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Humans Behind Intellectuals: Narratives, Identities, and Emotions of the Academic Profession in the Neoliberal Era

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by

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DEDICATION

To all those humans who have suffered psychological and emotional injuries as a consequence of neoliberal ideology.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Humans Behind Intellectuals: Narratives, Identities, and Emotions of the Academic Profession in the Neoliberal Era

by

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Neoliberal ideology, as a structure of thought and as an economic project, has promoted the establishment of a new economic configuration through the creation of national conditions for free market and global competition. Within this economic rationale and work ideology, faculty members, considered as entrepreneurs, are evaluated and managed by their human capital, productivity, and their capacities to both deal with precarious work conditions and adjust to unstable and blurred job security levels.

The purpose of this qualitative investigation was to explore and explain the ways in which the presence of neoliberal ideology in public research universities (PRUs) influenced the academic profession, particularly the narratives, identities, and emotions of faculty members. This investigation explored the human-centered experiences and emotions of faculty members. This humanity was conceptualized and explored through the psychosocial, symbolic, and emotional aspects that influenced the professional development of faculty members. This professional development occurred across diverse

and complementary stages of the academic professional life cycle. Guided by identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009) this investigation explored the lived experiences of thirty-two faculty members across ranks (assistant, associate, full, and distinguished professors) and academic disciplines (the Humanities, Social Sciences, and STEM fields).

Findings suggest that neoliberal ideology has led to three critical outcomes that shaped the narratives of faculty members at PRUs. The first outcome focused on precarious work conditions, characterized by job insecurity and financial instability. The second critical outcome was the increase in service role expectations. The final outcome of neoliberal ideology was reflected in the use and promotion of reward systems that highlighted competition and performativity based on the quantifiable measurement of productivity and performance. These reward systems have altered the values, norms, and practices of academic work and have reinforced psychological and emotional detrimental outcomes for faculty members, particularly for early career and mid-career faculty members.

The present research contributes to the higher education literature by providing the conceptualization of academic professional identities (APIs) and a description of the professional development of faculty members. In addition, this investigation explains the ways in which the presence of neoliberal values (of competition, performativity, and productivity) altered the symbolic world of faculty members—specifically APIs and emotions— at PRUs.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Scholars who have studied the academic profession have noted changes to both the institution and faculty members as a result of neoliberalism (Archer, 2008a; Canaan & Shumar 2008b; Davies, 2005; Davies & Petersen, 2005; Gill, 2009; Halvorsen & Nyhagen, 2011; Levin & Aliyeva, 2015; Saunders, 2014; Sullivan & Simon, 2014; Ylijoki, 2005). To compare to current changes, scholars use as points of reference the socio-economic conditions of public higher education before the establishment of neoliberal ideology during the presidency of Ronald Reagan. Particularly, a period known as the Golden Age, from 1945-1970 is offered as a comparison (Archer, 2008a; Geiger, 2015). During this time, the main activities of the academic profession were research, teaching, and service. In addition, the state provided the resources, known as block grants, to conduct research in public research institutions (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997).

Nevertheless, as a consequence of neoliberal ideology in the U. S., funding for both research and public higher education has declined significantly (Saunders, 2014; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). These budget cuts altered behaviors and meanings of the academic profession in public research universities (PRUs), where research is a fundamental activity for promotion and tenure (Finkelstein, Conley, & Schuster, 2016). In this context, PRUs expect that faculty members, as entrepreneurial subjects, are capable of finding external funding in order to finance their research projects (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Torres & Schugurensky, 2002). These additional expectations about the

roles and activities of faculty members result from significant changes in the institutional practices of PRUs, such as the commodification and marketization of public higher education.

The presence of neoliberal ideology in PRUs influences alterations in the professional identities of faculty members (Archer, 2008a; Billot, 2010; Canaan & Shumar, 2008b; Clarke, Hyde & Drennan, 2013; Gill, 2009; Whitchurch, 2008), as well as the perspectives and the expectations that faculty members have about academic work (Berg, Huijbens, & Larsen, 2016; Henkel, 2000; Ylijoki, 2005). One of these alterations in the identities of faculty members is a result of a heightened value of knowledge in the current economy (Archer, 2008a; Osei-Kofi, 2014; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2000). One example is that the academic work is valued as economic revenue for PRUs (Saunders, 2014; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). In this context, academic work has altered and is characterized by the addition of entrepreneurial values, skills, and behaviors to the traditional roles and activities of the academic profession (Gonzales, Martinez, & Ordu, 2014; Harley, 2002; Henkel, 2005; Saunders, 2014; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997), such as pressures to obtain external funding. The institutionalization of these entrepreneurial values, skills, and behaviors has repercussions for the meanings and behaviors that faculty members have about what it means to them to be a faculty member (Billot, 2010; Knights & Clarke, 2014; Lorenz, 2012; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997).

Scholars recognize that the workplace conditions, such as the conditions of PRUs, influence the values, meanings, and behaviors of the academic profession (Archer, 2008b; Canaan & Shumar, 2008b; Gappa, Austin, & Trice, 2007; Gonzales et al., 2014;

Knights & Clarke, 2014; Levin & Aliyeva, 2015; Henkel, 2005; Smith & Calasanti, 2005; Sullivan & Simon, 2014). Knights and Clarke (2014) explored how the increase in accountability and managerialism in one research university in the U. K. resulted in a rise in stress, anxiety, and uncertainties of faculty members. In addition, Buckhodlt and Miller (2009) emphasized that the contemporary political and economic context of higher education, characterized by constant budget cuts at the state and federal levels, altered academic work, job satisfaction, sense of belonging, and institutional expectations about the academic profession.

Scholars have described two main changes in the behaviors of faculty members as a consequence of neoliberal ideology. One is linked to increased responsibilities and workloads in PRUs (Gonzales et al., 2014), such as the increase in pressures to publish as a response to both the accountability system and the audit culture (Clarke et al., 2013; Shore & Wright, 2000). The other change is the intensification of entrepreneurial values and roles, such as the intensification of grant writing, in order to obtain external funding (Clegg, 2008; Harley, 2002; Henkel, 2005). In addition, the increased responsibilities and workloads of faculty members are associated with an increase in both negative emotions and alterations to the professional identities of faculty members (Austin & Pilat, 1990; Buckhodlt & Miller, 2009; Knights & Clarke, 2014). Nevertheless, there is a lack of empirical evidence that explores the ways in which neoliberal ideology has influenced the professional identities and emotions that faculty members have in each stage of the academic life cycle. Therefore, the purpose of this investigation was to explore and

explain the ways in which the presence of neoliberal ideology in PRUs influence the narratives, identities, and emotions of faculty members at PRUs.

The Study of the Academic Profession in the Neoliberal Era

Academic identity has been described mainly as the self-conceptions that faculty members use to define themselves as professionals (Billot, 2010; Clegg, 2008; Henkel, 2000; Levin & Montero-Hernandez, 2014). Academic identities are influenced by the socialization process, academic discipline, institutional culture, and the sociopolitical contexts in which faculty members work (Clark, 1987a; Harris, 2005; Henkel, 2000). Although these descriptions are present in the scholarly literature, there is not a common theoretical approach or conceptualization to define what an academic identity is (Feather, 2016), how it operates, or how is developed.

Academic identity is developed primarily during graduate education through the socialization process with peers, professors, and advisors (Austin, 2002; Gumport, 1993; Tierney & Rhoads, 1994; Weidman, Twale, & Stein, 2001). Therefore, through the socialization process, faculty members learn the norms, values, and practices of the academic profession. In addition, the institutional culture in which faculty members work influences academic identity because of the institution's established mission, practices, and standards of productivity (Gappa et al., 2007; Harley, 2002; Henkel, 2000, 2005, 2011).

From a neoliberal perspective, faculty members are perceived merely as workers characterized by their flexibility and capacity to adjust to precarious work conditions (Harley, 2002; Layton, 2014; Sullivan & Simon, 2014). The strengthening of

competition, managerial oversights, and expectations for performativity and accountability in the academic profession has diminished the lack of recognition of the human side in the academic profession (Archer, 2008a, 2008b; Deem, 2005; Henkel, 2005; Maistry, 2015; Torres & Schugurensky, 2002). This lack of recognition is expressed through an increase in research-based systems (Harley, 2002). These systems regulate knowledge production and academic work standards and highlight the idealization and evaluation of the ideal faculty member, as one who is aligned with audit cultures, managerial practices, and standardized values (Lorenz, 2012; Stahl, 2015).

These conceptualizations about faculty members reproduce merely a fragment of the faculty member's sense of self. This fragmentation conceptualizes the ideal faculty member in the neoliberal era as entrepreneurial, competitive, and able to work in precarious conditions (Harley, 2002; Harris, 2005; Lorenz, 2012). The idealization and evaluation of that ideal worker depersonalizes and deprofessionalizes faculty through a reinforcement of the conception of faculty members as economic entities (Ball, 2003; Gonzales et al., 2014; Morales Vázquez & Levin, 2018; Sullivan & Simon, 2014).

U. S. scholars who have conducted research on neoliberal ideology have focused on the organizational level (Gonzales et al., 2014) or on the behaviors within different academic disciplines and have not explained the ways in which neoliberal ideology alters or changes subjective aspects of faculty members, particularly their narratives, identities, and emotions within the academic profession. International sources (mainly Australian, Canadian, and European scholars) do establish the relationship between alterations in the political and economic spheres (the presence of neoliberal values and managerial

practices) and changes in the identities, emotions, and behaviors of the academic profession (Ball, 2003; Henkel, 2005; Ylijoki, 2005).

Theoretical Framework: Identities and Emotions of the Academic Profession

The theoretical framework that guided this investigation was identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009). This theory allowed for the exploration of how faculty members experienced changes in both their social structure, in this case alterations of PRUs as a consequence of neoliberal ideology, and in themselves as professionals, specifically their professional identity and the emotional reactions they have to this identity. Identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009), from a structural symbolic interactionism perspective (Stryker, 1980), proposes that the identities that individuals have are characterized by the meanings, symbols, and perceptions of individuals about the different roles that they play in their social structure (Burke, 2008; Stets & Serpe, 2013), such as the role of a sister, student, or worker. In addition, this theory proposes a dialectical relationship, based on meanings, perceptions, and symbols, in which social structure influences the behaviors and meanings of individuals; yet, individuals have the potential to either maintain or change the social structure (Burke & Stets, 2009).

According to this theory, the self has the capacity of individual self-reflexivity. This reflexivity allows individuals to recognize the meanings they attribute to themselves (Burke & Stets, 2009). The meanings, symbols, expectations, and perceptions (Burke & Stets, 2009) that faculty members have about the academic profession are linked to the identity standards of being a professor, which may be aligned with the institutional expectations about the academic profession. Identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009)

proposes that identity change or identity conflict could be a consequence of the dissonance of or discrepancy between the meanings that individuals have about themselves and the new expectations that others in the environment have of them, as reflected in how individuals think others see them. These include expectations about the academic profession and academic work that follow neoliberal values and managerial practices.

The notion of identity points to the self-conceptions and meanings that individuals have in relation to who they are in the diverse roles they play within the social structure (Burke & Stets, 2009). Identities "have both cognitive as well as affective or and emotional process" (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 61). Therefore, the investigation of the subjective realities of the academic profession, such as academic professional identities (APIs), should consider the emotional reactions faculty members attach to their descriptions and narratives about their professional lives.

Identities have three bases: role, social, and person identities (Burke & Stets, 2009). Burke and Stets (2009) argue that "role identities are based on the different social positions individuals hold; social identities are based on individuals' memberships in certain groups; person identities are based on a view of the person as a unique entity, distinct from other individuals" (p. 112). These various identities have their own identity standards that guide the behaviors of the individual in specific situations. In this research, I focus on the role identity of the academic profession.

The study of the emotions of workers is significant because emotions play a role in the maintenance of social structure (Butterwick & Dawson, 2005; Hochschild, 1983),

such as PRUs. In addition, work identity is a source of personal meaning and social definition (Ibarra, 1999, 2003). I use identity theory to examine how changes in the academic profession may alter the identities and emotions of faculty members in one public research university. Following from identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009), identity verification is linked to a consistency between the identity standards that individuals have and the feedback that they receive from other members as to how others see them in the social structure in which they belong (Stets & Burke, 2000). In the particular case of higher education, verification might take the form of approval of tenure and promotion of a faculty member. In contrast, a non-verification process is related to an inconsistency between how individuals see themselves and the feedback that they receive from other members, such as negative evaluations or denial of promotion in the academic profession.

Identity theory proposes that social structure plays a significant role in the internalization of meanings and standards of specific behaviors. These meanings are standards stored in the identity, known as identity standards (Burke & Stets, 2009).

In identity theory, when individuals perceive internal conflict between the meanings in their identity standard and the meanings they think significant others have as to how others see them in the environment, individuals experience distress and will try to regulate their internal meanings or behaviors in order to remain congruent with their identity standard (Burke & Stets, 2009). This regulation of internal meanings about one's professional identity could influence a behavioral change, such as the addition of entrepreneurial activities, or the use of cognitive processes, such the internalization of

entrepreneurial values, if that is what one thinks will increase a match with all other meanings.

According to identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009), through the socialization process, face-to-face interactions, and shared language and culture, individuals learn the norms, meanings, and behaviors of their environment (Burke & Stets, 2009). These norms and behaviors make up the standards or internal meanings based on face-to-face interactions (Burke & Stets, 2009). In this context, it is through the socialization process and direct socialization that faculty members acquire the norms, rules, meanings, and behaviors of the academic profession (Becher & Trowler, 2001; Gappa et al., 2007).

This investigation focused on the human-centered experiences of faculty members, particularly their narratives, identities, and emotions about the academic profession. Faculty members were considered as reflexive-social-emotional humans situated within the structure of PRUs. As reflexive-social-emotional actors, faculty members were characterized by the social interactions and symbolic exchanges that allowed the development of their APIs, their professional symbols and meanings, and their behaviors to maintain or change the social structure to which they belong (Burke & Stets, 2009).

In order to explore the multiple meanings and symbols of the academic profession, this investigation highlighted the diverse sources of meanings from which faculty members made sense of who they were as professionals. In addition, APIs were seen as having identity standards that informed the amalgam of symbolic worlds that faculty members use to reflect who they were, who they are, and who they would like to

be as professionals at PRUs. APIs, from this perspective, represented the multiple meanings that faculty members use to meet their goals, needs, and desires as humans and as professionals.

The conceptualization of APIs was grounded in and motivated by the three dimensions of a work-based identity proposed by Bothma, Lloyd, and Khapova (2015): the individual-psychological dimension, the social dimension, and the structural dimension, as well as by the three identity bases proposed by Burke and Stets (2009)—role, social, and person. Therefore, the dimensions of APIs (individual-psychological dimension, role dimension, and group dimension) mirrored the notions of work-based identity dimensions and identity bases.

APIs reflect how faculty members perceived themselves as professional workers, how they responded to institutional expectations, and what they felt towards the external demands of their profession in relation to neoliberal ideology. APIs were reflected in the symbols, meanings, and values that faculty members used to describe themselves as professionals, as well as the ones they used towards maintaining or changing their social structures—in this case, the organizational structure of PRUs.

The constant challenges that faculty members experience in their workplace, viewed according to identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009) as situational changes, such as the pressure to publish or increases in accountability, could influence and alter their APIs (Archer, 2008b; Gonzales et al., 2014; Harley, 2002; Knights & Clarke, 2014; Levin & Aliyeva, 2015; Winter, 2009; Winter & O'Donohue, 2012a). For the purpose of this investigation, identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009) enables the exploration of identities

and emotions in the academic profession, particularly APIs, and the emotional reactions that faculty members have across diverse stages of the academic profession.

Research Questions

This investigation was directed by three research questions: What are the narratives that full-time tenured and tenure track faculty members construct about the academic profession in one public research university (PRU) in California? What individual-psychological, role, or group meanings do faculty members rely upon to describe their academic professional identities (APIs) in each stage of the academic professional life cycle? In what ways do faculty members rationalize and understand neoliberal values of competition, performativity, and productivity as affecting their experiences, professional identities, and emotions in the academic profession? In order to explain the narratives, identities, and emotions of the academic profession in the neoliberal era, this investigation relied on a structural symbolic interactionist approach, particularly identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009), and the concepts of APIs, the academic professional life cycle, and neoliberal values of competition, performativity, and productivity.

Methodology and Methods

Qualitative research permitted the exploration of the symbols, values, and meanings faculty members attribute to the academic profession and academic work (Levin & Aliyeva, 2015; Levin & Montero-Hernandez, 2014; Nixon, 1996). Qualitative research is a set of theoretical interpretative orientations, methodologies, and methods that facilitates the study of social events or phenomena based on the lived experiences

and meanings that individuals use to define or interpret their experiences and conditions (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Kim, 2016; Marshall & Rossman, 2016; Maxwell, 2013; Patton, 2002; Webster & Mertova, 2007).

Typically, qualitative research is described as naturalistic because researchers are situated in the natural setting where the phenomenon or event is located (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Patton, 2002). Thus, qualitative researchers collect their data in the natural field where participants interact, and they highlight the role that contexts play in the way in which participants construct their frames of references, experiences, and meanings (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Marshall & Rossman, 2016; Patton, 2002). In qualitative research, the collection of data is based on the researcher's interactions with participants, and their knowledge of the participant's context (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Marshall & Rossman, 2016). This process is known as fieldwork and is the normative way in which qualitative researchers collect data (Kim, 2016). Through fieldwork, researchers collect data about both the context and the lived experiences of participants, including the meanings, interpretations, frames of reference, and experiences that individuals have about their particular environments (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Patton, 2002).

In qualitative research, the researcher is the principal instrument of data collection (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). Therefore, the researcher's reflexivity plays a significant role in the way researchers address the phenomenon of interest (Creswell, 2007), the research purposes, and the preconceptions that the research has about the event or phenomenon of interest (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). Reflexivity is an internal process in which individuals attribute meanings to themselves, to other individuals, or to specific

events around them (Bielby & Kully, 1989; Creswell, 2007; Patton, 2002). These attributions of meanings are linked to the researcher's cultural background and positionality in the social structure (e.g., Mexican international student, African American woman, and/or first-generation student) and are based on the researcher's capacity of reflexivity, introspection, and symbolic exchange. Consequently, a researcher's reflexivity influences the frames of reference, preconceptions, intentionality, and biases that they have towards the phenomenon or event of interest (Creswell, 2007). A researcher's reflexivity has a significant influence on both the trustworthiness (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011) and validity (Maxwell, 2013; Silverman, 2004) of the investigation, including both the qualitative research method and the evidence gathered, as well as the investigation's findings.

Qualitative researchers respond to their research assumptions, research purposes, and research questions within one or more theoretical orientations (Bloomber & Volpe, 2016; Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Kim, 2016; Patton, 2002). Hence, qualitative research is determined by theoretical orientations, such as phenomenology, critical race theory, or feminist theory (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011). These theoretical orientations shape the research logic and the research design process that qualitative researchers have to address in order to create a congruent and coherent research project (Maxwell, 2013).

Research Design

Since the purpose of this investigation was to explore and explain the ways in which the presence of neoliberal ideology in PRUs influences or shapes the symbols, narratives, and lived experiences that faculty members have about the academic

profession, the research design of this investigation was guided by a qualitative interpretive methodology (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Slay & Smith, 2011; Webster & Mertova, 2007) from a phenomenological perspective (Creswell, 2007; Laverty, 2003; Van Manen, 2014). The main purpose of qualitative methodology from a phenomenologist perspective is to provide a comprehensive explanation of a specific phenomenon or event from the perspectives and meanings constructed by participants (Bloomber & Volpe, 2016; Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Creswell, 2007; Patton, 2002; Van Manen, 2014). Accordingly, researchers use a phenomenologist perspective to investigate the meanings and the interpretative understandings that individuals attribute to themselves and to their environments (Patton, 2002). This perspective allows the exploration of the symbols and meaning-making processes (Burgess, 1995; Creswell, 2007; Seidman, 2013; Tavallaei & Abu Talib, 2010) that faculty members relied on to attribute meanings to their professional experiences and professional lives.

Phenomenologists assume that there are multiple ways of interpreting experiences (Bloomber & Volpe, 2016; Kim, 2016; Patton, 2002; Van Manen, 2014), and this diversity of interpretation is based on the multiple interactions that individuals have with others (Creswell, 2007). The multiple interpretations towards one phenomenon or event constitute the principal critique that qualitative researchers receive from quantitative researchers (who conduct research projects in laboratories where they can control, quantify, and observe certain behaviors to respond to their research hypothesis). For this reason, one of the principal critiques against qualitative research is the validity or confidence of the research project (Maxwell, 2013).

In order to increase the confidence or trustworthiness in their research projects, qualitative researchers frequently include multiple sources of data collection (Bloomber & Volpe, 2016) or theoretical frameworks, a process known as triangulation (Patton, 2002). This process facilitates the validation and verification of the data through the coherent use of multiple sources so that collected data can respond to the research questions and purposes of the research project (Bloomber & Volpe, 2016; Patton, 2002).

The research design of this project enabled the investigation of tenure-track and tenured faculty in one public research university in California, and addressed on the lived experiences of this population in order to highlight the symbols and meanings that faculty attribute to the academic profession and academic work. The attribution of meanings to the lived experiences and context of individuals required an intentional reflexive process (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Marshall & Rossman, 2016; Patton, 2002; Van Manen, 2014) through which faculty members reconstructed their experiences, meanings, and selves narratively (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Eisner, 2003; Kim, 2006; Trahar, 2009).

Methods

In this investigation, the academic profession was seen as a reflexive interplay between the individual, professional, and institutional meanings of faculty members (Henkel, 2011). In order to increase the confidence or trustworthiness in this investigation, multiple sources of data collection were included (Bloomber & Volpe, 2016). This process is known as triangulation (Patton, 2002). Triangulation facilitates the validation and verification of the data through the coherent use of multiple sources so that

collected data can respond to the research questions and goals of the research project (Bloomber & Volpe, 2016; Patton, 2002). The principal data collection method of this investigation was the narrative interview (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Trahar, 2009; Webster & Mertova, 2007). Because of the exploratory nature of this investigation, a questionnaire was created and was used as a complementary aide. This questionnaire helped me to identify the similarities and differences (across gender, ranks, and academic disciplines) in the narrative interviews.

The narrative interview method provided access to faculty members' narratives, motivations, personal histories, and meanings regarding the academic profession (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Seidman, 2013). A narrative interview enabled me to explore the complexity of the academic profession and the lived experiences that faculty members have in a particular setting (Kim, 2016; Slay & Smith, 2011; Trahar, 2009; Webster & Mertova, 2007). Through the use of narratives, individuals attributed meanings to their experiences and to themselves in relation to their sociocultural context (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Trahar, 2009; Webster & Mertova, 2007). Consequently, in order to construct a narrative of an episode within the academic profession, faculty members have access to their reflexivity. This reflexivity allowed faculty members to re-signify their past lived experiences in relation to their present or future expectations as professionals.

The narrative interviews for this project followed a semi-structured approach (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). All interviews focused on three bases of the academic professional identity: one's personal life (Gappa et al., 2007); the professional

background and present professional position that are linked to the meanings, norms, values, and behaviors of the academic profession (Neumann, 2009; Winter, 2009); and, institutional background (Archer, 2008b; Henkel, 2005; Levin & Montero-Hernandez, 2014; Levin & Aliyeva, 2015). Of particular interest to this project were the socialization processes, professional experiences, emotions, and challenges involved in the professional pathways of faculty members (Archer, 2008a; Gappa et al., 2007;; Neumann, 2009; Winter, 2009).

A questionnaire was an integrative and complementary method. The questionnaire was administered online to each interviewee before the interview. The purpose of this questionnaire was to obtain faculty perspectives on specific topics relevant to their professional life, professional roles, and academic professional identities.

The Institutional Review Board Socio-Behavioral (IRB-SB) approved this investigation in January 2018. IRB-SB approval was obtained from the Human Research Review Board (HRRB) of the University of California, Riverside. After IRB-SB was approved, I started the recruitment process. Participants were notified about the IRB-SB approval, the purposes of the investigation, the risks, and the benefits of their participation prior to data collection.

Site and Sample

As the goal of this project was to explore the meanings, experiences, and emotions of faculty members at different stages of the academic profession, the site and sample were guided by a purposeful sampling (Patton, 2002). The data selection criteria were characterized by two requirements: first, the basic information of selected faculty

members must have appeared on the university website in order for me to have access to their names, email addresses, affiliation, CVs, and research projects. Second, faculty members must have accepted the interview invitation sent by email. This email included both the purpose of the investigation and the confidentiality aspects to participate in the research project. At the start of the interview, the participants agreed for a second time to participate in the research and signed the consent form prior to our interview.

The site for this project was one public research university in California. PRUs in California have faced changes in their institutional policies, recruitment processes, and organizational behaviors as a consequence of the presence of neoliberal ideology and managerial practices ("California's public universities," 2011). PRUs demand diverse roles and activities for faculty such as research, teaching, and service. Hence, the institution I selected for faculty participants allowed me to investigate the basic trinity of the academic profession (Finkelstein et al., 2016).

The segregation of the academic profession (between academic disciplines and ranks) enabled me to examinee APIs among different groups, such as assistant, associate, full, and distinguished professors. The exploration of the variety of perceived lived experiences and narratives of faculty members allowed me to determine the conditions and social processes through which academic professional identities are developed. In order to explain the different conditions and social processes involved in the development of APIs, I investigated faculty members at different ranks of the academic profession (assistant, associate, full, and distinguished professors), as well as from different academic disciplines and different genders.

The sample size was determined by redundancy or a saturation criterion (Patton, 2002). Redundancy criterion (Patton, 2002) establishes that "the sampling is terminated when no new information is forthcoming from new sampled units" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 202). Therefore, the main criterion for the selection of the sample was the inclusion of faculty members from each of three stages of the academic cycle (early-career, mid-career, and late-career) proposed by Baldwin, Lunceford, and Vanderlinden (2005). A total of thirty-two faculty members comprised the sample. Eleven faculty members were from STEM fields, eight from the Social Sciences, and thirteen from the Humanities. Eleven faculty members were assistant professors, seven faculty members were associate professors, nine faculty members were full professors, and five faculty members were distinguished professors (a category used at the selected university for faculty who had an additional designation beyond that of professor).

The exploration of the academic profession from the academic life cycle was critical because it permitted me to investigate variability in meanings, behaviors, and emotions that faculty members have in each stage. In addition, the demographics of this population allowed me to examine the narratives of faculty members from populations that have been excluded historically in U.S. public higher education institutions, particularly women and minorities.

As confidentiality was valued in this research project, pseudonyms for both the site and samples were used. In order to include the participation of faculty members in the confidentiality process, participants chose their own pseudonyms.

Organization of the Dissertation

What follows are four chapters that report the investigation. Chapter 2 consists of a critical review of the scholarly literature, conceptual frameworks, and methodological approaches that drove the purposes of this investigation. U. S. scholarly literature overemphasizes both the role that institutional conditions (Clark, 1987b) and academic disciplines cultures (Becher & Trowler, 2001; Clark, 1987a) play in the changes or alterations that the academic profession has faced in the last three decades (Finkelstein et al., 2016), but does not explain the meanings, professional identities, and emotions of faculty members. Therefore, a considerable amount of scholarly literature examined in Chapter 2 is based on international sources (mainly Australian, Canadian, and European) in order to establish the relationship between the presence of neoliberal values and managerial practices and changes in the identities, emotions, and behaviors of the academic profession, particularly in public research universities (PRUs) in the U. S. Chapter 3 explains the methodology, research design, and methods of this investigation. Chapter 4 presents the findings. Finally, Chapter 5 offers the discussion, conclusions, and the recommendations for future research on the academic profession.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Political and economic reforms in the U. S. have altered the academic profession as reflected in the addition of market-driven values and entrepreneurial behaviors to the traditional roles (research, teaching, and service) [Harvey, 2005; Henkel, 1997, 2000, 2011; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Torres & Schugurensky, 2002]. This chapter discusses three major areas of scholarship within the academic profession. The first section focuses on the academic profession and the academic work in the neoliberal era (mid-80s to present) [Harvey, 2005; Torres & Schugurensky, 2002]. This section provides an overview of the current context of the U. S. academic profession and the characteristics of academic work. In addition, this section describes the embedded segregation, predominantly by gender and race, and stratification in the academic profession, primarily by academic discipline and rank (Finkelstein, Conley, & Schuster, 2016).

