of things that I want to say and the kinds of problems that I want to work on, I feel very encouraged to be free in those ways. I do feel more constrained by the fact that there are many, many fewer grants and fellowships available to faculty, especially to women faculty who have children and are not able to just traipse off to a library in Europe for three months or something like that. There's a lot less unconstrained support that's available so that really changes things, but —you know mainly it's the workload. The workload, which is significantly bigger now than 15 years before that—from everything that I've heard from my senior colleagues. You can't—you can't get time to think and work if you are constantly having to report . . . That sums it up, yes [. . .]. The business school-style managerial strategies that are infiltrating the university are designed for for-profit corporations and not for education. Students are not products, nor are they purchasing from us. A commercial view of the process is insidious and corrosive.

Participant #13 had a similar view, stating,

> I would love for an administrator to create an environment that allows me to do my job [chuckles] rather than constantly asking me to do aspects of their job [chuckles] so I would love to feel that someone has my back, I would like to feel that someone is looking out for my best interest . . . that they're encouraging me in the areas of teaching, and research and not constantly with a burden of something that pulls me away from that.

And, along very similar thematic lines, participant #7 said,

> Ah, I don't feel particularly constrained, no, you know I—again, I feel like— sometimes it's just more difficult than it should be to get things done so—and so [you] might feel a little—a little you know slowed down you know to a large extent you know I would like the university environment to be one that's—that again you know tries to support the mission but mostly tries not to inhibit the mission.

Participant #2 gave the most eloquent explanation:

> I don't feel constrained in my work in any way that I haven't long ago been accustomed to. Do I feel I can say anything I want? Yes. Publish anything I want? Yes. Define a research project that suits me? Yes. Teach the courses I

would like? Yes. I'm constrained conscientiously by maybe a stronger than usual conscience about what undergraduates need to know, which isn't necessarily the same thing as what I would most like to be teaching, and that's reflected in my choices of what to teach. I do a fair amount of service teaching for my department. Courses at the intake level for undergraduates who are, you know, deciding whether to be [. . .] majors or really just getting their feet wet in college-level [. . .] study, for example. There are institutional constraints that make team teaching [as] an interdisciplinary endeavor difficult. This in spite of a fair amount of I think actually fairly sincere lip service on the parts of lots of people across the university that say we must become more collaborative, both with our students and with each other in the teaching that we do. It turns out that the structures— the budgetary and administrative structures—are fairly rigidly set in ways that discourage that kind of thing.

Interestingly, category 2 participants mentioned feeling a lack of constraint in their work more often than category 1 or category 3 participants. Perhaps this is due to the fact that category 3 individuals frequently included time and/or service constraints when responding to the questions, whereas the other participants spoke directly to intellectual constraints. This makes sense, given the increased administrative burden category 3 individuals feel in general. Finding 4 is consistent with recent studies conducted by professional associations that report that the average faculty members work 48-52 hours per week (American Association of University Professors, 2015; National Education Association, 2015). It also may be somewhat attributable to Finding 5 (Faculty Claimed Intellectual Freedom through Tenure as a Highlight of Their Work), since tenure was often cited by participants as the mechanism that removes intellectual constraints of virtually any type.

Regarding Finding 4's inconsistent aspects, it is important to note the variation in citing frequency between category 2 participants and category 3 participants. I attribute this discrepancy to the fact that once a faculty member is viewed by colleagues as being senior, he is more willing to verbalize his disdain for the impact of time constraints on his research. It could be the case, too, that some senior faculty are less productive and seek

71

external factors to blame for their declining productivity. Faculty members in category 1 are focused on getting tenure, and those in category 2 could be seen as being in the prime of their research careers and therefore feel few constraints.

When I posed this question, I was attempting to solicit whether or not participants felt intellectually constrained in their work. While the answer to this question was predominantly no, I was not expecting to hear the plethora of examples of perceived time constraints. In hindsight, such responses may be viewed as understandable, given the culture—and pace—of Western society.

Finding 5: Faculty Claimed Intellectual Freedom through Tenure as a Highlight of Their Work

The majority of those interviewed said that one of the most satisfying aspects of being a faculty member was the intellectual freedom and independence that being a scholar provides. Participant #7 said that through scholarship, one can "pursue . . . intellectual passions." The pursuit of these passions is made more viable by the freedom that tenure provides. Participant #8 described tenure as the security that allows him to "go without a net." Participant #2 described it as "critical to faculty survival" and participant #11 as "the ultimate guarantor of intellectual independence." Tenure was equated to freedom for several participants, to the extent that it allows them, as participant #1 said, the "freedom to pursue the research—basically freedom to work on just stuff that I enjoy"; participant #4) said that "it liberates you and allows you to not fear retribution if you decide to propose something that's a little outside the norm." Participant #7 stated that freedom to follow his intellectual curiosities was especially supported, adding that "you get to follow those in particular at [name of institution]."

Having intellectual freedom, though, has a broader impact than just on faculty identity. Participant #1 said that it positions scholars as "visionaries" at the forefront of discovery and knowledge production. Freedom, specifically the freedom that is gained through tenure, also places certain expectations on faculty. As participant #3 remarked, in reference to a recent public controversy at the university, "My tenure gave me a responsibility to speak for the people." Regardless of the importance of intellectual freedom and tenure, participant #10 said, responding as to whether he had such freedom, "Nominally we do, but over the years, I guess in the last couple of decades or so, there's many factors in the reviews and evaluations which—nominally we have all the freedoms, but in practical ways there [have] been a lot of restrictions." The reference to "nominal freedom" supports preceding statements from Finding 4 (Faculty Felt Significant Constraints on their Time) and forthcoming comments from Finding 7 (Faculty Expressed Concern Regarding the Increased Number of Administrators, and in the Amount of Administrative Tasks They Themselves Were Assigned).

The majority of those interviewed mentioned that one of the most satisfying aspects of being a faculty member was the intellectual freedom and independence that being a scholar provides, and this finding is directly related to Finding 4—in fact, there is likely a cause-and-effect relationship. However, Finding 5 was cited less frequently by those in category 1 (those with up to eight years of experience in their respective departments) than by those in either of the other categories. A category 1 individual noted, "I don't think we talk about tenure enough—about it giving us freedom to research and write, but it definitely feels like freedom to research and write" (participant #

withheld to maintain confidentiality[10]). The same individual stated that tenure provides

freedom "not only from political subjects that may be delicate, but it's also the freedom

to, actually to have the discipline acknowledge its boundaries and go beyond them, and

sometimes you don't want to do that where you aren't tenured or you are not—or in a

position of vulnerability."

A second category 1 participant insisted that research itself was "about tenure not

research" (participant study # withheld to maintain confidentiality). He explained, "The

research they want here is in your field, on your subject, and a couple of articles in peer-

reviewed journals. After that you're not bothered about research anymore." The

implication is that the purpose of research is to gain tenure, and once that hurdle has been

overcome, research matters less. For this participant, research's purpose is to gain

(relatively) permanent employment. This seems to run counter to those who claimed that

tenure is about the intellectual freedom one gains as a result of research. Each participant

in categories 2 and 3 referred to the importance of intellectual freedom and the fact that

tenure was the mechanism that allowed freedom of intellectual exploration to occur.

Category 1 participants, while aware of the importance of intellectual freedom, had less

to say that was in line with this finding, perhaps largely due to junior faculty's nascent

experience with the subject.

The literature is clear when it comes to the importance of intellectual freedom in

the academy (Berdahl, Gray, Kerrey, Marx, Vest, & Westphal, 2009; Orzeck, 2012; Ross,

2013). It is clear, too, that tenure serves as the mechanism that safeguards that freedom

(Chemerinsky, 2015; Williams, 1999). This finding adds another voice to that literature.

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[10] Because participants in this section are clearly identified as being in category 1, participant numbers have
been omitted.

74

Faculty felt that without tenure, their freedom to generate and disseminate knowledge would be hampered to the point that it would no longer be worthwhile to remain in the academy. Many of those interviewed for this study stated they could make much more money in the private sector, and that it was really tenure's safety net that kept them as academicians. The consequences of this finding are of key import for the future of the academy, as well as for the type of individual who remains attracted to the professoriate.