The second section pertains to stages of the academic profession (Baldwin, Lunceford, & Vanderlinden, 2005): early career, mid-career, and late career. U. S. scholars (Baldwin et al., 2005; Gappa, Austin, & Trice, 2007; Neumann, 2009) have argued that these stages are significant to the roles and performance of the academic profession. Each of these stages influences the academic work and professional behaviors (roles and activities), professional priorities, as well as the intensity and effort of faculty members' performance in the academic profession.

The final section addresses the subjectivity of those who perform the academic profession, faculty members. Academic professional identities (APIs) and emotions

comprise this section. This section is central to this investigation because it addresses conceptualizations of academic identity and the empirical work, theoretical approaches and methods used to explore this phenomenon; furthermore, it points to the gaps in the study of the subjectivity and emotions in the academic profession.

This selected literature review is constructed based on multiple scholarly sources including books, chapters, and academic articles. Throughout the review of these sources, I point out significant conceptualizations, approaches, omissions, and gaps within the sources selected. Each segment of the literature review includes a description, synthesis, and integrative explanation of the ways in which each section of this chapter permits a broad understanding of the academic profession in the neoliberal era. The main argument of this literature review is that the alterations within the U. S. academic profession, such as the increased presence of neoliberal values, have implications to the subjectivity of faculty members (i.e., academic professional identities and emotional reactions).

U. S. scholarly work is known globally because of the prestige of the U. S.'s higher education institutions. However, in terms of the exploration of the lived experiences of academic professionals, U. S. higher education scholars tend to investigate the academic profession and academic work relying on fragmented and generalized understandings. These understandings about the U. S. academic profession are based on the exploration of faculty members' rank (assistant, associate, or full professor), institutional environment (such as community college, comprehensive university, or research university), and academic discipline (social sciences, humanities, or STEM

fields) [Finkelstein et al., 2016]. These disaggregated understandings reproduce a fragmented perspective of faculty members as quantifiable and accountable entities.

Although my primary focus is the academic profession in the U. S., I seek a holistic understanding about the faculty (whom they are and what they feel) through the use of international sources. These international sources analyze and describe the ways in which the presence of neoliberal ideology affects the identities, emotion, and behaviors of faculty members in higher education institutions.

The lack of sources from U. S. institutions on the personal repercussion of neoliberal ideology in the academic profession demonstrates the relevance and significance of this investigation. U. S. scholars who have conducted research on neoliberal ideology have focused on the organizational level or on the behaviors within different academic disciplines and have not explained the ways in which neoliberal ideology alters or changes subjective aspects of faculty members, particularly their narratives, identities, or emotions about the academic profession. Therefore, I rely on international sources (mainly Australian, Canadian, and European scholars) to establish the relationship between alterations in the political and economic spheres (the presence of neoliberal values and managerial practices) and changes in the identities, emotions, and behaviors of the academic profession, particularly in public research universities (PRUs) in the U. S. Although the context in which the academic profession is performed differs from one to another, there is a pattern within international sources that informed the ways in which the academic profession has been altered because of the presence of neoliberal ideology in the university.

The Academic Profession in the Neoliberal Era

The study of professions has been addressed mainly in the areas of the sociology of professions (Abbott, 1988) and the sociology of education (Clark, 1987a, 1987b). Both approaches recognized that the values and performances of the professions vary by their structural characteristics and context where the profession is performed. In the particular case of the academic profession, higher education scholars have explained this profession as highly segregated and stratified (Clarke, Hyde, & Drennan, 2013; Finkelstein et al., 2016; Osei-Kofi, 2014). From this perspective, the segregation in the academic profession in the U. S. is a result of two structural characteristics: the historical hegemonic masculinity (Clarke et al., 2013; Fryberg & Martínez, 2014; Maher & Tetreault, 2007, 2011; Smith & Calasanti, 2005) and the prevalence of predominantly White institutions in higher education (Harley, 2008; Olsen, Maple, & Stage, 1995). These structural characteristics are also structural sources of inequality within the academic profession (Butterwick & Dawson, 2005; David, 2007; Turner, 2002).

On the one hand, hegemonic masculinity has shaped the current reward system in academia. High levels of competition and high standards of productivity characterized this reward system (Clarke et al., 2013; Leahey, 2006; Maher & Tetreault, 2011; Reinert, 2016; Sullivan & Simon, 2014). Hegemonic masculinity has affected the ways in which female faculty members experience and perform the academic profession (Acker, Webber, & Smyth, 2016; Harley, 2008; Osei-Kofi, 2014) and also it has influenced the kind of academic careers followed by female faculty (Leahey, 2006; Lester, 2008; Maher & Tetreault, 2007, 2011; Marine & Martínez Alemán, 2018). On the other hand,

predominantly White institutions play a significant role in the establishment of structural, cultural, and symbolic barriers for faculty members from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds (Harley, 2008; Olsen et al., 1995; Osei-Kofi, 2014; Zambrana, 2018). Both structural characteristics of the academic profession (hegemonic masculinity and predominantly White institutions) set the norms, values, purposes, and behaviors of the academic profession that reproduce segregation and stratification within the academic profession. Thus, as a consequence of these structural barriers, the essence of the academic profession in the U. S. is likely to affect or limit the recruitment, well being, sense of belonging, and job satisfaction of Non-male and Non-White populations.

Because of structural characteristics, faculty members from underrepresented minority groups are frequently the only ones in their department, or units, or singular among their colleagues (Gappa et al., 2007; Zambrana, 2018). Underrepresented minority faculty often experience isolation, including conditions where they are overwhelmed with work demands and a sense of incompetence (Landson-Billings, 1997; Osei-Kofi, 2014), marginalization (Harris, 2007, Turner, 2002), a phenomenon known as cultural taxation (Becher & Trowler, 2001; Padilla, 1994), and high levels of work stress (Zambrana, 2018). Both structural characteristics of the academic profession (hegemonic masculinity and predominantly White institutions) influence the norms, values, and roles of the academic profession. Therefore, female and underrepresented minorities can experience low levels of job satisfaction and high levels of negative emotions (Gappa et al., 2007; Harley, 2008; Harris, 2007; Landson-Billings, 1997; Osei-Kofi, 2014).

In addition to the structural characteristics above, scholars stratified the study of the academic profession by academic disciplines, rank, and institutional type (Finkelstein et al., 2016). Clark's (1987a) work described the academic profession from a systemic perspective in which the academic profession is based on professionalism and is stratified by its specialization within academic disciplines. Clark (1987a) refers to this stratification as "different worlds" where the academic profession and academic work are learned and performed. Becher and Trowler (2001) argued that academic disciplines set the boundaries and territories where faculty members co-exist, in what they called academic tribes. In addition to the academic discipline, Neumann (2009) explored the academic profession by studying the roles, activities, and learning processes of newly tenured faculty members. These learning processes are linked to the hierarchy and ranks of the academic profession. Finkelstein, Conley, and Schuster (2016) described the academic profession by their focus on the ways in which institutional type (e.g. community colleges, comprehensive universities, and research universities) and academic disciplines define the values, the norms, and the behaviors of faculty members. From these perspectives, the academic profession has been merely stratified and explored by its hierarchical nature within faculty's socio-demographic characteristics, academic disciplines, ranks, and institutional types (Finkelstein et al., 2016; Maher & Tetreault, 2011; Osei-Kofi, 2014; Smith & Calasanti, 2005).

In the particular case of the academic profession in research universities, Wilshire (1990), from a philosophical perspective, proposed that the academic profession is characterized by its specialization and professionalization, both aspects set conditions for

alienation of the self of faculty members. This alienation is a result of the depersonalization of faculty and of the established standards of professional competence in the academic profession. Wilshire (1990) argued that when individuals are accepted into the academic profession they became alienated, an alienation that is pervasive because of "primitive initiation and purification rites" (Wilshire, 1990, p. xxv) that are linked to professionalization and specialization. Initiation and purification rites isolate faculty members from their human identities and emotions. Therefore, the alienation of the academic profession is inescapable because is a result of the professional development—characterized by emotional detachment and by the absence of collective thinking—in the academic profession.

Bloch (2002, 2012), from a sociological perspective, explained the role that the tacit culture of emotions in the academy plays in the social interactions and professional lives of Danish faculty. The tacit culture of emotions is characterized by strict (and impermeable) norms and rules of emotion and expression (Bloch, 2002). In her qualitative study, Bloch (2012) focused on the social relations established by faculty members and the ways in which these social relations influence the management and expression of social emotions (pride/joy, anger, shame, and laughter) in academia. Faculty members are not allowed to express emotions because of the cultural incompatibility of emotions within the rationale side of academia. Bloch (2002)'s qualitative research advanced the recognition (and the importance) of the diverse social interactions and emotional exchanges that faculty members have at different stages of their professional pathways.

In addition to a condition of alienation and a culture of emotions in the academic profession that influences identities, emotions, and behaviors of faculty members, higher education scholars have noted that alterations in the values, perceived levels of autonomy, emotions, and performance in the academic profession are a result of the presence of neoliberal ideology (Archer, 2008a; Canaan & Shumar, 2008b; Davies, 2005; Davies & Petersen, 2005; Gill, 2009; Harris, 2005; Levin & Aliyeva, 2015; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Osei-Kofi, 2014; Saunders, 2014; Sullivan & Simon, 2014; Ylijoki, 2005).

Neoliberal ideology, as a structure of thought and as an economic project, has promoted the establishment of a new economic configuration through the creation of national conditions for free market and global competition (Ball, 2003; Harvey, 2005; Lazzarato, 2009). Within this economic rationale and work ideology, neoliberalism proposes that human well-being and professional recognition can best be achieved by the strengthening of entrepreneurial and self-management skills (Cannizzo, 2015; Kolsaker, 2008; Levin, Martin, & López-Damián, forthcoming) as well as by the competitive capacities of individuals (Bronwyn & Bansel, 2010; Deem, 2005; Harvey, 2005; Lazzarato, 2009). Faculty members, from this work ideology, are considered as entrepreneurs and are evaluated and managed by their human capital, productivity, and by their capacities to both deal with precarious work conditions and adjust to unstable and blurred job security levels (Hamann, 2009; Henkel, 1997; Morales Vázquez & Levin, 2018; Winter & O'Donohue, 2012b).

This notion of faculty members as entrepreneurs has induced transformative effects in the academic profession that have created a shift in employment status from

long term to part-time positions (Finkelstein et al., 2016; Rhoades, 1998) and a conflict in temporal perspectives, such as overtime work and the intensification in academic workloads (Gornall & Salisbury, 2012; Henkel, 1997; Menzies & Newson, 2008; Sullivan & Simon, 2014). Arguably, these effects have altered the academic identities and professional behaviors of faculty (Beck & Young, 2005; Billot, 2010; Chandler, Barry, & Clark, 2002; Clegg, 2008; Finkelstein et al., 2016; Gonzales, Martinez, & Ordu, 2014; Halvorsen & Nyhagen, 2011; Harley, 2002; Henkel, 2000; Levin et al., forthcoming; Martin, 2018; Winter & O'Donohue, 2012a). Thus, these transformative effects reflect a symbolic, subjective, and behavioral restructuring of the academic profession and academic work in the neoliberal era.

The Restructuration of Academic Work and Academic Identity in the Neoliberal Era

In the neoliberal university, governments have created conditions that ensure a free market and cuts in expenditures for public goods (Berg, Huijbens, & Larsen, 2016; Davies, 2005; Hamann, 2009; Torres & Schugurensky, 2002). Guided by this economic rationale, the government justifies budget cuts to funding public higher education to deal with periods of fiscal austerity (Henkel, 2011; Maistry, 2015; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Torres & Schugurensky, 2002). Henkel (2000, 2005) explained that the restructuring of the academic work is a result of fiscal constraints, an increase in competition, and changes in the control, management, and regulation of the academic profession. In the case of PRUs, where research is considered the primary institutional mission (and primary role for faculty), constant budget cuts have created market-driven, hostile, and

precarious work conditions that have altered the work conditions and values of academics (Berg et al., 2016; Chandler et al., 2002; Davies & Petersen, 2005; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). Gappa, Austin, and Trice (2007) explained that within market-driven work environments, there is a potential loss of the sense of collegiality or academic community. This lack of collegiality may lead to lower levels of job satisfaction and cultural taxation (Padilla, 1994) among faculty members from underrepresented minority groups.

As a result of fiscal constraints, Slaughter and Leslie (1997) argued that the decline of block grants was the major factor that explained the decrease of state support for research. One challenge that faculty members experienced in this environment is that although research is the most rewarded activity—in the context of tenure and promotion—the funding for research is limited and has decreased over time (Gappa et al., 2007; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). Gonzalez, Martinez, and Ordu (2014) described these work environments as striving universities characterized by their multiple and competitive expectations, their focus on efficiency in faculty performance, and by the heavy administrative roles for faculty. In this environment, universities and faculty members are market participants who compete constantly (Gonzales et al., 2014).

In addition, faculty members follow a neoliberal logic by their "constant work, individual self-sacrifice, [and] a constant disciplining of self" (Gonzales et al., 2014, p.1107). As a strategy to respond, and survive, in an environment characterized by constant decreases in funding for research and as well as changes in academic work expectations. Within this environment, faculty members have added entrepreneurial-

market driven values, skills, and behaviors, known as academic capitalism (Archer, 2008a; Deem, 2005; Gonzales et al., 2014; Martin, 2018; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997), into the basic trinity of academic work: research, teaching, and service.

In order to describe current changes in the academic work in relation to previous work conditions, higher education scholars use as a point of reference the socio-economic conditions of public higher education before the establishment of neoliberal ideology during the presidency of Ronald Reagan in the U. S. In particular, the period known as the Golden Age, from 1945-1970, is offered as a comparison (Archer, 2008b). During this time period, the main activities of the academic profession included research, teaching, and service. Some distinctive characteristics of this era were faculty governance, long-term appointments, and the federal government support, known as block grants, for research conducted in PRUs (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997).

As a consequence of the presence of a neoliberal ideology in the U. S., federal and state funding for public higher education has declined significantly (Saunders, 2014; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). Thus, funding allocation cuts altered the traditional values and behaviors of the academic profession in PRUs. In the current context, PRUs expect that faculty members, seen as entrepreneurial subjects, are capable of finding external funding in order to finance their research projects (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Sullivan & Simon, 2014; Torres & Schugurensky, 2002). Commodification and marketization of public higher education have become additional expectations and conditional roles in the academic work, and they are touted as the results of significant changes in the work

ideology and institutional missions of PRUs (Layton, 2014; Lorenz, 2012; Maistry, 2015; Marginson & Considine, 2000; Saunders, 2014; Winter & O'Donohue, 2012b).

U. S. academic work, from a neoliberal perspective, is performed, promoted, and evaluated under constant auditing, surveillance, and assessment of outcomes and productivity (Davies & Basel, 2010; Gonzales et al., 2014; Levin & Aliyeva, 2015; Lyon, 2001; Martin, 2018), what Ball (2003) has described as "performativity." In this context, the meanings associated with "being" a faculty member (and what constitutes the academic profession) in the neoliberal era respond to the ideal of faculty members as productive—quantifiable—resource generators that are valuated and evaluated by their performance indicators (Davies & Bansel, 2010; Gonzales et al., 2014; Sullivan & Simon, 2014).

Workplace environments, such as the institutional mission and institutional culture, shape the values, meanings, and behaviors of the academic profession (Becher & Trowler, 2001; Canaan & Shumar, 2008b; Finkelstein et al., 2016; Gappa et al., 2007; Gonzales et al., 2014; Henkel, 2000; Knights & Clarke, 2014; Layton, 2014; Martin, 2018; Smith & Calasanti, 2005; Sullivan & Simon, 2014). Scholars have given the name of neoliberal or corporate university to those universities characterized by their business-like values, goals, and behaviors (Ball, 2003, 2012; Davies & Petersen, 2005; Deem, 2005; Henkel, 1997, 2005; Levin & Aliyeva, 2015; Lorenz, 2012; Strathern, 2000; Sullivan & Simon, 2014).

In the case of the U. K.'s workplace conditions, Archer (2008b) argued that the audit culture has been significant in forming, and informing, new forms of values and

roles in academic work, particularly the values of authenticity and performativity. In addition, Davies and Petersen (2005) stated that managerial practices produce individuals with higher levels of productivity, competency, and flexibility that pursue objectives for the economic development of nations. In the U.S. context, Levin and Aliyeva (2015) argued that the presence of neoliberalism in the U.S. has infiltrated and altered the behaviors and academic identities of faculty at three California higher educational institutional types.

There are two main alterations in academic work due to the presence of neoliberal ideology. One is linked to increased responsibilities, such as the intensification of administrative roles and duties (Cannizzo, 2018; Lorenz, 2012), workloads (Gonzales et al., 2014), as well as the increase in productivity expectations and publication requirements as a response to both the accountability system and the audit culture (Alexander, 2000; Clarke, et al., 2013; Shore, 2008; Shore & Wright, 2000; Stahl, 2015; Strathern, 2000). The other alteration pertains to the intensification of entrepreneurial values and roles of university officials, including administrators and faculty, such as the intensification of writing grants in order to obtain external funding (Buckholdt & Miller, 2009; Clegg, 2008; Davies & Bansel, 2010; Harley, 2002; Henkel, 2005).

The intensification of academic work is a result of new managerial expectations, surveillance for academic work performance, and competition to obtain external funding (Davies & Petersen, 2005; Deem, 2005; Gonzales et al., 2014; Mastry, 2015; Osei-Kofi, 2014; Taylor, 2008). This intensification leads to added responsibilities for tenure track and tenured faculty members (Clegg, 2008; Davies & Bansel, 2010; Knights & Clarke,

2014). Furthermore, the intensification of academic work is a reflection of changes in workplace ideologies and in the reward system of academic work (Davies, 2005; Henkel, 2011). This intensification has implications for the ways in which the U. S. academic profession is imagined, performed, evaluated, and reproduced.

These alterations changed the work pace for academics (Menzies & Newson, 2008; Ylijoki & Mäntylä, 2003) and also they gave knowledge a new economic value (Canaan & Shumar, 2008a; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). In this environment, the economic value of knowledge requires entrepreneurial activities and skills from faculty members (Gonzales et al., 2014; Harley, 2002; Henkel, 2005; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Olssen & Peters, 2005), such as technology transfer activities (Etzkowitz, 2001), commercialization activities (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997), and the intensification of writing grants (Buckholdt & Miller, 2009; Clegg, 2008; Harley, 2002; Henkel, 2005). Thus, academic work is characterized by business-like practices (Menzies & Newson, 2008). These practices are more evident in applied academic disciplines, such as STEM fields (Henkel, 2000). Faculty from STEM fields tend to obtain more grants and external support than faculty from the social sciences or the humanities because of their relationship to the market (Bok, 2013; Harley, 2002; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). This means that faculty members from the social sciences or humanities can experience major challenges and difficulties in responding to external pressures linked to the precariousness of the neoliberal university (Lorenz, 2012).

This condition of change in the funding of research modifies the workplace for faculty members at PRUs through instability and uncertainties about the academic

profession (Davies, 2005; Gonzales et al., 2014), new professional expectations (Henkel, 2010; Levin & Aliyeva, 2015), intensive competitiveness (Davies & Bansel, 2010; Gonzales et al., 2014; Henkel, 2005; Lorenz, 2012), and ambiguity in the roles that faculty members have to play (Gonzales et al., 2014; Knights & Clarke, 2014). Consequently, these roles for faculty and expectations for academic work alter their subjectivity, particularly their academic identities that influence the ways in which faculty perceive themselves as professionals and as members of the academic profession (Henkel, 2000; Knights & Clarke, 2014).

The study of academic identities. In the last two decades, there has been an increase in higher education scholars' interest, internationally, in the study of the subjectivity of faculty members, particularly the academic identity (Archer, 2008a; Billot, 2010; Clarke et al., 2013; Clegg, 2008; Finkelstein et al., 2016; Harley, 2002; Harris, 2005; Henkel, 2000, 2005; Knights & Clarke, 2014; Levin & Montero-Hernandez, 2014; Whitchurch, 2008; Winter, 2009; Winter & O'Donohue, 2012a). The academic identity has been conceptualized mainly as a work-role identity and has been described as the self-conceptions that faculty members have about themselves as workers in a determinate work environment (Billot, 2010; Clegg, 2008; Henkel, 2000; Winter, 2009; Winter & O'Donohue, 2012b). This identity facilitates faculty members' pursuit of personal interests and institutional missions (Clarke et al., 2013; Gappa et al., 2007; Knights & Clarke, 2014; Levin & Montero-Hernandez, 2014).

In the particular case of faculty members at PRUs, the academic identity is developed/reinforced substantially during graduate school through social interactions

with peers, professors, and advisors (Austin, 2002; Baker & Lattuca, 2010; Tierney & Rhoads, 1994; Weidman, Twale, & Stein, 2001). It is during graduate school, that faculty members acquire a system of shared meaning—such as the values, norms, and roles—of the academic profession (Clarke et al., 2013; Henkel, 2005; Gardner, 2008; Tierney & Rhoads, 1994; Weidman et al., 2001). In addition, structural characteristics, such as the academic discipline, institutional culture, sociopolitical contexts, as well as personal characteristics of faculty members, such as gender and race, will influence the meanings faculty members rely on to describe their academic identities (Becher & Trowler, 2001; Harris, 2005; Henkel, 2000).

The exploration of academic identities is characterized by two approaches. One approach, the knowledge economy, describes academic identities as linked to economic work rationales and globalized work environments (Levin & Aliyeva, 2015; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). The other, the stratified approach, focuses on the stratified characteristics of the academic profession, such as the result of institutional conditions or by the socio-demographic characteristics of faculty (Finkelstein et al., 2016) to explain academic identities. The knowledge economy approach suggests that the academic identity is characterized by new professional practices that are aligned with the economic environment and the globalization process (Cantwell & Kauppinen, 2014; Levin & Aliyeva, 2015; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997), whereas the stratified approach argues that the academic identity is a result of the institutional conditions of PRUs and the socio-demographic characteristics of faculty (Finkelstein et al., 2016; Gappa et al., 2007; Neumann, 2009).

Although these two approaches exist, scholars tend to characterize and study academic identity through a stratified approach (Finkelstein et al., 2016; Gappa et al., 2007; Neumann, 2009). In this approach, the categorization of academic identity is divided into two main streams: the institutional conditions of faculty work (Gappa et al., 2007; Neumann, 2009) and the demographic characteristics of faculty (Finkelstein et al., 2016). The institutional conditions' stream includes: the institutional type, such as community colleges, comprehensive universities, or research universities (Finkelstein et al., 2016); the institutional employment agreement, that is, tenure track (Neumann, 2009) or non-tenure track (Finkelstein et al., 2016); the part-time or full-time employment status of faculty members (Finkelstein et al., 2016); academic discipline (Becher & Trowler, 2001; Clark, 1987a); and employment rank, such as an assistant professor, associate professor, full professor, instructor, or adjunct faculty (Finkelstein et al., 2016). The demographic stream characterizes the diversity of an institution's faculty by gender, race, and ethnicity (Smith & Calasanti, 2005).

Through the use of the fragmented approach, scholars endeavor to take the diversity of faculty members into account, but they reinforce the use of homogeneous categories and ignore how demographic characteristics are intertwined across categories in the construction of academic identity; that is, gender and race-ethnicity both may influence and inform the meanings of academic identity (Clarke et al., 2013; Fryberg & Martínez, 2014; Leahey, 2006).

Based on the scholarly literature on the knowledge economy, academic identity has been simplified and homogenized by institutional type (Clark, 1987b), institutional

agreement, academic fields, academic work type, and socio-demographic characteristics of faculty (Gappa et al., 2007; Levin & Aliyeva, 2015; Neumann, 2009; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Finkelstein et al., 2016). Empirical work in the U. S. continues to emphasize that the academic discipline and the institutional context are central and primary influences on the characteristics of faculty members' academic identities (Finkelstein et al., 2016; Gappa et al., 2007). The danger of the exploration of the academic identity from homogenous understandings is that higher education scholars may not recognize that the multiple frames of reference, meanings, and symbols that faculty members rely on to describe their academic identities are constructed—and molded—by their unique and personal experiences and professional aspirations.

The limitation of using these homogenized understandings about the academic identity is that these concepts do not explain the complexity within academic identities, such as what faculty think and feel about alterations in their work environment or the ways in which alterations in the academic identity influence the emotions of faculty members. Thus, neither approach, the environmental approach or the stratified approach, explains the development and/or change of academic identities; how changes in the academic work environment affect academic identities; how these changes in workplace environments may influence or increase negative emotions in the academic profession (Clarke et al., 2013; Knights & Clarke, 2014); or, how historically excluded populations, such as women and minorities, perceive themselves as members of the academy in the neoliberal university.

As a counterpart of homogenized understandings about academic identity, European and Australian scholars, in particular, and a few U. S. scholars, have used alternate approaches to examine the subjectivity of university faculty members, such as critical inquiry theories (Clarke et al., 2013; Clegg, 2008; Maher & Tetreault, 2011), feminist theories (Reinert, 2016); autoethnographic approaches (Ball, 2003; Bochner, 1997; Jago, 2002; Lyle, 2009); and qualitative inquiry methodologies (Davies, 2005; Davies & Petersen, 2005; Knights & Clarke, 2014; Levin & Aliyeva, 2015; Levin & Montero-Hernandez, 2014). Through these alternate approaches, scholars have pointed out the negative consequences of neoliberal ideology and its effects on the subjectivity of faculty members (Ball, 2003, 2015; Beck & Young, 2005; Layton, 2014; Lorenz, 2012; Morales Vázquez & Levin, 2018; Walkerdine & Bansel, 2010).

The negative consequences of a neoliberal ideology are a result of neoliberal mechanisms established in PRUs, such as managerialism, accountability, and audit cultures (Archer, 2008; Davies, 2005; Davies & Bansel, 2010; Deem, 2005; Gonzales, Martinez, & Ordu, 2014; Shore, 2008; Stahl, 2015; Sullivan & Simon, 2014). These neoliberal mechanisms have infiltrated and damaged the subjectivity and emotional wellness of faculty members (Chandler et al., 2002; Davies, 2005; Knights & Clarke, 2014; Lorenz, 2012; Morales Vázquez & Levin, 2018). This damage in the subjectivity of faculty members is a result of the: current value of knowledge (Torres & Schugurensky, 2002); perceptions of the research process, from knowledge creation to knowledge production (Maistry, 2015); decision-making pace (Kolsaker, 2008; Leahey & Montgomery, 2011), as a consequence of changes in modes of governance and

regulation, from traditional governance to managerial governance; and control and surveillance of the academic profession (Deem, 2005; Gonzales et al., 2014; Lorenz, 2012; Maistry, 2015).

Changes in the subjectivity of faculty members affect the personal intentions and professional motivations that are required to achieve the ideal of an entrepreneurial worker, such as flexibility to work in intense, extensive, and heavier workloads (Berg et al., 2016; Gill, 2009; Gornall & Salisbury, 2012; Sullivan & Simon, 2014), without improvements to quality of life and without increases salaries or benefits. Walkerdine and Bansel (2010) proposed that neoliberalism affects the psychology and subjectivity of individuals mainly because, within this context, institutions and government entities expect that individuals must create the conditions for personal achievement and well-being. From this perspective, if an individual does not meet the expectations of their work environment, it is because of their lack of effort, passion, or motivation, not because of their competitive work environments (Walkerdine & Bansel, 2010). Moreover, Layton (2014) argued that neoliberalism has negative psychic effects on individuals' subjectivity, such as increases of perversion and narcissism.