Regarding the inconsistent nature of Finding 5, three of the five category 1 participants mentioned the importance of intellectual freedom and tenure; one of these three individuals was already tenured. All five participants from both categories 2 and 3 referenced the importance of intellectual freedom and tenure. The two individuals in category 1 who failed to mention this inconsistent aspect of the data set were more singularly focused on gaining tenure than on the result tenure provides—intellectual freedom—which can be seen in the following quotes: "Yes, I need to prepare for [tenure]—that's my main focus [. . .] so I try to do research articles and line up my profile and show my abilities to become a tenured member of the faculty," and "I mean, I have been told that research is the most important part of my eventual tenure evaluation" (participant study #s withheld to maintain confidentiality).

Finding 6: Faculty Anticipated Significant Future Change in Higher Education and the Professoriate

Regarding the future of higher education and the professoriate, three distinct trends emerged from the data. They are discussed below according to how frequently they were mentioned: significant institutional change will occur; the professoriate is in danger; and funding will continue to be problematic.

Significant institutional change. Participants speculated that higher education will be very different in 25 years. They believed that first there will be a consolidation of institutions, with the top-tier schools remaining in prominent positions and still attracting the "best and brightest." At the same time, they foresaw a growing quality gap between those institutions and the others. Participant #10 said:

> Teaching and research will be further separated, and teaching would be more like memorization-type, with much less emphasis on comprehensive understanding. [. . .] Teaching [will] become more of a basic knowledge acquisition process and the research [will be] more strongly associated with industry than the university; the role will become either teach students basic and routine knowledge—like a small liberal arts college, today—or offer students some kind of job training so that they can start working in industry after graduation.

Participant #2 said:

> There will be a consolidation ultimately and it's not going to be a pleasant experience [. . .]. [The large research institutions won't] get affected a huge amount because the ones that are going to be weeded out are the ones that do nothing but teach [. . .] not at grade level.

Participant #11 agreed, stating:

> I think that the inequality will grow. I think that the life for the people at the good universities will not change that much and I think life for the people who are teaching at the institutions that have less support are—is going to get a lot harder.

Finally, participant #15 predicted that in 25 years, "We will see more people with precarious jobs, we will see an elite population at the best institutions and they [those institutions] will probably be disproportionally even more private than they are now, although I hope not."

A significant number of those interviewed—across all participant categories—believed that elite institutions would be less affected by the changing nature of the academy in the future. However, if there are fewer non-elite institutions, and one follows this line of thought to its logical conclusion, there will be fewer students and faculty in

general. In particular, if graduate students feel unable to enter the job market with some measure of confidence post-degree, they may decide to not pursue graduate education in the first place, which in turn will affect both non-elite and elite schools' ability to secure research funding and in turn, generate knowledge.

In the spirit of growing administrative ranks, participant #7 said that they will "leach vigor" from the institution, and participant #15 stated, "This is the way of the world—you know, global capitalist system, etc."

The professoriate is in danger. Participants largely felt that their profession will undergo many changes in the coming years. Tenure will be affected; participants mainly stated that there will be fewer tenured positions or that they were unsure of tenure's future. Multiple interviewees noted, however, that without tenure, the professoriate is in serious jeopardy, since its members could earn far more in industry. Participant #2 commented:

> Tenure has the great advantage of being cheap. If you don't pay me with tenure, are you going to pay me with a salary that's commensurate with that of my undergraduate classmates who have gone into law, business, medicine, and are earning twice as much money as I am?

Participant #14 lamented that

> if we become mere drones—you know, mere workers in a large and very well-organized hive, thirsting for continuous infusions of money, it will be different [. . .]. Changes are going to just continue. I think it's probably going to feel more like Charlie Chaplin's *Modern Times*. I think it's going to be more number crunching, you know. I think it's—I think the bureaucratization, the number crunching, the bean counting, this justification, the assessments, is going to make this job—what used to be an unbelievably exciting intellectual adventure, it's going to—I think people are going to view it more as a job than they did in the past.

Participant #15 summed up his concerns by saying that if public education goes down the tubes in the United States, I think that a beacon will have been extinguished for the world."

Funding continues to be problematic. Not surprisingly, given the decades-long defunding of higher education in the state where the university is located, five participants (#3, #6, #7, #9, and #15) felt strongly that the issue will continue to prove problematic for institutions both similar to and different from theirs.

Finding 3 indicates that the sample population that is concerned about the future of higher education and the professoriate and anticipates significant change in both—including a consolidation of institutions, with the elite remaining as is and nonmedallion schools closing or merging. Additionally, this finding suggests a general sense of dread regarding the fate of the professoriate, with many participants speculating about tenure's long-term viability. A majority predicted that there would likely be fewer tenured positions, and a significant amount of competition for them, in the coming 25 years.

This finding points directly to the impact of new managerialism on the academy and has been advanced by scholars such as Deem (1998), Clark (1987), and Halsey (1992). The consequences are significant, for both knowledge acquisition and production.

Finding 7: Faculty Expressed Concern Regarding the Increased Number of Administrators, and in the Amount of Administrative Tasks They Themselves Were Assigned

This section is presented in two parts. The first focuses on administrators—those individuals in positions at the university that do not include teaching or research—and the

second on administration. The distinction between the two is one of person versus task.

As the data demonstrate, participants had two specific concerns related to administrators

and administrative tasks. The first involves the rapid rise in the numbers of

administrators in general, and the second concerns the increased number of

administrative tasks assigned or distributed to faculty members.

An increased number of administrators. Administrators were described along a

broad spectrum. Participant #3 felt that they widely supported faculty (participant #3),

while participant #8 depicted them as

> always try[ing] to find the best solution for faculty even if the intellectual solution
> or the actual outcome is subpar—like I don't think that [they have] ill will or I
> don't think they are mean, I don't think they are dumb [. . .] it's very frustrating
> to be an administrator.

Others described administrators as "failed academicians" (participant #1) and

"tricksters" (participant #12) whose job is to "make things worse" (participant #12).

Generally speaking though, administrators were referred to most commonly as "they"—

the out-group, external to the ranks of faculty. Several participants noted, however, a

clear distinction between "local" administrators and the more elusive, unnamed, generic

"they" administrators. Participants who referenced local administrators seemed

protective of these individuals, with whom they worked more closely. Participant #1

stated:

> At the local, the departmental level, [they do] really very well. They know their
> jobs, they do their jobs and everything works darn smoothly but not perfectly of
> course—but pretty darn good, I'd say. It's a mixed bag when you go up, it really
> is, a very mixed bag.

As more senior and centrally located administrators were spoken of, participants

seemed to be somewhat disdainful. Participant #1 described them as "the suits" or "bean

counters", saying that "they had no clue [. . .] you know, some suits up above decided this

is a brand new thing coming—they didn't realize that we've been doing distance

education for 20 years . . . maybe more! Participant #11 said:

> I don't think they care [about faculty]. [. . .] They're happy when I get, a few
> years ago I had a paper that got an enormous amount of press attention and they
> were very happy about that. They're happy about press attention and big grants.
> They—I mean I don't think—and in a sense I think that's fine. I don't—I don't
> actually want them to care that much because then they'll also be disappointed
> when it's not work that they find interesting. You know, I want them to sit back
> and say okay, the department had the confidence that this guy was good. Our job
> is to stay out of the way. Help him—give him what he needs or her to get the job
> done and not be too interested in it.

> Participant #7 was quite clear, declaring,

> Again, I'll just go back and say I think the role of the administrators is to support
> the mission of the university—you know, what are their priorities, right? Is the
> mission to make, you know, less work for the administration, right, or is the
> mission to further research and teaching, right? And I think to the extent that the
> administration is furthering the mission they're doing a good job.