Implications for a comprehensive exploration of the academic profession and academic work. Faculty members face significant changes in the ways they perceive, internalize, and perform the academic profession (Finkelstein et al., 2016; Henkel, 2005; Knights & Clarke, 2014; Lorenz, 2012; Lyle, 2009; Ylijoki, 2005). Some scholars stated that the adaptation to new workplace and professional values and roles of the academic profession represents a conflict for faculty members because of the contrast between two

workplace ideologies (Archer, 2008a; Harley, 2002; Henkel, 2000, 2005, 2011; Winter & O'Donohue, 2012b): the traditional workplace ideology and the new neoliberal workplace ideology (Deem, 2005; Knights & Clarke, 2014; Rhoades, 1998; Winter, 2009). Both ideologies promote particular symbols, values, attitudes, and behaviors attached to the academic profession and academic work.

The traditional workplace ideology of the academic profession has been attributed to the Golden Age discourse (Archer, 2008a) that emphasizes research and knowledge creation as a slower process that requires time and that was not driven by external agencies (Archer, 2008a; Gonzales et al., 2014). In contrast, the neoliberal workplace ideology is characterized by market-oriented values (Archer, 2008a; Deem, 2005; Gonzales et al., 2014; Harley, 2002; Henkel, 2005; Knights & Clarke, 2014; Rhoades, 1998; Winter & O'Donohue, 2012b) and high paced knowledge production (Menzies & Newson, 2008; Ylijoki & Mäntylä, 2003). Harley (2002) argued that the conflict between these two workplace ideologies contributed to the demoralization of faculty members as a consequence of the symbolic violence that the neoliberal ideology implies for the academic profession. Menzies and Newson (2008) described that an academic's life exists in an increased state of stress. The pervasiveness of stress in academic work is a result of instrumental rationality, time compression, and contradictions about the purposes of academic work (Blix, Cruise, Mitchell, & Blix, 1994; Menzies & Newson, 2008). Within this workplace environment, faculty members experience temporal alienation (Menzies & Newson, 2008), which is reflected in a "loss of situated presence in time" (Purser, 2002, p. 163). This temporal alienation causes superficial

communication between and among faculty members and this leads to anxiety, depression, and/or isolation in the academic profession (Menzies & Newson, 2008).

In the exploration of the ways in which alterations in the academic profession influence changes in the subjectivity of faculty members, such as their academic identities and emotions, higher education scholars have failed to consider that the academic profession and academic work are indivisible from the personal lives of faculty members (Bukor, 2015). Thus, the exploration of the relationship between the personal and the professional life should be considered from a comprehensive and holistic viewpoint. From this perspective, faculty members have to be recognized as humans, as unique and complex professionals who are shaped by their symbolic world as the result of their personal lives, experiences, and motivations. In this present research, the academic profession is considered as a symbolic entity that is internalized and interpreted by individual faculty depending on their individual meanings, frames of reference, needs, and motivations they have in relation their life cycle and professional development expectations.

The Academic Profession from a Lifespan Perspective

The academic profession has been studied largely from a sociological perspective (Henkel, 2000; Clark, 1987a), and has been described as a post-secondary education—and multipurpose—profession that has the main goals to educate and to prepare the workforce of a nation (Finkelstein et al., 2016). The significance of the academic profession has relied on the role that faculty members play in the education and training of future professionals, workers, and citizens. The academic profession does vary,

however, in relation to the historical and sociopolitical context, and to the missions, the values, and behaviors of higher education institutions (Levin et al., forthcoming).

One of the main requirements for entrance into the academic profession at PRUs is possession of a Ph.D. degree (Gardner, 2008). Therefore, the professionalization of the academic profession is internalized and legitimated during graduate school (Sverdlik & Hall, 2019; Tierney & Rhoads, 1994; Weidman et al., 2001), particularly because of the professional socialization process of graduate students, by their faculty, colleagues, and peers. This professional socialization process leads to a specialization in an academic discipline (Becher & Trowler, 2001) because graduate students are considered as prospective faculty members. Thus, through the professional socialization process, graduate students learn the norms, values, and practices of the academic profession (Austin, 2002; Gappa et al., 2007).

The professional socialization process influences the differing academic identities acquired by each graduate student (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994). Diversity within academic identities is a result of particular characteristics, such as personal history, gender, race, and ethnicity of graduate students (Clarke et al., 2013; Fryberg & Martínez, 2014), as well as by their possible selves (Ibarra, 1999; Knight & Trowler, 1991). In addition, the organizational culture in which graduate students are professionally socialized influences the academic identity because of the organization's established mission, norms, values, behaviors, and standards of productivity (Becher & Trowler, 2001; Clark, 1987a; Beck & Young, 2005; Finkelstein et al., 2016; Gappa et al., 2007; Knight & Trowler, 1991).

The professional socialization process is an iterative and continual process (Neumann, 2009; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996) that, for the purposes of this investigation, is fundamental to inform the development, establishment, and/or change of academic identities across the academic professional life cycle. The socialization process reaches one of its high points during graduate school (Austin, 2002), known as anticipatory socialization (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996) and as disciplinary socialization (Becher & Trowler, 2001), and after the achievement of a new career stage, usually after tenure (Neumann, 2009), known as institutional socialization (Knight & Trowler, 1991; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996). The relevance of the socialization process in graduate school relies on the proximity of the academic discipline and the professional context where graduate students develop their research capacity (Austin, 2002). This proximity allows graduate students to learn and to internalize the language and the values of the profession; to mold their academic behaviors to professional behaviors; to pursue the norms of the academic profession; and, to respond to the institutional expectations of the academic profession (Archer, 2008a; Tierney & Rhoads, 1994; Weidman et al., 2001). Doctoral program experience has been divided into three consecutive phases: coursework, qualifying exams, and the dissertation (Sverdlik & Hall, 2019).

Higher education scholars have recognized important distinctions or fluctuations in the perspectives, values, and behaviors of faculty and their work by the chronological age and career stages of faculty (Baldwin & Blackburn, 1981; Becher & Trowler, 2001; Bloch, 2012; Finkelstein et al., 2016; Neumann, 2009). Some of these distinctions or fluctuations influence faculty attitudes (Ball, 2003; Sullivan & Simon, 2014), the

professional preferences and values of faculty members (Billot, 2010; Winter, & O'Donohue, 2012a), their sense of scholarly productivity (Chadler et al., 2002; Lyle, 2009), and their expectations about the academic profession (Archer, 2008a; Harris, 2005; Lorenz, 2012).

Several scholars have divided academic life by the ranks in the academic profession, such as assistant professor, associate professor, and full professor (Finkelstein et al., 2016), and by the achievement of tenure (Neumann, 2009). Conceptualizations and explanations of academic life have been based upon the number of years in which faculty members have worked in post-secondary institutions (Baldwin et al., 2005). In both cases, higher education scholars have recognized that the academic profession change by roles, activities, productivity, workloads, and job satisfaction of faculty members, depending on their career stages (Acker et al., 2016; Baldwin et al., 2005).

Baldwin and Blackburn (1981) proposed one of the first and most significant approaches to study the academic career as a developmental process. This model conceptualizes the academic career as a developmental process composed of five career stages based on the rank of faculty: Assistant professors (first three years of full-time college teaching), assistant professors (more than three years of full-time college teaching experience), associate professors, full professors (with more than five years from retirement), and full professors within five years of formal retirement. The relevance of this model relies on the recognition of significant differences among faculty members attributed to the different stages of their academic careers. This model is based on developmental psychology and career development approaches (Erikson, 1997).

Both development psychology and career development approaches proposed that adulthood is characterized by periods of stability and change in the interests and experiences that individuals have about their professions (Baldwin & Blackburn, 1981; Erikson, 1997). On the one hand, developmental psychology theories (Erikson, 1997) recognize periods of crisis can influence alterations in the values, perspectives, and motivations that individuals have in their life. On the other hand, career development theories support the idea that the adult years are a dynamic rather than a static phase of life (Baldwin et al., 2005). From this perspective, the professional career is seen in this investigation, as a result of a continual, dynamic, and evolutionary process that cannot be understood without the recognition of the psychosocial development's needs and stages of individuals.

Based on the assumption that academic career development is a continual process, the five stages of the model proposed by Baldwin and Blackburn (1981) were shortened to three stages (Baldwin et al., 2005): early career, mid-career, and late career. Although these models were the first explicit empirical work that illustrated the academic profession as a continuum, they proposed linear models of academic career development. By taking a linear model perspective, the scholars do not explain the dynamism within the academic profession. A linear perspective denies the fluctuations, challenges, and integration of the meanings, values, and behaviors of the academic profession that are aligned to the specific needs of the adulthood stage faculty members occupy.

Aligned with a holistic understanding of the socialization processes and the internalization of values and behaviors within the academic profession, this research

highlights the significance of the ways in which the stages of academic career development interweave with the psychosocial development of faculty members as humans (Gardner, 2008; Kroger, 2018). This integral perspective is proposed in this investigation as the Academic Professional Life Cycle (Figure 1). The years of each stage are a result of empirical estimations proposed by higher education scholars (Baldwin & Blackburn, 1981; Baldwin et al., 2005; Finkelstein et al., 2016; Neumann, 2009; Tien & Blackburn, 1996). This cycle is composed of the three stages proposed by Baldwin, Lunceford, and Vanderlinden (2005). The main difference is that each academic stage is not only determined merely by the rank of faculty members but is linked to both the psychosocial development stage of the individuals (Erikson, 1997; Kroger, 2018) and to the roles, values, and expectations related to each stage of the academic profession.

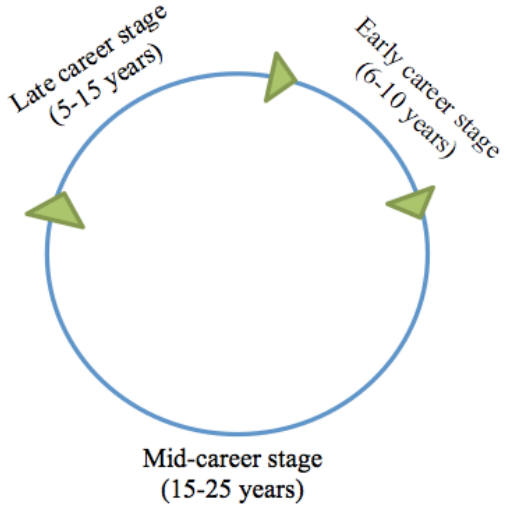

Figure 1. The academic professional life cycle

Thus, this research considers faculty members not simply as part of a production line of professionals in the neoliberal university but as human, emotional, beings with psychosocial needs during adulthood (Kroger, 2018). By focusing on the academic

profession as a lifelong profession, this investigation attempts to integrate the personal and the professional selves that intertwine and give meaning to the academic profession. Erikson (1997) proposed that adulthood is divided into three stages—young adulthood, adulthood, and old age. Each stage represents a particular set of needs, purposes, and crises that individuals might experience and that will inform their identities.

Most of the research on faculty career stages focuses on faculty at mid-career stages (Baldwin et al., 2005; Neumann, 2009). Baldwin et al., (2005) suggested that faculty spend most of their professional lives in the mid-career stage, this can vary by academic discipline. It is at the mid-career stage where faculty legitimize themselves as experts (Neumann, 2009). Neumann (2009) recognized that after faculty obtain tenure, they enter a period of constant learning cycles and transitions. During the mid-career stage, the productivity of faculty reaches is at its highest point (Neumann, 2009). The main roles at this stage include research, external funding, and service (Baldwin et al., 2005). Because of the multiple demands that they have, both personal and professional, faculty at this stage feel increased pressures in their workplace (Baldwin et al., 2005). Finally, the late career stage includes the final years that precede retirement. The main roles during this stage include service and teaching (Baldwin et al., 2005).

The exploration and the recognition of the subjectivity of faculty members represents an opportunity to investigate the ways in which faculty members professionally create, change, or alter their perspectives about themselves in relation to both their career stage and their work environment. Thus, this investigation proposes that the academic professional life cycle is a result of the sum of the symbolic worlds that

faculty members rely on to give meaning to and perform the academic profession, as well as the structural characteristics of the context where faculty members are situated. In addition, the academic professional life cycle is associated with the life stage in which faculty members are.

Neoliberal Subjectivity and the Academic Profession

In the case of PRUs, neoliberal ideology is embedded in economic and political changes (Torres & Schugurensky, 2002). These changes include constant and serious budget cuts as well as modifications in the political environment of higher education (Finkelstein et al., 2016; Gappa et al., 2007; Gonzales et al., 2014; Henkel, 2000; Lorenz, 2012). These changes are characterized by reforms that have encouraged and established neoliberal mechanisms (or technologies), such as accountability (Alexander, 2000; Chandler et al., 2002; Henkel, 1997; Lorenz, 2012; Maistry, 2015; Shore, 2008), audit cultures (Deem, 2005; Strathern, 2000; Sullivan & Simon, 2014), and managerialism (Chandler et al., 2002; Davies & Bansel, 2010; Deem, 2005; Kolsaker, 2008) in higher education institutions.

Neoliberal mechanisms have influenced the use of business and corporative models in higher education institutions (Davies & Petersen, 2005; Deem, 2005; Gonzales et al., 2014; Knights & Clarke, 2014; Lorenz, 2012; Rhoades, 1998). These models prioritize and impose certain types of neoliberal, marked oriented, subjectivities and behaviors in the academic profession (Davies & Bansel, 201; Kolsaker, 2008). In addition, these models normalize audit and performative cultures in the pursuit of institutional effectiveness and institutional prestige (Lorenz, 2012; Maistry, 2015; Torres

& Schugurensky, 2002). Within this context, neoliberal technologies impose a particular type of subjectivity in academic professionals (Kolsaker, 2008). This type of subjectivity promotes the achievement of organizational goals over personal and professional motivations (Scharff, 2015).

As a result of the presence of neoliberal ideology in PRUs, the strengthening of audit cultures, accountability, performativity, and managerial practices in higher education institutions has contributed to the lack of recognition of the human side in the academic profession (Archer, 2008a; Deem, 2005; Henkel, 2005; Maistry, 2015). Thus, there is constant omission or denial in scholarly research of the role that the personal history of faculty members plays in the construction of their professional subjectivities. Consequently, there is a skewed understanding in the scholarly literature of the academic profession. This shortcoming and narrow perspective is also noted by scholars in practice, particularly in the evaluation of academic work and in promotion and tenure decisions. Therefore, within this predatory, precarious, and performative work environment, faculty members are depersonalized and robbed of their personal lives and circumstances (Bochner, 1997; Wilshire, 1990).

At PRUs, faculty members are viewed as combative entities, engaged in competition (Gu & Levin, 2016). In scholarship on the academic profession, the partial perspective of the subjectivity of faculty members increases their depersonalization through the reinforcement of metric systems that view faculty members as economic and quantifiable entities (Gonzales et al., 2014; Ylijoki, 2005). The scholarship that reinforces this view of faculty as economic entities, however, has overemphasized the roles that

academic disciplines, academic appointments, and institutional contexts play in the construction of academic identities (Henkel, 2000). Faculty members are not seen as complex individuals, but rather as fragmented and partial entities that can be measured, evaluated, and/or sanctioned by their productivity and entrepreneurial skills (Gill, 2009; Lorenz, 2012; Olssen & Peters, 2005).

The presence of neoliberal values, such as competition, new managerialism, and performativity, has defined academic professionals, specifically faculty members, as entrepreneurial subjects (Archer, 2008; Berg et al., 2016; Morales Vázquez & Levin, 2018; Scharff, 2015). Entrepreneurial subjects are characterized by market-oriented meanings, including associated values, motivations, and behaviors (Layton, 2014; Scharff, 2015). Within these working environments, neoliberal subjectivity is reflected in the pursuit of competition, the maximization of human capital, and the acceptance of—and adjustment to—precarious working conditions in the academic profession (Berg et al., 2016; Cannizzo, 2015; Layton, 2014; Lazzarato, 2009; Lorenz, 2012; Scharff, 2015; Saunders, 2014), as well as market-driven logics and behaviors. As noted by Scharff (2015), neoliberal subjectivity is reflected in the internalization of neoliberal discourses that individuals use to describe themselves as professionals as well as the ones used to give meanings to their work conditions.

Neoliberal discourses include perceptions about time, particularly in regards to perceived lack of time and/or productive uses of time (Hey, 2010; Ylijoki & Mäntylä, 2003); emphasis upon productivity; themes of survival (Cannizzo, 2018; Gornall & Salisbury, 2012); and, in some cases, the promotion of the super-capable and hyper-

professional academic (Gornall & Salisbury, 2012). From these notions of faculty members, as hyper-competitive entities, psychological and emotional injuries are covered up out of fear of rejection by managers and/or by peers (Archer, 2008; Ball, 2003, 2015; Berg et al., 2016; Chandler et al., 2002; Davies & Bansel, 2010; Gill, 2009; Gornall & Salisbury, 2012; Knights & Clarke, 2014; Layton, 2014; Lorenz, 2012; Maistry, 2015; Scharff, 2015; Sullivan & Simon, 2014).

This fear over the expression of their own symbolic and emotional injuries is a result of the increase of competition and the perceived impossibility to achieve the outcomes expected as neoliberal subjects (Ball, 2003; Gill, 2009; Maistry, 2015; Scharff, 2015). This fear towards the individual's own weaknesses is a consequence of the potential that acknowledgment of injuries can render oneself ineligible to achieve the status of the ideal entrepreneurial subject (e.g. one who never complains, one who always adapts). From this inhuman neoliberal ideal, faculty members face symbolic and emotional injuries because "[the] construction of injuries reflects wider trends in neoliberalism where failure is individualized" (Scharff, 2015, p. 9). Within this environment, negative emotions such as stress, shame, and anxiety—results in silence, low self-esteem, and high levels of self-doubt—are covered up and become normalized in the academic work environment (Archer, 2008; Ball, 2003; Berg et al., 2016; Bochner, 1997; Chandler et al., 2002; Davies & Bansel, 2010; Gill, 2009; Knights & Clarke, 2014; Lorenz, 2012; Maistry, 2015; Sullivan & Simon, 2014; Ylijoki, 2005).

Lazaruz and Lazaruz (1994) described shame, anxiety, and guilt as existential emotions because "the threats on which they are based have to do with the meanings and

ideas about who we are, our place in the world, life and death, and the quality of our existence" (p. 41). Thus, social stigma and stigmatized identities, as a result of the symbolic violence of neoliberal ideology, are another potential consequence of individual failure to meet ideal neoliberal expectations.

Symbolic violence (Harley, 2002) and the lack of recognition of the human side of faculty members are articulated through the intensification and imposition of reward systems that highlight the competitiveness, productivity, and performativity in the academic profession (Deem, 2005; Maistry, 2015; Shore & Wright, 2000). Examples of these reward systems are performance-based evaluation and funding systems (Alexander, 2000; Ball, 2003; Cannizzo, 2018). Neoliberalism in this context has intensified the segregation, stratification, and alienation in the academic profession. Neoliberalism has altered the subjectivity of faculty members as a result of a double alienation in the academic profession: alienation from one's personal purposes and alienation from one's present emotions. These alienated selves are expressed in the propagation of ontological insecurity (Ball, 2003) and in the increase in negative emotions in the academic profession (Bloch, 2002; Knights & Clarke, 2014; Lorenz, 2012; Sullivan & Simon, 2014; Ylijoki, 2005).

Empirical work has demonstrated the existence of negative emotions in the academic profession, particularly stress (Blix et al., 1994; Buckholdt & Miller, 2009; Chandler et al., 2002; Davies & Petersen, 2005; Gmelch, Wilke, & Lovrich, 1986; Gill, 2009; Olsen, 1993; Thorsen, 1996), anxiety (Berg et al., 2016; Chandler et al., 2002; Stahl, 2015; Sullivan & Simon, 2014), a sense of powerlessness (Ball, 2003, Zambrana,

2018), depression (Ylijoki, 2005), loss of autonomy (Austin & Pilat, 1990; Buckholdt & Miller, 2009; Ylijoki, 2005), and feelings of uncertainty in relation to one's profession (Archer, 2008; Knights & Clarke, 2014). These negative emotions are seen as a consequence of the symbolic violence produced by neoliberal mechanisms in PRUs (Archer, 2008; Davies, 2005; Davies & Bansel, 2010; Gill, 2009; Harley, 2002; Layton, 2014; Lorenz, 2012; Sullivan & Simon, 2014).

European scholars (Buckholdt & Miller, 2009; Chandler et al., 2002; Knights & Clarke, 2014; Lorenz, 2012; Sullivan & Simon, 2014; Ylijoki, 2005) have explained the implications of negative emotions for the quality of life, mental health, emotional wellness, and job satisfaction of faculty. Knights and Clarke (2014) explored how the increase in accountability and managerialism in one research university in the U. K. resulted in a rise in insecure identities and negative emotions, such as stress and anxiety, experienced by faculty members. Buckholdt and Miller (2009) emphasized that the contemporary political and economic context of higher education institutions, characterized by constant budget cuts at the state and federal levels, have altered job satisfaction, a sense of belonging, and institutional expectations within the academic profession. Chandler, Barry, and Clark (2002) explained that the presence of new public management, a form of neoliberal mechanism, in UK universities has influenced the increase of stress and emotional struggles. Stress and fear, from their perspective, are seen as symbolic vehicles for the management and control of faculty members' subjectivity and emotions. "[T]here is no escape from the individual experience of stress" (Chandler et al., 2002, p. 1064) in the academic profession.

Although these conditions of symbolic violence and emotional abuse exist, the study of emotions in the academic profession in the U. S. is limited, mainly because of the constant focus on the organizational and structural aspects of the academic profession (Clark, 1987a; Finkelstein et al., 2016) that depersonalizes faculty. Gmelch, Wilke, and Lovrich (1986) and Austin and Pilat (1990) were pioneers U. S. higher education scholars who addressed the implications of the increased levels of stress in the academic profession. One of their conclusions was that stress has significant repercussions for faculty members' well-being, sense of belonging, and retention at a university.

As a result of non-theoretically defined—or vague—notions about the academic identity, scholars (Cannizo, 2015; Clarke et al., 2013) have recognized the importance to reconceptualize academic identity in a way that permits the exploration and explanation of the components and processes linked to the development and/or change of academic identities. Thus, an integrative conceptualization of the self is needed. This integrative understanding of the faculty members' subjectivity can explain the ways in which structural changes, such as the presence of audit cultures or managerial practices in PRUs, influences or alters the symbolic world of the academic profession, particularly faculty members' professional identities and emotions.

The Theoretical Construction of Academic Professional Identities (APIs)

The lack of empirical research that explains the ways in which changes in the social structure, such as the presence of neoliberal mechanisms, alter the subjectivity of faculty members is the main reason why this research relies on a micro-sociological approach. Structural symbolic interactionism (Stryker, 1980), proposes a dialectical

relationship between individuals and their social structures. This dialectic relationship influences the meanings that individuals have about themselves and about their social reality. From this approach, individuals are characterized by their capacities of reflexivity and symbolic interchange (Burke & Stets, 2009; Stryker, 1980). Thus, individuals construct the meanings about who they are, their identities, and meanings about their social realities. These meanings are based on social learning, social interactions, and symbolic interchanges across the different roles individuals play within their social structure (Burke, 2008; Burke & Stets, 2009; Stets & Serpe, 2013; Stryker, 1980).

Based on the structural symbolic interactionism approach, Burke and Stets (2009) developed identity theory. According to this theory, social learning, direct socialization, and reflected appraisals are the three mechanisms that influence the attribution of meanings that define identities. The notion of identity points to the self-conceptions and meanings that individuals have about who they are in relation to the different roles that individuals play within the social structure (Burke & Stets, 2009).

Identities form three bases: role, social, and person identities. Burke and Stets (2009) argue that "Role identities are based on the different social positions individuals hold; social identities are based on individuals' memberships in certain groups; person identities are based on a view of the person as a unique entity, distinct from other individuals" (p. 112). These different bases of identities have their own identity standards that guide the symbols attributed to certain behaviors of the individuals in specific situations and also are the points of reference of specific roles, such as being a mother or a worker. One of the most significant contributions of this theory is the recognition that

identities "have both cognitive as well as affective or and emotional process" (Burke & Stets, 2009, p. 61). Therefore, in order to study the development or change of any identities, researchers need to acknowledge and identify the cognitive processes as well as the social and emotional components of those identities (Burke & Stets, 2009).

Within this theoretical perspective, social learning, symbolic interaction, and reflexivity play a significant role in the internalization of symbols and norms attached to certain roles (Burke & Stets, 2009), such as the role of a professor. Meanings emerge and form the bases of identity standards, such as APIs. These symbols and norms are perceived as identity standards and are based on face-to-face interactions (Burke & Stets, 2009). The attribution of meanings to diverse roles is a result of the symbolic interchange, social interactions, and process of validation or non-validation (Burke & Stets, 2009). The meanings, symbols, expectations, and perceptions that faculty members have about the academic profession are linked to identity prominence and identity standards (or point of references about relational notions of how to behave and what to feel) aligned with institutional expectations and the context where the academic profession is performed.

Identity theory explains that individuals attempt to control their identities (meanings and perceptions about who they are) in order to match these with the meanings they perceive from others as to who they are, and these perceptions are reflected appraisals, based on Cooley's (1902) concept of the looking-glass self. Reflected appraisals are important subjective processes because "[t]he imagined appraisals of others serve as a mirror to us, shaping our self-evaluations and self-feelings" (Burke & Stets,

2009, p.122). When responses (or feedback) received from significant others match the identity standards held by individuals, there is identity verification (Burke & Stets, 2009). In contrast to identity verification, when there is an inconsistency between the meanings that individuals perceive about themselves, compared to how they think significant others see them, there is identity non-verification (Burke & Stets, 2009). Thus, this theory recognizes the emotional reactions linked to both the identity verification and identity non-verification processes (Burke & Stets, 2009). Identity verification in the academic profession might be expressed when one is promoted and/or gains tenure; identity non-verification may be expressed in the denial of promotion or tenure.

The non-verification process is problematical to the self; individuals will experience internal conflict between the meanings in their identity standard and the meanings they receive from significant others in the environment. In order to cope with the distress, individuals will try to modify their internal meanings or behaviors in order to match "self-in-situation" (Stets & Burke, 2003, p. 18) meanings. Individuals will try to modify their internal meanings or their behaviors in order to match the expected standards and behaviors of the particular role they are going to play. A modification in one's identity standard meanings represents identity change (Burke & Stets, 2009). This regulation of internal meanings about one's professional identity could influence a behavioral change, such as the addition of entrepreneurial activities, or the use of cognitive process, such the internalization of entrepreneurial values, in order to respond to the expectations from the environment. Therefore, alterations or changes in the social structure of the individuals, such as the presence of neoliberal ideology in PRUs, are seen

as situational changes that could influence identity conflicts. The addition of entrepreneurial activities and values, as a result of situational changes in the academic profession, might be perceived as a voluntary role or as obligatory role. The nature of the perceptions about these entrepreneurial roles, as voluntary or obligatory, depends on the personal meanings and professional motivations of faculty members and can trigger emotional reactions.

Humanizing the Academic Profession: Academic Professional Identities (APIs)

The present investigation views faculty members as reflexive-social-emotional humans situated within a particular social structure and context where they perform the academic profession. From this perspective, faculty members are characterized by how they perceive, internalize, modulate, and/or change their identities, emotions, and behaviors in response to the social structure in which they belong as professionals. The present conceptualization of APIs is inspired by Bothma, Lloyd, and Khapova' (2015) dimensions of work-based identity prototype model—known as identity standard from identity theory perspective. Bothma et al., (2015) proposed that the structural dimension, the social dimension, and the individual-psychological dimension characterize work-based identities. Work-based identities include career identities, occupational identities, and professional identities. Professional identities are characterized by the time and effort that individuals take to become experts in their fields. This is the rationale that justifies the conceptualization of faculty members' academic identities at PRUs as a professional identity rather than as an occupational or work identity.

Based on Burke and Stets' (2009), the three mechanisms that inform the attribution of meanings that define APIs are social learning, direct socialization, and reflected appraisals. Thus, APIs are amalgams of meanings (identity standards) that are grounded on the sum of social, symbolic, and emotional exchanges across three dimensions: individual-psychological dimension, role dimension, and group dimension (Figure 2). To some extent, APIs integrate the three bases of identity proposed by Burke and Stets (2009): person, role, and group identities (Burke & Stets, 2009). Each of these bases of identity provides diverse meanings to individuals. The existence of multiple meanings that are prominent and salient to an individual influence her or his outcomes in the social structure (Burke & Stets, 2009), such as behaviors or emotional reactions towards the academic profession. For this reason, APIs' conceptualization attempts to recognize the complexity of the symbolic world that faculty members rely on as humans to give meaning and to perform the academic profession (Morales Vázquez, 2018).

The individual-psychological dimension of APIs is composed of the personal life, personal history, and personal experiences, conveyed through the autobiography as well as by the psychosocial development stages of faculty members, and includes symbols, reflections, and meanings related to social categories of gender, ethnic and cultural background. The role dimension of APIs is composed of faculty members' academic and professional backgrounds, as well as past, present, and future imagined professional positions and roles. All these components allow faculty members to learn the symbols, meanings, values, norms, expectations, and behaviors of the academic profession.

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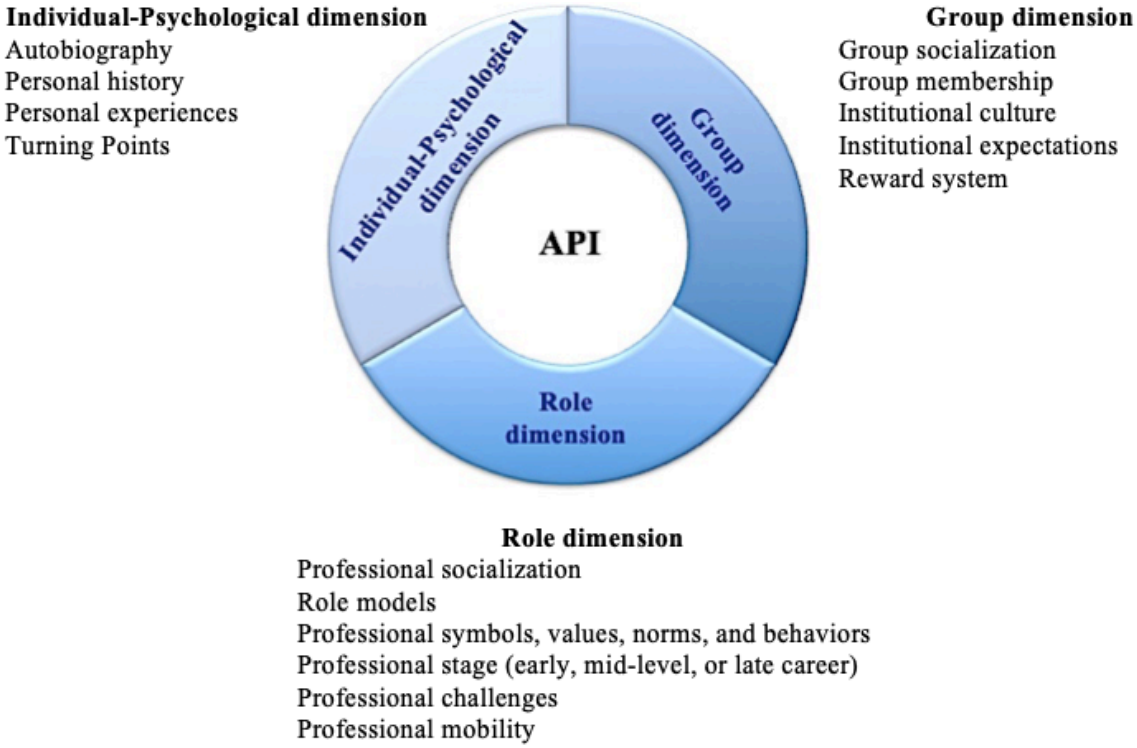

Figure 2. Dimensions of meanings of academic professional identities (APIs)

The role identity dimension of APIs includes meanings learned from professional socialization processes, professional role models, professional lived experiences, professional stages, professional challenges, and professional mobility. Finally, the group

dimension of APIs is constituted out of institutional membership in PRUs. This group membership includes institutional history, institutional culture, institutional norms, institutional missions, as well as the institution's governance type and reward system. All these components influence the multiple meanings, identity standards, and emotions that characterize the academic profession.

In order to explore the multiple meanings and symbols of the academic profession, this investigation highlights the sources of meanings from which faculty members make sense of who they are as professionals. The constant challenges that faculty members experience in their workplace, viewed according to identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009) as situational changes, such as the pressure to publish or increases in accountability, could influence and alter their APIs and how they construct narratives (Archer, 2008a, 2008b; Knights & Clarke, 2014; Gonzales et al., 2014; Harley, 2002; Levin & Aliyeva, 2015; Winter, 2009; Winter & O'Donohue, 2012a). For the purpose of this investigation, identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009) facilitates the exploration of identities and emotions in the academic profession.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

One way to explore the lived experiences and narratives constructed by faculty members is through the use of qualitative research (Levin & Aliyeva, 2015; Levin & Montero-Hernandez, 2014). Qualitative research is a set of theoretical-interpretative orientations, ongoing processes, methodologies, and methods that facilitate the study of social events or phenomena based on the lived experiences and meanings that individuals use to interpret or define their experiences and conditions (Bloomber & Volpe, 2016; Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Eisner, 2003; England, 1994; Kim, 2016; Marshall & Rossman, 2016; Maxwell, 2013; Patton, 2002; Webster & Mertova, 2007). Based on this understanding, this investigation relies on qualitative inquiry—as a mode of thinking that guides the methodology, methods, and data analysis—to respond to the research questions:

1. What are the narratives that full-time tenured and tenure track faculty members construct about the academic profession in one public research university (PRU) in California?
2. What individual-psychological, role, or group meanings do faculty members rely upon to describe their academic professional identities (APIs) in each stage of the academic professional life cycle?
3. In what ways do faculty members rationalize and understand neoliberal values of competition, performativity, and productivity as affecting their experiences, professional identities, and emotions in the academic profession?

Typically, qualitative research is described as naturalistic because researchers are situated in the natural setting where the phenomenon or event of study is located (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Patton, 2002). Thus, qualitative researchers collect their data in the natural field where participants interact; they highlight the role that the contexts play in the way participants construct their frames of references, experiences, and meanings (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Marshall & Rossman, 2016; Patton, 2002). In qualitative research, the collection of data is based on the researcher's interactions with participants and their knowledge of the participant's context (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Marshall & Rossman, 2016). This process is known as fieldwork and is the normative way in which qualitative researchers collect data (Kim, 2016). Through fieldwork, researchers collect data about both the context and the lived experiences of participants, including the meanings, interpretations, frames of reference, and experiences that individuals have about their particular environments (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Patton, 2002).

In qualitative research, the researcher is the principal instrument of data collection (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). Therefore, researchers' reflexivity plays a significant role in the ways researchers address the phenomenon of interest (Creswell, 2007), the research purposes, and the preconceptions that researchers have about the event or phenomenon of interest (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). Reflexivity is the self-conscious awareness of the structural relationship between the researcher and the participants (Bloomber & Volpe, 2016; Bourke, 2014). This self-conscious awareness is a result of an internal process in which individuals attribute meanings to themselves, to other individuals, or to specific events around them (Patton, 2002; Creswell, 2007).

These attributions of meanings are linked to the researchers' cultural backgrounds and positionality in the social structure (e.g., Women, Mexican international students, first generation students) and are based on the researchers' capacity of introspection, reflexivity, and symbolic exchange. Consequently, researchers' reflexive capacity influences the frames of reference, preconceptions, motives, intentionality, and biases they use towards the phenomenon or event of interest (Creswell, 2007; England, 1994). A researcher's reflexivity has a significant influence on both the trustworthiness (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011) and validity (Maxwell, 2013; Silverman, 2004) of her or his investigation, including both the qualitative research and evidence obtained. As such, researchers must be aware of how their reflexivity influences the research design, the data yielded, and data interpretation in their study (Marshall & Rossman, 2016).

Qualitative research is composed of qualitative methodologies and qualitative methods (Flick, 2014; Patton, 2002). Qualitative methodology refers to both the theoretical perspective and the research logic that researchers use to respond to their research purposes and research questions (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Maxwell, 2013). In addition, qualitative methods are the specific techniques that researchers use to obtain the data needed to respond to their research questions, such as observation, document analysis, or interviews (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Maxwell, 2013; Patton, 2002). These methods are linked to the theoretical orientations of qualitative research projects and allow the researchers to obtain the evidence needed to address the purposes of their research (Marshall & Rossman, 2016).

Qualitative researchers frame their research assumptions, research purposes, and research questions within one or more theoretical orientations (Bloomber & Volpe, 2016; Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Kim, 2016; Patton, 2002). Hence, qualitative research is highly determined by theoretical orientations, such as phenomenology, critical race theory, or feminist theory (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011). These theoretical orientations shape the research logic and the research design that qualitative researchers have to address in order to create a congruent and coherent research project (Maxwell, 2013). The phenomenological perspective that is used in this investigation is based on the lived experiences of participants (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Laverty, 2003; Van Manen, 2014) and as these relate to the event or phenomena of interest (Creswell, 2007; Van Manen, 2014).

The research design is the planning stage of research (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Maxwell, 2013) and corresponds to the research purpose and research questions (Bloomber & Volpe, 2016). It includes, how researchers will employ their theoretical frameworks to conduct an inquiry (Creswell, 2007; Kim, 2016; Maxwell, 2013); the site and the sample in the study, known as sampling (Bloomber & Volpe, 2016; Maxwell, 2013); the methods that the researchers will use to respond to their research questions (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Kim, 2016; Patton, 2002); and, the way the researchers will achieve validity (Maxwell, 2013) or trustworthiness (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011).

The research design is characterized by its methodological congruency (Bloomber & Volpe, 2016; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), in which the components of the research project should be interrelated, in order for the researcher to explore the meanings, the

points of view, and the introspective reflections that participants have about the event or phenomena of interest (Patton, 2002). Additionally, the project as a whole should be cohesive, coherent, and able to be conducted (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Maxwell, 2013).

In order to explore the ways in which the presence of neoliberal ideology in public research universities (PRUs) influences or shapes the narratives and lived experiences that faculty members have about the academic profession, a qualitative interpretive methodology from a phenomenological perspective (Creswell, 2007; Laverty, 2003; Van Manen, 2014) guided the research design of this investigation. This perspective provided an opportunity to explore the meaning-making symbols that faculty members used to attribute meanings to their professional experiences (Burgess, 1995; Creswell, 2007; Seidman, 2013; Tavallaei & Abu Talib, 2010). The main purpose of qualitative methodology from a phenomenologist perspective is to provide a comprehensive explanation of a specific phenomenon or event from the perspectives and meanings constructed by participants (Bloomber & Volpe, 2016; Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Creswell, 2007; Marshall & Rossman, 2016; Patton, 2002; Van Manen, 2014).

The phenomenological perspective is a theoretical orientation that sustains a large number of qualitative studies (Kim, 2016) and relies on the subjectivity, interpretations, and points of view of the participants (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Kim, 2016; Laverty, 2003; Patton, 2002; Van Manen, 2014). Accordingly, I used this perspective to explore the meanings and the interpretative understandings that faculty members attribute to themselves, as professionals, and to their work environments, particularly at PRUs.

Phenomenologists assume that there are multiple ways of interpreting experiences (Bloomber & Volpe, 2016; Kim, 2016; Patton, 2002; Van Manen, 2014), and this diversity of interpretation is based on the multiple interactions that individuals have with others (Bloomber & Volpe, 2016; Creswell, 2007). The research design of this project facilitated the investigation of tenure-track and tenured faculty in one public research university in California. This research design focused on the lived experiences of faculty as members of the academic profession. The attribution of meanings to the lived experiences and context of individuals required an intentional reflexive process (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011; Marshall & Rossman, 2016; Van Manen, 2014). Through this process individuals reconstructed their experiences, meanings, and selves narratively (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Eisner, 2003; Kim, 2006; Trahar, 2009).

Researcher's Positionality: Who is the Self Who Investigates?

To talk about my positionality is to recognize that the woman who writes this investigation is—symbolically and emotionally—different than the one who started this research project (Morales Vázquez, 2018). I am a different woman because of multiple and dynamic personal and academic experiences, existential crises, and turning points that I have encountered across my life. To give a description of my symbolic world—the one I use to give meaning to myself and to my social world—I describe in brief my personal history by turning back to my origins.

I was born in Guerrero, México, a state characterized by high levels of poverty, discrimination, and low levels of education. I am the firstborn daughter of a teenage single mother. I was raised by my maternal grandmother (Abuelita Blanca) until I was 9

years old. I am the first in my family to attend college and the first to attend graduate school. As a first-generation student, I did not imagine that I would be a psychologist. I did not know there was a science that focuses on the study of humans' subjectivity and behavior until I discovered psychology during college. I had the opportunity to study abroad for a semester in Santiago, Chile. While I was in Chile I was exposed to Social Psychology, which influenced my intellectual development and ultimately this present research investigation. My Master's thesis was a qualitative research project that focused on professional pathways of faculty members who experienced working with industry, known as transfer of knowledge practices. This present investigation focuses on the exploration of the professional pathways, motivations, and challenges faced by the faculty members.

During my first quarter as a Ph.D. student a turning point changed my life. After my second week at UC Riverside, Abuelita Blanca passed away. I cannot describe the amount of pain I felt back that time. I was still adapting to my new life in Riverside when she died. I developed depression. I became isolated, not aware of any supports available to me. My academic performance was harmed. During my first year as Ph.D. student, I felt ashamed and guilty for not being able to be, or to do, the same work as my other colleagues at graduate school. Fortunately, I was lucky to have the guidance and professional support I needed. My first-hand experience of overcoming an identity crisis and mental health conditions during graduate school informs my research agenda and professional interests in the exploration of identities and emotions in the academic profession. My self-awareness about the connections between a professional and personal

life allows me to have a particular perspective about the culture of emotions in the U. S. academic profession. This perspective influenced the rapport I established during each of the narrative interviews I conducted with faculty members.

My training as a qualitative social psychologist informs my research paradigm, design, and data analysis approaches. In the last two years, I have used my own personal and professional experiences (as a graduate student researcher for the UC Riverside Healthy Campus) to advocate for better and healthier conditions for students' mental health, particularly for graduate students and first-generation students. I define my research positionality as the sum of the complementary frames of reference, sources of knowledge, biases, symbols, meanings, and emotions that came from my personal, academic, and professional experiences of being the daughter of a teenage single mother, a first-generation Mexican student, a social psychologist, a CONACyT-UC MEXUS fellow, a UC international graduate student, a member of UCR Healthy Campus, and a mental health advocate.

Methods

In this investigation, the academic profession is seen as a reflexive interplay between the individual, professional, and institutional meanings of faculty members (Henkel, 2011). In order to increase the confidence or trustworthiness in their research projects, qualitative researchers frequently include multiple sources of data collection (Bloomber & Volpe, 2016) or theoretical frameworks, a process known as triangulation (Patton, 2002). This process facilitates the validation and verification of the data through the coherent use of multiple sources so that the collected data can respond to the research

questions and purposes of the research project (Bloomber & Volpe, 2016; Patton, 2002). The principal data collection method of this investigation was the narrative interview (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Trahar, 2009; Webster & Mertova, 2007). A questionnaire was created and was used as a complementary aide. Thus, the questionnaire helped me to identify the similarities and differences (across gender, ranks, and academic disciplines) in the narrative interviews.

The narrative interview method provided access to faculty members' stories, motivations, personal histories, and meanings regarding the academic profession (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Seidman, 2013). A narrative interview enabled me to explore the complexity of the academic profession and the lived experiences that faculty members have in a particular setting (Slay & Smith, 2011; Trahar, 2009; Webster & Mertova, 2007). Through the use of narratives, individuals attribute meanings to their experiences and to themselves in relation to their sociocultural context (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Trahar, 2009; Webster & Mertova, 2007). Clarke, Hyde and Drennan (2013) suggest that the "professional identity is an on-going process of interpretation and re-interpretation of experiences" (p. 9). This indicates that professional identity changes given faculty members' personal and professional experiences (Webster & Mertova, 2007).

When individuals construct narratives of some episode in their lives, they are reflexive (Kim, 2016). Consequently, in order to construct a narrative of an episode within the academic profession, faculty members have access to their reflexivity. This reflexivity allows faculty members to re-signify their past lived experiences in relation to

their present or future expectations. This on-going process allows the exploration of the ways in which faculty members have perceived changes in the academic profession, in their professional identities, and in the emotions they have within their work environment.

The narrative interviews followed a semi-structured approach (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). Specifically, all interviews focused on three bases of the academic professional identity of participants (Appendix A): their personal life (Gappa et al., 2007); their professional background and present professional position that are linked to the meanings, norms, values, and behaviors of the academic profession (Neumann, 2009; Winter, 2009); and their institutional background (Archer, 2008a; Henkel, 2005; Levin & Montero-Hernandez, 2014; Levin & Aliyeva, 2015).

Questions posed to participants included the following. Could you please tell me about your academic background during undergraduate and graduate education? Why did you choose to study that discipline? Please tell me about your professional life as a faculty member? In addition, I prompted participants with follow-up questions in order to obtain more detailed descriptions about their memories and lived experiences (Leech, 2002), such as could you describe what the academic profession means to you? Have your roles or duties as a faculty member changed since you started working in the academy (in what ways)? Have your expectations about being a faculty member changed since you started your career? (If yes, in which ways did you experience these changes?)

Of particular interest to this project were the socialization processes, professional experiences, emotions, and challenges involved in the professional pathways of faculty

members (Archer, 2008b; Gappa et al., 2007; Henkel, 2005; Levin & Montero-Hernandez, 2014; Levin & Aliyeva, 2015; Neumann, 2009; Winter, 2009). The questionnaire was an integrative and complementary method (Appendix B). The survey was administered online to each interviewee before the interview. The purpose of this survey was to obtain faculty perspectives on specific topics relevant to their professional life, such as their professional experiences and professional roles, as well as the measurement of identity theory's (Burke & Stets, 2009) concepts linked to the development of APIs (e.g. self-verification, commitment, reflected appraisal and verification process [from other faculty members and from department chairs], identity change, and emotional reactions).

The Institutional Review Board Socio-Behavioral (IRB-SB) approved this investigation in January 2018. IRB-SB approval was obtained from the Human Research Review Board (HRRB) of the University of California, Riverside. After IRB-SB was approved, I started the recruitment process. Participants were notified about the IRB-SB approval, the purposes of the investigation, the risks, and the benefits of their participation prior to data collection.

Site and Sample

As the goal of this project was to explore the meanings, experiences, and emotions of faculty members at different stages of the academic profession, the site and sample were guided by a purposeful sampling (Patton, 2002). The data selection criteria were characterized by two requirements: first, the basic information of selected faculty members must have appeared on the university website in order for me to have access to

their names, emails, affiliation, CVs, and research projects. Second, faculty members must have accepted the interview invitation sent by email. This email included both the purpose of the investigation and the confidentiality aspects to participate in the research project. At the start of the interview, the participants agreed for a second time to participate in the research and signed the consent form prior to our interview.

The site for this project was one public research university in California. PRUs in California have faced changes in their institutional policies, recruitment processes, and organizational behaviors as a consequence of the presence of neoliberal ideology and managerial practices ("California's public universities," 2011). This institutional type demands diverse roles and activities for faculty such as research, teaching, and service. Hence, this institution allowed me to investigate the basic trinity of the academic profession (Finkelstein, Conley, & Schuster, 2016).

In order to explore the different conditions and social processes involved in the development of APIs, I investigated faculty members at different ranks of the academic profession (assistant, associate, full, and distinguished professors), as well as from different academic disciplines and differing gender's categories. The structural notion of the academic profession (such as academic disciplines and ranks) enabled me to explore APIs among different groups, such as associate and full professors, within a general context, which in this investigation is the academic profession at PRUs in the U. S. The exploration of the variety of perceived lived experiences and narratives of faculty members allowed me to determine the personal conditions and social processes through which academic professional identities are developed.

Gender is a personal condition that influences the experiences and narratives that faculty members have in PRUs (Fryberg & Martínez, 2014; Finkelstein et al., 2016). For this reason, in order to maximize the data yielded in the investigation (Patton, 2002), I included faculty members from diverse gender, academic discipline, and ranks. This diversity allowed me to explore the identities and emotions in the academic profession at the three stages of the academic profession and include diversity of faculty backgrounds.

The sample size was determined by redundancy or saturation criterion (Patton, 2002). Redundancy criterion (Patton, 2002) establishes that "the sampling is terminated when no new information is forthcoming from new sampled units" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 202). The main criterion for the selection of the sample was the inclusion of faculty members from each of the three stages of the academic cycle (early-career, mid-career, and late-career). Participants were selected randomly. A total of one hundred and one faculty members were invited to participate in the research. Nine of them said explicitly that they did not want to participate in the investigation. Thirty-five participants agreed to participate; nevertheless, three of them were not included in the sample due to their lack of availability, as they were unable to participate until Fall 2018 when data collected has concluded. The remainder of the participants did not respond to my emails. A total of thirty-two faculty members comprised the sample (Table 1). Eleven faculty members were from STEM fields, eight were from the Social Sciences, and thirteen were from the Humanities. Eleven faculty members were assistant professors, seven faculty members were associate professors, nine faculty members were full professors, and five

faculty members were distinguished professors (a category used at the selected university for faculty who had an additional designation beyond that of professor).

The exploration of the academic profession from the academic cycle was significant because it permitted me to investigate variability in meanings, behaviors, and emotions that faculty members have in each stage. In addition, the demographics of this population allowed me to explore the narratives of faculty members from populations that have been excluded historically in U.S. public higher education institutions, particularly women and minorities.

Confidentiality. As confidentiality was valued in this research project, pseudonyms for both the site and samples were used. In order to include the participation of faculty members in the confidentiality process, participants chose their own pseudonyms. One of the items in the survey asked them to pick a pseudonym for themselves; the item indicated that the pseudonym they picked was going to be used to protect and save their material (narrative interview—audio and transcription). No specific information (name, location, or department) for the campus or for the participants was included. The only elements that were used were the faculty member's broad academic field (STEM fields, Social Sciences, and Humanities), gender, and institutional appointment.

Procedures of Data Collection

The initial information obtained from the faculty members was the information on the web page of the public research university that acted as the site of the investigation. After a brief document analysis of the webpage of the institution, I created a list of

Table 1
Sample's Characteristics (N=32)

Academic Discipline	Pseudonym	Gender	Rank
	Penelope	Female	Assistant Professor
	Bibi	Female	Associate Professor
	Logan	Male	Assistant Professor
	Jennifer Smith	Female	Full Professor
	femalescienceprofessor	Female	Distinguished Professor
STEM	Charlie Darwin	Male	Distinguished Professor
	BOBBY	Male	Full Professor
	Valencia	Male	Full Professor
	Charlie Darwin (II)	Male	Full Professor
	Steve	Male	Assistant Professor
	chemistry professor	Male	Associate Professor
Academic Discipline	Pseudonym	Gender	Rank
	Michelle	Female	Associate Professor
	Athena	Female	Full Professor
	Perez	Female	Associate Professor
Social Sciences	Parker	Male	Assistant Professor
	Ruth	Female	Distinguished Professor
	Myra	Female	Associate Professor
	Nadine	Female	Assistant Professor
	Jerry O.	Male	Full Professor
Academic Discipline	Pseudonym	Gender	Rank
	George Bond	Male	Distinguished Professor
	Amelia	Female	Assistant Professor
	Codger	Male	Distinguished Professor
	Catherine	Female	Full Professor
	John Donne	Male	Assistant Professor
	Anaximenes	Male	Full Professor
Humanities	Hermalinda Santistevan	Female	Assistant Professor
	Audrey	Female	Associate Professor
	Marsillio	Male	Assistant Professor
	Mary Jones	Female	Full Professor
	Andre	Male	Assistant Professor
	Jane Gordon	Female	Associate Professor
	Faith	Female	Assistant Professor

fifty-four faculty members from different departments (Humanities, STEM, and Social Sciences). The list included the name, department, and email of tentative participants.

After the creation of the list, I sent emails to faculty members to invite them to participate in my doctoral research. This email included the purpose of the research, the categories of the semi-structured interview, the flexibility of my schedule, and the importance of privacy of the participants. After faculty members responded to my invitation email and agreed to participate in my research, we set a day for our interview. Faculty members chose the date and place for the interview. After we set a day for the interview, I sent the participants the link to the Qualtrics Survey "Your Academic Profession's Survey."

If I did not receive an answer after two weeks, I sent a second email. The content of this second email was the same as the first. In cases where faculty members did not respond to the second email, they were deleted from the list and another faculty member was contacted. After I obtained the consent of faculty members to participate in the investigation, I gained access to the interview setting.

Approach to Participants. Institutional documents were explored; these documents included academic discipline, institutional appointment, research project, and personal information (name, email, and CV). The official external documents were usually public and printed or available online. The data gathered from this technique were collected online and were the initial information that I used to approach potential participants. These data allowed the exploration of narratives with an emphasis on specific events of the academic profession, such as the tenure process, publications,

obtaining grants, and changes in research agendas. All of these elements allowed for exploration of the complexity of the academic profession.

"Your Academic Profession's Survey." This survey was sent as a link to those who expressed a willingness to participate in the present research (Appendix B). The survey was based upon and included several topics of the academic profession proposed by Blackburn and Lawrence (1995). But, the primary purpose of the survey was to measure concepts from identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009) such as self-efficacy, commitment, reflected appraisal, identity change, and faculty's emotions. Faculty members completed the questionnaire in approximately 5 minutes.

In order to explore the symbolic world that faculty relied on to convey their professional lives, faculty members were asked to select and to write the pseudonym they wanted to use as a label for me to save and to present their data. These pseudonyms reflected the academic disciplines or the passions of the faculty members. One particular case that arose was that two male faculty members from Biology (one a distinguished professor and the other a full professor) both chose "Charlie Darwin" as their pseudonym. In this case, I added a (II), to the second participant who chose this pseudonym, in order to distinguish the two participants. After faculty members responded to their surveys, I reviewed their responses in order to identify patterns of faculty members' identity change and their recognition of neoliberal values in their profession and work environment. In addition, the survey's responses served as a point of comparison between the experiences of faculty members from different genders, professional stages and academic disciplines. Their responses in the surveys informed several of the topics both I and the participant

covered in the narrative interviews. Participants completed the survey before the interview was conducted.

Narrative Interviews. As the nature of this investigation was an exploratory one, narrative interviews allowed me to identify patterns in the socialization processes, challenges, and expectations that faculty members had about the academic profession. These patterns were not used to generalize the lived experiences of faculty across academic disciplines or ranks, but rather to inform the sequence, processes, and meanings that faculty rely on to describe their academic professional life cycles. As each faculty member experienced the academic profession in a unique way, narrative interviews permitted me to explore the particularities and complexities of the symbolic world of faculty members.

Narratives interviews were conducted and analyzed by me alone as the investigator. Thirty interviews were conducted at the offices of the participants, with one conducted by phone and another conducted through Zoom. The interviews were approximately 50-145 minutes in length, and the length of the interviews was established by the availability and cooperation of the participants. One interview with a Humanities distinguished professor was rescheduled twice. The first time the faculty member did not respond to the confirmation email and the second time he did not show up to the interview. Another interview with a Humanities distinguished professor was only recorded partially due to problems with the audio recording equipment. Handwritten notes were taken instead.

Female faculty members were the population that expressed their emotions openly before I asked about their emotions towards the academic profession and academic work. Two female faculty members (one from the Social Sciences and the other from the Humanities) cried during the interviews while reflecting on their lived experiences during graduate school and during their professional careers in academia. Some qualitative researchers (Rossetto, 2014; Shamai, 2003) have stated that semi-structure interviews have the power to help participants to heal and/or find closure for some aspects of their lives. This type of interview is known as a therapeutic interview (Rossetto, 2014). However, the intention of the narrative interviews in this investigation was to explore the sources of faculty's academic professional development, and not to provide therapy for the participants.