> Bolstering that perspective, participant #2 added, "Well, ideally—because I

believe that the faculty are the core of a university—they [the administrators] should be

facilitating the work of the faculty, that should be their—the number one thing that they

do." Participant #6 saw things slightly differently and described administrators' roles as

"shield[ing] the people below them from the people above them." Participant #10 said

that in the past "administrators were serving the faculties [. . .] but now in these days it

seems to be reversed. [. . .] The way it is now is they actually try to *manage* us." Also,

"What they do to support [faculty], that I'm not sure; that's very unclear. On reflecting on

the prospect of budget reductions and their possible impact on the university, a

participant #2 said,

> I heard [the university's president] give [a talk] to the faculty senate—was it last
> week or the week before?—that the money that has to go back is not coming
> directly out of faculty hides, but they're actually looking at nonreplacement of
> [positions] within university administration. That—I mean that sounds like a
> good outcome from an unfortunate situation.

Participant #4 said,

I guess my only complaint about the administrative core is that it's just exploded in the last 10 years. I mean the number of administrators—you know, we have a dean for everything now. And one of my best friends is a dean here and he accepted his position with the understanding that he would have an associate dean, so right there that position doubled, and that I think is indicative of what's happening, or it's representative of what's happening at the administrative level. And so I think it's a huge problem, because you have—some of this is required due to federal regulations; it's like, measure this regulatory burden, but a lot of it is not and I think that's impacting, you know, the more administration you have the more bureaucracy you have, and it just—it kind of grinds the wheels to a halt.

Overall, the general consensus seemed to be, as participant #6 phrased it, that

you want administrators to have some sort of vision, right, but you also want them to be sort of taking care of things so that other people don't have to and a lot of the work they're doing should really be invisible—like they're making sure that things run so that other people, in particular people below them, can do what they need to do without having to worry about that.

An important aspect of this finding that warrants highlighting is that there seemed to be a general sense among participants that administrators work for them, as opposed to working for the betterment of the institution. As participant #6 pointed out, an administrator's job is to

have some sort of vision, right, but you also want them to be sort of taking care of things so that [faculty] don't have to, and a lot of the work they're doing should really be invisible—like they're making sure that things run so that others can do what they need to do without having to worry about it.

Not only does this perspective reinforce out-group typecasting between faculty and administrators, but may very well challenge some of the tenets of governing boards have regarding faculty—namely, that faculty work for the institution and are therefore governed by them. It is this single idea that may serve as one of the stronger points of resistance faculty members harbor toward new managerialism and its proponents.

An increased assignment of administrative tasks. It seemed easier for interviewees to speak of the burgeoning set of administrative tasks they've assumed in recent years

than to speak of specific administrators. In fact, that growing task list served as the

biggest complaint made by participants (#4, #9, #10, #13, #14, and #15). These

administrative duties revolved primarily around either an increase in service work or in

reporting. Participant #15 viewed service work as an "unpaid burden," and participant #9

said,

> I've just got my hands full with committee work and department administration
> and university administration and you know, I have mixed feelings about all of it
> because I really feel that the administrative work has multiplied unnecessarily. I
> think we have to do it because the university requires it, the Board of Visitors
> requires it, the legislature requires it, but there's no way that you can just report
> on something and have it not take a huge amount of time. [. . .] I feel strongly that
> this whole business of accountability is wrongheaded. It *seems* as if it's a good
> thing, but we're doing peer reviews and we're constantly writing reports to the
> deans about what our department does—I know my chair bears the brunt of it;
> every week she's getting a new request from someone in the administration that's
> coming from some state institution asking us to report on this or that—and in all,
> instead of doing the research we're reporting on the research!

Participant #13 stated:

> It does seem that—I was going to say that we are invited to be more involved but
> it doesn't feel like we are invited to be more involved. It just seems that there are
> so many more committees and memos and forms to fill out and it just seems that
> there is so much more work that is being asked of us that—that does feel a little
> bit outweighing, now, the kind of thought and time and attention I can give to just
> teaching and research. So before I think it was—I felt, well yes, I was a member
> of a committee and I knew my responsibilities, but now it seems that I'm
> probably involved in 15 different things and again, it feels—I don't know the
> point, the outcome or who it is for. It's certainly not for me and it's not helpful to
> the department so it's not like I feel I am being—my voice is valued and I'm
> being invited to contribute. I feel that it's a task I am being given for some
> unknown purpose and reason. Where does it all stop?

Participant #14 stated:

> There's a lot more justification and there are a lot more—this is the one thing I
> don't like in the last 20 years, there is—there are increasing levels of bureaucracy
> some of which I think makes sense, some of which I think is mandated [by] state
> or federal you know requirements—legal compliance—and I think some of it, I
> suspect that some of it is we need to hire somebody for the compliance role of
> something and the person doesn't quite have enough to do and so they invent
> work and they create forms and they've got the power [. . .]. Not because I think

I am above regulations but some of them don't make sense. I have a sense that—that the bureaucracy is kind of squishing out the reasonable brain.

I think we've done this to ourselves in some way but one feels now that they're looking at us as widget producers and if you're not producing useful widgets in their definition then you're not as useful. So those are the kind of seismic shifts that have happened and as the business people have taken over and the bean counters, then if your beans aren't to their satisfaction then you are in danger of being eliminated. And if feels like—and it makes you feel—it makes you feel either diminished or infantilized, and you know what? The university doesn't profit from making me feel diminished or infantilized.

Two participants felt that the increased interest in faculty evaluation standards is harmful to knowledge production. Participant #15 said that "too-rigid evaluation standards are absolutely, I think, an idea and innovation killer." Participant #9 said that peer review is

driven by this other sort of quasi-supervisory assessment model which, you know is exhausting and unproductive because it has nothing to do with forward progress—it's not driven by research interests, and I fear it tends towards producing a climate of suspicion and low morale.

He added that administrative work is a "colossal waste of expensive, expert time." Participant #2 stated,

I don't know if they have it in them to resist their own proliferation, but I think they should resist the tendency to solve a problem that lands on their desk by creating another position and hiring somebody to do it. [. . .] I don't think we can expect them to say no to themselves.

Finding 7 is confirmed in the literature (Clark, 1987; Halsey, 1992; Nixon, 2006; Rivers, 2010) and confirms the growing numbers of administrators within the academy and of administrative tasks imposed upon faculty. The causes are likely economic difficulties, greater regulatory compliance demands, and shifting governance structures. Just as in the previous findings, the consequences may be serious, and could have negative impact on society if non-elite colleges and universities shift their primary function to that of helping individuals merely acquire knowledge rather than produce it.

Additional consequences include rising tuition rates to pay for added headcount, diminished research capacity, and fewer faculty-student contact hours.

An important distinction should be made between those tasks that faculty view as "busy work" and those viewed as merely time consuming. For example, faculty indicated that peer evaluations, while largely beneficial, are also time-consuming and difficult to do well. Few seemed to object to the sentiment driving those evaluations. On the other hand—and in contrast to peer evaluations—faculty seemed perplexed as to the value of the additional reporting requests they receive.

Finding 8: Faculty Valued the Caliber of their Students, Colleagues, and the Institution

Without hesitation, study participants felt that the high caliber of undergraduate students, their fellow faculty members, and the institution was integral to their experience as scholars. To better isolate the essence of the comments, they are grouped together as they relate to each of the three sections below: students, colleagues, and institution.

Students. When asked what interviewees liked most about being a faculty member at the university, responses specific to students ranged from "the students, I really like the students" (participant #12) to "I like the high caliber of undergraduate student that we have here" (participant #4) and "I think our undergraduate population is really, really great and so it's a real—you know, for the most—except for grading, you know, it's a real pleasure to teach [here]" (participant # 7). Participant #1 said, "One of my favorite things is the very high proportion of very smart, motivated students that are here. I think that that is, in my experience, something not too commonly found at big state universities."

Participant #15 described the caliber of undergraduate students this way:

The students who are involved globally are fantastic. They are among the best and the brightest at this university and I'd put them up against any university, and I've worked—my first job was in what was considered the number one department in terms of its ranking in [name of department], and you know, I turned down tenure at [an Ivy league institution], so what the hell. I'm just saying that I've, you know, worked in top departments and I would put our students against any that I've had, especially the ones who are globally committed and you know the ones who are interested in [discipline name]. We tend to get a really terrific bunch of students […]

Participant #5 said, "the students are, great too [. . .] the students are much more interested and interactive in what they do compared to my experience before." Several participants mentioned the high caliber of both students and faculty; participant #5 said, "My first priority definitely is that [of] having good colleagues and good students around." Given participants' strong sentiments regarding students and the importance of interacting with them, one could see how faculty members may be at least somewhat concerned by what they perceive to be the growing emphasis on increased enrollment—and therefore funding—through the use of MOOCs.