The sociology of emotions (Stets, 2012; Turner & Stets, 2005) explains that due to cultural norms, men are less likely to demonstrate emotions openly compared to women. Although this has been demonstrated, empirically, in my interviews, the male faculty were as likely as women to express their emotions and concerns when questioned by me regarding their emotions during graduate school and during their tenure experiences. Therefore, the willingness of participants across disciplines, ranks, and gender to express certain emotions openly underscores the importance of studying the culture of emotions in the academic profession at PRUs.

Data Analysis

I conducted data analysis in an iterative way. The mode of thinking for this data analysis was narrative thinking (Freeman, 2017); it allowed the identification of the

meaning-making processes of individuals and groups. Data analysis focused mainly on the qualitative data gained from the narrative interviews conducted. The data gained from the survey were used as additional evidence of the similarities and differences across the participants, but they were not the primary source that helped me to respond to the research purpose and research questions of this qualitative investigation. The analytical frameworks (Maxwell, 2009) that guided this investigation were identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009) and neoliberal values (Ball, 2003; Davies & Petersen, 2005).

On the one hand, identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009) allows the exploration of the development of APIs across different stages of the academic profession, the meanings that inform the three dimensions of APIs, and the emotional reactions that faculty members have about the academic profession and academic work. On the other hand, neoliberal values of competition, performativity, and productivity allow the identification and explanation of the ways in which a neoliberal ideology has influenced APIs and the emotions of faculty members.

Identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009) guided the analysis of how faculty members develop their APIs, and how they give meanings to changes experienced in both the social structure (particularly their workplace) and their APIs. APIs, as identity standards, allowed me to explain the symbolic world, the frame of references, and the emotions that faculty members rely on when they construct their narratives about the academic profession. Identity standards are meanings as to how individuals would characterize themselves as a faculty member. APIs guide behaviors in specific situations and are the points of reference for how faculty perform a specific role, such as teaching or writing an

article. The verification process of APIs was based on the confirmation of the meanings and expectations that faculty members have about themselves in relation to the perceptions that they gain from significant others as to how others see them. In the case of this investigation, feedback could come from other faculty members, students, or administrators. The verification process allowed me to identify the sources and outcomes of conflict, stress, and negative emotions in the academic profession.

In the case of neoliberal values (competition, performativity, and productivity), these concepts permitted me to look at neoliberal mechanisms that have affected or altered the lived experiences, APIs, and emotions of faculty members. These values reflect the presence of neoliberal ideology in PRUs and were used to explain the ways in which neoliberal ideology has affected the human side of the academic profession—understood in this research as the symbolic world, academic professional identities, and emotions of faculty members.

Analytical methods are the strategies that qualitative researchers use in order to reduce, to organize, to analyze, and to interpret the data that they collect (Flick, 2014; Maxwell, 2009; Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014; Patton, 2002; Richards, 2009; Silverman, 2004). The purpose of these analytical methods is to identify the relationships, categories, and themes evident in the data (Flick, 2014; Miles et al., 2014; Richards, 2009). The significance of these methods is that they allow qualitative researchers to find the evidence to respond to their research purposes and address research questions (Flick, 2014; Grbich, 2007; Maxwell, 2009; Miles et al., 2014). The analytical methods that guided this investigation were initial coding (Flick, 2014), analytical coding (Richards,

2009), and the construction of visual devices (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011). The combination of these three methods permitted me to organize, to reduce, and to identify the codes and categories that are linked to both the purpose of my investigation and to the analytical frameworks, which are identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009) and neoliberal values.

Initial coding (Flick, 2014), also known as topic coding (Richards, 2009) or descriptive coding (Maxwell, 2009), starts when the researcher initiates data collection (Miles et al., 2014). Initial coding included field notes, and memoranda were produced during fieldwork. Analytical coding (Richards, 2009), known also as directed content analysis (Patton, 2002) or as theoretical data analysis (Maxwell, 2008), is characterized by purposive coding (Richards, 2009; Patton, 2002). Analytical coding is central to qualitative research because it leads to data reduction (Grbich, 2007; Maxwell, 2008; Richards, 2009) and data organization (Grbich, 2007; Maxwell, 2009; Miles et al., 2014; Richards, 2009). In addition, this method enables researchers to reaffirm theory, as a result of the reflection on and interpretation of the meanings that researchers find in the data (Maxwell, 2009). The last method of analysis was the construction of visual devices (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011). Tables and diagrams enable qualitative researchers to create visual representations of categories and codes that are produced in initial coding (Flick, 2014) and analytical coding (Richards, 2009).

Data analysis comprised four main steps. Each step was characterized by different levels of analysis (Flick, 2014; Richards, 2009) and allowed me to interpret the data collected in my investigation in order to respond to the research questions. The first step was the transcription of the interviews (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). The second step was

initial coding (Flick, 2014), characterized by the labeling and organization of the data by my use of codes and categories related to my investigation. This method was used to map the encounters, the similarities, and the differences within the socialization process, lived experiences, and expectations that faculty members have about the academic profession and academic work. Initial coding categories included themes relevant to faculty members' personal life (cultural background, personal experiences, and turning points), to their professional development (socialization processes, meanings, symbols, norms, values, expectations, and behaviors of the academic profession), and to their institutional context (institutional culture, reward system, and the presence of neoliberal values).

The third step was analytical coding (Richards, 2009). Analytical coding entailed the selection of quotations from the transcriptions of the interviews that correspond to the analytical framework. The data collected were sufficient for saturation of themes. Three themes were identified as representative of the thirty-two interviews conducted. One was the socialization process during graduate school; the second was the culture of emotions in academia; and, the third was the presence of neoliberal values in the site investigated. These themes reflect the social interactions and symbolic exchanges that influence the development of APIs across academic disciplines, the dimensions of meanings that inform APIs across different stages of the academic life cycle, and the ways in which the presence of neoliberal ideology have influenced APIs, personal experiences, behaviors, and the emotions that faculty members have about the academic profession in the context on neoliberalism.

The concepts of the theory used for data analytical coding included the three mechanisms that inform the attribution of meanings of APIs, seen in this investigation as, first, identity development mechanisms, social learning, direct socialization, and reflected appraisals—verification and non-verification processes; second, APIs dimensions (individual-psychological dimension, role dimension, and group dimension); and, third, emotional reactions about the academic profession and academic work.

Identity development mechanisms were coded *Socialization* for social learning, *Professional Socialization* for direct socialization, *API Verification* for identity verification, and *API Non-Verification* for identity non-verification. APIs dimensions were coded as follows: Psychological dimension, Role dimension, and Group dimension. Emotional reactions about the academic profession and about academic work (particularly research, teaching, service, and external funding) were coded as follows: Positive emotions, Negative emotions, and Existential emotions. In addition, analytical categories included neoliberal values of competition, performativity, and productivity

The fourth step was the creation of visual devices (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011), which enabled the visualization of the relationships between categories and codes. The recognition of these categories and codes in the data informed the creation of themes and assisted me with the interpretation of the data that results from the findings of a qualitative investigation (Bogdan & Biklen, 2011). The construction of a visual device method, particularly tables (Table 1) and diagrams (Figure 3, Figure 4, and Figure 5), contributed to my data analysis because of its utility for me to visualize and comprehend complexities in the academic professional identity of faculty members.

In order to increase the credibility (Patton, 2002), or trustworthiness (Krefting, 1990; Lincoln & Guba, 1985) of this research project, I relied on three credibility strategies proposed by Krefting (1990): a researcher's reflexivity, peer examination, and triangulation. The strategy of reflexivity was based on a field journal I completed with reflexive notes and analytical reflections that responded to the research purpose of this investigation. I wrote this field journal after I conducted the narrative interviews with each participant as well as every time a new insight came to me during the analytical process. The field journal allowed me to be aware of my own biases, challenges, and insights as a researcher. In addition, the journal also helped me to identify patterns and themes in the lived experiences, API characteristics, and the emotions of faculty interviewed.

For the peer review's credibility strategy, my doctoral dissertation supervisor reviewed several of my transcriptions and served as a peer reviewer (Creswell, 2007). The expertise of my doctoral dissertation supervisor on the investigation of academic identities in higher education provided me with important and unique feedback that allowed me to be critical and creative in the ways in which I made sense of the data collected. My doctoral dissertation supervisor and I established a dialectical and iterative relationship in which we met constantly as well as exchanged emails about his and my reflections on the interviews, particularly the differences and similarities of the narratives and the components of APIs of faculty members interviewed. Furthermore, my doctoral dissertation supervisor guided me to focus on the research questions that I asked at the outset.

Finally, triangulation via data sources (Shenton, 2004) involved the use of a wide range of participants across diverse academic disciplines, ranks, and gender. Accordingly, individual perceptions and lived experiences in the academic profession were compared and verified. Therefore, data analysis led to both understandings and explanations of the symbols, attitudes, motivations, challenges, feelings, and behaviors of academic faculty at PRUs.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Based on the narratives of faculty members interviewed in this research, the academic profession at public research universities (PRUs) tends to be a life-long profession. Therefore, this research explains the narratives, identities, and emotions of faculty members through the conceptualization and investigation of the academic professional life cycle. This conceptualization, inspired by Huberman's (1989) professional life cycle perspective for teachers, proposes that faculty members' values, behaviors, and emotional reactions are a result of both their human development and the symbolic worlds faculty members use to give life to the academic profession. This investigation recognizes faculty members not merely as workers but as humans, that is, they are not valued by their outcomes but by their subjective ways of attaching meaning to their social worlds. In order to describe and explain the actual conditions of the academic profession, there needs to be recognition of the multiple layers and symbols faculty members rely on to give meaning to, as well as to perform, to experience, and to feel the academic profession and academic work. This investigation contextualizes value formation and academic professional identities (APIs) development across different stages of the academic profession.

The humanity of the academic profession is conceptualized by the psychosocial, symbolic, and emotional characteristics that influence the development, establishment, and/or change of APIs. The narratives, identities, and emotions of faculty members express this humanity. This investigation demonstrates that the exploration of the

subjectivity of faculty members, embedded in their narratives, can reveal the current challenges, identity crisis, and negative emotions that faculty members experience across gender, ranks, and academic disciplines. A key mechanism that explains the internalization of the values, symbols, and meanings of the academic profession is the professional socialization process during graduate school (Gardner, 2008; Tierney & Rhoads, 1994; Weidman, Twale, & Stein, 2001). This professional socialization is characterized by direct socialization between prospective faculty members (graduate students) and Ph.D. supervisors.

A structural symbolic interactionist perspective informed the research questions that guided this investigation: What are the narratives that full-time tenured and tenure track faculty members construct about the academic profession in one public research university (PRU) in California? What individual-psychological, role, or group meanings do faculty members rely upon to describe their academic professional identities (APIs) in each stage of the academic professional life cycle? In what ways do faculty members rationalize and understand neoliberal values of competition, performativity, and productivity as affecting their experiences, professional identities, and emotions in the academic profession?

Findings in this chapter are structured sequentially. The first section describes two types of narratives faculty members constructed about their lived experiences in the academic profession. The first type of narratives was a result of structural barriers of the academic profession (described in Chapter 2 as hegemonic masculinity and predominantly White profession). The second type of narratives is based on the academic

professional life cycle, which is divided into six successive and progressive stages: liminal stage, early career stage, mid-career stage, advanced career stage, late-career stage, and post-academic retirement stage (Chapter 2 identified three stages). Contrary to the three academic stages proposed by higher education scholars (Baldwin, Lunceford, & Vanderlinden, 2005), faculty members described these six stages as a series of common learning phases that legitimize, informed, and defined their APIs and lived experiences in the academic profession. These stages are crucial for the development, adjustment, and/or changes in APIs, professional values, and academic work priorities.

The stages proposed in this section describe the academic profession as linked tightly to the professional development as well as the human development cycle of individuals, particularly, but not limited, to their psychosocial development (Erikson, 1997; Kroger, 2018). Erikson (1997) explained that human development can be explained by the recognition of diverse stages. In each of these stages, individuals overcome different periods of existential crisis that correspond to their psychosocial needs (Erikson, 1997), especially during adulthood. Thus, in order to explain the identities of faculty members, the recognition of the human development characteristics during adulthood is imperative. Because of the social nature of the academic profession, the foundation of the stages of the academic professional life cycle relies on the symbolic interactionist perspective (Burke & Stets, 2009; Sandstrom, Martin, & Fine, 2010) rather than a psychoanalytical approach (Erikson, 1997).

Findings highlight the symbolic world of the academic profession, particularly the development and establishment of APIs. APIs are aligned with the academic profession's

culture of emotions (Bloch, 2012) and are reflected in the narratives of faculty members across different stages of the academic professional life cycle. The culture of emotions refers to the feeling norms and rules of emotion and expression in the academic profession (Bloch, 2012). Finally, findings are explained through the presence of neoliberal values in the academic profession and their implications for the APIs, quality of life, and future of the academic profession.

The Symbolic World of the Academic Profession

Consistent with identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009), the development of APIs of faculty members interviewed was a result of social learning, direct socialization, and reflected appraisals—the capacity to imagine how others see them in a specific social situation. Aligned with a structural symbolic interactionist perspective (Burke & Stets, 2009; Stryker, 1980), the socialization processes that faculty members experience during their diverse stages in the academic profession were a key mechanism for the development, establishment, and alterations of their APIs. The variety of APIs was proportional to the diverse narratives and lived experiences of faculty members. Each narrative was seen as a complementary piece to reveal the complexity that surrounds the meanings, values, symbols, and emotions attached to the academic profession (Lyle, 2009). Therefore, this investigation recognizes that multiple APIs inform the subjective and symbolic aspects of the academic profession and academic work in PRUs.

This investigation focuses on faculty members as humans, as complex, reflexive, and emotional beings, characterized by their own personal history within a particular stage of their human life development. It analyzed how social interactions and emotional

reactions influenced the development of APIs as well as the characteristics of APIs across the different career stages in the academic profession. The symbolic aspects of the academic profession are seen as a result of the symbolic interchange and social interactions between faculty members, peers, and senior colleagues. Faculty members develop their APIs as a result of iterative reflexive thinking, social interactions, symbolic interchanges, emotional socialization, and lifelong learning processes. As humans, faculty members rely on their symbolic world to give meaning to themselves and to their social reality as professionals in the academy. Each participant chose his or her own pseudonyms; which I will use for all those interviewed and quoted. Thus, the names that appear in this section follow the same style and format chosen by the participants, such as the usage of majuscule or minuscule letters, and names with or without last names.

In the Name of Diversity: Misogyny, Tokenism, and Cultural Taxation in the Academic Profession

The gender representation of the sample of this investigation was almost the same, 17 female faculty members compared to 15 male faculty members. Female faculty members interviewed, regardless of their rank and academic discipline, expressed more concerns, doubts, and challenges about their role in the academy than males. Consistent with the findings of higher education scholars (Maher & Tetreault, 2007, 2011; Meyers, 2013), these experiences were described as a result of a "toxic-hierarchical" male-dominated profession. Female faculty members constructed narratives that evoked episodes of misogyny and tokenism in the academic profession (Meyers, 2013; Zambrana, 2018). Misogyny and tokenism are forms of non-verification of APIs.

Misogyny (Meyers, 2013) is expressed through attitudes and behaviors that discriminate against female faculty members and exclude them from equal participation and recognition in the profession, in such areas as higher leadership roles. Tokenism (Gappa, Austin, & Trice, 2007; Harley, 2008; Zambrana, 2018) refers to the overuse of female and underrepresented minorities as representatives of diversity within higher education institutions for such processes as committee work.

Under these conditions and consistent with higher education scholars (Clarke, Hyde & Drennan, 2013; Fryberg & Martínez, 2014; Harley 2008; Harris, 2007; Landson-Billings, 1997; Maher & Tetreault, 2007, 2011; Osei-Kofi, 2014; Smith & Calasanti, 2005; Turner, 2002; Zambrana, 2018), some female faculty members experienced episodes of isolation, marginalization, hostility, and toxicity in their work environment. Within this work environment, female faculty members described turning points in their professional careers that were generated and/or accentuated because of misogyny at the senior faculty level. Consistent with identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009), non-verification of identities, in this case APIs, leads to negative emotions. An API identity non-verification process was a result of the mismatch between the self-concepts and identity standards of a faculty member, about their role as faculty and the feedback they receive from significant others, such as senior faculty.

Audrey, an associate professor in the Humanities, explained the ways in which misogyny, a form of API non-verification, is expressed through hostile and borderline abusive behaviors from senior faculty in her disciplinary area during the tenure process.

> [The tenure process]… was a very trying experience. It should have been a fairly easy case because I had a book out and so I had fulfilled the requirements and the

[university] system is very transparent about what you need to get tenure…. I asked to go up for tenure earlier than I was required… I experienced some bumps along the road. I would say that my department, on the whole, has been very supportive and my chair went out of his way to do everything he could to make this easy. And he wrote a very sort of thoughtful and thorough letter. But the first obstacle was that they had asked somebody to write a letter for me who, I mean it sort of a complicated situation because (the university) requires you to ask letters from other people (the university) campuses. There aren't very many people in my area, but they asked somebody to write a letter for me who hasn't published anything in the field since the mid-nineties and who also has worked at criticizing my own. And I did not expect that to be a problem because I thought that he would be flattered that I'm writing, that I talk about his work from the nineties, right? So, I could have gone either way and I don't want to blame my department because it was just bad luck. But he wrote an incredibly hostile letter, basically like trying to ruin my career. And, that was extremely unpleasant because not only do you have to deal with the fact that somebody did that, but you also then have to write a reply. And so, I was forced to have…to address his criticisms and…write a response just to make sure that this was dealt with and addressed in the file even though it didn't look like it was going to be a big issue because it was such an anomaly…. [A]ll the other letters were positive. It was just this one like a really nasty letter… But another colleague of mine….verbally attacked me at a reception in a way that I would describe as like borderline abusive. But like certainly a case of like what might be described as like gas lighting. So, he started criticizing my work but not in a way that was respectful because he wasn't criticizing what I said. He was criticizing my grasp of things. So, he was saying things like, "I have doubts whether you understand thought…" So it wasn't even about what I said in the book or my actual claims. It was about my competence and…my understanding. And that was incredibly demoralizing and really threw me off… [T]his was happening during the time when I had to address the letter and…dealing with all this stuff because he just had this happen with[in] the next day. I think he was feeling emboldened by the letter because I think he felt like there was this negative letter he could really like to go at me, you know because he had read the letter. They all did. And so, I felt that they had sort of ganged up on me—the letter writer and my colleague—and I felt that he was abusing his position of power with respect to me because he was senior and was in a position to evaluate me and was maybe venting some of his frustrations at my expense. And even what the department was aware that this had happened. They were unable to address it directly. And so, they are just trying to keep us apart. So…they were aware that this had happened. They felt bad about it, but there was no way to deal with it. And so, they were just, "avoid him," basically. (Audrey, Female, Associate Professor, Humanities)

As Audrey explained, the meaning of being a competent professional is not verified based on gender biases. Misogyny from those at the senior level can lead to significant changes in the academic professional life of female faculty members. Jennifer Smith, a Full Professor in STEM fields, described herself as a third generation academic, both her grandfather and her father hold PhDs and they were professors at the university level. Jennifer Smith advanced from assistant professor to full professor in nine and a half years. Although her early socialization with the symbols, values, and behaviors of the academic profession, along with her higher rank and competence in the academic profession, Jennifer Smith's intentions to move forward into a leadership role was blocked because of the behaviors of male senior faculty.

> I wanted to be the [leadership role] here, but I am not being interviewed. I applied, but there are a group of senior colleges here who feel very threatened by me, by being young and female, and successful. That they worked as part of the search committee to convince the provost that the only people we should hire have to be of a higher tier faculty, meaning there are these steps in the faculty. I am step four as a professor. They convinced the provost we shouldn't even be looking for anybody for [the leadership role] who is not step 10 and above, a distinguished professor and above. I'll tell you, to be a distinguished professor; I'd have to be a faculty member for probably another twenty years even if I kept my same trajectory. The only people who are really that high are the people that get recruited from elsewhere. Who made themselves famous elsewhere and then came in. In my field… I am one of the oldest women out there. There are fewer women older than me but very few. So, by reaching them, now saying step ten and above there are not going to be any women or people of color in that pool and if they are, they are symbolic and not realistic… [M]en of privilege and power have won here... I am not even being interviewed for the job. And I'll be [acting] until the end of this academic year. And then some old white guy is probably going to be [in the leadership role]….I am really pissed, but I'm going to be honest, I am the one who found this out. [An administrator] sat me down and said I am not being interviewed and… suggested I withdraw from the search. And it's a bit frustrating… The university has invested in me being part of leadership here… [T]hey talk… about supporting women and underrepresented people and trying to give them leadership training and promote them through. The previous provost… made me [leadership role]… There were a lot of men on this college

> who were pissed that it was me and not them. I even had some faculty members say "how could he make you [leadership role], you are about to have a baby." As if having a baby makes you incapable….[T]his university has a fundamental flaw in the internal promotion of talent… They have trained me, they have put a thousand of dollars into training me, they have put hundreds of thousands of dollars in paying me over the years and the only way that I could go up in the administration is to leave. Which is devastating, right? Because I spent my whole career here. (Jennifer Smith, Female, Full Professor, STEM)

In the case of Jennifer Smith, the meaning of being a leader in the academic profession was not verified by senior faculty in her disciplinary field. Hegemonic masculinity and misogyny (Fryberg & Martínez, 2014; Harley 2008) persists across diverse stages of the academic professional life cycle and they are reflected in unsafe and non-supportive work environments for female faculty members (Zambrana, 2018). The lack of supportive work environments is a barrier for female faculty members in both the continuity of and change in their APIs and professional pathways. This barrier is reproduced by the power and higher status of senior faculty, and, as noted by Jennifer Smith, can be detrimental for the entrance of female faculty members to leadership roles. Although research productivity plays a significant role in the promotion and tenure process, transparency in this process for some female faculty members was a matter of social validation and approval from senior colleagues.

Other discriminatory behavior directed toward female faculty was the use of sexist comments from male faculty members. In the case of Perez, an associate professor in the Social Sciences, a male colleague physically threatened her. Although other members of Perez's department knew about her experience, institutional silence persisted in regards to this issue.

> Once I left (own department), I went into the department of (Social Sciences), which is my department, and that was another very hostile work environment. I had a faculty member who said something inappropriate or real sexist comment in a faculty meeting. And I called him on it. I said, "you can't say that in a faculty meeting. That's a sexist comment."… He physically threatened me, so I decided that I didn't feel safe and I left that department. I didn't want to have an office in that building. So, I asked to move somewhere else. [Neither the department chair nor the dean said anything about the behavior of that professor]… It's a very misogynist institution. I think that [behavior] is not unique to (the university). I think the whole academy is very male-centric and very misogynistic. And what they tried to do with a lot of the complaints, whether it's around, misogynistic, sexist department cultures, is that they tried to sweep it under the rug….I went to the Title IX office and I tried to file a complaint, but the Title IX office is there to protect the university from lawsuits. And when they saw that I didn't have enough for a lawsuit, they said, "well, we have bigger problems." (Perez, Female, Associate Professor, Social Sciences)

The normalization of these misogynistic and male-dominated frames of references is reproduced by the silence that accompanies uncivil and hostile behaviors towards female faculty at PRUs.

Along with misogyny in the academic profession, female faculty members described their role in the academic profession as tokens for diversity statements and service work. Female faculty members across ranks and academic disciplines described that their institutions have higher expectations about their service workloads than for males. femaleprofessor, a distinguished professor in STEM, described tokenism as reinforced as female faculty move up in the hierarchy of the academic profession.

> [I]t sounds weird to complain about things that are actually sort of a professional acknowledgment or honor, but you just go under this huge category of professional service and it could just overwhelm [you]… especially for a senior woman because a lot of times I'm the one who gets…asked to review, do an external review for tenure cases for other universities, probably again like 10 times a year. And those are fairly time-consuming. So, I try to only do two or three a year… It seems like a lot of times I get asked to review women as well as men who are just in a similar area of research to me. Especially if it's for full professors because, you know, you have to be a senior, like me, to review

> somebody who's going up for full. Right? So, sometimes I do feel like the sort of the token woman in terms of professional service work. (femalescienceprofessor, Female, Distinguished Professor, STEM)

In addition, Jennifer Smith described negative emotions that arise after her involvement on several committees and in service work in general.

> Almost my first ten years here, I was on every bloody committee. They needed someone to represent (STEM fields) on some campus-level committee. It was me because the committee got gender taken care of and… I was the sucker that said "yes." They didn't ask a lot of my other colleagues. The issues of how women are giving more service and not giving us a lot of credit: that totally applies here. At one point my predecessor… was always parading me around as the outreach person because I have had done a lot of outreach. I finally turned on him one day and said: "Stop calling me the college ambassador and tell me: do you know what my research area was?" And he couldn't. Because I was like I don't want you talking about me in front of anybody unless you talk first about my research and then you can talk about my outreach. To his credit, I don't think he realized how one-sided his use of my name and my profile was and so he came and spent like an hour or so in my lab and learning about what I do. But it really pissed me off, like I got tired of being like the dog and pony show… I felt used. (Jennifer Smith, Female, Full Professor, STEM)

Expectations that female faculty members should have higher service workloads exist across academic disciplines. Jane Gordon, an associate professor in the Social Sciences, described the normalization of service work for female faculty members compared to male faculty members.

> [F]emale faculty certainly in my department disproportionately do the service work and I think some of it is because we do feel we have to prove ourselves… But it's very time consuming and it takes from your time to do your own work. Male faculty are more inclined to refuse, to say "no." They won't take on those kinds of positions or they'll do it for a shorter period of time or whatever. And that happens at every level. There are expectations that we do various kinds of service work for our departments, for the college, and then for the university. And women are more likely to be involved in that. (Jane Gordon, Female, Associate Professor, Social Sciences)

These experiences of female faculty members point to the structural nature of the academic profession as characterized by gender bias and inequality in academic work (David, 2007; Meyers, 2013). The academic profession, as a White male-dominated profession, has established structural and cultural barriers for underrepresented minorities in the academic profession (Harley 2008; Harris, 2007; Ladson-Billings 1997; Olsen et al. 1995; Osei-Kofi 2014). In 2013, women represented 53% of the total population of faculty members working at community colleges, compared to the 38% working at four-year higher education institutions (Finkelstein et al., 2016). For the particular case of research universities, the percentage of female faculty on tenure and tenure track appointments decreased 8.8% between 1993 and 2013 (Finkelstein et al., 2016). Higher education scholars have explained that the underrepresentation of female faculty is the result of hostile and depredatory practices in research universities, such as intensive competition and lack of collegiality and support for female and underrepresented minorities (Gappa et al., 2007; Maher & Tetreault 2011; Meyers, 2013).

Although the increase of female faculty members in tenure-track and tenured positions in PRUs exist, this investigation demonstrates that the APIs and the career trajectories of female faculty are linked highly to the structural characteristics of the academic profession in the U.S. Thus, findings suggest that White male senior professors control and regulate the entrance, continuity, and progress of female faculty members in PRUs, particularly in academic disciplines that are highly male dominated.

In addition to the narratives given by female faculty, faculty from underrepresented minorities constructed narratives that highlighted cultural taxation

(Padilla, 1994). “I understand that the service expectations have increased and faculty who are members of minority groups tend to be called upon to do more and to go to everything and to be on every committee” (Parker, Male, Assistant Professor, Social Sciences). Therefore, cultural taxation led to overwork on committee and service work.

Professional Self-Development: Ceremonies of Passage and Spaces of Uncertainty in the Academic Professional Life Cycle

The professional self-development process of faculty members in PRUs is reflected in the development of APIs and it is described by the narratives that pertain to the academic professional life cycle. Based on the narratives of faculty members, across academic disciplines and ranks, the academic professional life cycle is divided into six successive and progressive stages: liminal stage, early career stage, mid-career stage, advanced career stage, late-career stage, and post-academic retirement stage. The genesis of APIs at PRUs occurs (and is reinforced) during graduate school and the process is characterized by iterative, dynamic, and continual reflexive-emotional learning phases.