Faculty. Regarding the theme of high-quality peers, several participants mentioned the collegiality and caliber of their colleagues as being an important factor in working at the university. Participant #3 enjoys the "great collegiality [of the department]," while participant #13, having left the university once, returned in large part "to work with the colleagues here, in the [. . .] department." Other notable references to the high quality of colleagues included, "I like the collegiality here with my fellow faculty" (participant #4); "I love my colleagues" (participant # 9); and "[we're a] community of scholars" (participant # 8). Participant #5 said, "I think what I like most is the other—my colleagues and the—you know, the rest of the faculty at the [. . .] department. It's just a great opportunity to work with people who are so interesting and nice and friendly and cooperative on everything you could think of."

85

Institution. Regarding their institutional affiliation, it was clear that the university's reputation was of importance to participants as well. Participant #3 said, "It just feels like I'm having an opportunity, a rare opportunity to be a participating faculty member and leader in one of the top universities in the country." Participant #2 stated,

> I came here from a good position at a well-reputed university because I wanted to join one of the best [. . .] departments in the world, so it was an opportunity to— you know, play in the major leagues in my field of scholarship and criticism.

Finally, participant #13 said,

> I really appreciate the idea of this university being steeped in tradition and history and a living reputation that—not just riding on that; by "living reputation" I mean that there seems just to be something active about if you are working here you have a responsibility, an obligation, to contribute to that ongoing tradition and reputation and it may just be in my imagination, but I feel I am part of an institution where others have that same kind of commitment to why they are [at this university].

Given the import of research and teaching to participants, it follows that institutional, faculty, and student reputations would also be critical to the academic identity of university scholars. The data bear this out.

I did not directly address the importance of the high quality of students, colleagues, and institutional reputation in the literature review, but its causes are likely tied to multiple factors that include job satisfaction (Bozeman & Gaughan, 2011) and the perception of the institution's "image." Steiner, Sundstrom, and Sammalisto (2013), in defining the dimensions of a university's identity, stated that it "is constructed by four dimensions: organizational identity, symbolic identity, image, and reputation" (p. 403), and noted that the identity, image, and reputation (IIR) model (below) "shows how image translates identity into reputation and vice versa" (p. 409).
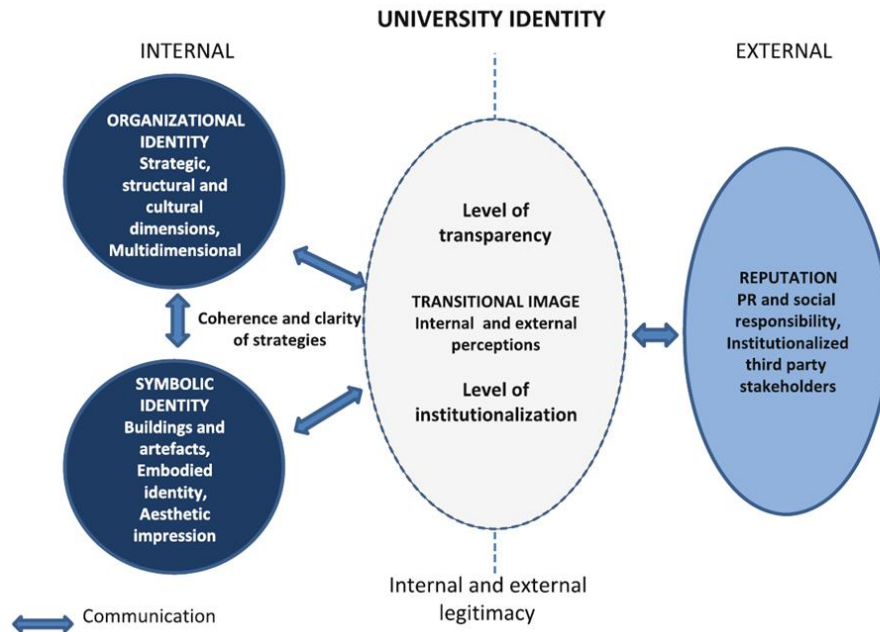
Figure 4. Steiner, Sundstrom & Sammalisto's IIR model

Paradoxes

Three paradoxes are noteworthy. One is a direct outgrowth of the responsibilities

of an academician—namely, assessment—and the other two stem from within the

collected data set: that of high professional and institutional satisfaction. Assessing

student performance and knowledge gains is a primary function of a faculty member, yet

several study participants expressed disdain for assessment as it relates to the peer-review

process and the annual activities report, which documents faculty accomplishments,

required by the dean's office. One could anticipate that faculty would be supportive of

the evaluation of their own job performance, be it the quality of their teaching or their

publication rate, given the daily emphasis they themselves place on student performance.

This proved not to be the case.

The other two paradoxes revealed in the data are the high level of satisfaction

participants seemed to feel with both their professions and the institution. Much as with

the assessment paradox, one would expect to find, given participant complaints regarding administrative burdens and the increasing number of administrators, satisfaction with their roles and the institution would have declined. Neither proved to be the case, as participants expressed a strong commitment to and interest in both.

Preview of Chapter 5

In Chapter 5 I present study findings in light of the literature and the theoretical underpinnings of the conceptual framework. Based on this discussion, I discuss my conclusions, describe the study's contributions to both theory and practice, and make recommendations for further research. The chapter begins with a restatement of the problem under consideration.

Chapter 5: Conclusions, Contributions, and Recommendations

Introduction

This chapter presents the conclusions, contributions, and recommendations of this phenomenological study, which explored the academic identity experience of tenured and tenure-track liberal arts faculty at a well-respected and highly-ranked R1 university in the Mid-Atlantic region. Conclusions are contextually placed within the literature of social, professional, and academic identity and new managerialism, as outlined in the conceptual framework in Chapter 1. I will begin with a summary of the research problem, followed by a brief tabular representation of the study's major findings. I will then revisit the conceptual framework to answer the research question and subquestions, present my conclusions, describe the study's contributions to theory and practice, and make recommendations for future research.

Summary of the Problem

The academic identity of liberal arts faculty members is changing due to the introduction and use of new managerialism practices in higher education. Increasingly, faculty are being asked to take on tasks that would be considered to be outside of traditional teaching, research, and service functions, and in some cases their influence in governance matters is diminished (Deem, 1998; Halsey, 1992). These practices are causing universities to be run more like businesses. The reasons for this shift are well documented and include globalization, reductions in public funding, shifting and unclear academic values, and the growth of technology spurred by the knowledge-based economy (Bok, 2003; Hayrinen-Alestalo & Peltola, 2006). This trend is referred to as "new managerialism" (Deem, 1998) and is defined as "a way of trying to understand and

categorize attempts to impose managerial techniques, more usually associated with medium and large 'for profit' businesses, onto public sector and voluntary organizations" (Deem, 1998, p. 49). It emphasizes the use of performance outcomes, efficiency measures, internal cost centers, and a focus on external competition (Deem, 1998).

The university system's move toward new managerialism has influenced the composition and nature of faculty work. As Deem (1998) writes, "Until quite recently, the notion that the activities and cultures of universities either required managing or were, in any meaningful sense, 'managed,' would have been regarded as heretical" (p. 47). Now it seems that the "pressure on academic staff appears in the guise of the activities of academic managers and administrators re-organizing, controlling and regulating the work of academic staff and the conditions under which those staff work" (p. 48). These shifts from traditional academy norms to those encountered in and viewed as managerial takeovers threaten the academic identity of liberal arts faculty.

Table 7 provides a summary of the study's major findings, including the number of times the three participant categories cited each finding. Following the table, I present my conclusions, the study's contributions, and make recommendations for future research.

Table 7

Summary of Major Findings

Finding	Summary	Times Cited, by Study Participant Category		
		Category 1: Up to 8 years of experience in dept.	Category 2: 8-15 years of experience in dept.	Category 3: More than 15 years of experience in dept.
Shading Key: Findings inconsistent with existing literature Findings that have a disparate citing frequency among categories Findings consistent with existing literature				
Finding 1: Identification with Research & Teaching	Faculty identified largely with the research aspect of their positions however teaching was a close second	5	5	5
Finding 2: Identification with Disciplines, University, & Departments	Faculty identified with their disciplines as was expected but also to their university and departments which was not expected	5	5	5
Finding 3: Aggressive Language	Faculty frequently used aggressive, war-like language when expressing themselves	3	1	5
Finding 4: Hampered by Significant Time Constraints	Faculty felt few constraints in their intellectual work, but significant constraints placed on their time, largely due to increased administrative responsibilities	4	5	3
Finding 5: Intellectual Freedom as Highlight of Work	Faculty claimed intellectual freedom through tenure as a highlight of their work	3	5	5
Finding 6: Anticipation of Change in Higher Ed & Professoriate	Faculty anticipated significant, future changes in higher education and in the professoriate; they envision a consolidation of institutions with a growing gap between 'top tier' schools and others; they also believed that the structure/composition of faculty positions, including tenure, is likely to change; funding will continue to be problematic	5	5	5
Finding 7: Concern Regarding Administrators & Admin Tasks	Faculty expressed concern regarding the increased number of administrators, and in the amount of administrative tasks they themselves were assigned	5	5	5
Finding 8: Students, Colleagues & Institution	Faculty valued the high caliber of students, colleagues and institutional reputation	5	4	4

Revisiting the Study's Conceptual Framework

The data confirm most of the relationships outlined in the conceptual framework and provide tremendous insight into how the academic identity of liberal arts faculty is experienced in the age of new managerialism. Major finding categories are: those that most contradict existing literature (1 and 2); those that differed from the other findings because there was at least a two-point gap in participant category responses (3, 4, and 5); and those that are consistent with existing literature (6, 7, and 8). The eight findings are: (1) Faculty Identified Largely with Research but also with Teaching; (2) Faculty Identified with Their Disciplines, the University and Their Departments; (3) Faculty Frequently Used Aggressive Language; (4) Faculty Felt Significant Constraints on Their Time; (5) Faculty Claimed Intellectual Freedom Through Tenure as a Highlight of Their Work; (6) Faculty Anticipated Significant, Future Changes in Higher Education and the Professoriate; (7) Faculty Expressed Concern Regarding the Increased Number of Administrators, and in the Amount of Administrative Tasks They Themselves were Assigned; and (8) Faculty Valued the Caliber of Their Students, Colleagues, and the Institution.

While most relationships within the conceptual framework were consistent, the propinquity between new managerialism and academic identity proved to be recursive. It is clear from the data collected from participants that new managerialism impacts faculty members academic identities. It is also evident that new managerialism is affected by academic identity. Participants reported their concerns with and resistance to what they viewed as added administrative burdens. In at least two instances, they actively rejected attempts to manage them. These deliberate acts of resistance no doubt have some impact

on the way in which business is conducted at the university, although more research is required to understand their consequences' scope and implications.

The Academy

Social Identity → Professional Identity → Academic Identity

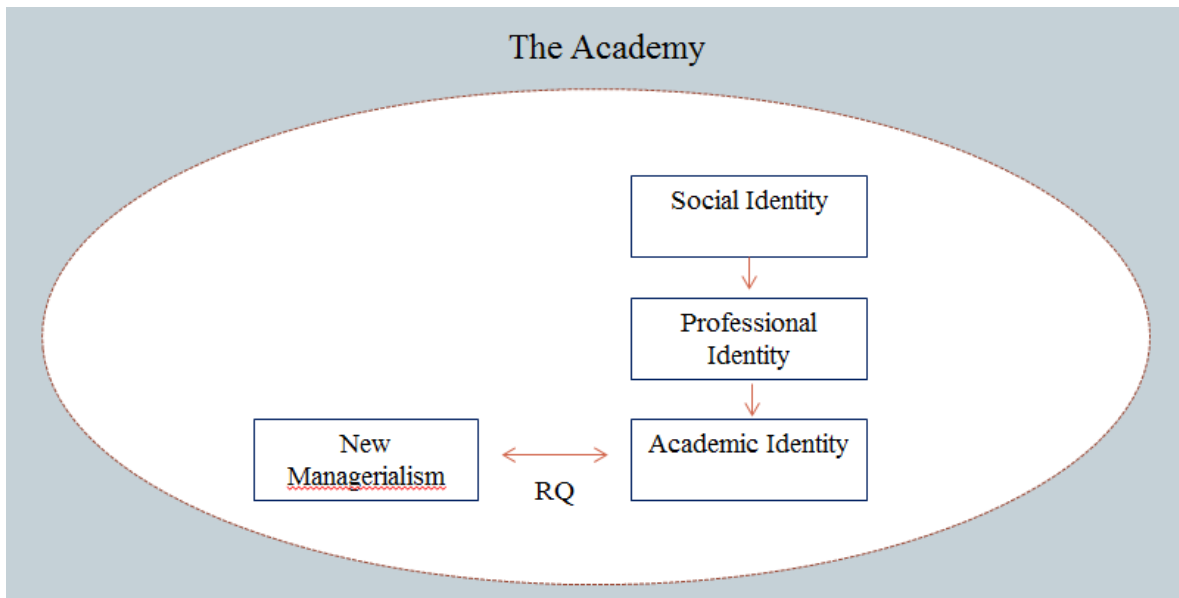New Managerialism ←→ RQ ←→ Academic Identity

Figure 5. Revised conceptual framework

These findings represent the collective voices and experiences of 15 tenured and tenure-track faculty in the College of Arts & Sciences at a highly ranked public university in the age of new managerialism. They tell a story of the liberal arts faculty member at an R1 institution who is devoted not only to his research but also to teaching—one who values the high caliber of undergraduate students and of his fellow colleagues simultaneously with the strong academic tradition and reputation of the institution. The data in some ways paint a portrait of what one would expect to find: faculty who fervently believe in the intellectual freedom—and the voice to express those beliefs—that comes with tenure. It also challenges previously held generalisms, such as that faculty primarily identify with their disciplines.

When participants expressed angst, as demonstrated by their language, they did so not because they felt constrained in terms of academic freedom, but rather by the growing

onslaught of administrative duties related to reporting on any number of activities, assessment in the form of self- and peer evaluations, and service work, all of which distract them from what they see as their primary roles of research and teaching.

Participants also expressed concern about what they described as the rapidly expanding administrative core of the university—those individuals not primarily focused on conducting research or teaching students. Participants saw this group's responsibility as supporting the overall mission of the institution and, at the same time, questioned both overtly and covertly whether administrators were successful in this role. The general consensus was that administrators are viewed very much as a separately oriented group from faculty—in other words, an out-group. Interestingly, although probably not surprising given social identity theory, participants viewed local administrators—those whom they knew and worked with on a regular basis—as being more helpful and salient than the larger, generic group of administrators frequently referred to as "they."

Participants expected that there will be continued changes in the academy and for the professoriate, largely due to the commoditization of higher education. Some expressed concern for the viability of tenure in the future and, at the same time, emphasized its importance. Participants generally thought that there would be some consolidation of higher education institutions, with an ever-growing distinction between elite schools and those deemed second tier. There was little doubt, though, that elite institutions would continue to attract the best and brightest faculty and students. Several participants predicted that the future of higher education in America would be altered due to its high cost (the tuition bubble), and that fewer individuals will attend university and instead will become more vocationally focused.

Conclusions

The following five conclusions naturally evolve from the study's major findings in light of the research question and subquestions. They are: (1) the professoriate—its members and the structure that supports it—actively works to maintain the identity with which it is most familiar and with which it currently associates; (2 and 3) "academic identity" and "new managerialism," as defined in the literature review and discussed previously, are too narrow and should be revised accordingly; (4) "donnish dominion" (Halsey, 1992) is concerned primarily with self-governance and knowledge generation; and (5) a different model of higher education is likely to be required in the future. Below, each conclusion isexplained and supported or supplemented by the literature.