Consistent with Wilshire (1990), the findings in this investigation demonstrate that the academic profession and the bases of APIs have been reproduced socially in cult-like fashion. This cult is legitimized socially across diverse ceremonies of passage that faculty members encounter on their journeys through the academic profession, such as the achievement of tenure (Neumann, 2009; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996). Anaximenes, a full professor in the Humanities, compared this cult to membership in a guild. In his narrative, Anaximenes described academic disciplines as different guilds, all characterized by direct socialization, lifetime apprenticeship, and a hierarchy of status.

The entrance into the guild depends on the validation and approval of significant other members of the guild.

> Faculty culture is largely about membership in a guild or a discipline. Even if they're at a teaching comprehensive, where they do very little research, because of their graduate training, their Ph.D., they were assimilated into a guild culture. So, guilds, like medieval guilds, you know? You could only go to them to get some tasks performed. People become members of the guild by a kind of lifetime apprenticeship. They set their own standards and rules. They were not policed by the state or regulated by the state. They had considerable autonomy… [I]f you were a carpenter and it was the carpentry guild, you might work all over the country, but you're all members of the guild and you kind of knew each other[and] there'll be a hierarchy of status within the guild… Psychology is a guild. Physics is a guild. Spanish studies is a guild. And how do you know that? Well, there are national associations. The national association… sets standards. Their leaders, their presidents, and so on of the national organization, they have national conferences where everyone kind of gets together. They set the standards for what it takes to get tenure, right?... [W]hen you get tenure letters for promotion, you get them from other people in the guild. When you do external reviews of your own individual department on campus, they come from other members of the guild. So, everyone has a kind of guild identity and… what you do for your Ph.D., as you do your apprenticeship, then you prove yourself by writing a dissertation and getting a job. Then you start recruiting members into the guild yourself. (Anaximenes, Male, Full Professor, Humanities)

As Anaximenes described, one of the most important, and common, explicit aspects for initiation into the academic profession is the doctoral dissertation (Gardner, 2008; Sverdlik & Hall, 2019). In order to attain a Ph.D., faculty members are required to write a doctoral dissertation (Gumport, 1993), or a proxy for a dissertation in some fields, which might include publishable articles.

The continuity of professional development into the guild was a result of a constant pursuit of mastery in the academy. The cult-like characteristics of the academic profession are reproduced and legitimized across three main ceremonies of passage that are linked to the professional stages of the academic professional life cycle. The first

ceremony of passage occurs during the liminal stage, particularly during graduate school formation (attaining a Ph.D.). The second ceremony of passage is the academic job market search (obtaining a faculty position). The third ceremony of passage occurs between the early career stage and the mid-career stage, and this is the tenure process (gaining tenure and advancement to Associate Professor). These ceremonies of passage, characterized by the socialization processes during professional stages, influenced the narratives about the academic profession constructed across academic disciplines.

Graduate school formation. Participants, across ranks and academic disciplines, highlighted common professional socialization processes, a similar career entry pathway into the academic profession, and consistent development and establishment of their APIs. These commonalities began during graduate school. During graduate school, faculty members learned how to behave as academic professionals, as they internalized appropriate values, norms, and ways of thinking according to their academic disciplines (Gardner, 2008; Tierney & Rhoads, 1994; Weidman et al., 2001). Within the professional socialization process in graduate school, faculty members learned explicit and implicit aspects of the academic profession, such as the hierarchy, the norms, and the feeling rules (Bloch, 2012).

Faculty members from underrepresented minorities described particular challenges that were based on their lack of symbolic resources to enable them to navigate into their university. They also noted the ways in which guidance and mentoring from their Ph.D. advisors helped them to navigate the university.

> So, working with (advisor) had its benefits but also had its challenges because she had very high expectations. One of the other challenges is as coming from that

> marked student, right? I was already that mark student that they didn't think was going to succeed. So, (advisor) also put the hammer down and she called it. She… would give me… beat downs… I would come into her office and it's not that I wasn't performing… [S]he kept track of all of her students and… she goes… "[Y]ou can be dismissed at any point, you know? You are dispensable, brown students are dispensable, right?" So even psychologically… maybe not the best approach, right? But she was being real… I actually went to counseling my first year. That's when I first started going to counseling my first year of Grad school because "fuck, this is a lot." And then to have someone to tell you, but it was like to mentally toughen, right? A lot of people felt it wasn't correct of her to do that. But again, this is like "how much perseverance do you have?" Not that I knew this was perseverance right at that point….[I]t was really how much grit… Can I take, you know? And from counseling at that point… She would remind me… this is where I had to learn the tactic, right? And listening to certain podcasts… to know how you can deal with stress or how you can persevere through crisis is by going through crisis, right? Because it's about how do you respond to it. And it's not to say that that's a healthy way, right? But like that's one of… your coping mechanisms for previous forms of stress… I definitely….never had a silver spoon… [O]r things handed to me on a platter. I've always… had to work, always struggled with the writing to make sure that I articulate it, but (advisor) believed in me… [S]he worked with me. (Hermalinda Santiestevan, Female, Assistant Professor, Humanities)

In addition to the strategies used to navigate academia, the doctoral dissertation was described as a result of an intense and painful process characterized by episodes of lack of confidence, uncertainties, negative emotions, existential crises, and a perceived state of isolation. As Faith, an assistant professor in the Humanities noted, isolation is seen as a natural and a common aspect of the academic profession, mainly because this condition is a requisite for the writing process.

> [W]riting is an isolating practice and you spend a lot of time in your head or you're reading a lot and you feel like you're in conversations with various scholars and thinkers and artists... It's just you and your head. So that was a lot of anxiety because you kind of lose some social skills… [I]t's kind of a hermit[like]… [T]hen I would feel lonely… [T]hat can be depressing. (Faith, Female, Assistant Professor, Humanities)

As Faith described, the common practices of the academic profession, such as work in isolation, influenced negative emotions during graduate school. Athena, a full professor in the Social Sciences, described how her psychological-individual dimension, such as the symbols and meanings of being both an international student and a non-native English speaker, informed her struggles and existential crises during graduate school.

> (After awarded the Fulbright scholarship) I chose (University) and that was the beginning of my entire career and then you realize that the system was totally different between (Europe) and United States and then again… when I chose an advisor, this advisor at (University), he was really prominent on what he was doing… He was so influential on his studies that eventually he got [the] Nobel Prize in (Social Sciences). So, then I got all these pieces all for what we call in my profession "random shocks" that they push you in one position, in one direction, or the other. And then, what I should say from the emotional side? In my graduate career, I think I struggled. I struggled at first because of the language. As I said, I came with a very low level of English and second that you realize that a doctoral career is not textbook oriented. That you have to be creative; you have to come up with your ideas. You have an advisor; the advisor is more a mentor because he's not going to write your dissertation for your right? And I recall at this existential crisis to say somehow that "I'm not good enough or this is too much for me, I don't know how to get out of these, but I have already invested so many years so I cannot quit." So, there is always this internal struggle of how much you can push yourself and eventually I decided that there was no point to go back to (Europe) with nothing in my hands, and that I had to give a fight. (Athena, Female, Full Professor, Social Sciences)

Amelia, an assistant professor in the Humanities, described her experience in graduate school as a "terrible experience" that was possible to endure mainly because of the support she received from her husband. "I should thank my dissertation to diet coke for keeping me alive and my husband for feeding me" (Amelia, Female, Assistant Professor, Humanities). Furthermore, faculty members developed and/or shaped their emotional responses about the academic profession while they were graduate students. At this stage, faculty members were socialized into an academic discipline and an area of

specialization, a practice described as a rite of purification (Wilshire, 1990). Standards of productivity, and the values attached to academic work, were shaped by the personal style, professional practice, and standards of productivity of Ph.D. advisors/supervisors.

> I had two advisors in Grad School. My PhD program brought you in with a first year advisor already in place, somebody you can touch base with. So, with my first year advisor there was never any friction. We were completely cool, but my work went in a different direction, and I ended up taking a lot of classes with one professor in Anthropology during my first year. (This professor) did work on performance studies and I realized that's what I needed to be doing. So, I worked with her and she was very detail oriented. She was very much about like, what is on the page, does the word choice makes sense, work on your grammar. Also like "do the things necessary to ensure that you get funding and this is how you apply to things." She's very much about the nitty gritty of professionalization. My other advisor, who is a scholar who came in my second year and I had read and deeply admired, he is the kind of esoteric thinker. I find that I'm drawn to both in terms of scholarship and in terms of mentorship. So, I absolutely knew I wanted to work with him… [S]o, with them as co-advisors, I kind of got the best of both worlds because he was very much about broader sweeping questions. He wasn't really concerned about the details of something that I wrote. He didn't come back with a lot of grammar corrections or anything he asked more about the profound questions. (Questions) that like sends you to the library for endless time trying to think through your life and your project. So, together they offered a really wonderful balance because one was always making sure that I was focused on and aware of the details and the other was much more invested in keeping me attuned to the larger questions at stake. It's never just about your project or the job. He hated the term professionalization and thought it was bullshit and it was much more about like developing as a person, as a thinker and contributing to like making the world a better place, which is way hokier than he would ever put it. (Faith, Female, Assistant Professor, Humanities)

In addition, the symbols attached to the academic profession and academic work were internalized and reinforced by the constant interactions and symbolic exchanges with peers, faculty, PIs, advisors, and supervisors. Logan, an assistant professor in STEM fields, described that the learning experience during graduate school is based on an apprenticeship model.

> Well, grad advisors imprinted on their grad students. It is almost like an apprenticeship model where they study what we do. So, the professors that are in this hallway that come in at 10:00 am and leave at 5 or 4:30 pm every day, they wonder why their students are never in the lab because that is what they see. So, at this stage of their careers, I want to imprint on my students the value of working hard to get through this goal. And so psychologically, when they see me working as much as I do or when I go into the lab at like or 10:00 and say what is going on, you know, what are you doing? That keeps them moving forward. At the same time, I try to portray a more positive sense of work-life balance than I actually have myself. So, we have a pretty frequent group events like, well, I'll go see a… movie or I'll have a party at my house. Or when we go to conferences, we don't stay in hotels. We just rent a big house. And the whole group stays in an Airbnb to kind of bond and connect together. (Logan, Male, Assistant Professor, STEM)

During postdoctoral researcher positions, faculty members were socialized at the institutional level and learned practical aspects of the academic profession, such as how to write academically in their fields and obtain grants. Although postdoctoral experiences, as professional experiences, have been described mainly in STEM fields, a substantial number of faculty members from the humanities interviewed described these experiences as a new trend in their academic socialization and professional development. These two experiences, graduate school and postdoctoral research positions, are the social spaces where the faculty members interviewed learned and internalized the values, norms, and behaviors of the academic profession (Gardner, 2008; Tierney & Rhoads, 1994; Weidman et al., 2001). The liminal career stage, then, is fundamental to the professional socialization processes, the development of an academic professional identity, and the internalization of the symbolic world of the academic profession (such as culture, values, symbols, and feeling norms).

The symbolic world of the academic profession is a polymorphous entity shaped by the symbols and values learned through the cultural frames of references, social

norms, and social interactions established within the social contexts individuals have encountered in their lives (Morales Vázquez, 2018). This symbolic world includes the symbols, meanings, values, and norms that inform the professional values, attitudes, and behaviors of the academic profession. The symbols of the academic profession are attached to the formal and informal aspects of professional socialization, such as course work and the attendance at research conferences. During the liminal stage, the symbolic world of the academic profession is developed by—typically—social relationships and symbolic interactions with faculty, faculty advisors and supervisors, principal investigators, and peers. For this reason, the liminal career stage addressed in this investigation considers the years of graduate school (typically between 5-7 years) as well as the years at postdoctoral positions (between 1-4 years) as part of the academic professional life cycle, mainly because, during these years, the prospective faculty members focus most of their time, commitment, efforts, and behaviors on two of the most important roles of the academic profession: conducting research and scholarly writing.

Academic job market search. Huberman's (1989) two types of entrance into the teaching profession are consistent with the findings of this investigation. The development of the academic professional life cycle can be characterized as an easy beginning or a painful beginning. These types of beginnings are dependent upon the individual psychological characteristics of faculty members, such as a first generation student or a member of an underrepresented minority group. These personal experiences set the symbolic conditions in which APIs are developed.

> (After being asked about her experience in the job market search) I mean it's demoralizing. It's depressing. I was the first in my cohort to defend, but like the

> last to get a job… I felt like a loser and it took a lot of pep talks, a lot of repeated pep talks, and people reminding me that the work matters and that it can pay off and that… not getting a job is not the same thing as not being valued… But (job market search) was a learning experience in so far as I understood that you can't let, whether or not you get something, a job funding, whatever, determine your value or your self worth. Those are not synonymous. You can be on an upswing and then [if]that's shaken [you] plummet. Things can go left real quick and that's just life. And that's the thing to pay attention to is what you think… you desire the most actually means. So, I started to pay attention to what do I think it means to have a tenure track job. And what that meant for me was job security, and it meant a regular paycheck and not hustling every year and not hustling every summer because… I can pay rent up until August and after that, and then I have to wait for that next paycheck's role in. And that's stress. I was interested in offsetting that because I grew up in financially precarious family and history. So, that produced a lot of anxiety in me, and I knew that that was a trigger and not having some (job stability), knowing where my money was coming from was a trigger for me emotionally. So, that's what the job meant, and it allowed me to kind of disentangle and invest in a particular kind of academic career path which is hyper valued in academia. The Research 1, the tenure track, the book out, the famous "pseudo celebrity" scholar path. It allowed me to kind of disentangle that image and lay that narrative from the thing I wanted. The thing that I wanted was a certain kind of security… an ability to provide myself with the home space that I felt stable because I moved so much during my life, not prior to academia. But then, I ended up in a career where you're going to move a lot, until you find that stable space. So, it just taught me about paying attention to the thing that matters and not glorifying the thing that you desire… Tenure track isn't like this prize. It's not all like loveliness from here on out. It's a lot of fucking bureaucracy and work and responsibility and challenges and half the time you're just like, "I just need to get the fuck away." "Can you please stop emailing me?" Or like you get so much all the time, but it's not that you don't want to engage. That's actually the hitch, and all of that is that you want to engage. You want to be a part of all these spaces. It's just not feasible. It's not healthy. It's not possible with your time and your energy. (Faith, Female, Assistant Professor, Humanities)

In addition, these ceremonies of passage depend on the validation of others with higher status or more authority in the academic profession.

> I remember being a postdoc, my postdoc was in Europe. I did seven total years in Europe as a postdoc, which is very long for (STEM fields). That's not usual… I had the same anxieties… and those anxieties can persist really up to like six months ago because I wasn't part of the American system anymore. And so, when I would go to conferences, I probably tried harder saying to people (senior faculty)… "Hey, look at me, look at me, look at me." Because I really needed

> some of that validation you know? I needed some amount of recognition to know that… I would at least have the opportunity to go to the next step. Because you need an interview before you get a job, right? And I had applied on the market twice to get a professorship. The first year I tried, I got zero interviews… [N]ow that's much more demoralizing than sitting down with your Ph.D. advisor and trying to figure out how to write a thesis… [T]hat's debilitating. (Steve, Male, Assistant Professor, STEM)

From Steve's perspective, this validation, seen as recognition of the professional self from significant others in the field (usually senior faculty), was needed to progress in the academic profession. A lack of this professional validation or recognition can lead to negative emotions such as anxiety, stress, shame, and guilt, as well as self-doubt.

The tenure process. Ceremonies of passage into the academic profession, such as the tenure process, represent transitional phases and spaces of uncertainty in which faculty members reconfigure, adjust, and change their perspectives and intentionality about their professional lives. These transitional phases, seen as spaces of uncertainty, trigger symbolic conditions that alter or change faculty members' perspectives about who they are and what they can achieve as professionals. Thus, transitional phases are aligned with the formation, entrance, and permanence of faculty members into the academic profession.

> [B]eing tenure track is you're still kind of at other people's mercy, and until you get tenure you still feel like you can't speak your mind. You have to take a lot of shit. And it's not quite as bad as being a lecturer or visiting assistant or an adjunct, you know? They get really exploited, but… you still feel that hierarchy and that power asymmetry, and it can make you feel very insecure and like unsafe. And so, what I thought the whole time was "just keep your mouth shut, just get through it. Once you have tenure, that's when you can finally address things… don't do anything that could cause a problem right now." And so, it was really trying to just get through it basically for months. (Audrey, Female, Associate Professor, Humanities)

Spaces of uncertainty are seen in this investigation as turning points that influence changes and alterations in faculty members' professional identities and emotional reactions. For example, across all academic disciplines and professional stages, faculty members described the tenure process as one of the most difficult and stressful stages in their lives. Senior faculty, particularly those in privileged positions such as distinguished professors, recognized that assistant professors do have fear. This fear may arise from their inability to conduct the research they want or their inability to say what they think, as either action might influence faculty members' professional practices and their continuation in the academic profession.

> Younger scholars do have that fear. And I've gotten a lot of inquiries since then from younger scholars asking me, "what do I have to do in order to not to end up where you are?" They don't put it bluntly, but that's the idea. They're afraid, "can I do this? Can I do that?" Because if you're an assistant professor, you see before tenure, and you haven't made your name at (Ivy League University) or wherever it is, then to be barred from (a country) can cost you a job, maybe even cost you a career. But see, this happened to me, in 1989 I was already 45 years old and already had tenure at (Ivy League University). So, it hasn't been that costly for me. There have been costs of course… I'm very glad for the tenure system. Not because I have a guaranteed salary, but because it leads me, and others like me, to tell the truth. You know? When you think about what society gives to professors, at least in our country: The deal with society is if you get tenure, we take care of your salary all the way through retirement, all the way to when you die, you're not going to ever be poor. You won't be rich, but you'll never be poor. We guarantee it and we give you respect. Professors compared to a lot of others are respected in society. Those are big pluses. And what we give back, according to the tenure system, is the honesty of telling the truth as you see it. And that becomes very important to me partly… My job is to tell the truth as I see it. So, I get irritated a little bit at my tenured colleagues who still won't say exactly what they think about (a country). So, I do that maybe once or twice a week. I get some calls from the press, either on email or on telephone, asking my opinion of this or that, and when I place myself in the answering position, I always try to say, "okay, now what do I think is true?" Without thinking, what is this person going to think of it in a social situation like a cocktail party or something? I think about all those things. I don't want to offend somebody I'm talking to right, "… [S]ay this instead of that." But on the radio or in television, I just say exactly what I

> think the truth is. And I didn't have that at the beginning of my career. That's a benefit of growing older in the career. (George Bond, Male, Distinguished Professor, Humanities)

This condition of stress is a result of ontological insecurity about the future of professional life as well as the uncertainty about personal job security. This ontological insecurity was reinforced during moments of verification (or validation) from others. Nadine, an assistant professor in the Social Sciences, Michelle, an associate professor in the Social Sciences, and Charlie Darwin, a distinguished professor in STEM, pointed to the negative emotions, including emotional stress and the self-doubts, they experienced during the periods they waited for validation during the tenure process.

> But that was another kind of moment, like sheer terror in the tenure track is where it's like "I know what's expected; I'm doing everything I can." I figured out teaching pretty well. I figured out all the service stuff. I figured out balancing. I figured out mentoring and training students... I have to be good at everything. I'm doing everything as well as I can, but the thing I cannot control is… how quickly my research moves through the peer review process and sometimes it can just be… terrifying because it's… all I've gotten… You can't control any of that. That's an editorial decision that's out of my hands. (Nadine, Female, Assistant Professor, Social Sciences)

> Even at the end [of the tenure process], when my book was… there, the revisions were there with the press… I already had one round of reviewers' reports. I hadn't gotten the second round, from the second person. And I was going through this (tenure). My file was going forward. I was afraid because I was calling, and I was emailing the editor: "Any word?" I said [to the editor], "Everything is riding on this book, you know? Like my tenure is riding on this book….I'm trying to stress the importance of this to you like my tenure file is in the pipeline right now." (Michelle, Female, Associate Professor, Social Sciences)

> One person came up after I got tenure and he said to me, "well now you did the easy part, but now you're going to have to work hard." And I didn't particularly appreciate that, and I got scared. I mean, and I went home to my wife and I said, "look, we were supposed to be feeling good, and its two weeks afterwards and this guy came up and sat down and said, "'no, you really have to work hard.' And I am working hard." (Charlie Darwin, Male, Distinguished Professor, STEM)

Faculty members described APIs' identity crises and identity change simultaneously as reflected in their perceptions of uncertainty in the academic profession, such as going up for tenure. Ceremonies of passage can be viewed as symbolic turning points (chosen or unexpected) that influence spaces of uncertainty, in which the role identity and the level of existential confidence of faculty members were threatened. Within these symbolic arenas, faculty members experienced alteration and changes in their APIs, as well as in their emotional reactions in relation to the academic profession.

> I know many people [after getting tenure] experienced… like a radically transformative experience in their lives. Like they're just completely different and I understand that because I think you have to swallow so much and put up with so much before it that you, that in some ways is impossible to even be yourself before tenure. Right? Because you have to constantly like play it safe and you're sort of at other people's mercy. (Audrey, Female, Associate Professor, Humanities)

Along with the turning points produced at the different stages of the academic profession, faculty members, across academic professional life stages, created narratives about their professional selves based on the description of their personal history, their human development stage, and the professional socialization processes experienced during graduate school and work environments. Charlie Darwin II, a full professor from STEM, described the tenure process' difficulty as reliant upon the personal conditions of faculty members, such as if they are married and have children.

> And by the time you're submitting your file for tenure, it should be pretty clear what's going to happen. But still it's scary. I mean the year I went up for tenure, actually two other people didn't get tenure, not in my department because my department has a very specifically a perfect record. But, people in other departments didn't get tenure. And that was scary to see that… especially if you're married and you have a family. Like that's it, you basically have to pick up and leave if you want to get another job or do something. So… that part of the system is tough. (Charlie Darwin II, Male, Full Professor, STEM)

As Charlie Darwin II expressed, faculty members continue their psychosocial human development (Kroger, 2018) while at the same time they internalize, embody, and reproduce the symbols, norms, and cultures of the academic profession.

> I think the biggest challenge was probably managing time and maybe overcoming some doubt about my abilities because while I was always a pretty good student [as an]… undergraduate… I think the worries, as an independent scholar, and doing my own research. I had doubts in a lot of that….[N]either of my parents went to college. I'm a first-generation college student. So not only I was a first generation undergraduate, I'm the only one in my entire family to get a Ph.D… I just think it was some kind of lack of confidence and abilities… [Graduate school] was just one of those experiences that was a little challenging and intimidating to me, especially the first couple of years until I got my confidence, once I started doing research and publishing things and getting a form of validation for that. (Myra, Female, Associate Professor, Social Sciences)

For Myra, validation or recognition from other faculty is important for the verification of her API. During the tenure process, the salience of professional identity increases and influences the roles and activities that faculty members prioritize, such as publications. In some cases, these roles and activities allow faculty to secure tenure track positions. Within this professional expectation—to attain tenure—faculty members function in the main at a "hyper-professional" pace. Under a "hyper-professional" pace, faculty members increased the number of hours they worked on their research projects, on grant writing, and scholarly article submissions to journals.

Because research is a role that allows faculty members to obtain tenure, Parker, an assistant professor in the Social Sciences, described the ways in which predatory practices in research can damage the integrity of underrepresented communities such as Native American communities.

> Well academia, in many ways, it's quite evil. The people do good work despite it, in many cases, because the focus is on publications and bringing in money, even when the publications are not very good, and even when they're in fact outright harmful… And even when particularly… a disciplinary area, where the researchers are unethical. People can go into Native American community contexts and write a paper about it and get it published, but it may not be a good representation of the community. They may not have any level of accountability, and yet they can publish anyway… So, publications are good. I like the idea of disseminating knowledge and of developing knowledge, but it needs to be done in a more responsible way. I think that academia does not facilitate that because… the goal or the measure is not to be accountable to communities, at least not very often, but rather it's to publish in locations that the academy has deemed to be worthy. (Parker, Male, Assistant Professor, Social Sciences)

The adjustment and the capacity to navigate in the academic profession, along with the coping strategies employed by faculty members, differ considerably depending on the personal meanings (result of relational and symbolic interchange), possible selves (Ibarra, 1999), and the professional stages of faculty members at the time of the interviews.

The Academic Profession Under Neoliberal Values: "The Endless Daunting Hamster Wheel"

Consistent with European higher education scholars, faculty members in the U. S. recognized the infiltration, normalization, and pervasiveness of neoliberal values in the academic profession. These values are reflected in new forms of subjectivity, values, motivations, intentionality, and performance of the academic profession. Neoliberal academic performativity has been explained and justified by the addition of market-oriented values and behaviors to the traditional academic roles (i.e., research, teaching, and service) of the academic profession in PRUs. One of the market-oriented behaviors faculty members described, with more emphasis in the social sciences and STEM fields, is external funding.

Consistent with the views of higher education scholars (Henkel, 2011; Maistry, 2015; Torres & Schugurensky, 2002), budget cuts have led to both extreme competition and to a higher recognition (and even glorification) of funding grants in the tenure and promotion process. "The funding in the US is extremely competitive, and it's considered the gold standard for sort of a rewarding you based on your merit" (Steve, Male, Assistant Professor, STEM). Within this environment, neoliberal mechanisms, such as audit cultures, managerialism, and performativity, have served as stamps that have marked the lived experiences, narratives, APIs, and emotions of faculty members interviewed.

From faculty members' narratives, neoliberal ideology was characterized by the pervasiveness of uncertainty about themselves as professionals, the nature of their profession, and the values of the academic profession. These neoliberal values are expressed by changes in work conditions at the university level, such as the implementation of what one faculty member noted as shared services model.

> I thought… some of (the issues) are because (the University) is just moving toward what's called a "shared services model." Shared services were things that used to be allocated, or staffing that used to be allocated or demarcated at the departmental level, so it can be ethnic studies' academic advisor, ethnic studies' course scheduler, ethnic studies' administrative assistant. Those things are now shared, meaning that multiple… people will have a certain designation and they oversee that for all sorts of departments or across units... And, it leads to them being overwhelmed….Universities have been moving toward this as a cost savings thing. That I think actually doesn't work very well except in limited circumstances. (Parker, Male, Assistant Professor, Social Sciences)

Work conditions have led to an increase in work demands and organizational pressures that have reinforced a sense of ontological uncertainty about the academic

profession and academic work (Ball, 2003). This uncertainty has expanded within all stages of the academic professional life cycle.

> As you become more senior, you get asked to do things more often. So again, you need to think "how am I going to spend my time doing this in the lab, or doing this in class, or doing this in the university" or "how am I going to spend my time doing this outside?" I think that is something… none of us can predict from even from week to the next, exactly how that is going to look like, [we] just need to be ready to make those decisions and hope that you make them well enough to be able to get to the next week. (Ruth, Female, Distinguished Professor, Social Sciences)

Neoliberal ideology led to three critical outcomes that have marked faculty members' narratives. The first outcome was the work conditions of the academic profession, particularly job insecurity and financial instability that have affected faculty members from all ranks and all academic disciplines as a result of budget cuts. This financial instability can be reflected at two levels, the national context and the individual institution to which faculty members belong.

> Yeah, it depends where you are on campus, and what school or discipline you are in. So, if you are someone who does creative writing or interpretive dance… the expectations for research funding are low. Whereas if you are in (STEM fields), outside of your startup money, if you don't get money you do not do your research. It's hard to be successful in pushing the boundaries of whatever discipline that you are in. So, federal budgets have shrunk, and the typical success rate of a professor in [STEM fields] on proposals is about 15 percent. So, one out of fifteen proposals goes through. And that makes it very challenging to support graduate students because we have to support all our graduate students' grants. So, the biggest stressor for [STEM fields] professors is getting research money to be able to support the research and students. (Logan, Male, Assistant Professor, STEM)

> But what I really would not miss [in academia] is the endless, endless hamster wheel, which is trying to get funding to manage your lab. So, let's assume—this is a story that I tell my graduate students—that want to go into academia. A Ph.D. student costs me about 50k a year, okay? For every dollar that I bring in, the university takes about 50 cents worth, right? So, if I need 50k a year to support a student that means I have to bring into the university a hundred thousand dollars.