Conclusion 1: The Professoriate Actively Works to Maintain Its Identity

Virtually all study participants described certain traditions or ways of working within the academy. These traditions represent the beliefs, values, motives, and experiences of a common profession, and thus are central to professorial identity (Giddens, 1991; Henkel, 2005; Ibarra, 1999; Mead, 1934; Tajfel H. , 1978). Study participants related actions and events that demonstrated how they actively work to maintain their professional identities.

Junior faculty members reported being protected from excessive service requirements (participant study # withheld to maintain confidentiality), and more senior faculty members admitted to fostering such an environment (participant study # withheld to maintain confidentiality). One can see how this tradition perpetuates a cyclical pattern within academic identity: Published research leads to tenure; tenure provides intellectual freedom and the security with which to voice it; senior faculty use their voices and

95

positions within the academy to shelter junior faculty from onerous service tasks so that junior faculty may focus on their research and secure tenure.

Faculty spoke of themselves as being separate from other employee classification types at the university, especially administrators, frequently referring to members outside their ranks as "they" (participants #1, #2, #7, #9, #10, #11, #12, #13, #15). This use of differentiating vocabulary perpetuates the sentiment experienced between in- and out-group members (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), shoring up the distinct and separate identity faculty claim.

Interestingly, several participants (#1, #5, #8) viewed local administrators in more favorable terms than their distant and centrally located administrative colleagues, which supports Tajfel & Turner's (1979) claim that one way to overcome in- and out-group behavior is to bring the two groups together so they more closely interact with one another. This insight will prove helpful in bridging the greater distance between faculty and central administrators, and shouldn't be underestimated. While it's true that only three participants mentioned local administrators, it is also true that they did so entirely of their own accord; no study questions were specifically related to the physical location of administrators or their proximity to faculty.

Conclusion 2: Academic Identity is Defined Too Narrowly

Piper (1994) stated, "Academics look to their occupation for their identity as teachers, but outside for their identity as subject specialists" (p. 6). Valimaa (1998) defined academic identity as the identity that academics embrace, and asserted that it is the identity of their particular discipline or field and not necessarily that of their department or institution that is primary. Nixon (2006) also confirmed academics'

96

stronger attachment to their disciplines than to their institutions. It is worth noting that many of the study participants asked for clarification of this question as a way of trying to understand exactly how the term "identity" was being used. Once it had been explained as the affiliation to one's discipline, study participants could readily respond.

Despite the exegeses presented in previous literature, this study demonstrated that academic identity is seen as a commitment to research, teaching, and professional relationships, both within disciplines and across the institution. I found that 60% of the sample population identified with their disciplines, and 40% also had strong ties to their institution and their departments. This finding suggests that academic identity could be defined more broadly. A broader definition of the term is encouraged by Henkel's (2005) finding that academics are "exploiting new sources of domain-based funding and of actual or potential shifts in research context from discipline to domain" (p. 168) and Brew's (2008) conclusion "that academic work in the contemporary university challenges and changes how individuals view their disciplinary affiliation" (p. 423). While previous research still demonstrates a primary attachment of faculty to their disciplines, it also indicates a shift, even if that shift is due largely to funding structures and interdisciplinary work.

Conclusion 3: New Managerialism is Defined Too Narrowly

New managerialism as defined by Deem (1998) is "a way of trying to understand and categorize attempts to impose managerial techniques, more usually associated with medium and large 'for profit' businesses, onto public sector and voluntary organizations" (p. 49). It emphasizes the use of performance outcomes, efficiency measures, internal cost center, and a focus on external competition (Deem, 1998).

97

Interview questions specifically addressed performance outcomes, efficiency measures, internal cost centers, and external competition for students (Interview Protocol, Appendix B, questions 11-14), yet the only question that truly garnered any response of consequence was the final one (14), relating to external competition for students. Most respondents then referenced the competition mainly for graduate students, also noting that because of inferior funding packages, the best graduate students often attend other, often Ivy League, institutions. It is worth noting, however, that the university is in the process of implementing a resource-centered management (RCM) funding approach, and because the implementation is still in its early stages, substantive metrics may not yet be in place.

Despite the ongoing implementation of RCM, one has to question whether new managerialism has a far broader definition than that originally suggested by Deem (1998). It most likely extends to the increased administrative assignments faculty members are given or to any work outside of research and teaching. As will be noted in the second theoretical contribution, proponents of new managerialism should consider the institutional costs incurred by faculty members who engage in these additional administrative tasks—namely, that the price being paid could be at the expense of research gains.

Conclusion 4: Donnish Dominion[11] is About Self-Governance and Knowledge Generation

From the research Halsey (1992) conducted on the actual proportions of working time spent on teaching, research, and administration in 1976 and 1989, there was a 5%

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[11] Halsey's (1992) term "donnish dominion" refers to faculty's historic role as those who establish institutional policy, as opposed to others, including administrators.

increase in time devoted to administrative tasks in the university setting by 1989 (p. 186).

Because administrative responsibilities do not relate to research or teaching, study

participants generally discussed them as falling into the category of service work.

Service work was described as having grown exponentially and consuming time that

would otherwise be spent on research especially, but also on teaching. This led me to

conclude that what faculty members really desire is to focus (almost) exclusively on their

research and teaching and not on other issues embraced or pursued by institutional

administration. In other words, they want to govern themselves and their time, and use it

for the purpose of generating knowledge. This conclusion implies, too, that participants,

when referring to institutional governance, are actually referring to their own individual

ability to pursue the work they desire, and that the suggestion of an interest in

institutional governance is somewhat misplaced. It should be noted, however, that

several study participants (participants #4, #8, #13, #15), spoke of the importance or

value of peer evaluations, and therefore I believe that while faculty members certainly

seek dominion over their own research agendas, they also perhaps see the value of having

some say in the quality of work being produced by colleagues within their own

departments; such colleagues, after all, contribute to the combined reputation of the

department in which faculty serve as individuals.

Conclusion 5: A Different Model of Higher Education is Likely Required in the Future

Conclusion 5 outlines the concerns study participants expressed regarding the future

of higher education and the professoriate. The overarching theme was that tenure is the

key to intellectual freedom and, ultimately, to knowledge generation. With the continued

encroachment of administrative responsibilities and the perpetual funding crises that

challenge institutions, it is reasonable to believe that a different model of higher education will be required in the future. This model may choose to view separately those institutions that transfer knowledge from those that generate it, as suggested by study participants. While not a foregone conclusion, it is evident from the sample population that a loss of tenure would force many to at least consider leaving the university for the private sector. Of course, other alternatives to faculty departures are possible: Salaries could be increased, contractual arrangements could become more common, or the tenure agreement could be sufficiently revised to allow for termination based on cause. Regardless of the possibilities, it seems likely that the existing higher education model will undergo revision in the coming years.

The use of new managerial approaches to higher education governance is but one alternative. Others (Christensen & Eyring, 2011; Clark, 2004; Hamel, 2012; Kennie & Price, 2012) have offered different models. Middlehurst (2013) "argues for a re-interpretation and strengthening of collegial forms of governance, using models and examples drawn from innovative private sector companies that can indicate useful directions for higher education institutions so that they are better fitted to meet 21st century challenges" (p. 275). Hamel's (2012) approach, as cited in Middlehurst (2013), draws on private sector practices, but those that are innovative and shy away from "the essential paradigm of modern management . . . invented in the nineteenth and twentieth century industrial settings" (p. 289).

Contributions to Theory and Practice

This study contributes new data to both existing theory and practice, as described below.

Theoretical Contributions

This study contributes to theory in four ways: (1) it provides evidence for the recursive relationship between new managerialism and academic identity; (2) it revises the existing definition of academic identity (Piper, 1994; Valimaa, 1998); (3) it revises the existing definition of new managerialism (Deem, 1998); and (4) it challenges the assertion that positive contact between groups improves relationships. Each theoretical contribution is discussed below.

Theoretical contribution 1: Provides evidence for the recursive relationship between new managerialism and academic identity. As was noted at the beginning of the chapter, most relationships within the conceptual framework remained consistent. However, the propinquity between new managerialism and academic identity proved to be recursive. It is clear from the data collected from the sample population that new managerialism impacts faculty members' academic identity. It is also evident that new managerialism is affected by academic identity. Participants reported their concerns with and resistance to what they view as added administrative burdens. In at least two instances, they actively rejected attempts to manage them. These deliberate acts of resistance no doubt have some impact on the way in which business is conducted at the university although more research will be required to understand the scope and implications of their consequences.

Theoretical contribution 2: Revises the existing definition of academic identity. The literature review demonstrates that the definition of academic identity proffered to date focuses on the importance of the faculty member's discipline rather than or in addition to his institution and department (Piper, 1994; Valimaa, 1998). However, the

study population clearly indicated a strong connection to both the institution and their departments. Therefore, I suggest that a revised definition of academic identity should be "that identity that academics embrace—a simultaneous identification with the individual's discipline, institution, and departmental affiliation." This revised definition more accurately captures participants' affinity for the institution and their departments. It may also indicate a growing sense of the importance of interdisciplinary work.

Theoretical contribution 3: Revises the existing definition of new managerialism. As was noted earlier, Deem's (1998) definition of new managerialism is "a way of trying to understand and categorize attempts to impose managerial techniques, more usually associated with medium and large 'for profit' businesses, onto public sector and voluntary organizations" (p. 49). Deem's definition emphasizes the use of performance outcomes, efficiency measures, internal cost centers, and a focus on external competition. Yet study participants view new managerialism more broadly, to include the increased administrative responsibilities that are generally seen as accompanying service work. These responsibilities may include serving on additional committees, filing various reports relating to teaching and/or research, and responding to requests from the state in which the university is located, the university's Board of Visitors, or non-faculty staff. Proponents of new managerialism should consider the institutional costs incurred when faculty engage in these additional administrative tasks—namely, that the price being paid could be at the expense of further research gains.

Conversely, it would serve faculty well to better understand administrator concerns, and where appropriate, help implement process and resource efficiencies. The suggestion that additional administrative requests of faculty are harmful, not of

consequence, or otherwise not in the best interest of the institution is shortsighted and should not be rejected without further consideration.

Theoretical contribution 4: May challenge the assertion that positive contact between groups improves relationships. Allport (1954) found that positive contact between different groups tended to improve intergroup relationships and reduce negative out-group stereotyping. However, study results demonstrate that despite an increase in intergroup contact, negative out-group stereotyping (how participants spoke of administrators) still occurs frequently, and the increasing amount of time the two groups spend together has not necessarily improved their acceptance of one another. Further research is required to more fully understand the significance of this contribution.

Practical Contributions

This research contributes to practice in five ways: (1) It helps articulate the role of higher education in society; (2) it supports tenure as a method for ensuring knowledge creation; (3) it endorses the delineation between institutions that, through teaching, transfer and help individuals apply knowledge and those institutions that generate knowledge primarily through research; (4) it suggests that the academy should address faculty and governance issues directly; and (5) it raises the question of whether doctoral programs should study institutional governance and administrators' roles as a part of their coursework. These contributions to practice are discussed below, individually.

Practical contribution 1: Helps articulate higher education's role in society. By questioning the academic identity experience of liberal arts faculty members, the study helps articulate the role higher education plays in our society. It asks whether its purpose is knowledge transfer or knowledge creation, and posits that if its purpose is to generate

knowledge, then it may behoove the academy to reduce administrative burdens placed on faculty.

Practical contribution 2: Supports tenure as a method for ensuring knowledge creation. Tenure provides the safety net for academicians to pursue and share widely the knowledge they create through their teaching and research. Without tenure, faculty would be far less likely to speak out; some study participants suggested that without tenure, they would leave higher education for the private sector, where they would make more money yet have less job security.

Practical contribution 3: Endorses the delineation of institutions who transfer and help individuals apply knowledge versus create knowledge. Study findings endorse the idea that though the purpose of higher education is to produce an educated citizenry, some stratification within higher education institutions is appropriate. It is not uncommon to hear private-sector companies express a desire for those who can think critically. One could argue, though, that what they seek are employees who possess the ability to acquire and apply such knowledge, not necessarily generate it. While is it admirable to hope that a majority of citizens could act as knowledge producers, it is not likely to be a practical approach, due to individual intellectual and financial constraints and the financial limitations placed on institutions.

Practical contribution 4: Suggests that the academy address faculty and governance issues directly. Study findings suggest that when faculty members speak of governance, they refer primarily to self-governance rather than institutional governance. They prefer to serve as autonomous "contractors" focusing on their own individual research agendas. As a result, their commitment to institutional governance is

superficial. The implications of this contribution are significant; therefore, I suggest that the academy, writ large, ought to focus more on faculty members' role in institutional oversight, and to the extent it can, influence faculty to actively engage in the governance of their universities.

Practical contribution 5: Raises the question of whether doctoral programs should study institutional governance and administrators' roles as a part of their coursework. Given faculty members' seemingly minimal interest in institutional governance, as well as their view of administrators' role as being entirely separate and distinct from their own, I suggest that graduate schools should consider incorporating the study of both in their curricula. Doing so would help engage faculty in the overall mission and governance of institutions, and encourage greater understanding of administrators' roles.

Recommendations for Further Research

A plethora of recommendations for further research arise from this study: (1) Replicate the study using a more demographically diverse population; (2) investigate academic identity experiences at large R1 universities as well as at smaller, liberal arts R1s; (3) explore the academic identity of liberal arts faculty at institutions where funding is less problematic; (4) compare knowledge generation outputs at institutions with differing governance structures; (5) investigate the similarities and differences in feelings toward faculty who enter administration on a temporary basis; (6) study the longitudinal impact of new managerialism on faculty members over the course of their careers; (7) investigate how to better integrate in-groups and out-groups; (8) consider the impact of in-group/out-group tensions on institutional mission and student outcomes; (9) replicate

the study within other industries, such as health care; (10) replicate the study focusing on administrators' professional identity and new managerialism; (11) further investigate the impact of new managerialism on research; and (12) explore why faculty members feel that service is a less important part of the professorial triumvirate. Each is discussed below.

Recommendation 1. Replicate the Study with a More Demographically Diverse Population

The sample population consisted primarily of Caucasian men. This particular demographic is representative of the institution's faculty body in general. It would, however, be interesting to see whether, in a more demographically diverse group, similarities or differences exist and what those consist of. This could prove helpful to the university's goal of recruiting and retaining a more heterogeneous faculty corpus.

Recommendation 2. Compare Academic Identity at Large R1s and Smaller, Liberal Arts R1s

I recommend that studies be conducted to explore, articulate, and compare the academic identity experiences of liberal arts faculty at both large R1 institutions and smaller liberal arts R1s, such as the studied here. Do faculty at the larger universities feel a similar affinity for their institutions and departments, or is that affinity unique to smaller schools or, even more specifically, to the specific university involved in the study?

Recommendation 3. Explore the Academic Identity Experience of Liberal Arts Faculty at Institutions with Significant Private or Endowment Funding

The identities of faculty at institutions that exist largely on private or endowment monies may feel less of a need to pursue federal funding or corporate sponsorships for research dollars. Determining the academic identity experience of faculty in these types of institutions could inform future higher education models. One can imagine researchers who, feeling free to create and drive their own agendas, seek less pragmatic and more innovative areas of inquiry.

Recommendation 4. Compare Knowledge Generation Outputs at Institutions with Differing Governance Structures

I recommend comparing knowledge generation outputs at institutions with different governance models. Do institutions that rely heavily on new managerialism run more effectively and efficiently than those that follow the more traditional Oxbridge governance structure? What are the performance metrics for that determination? How are faculty members impacted at each type of institution? Is their productivity comparable?