> If I have 5 Ph.D. students, that means that I need to bring in five hundred thousand dollars a year, which is a half million. The NSF has a ten percent success rate, which means I need to be applying for about five million dollars a year in grants just to sustain my group… The average grant in my field is about 200-400K a year. So, I have to apply for three to five every year. So, that means every other month, roughly, I have to be submitting a proposal. That is a burden that means that every other month I need to have a novel, nationally competitive, beautifully written, rigorous, document put together that builds a three to five-year plan for research. That is an endless daunting hamster wheel. (Jennifer Smith, Female, Full Professor, STEM)

The second critical outcome of neoliberal ideology presented in the narratives was the increase in service role expectations for tenured track faculty, mostly in the Social Sciences and in the Humanities.

> Yes, there's been a huge increase [in service loads]. There are lots of people who were taken out of their departments to serve: that's service' that's administration… Some of that is [an] unnecessary result of a new federal and state rules and regulations… That said, there was an incredible amount of bloat in the administrative university… Is it service, or is it just kind of creating a monster? (Codger, Male, Distinguished Professor, Humanities)

> So just service to the departments… really takes up a huge amount of my time and has pretty consistently, although it's so extreme as (a mid-level administrator), but it's always been a big chunk of my time. I think everyone in my department feels that it's hard to be protected from it… It feels like a complete… soul sucking… Even just yesterday, I felt like anxious and stressed a lot, and obviously some of that is like my own personality and my own personal issues. But there's something about the expectations on me as (a mid-level administrator), all the service and the number of things I'm trying to juggle that feels like it could easily like provoke an anxiety attack. (Catherine, Female, Full Professor, Humanities)

> I think the biggest difference [in her perceptions of the academic profession] has been the amount of service work… [N]ow it really almost doubled what I was doing. So, I spend larger and larger parts of my day in doing service work, and I do less research and publications, a lot less… [after asked how does she feel about it]. Oh God, "what would it be a good word for it?" Incompetent, I think you're just not able to do what you like doing what is valuable about your work, what is important. It feels terrible. (Perez, Female, Associate Professor, Social Sciences)

Finally, the narratives described how neoliberal ideology influenced the development of reward systems that highlight performativity based on the quantifiable measurement of productivity and performance. Pressures for productivity can be accentuated for assistant professors because of the "tenure clock."

> Well, I'm at a Research1 institution, so I think that during my third week I had lunch with the chair who's basically just like checking in to see how I was feeling, how I was doing, and how the book was coming along, and to see if I like have some publications in the pipeline to just be on track for tenure. I was like, "it's week three." But that tenure clock pressure is for real. They made that so on the one hand… I appreciate it because… it shows me they're paying attention and that it matters, and they care… [T]hat means that when you're up against the wall and you need support, you need something to ensure that you're on track and it benefits the department if you are… [T]hey already recognize that and… everybody was onboard. So, that helps because that's not the case for every faculty person. But it's also stressful… [I]t is immediately stressful and you get here and you're already serving on defense committees and you're like, "I don't know anybody" and you're also teaching [large] classes. (Faith, Female, Assistant Professor, Humanities)

> The emotional impact [of research publications] is definitely there… I was kind of on the lower end of average in terms of publications in my PhD. I was well aware of that… I knew that I wasn't in the top ten. So, when I moved on… I had this sort of a chip on my shoulder and a burden at the same time because it created a lot of pressure as far as what I felt I needed to do. (Steve, Male, Assistant Professor, STEM)

Reward systems, under neoliberal ideology, have altered the dynamics, values, and practices of academic work across academic disciplines (Billot, 2010). These alterations are reflected in the pressures experienced by faculty members from mid-managers at PRUs, such as deans.

> There's definitely been pressure. Certainly, going back into the early two thousands, mid-two thousands to get grants, and there's been pressure on the College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences to prove why we are still relevant… And so, there have been efforts to show why are we still relevant, and yes, various deans have said "you need to go out and you need to get grants. And

> you need to go out and get funding." (Jane Gordon, Associate Professor, Female, Humanities)

All of these outcomes feed into hyper-competition (inner competition, interpersonal competition, and extramural competition), which has implications for changes in the regulation of academic work as well as the speed of academic and intellectual production. Therefore, neoliberal ideology has influenced symbolic mechanisms that created conditions for symbolic violence (Harley, 2002). Symbolic violence was described, mainly, as a sense of perceived low levels of work autonomy, professional pressures, and the questioning of professional competence.

Symbolic violence was expressed in faculty members' narratives of isolation, API existential crisis, a sense of constant incompetence (or impostor syndrome), and the normalization of emotional abuse (Hirigoyen, 1998). Emotional abuse was expressed in the form of negative emotions such as stress, frustration, resignation, anger, and existential emotions such as anxiety, shame, and fear. Within this work environment, faculty members described the pervasiveness and the infiltration of neoliberal values in the academic profession. Thus, faculty members recognized that they needed to focus their attention on the expectations from their university, and they expected to experience an increase in both fear and anxiety.

Neoliberal ideology in this PRU's work environment controlled both the subjectivities and emotions of individuals, and induced a general fear in daily life. This fear shaped the meanings, values, emotional reactions, and behaviors of faculty members. Faculty members behaved from fear of rejection, fear of individual humiliation, and fear of stigmatization, such as the fear of being an "incompetent worker" in an entrepreneurial

environment. Consistent with Bloch (2012), negative emotions, such as anger and fear, were triggered when faculty members internalized perceived levels of professional rejection. Professional rejection was seen as a symbolic dynamic that threated the meanings of and ideas about who are faculty members, particularly about their APIs. The threat to APIs led to fear. Fear expressed in the form of being and becoming was a symbolic mechanism used to control and regulate the professional identities, behaviors, and outcomes of faculty members.

> But then all that stuff that I was talking about, all those emotions from being a postdoc, all that goes away because now we are all in the same boat again. But now there's a community of people in that same boat that I could be a part of because then there are all the anxieties and fears of being a faculty member, you know? Trying to get funding and trying to get your research program started, being able to communicate with students that could be really smart, but just don't have the experience level to be able to execute what you want. (Steve, Male, Assistant Professor, STEM)

Market-driven motivations and values drive the neoliberal self. Within this uncertain, precarious, and performative work environment faculty members interviewed constructed narratives that emphasized the importance of being an accountable self and being productive. Narratives from this perspective justified hyper-competition as a product of structural aspects of the academic profession, such as globalization and budget cuts to funding.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

This investigation explored the human-centered experiences and emotions of faculty members. The narratives, identities, and emotions of faculty members interviewed described the human side of the academic profession. This humanity was conceptualized and explored by the psychosocial, symbolic, and emotional aspects that influenced the professional development of faculty members. The professional development occurred across diverse and complementary stages (Gardner, 2008; Baldwin, Lunceford, & Vanderlinden, 2005). Professional stages contextualized the social dynamics that promoted the internalization of the symbolic world of the academic profession, the attachment of meanings to the academic work, and, most importantly, the development of academic professional identities (APIs).

In addition, this investigation explained that the exploration of the symbolic worlds and subjectivities of faculty members permitted the identification of the ways in which structural characteristics of the academic profession (e.g., hegemonic masculinity) and situational changes (e.g., the presence of neoliberal values) influenced the narratives constructed by faculty members at public research universities (PRUs). This investigation was driven by three research questions. What are the narratives that full-time tenured and tenure track faculty members construct about the academic profession in one public research university (PRU) in California? What individual-psychological, role, or group meanings do faculty members rely upon to describe their academic professional identities (APIs) in each stage of the academic professional life cycle? In what ways do faculty

members rationalize and understand neoliberal values of competition, performativity, and productivity as affecting their experiences, professional identities, and emotions in the academic profession? In order to explain the narratives, identities, and emotions of the academic profession in the neoliberal era, I relied on identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009) and the concepts of APIs, academic professional life cycle, and neoliberal values of competition, performativity, and productivity.

Humans Behind Intellectuals: The Symbolic Worlds, Narratives, and Identities of the Academic Profession

Faculty members were considered as reflexive-social-emotional humans situated within PRUs. PRUs were the particular social structures and contexts where faculty members developed their APIs and where they learned the values, meanings, and behaviors of the academic profession and academic work. Consistent with identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009) the meanings attached to APIs were based on social learning, symbolic capacity, and reflected appraisals. In addition, faculty members constructed their narratives as a result of their capacities of self-awareness, reflexivity, introspection, and intentionality (Eakin, 2008; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). These capacities allowed faculty members to think and reflect about themselves across time perspectives.

The narratives constructed by faculty members were characterized by a constant symbolic flux between past experiences and past notions of themselves as professionals, present understandings of themselves as professionals, and notions of future professional selves (i.e., who they would like to be in the future as professionals). Narratives about the academic profession reflected the symbols, meanings, and emotions attached to the self-

perceptions about who they are as professionals, as well as their perceptions about their social realities at PRUs, such as the presence of neoliberal values in their work environments. Narratives about the academic profession were tied to the professional development of faculty members across diverse stages of the academic professional life cycle.

The professional development of faculty members was a result of constant iterative-reflexive-emotional cycles. These cycles were a result of the symbolic and emotional exchanges faculty members have had in their lives. The symbolic world was reflected in the sum of the frames of reference, belief systems, assumptions, norms, symbols, and emotions that influenced the attribution of meanings to the academic profession and academic work. The cult-like fashion for nature of the academic profession characterized a faculty's constant pursuit of mastery and professional verification, and informed the social interactions, socialization processes, and emotions attached to the academic profession. Consistent with identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009), the reflection on and recognition of emotional reactions, linked to identity development and change, permitted faculty to identify professional and interpersonal dynamics that can inform the assimilation, internalization, and reproduction of the symbols, norms, values, cultures, and behaviors of the academic profession.

The Academic Professional Self: Dimensions of Meaning for a Comprehensive Exploration of Academic Professional Identities (APIs)

Faculty members organized, articulated, and expressed the meanings, values, and emotions of the academic profession in the form of narratives about their professional

self-development and professional lives. The construction of these narratives was characterized by constant symbolic flux, across time perspectives (past, present, and imagined future), in which the professional self was developed. According to Bieldby and Kully (1989), "all forms of self-narrative involve the process of constructing identities" (p. 7). Therefore, the structural symbolic interactionist nature of identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009) facilitated the exploration of the meanings attached to the symbols, identities, and emotions of the academic profession. The conceptualization of APIs was motivated by the three dimensions of work-based identity proposed by Bothma, Lloyd, and Khapova (2015): the individual-psychological dimension, the social dimension, and the structural dimension, as well as by the three identity bases proposed by Burke and Stets (2009)—role, social, and person. Consistent with identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009), the three dimensions of APIs operated under the principles of the perceptual control process. Therefore, APIs mirrored the notions of work-based identity dimensions and identity bases.

Three dimensions of meanings characterized APIs: individual-psychological dimension, role dimension, and group dimension. These three dimensions of meanings allowed a comprehensive explanation of the ways in which faculty members learned, internalized, and reproduced the symbols, values, norms, and behaviors of the academic profession and academic work. APIs were reflected in the perceptions of symbols, meanings, and emotions that faculty members relied on to describe themselves as professionals, as well as the perceptions they articulated to give meaning to the academic profession and academic work. APIs are framed within the social structure of PRUs. In

the case of this investigation, this structure was characterized by the presence of neoliberal ideology, which has influenced alterations in the nature of the academic profession and academic work.

In this investigation, APIs were considered as professional identities rather than work identities because of the time, effort, and life-long commitment that faculty members applied to the academic profession. Faculty members interviewed spent between 13-18 years of their life, since the year they started graduate school up to the achievement of a fully autonomous career, as scholars, following the achievement of tenure, in the pursuit of mastery and legitimization as scholars. Consistent with Burke and Stets (2009), the individual-unique characteristics of faculty members were described as the symbolic core where APIs were developed (Figure 3). The individual-psychological dimension of APIs comprises the personal experiences, social interactions, and symbolic worlds that shaped and informed the unique frames of reference and perceptions of faculty members prior their attendance in a doctoral program.

Previous social interactions and symbolic interchanges with significant others, such as family members, established the symbolic relational capacity in which APIs were developed. The role dimension of APIs was characterized by the internalization of the symbols, values, norms, and practices of the academic profession, and graduate school determined the role dimension (Gardner, 2008; Weidman, Twale, & Stein, 2001). The role dimension and group dimension were developed across diverse and constant formal and informal professional socialization processes (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994; Weidman et al., 2001).

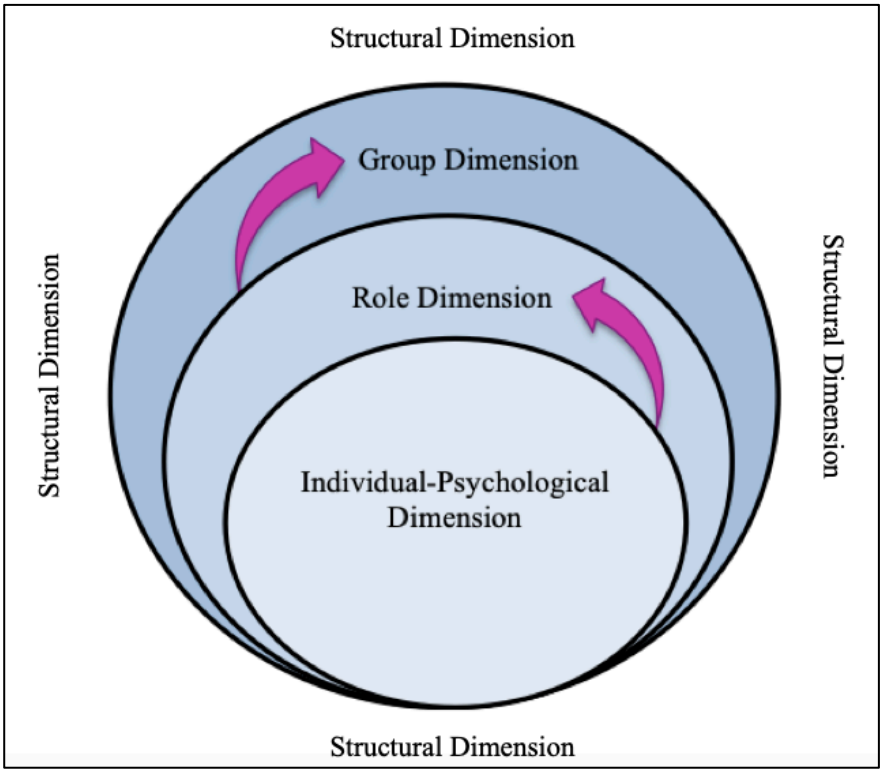

Figure 3. Operationalization of the dimensions of meanings of academic professional identities (APIs)

The first professional socialization process that informed the development of APIs occurred during graduate school, described mainly as an apprenticeship model. During this socialization processes, know as anticipatory socialization (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996), faculty members mimic the professional behaviors of their Ph.D. advisors, based primarily on the culture of the academic disciplines in which faculty members were socialized (Weidman et al., 2001). In this process, as graduate students, faculty members learned that research and teaching were the two main roles of academic work. They described these roles as voluntary roles of the academic profession. In addition to the formal aspects of the academic profession, and consistent with Gardner (2008), faculty

members described their doctoral experience as key for their personal, interpersonal, and professional growth. Furthermore, doctoral experiences were linked to the three consecutive phases: course-work, comprehensive exams, and the dissertation, consistent with Sverdlik and Hall (2019).

A second and subsequent professional socialization process that informed the attribution of meanings to the academic profession and academic work occurred when faculty members were hired as faculty members. The entrance into the academic profession required that faculty members developed/reinforced their notions of membership into the academy. While faculty members entered into the academic profession (their formal affiliation into a PRU), they were expected to internalize collective symbols of the academic profession, such as the value of collegiality (reflected in their service work and participation in committees). As they worked in isolation much of their time during graduate school, faculty described a lack of professional socialization about service work as graduate students. Therefore, because of the lack of meanings and values about service work, faculty members perceived service work as a secondary—an obligatory—role of the academic profession.

The adjustment and internalization of the additional symbols and practices of the academic work were determined by the symbolic relational capacity of faculty members. For example, faculty members who were first-generation students developed APIs characterized by higher levels of social responsibility in regards to their purposes as a professor, such as their commitment to create better conditions for other first-generation students. The unique experience and challenges of being a first-generation student framed

the possibilities and limitations that faculty members encountered during graduate school and their subsequent continuity into the hierarchy of the academic profession. Therefore, the symbolic relational capacity, needed to navigate into academia and to develop APIs, was a result of the symbols, values, and emotions faculty members used to understand and to give meaning to the academic world (e.g. cultures and norms).

APIs were described as amalgams of meanings that faculty members used to reflect who they were, who they are, and who they would like to be as professionals in the future. APIs influenced how faculty members perceived themselves as professionals who worked at PRUs, and how they responded to institutional expectations about the academic work, as well as their emotional responses towards their professional lives, particularly about their work conditions, work expectations, and work demands of the academic profession in the neoliberal era.

Consistent with identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009), the non-verification process of APIs was a result of a perceived mismatch between the APIs' identity standards and the perceptions about those identity standards that faculty members received from significant others, such as senior faculty and deans. As a result of the structural characteristics of the academic profession, as a predominantly White male profession, female faculty members, across ranks and academic disciplines, experienced APIs' non-verification processes in the form of misogyny and tokenism. On the one hand, misogyny (Butterwick & Dawson, 2005; Meyers, 2013) was described by attitudes and behaviors that discriminated, marginalized, and excluded female faculty members from equal recognition and participation in the academic profession (e.g., their

experiences in higher leadership roles). On the other hand, tokenism (Gappa et al., 2007; Harley, 2008) referred to the obligatory overuse of female and underrepresented minorities as representatives of diversity within higher education institutions for such processes as committee work, as well as the experience of abuse. Consistent with higher education scholars (Fryberg & Martínez, 2014; Harris, 2007; Landson-Billings, 1997; Maher & Tetreault, 2007, 2011; Osei-Kofi, 2014; Smith & Calasanti, 2005; Turner, 2002), female faculty members described, in their narratives, episodes of marginalization, isolation, hostility, and toxicity in their work environment (Zambrana, 2018).

Professional experiences as faculty were preceded and shaped initially in graduate school (Bloch, 2012; Sverdlik & Hall, 2019). Graduate school experiences were considered as the symbolic and social spaces where APIs were developed, internalized, and/or reproduced. Graduate school was described as the sum of iterative, dynamic, and continual reflexive-emotional learning phases. These learning phases were characterized by constant social and symbolic interactions, as well as emotional exchanges, under a cult-like fashion (Wilshire, 1990), primarily because of the apprenticeship relationship between graduate students and Ph.D. advisors or principal investigator supervisors of graduate students. Thus, the professional development of faculty members, as a cult, was legitimized symbolically and socially across diverse ceremonies of passage that faculty members, across academic disciplines, encountered on their professional journeys, such as the achievement of tenure (Neumann, 2009; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996).

The professional development of faculty members and developmental continuity into the academic profession were a result of the pursuit of disciplinary or subject

mastery and the constant need of verification from significant others in the academic profession. Faculty members were legitimized as academic professionals because of three main ceremonies of passage. These ceremonies of passage were linked to several stages of the academic professional life cycle.

Professional Development: APIs and The Academic Professional Life Cycle

This investigation explored the narratives, APIs, and emotions of faculty members from a lifespan perspective and explained the salience of these. APIs were reflected in a life-long commitment to the academic profession and academic work. The conceptualization of a professional life cycle in the academic profession follows both Huberman's professional life cycle perspective of teachers (1989) and Baldwin, Lunceford, and Vanderlinden's professional stages of the academic profession (2005). Therefore, the academic professional life cycle was a result of the sum of the symbolic worlds that faculty members relied on to give meaning to, to reflect upon, and to perform the academic profession, as well as the structural characteristics of the context of PRUs where faculty members work.

Faculty members described the academic profession as a life-long profession. Thus, the explanation of the academic profession from a lifespan perspective includes the relationship between the psychosocial development and the symbolic exchanges embedded in the professional development of faculty members at PRUs. The academic professional life cycle, as a concept, points to explanations for the symbols, values, behaviors, and emotional reactions of faculty members across academic disciplines. In

addition, this conceptualization contextualizes value formation, meaning's attribution, and APIs' development across different stages of the academic profession at PRUs.

The symbolic characteristics of the academic profession and academic work were linked to the diverse social interactions and symbolic exchanges faculty members constantly encountered in their professional lives. The academic professional life cycle demonstrated the epigenesis of identity development (Kroger, 2018), particularly APIs, as reflected in the stages of academic career development that interweave with the psychosocial development of faculty members as humans (Erikson, 1997; Kroger, 2018), comparable to the stages of human life. Each stage was characterized by diverse and integrative attachment of symbolic meanings to faculty's professional lives and to their notions of the roles, values, and expectations of academic work.

This investigation considered faculty members as human, emotional beings with psychosocial needs during adulthood. Through the examination of the academic profession as a lifelong commitment, this investigation integrated the personal and the professional selves that are intertwined but not, usually, studied together. Both give meaning to the academic profession. Each stage was characterized by particular set of symbolic interchanges, emotional exchanges, professional expectations, and crises that faculty members experienced. Although higher education scholars (Baldwin et al., 2005) have examined the academic profession from a developmental perspective, this investigation advances the study of the academic profession through the explanation of professional identity development, the value formation of the academic profession and

academic work, and the attribution of meanings to the academic work from a humanistic perspective.

This investigation's findings provide evidence for the richness of the academic profession from a professional lifelong perspective. This investigation highlights aspects of the existing literature on the professional development of faculty members. Although the research design of this investigation explained the academic profession as three stages—early career stage, mid-career stage, and late career stage (Baldwin et al., 2005)—findings support the existence of six complementary and continual stages in the academic professional life cycle (Figure 4): liminal career stage (integrated by graduate school and postdoctoral research positions), early career stage, mid-career stage, advanced career stage, late career stage, and post-academic career stage.

The stages of the academic professional life cycle were not determined by the rank or status of faculty members but rather by the result of the sum of the symbols, values, and verifications and non-verifications that faculty members experienced during previous stages and positions as faculty members. These previous professional stages and positions informed the meanings and values faculty members attributed to the academic profession. Faculty members developed their APIs across these career stages. APIs' development was a result of iterative reflexive thinking, social interactions, symbolic interchanges, emotional socialization, and lifelong learning processes.

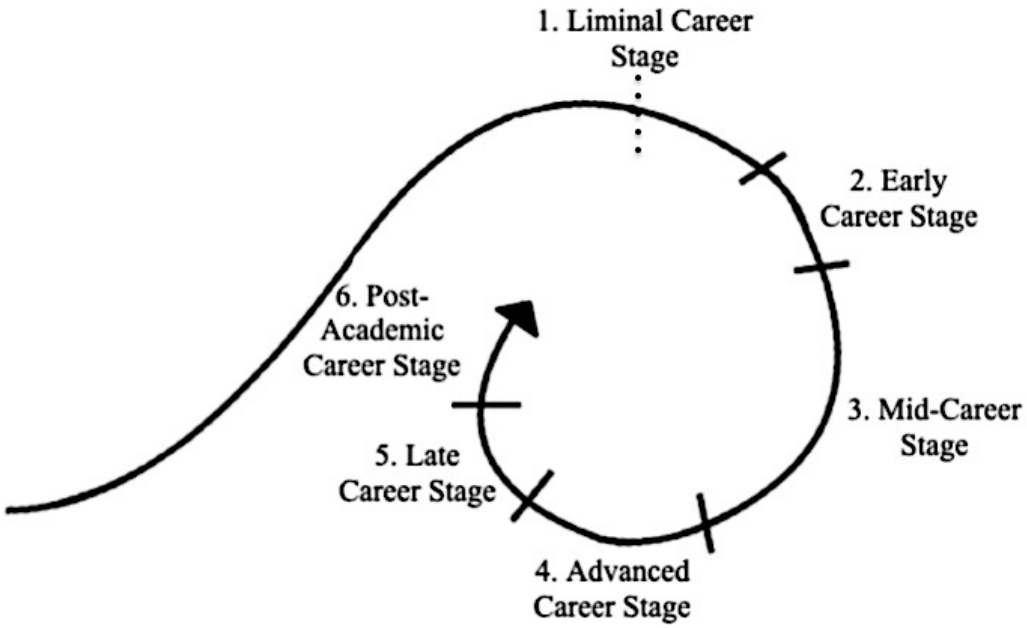

Figure 4. The academic professional life cycle

Consistent with higher education scholars (Austin, 2002; Bloch, 2012; Gardner, 2008; Sverdlik & Hall, 2019), the acquisition and the legitimation of the meanings, symbols, norms, and behaviors of the faculty members were a result of the social norms, interactions, and symbolic exchanges that the participants had with advisors, professors, and peers during graduate school. Faculty members across academic disciplines learned during graduate school the professional language that informed the behaviors and practices of the academic profession (Gumport, 1993; Weidman et al., 2001). Professional language includes the values, ethics, frames of reference, attitudes, the formal and informal norms and rules of conduct (such as the feeling norms and rules of emotional expression), and practical knowledge (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994; Weidman et al., 2001). Their socialization and internalization of the meanings, symbols, and norms of the academic profession allowed faculty members to be accepted by the university.

Academic disciplinary culture (Becher & Trowler, 2001; Tierney & Rhoads, 1994) and the culture of emotions (Bloch, 2012) promoted in PRUs were the two main cultures that influenced the internalization and reproduction of the symbolic world of the academic profession. Therefore, graduate school and postdoctoral research positions were the social and symbolic spaces where faculty members learned and internalized the baseline values, norms, and behaviors of the academic profession. The liminal career stage, then, was fundamental to the professional socialization processes and the development of APIs, as well as to the internalization and reproduction of the symbolic world of the academic profession. It is during this stage that prospective faculty members attribute meanings to academic work, such as the importance of conducting research.

The professional development of faculty and the continuity of the process of socialization in the academic profession was a result of three main ceremonies of passage (Figure 5) that reflect the cult-like characteristics of the academic profession. These three ceremonies of passage (or mastery phases) were linked to the professional stages of the academic professional life cycle. Within these ceremonies of passage, faculty members' verification and legitimization as members of the academic profession depended, directly and constantly, upon the validation they received from a collective of significant others in the academic profession (e.g., validation from committee members after a doctoral defense and the verification from senior faculty to obtain tenure). Therefore, for faculty members, these three ceremonies of passage were spaces of professional uncertainty about their present and future as professionals.

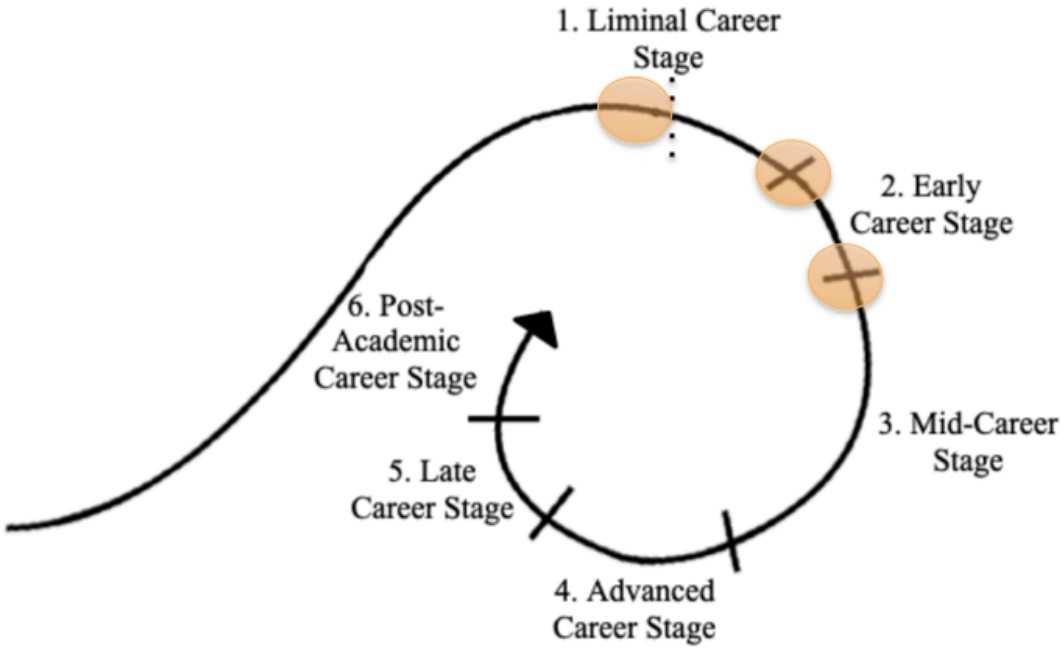

Figure 5. Ceremonies of passage in the academic professional life cycle

The first ceremony occurred during the liminal stage of the academic profession: the graduate school experience. The second ceremony of passage occurred between the liminal and the early career stage and consisted of the formal acceptance into the academic profession, such as gaining a faculty position as assistant professor. The last ceremony of passage occurred between the early career stage and the mid-career stage, the gaining of tenure. The relevance of these stages relied on their significance in shaping the narratives that faculty members constructed across academic disciplines. Faculty members' maintenance within and continuity through the academic profession depended on the verification and legitimization they received from significant others in the academic profession (e.g., validation from faculty colleagues and deans to obtain tenure).

While the topics of emotional socialization and mental health conditions in the academic profession were not part of the interview protocol of this investigation, both

topics emerged in participants' narratives about their professional experiences. Faculty members across ranks and academic disciplines described graduate school as the social and symbolic space where they learned the unhealthy practices of the academic profession such as isolation, emotional distress, and mental health conditions. The internalization of these symbols and unhealthy practices was justified based on a perceived lack of autonomy and low status within the hierarchy of the academic profession. In addition, and more dangerously, some faculty members were isolated during graduate school while they internalized the idea that both impostor syndrome and emotional distress are common characteristics of the academic profession. The impostor syndrome has been described as "a psychological experience of believing that one's accomplishments came about not through genuine ability, but as a result of having been lucky, having worked harder than others, or having manipulated other people's impressions." (Langford & Clances, 1993). The relevance of the identification of these patterns in graduate school is that these perceptions and negative emotions were experienced again in the subsequent ceremonies of passage.

Faculty members across academic disciplines described the job market search as a stressful, painful, and overwhelming period that influenced their perspectives about the academy. Faculty members explained that these negative perceptions were a result of the extremely competitive environment to obtain a tenure track position at a PRU. As a result of constant non-verifications, in the form of job rejections, faculty members' negative emotions, existential crises, and mental health conditions increased significantly during this period. Faculty members who had dependents during the job market search noted that

they had one, two, or even three jobs while they applied for tenure track job positions. One form of a temporary position in the academic profession was a postdoctoral research position. Consistent with Becher and Trowler (2001), postdoctoral research positions are expected in STEM fields. Nevertheless, faculty members from the Social Sciences and Humanities fields described postdoctoral experiences as well. Faculty members agreed that this period helped them to become socialized in the symbols and roles of the academic profession, such as learning how to manage a laboratory, how to write a research grant, and how to apply knowledge. Thus, postdoctoral research positions, even with their temporal nature, were viewed as a new normative path for entrance into the academic profession at PRUs.

The tenure process was considered as a turning point that influenced changes in APIs and academic work of faculty members across academic disciplines (Finkelstein, Conley, & Schuster, 2016; Neumann, 2009). The tenure process was described as the main rite of passage into the academic profession (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996) as well as a significant socialization process into the academic profession (Neumann, 2009). "Going up for tenure" was considered as one of the most stressful and painful moments in faculty members' professional lives (Gappa et al., 2007; Zambrana, 2018). Faculty members who had personal experiences of low-income, poverty, social exclusion, and marginalization described significant challenges to navigate the tenure process. In the particular case of female faculty members, these faculty described the tenure process as hostile, toxic, and overwhelming.

The majority of faculty members indicated that they entered graduate school with the intent to become professors. The notion of the academic profession as a life-long profession was internalized during graduate school for almost all faculty members, with the exception of those faculty members who came from a family composed of one or two family members who were professors. Faculty members across academic disciplines described a high level of commitment to the academic profession and academic work since graduate school. Along with the psychosocial development during adulthood (Gardner, 2008), faculty members were interested in the academy based upon their personal interests, which included becoming a professor and providing as a parent. The academic profession was internalized as a main anchor for their roles in the social structures, including their role as a professional. When faculty members were not verified by significant others or when they experienced identity threats continually, they perceived those threats as existential in nature, particularly the case for tenure track faculty members.

Faculty members suffered emotional distress and an identity crisis when unable to achieve the expectations of the academic profession, which could include expectations to function as entrepreneurs and attain celebrity status. Therefore, understandings of the professional development of faculty members necessitates the recognition of the ways in which the academic profession enhances or limits the full development of faculty members. This investigation demonstrates that the exploration of the subjectivity of faculty members, embedded in their narratives, can reveal current challenges, identity crises, and negative emotions that faculty members experience across gender, ranks, and

academic disciplines. A key mechanism that explained the internalization of the values, symbols, and meanings of the academic profession is the professional socialization process that occurs across diverse stages of the academic professional life cycle.

The Psychological and Emotional Injuries of Neoliberal Ideology in the Academic Profession

Faculty members across academic disciplines described narratives that were characterized by diverse challenges and stages of uncertainty about their professional life and job security. These challenges and stages of professional uncertainty were reinforced by the presence of neoliberal values. Neoliberal values of competition, performativity, and productivity have altered the nature and regulation of the academic profession and academic work (Billot, 2010; Leahey & Montgomery, 2011; Torres & Schugurensky, 2002). Changes in their workplace environment, viewed according to identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009) as situational changes, such as the pressures to obtain external funding, influenced the narratives constructed by faculty members across academic disciplines and ranks.

Consistent with European higher education scholars (Archer, 2008a, 2008b; Berg et al., 2016; Davies, 2005; Deem, 2005; Henkel, 2005; Knights & Clarke, 2014; Lorenz, 2012; Maistry, 2015; Nixon, 1996), faculty members in the U. S. recognized the infiltration, normalization, and pervasiveness of neoliberal values in the academic profession. Neoliberal values were reflected and described in alterations in the subjectivity, values, norms, intentionality, and performance of the academic profession and academic work at PRUs. In addition to Berg, Huijbens, and Larsen's (2016)

description of the significant increase in perceived levels of anxiety among faculty members under academic audit systems in Northern Europe, this investigation advances explanations of the ways in which neoliberal ideology operates at the symbolic level. Neoliberal values were promoted through social and symbolic mechanisms that have induced managerial and audit systems of competition (Billot, 2010). Systems of competition and audit cultures in PRUs have reproduced a fragmented perspective of faculty members as quantifiable, accountable, and commoditized entities (Ball, 2012). Therefore, neoliberal values have reinforced negative emotions and mental health conditions, such as anxiety and depression, in faculty members at PRUs in the U.S.

The evidence suggests that neoliberal ideology, including values, expectations, and practices of the university congruent with neoliberalism, has led to three critical outcomes that shaped the narratives of faculty members. The first outcome focused on the work conditions of faculty members. These work conditions were characterized by job insecurity, financial instability, and precarious work conditions (Chandler et al., 2002; Davies & Petersen, 2005; Lorenz, 2012; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). The second critical outcome was the increase in service role expectations. As a result of constant budget cuts, PRUs have altered the work conditions and values of academic work, and one of these alterations is the increase in service work for tenured faculty, most evident in the areas of Social Sciences and Humanities. The last outcome of neoliberal ideology is reflected in the use and promotion of reward systems that highlighted competition and performativity based on the quantifiable measurement of productivity and performance. These reward systems have altered the values, norms, and practices of academic work and have

reinforced psychological and emotional detrimental outcomes in faculty members, particularly for early career and mid-career faculty members.

Neoliberal ideology, reflected in these three outcomes, reinforced the symbolic violence experienced by faculty members interviewed. Symbolic violence was described in various forms, such as a sense of perceived low levels of work autonomy, a sense of constant incompetence (or impostor syndrome), and extensive professional pressures from significant others. From this perspective, faculty members constructed narratives of isolation, APIs existential crises, and the normalization of emotional abuse (Hirigoyen, 1998).

Neoliberal mechanisms colonized the self of faculty members (Sullivan & Simon, 2014), and created particular types of subjectivities, through work conditions that have promoted symbolic violence and emotional abuse in the neoliberal university. Emotional abuse in work environments is "any abusive conduct—whether by words, looks, gestures, or in writing—that infringes upon the personality, the dignity, or the physical or psychical integrity of a person…" (Hirigoyen, 1998, p. 52). Emotional abuse in the work environment includes "behavior that endangers the employment of said person or degrades the climate of the workplace" (Hirigoyen, 1998, p. 52). Emotional abuse was expressed in the form of negative emotions such as stress, frustration, resignation, anger, anxiety, shame, and fear.

The danger of the pervasiveness of neoliberal ideology in PRUs relies upon the control of the subjectivities and emotions of faculty members. The symbolic control over faculty members induced their general fear in relation to academic work. Under these

conditions, neoliberal values of competition and performativity operated as symbolic mechanisms that affected perceived levels of self-worth, professional competence, and legitimacy as scholars. These symbolic mechanisms rely on symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1987). Symbolic power is explained as the capacity to impose a legitimized perspective of the social world on others. One example of this is the taken-for-granted notion, or, as stated by Margaret Thatcher (Harvey, 2005), that there is no alternative to the neoliberal project and the need for the neoliberal entrepreneurial subjects (Ball, 2012).

Therefore, neoliberal mechanisms promoted precarious and toxic work conditions, as well as hyper-competitive and depredatory practices, that caused psychological damage in faculty members, such as the increase in negative emotions, mental health conditions, and uncertainties related to their professional life and job security. Work environments in the neoliberal university reinforced conditions of symbolic violence and emotional abuse. Symbolic violence and emotional abuse have depersonalized faculty by the denial of the psychological and emotional injuries produced by managerial practices, hyper-professionalization, and excessive work demands.

Neoliberal ideology has promoted obligatory roles for faculty members. One example of an obligatory role during the early career stage is the institutional expectation to obtain external funding in academic disciplines that have been traditionally book-oriented disciplines, such as history or creative writing. For the case of mid-career stage, an obligatory role is the significant increase in service role work. Faculty members interviewed described these obligatory roles as a result of structural changes in the academic profession, such as increased competition for external funding and the use of

business models that highlight performativity and productivity as key aspects for the maintenance and continuity into the academic professional life cycle.

The academic profession in the neoliberal era, then, was described as a survival profession. The tyranny of neoliberal ideology is revealed through the narratives of fear, uncertainty, and marginalization experienced by faculty members at the higher stages of the academic professional life cycle, specifically in the narratives of full and distinguished professors. Although faculty members at these stages achieved the social recognition and verification of significant others in the academy, faculty at the advanced and late stages indicated that external conditions and pressures, such as budget cuts, reinforced and reproduced stages of professional uncertainty, identity crises, and self-doubts about their capacity and competence as professionals.

> Neoliberalism transmogrifies every human domain and endeavor, along with humans themselves, according to a specific image of the economic. All conduct is economic conduct; all spheres of existence are framed and measured by economic terms and metrics, even when those spheres are not directly monetized. In neoliberal reason and in domains governed by it, we are only and everywhere *homo economicus*, which itself has a historically specific form. (Brown, 2015, pp. 9-10)

Although higher statuses in the academy have been described as sources of joy and increased professional motivation (Neumann, 2009), such conditions are accompanied by the negative effects with the presence of neoliberal values and practices. No faculty member is immune from the pervasive intrusion of neoliberal ideology in the public research university.

Implications for Research and Practice

Although higher education scholars have explained the academic profession as segregated by small worlds (Clark, 1987a) and different tribes (Becher & Trowler, 2001), the present investigation demonstrates that a comprehensive understanding of the academic profession is possible. This qualitative investigation provides a conceptualization of academic identity, as APIs, that is grounded in a theory of identity (Burke & Stets, 2009), its operationalization (the importance of significant others), and its development across the diverse stages of the academic professional life cycle. The socialization processes across the diverse and complementary stages of the academic professional life cycle inform APIs' development, internalization, and change. Therefore, social interactions and symbolic exchanges are central to the explanation of the learning, interpersonal, and professional developmental needs of faculty members, especially for female and non-White faculty members. APIs for individual faculty are in a state of flux characterized by periods of adjustment and expansion. These periods of adjustment and expansion are attached to the verification and non-verification processes faculty members experienced across their professional lives as well as by the changes that occurred in their social structure. Those who are at the low level of the hierarchy need more validation from significant others and may experience constant identity crises because of constant non-verifications. For this reason, this investigation advocates for institutional support to faculty members who navigate ceremonies of passage. Faculty members, and even prospective faculty members (graduate students who wants to be faculty), need symbolic

spaces for personal and professional growth, intellectual development, resistance, healing, and grieving.

This investigation contributes to both research and practice in several ways. First, for research, with reliance upon identity theory (Burke & Stets, 2009), this investigation represents a significant contribution to identity theory primarily because of the description of the development of a professional role identity: in this investigation, APIs. Identity development was influenced by the diverse social interactions and symbolic exchanges faculty members experienced across the diverse stages of the academic professional life cycle. In addition, this investigation explains the relevance of emotional reactions attached to the academic profession and academic work. A key aspect of this investigation is the explanation of socialization processes and ceremonies of passage in which faculty members' continuity into the academic profession depended upon the approval and verification of significant others. In addition, the conceptualization of APIs advances the recognition of faculty members as humans.

Previous discussions of the professional identity of academics were confined largely to role identity, and ignored the individual-psychological dimension as well as group processes and interactions that inform APIs. Through these three dimensions of APIs, faculty's personal and social lives, including their emotions and personal histories, are brought into the discussion and explanation of faculty identity and work. Further research can focus on identity theory and the emotions attached to the professional development of faculty members and to academic work, as well as explore professional development in other types of professions such as medicine; other identity processes such

as identity salience and identity commitment; and, the cultural and social construction of emotions (Lutz & White, 1986) in the academic professional life cycle.

This investigation addresses APIs at one public research university in the U.S. In order to validate the claims made here as applicable more generally, future research can extend this investigation to other PRUs in the U.S., in order to generalize findings and conclusions. Furthermore, in order to determine if the arguments proposed in this investigation are applicable to the U.S. context alone or pertain to the APIs of faculty in other countries, additional research can be carried out in selected nations, for example, in Mexico, where large numbers of faculty with doctoral degrees have been educated in U.S. graduate schools, in the UK, where there is documented pervasiveness of neoliberalism and managerialism (Ball, 2012; Deem, 2005; Deem & Brehony, 2005), or in Canada, which shares numerous similarities in academic practice with the U.S., and where neoliberalism is connected closely and recently with university behaviors (Fisher, Rubenson, Jones, & Shanahan, 2009; Levin, 2017).

Second, for practice, PRUs' practices are responsible for the personal and professional growth of faculty, and such practices can have both positive and negative effects upon the symbolic worlds and quality of life of faculty members. PRUs that have promoted the characteristics of a neoliberal institution (Ball, 2003, 2012; Ward, 2012) can have a malignant or deleterious effect upon the symbols, meanings, and emotions attached to academic work. Thus, they can undermine the values and goals of the academic profession, as well as tax and limit faculty members to the extent that they lose their sense of personal and professional worth. It is clear from both scholarship and this

investigation that neoliberalism is neither a boon to the academic profession nor a support for faculty members' personal, emotional, and social well-being.

It is important, then, that those who work with faculty (as senior faculty, department chairs, and deans) as well as those who organize and oversee both academic personnel initiatives and faculty development programs to recognize the ways their institution consider the structural characteristics of the academic profession in order to provide safe and non-toxic workplace environments for faculty, particularly for non-tenured, but tenure track faculty, female faculty, and faculty members from underrepresented populations. Those who work with graduate students and post doctoral students can take into account, as well, the structural characteristics of the academic profession in order to provide safe and instructive learning and workplace environments. It is an imperative that higher education scholars explore, from a democratic social justice perspective, the ways in which the presence of neoliberal ideology has reinforced social inequality and equity issues in PRUs. The findings described in Chapter 4 can inform the ways in which faculty personnel practices and graduate programs can enhance symbols, values, and norms that can improve coping strategies, symbolic relational capacities, and mental health for faculty members and prospective faculty.

PRUs are the social structure in which the academic profession is performed. For this reason, PRUs have to take responsibility and create healthier and inclusive work environments that guarantee structural changes, institutional support, and community building in order to enhance human development and living conditions of faculty members, students, and staff. An example of healthier and inclusive work environments

is one that decreases the mark of shame (Hinshaw, 2007) of those who have suffered (or are suffering) mental health conditions, symbolic violence, and emotional abuse as a result of the tyranny of neoliberal ideology. Collaborative research approaches, such as community-based research projects (Johnson, 2017) in PRUs, are needed to explore, identify, and inform institutional policies and practices that can heal the psychological and emotional injuries evident in the neoliberal university.

The identification, acknowledgement, and understanding of the formal and symbolic aspects of the socialization of the academic profession provide an important opportunity to heal present faculty and to safeguard future generations of faculty members. Although, historically, the academic profession has been described as prestigious and rational, faculty members have suffered psychological and emotional injuries by their alienation experienced beginning in graduate school. In addition, these injuries have been reinforced by the ontological insecurity, symbolic violence, and emotional abuse promoted by neoliberal policies and practices. In order to heal the toxic dynamics and stigmatized identities that harm the well-being and mental health of faculty members (Billot, 2010), university leaders and managers (including university presidents and chancellors, provosts, and leaders of academic senates), and those who work within academic personnel units, need to identify, value, and understand the diverse symbols, values, and norms that give meaning to the academic profession and academic work.

Therefore, university leaders, managers, and faculty members across all stages of the academic professional life cycle have to be socialized into diversity's symbols, values, and practices as a main source of meaning to the academic profession. Work

conditions that support, promote, and care for female faculty members and underrepresented faculty are needed, especially. Further research can aid practice through exploration, in a large-scale study, the ways in which neoliberal ideology has altered the psychological development, emotional well-being, and mental health conditions of faculty, in order to develop intervention programs that prevent psychological and emotional injuries of future generation of faculty members and graduate students. The development of an academic professional identity (across diverse stages of the academic profession) is related intrinsically to symbolic exchanges, emotional socialization processes, and lifelong learning cycles. As this investigation has described and explained, the neoliberal project is harmful, psychologically and symbolically, to almost every faculty member. For this reason, higher education scholars, policy makers, and governments have to recognize to what extent the current precarious work conditions and non-realistic work expectations embedded in the neoliberal project proliferate and reproduce social inequality, existential crises, and mental illness at PRUs.

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Appendix A

Interview Protocol

1. Self-Introduction. Hi, I am Evelyn Morales Vázquez, a third year PhD student in the Higher Education program. The purpose of this interview is to explore experiences of faculty members at one public research university in California. The interview focuses on three aspects of the academic profession: the personal life of faculty members, the professional life (meanings, norms, values, and expectations of the academic profession), and institutional background.

I want to reassure you that this is not a public conversation. You will provide consent for this interview, and I will not disclosure your name publicly. If you have any concerns about the questions, you do not have to answer any question and you can withdraw from this interview at any time. Thank you for accepting this interview.

2. Identifying information

Academic discipline:

Years working in this institution:

3. Topical questions

3 a) Topical questions about personal life

Could you please tell me about your academic background? (Undergraduate and graduate education); Why did you choose to study that discipline?

How would you characterize your experience during graduate school?

Did you have any role models?- Why did you consider that these people were your role model?

3 b) Topical questions about professional background and present professional position

Now, please, tell me about your professional life as a faculty member.

Could you describe what the academic profession means to you?

Why did you decide to be a faculty member?

How do you describe yourself as professional?

What are the main roles and duties that you have as faculty member?

Can you please describe what you do in a typical day at work (roles and activities)?

Have your roles or duties as a faculty member changed since you started working in the academy? In which ways?

What is the role that you enjoy most as a faculty member?; Why?

Have your expectations about being a faculty member changed since you started your career? (If yes, in which ways did you experience these changes?)

How do you describe your experiences in the tenure process?- Emotionally, how do you describe the tenure process?

Why did you decide to work at this public research university?

(In case that they had not lived previously in California) Why did you choose to come to California?

Do you have previous experiences as a faculty member in other universities? (How long? Was your work in that institution different from this institution? If so, in which ways?).

Have you experienced any differences or alterations in the expectations that the institution had for you? (Work and skills); What do you feel about these expectations?

Have you experienced an increase in competition? How do you feel about it?

From your perspective, how do these alterations influence the ways you perceive the academic profession?

What are your feelings and attitudes about this work environment?

From your perspective what are the main experiences that shape or influence your identity as faculty member?

3 c) Topical questions about institutional background

Could you describe how do you see this institution in terms of your professional life?

What are the adjectives would you use to describe your academic life in this institution?

What are the university's work expectations for faculty members, generally?

Please describe your relationship with your colleagues (Professors and administrators)?

What kind of services do you participate in at the university?

Do you experience any difficulties or challenges at your workplace?; Why?; How do you deal with these difficulties?

Are those expectations related to your everyday work at this institution?

Have you experienced any changes or alterations in the ways in which the administration manages this institution? Please give me examples.

What do you think about these changes or alterations?

What do you think about the pressures to obtain funding/grants?

Did you obtain grants for research projects?; Where did you obtain those grants?

What are the difficulties or challenges that you have encountered at this institution as a faculty member?

4. Personal researcher reflections

So, you have told me that… and that… is that correct? Is there anything to add here? Am I missing anything? Would you like to add something more to the interview?

5. Thanks for the interview, I want to thank you for your time. If you need to speak with me after this, you can communicate with me by email. Thank you, professor.

Appendix B

Survey: Your Academic Profession

The purpose of this survey is to explore the ways in which faculty members experience their academic profession, work environment, and professional identities. The data collection of this investigation is composed of two parts. The first part is a survey, which I would like you to complete today. It takes about 15 minutes to fill out. The second part is an interview, which I am hoping I can have with you in your office next week. The interview will take about 1-2 hours, depending on your availability.

We appreciate your honesty while you answer the questions in this survey. Your participation in this survey is completely voluntary. While we would like you to answer all of the questions, you are free to end the survey at any time. As confidentiality is valued in this research project, pseudonyms will replace all named places and people. No specific information on participants, their departments, or campus will be revealed. The only information that will be offered is the broad academic field (STEM fields, social sciences, and humanities) in which faculty members are affiliated. The data will be stored on a password-protected laptop. The PI (Evelyn Morales Vázquez) is the only person who will have access to this computer.

Participant's agreement: I understand that I have the right to discontinue this survey at any time. I am aware that data for this project will be collected through the academic year 2017-2018, and that more detailed information on the complete scope of this study will be available after all data has been collected, at which time I may contact the PI (emora021@ucr.edu). I am also aware that if I have any questions about my rights

as a research subject, I can contact UCR Office of Research Integrity at 951-827-4802 (during business hours) or contact them by email at IRB@ucr.edu Thank you for your time!

1. The statements below ask you to think about **how you see yourself**. Please indicate how much each statement reflects you by **checking a box**.

Statement	0 (Not at all)	1	2	3	4	5	6 (Very much)
Being a professor is an important part of how I see myself.							
Being a professor influences/guides how I behave.							
Thinking about meeting a stranger for the first time, how likely is it that you would tell them that you are a professor?							
How often do you do things with others who are also professors?							
How close are you to others who are also professors?							

2. The statements below ask you to think about how you **see yourself currently at your job**. Please indicate your level of agreement with each statement by **checking the box** that reflects your view.

Statement	**Strongly Agree**	**Agree**	**Disagree**	**Strongly Disagree**
I do not want to change the way I teach in the classroom.				
I want to publish more than what I am publishing.				
I want to do more service work than what I am doing.				
I want to do less service work than what I am doing.				
I expect to obtain more extramural funding than what I am currently getting.				

3. The statements below ask you to think about **your level of satisfaction as a faculty member.** Please indicate your level of agreement by **checking the box** that reflects your view.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I am satisfied with my research productivity.				
I am not satisfied with my teaching style.				
I am satisfied with my level of service work.				
I am not satisfied with my level of extramural funding.				
I am satisfied with my job.				

4. The statements below ask you to think about how **you see your professional life**. Please indicate your level of agreement with each statement by **checking the box** that reflects your view.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I have control over what happens to me in my professional career.				
It is easy for me to accomplish my professional goals.				
I am confident that I can deal efficiently under pressure from work.				
I can successfully complete all or most all the tasks I have as a faculty member.				
Sometimes I feel that I am not able to accomplish what I want in my professional career.				
My level of engagement in my professional career is high.				

5. The statements below ask you to think about how **other faculty in your department, whose opinions matter the most to you, currently see you**. Please indicate your level of agreement with each statement by **checking the box** that reflects how you think they see you.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Other faculty do not want me to change the way I teach in the classroom.				
Other faculty want me to publish more than what I currently publish.				
Other faculty want me to do more service work than what I am doing.				
Other faculty want me to do less service work than what I am doing.				
Other faculty expect me to obtain more extramural funding than what I am currently getting.				

6. The statements below ask you to think about how **the way you see yourself as a faculty member has changed in the last FIVE YEARS**. Please indicate your level of agreement by **checking the box** that reflects your view.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
More interdisciplinary work is required of me.				
External funding agencies are driving more of my research agenda.				
My class size has decreased.				
I have to do more online instruction.				
I have to be on more committees to fulfill my service work.				
I feel good given the changes in my profession.				
I feel secure about moving up the ranks in my professional career.				
I feel insecure about my job because of the pressures to publish more.				

7. The statements below ask you to think about how **the department chair of your department currently sees you**. Please indicate your level of agreement by **checking the box** that reflects how you think your department chair sees you.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The department chair does not want me to change the way I teach in the classroom.				
The department chair wants me to publish more than what I am publishing.				
The department chair wants me to do more service work than what I am doing.				
The department chair wants me to do less service work than what I am doing.				
The department chair expects me to obtain more extramural funding than what I am currently getting.				

8. The statements below ask you to think about how **the way you see yourself as a faculty member has changed in the last FIVE YEARS**. Please indicate your level of agreement by **checking the box** that reflects your view.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Less is expected of me as a teacher.				
More is expected of me as a researcher.				
There is pressure to publish more.				
There is pressure to obtain grants.				
There has been a decrease in my teaching load.				
There has been an increase in my service work.				
There has been an increase in accountability in my job.				
There has been a decrease in market-driven behaviors in my work environment.				
There has been an increase in the use of business models in my work environment.				
There has been a decrease in entrepreneurialism in my work environment.				

9. The statements below inquire about the **emotions you are feeling with respect to the different aspects of your profession**. Please indicate your level of agreement by **checking the box** that reflects your view where 0 represents not at all and 6 represents very much.

Thinking about your research productivity, how do you currently feel about it?							
Emotions	0 (Not at all)	1	2	3	4	5	6 (Very much)
Happy							
Sad							
Fearful							
Angry							
Prideful							

Thinking about your teaching style, how do you currently feel about it?							
Emotions	0 (Not at all)	1	2	3	4	5	6 (Very much)
Happy							
Sad							
Fearful							
Angry							
Prideful							

Thinking about your level of service work, how do you currently feel about it?							
Emotions	0 (Not at all)	1	2	3	4	5	6 (Very much)
Happy							
Sad							
Fearful							
Angry							
Prideful							

Thinking about your extramural funding, how do you currently feel about it?							
Emotions	0 (Not at all)	1	2	3	4	5	6 (Very much)
Happy							
Sad							
Fearful							
Angry							
Prideful							