Recommendation 5. Investigate Feelings Toward Faculty who Enter Administration on a Temporary Basis

Some faculty members assume administrative roles knowing that the role is for a short period of time, after which they intend to reassimilate into the faculty ranks. Others seek to make administration their main careers. It would be interesting to explore whether there are differences in faculty attitudes toward these two groups, the subsequent

relationships that grow from these attitudes, and the resulting impact on institutional governance and governance structures.

Recommendation 6. Study the Longitudinal Impact of New Managerialism on Faculty Over the Course of Their Careers

Because this study examined only one brief period in faculty members' experiences, a longer, more holistic look at the impact of new managerialism on academic identity is likely to contribute a differing view and could shed light on the long-term consequences of the practice of new managerialism within the academy.

Recommendation 7. Investigate How to Better Integrate In-groups with Out-groups

The study's seventh recommendation is to research how in-groups and out-groups can better work with one another. Study findings demonstrate that enabling two groups to have more positive interactions doesn't necessarily lead to more integration between them. Therefore, studying how differing groups, or groups with opposing perspectives, relate to one another could create a new imperative for higher education to solve the dilemma of increased administrative responsibilities imposed on faculty, as well as the continued funding challenges facing administrators.

Recommendation 8. Consider the Impact of In-Group/Out-Group Tensions on Institutional Mission Attainment

Investigating the impact of in-group/out-group tensions on institutional mission attainment could further incentivize all employee-classification types to work more closely with one another. Should such possible future research indicate that existing tensions either distract from or promote the achievement of institutional goals, such a

conclusion could provide an impetus for differing groups to work together in a more collective manner.

Recommendation 9. Replicate the Study within Other Industries, Such as Health Care

Reproducing the study within another industry, such as health care—in which additional requirements are placed on doctors, hospitals, and insurance companies as a result of the Affordable Care Act—would be likely to provide additional insights into how new managerialism impacts the identity of other professionals. This, in turn, could inform the issue within the academy.

Recommendation 10. Replicate the Study Focusing on Administrators' Professional Identity and New Managerialism

This study focused on the experience of faculty. By considering if and how new managerialism affects administrators' identities, we could make additional contributions to the resulting conversations, as well as the conversations occurring within other professions and the academy in general.

Recommendation 11. Further Investigate the Impact of New Managerialism on Research

Research is clearly a top priority for and output of faculty. A study focusing exclusively on the long-term effects of new managerialism on knowledge production would inform the academy, its faculty members, and its administrators. Such a study could offer all those involved more insight into effective university and institutional governance and models, thereby lighting the path forward for higher education.

Recommendation 12. Explore Why Faculty Feel Service is a Less Important Part of the Professorial Triumvirate

Clearly, service is one segment of faculty members' responsibilities within their professions and their institutions. This study revealed, however, that faculty members view it as less important than teaching and research and, to a certain extent, hold it in mild to moderate contempt. Additional research into why faculty view service this way would be helpful in promoting the importance of service and, potentially, in altering faculty members' view of it.

Concluding Thoughts

This study considered how liberal arts faculty experience academic identity in the age of new managerialism. Eight major findings emerged, which have been addressed in the following order: those that most contradict existing literature (1 and 2); those that differed from other findings because there was at least a significant difference in category responses (3, 4, and 5); and those consistent with existing literature (6, 7, and 8). The eight categories of findings are: (1) Faculty Identified Largely with Research but also with Teaching; (2) Faculty Identified with Their Disciplines, the University and Their Departments; (3) Faculty Frequently Used Aggressive Language; (4) Faculty Felt Significant Constraints on Their Time; (5) Faculty Claimed Intellectual Freedom Through Tenure as a Highlight of Their Work; (6) Faculty Anticipated Significant Future Changes in Higher Education and the Professoriate; (7) Faculty Expressed Concern Regarding the Increased Number of Administrators and the Amount of Administrative Tasks They Themselves Were Assigned; and (8) Faculty Valued the Caliber of Their Students, Colleagues, and Institution. These findings paint a picture of tenured and

tenure-track faculty who both cling to an idealized image of the professoriate of the past and break new ground around their future identities.

The following five conclusions evolved from the study's major findings, in light of the research question and subquestions: (1) The professoriate—its members and the structure that supports it—actively works to maintain the identity with which it is most familiar and with which it currently associates; (2 and 3) "academic identity" and "new managerialism," as defined in the existing literature and discussed previously, are too narrow and should be revised accordingly; (4) "donnish dominion" (Halsey, 1992) is concerned primarily with self-governance and knowledge generation; and (5) a different model of higher education will likely be required in the future.

I hope that this study, through its findings and conclusions, will contribute to the ongoing conversation regarding the purpose and role of higher education in society, as well as provide insight into the academic identity experience of liberal arts faculty. The university structure has proven to be long-lived, and one that has faced and overcome significant historical challenges. While the academy will continue to change and evolve, the challenge will be to protect the intellectual freedom of its faculty, promote an objective and innovative research agenda, and remain economically viable for those it educates.

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114

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Appendix A: Informed Consent Agreement

Please read this consent agreement carefully before you decide to participate in the study.

Purpose of the research study: The purpose of the study is to understand how academic identity of liberal arts faculty is experienced in the age of new managerialism.

What you will do in the study: You will be interviewed twice; once for 45-90 minutes and a second time for approximately 30 minutes. The purpose of the second interview is to validate and/or clarify the researcher's understanding of your round 1 interview statements and will be conducted if required.

Time required: The study will require about 2 hours of your time, but that could grow to 2.5 hours depending on the amount of follow-up the researcher feels is required.

Risks: The risks associated with this study are minimal.

Benefits: There are no direct benefits to you for participating in this research study. The study may help us understand the academic identity experience of liberal arts faculty in the age of new managerialism.

Confidentiality: The information that you give in the study will be handled confidentially. Your identifying information will be assigned a code number. The list connecting your name to this code will be kept in a locked file. When the study is completed and the data have been analyzed, this list will be destroyed. Your name will not be used in any report. The audio tape used in the study will be destroyed once the study is complete.

Voluntary participation: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary.

Right to withdraw from the study: You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

How to withdraw from the study: If you want to withdraw from the study

during the interview, tell the interviewer to stop the interview. If you want to withdraw

from the study after the interview, email or phone the researcher using the information

below. There is no penalty for withdrawing.

Payment: You will receive no payment for participating in the study.

If you have questions about the study, contact:

Doctoral Candidate:
Tamara Fleming Sole
The George Washington University
Telephone: 434-924-5375
Email address: tsole@gwu.edu
Principal Investigator and Dissertation Chair:
Dr. Michael Marquardt
GSEHD, The George Washington University
Telephone: 202-994-2473
Email address: marquard@gwu.edu

Faculty Advisor:
[information withheld in dissertation submission for confidentiality reasons]

Agreement:

I agree to participate in the research study described above.

Signature: _____ **Date:**

_____

You will receive a copy of this form for your records.

Interview Guide

(Given in advance of interview)

The purpose of this interview is to obtain information about your academic identity experiences.

The interview will be semi-structured, allowing for clarifying and follow-up questions to be asked based on your responses.

1. What do you most like about being a faculty member at [name of institution]?

2. Tell me about your ideal academic environment.

3. Describe your teaching responsibilities.

4. Describe your research obligations.

5. Describe your service work.

6. Have these roles (teaching, research, service) changed over the past several years? If so, how?

7. Could you describe the administrative/managerial responsibilities of your work? Have these duties increased during recent years?

8. What do you think about these new responsibilities? Are they needed? If yes, why? If not, why not?

9. Is the role of faculty changing in the academy? If so, how?

10. Do you feel constrained in your work in any way?

11. Does your department/school have performance outcomes?

12. Does your department/school have efficiency measures?

13. Does your department/school serve as an internal cost center?

14. Is your department/school focused on external competition for students?

15. How do you view administrators' role? (Administrators are defined as narrowly as department chairs or as broadly as the president, deans, and vice presidents)

16. Do they (administration) support your work?

17. How would you describe your academic identity?

18. To what aspects of teaching, research, and service do you most identify? Which do you identify with least?

19. Do you identify with your discipline, department, school, or institution with more? In what order? Why?

20. What will it be like to be a faculty member in 25 years?

Thank you for your time and assistance.